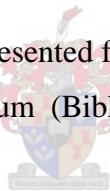


**A Quest for the Assumed LXX *Vorlage* of the
Explicit Quotations in Hebrews**

by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature: _____

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Abstract

The *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews remains an unresolved matter to date – despite the fact that it is an important pre-requisite before one can attempt to investigate the *function* of the quotations within their NT context. The selection, origin and version of the explicit quotations is a neglected aspect of previous studies. This Quest attempted to address these matters mainly from a tradition historical and a text critical angle. It follows the ground plan of Hebrews' own presentation of two sets of quotations in pairs – the first set consisting of hymnic texts and the second a quotation from the Torah, which is alternated between quotations from the Psalms and from the Prophets. The investigation considers each quotation in the light of possible alternative *Vorlage(n)* to those of the printed versions and interacts with previously proposed hypotheses – such as the “Testimony Book” hypothesis, liturgy-, homily-, and midrash hypotheses.

It became clear during the course of the investigation that, although Hebrews might have known a large number of quotations from the early Jewish (DSS; Philo) and early Christian (Paul, Gospels) traditions, he also expanded on some of those and added some other (mainly the longer) quotations. The latter include, for instance, Pss 40(39), 95(94), and Jer 31(38) – often accompanied by the author's reworking and own midrash on the passage with ring compositional features. The quotations are almost always introduced with a verb of *saying* and with a large number of them being presented in combination with a reference to an existing promise of God.

Regarding the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, there are a number of similarities between particularly 4QMidrEschat, the Hodayot and the Pesherim – documents that are representative of a hermeneutic tradition of creatively working with and interpreting OT passages. Almost all of the Torah quotations are brief and (including the quotation from Prov 3) occurred already in the works of *Philo of Alexandria*, mainly in his *Legum allegoriae* 3. Their readings agree with each other – both of them often against the LXX and MT versions, which might be an indication of another version (the “Old Greek?”) that was used by both. Quotations that show an overlap with the then existing *NT literature* at the time that Hebrews wrote, are almost exclusively to be found in Romans and 1 Corinthians. The early Christian liturgical formula of the institution of the Eucharist seemed to have played a role in at least the quotation pair Exod 24:8 (“blood”) and Ps 40:7-9 (“body”).

There is sufficient evidence that the author himself was responsible for the majority of the combinations of the quotations, though there are traces of the existence of exegetical traditions that combined particular passages prior to his time. An interesting inclination towards hymnic tendencies was discovered. The use of Psalms, Odes, hymnic reworkings and compositions of his quoted texts all testify to this.

The study concludes that so-called “differences” between Hebrews and “the” LXX could be explained, on the one hand, in the light of an alternative *Vorlage* where the readings of the quotations seem to be closer to an Egyptian text tradition, based on P⁴⁶, Codex B and others, and on the other hand, in the light of the author’s own creative hand.

Opsomming

Die *Vorlage* van die eksplisiete sitate in Hebreërs bly tot op hede 'n onopgeloste aangeleentheid – ten spyte van die feit dat dit 'n belangrike voorvereiste is alvorens daar gepoog kan word om die *funksie* van die aanhalings binne hulle NT konteks te ondersoek. Die seleksie, oorsprong en weergawe van die eksplisiete aanhalings is 'n leemte in vorige ondersoeke. Hierdie *Soektog* poog om hierdie aspekte hoofsaaklik vanuit 'n tradisie-historiese en 'n tekskritiese hoek aan te spreek. Dit volg die matriks van Hebreërs se eie aanbieding met twee stelle sitate wat in pare aangebied word. Die eerste stel bestaan uit himniese tekste, die tweede bied 'n aanhaling uit die Tora, wat telkens afgewissel word deur 'n aanhaling uit die Psalms en die Profete. Die ondersoek oorweeg elke aanhaling in die lig van 'n moontlike alternatiewe *Vorlage* en tree in interaksie met vorige voorgestelde hipoteses – soos die “*Testimonium Boek*” hipotese, liturgiese-, homiletiese-, en midrash hipoteses.

Dit het duidelik geword tydens die ondersoek dat, alhoewel Hebreërs bekend was met 'n groot aantal aanhalings vanuit vroeg-Joodse (Dooie See Rolle; Filo) en vroeg-Christelike (Paulus, Evangelies) tradisies, dat hy ook enkele hiervan uitgebrei het en andere weer toegevoeg het (veral die langer sitate). Laasgenoemde sluit byvoorbeeld Pss 40(39), 95(94), en Jer 31(38) in – wat dikwels vergesel word van die oueur se eie herwerkings en kommentaar op die passasie by wyse van ringskomposisionele eienskappe. Die sitate word bykans altyd ingelui met 'n werkwoord van *sê*. 'n Groot deel hiervan word ook aangebied in kombinasie met 'n bestaande “belofte van God.”

Aangaande die *Dooie See Rolle* is daar heelwat ooreenkoms te merk met veral 4QMidrEschat, die Hodayot en die Pesharim – almal dokumente wat 'n hermeneutiese tradisie van kreatiewe interaksie en interpretasie van OT passasies verteenwoordig. Feitlik al die aanhalings uit die Tora is kort en kom voor by *Filo van Aleksandrië* (insluitende die sitaat van Spreuke 3), hoofsaaklik in sy *Legum allegoriae* 3. Beide se tekslesings stem ook ooreen – dikwels teen die MT en die LXX weergawes, wat moontlik mag dui op 'n ander LXX weergawe (die “Ou Grieks?”) wat deur beide benut was. Aanhalings wat 'n ooreenkoms vertoon met bestaande *NT literatuur* word grotendeels gevind in Romeine en 1 Korintiërs. Dit blyk ook asof die vroeg-Christelike liturgiese formule wat die Eugaristie inlui 'n rol gespeel het – minstens by die sitaat-paar van Exod 24:8 (“bloed”) en Ps 40:7-9 (“liggaam”).

Daar is voldoende bewys dat die oueur self verantwoordelik was vir meeste van die sitaatkombinasies, alhoewel daar ook spore van die bestaan van enkeles vanuit die eksegetiese

tradisie voor Hebreërs te bespeur is. 'n Interessante neiging tot himniese tekste was ontdek. Die gebruik van Psalms, Odes, himniese verwerkings en komposisies van die skrywer se gesiteerde tekste ondersteun hierdie aspek.

Die studie konkludeer dat die sogenaamde “verskille” tussen Hebreërs en “die” LXX enersyds verklaar kan word aan die hand van 'n alternatiewe *Vorlage* waar die lesings van die sitate nader blyk te wees aan \mathcal{P}^{46} , kodeks B, en andere, asook andersyds aan die hand van die skrywer se eie kreatiewe insette.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are being used:

- Standard Latin abbreviations
- *The SBL Handbook of Style* (see Bibliography) – Biblical and other ancient authors
- Manuscript abbreviations used from the appropriate eclectic editions (e.g.NA27, Göttingen LXX editions)
- In addition to these, the following abbreviations are also used:

acc.	accusative
aor.	aorist
B.C.E.	Before Common Era
C.E.	Common Era
cent.	century
codex A	Codex Alexandrinus
codex B	Codex Vaticanus
codex ε	Codex Sinaiticus
codex D	Codex Claromontanus
col.	Column
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
fr.	fragment
gen.	genitive
GNV	Good News Version
incl.	included
ind.	indicative
inv.	inventory
KJV	King James Version
LXX	Septuagint
masc.	masculine
MT	Masoretic Text

NA / NA27	Nestle/Aland 27 th edition
NAV	Nuwe Afrikaanse Vertaling
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NLV	Nuwe Lewende Vertaling
NT	New Testament
OAV	Ou Afrikaanse Vertaling
OG	Old Greek
om.	omitted
OT	Old Testament
par.	parallel in Synoptics
p ¹³	Papyrus 13
p ⁴⁶	Papyrus 46
PChBeat	Papyrus Chester Beatty
pers.	person
PBod	Papyrus Bodmer
PFouad	Papyrus Fouad
pl.	plural
Pleipzig	Papyrus Leipzig
PMich	Papyrus Michigan
POxy	Papyrus Oxyrhynchus
Pvindob	Papyrus Vindobius
Pss	Psalms
Ra	Rahlfs
RSV	Revised Standard Version
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
txt.	eclectic text reading
UBS / UBS4	United Bible Societies /4 th ed
v. or vv.	verse or verses

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Hebrews and the unresolved problem of the *Vorlage*

The late first century C.E. document, *Ad Hebraeos*,¹ written by an unknown author in the best Greek of the NT, contains the most explicit quotations² and the longest quotations of all the NT books. Thus, because Hebrews is the book that quotes the most extensively from the Jewish/Israelite Scriptures,³ and a book that represents quotations from a wide range of passages,⁴ it provides the researcher with a broader base of OT data to analyse when compared with other NT books. There are, however, relatively few studies on Hebrews (in comparison to studies on Paul and the Gospels) and scholars in general still tend to neglect the importance of this book. A survey of literature published on Hebrews, reveals a disappointingly minute number of publications on the use of the OT in Hebrews in particular. This lack of interest in dealing with issues related to Hebrews is probably due to the many difficulties and ambiguities that one is faced with when dealing with this controversial book. The result is, however, that several important questions relating to the selection, origin, version and function of the quotations remain unresolved or disputed. Especially the *Vorlage*⁵

¹ This study assumes that the document under discussion is *not* a letter and that it is incorrect to talk about the “*Letter to the Hebrews*.” It will therefore rather refer to *Ad Hebraeos*, or simply to “Hebrews.”

² G.H. Guthrie is thus correct in saying that “Hebrews packs more of the Old Testament into its complex discourse than any other New Testament writing...” (“Hebrews’ Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research,” *CBR* 1.2 [2003] 271-294, on pp. 271-272).

³ Cf. G.H. Guthrie, “Old Testament in Hebrews,” in: R.P. Martin & P.H. Davids (ed.), *Dictionary of the Later New Testament & Its Developments* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1997) 841-850; D.A. Carson, D.J. Moo & L. Morris: “Only Matthew in the New Testament rivals this book for the range and hermeneutical complexity of the Old Testament texts it cites” (*An Introduction to the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Apollos, 1992], 405). S.J. Kistemaker: “...that Word has been quoted, alluded to, and used in Hebrews more than in any other New Testament book” (*New Testament Commentary. Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984], 10); E. Grässer: “Der Autor ad Hebraeos...ist der fleißigste Benutzer des AT!” (“Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963,” *ThR* 30 [1964] 138-236, on p. 204). For Hebrews, the OT is of permanent value, but needs to be revalued (R.M. Grant, “The Place of the Old Testament in Early Christianity,” *Interpr* 5 [1951] 186-202).

⁴ D.-A. Koch, s.v. “Schriftauslegung II,” *TRE* 30, 2/3 (1999) 457-471, on p. 465.

⁵ When using the term ‘*Vorlage*’, it must be stated clearly at the beginning of this investigation that it is not the intention to reconstruct the *Hebrew Vorlage* of the LXX. A. Aejmelaus made some important remarks regarding such attempts to trace the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. (Cf. A. Aejmelaus, “What can we know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?”, *ZAW* 99/1 [1987] 58-89, on p. 58). The term is not used in the sense of the *Hebrew Vorlage* from which the LXX was translated, but rather in the sense of the nature of the text(s) (whether textual, oral or liturgical) which the *author of Hebrews* used for his explicit quotations. We are not trying here to establish a Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, but the possible origin of the text readings of the explicit quotations in Hebrews.

of the *circa* 34 explicit quotations⁶ to be found in Hebrews remains an unresolved matter⁷ to date – despite the fact that Grässer⁸ and others⁹ have already emphasised the importance of such an investigation.

1.1 The quest for the *Vorlage* – An important prior step

Most studies that do apply themselves to the research field of the use of the OT in the NT start by boldly investigating the *hermeneutic* of the particular NT author, focusing on the *function* of those quotations within their newly applied context. However, before one can even start to discuss the place, function, interpretation, or the author's exegetical method of the explicit quotations within the context of Hebrews itself, attention should be given first and foremost to the *Textvorlage* of those quotations, i.e. to their selection, origin and the versions that were utilised for the author's quotation. There is thus an important prior question to the hermeneutic applied by the NT author: *Where did he find these quotations (origin) and how did they read (version)?* The first part of this question requires a tradition historical investigation, whereas the second part of the question requires a text critical investigation. These are greatly neglected steps by the few studies on “the use of the OT” by Hebrews – especially in the English literature. Unless one has some clarity on the origin and version of the quotations, one cannot even attempt to answer questions relating to possible alterations, and ultimately, to the interpretation of these OT texts by the NT author.

A study of the *Vorlage* thus becomes an important prerequisite in order to deal with the function of those quotations in their contexts and attention ought rather to be given to

⁶ Depending on how the quotations are defined and calculated. For the purposes of this particular investigation, only those quotations that are clearly marked with an introductory formula are being dealt with as “explicit quotations” – which includes conflations consisting of more than one quoted text. Allusions and references are *not* counted as quotations.

⁷ So, for instance, H. Hübner: “The question of which LXX text the author of Hebrews used has still not been completely resolved. Many quotations are based on the A-text, while some are based on the B-text. Is the source a recension based on traditions which were later taken up in codices A and B?” (“OT Quotations in the New Testament,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 4 [New York: Doubleday, 1992] 1096-1104, on p. 1103).

⁸ Cf. E. Grässer, *Hebräerbrief 1938-1963*, 152-155: “Quellen, Traditionen, Vorlagen.” See also E. Grässer, “Viele Male und auf vielerlei Weise...”: Kommentare zum Hebräerbrief 1968 bis 1991,” *Bibel und Kirche* 48 (1993) 206-215.

⁹ D. Moody Smith made the observation: “Probably the key to Hebrews does not lie outside the book itself, but is to be found in an analysis of the author's use of the Scriptures in the context of his total work” (“The Use of the Old Testament in the New,” in J.M. Efird (ed.), *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in honor of William Franklin Stinespring* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1972] 3-65, on p. 59). Also G.H. Guthrie states: “The author of Hebrews especially uses methods of interpretation and argumentation found in the Rabbis. His use of the Old Testament has been one of the most neglected topics in discussions on the structure of the book” (*The Structure of Hebrews: A text-linguistic analysis* [NT.S 73; Leiden: Brill, 1994], 45).

establishing the *Vorlage* itself – before moving on to the author’s interpretation of these quotations within their new context.

1.2 An assumed Septuagint *Vorlage*

The question of the origin of the quotations in the NT leads back to a debate that runs along the lines of either an oral ability and competency to quote from memory by the NT author, or to some written source which might have been consulted alongside the process of writing the document itself. If it is assumed that the ability to quote Scriptural passages from memory presumes knowledge of a specific text form (either pre- or post-written when it is quoted), then it is legitimate to compare the existing written textual versions in one’s quest for the text form that most closely resembles the version as it is found in the NT. The questions here are thus: (a) To which existing text tradition does the quotation in Hebrews correspond most closely? (b) What is the relation between that text tradition and the reading as found in Hebrews?

Could the different readings of these different text traditions then assist one in eventually getting closer to an answer about the possible underlying *Vorlage(n)* of the quotations? Studies that do take the matter seriously tend to prefer that, in general, a different *Septuagint Vorlage*¹⁰ was available for the text of the quotations in Hebrews, rather than to accept the hand of the author at most of the differences between the readings of existing OT witnesses and those of the NT.¹¹

2. Theoretical points of departure and research questions

In the light of the above, the evident questions regarding the *Vorlage(n)* that were used for the explicit quotations in Hebrews thus relate to the *selection* and *origin* of specific passages or phrases chosen by the NT author and to the specific *version* of those readings.

¹⁰ Cf., for instance, the work of E. Ahlborn, “Die Septuaginta-Vorlage des Hebraerbriefes” (Unpublished PhD dissertation; Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität, 1966). J.C. McCullough states: “There is general agreement that the author usually quotes from the LXX, though not from any manuscript known to us at the present day” (“Isaiah in Hebrews,” in S. Moyise & M.J.J. Menken (ed.), *Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2005) 159-173. See also J.C. McCullough, “Hebrews and the Old Testament” (Unpublished PhD dissertation; Belfast, 1971); J.C. McCullough “The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews,” *NTS* 26 (1980) 363-379.

¹¹ So, for instance, underlying the work of U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Der Septuagintapsalter im Neuen Testament. Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004).

2.1 The selection and origin of the quoted texts

a. The selection – What is quoted?

The author of Hebrews quoted from the Torah (Gen, Exod and Deut), the major Prophets (Isa and Jer), the minor Prophets (Hab and Hag), and the Writings (2 Sam, Pss and Prov).¹² Thus, he quotes from a wide range of literature, represented by the threefold division of the OT canon. The frequency (most of all the NT writers) and range of OT quotations in Hebrews, point to a common authoritative Scriptural base¹³ that was shared by the author and his readers. He constantly refers them back to this *corpus* of sacred Jewish/Israelite literature. A similar trend can be noted in Rom 9–11, where a density of quotations is also found, though the letter to the Romans is addressed in general to non-Jews. The same situation applies to Galatians.¹⁴ Also noteworthy is the fact that, although the author of Hebrews was acquainted with the “gospel” (cf. εὐηγγέλισμενοι, Heb 4:2), he never appeals to the words of Jesus as known from the Gospel tradition or to the teachings of the apostles.¹⁵ The Scriptures themselves are treated as authoritative.¹⁶ What does it tell us regarding his readers/hearers if Hebrews presupposes knowledge of the *Jewish* traditions¹⁷ and when the Jewish/Israelite Scriptures played such a prominent role? According to some scholars, this scenario, which excludes explicit references to Jesus’ words and the teachings of the apostles, would certainly be true of *Hellenistic Jews* who had converted to Christianity.¹⁸ Add to all of this the fact that long quotations such as those from Ps 95(94) and Jer 31(38) are not only quoted more than once in Hebrews, but also interpreted fairly comprehensively by the author himself in

¹² J. Hanegraaff talks about a “torahdichtheid” of more than 55%, with 20% from the Prophets and 20% from the Psalms (*Met de torah is het begonnen II. De voortgang van het Woord in Tenach en Septuagint* [Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G.F. Callenbach, 1989], 160).

¹³ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 107. Also G. Delling: “Grundsätzlich bleibt auch im Hebräerbrief das Alte Testament als ganzes Gottes Wort” (*Wort Gottes und Verkündigung im Neuen Testament* [Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 53; Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1971], 22).

¹⁴ These instances might actually support an argument about possible liturgical background – with also non-Jews included in such a target group.

¹⁵ So also S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam: Wed. G. van Soest, 1961), 110; F.W. Grosheide, *De Brief aan de Hebreëën en de Brief van Jakobus* (Kampen: Kok, 1955), 113.

¹⁶ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 107.

¹⁷ R.H. Gundry says that Hebrews is “highly Jewish” and substantiates this with the following: (a) its frequent appeal to the OT, (b) presupposed knowledge of Jewish rituals, (c) it warns not to relapse into Judaism and (d) its early traditional title points in the same direction (*A Survey of the New Testament* [Exeter: Zondervan, 1970], 333). Similar U. Schnelle: “Unbestritten sind die Vertrautheit des Autors mit hellenistisch-jüdischem Bildungsgut, eine umfassende Kenntnis des Alten Testaments und seiner hellenistisch-jüdischen Auslegungstraditionen und seine hohe rhetorische Gestaltungskraft” (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, [UTB 1830; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996²] 420-421). Also S. Kistemaker: “...the author employs exegetical methods and concepts familiar to Jewish thinking” (*Psalm Citations*, 133).

¹⁸ So D.A. Carson, et. al., *Introduction*, 402. Cf. also the work of M. Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (JSOT Supplement Series 206; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996).

commentaries that he provides on these quotations.¹⁹ These long quotations are, nonetheless, not quoted elsewhere in the NT. This raises the questions once more about where and how the author found and applied his quotations.

b. Their origin – Where were they found?

Many of the quoted texts in Hebrews were already cited before his time in the DSS, Philo and the NT, for instance: Ps 110:1²⁰ (Mark 12:36; Matt 22:44; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; 1 Cor 15:25); Ps 2:7 (Acts 13:33); Ps 8:7 (1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:22); Gen 2:2 (Philo²¹ *Post.* 64); Gen 14:18 (Philo *Leg.* 3,79); Gen 14:20 (Philo *Congr.* 99); Gen 21:12 (Philo *Leg.* 3,87; Rom 9:7); Gen 22:17 (Philo's *Leg.* 3,203). Parts of Ps 22(21) and Ps 110(109) were also known and quoted before his time, although Hebrews quoted from another section within the same Psalms (Ps 22[21]:23 and Ps 110[109]:4) – parts of the same passages that were not used in quotations before in the available literature! Where did he get the particular quotation from, i.e. what is the origin of the quotation?²² Did he know it from *memory*, such as from the cultic practices (liturgical hymns),²³ or did he know it from the *written* tradition, such as physically looking it up in a local synagogue, or via his studying of his Scriptures,²⁴ or from reading the early Christian letters and gospels? Was the particular quotation known via existing early *Jewish* (e.g. DSS, Philo) or via the early *Christian* church tradition (Pauline literature, Synoptics, Acts)? Is there any evidence of *pre-existing combinations* of quotations? Where does all this leave one regarding the hypothesis of the possible existence of an early *testimonium*-collection? Where do those long *Sondergut Hebräer* quotations – Ps 40(39), 95(94), 102(101), Jer 31(38) – then fit in and why did the unknown author choose them?

¹⁹ See in this regard: P.E. Enns, “Creation and Re-Creation: Psalm 95 and Its Interpretation in Hebrews 3:1 – 4:13,” *Western Theological Journal* 55 (1993) 255-280.

²⁰ See, for instance, M. Hengel, “Psalm 110 und die Erhöhung des Auferstandenen zur Rechten Gottes,” in C. Breytenbach & H. Paulsen (ed.), *Anfänge der Christologie. Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 43-73; G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995) 114-124 and literature referred to in these pages.

²¹ The wealthy and well-educated Jewish-Hellenistic contemporary of Jesus and Paul, living in Alexandria between ca. 20 B.C.E. – 45/50 C.E. For a comparative study on Philo and Hebrews, cf. S.G. Sowers, *The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews. A Comparison of the Interpretation of the Old Testament in Philo Judaeus and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Richmond: John Knox, 1965); and also R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ALGHJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

²² F.C. Synge already said: “It is a strange thing that Hebrews never indicates the source of his citations” (*Hebrews and the Scriptures* [London: SPCK, 1959], 53).

²³ Compare A. Guilding, “Some Obscured Rubrics and Lectionary Allusions in the Psalter,” *JTS* 3 (1952) 41-55.

²⁴ According to Philo, a group such as the *Therapeuta*e studied the Scriptures daily. They read the Holy Scriptures and sought wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory (*VitCon* 3:28). The writings of men of old they took as a kind of archetype and imitated the method (*VitCon* 3:29). They followed the truly sacred instructions of the prophet Moses (*VitCon* 8,64). A similar remark relates to the Bereans according to Acts 17:10-11.

What text version was used for them? The origin of these explicit quotations in Hebrews may be important for establishing the character of the *Vorlage*. If the author found his quotation from a secondary source, then the reading might be different than that from existing primary resources in his day. By asking this set of questions, something of the author's methodology in using and applying Scripture is already revealed. This area would thus envisage an investigation into the pre-Hebrews occurrences and possible combinations of the particular quotation.

c. How should combinations of texts be explained?

Certain combinations of texts already existed prior to Hebrews, e.g. Ps 2 + 2 Sam 7 in 4QFlor and Ps 110:1 + Ps 8:7 in 1 Cor 15. The latter combination occurs again in Hebrews and in *1 Clem* 36:4-5. (What does this mean when it is kept in mind that both Clement²⁵ and Paul wrote to the Corinthians – and when this matter is compared with the theory of Apollos as a possible writer of Hebrews?) Similarly one observes the combination of Ps 118 + Prov 3 in Hebrews and *1 Clem* 56:3-4.²⁶ Were these combinations known under a *Stichwort* or a particular theme in the Palestinian-Hellenistic tradition?²⁷ Is there any evidence of pre-existing combinations with other quotations? Formerly posed theses such as that of early Christian “pre-florilegia” or “pre-testimonia”, or those tracing it back to the liturgy of the early Church will have to be surveyed as part of the investigation. However, it remains a controversial issue, as we are aware of the existence of such florilegia, but those that are of an early Christian nature post-date the NT. Early Christian (NT) combinations probably point to the beginning of such lists.

2.2 The version of the Scriptures utilised

a. Closer to a version of the MT, DSS or LXX?

Which ancient version of the Hebrew text traditions (MT, DSS) or Greek text traditions (LXX, Philo, pre-Hebrews NT) testifies to a reading closest to the explicit quotation found in

²⁵ 1 Clement (ca. 95 C.E.) quotes from Romans, 1 Corinthians and Hebrews.

²⁶ For a discussion on the relation – and particularly the differences – between Hebrews and *1 Clem* 36, see G. Theissen, *Untersuchungen zum Hebräerbrief* (Studien zum Neuen Testament 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969) 34-37.

²⁷ J. Bonservin, *Saint Paul. Épître aux Hébreux. Introduction, Traduction et Commentaire* (Verbum salutis XII; Paris: Beauchesne, 1943); O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975^{13th ed.}). See also the discussion by E. Grässer, “Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963,” 207.

Hebrews?²⁸ Scholars in general tend to agree that the quotations are closer to a Greek text,²⁹ particularly the LXX,³⁰ but at the same time do not find clear answers for differences between the readings of Hebrews and the LXX.³¹

Comparisons between the established version of the explicit quotation with that of existing comparative material amongst the DSS, MT, LXX, Philo's literature and the occurrence of the same quotation in other earlier NT documents (such as in the Pauline writings) will thus be vital for the investigation. The particular textual tradition, version or text form, which most closely resembles the version as represented in the Hebrews-quotation, ought to be established.

b. Closer to a specific text form?

The questions above lead one to further ask whether these text readings are now more representative of a specific text form of the LXX, such as those represented by the Alexandrian, Hexaplaric and Lucian text traditions – or, as postulated by Cross,³² the Alexandrian, Palestinian and Babylonian text forms.³³ Scholars reckon in general that the text of the quotations in Hebrews is closer to the Alexandrian text form.³⁴ Others, such as Markus Barth, defined it more plausibly: “The text of the Old Testament used by the author agrees partly with the LXX version found in the Codex Vaticanus, partly with that of the

²⁸ T. Abraha appropriately reminds that “One of the most fundamental questions that textual criticism has to address and to which consequently has to try to find an answer, is the issue of the origin of a text” (*The Ethiopic Version of the Letter to the Hebrews* [Studi E Testi 419; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2004], 93).

²⁹ Cf., for instance, H.W. Attridge: “The scripture that Hebrews interprets is certainly a Greek form of the Old Testament” (*The Epistle to the Hebrews* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989], 23).

³⁰ Cf., for instance, P. Ellingworth who states that “his Bible is the Septuagint” (*The Epistle to the Hebrews* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000], 111) and D.A. Carson, et. al.: “He was steeped in the LXX (none of his numerous quotations from the OT depends on the Hebrew)” (*Introduction*, 397). The situation is extremely complex when considering “the LXX.” One is faced with either (a) a literal, or (b) dynamic/free translation of the Hebrew text, or even (c) a rewriting of the Hebrew text by the Greek translators. (See, for instance, the work of K. de Troyer on Esther: *Rewriting the Sacred Text. What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* [SBL; Leiden: Brill, 2003]). Furthermore, the Hebrew *Vorlage* might either (a) be similar to that of the MT, or (b) in agreement with the DSS texts, or (c) agrees with neither.

³¹ For a statistical overview of the situation, cf. G. Howard, “Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations,” *NT* 10 (1968) 208-216, on pp. 209-212.

³² Cf. F.M. Cross, *Die antike Bibliothek von Qumran und die moderne biblische Wissenschaft* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967) 154-179; F.M. Cross, “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in F.M. Cross, Jr. & S. Talmon (ed.), *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1975) 306-320.

³³ Cf. also in this regard R. Hanhart, “Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand der Septuaginta-forschung,” in A. Pietersma & C. Cox (ed.), *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1984) 3-18.

³⁴ So, amongst others, F.W. Beare, “The Text of the Epistle to the Hebrews in P⁴⁶,” *JBL* 63 (1944) 379-396; D.A. Carson, et. al., *Introduction*, 404; J. Hanegraaff, *Tenach en Septuagint*, 159.

Alexandrinus, and again partly with neither of them.”³⁵ Also to be considered here, is whether one should speak of “the” *Vorlage* in the singular. Maybe this must be plural – *Vorlagen* – as many different OT books and versions of these books were used for the different quotations.

c. *Variations in comparative text readings?*

How can deviations between Hebrews and these textual witnesses be explained? How could the variations in text reading within the Hebrews textual witness tradition itself be explained? Did the changes take place sub-consciously via the hand of the author, or consciously due to stylistic and theological inclinations? This is painstakingly technical work, but vitally important in order to trace possible text traditions, such as an Alexandrian tradition, for example. It might even ultimately hold clues on the origin of Hebrews itself.

3. A brief research history on OT quotations in Hebrews

Since the publication of Padva’s monograph on “*Les Citations de l’Ancien Testament dans l’Epître aux Hébreux*” in 1904³⁶ and Büchel’s extensive essay on “*Der Hebräerbrief und das Alte Testament*” in 1906,³⁷ a series of essays and monographs related to the use of the Jewish/Israelite Scriptures in the book of Hebrews have been published over the last century. These contributions progressed from the author’s *hermeneutic* or exposition of Scripture, to studies that focused more on the *function* of the quotations, and then mainly to *general surveys* on the fact of Hebrews’ use of the OT. The general trend seems thus to rather zoom out and draw broader lines with regard to the occurrence of OT material within the context of Hebrews, than to zoom in on the origin, particular textual traditions, versions and the *Vorlage* of the individual quotations. This development follows the shift in methodology by biblical scholarship to move away from a diachronic (historical-critical) approach to a synchronic (linguistic and literature theory) approach since the middle of the previous century. The emphasis moved away from the history of the quotations to their embeddedness within their new context.

³⁵ M. Barth, “OT in Hebrews,” 55.

³⁶ P. Padva, *Les Citations de l’Ancien Testament dans l’Epître aux Hébreux* (Paris: Danzig, 1904).

³⁷ C. Büchel, “Der Hebräerbrief und das Alte Testament,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 79 (1906) 508-591.

3.1 General surveys on Hebrews' use of the OT

Some of the prominent essays that continued along the same lines as that of Büchel, investigating the OT citations in Hebrews along broader lines, were those of Pollard (1924),³⁸ Synge (1959),³⁹ Thomas (1964),⁴⁰ Howard (1968),⁴¹ Combrink (1971),⁴² McCullough (1980),⁴³ Clements (1985)⁴⁴ and Guthrie (1997).⁴⁵ They are mainly introductory essays that provided a general survey of the *fact* of the occurrence of OT material in Hebrews without necessarily entering into in-depth discussions on the technicalities of the origin, version or *Vorlage* of the quotations. In particular the work of Guthrie on the role of the OT quotations in Hebrews needs to be noted as it is of great value as an orientation and introduction to Hebrews' use of his Scriptures. Guthrie recently (2003) provided an overview on current trends in research on Hebrews' use of the OT.⁴⁶ Apart from pointing to general studies that survey Hebrews' use of the OT, Guthrie identified four trends: "(1) the text form used by the author, (2), his framing of structure by use of certain Old Testament texts, (3) his exegetical methods, and (4) his hermeneutic." A welcome recent contribution (2007) to the field of the OT quotations in the NT came very recently towards the end of this author's quest in the form of a one-volume "*Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*",⁴⁷ with the chapter on Hebrews also being written by Guthrie. In this instance he pays attention to both the contexts of the NT as well as that of the OT quotation, its uses in Jewish sources, brief reference to its textual background (mainly MT or LXX), and its interpretation (including its theological use) in the NT. Apart from brief contributions in the form of the above-mentioned essays, the works of Reid (1980)⁴⁸ and Rascher (2007)⁴⁹ are two of the very few comprehensive studies on Hebrews' use of the OT in the form of monographs.

³⁸ E.B. Pollard, "Notes on the Old Testament Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *CrozQ* 1 (1924) 447–452.

³⁹ F.C. Synge, *Hebrews*, loc. cit.

⁴⁰ K.J. Thomas, "The Old Testament Citations in Hebrews," *NTS* 11 (1964/5) 303-325.

⁴¹ G. Howard, "OT Quotations," 208-216.

⁴² H.J.B. Combrink, "Some thoughts on the Old Testament citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (*Ad Hebraeos: Essays on the Epistle to the Hebrews*), *Neot* 5 (1971) 22-36.

⁴³ J.C. McCullough, "OT Quotations," 363-379.

⁴⁴ R.E. Clements, "The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews," *SWJT* 28 (1985) 36-45.

⁴⁵ G.H. Guthrie, "OT in Hebrews," 841-850.

⁴⁶ G.H. Guthrie, "Trends in Research," 271-294.

⁴⁷ G.K. Beale & D.A. Carson (ed.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).

⁴⁸ R. Reid, *The use of the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1980).

⁴⁹ A. Rascher, *Schriftauslegung und Christologie im Hebräerbrief* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007).

3.2 The hermeneutics and exegetical method of the author of Hebrews

Erich Grässer (1964)⁵⁰ wrote a comprehensive research history on Hebrews *per se* for the period 1938 – 1963. Scholars such as Koester⁵¹ and McCullough⁵² supplemented this with later essays. When turning to the debate on Hebrews' exposition of Scripture, Harder (1939),⁵³ Van der Ploeg (1947),⁵⁴ Rendall (1955)⁵⁵ and Markus Barth (1962)⁵⁶ have published key essays. The latter remains one of the useful introductory overviews on the topic of Hebrews' use of Scripture and provides an excellent survey of the different issues involved in the debate. Many years later, France (1996) would again concentrate on the "Writer of Hebrews as a Biblical Expositor."⁵⁷ These studies basically investigated the author's *Schriftverwendung*, i.e. the manner in which the author understood and *analysed* his Scriptures.

3.3 The function of the OT quotations within the context of Hebrews

The shift from the way in which the NT author analysed his Scriptures to the manner in which he *applied* his Scripture took place since the late 1930's. Four major studies, namely those of Leonard, (1939)⁵⁸ Synge (1959),⁵⁹ Kistemaker (1961),⁶⁰ and Schröger (1968)⁶¹ attempted to understand the author of Hebrews' use and application of Scripture within its applied context in the book – which was typical of similar studies, specifically during the 1960's and 1970's.⁶² Particularly the works of Kistemaker and Schröger are still considered as key works

⁵⁰ E. Grässer, "Hebräerbrief 1938-1963," 204-214.

⁵¹ C.R. Koester, "The Epistle to the Hebrews in Recent Study," *Curr Res Bib Stud* 2 (1994) 123-145.

⁵² See J.C. McCullough, "Hebrews in Recent Scholarship," *Irish Biblical Studies* 16 (1994) 66-86, 108-120, for a general research survey on Hebrews.

⁵³ G. Harder, "Die Septuagintzitate des Hebräerbriefes. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Auslegung des Alten Testaments," in M. Albertz & H. Asmussen, et. al. (ed.), *Theologia Viatorum: Theologische Aufsätze* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1939) 33-52.

⁵⁴ J. van der Ploeg, "L'exégèse de l'AT dans l'Epître aux Hébreux," *RB* 54 (1947) 187-228.

⁵⁵ R. Rendall, "The Method of the Writer to the Hebrews in Using Old Testament Quotations," *EvQ* 27 (1955) 214-220.

⁵⁶ M. Barth, "The Old Testament in Hebrews: An Essay in Biblical Hermeneutics," in W. Klassen & G.F. Snyder (ed.), *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation. Essays in honor of Otto A. Piper* (London: SCM Press, 1962) 53-78.

⁵⁷ R.T. France, "The Writer of Hebrews as a Biblical Expositor," *Tyndale Bulletin* 47 (1996) 245-276.

⁵⁸ W. Leonard, *The Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews: Critical Problem and Use of the Old Testament* (Rome: Burns, Oats & Washbourne Ltd., 1939).

⁵⁹ F.C. Synge, *Hebrews*, loc. cit.

⁶⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*.

⁶¹ F. Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (BU 4; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1968).

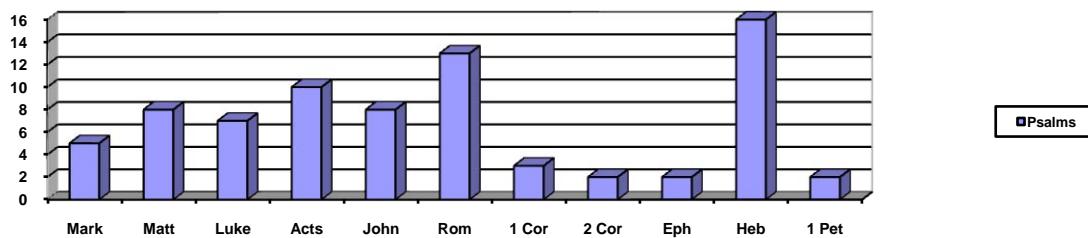
⁶² Cf., for instance, M. Rese, "Die Funktion alttestamentliche Zitate und Anspielungen in den Reden der Apostelgeschichte," in J. Kremer (ed.), *Les Actes des Apôtres – Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (BETL 68;

in the debate. Although some limited attention is paid to the origin of the quotations, these investigations centre primarily around the *function* of the quotations and the hermeneutic of the author than on its possible *Vorlage(n)*. Hence they focus upon establishing their origin and the particular *version* of the textual tradition that might underlie these quotations. To these one might add the later contributions by Müller (1986)⁶³ and even that of Löning (1998) – although the latter does not discuss the Psalm citations particularly in Hebrews only, but in the whole of the NT.⁶⁴ The works of Kistemaker, Müller and Löning only focused then on the Psalm citations, whereas the work of Schröger investigated all the quotations in Hebrews.

3.4 Studies on the Psalms in Hebrews since Kistemaker

The Psalms have a prominent place in the NT. This is not strange when one keeps in mind the place that they had in Israel with their liturgical use in the temple, synagogues and the Jewish feasts. It is little wonder that the Psalter also became the hymnbook and prayer book of the Christian church from the earliest times.⁶⁵ Focusing on Hebrews, this can be seen in the fact that it is the NT book which quotes the most from the Psalms as is clear from the following statistical analysis:

Distribution of Psalm quotations in the New Testament



Matt (8); Mark (5); Luke (7); Acts (10); John (8); Rom (13); 1 Cor (3); 2 Cor (2); Eph (2); *Heb* (16); 1 Pet (2).

About half of all the quotations in Hebrews were taken from the Psalms. In fact, there is a case to be made that all the explicit quotations to be found in the first half of Hebrews were

Leuven: University Press, 1979), 61-79; M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1965); R.H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel – With special reference to the Messianic hope* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); E.D. Freed, *Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John* (NT.S 11; Leiden: Brill, 1965).

⁶³ P.-G. Müller, "Die Funktion der Psalmzitate im Hebräerbrief," in E. Haag & F.-L. Hossfeld (ed.), *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Heinrich Groß* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1986) 223-242.

⁶⁴ K. Löning, "Die Funktion des Psalters im Neuen Testamente," in E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (Freiberg: Herder, 1998) 269-295.

⁶⁵ Cf. S. Kistemaker: The "knowledge of sacred history was stimulated, kept alive, and augmented by the use of the psalms in Synagogue and Church" (*Psalm Citations*, 114).

taken from hymnic texts. If – as will be argued later in this study – Isa 8 is linked to the doublet in Ps 18 and to the *Hodayot*, Deut 32 to Ode 2, and 2 Sam 7:14 (already existing in the catena of 4Q174 and with possible hymnic connections too), then all quotations in this first half of Hebrews (except for Gen 2:2) are hymnic texts. Furthermore, the very first quotation in Hebrews is taken from a Psalm (Ps 2) and so is the very last quotation (Ps 118). It is thus no wonder that investigations of the Psalms in Hebrews received particular attention in the past in studies such as those of Kistemaker (1961)⁶⁶ and Rüsen-Weinhold (2001, 2004) amongst others.⁶⁷ Rüsen-Weinhold pays due attention to the text critical variants in determining the closest possible textual traditions to the readings of Hebrews' quotations. This author, too, has dealt with some of the Psalm quotations before, particularly regarding their *Vorlage* in Hebrews, cf. Ps 2;⁶⁸ Ps 8;⁶⁹ Ps 45⁷⁰ and Ps 118.⁷¹ Given the fact then that half of the quotations in Hebrews were taken from the Psalms, it is no wonder that studies on the Psalms in Hebrews have abounded in the last two decades. Apart from the monographs of Kistemaker and Rüsen-Weinhold referred to above, this also becomes clear from the essays of Müller (1986),⁷² Löning (1998)⁷³ and Attridge (2004).⁷⁴ The emphasis of the first is mainly on the function of the Psalm quotations in Hebrews with a limited text critical contribution. The works of Löning (also with emphasis on the function of the quotations, but providing very few examples and hardly covering the cases in Hebrews), and that of Rüsen-Weinhold, focus on the Psalms in the NT and not exclusively on Hebrews *per se*.

3.5 Proposed hypotheses

A general survey of the limited number of studies on the quotations in Hebrews, reveals some assumed hypotheses regarding the differences in reading and the origin of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. These are sometimes merely implied assumptions and at other times carefully formulated hypotheses. At least six different reasons have been identified by

⁶⁶ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*.

⁶⁷ U. Rüsen-Weinhold, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter in seinen verschiedenen Textformen zur Zeit des Neuen Testaments," in E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (HBS 32; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001) 1-87; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, "Septuagintapsalter im NT."

⁶⁸ G.J. Steyn, "Psalm 2 in Hebrews," *Neot* 37/2 (2003) 262-282.

⁶⁹ G.J. Steyn, "Some observations about the *Vorlage* of Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8," *VerbEccl* 24/2 (2003) 493-514.

⁷⁰ G.J. Steyn, "The *Vorlage* of Ps 45:6-7(44:7-8) in Heb 1:8-9," *HTS* 60/3 (2004) 1085-1103.

⁷¹ G.J. Steyn, "The Occurrence of Ps 118:6 in Heb 13:6: Possible liturgical origins?" *Neot* 40/1 (2006) 119-134.

⁷² P.G. Müller, "Funktion der Psalmenzitate," 223-242.

⁷³ K. Löning, "Funktion des Psalters," 269-295.

⁷⁴ H.W. Attridge, "The Psalms in Hebrews", in S. Moyise & M.J.J. Menken (ed.), *The Psalms in the New Testament* (London: T & T Clark, 2004) 197-212.

scholarship in order to explain the occurrence and the readings of the explicit quotations in Hebrews.

(a) *The testimonia hypothesis*

The presence of two quotations in close proximity to each other, which occurs elsewhere in the NT literature as well, usually led some scholars to assume that the authors took them independently from an existing so-called “Testimony Book.”⁷⁵ The thesis was mainly developed and defended by Rendel Harris⁷⁶ early in the previous century and provides an easy explanation for the phenomenon of combined quotations that are surfacing in other places in the early Christian literature as well. Heb 1:5-14 usually serves, not only as an example, but also as proof that the author used such a Testimony Book. Both the combination of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14, occurring also in *1 Clem* 36 in this combination, as well as the list of quotations offered in Hebrews 1, are listed as proof for the viewpoint of a Testimony Book behind Hebrews 1.⁷⁷ Proof of this viewpoint is found particularly in the lists of texts as found in 4QTest (4Q175) and 4QFlor (4Q174) – the latter in which Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 are also present.

Other scholars have also thought in this direction. Recently, the more refined work of Albl (1999)⁷⁸ revived this hypothesis. There is even an assumption by some Septuagint scholars, such as Johan Lust for instance, that these so-called testimonia, florilegia, or anthologies may have influenced the mainstream LXX text.⁷⁹ Lust uses mainly 4QTest and 4QFlor as examples and refers to the point that, “(A)ccording to some scholars, similar anthologies, based on the Greek versions, were made in the Christian communities.”⁸⁰ This

⁷⁵ See, for instance, F.C. Synge, *Hebrews*, 54; C. Spicq, “L’Epître aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean-Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumran,” *RB* 1 (1959) 365-391, on p. 384; H.W. Montefiore, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: A&C Black, 1964), 43; F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 12 (*passim*); R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews* (NCB Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 37: “The occurrence here of such a catena of quotations naturally suggests the use of a testimony book...”; M.C. Albl, “*And Scripture Cannot be Broken.*” *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 202ff.; and H.-F. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 157.

⁷⁶ J.R. Harris, *Testimonies* (Cambridge: University Press, Vol I, 1916; Vol II, 1920).

⁷⁷ Cf., for instance, J.R. Harris, *Testimonies II*, 43-50; F. Synge, *Hebrews*, 53-54; H.W. Montfiore, *Hebrews*, 43-44; E. Grässer, “Hebräerbrief 1938-1963,” 208f.; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 43ff.; G. Theissen, *Untersuchungen*, 34-37; D.M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand. Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (SBLMS 18; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), 39; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, “Septuagintapsalter im NT,” 176.

⁷⁸ M.C. Albl, *Early Christian Testimonia*.

⁷⁹ J. Lust, “And I Shall Hang Him on a Lofty Mountain. Ezek 17:22-24 and Messianism in the Septuagint,” in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Cambridge, 1995* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 231-250, on p. 247. Also in J. Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2004), 124.

⁸⁰ J. Lust, Lofty “Mountain,” 247; J. Lust, *Messianism*, 125.

hypothesis – regarding the existence of such an early Christian testimonia collection during first century Christianity – remains to a large extent a mere suspicion without any convincing and concrete evidence to support it.

(b) *The liturgy hypothesis*

Septuagint scholars, such as Staffan Olofsson,⁸¹ confirm with regard to the LXX Psalms, that “(I)t is hardly disputed that the LXX text was subject to revision in the course of its history, not least since it was frequently used in liturgy.” The fact of the liturgical use of particularly the Psalms, has led NT scholars to assume that the presence and form of the quotations in Hebrews might be ascribed to liturgical usage. This hypothesis is supported mainly by the studies of Simon Kistemaker⁸² and Markus Barth.⁸³ Recently also Martin Hengel worked with this assumption, arguing that a substantial part of the texts that were circulated amongst the Jews found their way through the temple liturgy, singing during the great festivals and through personal Psalm prayers. He is also of the opinion that the christological hymns of early Christianity were greatly influenced by the messianic Psalms such as Ps 2; 8; 22(21); 45(44); 69(68); 89(88); and 118(117).⁸⁴

(c) *The homily hypothesis*

The recent work on Hebrews by Gabriella Gelardini (2005)⁸⁵ ventures in another direction. She is of the opinion that the book of Hebrews is primarily a typical synagogue homily with Jer 31:31-34 that forms the *haphtarah* and Exod 31:17 the *sidrah* of this homily.⁸⁶ Gelardini interprets the Sabbath rest as “the covenant sign between God and the sons (and daughters) of Israel.” She reckons that the quotation in Heb 4:4 is not from Gen 2:2, but from Exod 31:17 instead.

⁸¹ Cf. S. Olofsson, “The Kaige Group and the Septuagint of Psalms,” in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Cambridge, 1995* (SBLSCSS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 189-230.

⁸² “Believers in the first century had access to the Scriptures when they attended the worship services. There they memorized passages from the Old Testament, especially those from the Psalter, Proverbs, and Prophets” (S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 373).

⁸³ Cf. M. Barth who proposes the possibility of “...a liturgy, an order of worship, or a collection of hymns used before (or still in) the author’s time” (“OT in Hebrews,” 73). He believes that this might be standing behind the collection of texts presented in Hebrews 1-3. This is interesting but difficult to prove and it remains speculative.

⁸⁴ Cf. M. Hengel, “Die Septuaginta als ‘christliche Schriftensammlung’, ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons”, in M. Hengel & A.M. Schwemer (ed.), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994) 182-284, on p. 264.

⁸⁵ Cf. G. Gelardini, “Hebrews, an Ancient Synagogue Homily for Tisha Be-av: Its Function, its Basis, its Theological Interpretation,” in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods – New Insights* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 107-127, on p. 120.

⁸⁶ Cf. G. Gelardini, “Synagogue Homily,” 120.

(d) The midrash hypothesis

The commentary of George Buchanan (1972)⁸⁷ on Hebrews in the Anchor Bible series, proposed that Hebrews is mainly a midrash on Ps 110. This viewpoint was also supported by August Strobel (1975)⁸⁸ and has recently been followed by other scholars, such as Gert Jordaan (2008),⁸⁹ and qualifiedly being supported by Elke Tönges (2005).⁹⁰

(e) A different Septuagint Vorlage hypothesis

The issue of the *Textvorlage* of the explicit quotations surfaced during the history of the investigation of Hebrews' use of his Scriptures – as can be seen especially in the unpublished studies of Thomas (1959)⁹¹ and of Ahlborn (1966)⁹² who investigated the role of the Septuagint in relation to the explicit quotations in Hebrews. In an essay by Van den Brink (1993)⁹³ on the text of the OT quotations in Hebrews, one would expect some further assistance in understanding the possible *Vorlage* of the quotations, but the contribution is disappointingly cursory and brief. Karrer took some steps in this direction in a recent essay (2006).⁹⁴ This represents a basic assumption by a number of scholars who are working on the interface between LXX studies and the NT that another Septuagint *Vorlage* underlies the text of the quotations in Hebrews. An added dimension is the role of the DSS in the reconstruction of the LXX *Vorlage* itself. Commentaries in general, and German scholarship in particular, worked with this as a basic assumption for explaining a number of differences in the readings of the quotations in Hebrews. Examples include the studies of De Waard (1965),⁹⁵ Ahlborn

⁸⁷ Cf. G.W. Buchanan, *To the Hebrews* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 1972).

⁸⁸ A. Strobel wrote of Ps 110: “in allen folgenden Ausführungen bezeichnet er offen oder insgeheim die biblische Grundlage, auf der sich das einmalige Zeugnis des Briefes erhebt” (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [NTD 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975], 79).

⁸⁹ G.J.C. Jordaan & P. Nel, “From Priest-King to King-Priest. Psalm 110 and the basic structure of Hebrews,” in D.J. Human & G.J. Steyn (ed), *The Reception of the Psalms in Hebrews* (London: T&T Clark, 2008/9), forthcoming.

⁹⁰ E. Tönges, “‘Jesus-Midrash’,” 103.

⁹¹ K.J. Thomas, “The Use of the Septuagint in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” (Unpublished PhD. Thesis; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1959).

⁹² E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, loc. cit.

⁹³ G. van den Brink, “De Schrift zegt of de Schrift fantaseert? (1) De tekst van oudtestamentische citaten in Hebreeën,” in A.G. Knevel, et. al. (ed.), *Bijbel en Exegese. Verkenningen in de katholieke brieven en Hebreeën* (Theologische Verkenningen 7; Kampen: Kok Voorhoeve, 1993) 203-217.

⁹⁴ M. Karrer, “The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint”, in W. Kraus & R.G. Wooden (ed.), *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (SBL 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 335-353.

⁹⁵ J. De Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4, ZWO; Leiden: Brill, 1965).

(1966),⁹⁶ Schröger (1968),⁹⁷ Karrer (2002;⁹⁸ 2008)⁹⁹ and Rüsen-Weinhold (2004).¹⁰⁰ These are mainly studies that pay attention to the text critical situation.

4. Gaps in the research, and the resultant rationale for this study

Since the end of the 1960's, relatively few articles have been published on Hebrews' use of Scripture. Most of these presented a general survey of the quotations and of their function within its applied context in Hebrews, without necessarily getting into the complexities of the textual criticism and the possible *Vorlage(n)* of the text of those quotations.

A closer look at the research history of Hebrews' "use of the OT" against the backdrop of the questions that were asked at the opening of this study reveals at least five major gaps that can be identified in the research to date:

- (a) a number of textual witnesses amongst the DSS, LXX and NT have become available since the last major comparative studies on the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews were undertaken and these latest witnesses have not yet been included in a comprehensive investigation on all the quotations;
- (b) virtually nothing has been done to date regarding similarities to the same kind of theology as that of the DSS community/ies in the light of Hebrews' quotations;
- (c) the resemblances between the text readings of the DSS and the *Vorlage* of "the" LXX¹⁰¹ – with its similarities in Hebrews – ought to be taken seriously into account in an investigation about the quotations in Hebrews;
- (d) much more careful and closer attention is needed regarding the different textual traditions of the LXX without merely referring to "the" LXX in an unqualified manner;¹⁰²
- (e) similarities between the readings (and the thought world) of Philo and Hebrews need to be taken into account in comparative studies on the quotations in Hebrews.

⁹⁶ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, loc. cit.

⁹⁷ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, loc. cit.

⁹⁸ M. Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer. Kapitel 1,1 – 5,10* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 20/1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002).

⁹⁹ M. Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer. Kapitel 5,11-13,25* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 20/2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008).

¹⁰⁰ U. Rüsen-Weinhold, "Septuagintapsalter im NT," loc. cit.

¹⁰¹ N. Fernández Marcos is correct when saying: "It is difficult to overestimate the impact made by the finds from the Desert of Judah on the understanding of the history of the biblical text and more particularly on the early history of the LXX and its relationship to the Hebrew text" (*The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 70).

¹⁰² See, for instance, G.J. Steyn, "Which 'LXX' are we talking about in New Testament Scholarship? Two examples from Hebrews," in M. Karrer & W. Kraus (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008) 697-707.

The purpose of this study is thus an attempt to address (at least some of) these gaps in the research by investigating the unresolved matter of the origin(s) and version(s) of the Vorlage(n) that were utilised for the explicit quotations in Ad Hebraeos. It is an attempt to continue the quest for the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. This study does not pretend to be comprehensive at all, or to propose answers to all or most of the questions asked here, but merely to be another step along the journey, and one that – hopefully – will contribute to a continuing discussion on the origin and text form of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. The focus of this investigation is thus more on the “quest” than on the “*Vorlage*. ”

5. Strategy and methodology for the investigation

This investigation will attempt to follow a scientific approach by (a) collecting the available evidence, (b) analysing and comparing the available evidence at hand, (c) describing the results of the comparative analysis, and (d) evaluating those results with great caution in the light of the question which drives this experiment. It was argued above that this question regarding the possible *Vorlage(n)* that were used by the unknown author of Hebrews for his quotations, consists of two dimensions. The first deals with the selection and origin of the specific passages that were chosen by the NT author, and the second with the specific version (text form) of those readings. Whereas *a tradition-historical approach* is needed in order to deal with the author’s selection and the origin of his quotations, a *text-critical approach* will be needed in order to investigate the specific version (text form) of a particular quotation. These two analytical tools will thus be utilised to gain entry into the ancient author’s availability of textual traditions. These existing traditions will then be studied by means of a comparative investigation in order to identify the closest possible textual parallels to the text of the quotations in Hebrews. The focus of this research project is thus more inclined to be a historical critical one – focusing thus mainly on the *text* of the quotations, i.e. *what* the author quoted, *where* he might have found this material and *what* the reading might have looked like – rather than on the function of these quotations within the context of Hebrews, i.e. *why* he quoted it.

Historical critical investigations usually deal in the first instance with the text critical component and then move on to the traditional historical part. These two steps are presented deliberately in reversed order for the purposes of this particular investigation. It seems logical in the light of the quest for the *Vorlage* to first make some general remarks about the OT passage itself as well as to identify previous occurrences of the same passage in pre-Hebrews

literature – being that in early Jewish or in early Christian sources. By collecting such parallel occurrences, the investigation only then naturally moves into the text critical terrain. These identified textual parallels are thereafter being investigated text critically.

5.1 The tradition historical dimension of the investigation

The purpose of the tradition historical dimension of this investigation is twofold. Firstly it wants to provide a few basic remarks pertaining to the OT passage itself – especially with regard to its literary and historical context. As this investigation is not primarily an OT study, these remarks are being kept to the bare minimum. However, the intention is that they should provide some background on the OT passage that might be of importance for the quest about the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. Secondly, this dimension wants to identify some important textual parallels – particularly occurrences of the very same explicit quotation – elsewhere in early Jewish and early Christian literature prior to the time of Hebrews.

5.2 The text critical dimension of the investigation

Emmanuel Tov¹⁰³ distinguishes two stages in the work of textual criticism proper: firstly the collecting and reconstructing of variants, and secondly the evaluation of these. These stages could also be applied to the quest for the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. Possible variants and readings of a given quotation will therefore be collected, investigated and evaluated. The witnesses under consideration will mainly be those listed in the critical apparatus of the text editions and will be supplemented with the oldest available textual witnesses since the publication of the eclectic editions, namely papyri and the DSS fragments. As one small step in the journey of this quest, the focus will be pre-Hexaplaric. Furthermore, it will not pursue later recensions or translations (such as the Latin, Coptic, or Syriac). Analyses in this regard (mainly commentaries on Hebrews) often discuss, from a methodological point of view, the variant readings all together – whether they relate to the MT, LXX or NT. They very seldom systematically differentiate the evidence in the different categories. This study will attempt to differentiate structurally and methodologically between differences in readings between the MT and LXX, readings between the LXX witnesses themselves, readings amongst the NT witnesses, and then comparing the previous variants with those of the NT text. The underlying rationale for this is the assumption that if another

¹⁰³ E. Tov, *The Text-Critical use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 34.

Vorlage might underlie the explicit quotations, then *the eclectic, critical and reconstructed OT and NT texts cannot merely be compared with each other, but rather that all the witnesses of both the OT and NT texts should be compared with each other.*

(a) *The problem regarding uncritical comparisons of eclectic texts and “the” LXX*

The quest for the textual witnesses (version) that might show the closest resemblance to the explicit quotations in the book of Hebrews, is an extremely technical journey. No satisfactory and complete text critical editions (eclectic or critical texts) of “the” Septuagint (LXX)¹⁰⁴ are available that incorporate the readings of all the available manuscripts to date – including the DSS – that can be used to compare the quotations with. The situation is even worse when it comes to the Psalms – which counts for almost half of the quotations in Hebrews. The eclectic text edition of the LXX Psalms and Odes, compiled by Alfred Rahlfs as the oldest in the Göttingen series,¹⁰⁵ it is outdated and of very limited value for the Greek text of the Psalms. Albert Pietersma has, however, done extensive work on the Greek Psalms since Rahlfs’ edition. In particular his “Present state of the critical text of the Greek Psalter” provides a helpful description of the state of affairs and the limitations of Rahlfs’ edition.¹⁰⁶ Since Rahlfs’ eclectic text was published, a list of textual witnesses became available so that “numerous papyri and parchments have been added to the 50 that he (Rahlfs) cites in his *Psalmi cum Odis*.¹⁰⁷ For instance, LXX Ps 101:27 (quoted in Heb 1:10-12) is listed as one of those passages where Rahlfs’ edition selected a reading with “extremely slender support” as being the Old Greek reading.¹⁰⁸ Many of these finds from the DSS are, unfortunately, not of much use for the investigation of the text of the Psalm quotations in Hebrews. In cases such as 4QPs^f (4Q88),¹⁰⁹ for instance, nothing of the discovered material overlaps with the Psalm quotations in Hebrews. More important finds, however, were PChBeat XIII (2149) and PBod XXIV (2110).¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, the fact is that a mass of information and research on the text of

¹⁰⁴ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Which ‘LXX’,” 297-307.

¹⁰⁵ It all started with A. Rahlfs’ *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* in 1907, which led to the first eclectic LXX edition that appeared in 1931, the second in 1967, and the third unrevised edition in 1979.

¹⁰⁶ For a critical discussion on this edition, see A. Pietersma, “The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter”, in A. Aeijmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (MSU XXIV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 12-32.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. A. Pietersma, “Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 26.

¹⁰⁸ A. Pietersma, “Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 26.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich & P.W. Flint, “A Scroll Containing ‘Biblical’ and ‘Apocryphal’ Psalms: A Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^f (4Q88),” *CBO* 60 (1998) 267-282.

¹¹⁰ A. Pietersma, “Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 14.

the Psalms has been made available the last few years.¹¹¹ The new LXX Psalms volume, that is currently being revised and updated, will most probably only be available in the next decade!¹¹²

Even with regard to the critical text of Hebrews itself, one is faced with the fact that the latest manuscript findings, such as POxy LXVI (P^{114}) that contains Heb 1:7-12, or PVindob G 42417 (P^{116}) that contains Heb 2:9-11, were not yet available at the time when the latest printed Greek NT text editions were compiled and these textual witnesses have thus not been incorporated into NA27.

After the publication of Alfred Rahlfs' "Septuaginta" in 1935 a printed standardised "Septuagint" edition became available which the current generation of scholars could hold in their hands and refer to as "the LXX." Although supplemented by codices A and \aleph , it was based mainly on Codex B, which is only *one* fourth century text, a mixed one¹¹³ and certainly "not to be trusted" in at least Isaiah.¹¹⁴ Septuagint scholars have thus warned that "(s)imply citing a diplomatic text, such as the text of Codex Vaticanus or of Codex Alexandrinus, is basically misleading, since it gives the impression that the LXX is being cited...."¹¹⁵ At the most, "the LXX" can only technically be used as a collective term – but then again, in what form? Using a uniform name could lead to the idea that this is the work of a single hand.¹¹⁶ Therefore, "there is really no such thing as *the Septuagint*" and the name "is used to refer to several quite different things."¹¹⁷ Septuagintists thus present a range of possible meanings when scholars use the term without qualification, confirming "that different meanings left undifferentiated in a dialogue or conversation about exegesis in the body of literature generally called 'the Septuagint' can lead to confusion, misunderstanding and unnecessary controversy."¹¹⁸

Identified and unidentified quotations in the NT are now usually studied by comparing the NT Greek eclectic text with the printed editions of "the LXX" – which for all practical

¹¹¹ Cf., for instance, A. Aeijmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Die Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); F. Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 96.

¹¹² So according to the late U. Quast in 2003 during a personal discussion on this issue in Göttingen, when he indicated that such a revised volume would not be available in the next 10 years.

¹¹³ M.K.H. Peters, "Why Study the Septuagint?" *BAR* 49 (1986) 174-181, on p. 175.

¹¹⁴ M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning. An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, 1983), 70.

¹¹⁵ J.W. Wevers, "An Apologia for Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 18 (1985) 16-38, on p. 21.

¹¹⁶ E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 474.

¹¹⁷ K.H. Jobes & M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 30.

¹¹⁸ A. Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits," in W. Kraus & R.G. Wooden (ed.), *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (Atlanta: SBL, 2006) 33-46, on p. 34.

reasons is Rahlfs' edition – assuming “that they are citing a text very close to the original Septuagint.”¹¹⁹ NT exegetes and commentators boldly point out that most of these quotations were “taken from the LXX” and they assumed many times, implicitly or explicitly, that this “LXX” was identical to that of Rahlfs’ 1935 edition – quoting from it and comparing its printed text with that of the NT reading of NA or the UBS. But one cannot discuss differences between “the LXX” and the NT quotation without firstly having established the different textual possibilities available to the NT author during the course of his writing.¹²⁰

A fundamental methodological mistake is thus often made by a number of NT scholars when they simply compare the eclectic printed text editions of the Greek NT and that of Alfred Rahlfs' printed Septuagint edition (or for that matter the Göttingen editions) with each other. Very often when they find differences between the printed readings of the Greek NT quotation and that of “the” LXX reading, they would ascribe these to the hand of the NT writer, arguing why the author would have made such changes to his text. This is not only an unscientific approach, but also an intolerable situation, as it leads to all sorts of theological assumptions that are based on assumed “changes” that the NT writer made. In many cases however, these so-called changes can simply be explained as existing alternative textual traditions that were probably utilised by the author. They might represent an already existing textual version that contained these supposed “changes” and which might have existed alongside the textual traditions.

(b) Complexities regarding the text of Hebrews itself

Having hinted at the difficulties facing the researcher to make sense of the diversity of texts – particularly within a textual theory which supports a multiplicity of texts, it also needs to be stated that the NT text itself (Hebrews in this case), is not without its own difficulties. Just to mention one example: The possible inclusion of λέγει κύριος after ἀνταποδώσω in Heb 10:30a is supported by the second corrector of Codex **x**, Codex A, the second corrector of Codex B, the majority text, minuscules b r, the manuscripts of the Vulgate, the Syriac Harclensis and the Sahidic manuscripts. The exclusion of the phrase is supported by P¹³ (vid. P⁴⁶), the originals of codices A and B, majuscules P, Y, minuscules 6 33 629 1739 1881 and a few others, the Latin witnesses, Peshitta, Sahidic manuscripts and Boharic manuscripts. The NT text of NA27 preferred the latter reading with the exclusion of the phrase. Koch pointed out that Paul preferred to add this phrase in Rom 12:19 and the fact that Hebrews omits it,

¹¹⁹ W.W. Combs, “The Transmission-History of the Septuagint,” *BSac* 146:583 (1989) 255-269, on p. 255.

¹²⁰ Cf. also A. Pietersma, “Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues,” *VT* 35 (1985) 296-311.

proves for Koch that the quote in Heb 10:30 cannot be ascribed to Paul as author.¹²¹ The text of Hebrews thus also needs to be carefully constructed with the available text critical evidence. Only after this has been done, can one start to compare the reconstructed Hebrews' text with the available OT/LXX (and other available) textual variants.

(c) Acknowledging the complexities

The text critical aspect of this investigation is thus a highly complex area of research that focuses in this instance on the interface between the OT (Hebrew Bible and LXX), on the one hand, and the NT textual criticism, on the other hand. Both areas have their own textual theories and textual traditions that ought to be kept apart as neatly as possible. It proves, however, not to be easy once one gets involved with the number of text readings and the diversity of text theories and manuscripts. One of the issues that often complicates the matter is, for instance, that later translations or recensions of the LXX, which were influenced by Christianity, changed their readings in order to correspond with the readings of those known quotations in the NT documents. An example of the conducting and documenting of such complicated inter-connectivity between the text variants is found in Koch's contribution on Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17b, Gal 3:11 and Heb 10:38a.¹²² This investigation of Koch could serve as both a model and as a case study of how to go about dealing with this problem.

This area deals thus with the text critical analysis of the readings in Hebrews and lists the possible source texts, or available intertexts, used for each specific explicit quotation. The major question to be asked remains the question about *what* the author quoted, i.e. what textual *version* is the closest to the particular quotation? This is vitally important in order to trace possible text traditions, such as the Alexandrian tradition, for example. It might hold clues for the origin of Hebrews itself. Due to the particular aspect of the research problem that is being dealt with here, i.e. establishing the *Vorlage* of these quotations, the weight of the investigation will be in the area of this text critical interface.

5.3 Hermeneutical adaptation of the quotation by the author of Hebrews

It was argued above that most studies in the past paid more extensive attention to the *function* of the explicit quotation within the context of Hebrews, than was paid to its *origin* and *textual*

¹²¹ D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 77, n. 96.

¹²² D.-A. Koch, "Der Text von Hab 2 4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament," ZNW 76/2 (1985) 68-85.

form – thus emphasis is placed upon the NT author’s hermeneutical adaptation of the quoted texts. It would also be unscientific, however, to completely ignore that functional dimension in this quest for the *Vorlage*. Especially the introductory formulae, but also the author’s adaptation of the quotation within its new context, might hold some clues – or might serve at least as controlling mechanism – regarding the role of his own hand during the process of using and applying his sources.

(a) *Introductory formulae*

The introductory formulae of the NT quotations contain important information regarding the author’s use and interpretation of Scripture.¹²³ It often serves to express the authority of a quotation. Introductory formulae were widely used by Judaism¹²⁴ and there is a clear overlap between the NT introductory formulae and those employed at Qumran and by Philo of Alexandria. The author of Hebrews prefers to introduce his explicit quotations with verbs of saying rather than with verbs of writing.¹²⁵ Using forms of λέγω, the author links his quotations to God, the Son or the Holy Spirit (Heb 3:7; 10:15). It was not an unknown practice to quote OT statements that were not made by God in their original contexts, as if they were indeed utterances of God.¹²⁶ Verbs of *saying* in introductory formulae were usually used in the prophetic circles of the Hebraists, whilst verbs of *writing* were usually used in the prophetic circles of the Hellenists.

(b) *Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation*

At the end of the discussion of each quotation, a very brief attempt will be made to understand the quotation within its new context – particularly with regard to the author’s interpretation of the passage.

¹²³ E. Tönges confirms this when saying: “These *formulae quaestionis* are important when we ask how Hebrews transforms the biblical texts and how it uses them to show that Jesus is the redeemer of the world” (“Jesus Midrash,” 96).

¹²⁴ E.E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity. Canon and Interpretation in the light of Modern Research* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 79.

¹²⁵ Cf. Plato’s *Phaedrus* (274b-277) where he warned that written words are dead and cannot answer back. True philosophy, however, is a live activity.

¹²⁶ Cf., for instance, Matt 19:4 which cites Gen 2:24, and Acts 13:34 which cites Isa 55:2.

6. Pairs of quoted texts and the structure of this investigation

Despite all the issues that are addressed and the appeal to its readers, a major part of Hebrews centres around two major christological themes: The first deals with “the Son as King” (Heb 1:1 – 4:13) and the second with “the Son as High Priest” (Heb 4:14 – 10:18). If it is assumed that the quotations form the backbone of the book and if the book is stripped from all its “flesh” so that only these quotations themselves remain, then an interesting pattern unfolds. There are 34 explicit quotations in Hebrews that can be clearly identified.¹²⁷ Some of these quotations appear more than once – either as part of the author’s commentary on those very same passages (Pss 95[94]:5-7; Ps 110[109]:4; Jer 31[38]:33-34), or others (Ps 2:7) as being merely utilised with a different emphasis at another place in the author’s exposition. If these repetitive quotations are excluded, then this actually leaves one with 26 different quoted texts – including the paraphrase of Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-3.

A closer look at the relation of the quotations within Hebrews’ argument reveals that *these quoted texts seem to appear in combinations, consisting of a pair of two quoted texts that deal with a particular theme or motif.*¹²⁸ To this one might add the combination of Ps 2:7 and 110:4 (both repetitive quotations), which presents a list of 28 quoted texts, or 14 pairs. The combination of quotations is often introduced with a single verb (e.g. Heb 1; 2:12; 4:4; 10:30).¹²⁹

The issue of authority might have played a role here. As two witnesses testify to a case, the quoted texts in pairs would certainly provide authoritative support to each of the 14 topics as addressed by the author. There are different possibilities for dividing these sets of quotations. It is unclear whether the intention might have been a 7 + 7 structure – which is likely in the light of the catena in Heb 1 that also lists 7 quotations. Interesting in this regard would be that the division between the two sets of seven lets the first set ends with two Psalm quotations and the second set begins with two Torah quotations (both from Genesis). Against this possibility one finds the closely-knit argument about the priesthood of Melchizedek that

¹²⁷ F. Schröger (*Verfasser*, 95) also includes Num 12:7 in Heb 3:2, 5, but this is doubtful. A clearly defined and consciously presented introductory formula is absent and similarity in wording with regard to Num 12 should rather be regarded as an allusion.

¹²⁸ G. van den Brink made a similar observation: “(het)...valt ons op dat de schrijver meerdere keren twee of meer teksplaatsen aanhaalt om zijn uitspraak te bewijzen.” He reckons that the technique of using a combination of passages was probably developed on the basis of the principle of Deut 19:15, which points to the confirmation of an issue by two or three witnesses (“De schrift zegt of de Schrift fantaseert? (2) Het gebruik van het Oude Testament in Hebreeën,” in A.G. Knevel, et.al. (ed.), *Bijbel en Exegese. Verkenningen in de katholieke brieven en Hebreeën* (Theologische Verkenningen 7; Kampen: Kok Voorhoeve, 1993) 211-217, on p. 211.

¹²⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 110.

runs across the two pairs of quotations (Ps 2:7 + Ps 110[109]:4 and Gen 22:17 + Gen 14:17-20) and which is connected with the repetitive use and application of Ps 110(109):4.

Furthermore – and unaccounted for in such a 7 + 7 division – would be the fact that the great division in Hebrews is usually taken to be between Heb 7 and Heb 8, which would then, in turn, actually provide for an 8 + 6 structure. Against this option would be the fact that pairs seven and eight actually belong with the rest of the second set that deals with the priesthood. It seems more acceptable to consider a structure of 6 + 2 + 6, though, which would account for both sets (the Son as King and the Son as Priest) – with the two pairs of quoted texts in the middle forming a convenient hinge between the first and the last sets.

If the author's preference for ring compositions is being kept in mind, then his intention might have been to form an *inclusio* with the quotation from Ps 2:7¹³⁰ within the first section that deals with the Son as King. Its combination with Ps 110(109):4 links the first christological section (the Son as King) with the second section (the Son as High Priest),¹³¹ which, in turn, ends with the quotation from Ps 118(117). It is not the intention of this investigation to discuss all the possibilities regarding the structure of Hebrews. Moreover, the issue has been covered extensively in secondary literature.¹³² The intention here is, however, to use only the explicit quotations and their related themes as criterium. This lets the following scenario unfold:

Quotations	Theme
Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam 7:14/1 Chr 17:13	Appointment as royal Davidic Messiah on the throne (1:5)
Deut 32:43 (Ode 2) + Ps 104:4	Angels serving the ruling Son (1:6-7)
Ps 45:7-8 + Ps 102:26-28	Eternal reign of the Son vs transitory creation (1:8-12)
Ps 110:1 + Ps 8:5-7	Exalted King and submission of all (1:13; 2:6-7)
Ps 22:23 + Isa 8:17, 18	Hymn of the “Pioneer of Salvation” (2:12-13)
Ps 95:7-11 + Gen 2:2	Ultimate rest (3:1 – 4:13)
Ps 2:7 + Ps 110:4	Appointment as High Priest – like Melchizedek (5:5-6)

¹³⁰ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Psalm 2,” 262-282.

¹³¹ The classic division consists of three sections: Heb 1:1 – 4:13; Heb 4:14 – 10:31; Heb 10:32 – 12:13 / 13:25.

¹³² See, for instance, B.C. Joslin, “Can Hebrews be Structured? An Assessment of Eight Approaches,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6/1 (2007) 99-129; G.H. Guthrie, *Structure of Hebrews*, loc. cit.; S. Stanley, “The Structure of Hebrews from Three Perspectives,” *TynB* 45 (1994) 245-271; J. Swetnam, “A Possible Structure of Hebrews 3,7–10,39,” *Melita Theologica* 45 (1994) 127-141; J. Swetnam, “The Structure of Hebrews,” *Melita Theologica* 43 (1992) 58-66; J. Swetnam, “The Structure of Hebrews: A Fresh Look,” *Melita Theologica* 41 (1990) 25-46; B. Lindars, “The Rhetorical Structure of Hebrews,” *NTS* 35 (1989) 382-406; D.J. MacLeod, “The Literary Structure of the Book of Hebrews,” *BSac* 146:582 (1989) 185-197; J. Bligh, “The Structure of Hebrews,” *Heythrop Journal* 5 (1964) 170-177.

Gen 22:17+ [Gen 14:17-20+]¹³³ Ps 110:4 Promise: Abraham and Melchizedek (6:13 – 7:28)

Exod 25:40 + Jer 31:31-34	Cultic worship and the covenant (8:5, 8-12)
Exod 24:8 + Ps 40:7-9	Cultic worship and sacrifices (9:20; 10:5-7)
Deut 32:35, 36 + [Isa 26 +] Hab 2:3-4	Judgment: punishment (10:30) vs righteousness (10:37-8)
Gen 21:12 + Prov 3:11	Testing faith: Abraham (11:18) and believers (12:5-6)
Deut 9:19 + [Ps 18(17) +] Hag 2:6.21	Law on Sinai: shaking earth (12:21) and heaven (12:26)
Deut 31:6 / Gen 28:15 + Ps 118:6	God's imminent presence and support (13:5-6)

Those quoted texts from the *first set* of seven pairs of quotations are almost exclusively from the Psalms, with the exception of the following: 2 Sam 7:14; Deut 32:43; Isa 8:17-18 and Gen 2:2. However, as was argued earlier and except for the latter, these quotations also belong to a hymnic tradition so that all those from the first section seem to have been taken from a hymnic context, pointing to possible liturgical undertones.

The quoted texts from the *latter set* of seven pairs of quotations follow the following pattern of combinations: Torah+Psalm; Torah+Prophet; Torah+Psalm; Torah+Prophet; Torah+Prov; Torah+Prophet; Torah+Psalm. The book ends with a quotation from Ps 118 – a well-known liturgical text used during the Jewish feasts – and opened with the remark that God “spoke in the past through the prophets.” It is not impossible, but highly unlikely that the author used an existing “testimony book” for these quotations. More likely are the liturgical connections that were made by scholars such as Kistemaker. Known existing liturgies from Jewish groups that withdrew from society, such as the Sabbath liturgy (Angel Liturgy,¹³⁴ or Sabbath Sacrifices) with its thirteen Sabbaths, discovered amongst the DSS, come to mind here.¹³⁵ The similarities between these pairs of quoted texts with their themes and the themes found in the Sabbath, might point in the direction of a similar group that could have shared a similar *theology* (such as their view on angels, the temple, Sabbath, covenant, etc.), as well as sharing similar *hermeneutics* and techniques of re-interpretation of Scripture (such as *pesharim*, etc.). Apart from noting these similarities, however, no concrete evidence exists that might connect the readers of Hebrews with such a Jewish group and any such connection would thus be speculative.

¹³³ Gen 14:17-20 should rather be taken as a paraphrase than seen as an explicit quotation. See G.J. Steyn, “The *Vorlage* of the Melchizedek phrases in Heb 7:1-4,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 13 (2002) 207-223.

¹³⁴ For a possible implied correction of an askewed christology, cf. G.J. Steyn, “Addressing an angelomorphic christological myth in Hebrews?” *HTS Theol Studies* 59(4) 1107-1128.

¹³⁵ See G.J. Steyn, “The eschatology of Hebrews as understood within a cultic setting,” in J.G. van der Watt (ed.), *Eschatology in the New Testament* (2009), forthcoming.

In dealing with the Vorlage of the quoted texts in Hebrews, the ground plan for the presentation of this investigation endeavours to follow the identified underlying pattern of identified pairs of quoted texts with their accompanying themes as listed above. It is hoped that by doing so, the chronological context in which these quotations appear can be taken into account, as well as that of the topic, or theme to which it testifies, could sufficiently surface in order to follow the author's intended sequence of themes.

7. Some practical matters

A *summary* about the findings regarding the *Vorlage* of each particular quotation is provided and also a brief *conclusion* at the end of the discussion during the investigation on each of the explicit quotations. In this manner, the flow of the argument and the main conclusions following from the study of each particular quotation could be followed. Scriptural *references* are presented by using the MT numbering system as the primary reference with that of the LXX indicated in brackets, e.g. Ps 110(109):1 or 2 Sam (2 Kgdms). References to the DSS are provided with both reference systems in parallel, e.g. 4QFlor (4Q174). In order to keep the flow of the main text as smooth as possible, *footnotes* are used extensively as a second concurrent text where the references to, opinions of, and engagement with the secondary literature takes place. A smaller font is used at some places in the argumentation where the information is interesting, but not directly relevant for the argument.

Chapter 2

Eschatological motifs of a royal Davidic messiah 4QFlor and the combination of Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 in Heb 1:5

Heb 1:5

Τίνι γὰρ εἰπεν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων·

νῖός μου ει σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε; (Ps 2:7)

καὶ πάλιν.

ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς νίόν; (2 Sam [2 Kgdms] 7:14)

The very first two quotations (Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam [2 Kgdms]¹ 7:14) of the catena of seven quotations in Heb 1, are linked with πάλιν and presented together as a pair, probably as the result of the *gezerah shewah*² technique by which quotations were joined³ through verbal analogy and catchword association.⁴ The other quoted texts in Hebrews are also presented in pairs as was pointed out at the beginning of this investigation. This first pair of quotations confirms the status of the Son in his relation to the Father. This is done by presenting the quotations as Divine speech, thus confirming the status of the Son by God himself.⁵ It is significant that in both cases these oracles are introduced in their OT context as sayings of “the Lord”⁶ (Κύριος εἰπεν πρός με, Ps 2:7a; Τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, 2 Sam 7:8). The argument runs along the lines of Christ inheriting a name superior to the angels (Heb 1:4), which is now identified to be the name νῖός⁷ – based on the evidence of the quotations from Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14.

¹ For the sake of simplicity, reference will only be made constantly to 2 Sam in this chapter and not to 2 Sam (2 Kgdms). However, each of these references assumes the parallel reference to the LXX text as well, unless indicated otherwise.

² H.W. Bateman, “Two First-Century Messianic Uses of the OT: Heb 1:5-13 and 4QFlor 1.1-19,” *JETS* 38/1 (1995) 11-27, on p. 17; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in G.K. Beale & D.A. Carson (ed.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007) 919-995, on p. 929. Other instances of the technique might be identified in the quotations from Deut 32:43 and Ps 45(44):7-8 in Heb 1:6, 8-9 (H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 17); Ps 95(94):11 in Heb 4:7-11 (R.N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975] 181-182; and Ps 2:7 + Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5:5-6 (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 24-25).

³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 76; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27.

⁴ Similar G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 925. Cf. also G.J. Brooke: “It becomes apparent from the use of the catchword techniques that the interpreter was commonly aware of the context from which any particular citation was taken and usually that context was treated with respect” (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* [London: SPCK, 2005], 66).

⁵ E. Grässer, *An die Hebräer. 1.Teilband. Hebr 1-6* (EKK XVII/1; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1990), 72.

⁶ Already observed by B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 20.

⁷ Also J.W. Thompson, “The Structure and Purpose of the Catena in Heb 1:5-13,” *CBQ* 38 (1976) 352-363, on p. 355; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 42.

Both quotations pick up on the theme of Davidic messianism⁸ with its hope and expectation of a “messiah-king” who would appear.⁹ These passages have already been quoted before in 4QFlor (4Q174) in connection with the very same theme of Davidic messianism – the only differences being that 4QFlor quoted verse 1 of Ps 2,¹⁰ whilst Heb 1:5 quoted verse 7,¹¹ and that there is no *direct* combination of the quotations in the midrash-chain. Florilegia can be defined as collections of quotations that were compiled from different sources, with a number of possible reasons why these were compiled. The principal fragments of 4QFlor contain passages from Deut, 2 Sam and the Pss, as well as exegetical commentaries on those passages that interpret their significance for “the last days.” The scriptural passages in 4QFlor were thus “brought together on the theme of ‘the end of days’,”¹² which is similar to the point of departure by the author of Hebrews: ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων (Heb 1:2). This points to the eschatological nature of both documents. 4QFlor (Column 1, fragments 1 – 3 of 26 fragments that were found in cave 4) starts with references and a discussion of 2 Sam 7:10-14. Apart from the fact that the combination of quotations from 2 Sam 7, Isa 8 and Ps 2 occur in both 4QFlor and Heb 1, it is also striking that a number of these motifs surface later in Hebrews again:

Motif	4QFlor (4Q174)	Hebrews
<i>the last days</i>	I 2, 12, 15, 19	1:2
<i>a place/house/sanctuary</i>	I 1, 2, 3, 6, 10	8:2, 5; 9:1, 2, 8, 12, 24, 25; 10:19; 13:11
<i>rest</i>	I 7	3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11
<i>forever</i>	I 3, 4, 5, 11	1:8; 5:6; 6:20; 7:3, 17, 21, 24, 28; 13:8, 21
<i>throne / kingdom</i>	I 3, 10	1:8; 4:16; 8:1; 11:33; 12:2, 28
Text combination: 2 Sam 7 + Isa 8 + Ps 2	2 Sam 7:10-14 + Isa 8:11 + Ps 2:1	Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam 7:14 + Isa 8:17, 18

It is particularly the eschatological focus (“the last days” and “forever”) and the kingship motif (“throne” and “kingdom”) that appear in both 4QFlor and Heb 1. The motif of a future ideal temple (“a place,” “house”), or eschatological sanctuary, to be established by God and

⁸ So also H. van Oyen, *De Brief aan de Hebreëën* (Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach N.V., 1962³), 15.

⁹ Apart from Ps 2 and 2 Sam 14, also texts such as Jer 23:5-6, Balaam’s Oracle in Num 24:17, and Ps 89:27-28 were linked to this expectation. Interesting is the occurrence of “Son of God” for the king who is to come in 4Q246 (The Aramaic ‘Son of God’ text). Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 50.

¹⁰ Cf. Acts 4:25-26 where Ps 2:1 occurs in the NT.

¹¹ Additional to these and to Ps 89:27-28, T. Elgvin also refers to the following DSS texts that support this particular view of a Davidic or messianic king who would have been designated in the end-time as God’s beloved son: 4Q246 (4QapocrDan ar) II (:7?); 1 En. 105:2 and 4Q369 (4QPrayer of Enosh) 1 ii 6 (T. Elgvin, “Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475,” in D.W. Parry, & E. Ulrich (ed.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* [Leiden: Brill, 1999] 576-591, on pp. 586-587).

¹² J.G. Campbell, *The Exegetical Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 33.

from which non-Israelites will be banned in 4QFlor 3.2b-5a, probably corresponds to the divinely constructed temple as mentioned in the Temple Scroll (11QT^a [11Q19] 29:9) – a similar motif that is also to be found later in Heb 9:11. The community thus perceived themselves to be this future divinely established sanctuary.

1. Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 and 5:5¹³

Heb 1:5-14 presents a list of seven explicit quotations, testifying to the author's reasons why Jesus is different than the angels. It is a catena of scriptural citations, mostly from the Psalms, which opens with a rhetorical question (*Tίνι γὰρ εἰπεν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων;*) and also ends with a rhetorical question (1:14), thus forming an *inclusio*.¹⁴ It has been argued that these seven quotations are arranged in three groups of two plus the concluding final quote.¹⁵ The first group (1:5) consists of two citations (Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 / 1 Chr 17:13) which provide evidence for Jesus' divine sonship and thus points to the unique Father-Son relationship.¹⁶ “The first is a declaration *to* the Son (‘You are my son’) and the second a declaration *about* the Son (‘I shall be a father to him and he shall be a son to me’).”¹⁷ These two quotations are particularly joined together by means of the keywords “Son” (*υἱός*) and “I” (*ἐγώ*). The quotations stand in a chiastic, or ring composition, thus forming a perfect antithetical parallelism here. In both of them the subject is intended to be the Father (speaking in the first person), and the object addressed, is the Son.

Ps 2:7 (Heb 1:5)

- A. υἱός μου ει σύ,
- B. ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε

2 Sam 7:14 (Heb 1:5)

- B. ἐγώ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα,
- A. καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν

¹³ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Psalm 2,” 262-282.

¹⁴ Also G.H. Guthrie, *Structure of Hebrews*, 77; C. Koester, *Hebrews* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 191. G.W. Buchanan called this a poem, but there is no evidence to accept this (*Hebrews*, 16).

¹⁵ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8* (WBC 47A; Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 24.

¹⁶ Similarly A. Cody: “Hebrews applies the two Old Testament passages quoted to show the divine proclamation of Christ’s Sonship” (*Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews* [St. Meinrad: Grail Publications, 1960], 102).

¹⁷ G.H. Guthrie, “OT in Hebrews,” 846.

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 The combination Ps 2 + 2 Sam 7

The combination of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 is probably one of the most significant pairs of quotations in the first section of Hebrews: “These verses have ‘Davidic King’ written all over them.”¹⁸ The quotation from Ps 2:7 is epexegetically linked in Heb 1:5 with 2 Sam 7:14¹⁹ and linked in Heb 5:5 with Ps 110(109):4. The subject matter of Heb 1:5-13 agrees closely with that of 4QFlor which quotes 2 Sam 7:10-14 (1 Chr 17:13ff.), Ps 2:1 and Isa 8:11 as part of its list²⁰ – all three chapters are to be found in Heb 1 – 2. Ps 2:1 is last on the list in 4QFlor (10:18-19) and is followed by its own pesher. It is not the same verse (Ps 2:1), however, which is quoted in Heb 1:5, but the author of Hebrews starts his list with the quotation from the same Psalm (Ps 2:7). Furthermore, 4QFlor 1 starts with a quote from 2 Sam 7:10-14, which is listed secondly (2 Sam 7:14) by the author of Hebrews.²¹ It can be assumed that by the time Hebrews was written, both these texts (Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7) were already familiar messianic texts²² that were brought together by the early Jewish tradition and built upon by the early Christian tradition.²³ The presence of the same key word in two different texts could serve like a magnet, drawing those texts together.²⁴ The word *víóς* is the key word which pulled Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 together. This is a typical characteristic of the style of Hebrews to work with such *Stichwörter*, or key words.

Necessary caution should be taken not to see the linked quotation of Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 as a direct and an already existing written combination that was known to the author of Hebrews, implying a literary dependence by Hebrews. The practice of an intertextual exegetical tradition might be envisaged here.²⁵ The fact that both passages (Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7) refer to “son” in a royal context might be due to either a common source (not excluding oral tradition)

¹⁸ D.R. Anderson, *The King-Priest of Psalm 110 in Hebrews* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 285.

¹⁹ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 75.

²⁰ Cf. E. Lohse (ed.), *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung, 1971) 255-259; J.M. Allegro & A.A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158 – 4Q186)* (DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 53-55. Other texts quoted there are: Exod 15:17-18; Amos 9:11; Ps 1:1 and Ezek 37:23.

²¹ Also J. De Waard pointed to the connection between Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 in the DSS and in Heb 1:5 (*Comparative Study*, 81-82). For more differences between 4QFlor and Heb 1, see L.D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. Its background of thought* (SNTS. MS 65; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 63-64.

²² E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 76; W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 25; D. Goldsmith, “Acts 13:33-37, a Pesher on II Samuel 7,” *JBL* 87 (1968) 321–323.

²³ Similar G.J. Brooke, “Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” in M.E. Stone & E.G. Chazon (ed.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 35-58, on p. 41.

²⁴ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 25; R.W. Thurston, “Midrash and ‘Magnet’ Words in the New Testament,” *EvQ* 51 (1979) 22-39; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 61-64, 78.

²⁵ G.J. Brooke, “Intertextual Interpretations,” 41.

that was used by both 4QFlor and Hebrews, or simply as the result of their independent exegetical interpretation of the very same biblical passages.

Artistically arranged in the form of a chiasmus, the first and last lines of the two quotations “concern sonship and frame the second and third lines, which speak of paternity.”²⁶ The list of quotations starts then with a quotation from Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 which is quoted concerning the Son, in order to illustrate the exceptionality of Jesus Christ and his exalted position above that of the angels: νίός μου ει σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηνηκά σε. The author quotes it later for a second time in his work at Heb 5:5, in order to praise Jesus’ role as High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek. It is linked in that context with a quotation from Ps 110(109):4.²⁷ The rabbis apparently also listed Ps 2:7-8; Ps 110(109):1 and Dan 7:13-14 together.²⁸ The author of Hebrews, interestingly, does not use the same quotation from the same Psalm in a uniform manner in Heb 1:5 and 5:5, but applies it in different ways.²⁹ In both places it refers to the exaltation, but in 5:5 the author can be read as saying: the one who said Ps 2:7 likewise also said Ps 110(109):4.

1.1.2 Background regarding Ps 2³⁰

Psalm 2 has no heading in the LXX.³¹ It is one of the few Psalms (in the first of the five subdivisions or books of the Psalms) to which the name of David was not attached.³² It belongs to those Psalms (1–41; 84–89; 90–150) that speak of “the Lord”³³ rather than of “God” and belong (with Ps 45[44], 72[71] and 110[109]) to the group of “royal Psalms”³⁴ – i.e. those Psalms written about or by the king, which in some instances might refer to the

²⁶ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 25.

²⁷ It is interesting that the Hebrew word יְהִי is to be found in both Ps 2:7 and in Ps 110(109):3 – the only places in the MT. The LXX translators, however, did not use the γεγένηνηκά σε of Ps 2:7 again in Ps 109:3 (LXX), but rather ἐξεγένησά σε.

²⁸ G.W. Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 13.

²⁹ Cf. W.S. Prinsloo, *Van Kateder tot Kansel* (Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel, 1984), 45.

³⁰ For a discussion on the origin and theology of Ps 2, see E. Zenger, “Wozu tosen die Völker...?” Beobachtungen zur Entstehung und Theologie des 2. Psalms,” in E. Haag & F.-L. Hossfeld (ed.), *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Heinrich Groß* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1986) 495–511. Also F. Hartenstein, “Der im Himmel thront, lacht” (Ps 2,4). Psalm 2 im Wandel religions- und theologiegeschichtlicher Kontexte,” in D. Sänger (ed.), *Gottessohn und Menschensohn* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 67; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004) 158–188.

³¹ This is striking, as this royal Ps could have pointed to a connection with David (C. Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion des Psalters. Studien zu Entstehung und Theologie der Sammlung Psalm 2-89* [CTM 19; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1999], 89).

³² Others are Pss 1, 10 and 33 (J.K. West, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, 1981], 440).

³³ Cf. J.K. West, *Introduction*, 440.

³⁴ See, for instance, J.K. West, *Introduction*, 35; C. Vriezen & A.S. van der Woude, *De Literatuur van Oud-Israel* (Katwijk aan Zee: Servire BV, 1980), 265; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 35; C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 99; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 111.

specific occasion of the king's coronation.³⁵ The author of Hebrews quotes from all of these royal Psalms, except from Ps 72(71).³⁶ The royal Psalms use the word נִשְׁמַח “anointed” for the king of Israel – a term that was translated in the LXX by χριστός. An interesting parallel regarding the institution of the king is found in connection with the Pharaoh, the Egyptian king, as son of a god. In an inscription for Ramesses II the god says: “I am your father, who has engendered you as god in order that you be king of Upper and Lower Egypt on my throne.”³⁷ Furthermore, in Ps 89(88):27 the same formula is found and the meaning is equivalent, presented with interchanged subjects and without the *Stichwort* υἱός, simply reading: πατήρ μου ει σύ.³⁸ The verses following in Ps 89(88), vv. 28-35, deal with the Lord's covenant love towards the house of David.³⁹

Thus one might assume that Psalm 2 deals with “the moment at which someone is made king by God on Mount Zion (cf. v.6: ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιων ὅρος τὸ ἄγιον αὐτοῦ).”⁴⁰ It has been argued similarly that the affirmation of Ps 2 “...should be understood as a formula of adoption asserting that, at his coronation, Israel's king of the Davidic line was made the heir of God's kingdom and was made his representative and ruler over the nations (Ps 2:8-9).”⁴¹ The Psalm is thus embedded within the “context of the Davidic covenant in which Yahweh promised David that his line would endure forever (2 Sam 7:8-16; Ps 89).”⁴² The ideals of Davidic kingship came to be interpreted messianically with time.⁴³ Psalm 2, therefore has its closest *Sitz-im-Leben* in the lively messianic

³⁵ F.F. Bruce and others suspect that Ps 2:7b-9 “preserved the text of the coronation liturgy used by the Davidic dynasty” (*Hebrews*, 11).

³⁶ Kraus also includes Pss (18), 20, 21, 89, 101, 132, 144:1-11 as part of this group of royal (enthronement) psalms, and see the only distinctive feature of these psalms to be “that the central figure in them is the king, the Κτλ or βασιλεύς” (C.E. Cox, “Schaper's Eschatology Meets Kraus's *Theology of the Psalms*,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* [JSOT Suppl Ser 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001] 289-311, on p. 305).

³⁷ Cf. G. Roeder: “Pharaoh ruled in the place of his divine father. He obviously had to answer for his father's possessions with which he had been entrusted” (*Urkunden zur Religion des alten Aegypten* [Religiöse Stimmen der Völker 4; Jena: Diederichs, 1915] 158-59). Also J. Fossum, “Son of God,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 128-137, on p. 128.

³⁸ Also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 116.

³⁹ See G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 928.

⁴⁰ A. van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Psalms and the First Book of Maccabees,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Suppl Ser 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 229-247, on p. 242.

⁴¹ R.E. Clements, “Use of the OT,” 39. Also T.N.D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah* (Lund: Gleerup, 1976), 259.

⁴² R.B. Allen, *When Song Is New: Understanding the Kingdom in the Psalms* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1983), 157.

⁴³ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 446.

expectation of the post-exilic congregation,⁴⁴ but follows the form and style of a “Königslied.”⁴⁵

In addition to this, the theme of 2 Sam 7:16 (which was taken up in 2 Sam 23:1-7), is reflected in many other references and allusions later in the OT literature, particularly in the royal Psalms themselves. A royal theology has thus developed which saw the king as God’s adopted and anointed son⁴⁶ – “messiah of Yahweh” is the terminology which is used in Ps 2:2b – with mount Zion as God’s holy hill and resting place forever, the place of Yahweh’s throne. This hope of a royal Davidic messiah in early Judaism continued within the messianic expectation of a future deliverer,⁴⁷ which gives it an eschatological dimension.⁴⁸

The messianic-king therefore owes his status to God’s covenant with him (2 Sam 23:5) – a covenant in which the terms (“I will be his father, and he shall be my son,” 2 Sam 7:14)⁴⁹ are parallel to the terms of the covenant with Israel (“I...will be their God, and they shall be my people,” Jer 31[38]:33).⁵⁰ Thus it is important that in Ps 2:7 God addressed the *enthroned* King as his Son⁵¹ and that the Psalm was interpreted messianically. Traces of this can also be seen in the later Syrian exegetical tradition, which accepted Ps 2 as one of four messianic Psalms.⁵²

⁴⁴ An opinion fairly widely accepted. See also J. Becker, “Die kollektive Deutung der Königspsalmen,” in U. Struppe (ed.), *Studien zum Messiasbild im Alten Testament* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 6; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1989) 291-318, on p. 305.

⁴⁵ A. Deissler, “Zum Problem der Messianität von Psalm 2,” in U. Struppe (ed.), *Studien zum Messiasbild im Alten Testament* (Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände 6; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1989) 319-330, on p. 330.

⁴⁶ An adoption formula seems to occur in Ps 2:7 (“you are my son”; cf. Gen 48:5, “your two sons. . .are mine”). A similar phrase appears in an Elephantine adoption contract (E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), no 8).

⁴⁷ Cf. J. Becker, “Kollektive Deutung,” 305; J.K. West, *Introduction*, 241.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. Becker: “Der Psalm ist im Grunde ein Zionslied eschatologischer Ausrichtung...” (“Kollektive Deutung,” 313).

⁴⁹ The ritual formula itself is found in Ps 2:7 (E. Fuchs, s.v. σύμπερον, in G. Friedrich (ed.), *TDNT* VII [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964], 271).

⁵⁰ D.W.B. Robinson & A.R. Millard, “Sons (children) of God,” in D.R.W. Wood (ed.), *The New Bible Dictionary* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1962³) 1122-1123, on p. 1122.

⁵¹ Cf. J.P. Meier, “Structure and Theology in Heb 1,1-14,” *Bib* 66 (1985) 168-189, on p. 177; C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 101.

⁵² K.D. Jenner, “Syrohexaplarische und proto-syrohexaplarische Zitate in syrischen Quellen außer den individuellen Exemplaren des syrohexaplarischen Psalters,” in A. Aejmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 147-173, on p. 155.

1.1.3 The use of Ps 2 in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Psalm 2 is one of the Psalms that is most frequently quoted or alluded to in the NT⁵³ and was one of the texts known for its messianic interpretation.⁵⁴ The following traces of the use of Ps 2 amongst the early Jewish⁵⁵ and early Christian authors can be identified:

- Verses 1-2 is quoted in 4QFlor (4Q174) 1:18-19. It is the last in a list of seven quotations preserved on the DSS fragment and is expanded upon with an added midrash. It is also quoted in Acts 4:25-26 as part of the prayer that was prayed by Peter and John who refer to this passage as the Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of their father David. The introductory formula states that the author professes the normativity of Scripture by acknowledging that it is the Holy Spirit who spoke these words, but who does so through the mouth of the Lord's servant, David, their father. Here it is connected with the conspiracy against the Lord's "holy servant Jesus." Herod, Pilate, the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel were all aligned against the true kingdom of God.⁵⁶
- Verse 7 is quoted in Acts 13:33 in connection with Christ's *resurrection*.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that this verse is used differently by the author of Hebrews – and differently at both places where it is quoted as well (1:5; 5:5).⁵⁸ Hebrews uses it with its formula of adoption in Heb 1:5 to indicate the veritable *sonship* of Jesus – "that he who came was not an angel but the divine Son."⁵⁹ Jesus stands in a unique relationship of sonship with God. Furthermore, within the preceding context it became clear that this Son had been given an exalted status: he is appointed heir of all things and the universe was made through him (1:2); he is the radiance of God's glory and is the exact representation of God's being (1:3); he sits at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven (1:3) and the name he inherited is superior to that of the angels (1:4). God thus "addresses the *enthroned* King as Son."⁶⁰ When the author of Hebrews quotes Ps 2:7 a second time in Heb 5:5, he applies it in

⁵³ So also P. Maiberger, "Das Verständnis von Psalm 2 in der Septuaginta, im Targum, in Qumran, im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament," in J. Schreiner (ed.), *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung – Psalm 2 und 22*, (FzB 60; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988) 85-151, on p. 113.

⁵⁴ C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 191.

⁵⁵ Cf. A. Steudel, "Psalm 2 im antiken Judentum," in D. Sänger (ed.), *Gottessohn und Menschensohn* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 67; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004) 189-197.

⁵⁶ So E.R. Dalglish, "The Use of the Book of Psalms in the New Testament," *SWJT* 27/1 (1984) 25-39, on p. 32.

⁵⁷ H.W. Attridge finds the first allusion to Ps 2:7 with regard to Jesus' resurrection already in Rom 1:4 ("Psalms in Hebrews," 200).

⁵⁸ For a discussion on Ps 2 in Hebrews, see K. Backhaus, "Gott als Psalmist. Psalm 2 im Hebräerbrief," in D. Sänger (ed.), *Gottessohn und Menschensohn* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 67; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004) 198-231.

⁵⁹ E.R. Dalglish, "Psalms in the NT," 32.

⁶⁰ J.P. Meier, "Structure and Theology," 177.

another sense. This time it is done to prove God's vocation to the office of High Priest and to connect the *High Priesthood* of Christ with Melchizedek. The golden thread that runs through all these applications, however, is that Ps 2:7 is applied in a *messianic* manner⁶¹ and, more precisely, in the sense of Christ's exaltation.⁶²

- Possible allusions of Ps 2:7 are to be found during Jesus' annunciation (Luke 1:32),⁶³ his baptism⁶⁴ (Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11 and Luke 3:22⁶⁵ with the same reading,⁶⁶ Acts 4:25ff.),⁶⁷ his temptations (Matt 4:3, 6; Luke 4:3, 9), transfiguration (Mark 9:7; Matt 17:5; Luke 9:35; 2 Pet 1:17), as well as in the Nicodemus episode (John 1:49).⁶⁸

A brief look at the post-Hebrews *Jewish tradition* reveals the interesting interpretation of Ps 2:7 in the *Midrash Tehillim* with connections to Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:13-14.⁶⁹ The post-Hebrews *Christian tradition* confirms the continuing importance of this Psalm. Ps 2:9 is quoted in Rev 2:27 (where it is connected to the ruling of the nations by those who will overcome), as well as in Rev 19:15. Ps 2:7-8 is also quoted in *1 Clem* 36:4 and in Just. *Dial.*

⁶¹ So also R. Rendall, "Method of the Writer," 215.

⁶² Cf. also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 53; J.P. Meier, "Structure and Theology," 176.

⁶³ So also, amongst others, R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews* (Reformed Expository Commentary; Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2006), 28. S. Kistemaker, however, reckons that it is rather 2 Sam 7:14 which lies behinds this allusion (*Psalm Citations*, 20).

⁶⁴ E. Grässer thought that an implied reference to Jesus' baptism is unlikely, due to a different interpretation of the same quotation in Heb 5:5 ("Hebräerbrief 1938-1963," 52, n.2). Similarly W. Kahl: "...beinahe gegensätzliche Funktionen..." regarding the occurrence of Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 and in 5:5 ("Psalm 2 und das Neue Testament," in D. Sänger (ed.), *Gottessohn und Menschensohn* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 67; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004) 232-250, on p. 246).

⁶⁵ Only found in the Western textual tradition. C.H. Dodd observed that "(i)t is conceivable that Luke gave the full form here as in Acts 13:33, and that the prevailing textual tradition assimilated it to Mark 1:11" (*According to the Scriptures* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1953), 32). So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 18.

⁶⁶ S. Kistemaker pointed out that the same reading is to be found in the Ebionite Gospel (*Psalm Citations*, 19).

⁶⁷ Possibly also Heb 7:28 should be added in this regard. Cf. P. Maiberger, "Psalm 2," 113.

⁶⁸ According to C.J. Breytenbach, "Mehrere Stellen im Markusevangelium, besonders in der Passionserzählung, aber nicht nur in ihr" – referring here to Mark 1:11 (Ps 2:7); Mark 4:32 (Ps 104:2); Mark 8:31 (eventually Ps 118(117):22); Mark 8:37 (Ps 49:8f.); Mark 11:9, 10 (Ps 118:25; 148:1) – "lassen sich als Anspielungen auf Psalmtexte lesen und auslegen" ("Das Markusevangelium, Psalm 110,1 und 118,22f. Folgetext und Prättext," in C.M. Tuckett, (ed.), *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETHL CXXXI; Leuven: University Press, 1997) 197-222, on pp. 199-200).

⁶⁹ "The children of Israel are declared to be sons in the decree of the Law, in the decree of the Prophets, and in the decree of the Writings: In the decree of the Law it is written *Thus saith the Lord: Israel is My son, My first-born* (Ex. 4:22). In the decree of the Prophets it is written *Behold My servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high* (Isa. 52:13), and it is also written *Behold My servant, whom I uphold; Mine elect, in whom My soul delighteth* (Isa. 42:1). In the decree of the Writings it is written, *The Lord said unto my lord: 'Sit thou at My right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool'* (Ps. 110:1), and it is also written *I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the Ancient of days, and he was brought near before Him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him* (Dan. 7:13, 14)." Translation taken from W.G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 40-41.

122:6, whilst only verse 7 of Ps 2 is found in the Ebionite Gospel (fr. 4) and in Just. *Dial.* 88:8, 103:6.⁷⁰

The quotation from Ps 2:7 that occurs in Heb 1:5 and 5:5 found its way into Hebrews via the early Jewish and early Christian traditions. Earlier Jewish scribes had reflected deeply upon the question of the identity of the Son referred to at places such as Ps 2:7.⁷¹ There is no clarity as to when exactly the messianic interpretation of this Psalm started, but by the time of the early Christian church this hermeneutical bridge was already built. One of the so-called Psalms of Solomon (*Ps. Sol.* 17), a middle to late first century B.C.E. collection of 18 Greek Psalms present in Codex A, testify to the fact that the Jews had set their hope on a future Davidic king. The heading of *Ps. Sol.* 17 refers to it as “Of the king.” He is described as God’s “anointed” (messiah) and stands in opposition to the non-Davidic Hasmonean dynasty. He is not a divine figure but a warrior-king who will subdue all other nations. Scholars already drew attention in the past to the similarities between *Ps. Sol.* 17 and Ps 2 LXX:⁷²

Ps Sol 17,24 announces that the Messiah (cp. Ps Sol 17,21.32) will execute his punishment ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, which constitutes an exact parallel to Ps 2,9 LXX. It also takes up the verb συντρίβειν used in Ps 2,9, just as much as Ps Sol 17,23 uses vocabulary evidently borrowed from the same verse (ὡς σκεύη/σκεῦος κεραμέως). The action taken by the Messiah leads up to judgment (Ps Sol 17,26.29), analogous to the course of Ps 2 that ends with a treat to the ‘kings’ (cp. the similar threat in Ps Sol 17,22).⁷³

1.1.4 More similarities between *Ps. Sol.* 17 and Hebrews

Some further elements in *Ps. Sol.* 17 thus also seem familiar when compared with Hebrews:

a. **Kingship and Sonship motifs:** ἀνάστησον αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν νιὸν Δανίδ (“raise up unto them their king, the son of David,” *Ps. Sol.* 17:21); καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κυρίου (“their king, the anointed of the Lord,” *Ps. Sol.* 17:32). In Hebrews, the “Son” is introduced as being at the right hand of God, the Supreme Power, in a position in

⁷⁰ B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions to Jewish Scripture in Early Christian and Jewish Writings through 180 C.E.* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 67.

⁷¹ R.E. Clements, “Use of the OT,” 38. Similar F. Siegert: “In Jerusalem regierte kein Gesalbter; man dachte also mehr oder weniger zwangsläufig an einen künftigen Messias” (*Hebräischer Bibel und AT*, 298).

⁷² Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 17; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 92; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 12; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 112.

⁷³ See J. Schaper for a comparison in this regard (*Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* [WUNT II/76; Tübingen: Mohr, 1995], 75).

which God himself has appointed him.⁷⁴ The quotations from Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 testify to God who appointed Jesus as his Son (Heb 1:5)⁷⁵ – applying the term “son” directly upon Jesus.⁷⁶ He is therefore the “Son of God”⁷⁷ and the “Christ.”⁷⁸ God said of the Son that his kingdom would last forever and ever (Heb 1:8, quoting Ps 45:6-7). He is now seen as being crowned with glory and honour (Heb 2:9) and is faithful as the Son in charge of God’s house (Heb 3:6), portrayed as a righteous king (Heb 7:2).

b. Inheritance and Sinners motif: *ἐξωσαὶ ἀμαρτωλοὺς ἀπὸ κληρονομίας* (“*thrust out sinners from the inheritance,*” *Ps. Sol.* 17:23). In Hebrews, the “Son” is the one who was appointed as “heir of all” (*κληρονόμον πάντων*, Heb 1:2). He hates what is wrong (Heb 1:9, quoting Ps 45:6-7) and has been set apart from sinners (Heb 7:26). However, he is also the one who leads to salvation (Heb 2:10; 9:26; 10:12) and purifies people from their sins (Heb 2:11; 10:14). An appeal is made to the readers of Hebrews not to be stubborn as their ancestors were (in the words of Ps 95, quoted in Heb 3:8ff., 4:3,5), so that their hearts are not evil and unbelieving and finding themselves turning away from the living God (Heb 3:12). They should not be deceived by sin and become stubborn (Heb 3:13). God made a promise that they may receive the “rest” that he spoke about (Heb 4:1). Their ancestors, who did not follow this promise and obeyed it, received the punishment that they deserved (Heb 2:2). The teaching of eternal judgment is a familiar part of the first lessons of the Christian message (Heb 6:2). Those who oppose God will have to deal with the coming Judgment and the fierce fire that will destroy them (Heb 10:27).

c. Righteousness and Righteous King motif: *ἀφηγήσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρινεῖ φυλάς λαοῦ* (“*he shall lead in righteousness and he shall judge the tribes,*” *Ps. Sol.* 17:26); *καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς δίκαιος διδακτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτούς* (“*he shall be a righteous king,*” *Ps. Sol.* 17:32). The author of Hebrews portrays Jesus as a “king of righteousness” (Heb 7:2) based on the order of Melchizedek. He rules over his people with justice (Heb 1:8, quoting Ps 45[44]:6-7). God will take revenge, will repay, and will judge his people (Heb 10:30) if they are disobedient. However, those who endure the suffering, punishment and tests will reap the peaceful reward of a righteous life (Heb 12:11). It is after all God who is the

⁷⁴ Cf. Heb 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2.

⁷⁵ “Die größte Wirkung und Bedeutung für das Christentum aber erlangte Ps 2 dadurch, daß er eine der Quellen war für die Hoheitstitel ‘Messias’ und ‘Sohn Gottes’” (P. Maiberger, “*Psalm 2*,” 118).

⁷⁶ P.-G. Müller, “*Funktion der Psalmzitate*,” 234.

⁷⁷ Cf. Heb 4:14; 5:8; 7:3; 10:29.

⁷⁸ Cf. Heb 3:6, 14; 5:5; 6:1; 9:11, 14, 24, 28; 10:10; 11:26, 31; 13:8, 21.

Judge of all humanity (Heb 12:23) and who will judge those who are immoral and commit adultery (Heb 13:4).

d. Sons of God motif: ὅτι πάντες νίοι θεοῦ εἰσιν αὐτῶν (“they are all sons of their God,” *Ps. Sol.* 17:27). In Hebrews, reference is made to Jesus who was made perfect through suffering in order to bring many sons to share his glory (Heb 2:10). (Note the reading, πάντες νίοι θεοῦ, which is in exact agreement with the phrase in Deut 32:43 LXX, whereas Ode 2:43 and Heb 1:6 read πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ. Cf. the discussion on this matter in the next chapter of this study).

Thus, the above similarities between *Ps. Sol.* 17 and Ps 2 do not imply that the author of Hebrews used *Ps. Sol.* 17, rather it shows that at the very least the same theology was at work in both contexts.⁷⁹ This theology was the seedbed in which such passages were messianically understood and christologically applied in terms of Jesus.

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Ps 2:7

Looking at the *corpus* of textual witnesses amongst both the Greek and Hebrew witnesses, there are no variant readings amongst either of these groups with regard to the reading of Ps 2:7.⁸⁰ According to the existing, but unsatisfactory,⁸¹ eclectic Psalms text edition of Göttingen,⁸² the LXX reading of Ps 2:7 shows no signs of textual variation in any of its existing witnesses.⁸³ The same is true for the Hebrew readings.

Amongst the DSS, there are two fragments that contain the text of Ps 2:7, namely 11QPs^c (=11Q7, containing Ps 2:6-7), and 3QPs (=3Q2, containing Ps 2:1-8). The readings are in exact agreement with our known Hebrew readings from the MT.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ F.F. Bruce aptly formulated as follows: “On the eve of Christ’s coming the Psalms of Solomon and the Qumran texts alike attest the eagerness with which the son of David was expected” (*Hebrews*, 14).

⁸⁰ So also G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago: Moody Bible Press, 1983), 57.

⁸¹ See the discussion in Chapter 1 of this investigation and the critical assessment of the situation by A. Pietersma, “Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 12-32.

⁸² A. Rahlf, *Psalmi cum Odis: Septuaginta vol. X* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979³).

⁸³ Regarding differences between the Syriac witnesses on Ps 2:7, see K.D. Jenner, *Syrohexaplarische und proto-syrohexaplarische Zitate*, 156, 163. Also R.J.V. Hiebert, “The ‘Syrohexaplaric’ Psalter: Its Text and Textual History,” in A. Aejmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 123-146, on p. 144. For the *Georgian* translation and its difference with the LXX regarding Ps 2:7, see A. Kharanauli, “Einführung in die georgische Psalterübersetzung,” in A. Aejmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 248-308, on pp. 257, 292, 295.

⁸⁴ Confirmed by D.L. Washburn, *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Text-Critical Studies 2; Atlanta: SBL, 2002), 86.

Ps 2:7 MT	11QPs ^c (11Q7) ⁸⁵	3QPs (3Q2) ⁸⁶	Ps 2:7 LXX PChBeat XIV (2150), XV (2151)
אָסְפֵּרָה אֶל חַק יְהוָה אֲמִרָּא לְיַהְוָה בְּנֵי אָתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלֹדוֹתֶיךָ :	אָסְפֵּרָה אֶל חַק יְהוָה אָמַר אֶל־יְהוָה בְּנֵי אָתָּה [אֲנִי הַיּוֹם] יְלֹדוֹתֶיךָ :	אָסְפֵּרָה אֶל חַק יְהוָה אֲמַר אֶל־יְהוָה בְּנֵי [יְהוָה] אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלֹדוֹתֶיךָ :	διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου Κύριος εἰπεν πρός με νίός μου ει σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηνηκά σε

Turning to the Greek witnesses, the earliest complete editions are those of codices **x** and **B** from the 4th cent. C.E., as well as that of Codex A from the 5th cent. C.E.⁸⁷ Greek papyri that ought to be considered alongside these, regarding the text of Ps 2:7, include the 4th cent. C.E. PChBeat XIV (2150), which contains Ps 2:1-8,⁸⁸ the early 4th cent. C.E. PChBeat XV (2151), consisting of seventeen fragments that contain Pss 1-4, including the section Ps 2:5a-8b,⁸⁹ and the 3rd cent. C.E. PLitLond 204, Inv. nr. 2556 (Ra 2051), which contains Ps 2:3a-7b.⁹⁰ The reading of the latter is identical to PChBeat XIV and XV. Little can be said about the affiliation of PChBeat XIV because of its fragmentary state and brevity, and it seems unlikely that any variant readings here give evidence to Hebrew influence.⁹¹ The reconstructed text agrees with that of the previously reconstructed LXX reading, except for the known Hellenistic morphological alternative τῷ (πρόσταγμα) which is used in 2150 for the τῷ of the other witnesses.⁹²

Two interesting morphological features of ithacism are to be seen earlier in the fragment containing Ps 2:1-2 – i.e. in the section which is quoted in Acts 4:25-26. Firstly the use of the *eta* in the place of the *epsilon*, e.g. ηφρυαχαν for ἐφρύαξαν, ημ[ε]λη[τησα] κηνα: παρηστισα[ν] for ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν, [αρχοτ]ης for ἀρχοντες. Secondly the use of the *iota* or diphthong ει for the *eta*, e.g. παρηστισα[ν] for παρέστησαν, γις for γῆς, συνηχθεισαν for συνήχθησαν.

⁸⁵ Text taken from F. García Martínez; E.J.L. Tigchelaar; A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 53.

⁸⁶ Text taken from M. Baillet; J.T. Milik & R. De Vaux, *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 94.

⁸⁷ On the Greek text of the Psalms, see A. Pietersma, “Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 12-32; A. Cordes, “Der Septuaginta-Psalter? Zur Geschichte des griechischen Psalmentextes und seiner Edition,” in E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter. Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte* (HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001) 49-59.

⁸⁸ Cf. D. Fraenkel, *Septuaginta – Vetus Testamentum Graecum Supplementum. Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Bd. I,1, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) 105-106; also <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypapist.html>.

⁸⁹ Cf. D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 106-107; <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypapist.html>; A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis (Including Fragments of the Greek Psalter)* (Cahiers D’Orientalisme VII; Genève: Patrick Cramer, 1984), 81.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Catalogue of the literary papyri in the British Museum: P.Lond.Lit., Nr. 204* (British Museum, 1927), 166-167. See also <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypapist.html>; D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 219-220.

⁹¹ A. Pietersma *Two Manuscripts of the Greek Psalter in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin* (Analecta Biblica 77; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 38.

⁹² See also in this regard the work of F.C. Conybeare & G.W.J. Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Brothers, 1981).

When one compares the Hebrew textual tradition with the Greek textual tradition, as in the table above, there is a striking difference in the readings *between the Greek and Hebrew* traditions with an added κύριος earlier in the Greek text. It is not quoted here in Heb 1:5 and 5:5, or in Acts 13:33. Neither is it preserved in 2150, although assumed in the reconstruction of the text there. The Hebrew could be translated as: “I will declare the decree of the Lord. He said to me: You are my son. I have begotten you today” (Ps 2:7 MT; 3Q2:1). The Greek could be translated as: “Declaring the decree of the Lord: *The Lord* said to me: You are my son. I generated you today” (Ps 2:7 LXX). In all three places where Ps 2:7 is quoted explicitly in the NT (Acts 13:33; Heb 1:5 and 5:5) only the formula with the direct words of the Lord is quoted, so that it is not known which of these traditions the NT authors knew or consulted. The words of Ps 110(109):1 come to mind here: “The *Lord* said to my *Lord*.” Could this have led to the connection between Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109):1 that is to be found in the NT? Or was this reading of Ps 2:7 influenced on the basis of the reading according to Ps 110(109):1? Scholars have pointed out that the so-called λέγει Κύριος quotations,

... are for the greater part familiar with the temple typology. This pattern of testimonia constitutes the connection between Acts 7,49; Acts 15,16ff; the concatenation 2 Cor 6,16ff and Heb 8,8-12; 10,16f; 10,30. No doubt it originates from a pre-canonical testimonia tradition. Since these λέγει Κύριος texts are in form identical with or related to Qumran texts we should consider whether they could have their origin in Qumran.⁹³

This certainty (“no doubt”) about a “pre-canonical testimonia tradition” should, however, be approached with great caution. As long as this intends oral traditions, one would be on the safe side. No evidence of a common collection of written early Christian testimonia – similar to that of 4QFlor (4Q174) or 4QTest (4Q175) – has been found to date.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:5 and 5:5

According to the text critical edition of NA27, there are no alternative readings in any of the known NT manuscripts regarding the text of this quotation in both Heb 1:5 as well as in that of Heb 5:5.

⁹³ J. De Waard, *Comparative Study*, 82 n.2. Similar E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 107.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 2:7 in Acts 13:33, Heb 1:5 and 5:5

The quotation from Ps 2:7 was dealt with elsewhere in the context of the first Pauline speech of Acts 13:33⁹⁴ and it was concluded that “(t)he Greek translation of the LXX is a complete, identical and true translation of the Hebrew, and the quotation in Ac 13 (as well as in Heb 1 and 5) agrees exactly with the text of the LXX.”⁹⁵ A comparison of the readings between Acts 13:33, Heb 1:5 and Heb 5:5 all agree with each other and are identical with the Ps 2:7 LXX reading of our known versions.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

Psalm 2 itself was known and combined with 2 Sam 7 in the early Jewish tradition, and it had messianic connotations. It is also clear from Luke’s quote in Acts 13 that this specific quotation from Ps 2:7 was known by the early Christian tradition. The quotation starts and ends at exactly the same point in Acts 13:33, Heb 1:5 and 5:5. The author of Hebrews could have found this quotation from Acts itself (which raises a question about literary dependency upon the Lukan writings), or both Acts and Hebrews could have found it from an early Christian tradition, maybe a “pre-testimonium” or “pre-florilegium” catenae of texts. Alternatively, the combination of Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 could have been connected in the oral tradition and been known – especially after the existence of the combination as found in 4QFlor.

The text reading of Heb 1:5 and 5:5 agrees with that of Acts 13 on the one hand, and in general with those of the LXX readings of Ps 2:7 on the other hand – the LXX versions which, in turn, are very close translations of the Ps 2:7 of the MT. The fact that the quotation reads the same in our known LXX versions, should not exclude the option that the reading also agrees exactly with that of the MT.⁹⁶ More caution is thus necessary in this regard and both options – LXX and MT – should be kept in mind in this regard.⁹⁷ Despite the fact that the occurrence of an additional κύριος in the Greek tradition (as found in PChBeat XIV) is not part of the quoted text in Heb 1:5 or 5:5, the connection between Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109) (as is found particularly in Heb 5:5) is an interesting connection in the light of these verbal

⁹⁴ Cf. G.J. Steyn for a discussion on this quotation (*Septuagint Quotations*, 169-176).

⁹⁵ G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 171. Cf. also H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 72; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 112; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, “Septuagintapsalter im NT,” 177.

⁹⁶ G.H. Guthrie reckons, however, that “This seems to point to Hebrews’ use of the Septuagint, since the two would be unlikely to translate the Hebrew in exactly the same way” (“Hebrews,” 927).

⁹⁷ Against NA27.

similarities. Furthermore, despite the fact that the phrase “son of God” does not appear explicitly in the quotation of Ps 2:7, this idea seems to create a natural connection between Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109) – and particularly so with regard to Ps 110(109):3. In the light of the evidence from the rest of the quotations in Hebrews and in the light of the connections between the two texts as stated here, one could perhaps cautiously prefer a LXX reading as *Vorlage* here.

Ps 2:8, the verse following the one that is quoted in Heb 1:5, was probably already alluded to in Heb 1:2.⁹⁸ This connection can be observed between Ps 2:8 (not quoted anywhere in Hebrews) with the references to “inheritance” (*κληρονομίαν*) and “possession” (*κατάσχεσίν*), and the terse *κληρονόμον πάντων* of Heb 1:2b.⁹⁹ Should it be accepted that this motif found its way from Ps 2 into Hebrews, then the implications lead to two aspects that need to be considered. Firstly, the choice of vocabulary and wordplay might point in the direction of the Greek Psalm, rather than that of the Hebrew. Secondly, potential influence raises questions about the fact whether the author of Hebrews knew only the quoted phrase from his early Jewish and Christian traditions, or whether he actually knew the broader context of the Psalm itself. There are in fact indications that the presence of various elements from Ps 2, which surface at other places in Hebrews, might point to the author’s broader knowledge of this Psalm.¹⁰⁰

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formulae

The quotation in Heb 1:5 is introduced by the words *τίνι γὰρ εἰπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγελῶν*, which is the beginning of a rhetorical question that ends in the next two quotations from Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14. These two quotations are joined by the words *καὶ πάλιν*.¹⁰¹ The subject of *εἰπέν* can only be God according to the preceding context¹⁰² – “thus imparting ancient

⁹⁸ So H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 160.

⁹⁹ J.P. Meier, “Structure and Theology,” 177.

¹⁰⁰ See K. Backhaus, “Gott als Psalmist,” 198-231. Also P. Ellingworth points to the implied contrast between earth and heaven, a reference to Zion probably understood as the heavenly Jerusalem, *χριστός* which is almost certainly understood as a reference to Jesus; the Son’s *κληρονομία*; God’s *παιδεία*; the phrase *πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ*; and possibly the dialogue between two heavenly beings (*Hebrews*, 112-113).

¹⁰¹ Cf. also Heb 2:13a.b; 4:5; 10:30; John 12:39; 19:37; Rom 15:10-12; 1 Cor 3:20.

¹⁰² So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 35; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 234. H.-F. Weiss wrote: “Eine Alternative zwischen der Schrift, oder Gott selbst als Subjekt der Rede besteht dabei für den Hebr nicht...” (*Hebräer*, 160).

authority to the dramatic speech.”¹⁰³ In fact, the motif of God “speaking” here is striking, starting in Heb 1:1 with λαλήσας and in 1:2 with ἐλάλησεν.

In Heb 5:5 the quotation is introduced by the sentence: Οὗτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἔαυτόν ἐδόξασεν γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ’ ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν. This follows as part of the author’s argument that no one can appoint himself, but that it is God who calls someone to the office of high priest, as with Aaron. Hence this is also the case with Christ. God called him, and the proof of this is found in the quoted words of Ps 2:7 which are interpreted as God’s institutional words for Christ’s appointment. The section from Ps 2:7 is simply quoted in both 1:5 and 5:5 without any commentary or further explanation.

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The author used the quotation from Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 not only as his opening quotation to the list of chain quotations on Christ’s superiority to the angels, but also as the opening quotation to his entire work. It is presented as being a statement of God himself regarding the status of the Son.¹⁰⁴ The quotations of, and allusions to, Ps 2 in pre-Hebrews times point to the fact that these words were probably not unknown to his readers.¹⁰⁵ They would also remind his readers about key events which dealt with the status of Jesus in the gospels.

The author of Hebrews started his document by saying that God spoke to them in these last days through the “Son.” The motif of the “Son” is picked up by the very first words that he would quote: νίος μον ει σύ.¹⁰⁶ The author of Hebrews used this quotation in a messianic sense as proof of the sonship of Jesus that is confirmed by God himself,¹⁰⁷ on the

¹⁰³ S.D. Mackie, *Eschatology and Exhortation in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (WUNT 223; Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 218.

¹⁰⁴ “After Christ’s period of humiliation and kenosis on earth, God has exalted Him and given Him a name He has not had before, a name above every other name, revealing His divine character fully, so that every tongue might confess His sovereignty, to the glory of the Father” (A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 90). S.D. Mackie is of the opinion that “It is more appropriate, however, to see in the exaltation a ‘confirmation of his existing position and status, rather than conferral of a new status’” (S.D. Mackie, *Eschatology*, 213). Also A.H.I. Lee, *From Messiah to Preexistent Son: Jesus’ Self-Consciousness and Early Christian Exegesis of Messianic Psalms* (WUNT 192; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005), 276.

¹⁰⁵ In the words of P. Ellingworth: “The application of Ps. 2 to Jesus as Messiah thus did not involve a radical break with Jewish exegetical tradition, but rather a natural continuation of a process which had already begun in pre-Christian times” (*Hebrews*, 112). Similar A.F.J. Klijn, *De Brief aan de Hebreeën* (De Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament; Nijkerk: G.F. Callenbach, 1975), 30.

¹⁰⁶ “Das Zitat führt den Adressaten in den innersten Bereich der biblisch-göttlichen Sprache ein...” (K. Backhaus, “Gott als Psalmist,” 216). G. Hughes calls Ps 2:7 the “key Old Testament testimony” for the reference to Sonship (*Hebrews and Hermeneutics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979], 14).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. F. Schröger: “Mit großer Selbsverständlichkeit bezieht der Verfasser den νίος des Psalmes auf den Messias Jesus” (*Verfasser*, 38).

one hand, as well as that the Son has a higher status than the angels, on the other hand.¹⁰⁸ It is thus interpreted and applied within the context of the Son's exaltation and is therefore used in a messianic-christological sense.¹⁰⁹

The OT idea of the king who is adopted as God's son is now transferred to Jesus and his exaltation by God. For some scholars, the use of the perfect tense for the son's inheritance ($\kappa\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$) in Heb 1:4, alludes to this point of adoption by using a more excellent name, the title "Son."¹¹⁰ Keeping in mind that the NT christology took shape after the Easter event, the use of the title "Son" as an official designation is closely linked to Christ's exaltation – particularly regarding his prime position at the right hand of God's throne (1:3). The royal Davidic kingship motif is thus referred to. The final fulfilment of the Davidic covenant will be taking place in the person of Jesus Christ as King. The King will take possession of his kingdom after the nations and enemies of Messiah are "shatter[ed] like earthenware" (Ps 2:9). The victory of the King and his kingdom is assured because the Father has bestowed on him the title "Son."¹¹¹

In Heb 5:5 the author applies the same quotation in connection with the high priesthood of Christ in order to prove that Jesus complies with the requirements for the high priesthood. He links it there with a quotation from Ps 110(109):4. In this manner, the author of Hebrews combines the kingship motif with the motif of the high priesthood.

The words "I became your Father," actually means, "to give birth to." It certainly does not have this literal meaning in Ps 2, nor in Heb 1:5 or 5:5, but rather means to institute someone in his office. It was applied to the king as God's son in Ps 2, but the author of Hebrews applies it to Jesus. This act of God's appointment of his Son takes place in a much more glorious manner, according to Hebrews' understanding, than with the appointment of human priests. Psalm 2 is thus christologically applied in the context of Heb 5:5.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ H. van Oyen aptly formulated that "Alleen de Zoon heeft middelaars- en heilsbetekenis" (*Hebreëën*, 14).

¹⁰⁹ So also P.-G. Müller: "Ps 2,7 wird also zur christologischen Argumentation herangezogen, und zwar im Rahmen zeitgenössisch möglicher messianischer Deutung" ("Funktion der Psalmzitate," 234); H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 157; H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit. Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters* [BBB 134; Berlin: Philo, 2002], 333). This is in agreement with E. Grässer who wrote: "Der Hebr setzt die prinzipielle 'Christlichkeit' des Alten Testaments voraus, entsprechend der eschatologischen Gesamtvoraussetzung seiner Schriftbenutzung, wonach auch das Alte Testament 'Wort des (präexistenten) Christus' ist (2,12-13; 10,5-7)" (*Hebräer I*, 72). Compare the NT perspective, however, with A. Deissler, "Problem der Messianität," 319-330.

¹¹⁰ T.K. Oberholtzer, "The Warning Passages in Hebrews. Part 1: The Eschatological Salvation of Hebrews 1:5-2:5," *BSac* 145/577 (1988) 83-97, on p. 85.

¹¹¹ T.K. Oberholtzer, "Warning Passages 1," 85. According to T.K. Oberholtzer, "though Christ received His royal dignity through the title 'Son' on the day of His enthronement, He has not yet received His millennial kingdom over which He will rule (Heb 2:8)" ("Warning Passages I," 85).

¹¹² Cf. P. Maiberger: "Unter diesem Aspekt ergab es sich geradezu wie von selbst, daß mit dem König und dem Gesalbten des Herrn in Ps 2 nur Jesus Christus gemeint sein konnte" ("Psalm 2," 114).

1.4 Conclusion

It was established during the *tradition historical* investigation that the author knew the quotation from Ps 2:7 via the tradition. There is clear evidence of quotations from this Psalm in the tradition. Apart from the fact that Ps 2:1 has been quoted in 4QFlor (4Q174) and in Acts 4:25-26, the early Christian tradition also pointed to the application of Ps 2:7 in particular, of which Acts 13:33 is an explicit example. Here the author made use of a text that already had messianic connotations as is clear from *Ps. Sol.* 17 and 4QFlor (4Q174). A “Testimony Book” hypothesis does not offer a convincing explanation of the quotation combinations with Ps 2:7. Firstly, because the author’s very own combinations differ in Heb 1:5 (combined with 2 Sam 7) and in Heb 5:5 (combined with Ps 110[109]:4). Secondly, the quotation is interpreted differently in the two instances where it occurs in Hebrews. Thirdly, there might possibly be knowledge of the broader context of Ps 2 by the author of Hebrews (e.g. Ps 2:8 in Heb 1:2b, and Ps 2:7 + Ps 110[109]:3 with the *hapax legomenon*).

During the *text critical* investigation, no differences were found between the readings of the MT, the DSS (3Q2, 11Q7), the LXX and the NT (Acts 13:33, Heb 1:5 and 5:5). It is a very brief quotation and was most probably not quoted directly from a written text, but from the author’s memory. This is not the case with all the explicit quotations in Hebrews. No commentary or further explanation on the quotation follows by the author of Hebrews – which, once more, is not the same as with some of the other explicit quotations in Hebrews.

On the *hermeneutical* level, regarding the application and interpretation of the quotation from Ps 2:7 in Hebrews, a few aspects became clear. The position of this quotation within the author’s work is important. He opens his document with the quotation from Ps 2:7 as the very first quotation, thus giving it a prominent position and emphasis, on the one hand, as well as referring here to a well known quotation from particularly the early Christian tradition. This is the same theme of divine Sonship that was used during Jesus’ baptism and his temptation. This christological connection is further being built upon. The quotation in Heb 1:5 is combined with 2 Sam 7 by means of the key word “Son,” so that both quotations are now applied to the status of the Son. In Heb 5:5 the connection is made with Ps 110(109):4 and Jesus is identified as the true Davidic King-Priest. The author of Hebrews has thus built upon the early Jewish messianic and early Christian interpretations of Ps 2:7. Whereas the gospels (starting with Mark 1:11) applied Ps 2:7 for the *earthly* Jesus, and Acts for the *resurrected* Jesus, Hebrews does so with regard to the *exalted* Jesus who now sits at the right hand of God.

2. 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 (1 Chr 17:13) in Heb 1:5

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding 2 Sam 7:14 (1 Chr 17:13), 1 Chr 22:10

Nathan's oracle,¹¹³ or prophecy,¹¹⁴ in 2 Sam 7 was a prominent *locus classicus* for the expectation of a promised future Davidic messiah during early Judaism – together with texts such as Num 24:17 and Isa 11:1ff. Some of the first traces of this tradition can already be observed in 1 Chr 17:13 and 22:7-10, which expressly cite 2 Sam 7:14.¹¹⁵ The Chronicler “rewrites 2 Samuel 7 as a perpetual promise for the institutions of the Davidic monarchy and the temple.”¹¹⁶ Both 2 Sam 7:14 and 1 Chr 17:13 refer to the Davidic covenant and its heir. The king, who wanted to build a sanctuary (“a house”) for the Lord, is told that his son will build this house instead.¹¹⁷

2.1.2 The use of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 (1 Chr 17:13) in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

The original intention of this promise relates to king David's son, Solomon. However, a transition from understanding this passage merely in the sense of *a* Davidic heir to that of *the* royal messianic heir is to be seen amongst the DSS in 4QFlor I, 11-12¹¹⁸ and its commentary on 2 Sam 7:11-14, which applies this passage to the royal messiah. The quotation, or rather “loose paraphrase,”¹¹⁹ is followed by the comment (pesher) that “he is ‘the shoot of David,’ who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law, who, [...] in Zi[on in the] last days.”¹²⁰

2 Sam 7:14 (1 Chr 17:13) is also quoted in the NT in 2 Cor 6:18 as part of a catena of quotations (and as part of the λέγει Κύριος quotations). Allusions to 2 Sam 7 might also be

¹¹³ C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 191.

¹¹⁴ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 41-42.

¹¹⁵ H.W. Hertzberg, *1 and 2 Samuel* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1979), 287.

¹¹⁶ W.M. Schniedewind, “Structural Aspects of Qumran Messianism in the Damascus Document,” in D.W. Parry & E. Ulrich (ed.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 523-536, on p. 535.

¹¹⁷ See also Jos. Ant. 7,92-93.

¹¹⁸ For the initial reconstruction and the text, see J.M. Allegro, “Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrashim,” *JBL* 77 (1958) 350-354; Y. Yadin, “A Midrash on 2 Sam. vii and Ps. i-ii (4QFlorilegium),” *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959) 95-98. For a discussion of the fragment, see G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran. 4Qflorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

¹¹⁹ D.L. Washburn, *Catalog*, 78.

¹²⁰ Cf. J.M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4*, 54. Also F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 14. According to Guthrie, “The dominant use of 2 Sam. 7 in Jewish sources seems to be to emphasize especially the dynastic permanence of David's line (4Q252 V,1-6; Sir 47:11, 22; Pss.Sol. 17:4)” (G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 929).

found in Luke 1:32-33, John 7:42 and in Rev 21:7. (The latter is not to be taken as a quotation in my opinion, but merely as an allusion). A comparison of some of these texts is represented in the following table:

2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14	2 Cor 6:18	Heb 1:5	Rev 21:7
ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ	<u>καὶ</u> ἔσομαι <u>ὑμῖν</u>	ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ	<u>καὶ</u> ἔσομαι αὐτῷ
εἰς πατέρα, καὶ	εἰς πατέρα καὶ	εἰς πατέρα, καὶ	<u>θεὸς</u> καὶ
αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι	<u>ὑμεῖς</u> ἔσεσθε μοι	αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι	αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι
εἰς νίόν	εἰς <u>νίοὺς</u> <u>καὶ θυγατέρας</u>	εἰς νίόν	<u>νίός</u>
	<u>λέγει κύριος</u>		
	<u>παντοκράτωρ</u>		

It is already clear from this comparison that 2 Cor 6:18 should rather be seen as a paraphrase of 2 Sam 7:14, whereas Heb 1:5 represents an identical reading to the LXX versions of this passage.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Alternative readings of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 / 1 Chr 17:13¹²¹

When comparing the Hebrew witnesses, the DSS Samuel fragments from cave 4 are of special interest and provide evidence of the Hebrew prototype for the LXX readings, which in turn, differs from those of the MT.¹²² 4QSam^b (4Q52) represents one of the oldest manuscripts found amongst the DSS and dates back to the end of the third century B.C.E.¹²³ That of 4QSam^h (4Q62) has been thought to exhibit a text superior to that of both the MT and LXX, whilst 4QSam^a (4Q51) seems to represent a text that is closer to the LXX and to that which was used by the writer of Chronicles. The MT is shorter than both 4QSam^a and the LXX, the latter two of which, in turn, are thus closer to each other.¹²⁴ It is also interesting to note that Josephus agrees with 4QSam^a in six places against the MT and the LXX. Furthermore, Josephus, 4QSam^a and the LXX share about three dozen readings against the

¹²¹ For a discussion of the Greek text of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles in general, see O. Wahl, *Die Sacra-Parallela-Zitate aus den Büchern Josua, Richter, 1/2 Samuel, 3/4 Könige sowie 1/2 Chronik* (MSU XXIX; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) – though none of the passages under discussion in this chapter of our study are represented there.

¹²² J.D. Shenkel identified four major stages in the history of the Greek text: (a) the Old Greek; (b) proto-Lucian; (c) the καίγε recension; and (d) the recension of Origen known as the Hexapla. Their importance regarding their Hebrew *Vorlagen* is self-evident (*Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [Harvard Semitic Monographs 1; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968] 5-21).

¹²³ J.W. Flanagan, “Samuel, Book of 1-2,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5 (Doubleday: New York, 1992) 957-965, on p. 958.

¹²⁴ See J.H. Charlesworth, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (DJD XXXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 227-228; <http://www.bibleandscience.com/archaeology/dss.htm> (accessed 9.12.07).

MT.¹²⁵ Unfortunately for this investigation, none of the extant fragments from 4QSam contain the text of 2 Sam 7:14. It breaks off at 7:6-7 and continues again from 7:22-29.¹²⁶ The other remaining comparative Hebrew text from the DSS is that of 4QFlor I:11.

4QFlor I:11 ¹²⁷	2 Sam 7:14 (MT)
אַנְיָ אֲהֵה לֹא לֶאֱבָ וְהַוָּא יְהִי לִי לְבָן	אַנְיָ אֲהֵה לֹא לֶאֱבָ וְהַוָּא יְהִי לִי לְבָן

The only difference between the MT and the reading of the quotation in 4QFlor is the spelling of לֹא (MT) and לֹא (4QFlor).¹²⁸

Turning to the Greek witnesses, the text of Hebrews' quotation is identical in both versions (2 Sam 7:14 and 1 Chr 17:13), with close similarities to that of 1 Chr 22:10. The latter seems to be a typical paraphrased form where the first and the second parts of the original version that are referred to, are interchanged. Interesting is the fact that some later minuscules begin the section in 2 Sam 7:14 with a καί – which is explained as a recursive reading from 2 Cor 6:18.¹²⁹

2 Kgdms 7:14 (LXX)	1 Chr 17:13 (LXX)	1 Chr 22:10 (LXX)
ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ	ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ	καὶ οὗτος ἔσται μοι
εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς	εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς	εἰς τὸν κάγὼ αὐτῷ
ἔσται μοι εἰς τὸν	ἔσται μοι εἰς τὸν	εἰς πατέρα

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:5

There are no variations to the text as it appears in NA27 and all the NT witnesses agree on the reading.

¹²⁵ See J.H. Charlesworth, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 229; <http://www.bibleandscience.com/archaeology/dss.htm> (accessed 9.12.07).

¹²⁶ Cf. F.M. Cross, et. al., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1-2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 4; F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume One 1QI – 4Q273*. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 352-353.

¹²⁷ The initial reconstruction was אַנְיָ [אֲהֵה] לֹא לֶאֱבָ וְהַוָּא יְהִי לִי לְבָן (Y. Yadin, "Midrash," 97).

¹²⁸ The possibility of three omissions by homeoteleuton in the quotation of 2 Sam 7:11-14 is too much of a coincidence: "We are thus pushed to the conclusion that the text of 2 Sam 7 has received some deliberate editing at this juncture; and this is tantamount to saying that omission through homeoteleuton may be correctly considered as a correct exegetical principle used here by the author deliberately!" "What was formerly in scholarship described as a scribal error is now seen as the correct use of a valid exegetical technique." Cf. R.P. Gordon, "The Problem of Haplography in 1 and 2 Samuel," in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 131-158, on p.150.

¹²⁹ So K.J. Thomas, "Use of the Septuagint," 231; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 114.

2.2.3 Comparison of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 / 1 Chr 17:13 and Heb 1:5

It was already mentioned above that the reading of the quotation as it appears in Heb 1:5 is in exact agreement with those of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 and 1 Chr 17:13 in their Greek versions.

2 Kgdms 7:14 (LXX)	1 Chr 17:13 (LXX)	Heb 1:5
ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς νίόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς νίόν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς νίόν		

Based on influence from the immediate context of the Chronicle passage by means of “indirect and selective use of the context” of 1 Chr 17:13,¹³⁰ there could be grounds to consider 1 Chr 17:13 as the possible origin of the quotation in Heb 1:5. Some scholars found support for this suspicion by saying that it is enhanced by the immediate preceding phrase: ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα.¹³¹ However, the phrase occurs in *both* versions (2 Kgdms 7:12 LXX and 1 Chr 17:11)!

It might just as well be argued on similar grounds from the broader context of 2 Sam 7 that the author of Hebrews rather made use of the latter version. It contains readings that are absent from the 1 Chr 17 version. The most substantial difference is an addition immediately following the section that is quoted. The very same readings surface prominently at other places in Hebrews: ἀπαγγελεῖ (v. 11) + τῷ ὄνόματί μου (v. 13 – see the quotation from Ps 22[21]:23 in Heb 2:12; cf. also Heb 1:4); ῥάβδῳ (Heb 1:9 in the quotation from LXX Ps 44:7-9; Heb 11:21 in the allusion to Gen 47:31; cf. also Heb 9:4); and υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων (singular in Heb 2:6 in the quotation from Ps 8:5-7). This kind of reasoning is dangerous, however, as these *Stichwörter* probably found their way into the text of Hebrews independently from the 2 Sam 7 text and are rather due to the author’s intertextual hermeneutics.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

With a mere καὶ πάλιν, the author of Hebrews combines this quotation from 2 Sam 7:14 with the previous one from Ps 2:7. This phrase was a well-known formula which is present elsewhere in the NT (John 19:37; Rom 15:10-12; 1 Cor 3:20) and which was used in

¹³⁰ See P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 115.

¹³¹ G. Harder, “Septuagintazitate,” 33; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 20.

haggadic midrash and also in use by Philo of Alexandria.¹³² The phrase continues the question that was expressed in the initial introductory formula: Τίνι γὰρ εἴπεν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων and thus the argument of the Son being treated differently than the angels by the “Father”¹³³ himself. He should rather be identified with the expected Davidic messiah according to the texts that are employed here. The promise to David via the prophet Nathan is applied to Jesus as the messiah and thus extended “beyond Solomon to an ideal king of Davidic descent.”¹³⁴ This is, however, not applied to the angels, argues the author of Hebrews.

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The quoted passage is christologically interpreted, probably due to the fact that it was already in circulation as a messianically interpreted text.¹³⁵ There are three interesting connections in 1 Chr 22:7-10 and 2 Sam 7 that will surface later in *ad Hebraeos*. The first is the motif of “rest” which will surface in Heb 3–4: νῖός τίκτεται σοι ... ἀναπαύσω ... πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν (1 Chr 22:9). The verse immediately following, closely resembles the quotation from 2 Sam 7:14 in Heb 1:5, except that the two phrases are interchanged: οὐτος ἔσται μοι εἰς νῖὸν κἀγώ αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα (1 Chr 22:10).¹³⁶ The second is the “king of peace” which will surface in Heb 5–7 when Jesus is compared with Melchizedek, the “king of peace.” “According to the Chronicler is it not David, the man of so many wars, who is to build the temple with blood-stained hands, but he in whose name *šelōmō* the word *šālōm*, ‘peace’, is to be detected.”¹³⁷ The third is the constant emphasis on “for ever” in 2 Sam 7 – which points to the eschatological nature of the quotation in Heb 1:5. A fourth is the significant element of the new temple, although differently interpreted in Hebrews, but also not without relevance for Mark 11 – 13, for instance, where the theme of Jesus as messianic king and builder of a new temple informs the composition.¹³⁸

¹³² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 20.

¹³³ The title “Father” is only applied here and in Heb 12:9 to God in Hebrews.

¹³⁴ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 115; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27.

¹³⁵ Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 45.

¹³⁶ This is extremely interesting! The same phenomenon occurs a number of times in the quotations in Hebrews. Does this help us to deduce that he probably used an existing text version which was a re-written form of the original, or is it he himself who rewrites the reading and applies a similar technique?

¹³⁷ H.W. Hertzberg, *Samuel*, 287.

¹³⁸ A remark indebted to William Loader.

2.4 Conclusion

The *fact* of the occurrence of the combination between Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 within Heb 1:5 might be traced back to an existing combination of these two texts prior to the time of Hebrews. Evidence of this can be found in 4QFlor and the texts were probably combined within an expectation of the coming of an eschatological messiah.¹³⁹ It can be assumed that this motif with its combination of these two particular texts was known in Jewish circles such as those reflected in some literature found at Qumran. The author of Hebrews (and perhaps his readers as well) was familiar with this messianic expectation. There are some interesting differences, however, between Hebrews and 4QFlor with regard to the quotation of Ps 2:

- *The particular verse quoted:* It seems that Ps 2 verse 1 was used in combination with 2 Sam 7, according to the evidence of 4QFlor, whereas Hebrews combines Ps 2 verse 7 with 2 Sam 7.
- *The position of Ps 2 in the combination:* Hebrews starts the combination – and the book itself – with the quotation from Ps 2, whereas 4QFlor presents it last on its list of texts and not first.

This probably shows a Christian adaptation of the motif which combines the well-known Ps 2:7 from the Christian tradition and, simultaneously, speaks against the existence of a so-called uniform “Testimony Book.” Ps 2:7 was alluded to in the narratives on Jesus’ baptism, temptation and transfiguration, as well as in Acts 13:33 where the exact same quotation, starting and ending at the same place in the text, is also to be found with regard to Jesus’ resurrection. Furthermore, its importance is shown by the fact that it is moved into the most prominent place, i.e. as the opening quotation of the book of Hebrews.

The *version*, or *text form*, in which these two texts appear in Heb 1:5, shows no traces of any alternative text tradition with a variant reading that was followed by the author of Hebrews. The readings of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 are identical to those of our existing extant manuscripts.

3. Taken from a “Testimony Book”?

A last remark regarding the combination of Ps 2 and 2 Sam 7 in the light of the “Testimony Book” hypothesis would be in order. A number of factors are to be noted against the

¹³⁹ According to R.McL. Wilson, “What is remarkable is that while the idea of the Messiah as son of God may have been common enough in Judaism, this particular verse (2 Sam. 7:14) is not so used except here and in 4QFlor I.10-13” (*Hebrews*, 39).

Testimony Book hypothesis, calling for great caution in this regard.¹⁴⁰ *Firstly*, no concrete proof of the existence of such a collection of *Christian* proof texts from the first century C.E. has been found to date.¹⁴¹ *Secondly*, the combinations that exist and that are in agreement with each other are limited. Very few of the same combinations occur and the same texts are not always used in the same manner.¹⁴² Note, for instance, how the author of Hebrews combined Ps 2:7 not only with 2 Sam 7:14 in Heb 1:5, but presents a completely different combination in Heb 5:5 where Ps 2:7 is combined with Ps 110(109):4. The same author, then, does not follow the same combination of texts. Even if one would assume that Ps 110(109) was part of such a list, how would it be explained that Hebrews uses v. 4 and not the well known v. 1 in this instance? *Thirdly*, the mere fact that a list of quotations is presented by an author does not necessarily mean that such an author used another list of proof texts. The early Christian authors identified some texts from the tradition,¹⁴³ but combined these known texts with other references that they identified themselves during their own scholarly and hermeneutical processes.¹⁴⁴ Lists would thus differ from author to author and would not follow the fixed order of a “Testimony Book.” These lists of quotations might, however, show similarities in methodology and presentation due to the sharing of traditions and to the common use of the hermeneutical methods of the day.¹⁴⁵ *Fourthly*, one could assume that during the planning stages of an ancient author’s work, they might have made “notes”¹⁴⁶ or “lists” of references for themselves. Many of these might actually have been “memory strings” that developed during the process of studying their Scriptures and interacting with each other, rather than written texts. Certain references would always be at hand in their memory when dealing with a particular topic.

¹⁴⁰ Also J.G. Campbell (*Exegetical Texts*, 39) and L.L. Grabbe (*Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* [London: Routledge, 2000] 174-175) are sceptical. So also P. Ellingworth who takes a similar stance by listing five grounds on which the testimony hypothesis may be questioned: (a) the author of Hebrews pays attention to the context of the quotations; (b) the stylistic features of the quotations are found throughout the book; (c) the overlap between the lists of combinations is not very great; (d) the assumption about the original purpose of the quotations could be questioned; and (e) the quotations cannot properly be described as “proof texts” (*Hebrews*, 109-110).

¹⁴¹ The discoveries of 4QTest and 4QFlor only testify to the *fact* of the existence of such collections in early Judaism, but concrete evidence of similar written collections still lacks for first century early Christianity.

¹⁴² An argument based particularly on Ps 110(109):1 and used by S. Kistemaker against a Testimony Book (*Psalm Citations*, 91).

¹⁴³ Contra a Testimony Book along these lines, see H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 156.

¹⁴⁴ H.W. Bateman says quite rightly in this regard: “Hebrews 1 does not arbitrarily select OT passages. Rather, it uses passages that are exegetically and conceptually linked together to support a major theological point in keeping with the Christian community’s understanding of the teachings of Jesus and the apostles as well as the leading of the Holy Spirit” (“Messianic Uses,” 27).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. H.W. Bateman: “Consequently 4QFlor 1.1-19 and Heb 1:5-13 share similar first-century theological concepts to present a theological treatise to their respective communities” (“Messianic Uses,” 25).

¹⁴⁶ Similar A. Steudel who suggests “Notizen” (*Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat)^{a,b}*) [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 139).

More concrete evidence is needed in order to accept a “Testimony book” hypothesis for the combinations of quotations in the NT. It can be agreed, at best, that certain passages were well known and used in the tradition – either as single passages or as combinations. These passages were mainly in circulation in the oral tradition during NT times; with some of them already being used in the Pauline and other early NT books. Should an established list, or “book,” already have existed by this time, one would have expected more overlap and a higher frequency of specific quotation combinations. One should thus rather envisage individual known “promises” and individual “testimonia” that were in circulation. Some originated from the early Jewish traditions and were reinterpreted and applied by early Christianity. Till others originated within the movement of early Christianity. During the process of their regular use, they were expanded upon and combined more and more with each other.

The solution to these text combinations, alterations in the text forms and different ways of applying the same text – even by the same author – might thus rather be found in the author’s own creative use of his Scriptures,¹⁴⁷ applying the known exegetical and hermeneutical methods of his day,¹⁴⁸ and working sometimes with a *Vorlage* that might have differed from those known to us today. The proposed possibility of a liturgical collection of hymns is interesting, but difficult to prove.¹⁴⁹ The situation might rather be summarised: “Hebrews thus shares with Acts 13 and 4QFlorilegium a tradition in which Ps. 2 and 2 Sa. 7 were linked, but not embodied in a standard collection of testimonia or provided with a single authoritative interpretation.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Cf. J.P. Meier: “The seven citations and their precise order fit too neatly into the schema of Hebrews 1 to be taken *en bloc* from a book of OT citations” (“Symmetry and Theology,” 530). Similar arguments by S. Motyer, “The Psalm quotations of Hebrews 1: A hermeneutic-free zone?” *Tyndale Bulletin* 50 (1999) 3-22, on p. 13; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 110.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. S. Motyer: “...something in common with the *gezerah shawah* principle” (“Psalm Quotations,” 21). Similar M. Barth: “His method is near the *haraz* (‘string of pearls’) method of the rabbis, which in turn seems to be reflected among the Qumranites by the collections of *Testimonia*” (“OT in Hebrews,” 64). This means it is a similar method, not that he used existing collections of testimonia!

¹⁴⁹ M. Barth, “OT in Hebrews,” 73.

¹⁵⁰ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 116. Also F. Schröger: “Während der Testimoniumbuch-Hypothese mißtrauisch begegnet werden muß, kann die Verbindung von 2 Sam 7,14 und Ps 2,7 dem Verfasser tatsächlich schon vorgelegen haben” (*Verfasser*, 45). So, similarly, G.J. Brooke, “Intertextual Interpretations,” 41.

Chapter 3

The motif of serving angels The *Canticum Mosis* verse 43 + Ps 104(103):4 in Heb 1:6-7

Heb 1:6-7

6 ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει·

καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ. (Ode 2:43/Deut 32:43 LXX)

7 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄγγέλους λέγει·

ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἄγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα, (Ps 104[103]:4)

Whereas the first two quotations dealt with the relationship between the Father and the Son, the next two quotations deal with the relationship between the Son and the angels. The two quotations from the Song of Moses and from Ps 104(103) in Heb 1:6-7 are closely connected with each other by means of contrast. This is achieved by contrasting the *τὸν πρωτότοκον* in the first introductory formula with the *τοὺς ἄγγέλους* of the second formula. The connection between the two quotations is further enhanced by means of the verbal analogy of *ἄγγελοι θεοῦ* in the quotation from the Song of Moses and the *ἄγγέλους αὐτοῦ* in the quotation from Ps 104(103):4. The concept of the subordinate role of the angels in relation to Christ, which underlies these two quotations, is in keeping with early NT Christology.¹

1. Ode 2:43 / Deut 32:43 LXX in Heb 1:6

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

In spite of the important role of Deuteronomy in the NT, and particularly in Hebrews, this specific quotation should be treated with great caution in this instance. Although it occurs in Deut-LXX and in 4QDeut (4Q28 – 4Q44), it should not be forgotten that it is actually a song² and that it was treated like that, as can be seen in the early Jewish and Christian traditions. Evidence of this can be seen in its presence in Codex A where it had been included as one of the nine Odes listed after the Psalms. One should thus not be blinded by the fact that the reading of the quotation coincides to a large extent with that of the versions in Deuteronomy.

¹ See 1 Thess 3:13; 2 Thess 1:7-8; Mark 13:26-27; Matt 16:27; 24:30-31; 25:31; Luke 2:13-14; 9:26; Rev 1:1.

² It was used in temple services, local synagogues during the Diaspora and liturgically used in the church (S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 20; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 38, 39; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 930).

It should rather be approached as an independent hymnic text – which might have implications for our understanding of the *Vorlage* of the quoted text in this context.

1.1.1 Background regarding the *Canticum Mosis*

The history of the *Canticum Mosis* is complicated³ and it represents a complex textual tradition. Von Rad already pointed out that “(t)he so-called Song of Moses is a long widely ranging poem which came into existence quite independently of Deuteronomy.”⁴ Its composition in Deuteronomy is dated on the basis of its linguistic characteristics during the transitional period in poetic Hebrew between the 10th and the 8th centuries B.C.E.⁵ Verses 40-43 present Yahweh as “Warrior”⁶ and describes the last revelation of God for judgment to take place.

Connections between the *Canticum Mosis* and the largely hypothetical cultic ritual of the “Covenant Festival” were made in the past. This covenant festival was seen to be an annually repeated sacred act of the renewal of the covenant which might have attestation in the Qumran *Manual of Discipline / Rule of the Community* (1QS) 2,15.⁷ If such a festival has existed, a comparison of this information with the motif of the “new covenant” in Hebrews would indeed be an interesting exercise! But further evidence of such an annual festival to celebrate the renewal of the covenant, is controversial and scholars remain sceptical about it.

1.1.2 The use of the *Canticum Mosis* in early Jewish and Christian traditions

It can be assumed that the *Canticum Mosis* was a familiar song to the Jews. Its presence amongst the Odes in Codex A^{LXX} (after the *corpus* of the Psalms) also points in this direction.⁸ The *Canticum Mosis* probably played a particular role during the cultic rituals and

³ Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 135-136.

⁴ G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; London, SCM Press, 1988), 195.

⁵ S. Nigosian, “Linguistic Patterns of Deuteronomy 32,” *Bib* 78/2 (1997) 206-224.

⁶ H.A.J. Kruger, “A Sword over his head or in his hand? Luke 22,35-38,” in C. Tuckett (ed.), *Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETL 131; Leuven: Peeters Press, 1997) 597-604, on pp. 598-599. The others are: Exod 15:3; Ps 24:8; Isa 27:1; 42:13; 51:9; 59:17; 63:3; 66:16; Ezek 21:3, 4, 5.

⁷ Cf., for instance, A. Weiser, *The Psalms* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1982), 32, n.2. Weiser draws attention to the place of the Psalms in the cult of the covenant festival. He says that “(t)he description of the liturgy used by the sect of Qumran at the annual celebration of the feast of the renewal of the Covenant, however, enables us to draw from it valuable conclusions as to the existence of corresponding elements in the Old Testament tradition...” and refers to Deut 32 amongst other texts (*Psalms*, 35).

⁸ J. Hanegraaf suspects, on the basis of “the LXX expansion of Deut 32:43a,” that it sounds antiphonically, which probably points in the direction of a liturgical fragment that was sung or recited in the synagogue in Alexandria (*Tenach en Septuagint*, 137).

liturgical actions of some groups in early Judaism during the celebration of some festivals. At least two such festivals might have had connections with it. The first is the controversial festival of the *renewal of the covenant*, referred to above. Those who accept its existence understand it as an annually repeated sacred act of the renewal of the covenant, attested in the DSS.⁹ If it is accepted, however, then the role that the *Canticum Mosis* played in it at Qumran during the liturgical function of this Song should certainly be taken into account when pondering its position in early Judaism and early Christianity. One can thus assume that in groups which saw themselves as “covenant communities” that this *Canticum Mosis* would have had an important liturgical role. The liturgical connections of the *Canticum Mosis* and Ps 135 with the festival¹⁰ cult of the Israelite covenant community¹¹ might throw some light on the covenant motif as found in Hebrews. But the *Canticum Mosis* was probably also used during the festival of the *Day of Atonement*, as testified in a Samaritan liturgical poem.¹² This liturgical use during some festivals has important implications for our quest for the *Vorlage* of the quotation in Heb 1:6.

Three further pieces of evidence testify to the importance of the *Canticum Mosis* for early Judaism. The first is the references to it that are found in Philo of Alexandria.¹³ The second is the *Testament of Moses* (alternatively known as the *Apocalypse of Moses*), which is “framed around the end of the book of Deuteronomy” 31 – 34¹⁴ with evidence of an existing 2nd cent. B.C.E. original.¹⁵ This in itself is an indication of the importance that this section in Deut had for early Judaism. The third is to be found in 4 Macc 18, which was probably written during the 1st cent. C.E. The mother of the seven sons also reminds them in this reference about the importance of the Song of Moses.¹⁶ This case had been used as evidence that the *Canticum Mosis* was sung during the Jewish Diaspora around the turn of the century.¹⁷

Turning to the importance of Deuteronomy itself in the NT, it is striking that it is particularly the role of the Jewish *Shema'* and the Decalogue that occur in almost all the NT

⁹ Cf the *Manual of Discipline* 2:15.

¹⁰ According to M. Barth, “The author shows an unmistakable interest in the festivals, the holy assemblies, the cultic actions and institutions of God’s people” (“OT in Hebrews,” 71).

¹¹ A. Weiser pointed to the fact that Ps 135 was literary dependent on other literary sources and that “we can clearly see that Psalm 135 is in all its parts a liturgical hymn which was appointed to be recited antiphonally at the festival cult of the Israelite covenant community” (*Psalms*, 788, 789).

¹² Cf. D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 164, n.31.

¹³ See Philo *Det.*, 114 (Deut 32:13); *Leg.* 3, 105 (Deut 32:34, 35); *Plant.* 59 (Deut 32:7-9).

¹⁴ Cf. J. Priest, “Testament of Moses,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Vol. 1*, (New York: Doubleday, 1983) 919-934, on p. 923.

¹⁵ Cf. J.L. Kugel & R.A. Greer, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1986), 76.

¹⁶ Cf. 4 Macc 18:18-19.

¹⁷ See H. Schneider, “Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum,” *Bib* 30 (1949) 28-65.

books that quote from Deuteronomy. Furthermore, many of the Deuteronomy quotations in the NT literature already appeared in documents that predated that literature.¹⁸ When turning particularly to Hebrews, the following observations might be noted:

- Hebrews is usually seen as one of the NT books that quotes the most from Deuteronomy.¹⁹ However, a closer look at the identified “quotations” from Deuteronomy in Hebrews as listed by scholars before, reveals that there are, strictly speaking, actually *only four* clearly identified explicit quotations²⁰ (with Heb 1:6 as a doubtful case of being a quotation from Deuteronomy as such). At least four of the instances usually identified to be quotations, should rather be counted as allusions (all of them in Heb 12),²¹ with a fifth one as an intended reference.²² All the Deuteronomy occurrences in Hebrews are short and fragmentary. Does he quote from memory rather than from a text in front of him, knowing these phrases from the oral or written tradition that used it before him? Should these phrases then not be seen, in general, as conscious references in many cases, rather than explicit quotations, especially in light of the absence of introductory formulae in most instances here?
- Four of these instances (including quotations, allusions and references) overlap, or come from close proximity, and from passages already referred to in Romans. The unknown author of Hebrews also uses the context immediately preceding a passage that already occurred in Romans (Deut 9:3 in Heb 12:29 and Deut 9:4 in Rom 10:6), and the context following a passage that occurred in Romans (Deut 29:17 in Heb 12:15 and Deut 29:3 in Rom 11:8).
- From all the books in the NT that contain quotations from Deuteronomy, it is only Heb 1:6; 10:30 (Deut 32:35, 36); Rom 10:19 (Deut 32:21); 12:19; 15:10 (Deut 32:43); and Rev 15:3²³ (Deut 32:4) that explicitly quote from the *Canticum Mosis*.²⁴ Apart from these

¹⁸ Matthew has the most quotations from Deuteronomy, but all of them appeared before in literature that predates him. All the occurrences in Luke’s gospel appeared before his time as well. Those in Acts, however, occur there for the first time.

¹⁹ The other NT books that frequently quote from Deuteronomy are Romans, Mark, Matthew and Luke-Acts.

²⁰ Deut 32:43 in Heb 1:6; Deut 32:35-36 in Heb 10:30-31; Deut 9:19 in Heb 12:21; and Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5 (cf. G.J. Steyn, “Deuteronomy in Hebrews,” in S. Moyise & M.J.J. Menken (ed.), *Deuteronomy in the New Testament* [London: T & T Clark, 2007] 152-168, on p. 153).

²¹ Deut 20:3 in Heb 12:3; Deut 29:17 in Heb 12:15; Deut 4:11-12 in Heb 12:18-19; and Deut 4:24/9:3 in Heb 12:29 (cf. G.J. Steyn, “Deuteronomy,” 154).

²² Deut 17:6 in Heb 10:28.

²³ S. Kistemaker reckons that because the writer of Revelation observes the victorious ones in heaven singing the Song of Moses, that this reflects perhaps its liturgical use in the church on earth (*Psalm Citations*, 21). Similarly, also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 51. For a discussion on the Song of Moses in Rev 15, see S. Moyise, “Singing the Song of Moses and the Lamb: John’s Dialogical Use of Scripture,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 42/2 (2004) 347-360.

quotations, allusions to the Song of Moses can be found in Matt 4:10; 25:31; Rev 6:10; 12:12; 19:2. Allusions and references to other verses of the *Canticum Mosis* also abound in the NT – especially in Acts. Two more possible allusions to the *Canticum Mosis* in Hebrews, are ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος (v. 43, cf. Heb 1:3) and προσέχετε τῇ καρδίᾳ (v. 46, cf. Heb 2:1).

- Hebrews contains the quotations closest to the beginning and to the end of Deuteronomy²⁵ out of all of the NT books. The density of similarities in the form of quotations and allusions with Deut 31–33 in particular, is certainly interesting²⁶ – a trend similar to that of the *Testament* or *Apocalypse of Moses*, referred to above. It can be accepted that this part of Deuteronomy was well known because it contained the *Canticum Mosis*.²⁷ The author, furthermore, compares the superiority of the Son with the role of Moses later in Heb 3. It is impossible that he could be busy with the life of Moses without taking into account this farewell address of the great mediator of the law.
- Except for Heb 1:6 (which needs to be qualified – refer to the discussion below), all of the identified similarities are also to be found in the latter part of Hebrews, ranging between Heb 10:28 to Heb 13, with most of them concentrated in Heb 12.
- All the Deuteronomy occurrences identified by scholars in Hebrews already appeared before his time in early Christian literature that predates him, except for the very last quotation that was used by the early Jewish writer, Philo of Alexandria (*Conf.* 166).
- It is interesting that all the quotations in Hebrews that claim divine authority are from the Psalms (apart from the quotation from Jer 31[38]), and that none are from the Torah. This could possibly be explained by the fact that “the author felt that the authority of the Pentateuch did not need to be affirmed.”²⁸

Although Deut 32:43 is also quoted in Rom 15:10, it is not the same phrase as in Heb 1:6. The phrase that is quoted in Hebrews is the immediately preceding phrase to that which is quoted in Romans:

²⁴ The issues of Hebrews’ possible familiarity with the books of Paul and the connection between Paul’s letter to the Romans (Rome) and Hebrews’ addressees (also possibly Rome), will not be discussed here.

²⁵ So also P. Ellingworth, pointing out that, although “the earlier chapters of Deuteronomy are not neglected,” “the author shows particular interest in its final chapters” (*Hebrews*, 39).

²⁶ Cf. also R. Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews: an investigation of its influence with special consideration to the use of Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38* (WUNT 160; Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), 95; and P. Ellingworth (“The Old Testament in Hebrews: Exegesis, Method and Hermeneutics” [Unpublished PhD. Dissertation; Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1977]) who draws attention to a number of parallels.

²⁷ Cf. G.A.F. Knight, *The Song of Moses. A Theological Quarry* (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994), for a general commentary on the Song of Moses.

²⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 38-39.

Deut 32:43 (LXX)

εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἄμα αὐτῷ,
καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν
αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοί θεοῦ,
εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ
τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,

Rom 15:10

εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ
τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ

Heb 1:6

καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν
αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Deut 32:43

The scene is complex when it comes to the possible *Vorlage* of the quotation. Regarding the *Hebrew versions*, scholars have long since noted that the quoted line in Hebrews is absent in Deut 32:43 in the MT,²⁹ which consists only of four *stichoi*. However, when turning to the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy discovered amongst the DSS³⁰ (4QDeut^q [4Q44] 32:43),³¹ the quoted line in Hebrews (line 2) is present – reading “the (sons) of God” / “all the gods,”³² similar to the reading in Heb 1:6. This discovery amongst the DSS provided evidence for the

²⁹ Cf., amongst others, E. Tov, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Understanding of the LXX,” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990) (SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 11-47, on p. 29; G.J. Steyn, “Deuteronomy,” 155-157; G.J. Steyn, “A Quest for the *Vorlage* of the Song of Moses (Dt 32) Quotations in Hebrews,” *Neot* 34/2 (2000), 263-272; R.T. McLay, “Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament Church,” in S.E. Porter (ed.), *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 38-58, on pp. 45-50; R.T. McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 107-114; J. Hanegraaff, *Tenach en Septuagint*, 147; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 134-136; H.J.B Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 40; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 47; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 93; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 47; R.G. Bratcher, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Helps for Translators; Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1961), 57. But compare Deut 32:8 which also refers to the “sons of Israel.”

³⁰ More than a third of the Hebrew manuscripts from the Pentateuch that were found at Qumran, are from Deuteronomy. J. Maier cautions that these represent not necessarily a biblical version of Deuteronomy in all instances and also not a Pentateuch hand (“Das jüdische Gesetz zwischen Qumran und Septuaginta,” in H.-J. Fabry & U. Offerhaus (ed.), *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* [BzWANT 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001] 155-165, on p. 155).

³¹ The text was first published and discussed by P.W. Skehan, “A Fragment of the ‘Song of Moses’ (Deut. 32) from Qumran,” *BASOR* 136 (1954) 12-15; and with later fragments added in P.W. Skehan, “Qumran and the Present State of O.T. Text Studies: The Masoretic Text,” *JBL* 78 (1959) 21-25. F.W. Albright later supplied a reconstruction of the text (“New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible,” *BASOR* 140 [1955] 32-33). Cf. also S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989). From the 33 scrolls of Deuteronomy that were found amongst the DSS, only 4QDeut^q preserved the text of Deut 32:43 (R.T. McLay, *Biblical Texts*, 47).

³² There seem to be differences in the reconstruction of this line. E. Nielsen takes it as בְּלִהְיָה כָּל (Deuteronomium. *Handbuch zum Alten Testament I/6* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1995], 28) whilst P.W. Skehan pointed to further fragments which lead to the reconstruction of בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (“The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (32:1-43),” in D.L. Christensen (ed.), *A Song of Power and the Power of Song. Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 156-168, on p. 167-168).

first time of Hebrew textual authority for the OT quotation in Heb 1:6.³³ The 3rd line (the one quoted in Rom 15:10) and the 4th line of LXX Deut 32:43 are absent, though, in 4QDeut 32:43.³⁴ In particular the 4th line points strongly in the direction of a Hebrew *Vorlage*³⁵ and has been reconstructed by Skehan.³⁶ The occurrence of six of the LXX lines in 4QDeut confirms that they might have had a Hebrew *Vorlage* – a version that was known in Qumran.³⁷ Whether 4QDeut^q (4Q44), dating from the first half of the 1st cent. C.E., was a copy made for personal reading,³⁸ or a “special use” *liturgical* text, it seems to have contained only the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-43).³⁹

Deut 32:43 MT	4QDeut ^q 32:43	Deut 32:43 (LXX)	
הָרְנִינוּ שָׁמָיִם עָמֹד	הָרְנִינוּ שָׁמָיִם עָמֹד	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἄμα αὐτῷ,	1
וְהַשְׁתַּחוּ לוֹ כָל אֱלֹהִים		καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες νίοὶ θεοῦ,	2
הָרְנִינוּ גּוֹם עָמֹד		εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,	3
כִּי דְם בְּנֵי יִקְום	כִּי דְם בְּנֵי יִקְום	καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ·	4
וְנָקַם יִשְׂבַּלְאָרוּ	וְנָקַם יִשְׂבַּלְאָרוּ	ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν σίων αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται,	5
וְלֹמְשָׁנָאוּ יִשְׁלָם		καὶ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἀνταποδώσει δίκην τοῖς ἔχθροῖς	6
וַיַּכְפֵּר אֲדָמָת עָמֹד	וַיַּכְפֵּר אֲדָמָת עָמֹד	καὶ τοῖς μισούσιν ἀνταποδώσει,	7
וְכַפֵּר אֶרְקָחוּ עָמֹד		καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.	8

Turning to the *Greek versions* of the *Canticum Mosis*, one finds the expanded reading, now covering more lines, “...of which it is not easy to decide how many belong to the original translator.”⁴⁰ Also here scholars suspected the possibility of a *liturgical* fragment.⁴¹ These observations regarding the possibility of both 4QDeut and the LXX version each belonging to, or deriving from, a liturgical fragment, are of interest in the light of the remarks above about the liturgical use of the *Canticum Mosis* during some of the Jewish festivals.

³³ S. Jellicoe, *Septuagint*, 277.

³⁴ R. Meyer takes the second stich as a secondary, inner Greek addition (“Die Bedeutung von Deut. 32,8f. 43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes,” in A. Kuschke (ed.), *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift für W. Rudolph* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1961] 197-210).

³⁵ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 48. He also noted that ἐνισχύειν is rare in the LXX and always used with an accusative (apart from Hos 10:11).

³⁶ Cf. P.W. Skehan = רְחַבְּיוֹ שׁוֹלֵן כָּל בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (“Fragment,” 12-15).

³⁷ Cf. P.W. Skehan, “Fragment,” 12-15.

³⁸ Cf. E. Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1995) 581-600; J.H. Baumgarten, “Scripture and Law in 4Q265,” in M.E. Stone & E.G. Chazon (ed.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 25-33, on p. 29.

³⁹ P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 167, n.67 and 218, n.102; A. Steudel, *Midrasch*, 181, n.3.

⁴⁰ P. Katz, “The quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews,” *ZNW* 49 (1958) 213-223, on p. 217.

⁴¹ J. Hanegraaff. “De septuagintische uitbreidings van Deut. 32, 43a vlgz (=volgens, *GJS*) Tenach klinkt als een anti-foon, zodat het me niet onwaarschijnlijk lijkt dat we hier te maken hebben met een liturgisch fragment dat in de synagoge van Alexandrië werd gezongen of gereciteerd” (*Tenach en Septuagint*, 137).

The LXX witnesses testify to two traditions: those that read *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*⁴² and those that read *ἄγγελοι θεοῦ*.⁴³ Concerning the first tradition, PFouad 266b (Roll 848)⁴⁴ – one of the oldest LXX witnesses and one that predates the Christian era – contains Deut 17–33⁴⁵ and has on col. 78, fr. 111 *stichoi* in Deut 32.⁴⁶ It omits *πάντες* after *αὐτῷ* (as does Codex B), only reading *αὐτῷ υἱοὶ θεοῦ*.⁴⁷ Roll 848 is particularly marked by its use of the tetragrammaton⁴⁸ – in contrast to the fragment of PFouad 266c, dating from the same period and containing Deut 10–33. It is valuable to this investigation as it contains fragments with four pieces of Deut that occur in Hebrews (Deut 29:17–20; 31:5–7; 32:1–7 and 32:39–43).

The second tradition is to be found in the version of the *Canticum Mosis* of Ode 2,⁴⁹ belonging to a group of selected odes, prayers and hymns to be found just after the Psalms in Codex A of the LXX.⁵⁰ The inclusion of the *Canticum Mosis* in this Greek Psalter, is probably an indication of the liturgical significance it had, a significance which ran through the history of the temple and continued in the early church.⁵¹ This second Ode, the “Ode of Moses in Deuteronomy” (*ψόδη Μωυσέως ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ*), might be considered as a preferred option⁵² for the reading of the quotation in Heb 1:6. It reads in v. 43b καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν

⁴² *πάντες* (π. οἱ 46'-52' 53 646 Tht. I 445[var.]) *υἱοὶ θεοῦ* as V 15-29-82-426-707(mar.) C'' (exc. 417[mar.] 550'-761[txt] b 106 f [exc. 56 246] WI-458 85 t and other mss.

⁴³ A B F M O'' [most mss.] 417 [marg.] -550'-761 d[exc. 106] 56-246 54'-75 s [exc. 85] y [exc. 71 527] and other mss. Both traditions are attested in the LXX. “Sons of God” are also called “angels of God” in Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Dan 3:25.

⁴⁴ A middle 1st cent. B.C.E. papyrus, owned by the Société Egyptienne de Papyrologie. The rolls of the Greek Genesis and Deut of PFouad 266 consist of a group of mostly small fragments and are famous for their use of the tetragrammaton (Z. Aly & L. Koenen (ed.), *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy* [Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag GmbH, 1980], 1).

⁴⁵ The oldest known fragment of the LXX contains pieces of Deut 23–28, i.e. *Pap.Gr.* 458 [John Rylands Library] (Rahlfs 957), 2nd cent. B.C.E.

⁴⁶ E. Tov, “Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture,” in R.J.V. Hiebert, C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Supp Ser 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 125–148, on p. 127.

⁴⁷ Z. Aly & L. Koenen (ed.), *Three Rolls*, 122–124.

⁴⁸ Z. Aly & L. Koenen (ed.), *Three Rolls*, 5.

⁴⁹ Little is known about the written tradition of these Odes. The fact that they are absent in codices *x* and B, but first appear in the 5th cent. Codex A, calls for caution (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 50).

⁵⁰ It needs to be clearly distinguished from the Odes of Solomon. R.T. McLay fell into this trap and confused them with the Odes of Solomon in his 2003 study (cf. *Use of the Septuagint*, 111, n.24) – different however in his 2006 contribution (“Biblical texts,” 54). The LXX Odes are appended *only* to A^{LXX} (4th/5th cent. C.E.), R^{LXX} (Veronensis, 6th cent. C.E.), T^{LXX} (Turicensis, 7th cent. C.E.) and minuscule 55 (10th cent. C.E.) – cf. A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 78–80; H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), 253–254.

⁵¹ “Den Psalmen werden in der griech. Kirche die Oden angehängt, d.h. andere Lieder, meist aus dem A.T., welche gleich den Psalmen regelmäßig im Gottesdienste gebraucht werden” (A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 78). Cf. also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 57, n.78; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27; and K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 304. A. Pietersma, however, is sceptical about its origin prior to the 4th cent. C.E. and takes its exclusion from codices B and *x* as an indication of a post-NT date (“Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 27).

⁵² So also F. Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer, Teil II, Kap. 1-4, 13* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1836); S. Kistemaker *Psalm Citations*, 21–23; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 118; G.J. Steyn, “Song of Moses,” 263–272; R.T. McLay, *Use*

αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ αγγέλοι θεοῦ and in v. 43d καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες νίοι θεοῦ. Note the difference here: In the Deut 32 (LXX) version, it reads νίοι θεοῦ while both the Hebrews quotation as well as the Odes 2 (LXX) version read ἄγγελοι θεοῦ – the latter with the definite article.

Deut 32:43 (LXX)	Ode 2:43 (LXX)	Heb 1:6
εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί,	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί,	
ἄμα αὐτῷ,	ἄμα αὐτῷ,	
καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ
πάντες <u>νίοι θεου</u> ,	πάντες <u>οἱ ἄγγελοι θεου</u> ,	πάντες <u>ἄγγελοι θεου</u> .
εὐφράνθητε, ἔθιη, μετὰ τοῦ	εὐφράνθητε, εθιη, μετὰ τοῦ	
λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,	λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,	

It can be concluded from this evidence that “(e)ither Heb 1:6 is dependent upon the same tradition of OG (i.e. Old Greek, *GJS*) Deut 32:43 as the Odes – that is, they are independent witnesses to a slightly different text – or one of the writers of Heb 1:6 or Odes 2:43 borrowed from the other.”⁵³ A large number of scholars thought, however, that the origin of the phrase ἄγγελοι θεοῦ in Heb 1:6 should be found in (a conflation with) Ps 97(96):7:⁵⁴

Ps 97:7 (MT)	Ps 96:7 (LXX)	Heb 1:6
בְּשַׁלְּךָ	αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες	
עֲבָדִי	οἱ προσκυνοῦντες	
פָּסֶל הַמְתֻהָּלִים	τοῖς γλυπτοῖς οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι	
בָּאָלִילִים	ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν,	
הַמְּחֻזְבָּרָרָן	προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ,	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ
כָּל־אֱלֹהִים:	πάντες <u>οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ</u> . ⁵⁵	πάντες ἄγγελοι θεου.

This attempt by scholars to ascribe some influence to Ps 96:7 (LXX), in the change from “sons” to “angels” by the author of Hebrews, did not take the Odes version into account.

of the *Septuagint*, 111; “Biblical texts,” 54; G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 932. Sceptical about this possibility are F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 49, and E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 50.

⁵³ R.T. McLay, “Biblical texts,” 54.

⁵⁴ Cf. H.B. Swete, *Introduction*, 383; W. Leonard, *Authorship*, 223; J. de Waard, *Comparative Study*, 15; J. Hanegraaff, *Tenach en Septuagint*, 147; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëën*, 32; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 15; H. van Oyen, *Hebreëën*, 16; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 22; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 39; G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 51; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 57. R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 40; T.K. Oberholtzer, “Warning Passages,” 87; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 79; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 163; S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 18–19; G. Schunack, *Der Hebräerbrief* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2002), 27; D.R. Anderson, *King-Priest*, 150–152; R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews*, 31. P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 217. Katz also reckons that “...since ἄγγελοι and νίοι, and other words too, are interchanged in some classes of LXX MSS (but not in A...!), nothing can be taken from this quotation to define the precise nature of the source of Hebrews” (“Deuteronomy,” 219). He, amongst others, never takes the possibility of the Odes-version into account as well.

⁵⁵ Textual witnesses of Ps 96:7 (LXX) represent an alternative reading in v. 7c when αὐτοῦ is changed to θεοῦ by the Lucian recension. It probably originated during the last quarter of the 3rd cent. C.E. by Lucian the Elder who started an exegetical school in Antioch. Cf. A. Rahlf, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 60–70.

When comparing the presence of *καί* in Heb 1:6, προσκυνήσατε (Ps 96 LXX) instead of προσκυνησάτωσαν (Heb 1, Ode 2, Deut 32-LXX), and αὐτοῦ (Ps 96 LXX) instead of θεοῦ (Heb 1, Ode 2, Deut 32-LXX), the chances seem to be slim that the author was influenced by the Ps 97(96) version. No wonder that some major works on this quotation were moving away from this possibility.⁵⁶ If the argument of conflation needs to be considered, then it could easily be explained only on the basis of Deut 32:43 LXX itself.⁵⁷ Lines 2 and 4 are virtually identical:

καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ὑἱοι θεοῦ
καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ

What is found in Ps 96:7 LXX is probably already evidence of either such a conflation, or of *homoioteleuton*, by the composer of the Psalm.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:6

There are no text critical problems or any alternative readings in our known manuscripts regarding the NT text of Heb 1:6. There is thus little doubt that the reading – with ἄγγελοι θεοῦ – was indeed the reading of the unknown author of Hebrews.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ode 2:43 / Deut 32:43 LXX and Heb 1:6

The unqualified statement that the quotation in Hebrews corresponds exactly to Deut 32:43 in the *Canticum Mosis*,⁵⁸ or that it is a quotation from Deuteronomy,⁵⁹ cannot be accepted unless it is clearly specified to which version of the Song of Moses one is referring. One should ask whether the author of Hebrews himself translated his quotation from the same version as 4QDeut, or whether he used a LXX translation representing the same text tradition as that found in 4QDeut. The question whether the text that he is quoting from was a written or orally transmitted text is finally an irrelevant one, as also the orally transmitted text represented a

⁵⁶ So already F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 47, 49; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 49; R.T. McLay, *Use of the Septuagint*, 110. R. Gheorghita, too, recently pointed out that “(a)lthough there are points of contact between Ps 96[97 MT] and Hebrews, the text in Deuteronomy seems to have the edge in this respect, not only because of the numerous allusions to Deut 31-33, but, as astutely observed by Andriessen and Lane, because the entrance of Israel into the Promised Land supplies a better typological framework for the Author’s presentation of Christ” (*Role of the Septuagint*, 42).

⁵⁷ So similarly R.T. McLay: “Why should we presume the combination of two separate texts when we require the use of only one?” (*Use of the Septuagint*, 110; “Biblical texts,” 51).

⁵⁸ E.g. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 57; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 27.

⁵⁹ Cf., for instance, NA27; R.G. Bratcher, *OT Quotations*, 57; P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 217-219.

written version. He might thus well have had either access to the scrolls in his synagogue or to the liturgy during the services held there, or both.

What is certain is, that he is quoting from a tradition which refers to the “angels of God” and not to the “sons of God” – as represented the closest in Ode 2:43 of Codex A^{LXX}.⁶⁰ This not only suited his argument best as he argues that Christ is different from the angels (1:5) and that God said that the angels should worship Christ, but was probably also best known to him from the liturgical tradition.⁶¹ With this he indicated that God himself acknowledged the divinity of Christ. The quoted text is taken out of its context in this instance and applied to Christ. Its meaning is made ambiguous with the pronoun αὐτῷ (“him”),⁶² which originally referred to God, but now refers to Christ.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

The author of Hebrews quotes the citation as Scripture, but from where did he get his quotation? Did he use an oral or a written tradition? If oral, what role did the liturgies and the *Shema'*, for instance, play here? If written, what *Vorlage* was used – one that was closer to the Hebrew or to the LXX? Or is it more probable that the author found them in the secondary material of his time, i.e. already existing early Christian documents that pre-dated his own book?

There are at least six possibilities that might be considered for the reading that was used by the author of Hebrews regarding his explicit quotation in Heb 1:6:

- i. The Hebrew version of 4QDeut: The quoted line is present, simply reading בְּנֵי־הָלֶלֶךְ.
- ii. Deut 32:43 LXX: The quoted line is present, but reads νιόὶ θεοῦ.
- iii. Ode 2:43 (LXX^A): The quoted line is present and reads (with Heb 1:6) ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.

This, or a similar written or oral version with possible liturgical connections seems like the most obvious possibility.

⁶⁰ R.T. McRay reckons that the presence of ἄγγελοι θεοῦ in Heb 1:6 “might mean that ἄγγελοι *angels* was present in some Greek manuscript of Deuteronomy that the writer of Hebrews used...” (*Use of the Septuagint*, 109; “Biblical texts,” 51). E. Ahlborn argued that the LXX in general translated בְּנֵי־הָלֶלֶךְ or בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים with ἄγγελοι θεοῦ rather than with νιόὶ θεοῦ (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 51). Also P. Katz argued that the reading, “*all the angels*” “... is the mark of the earliest stratum in the LXX, for it guards against the possible misunderstanding that God had begotten children” (“Deuteronomy,” 218). M. Karrer points in a similar direction by drawing attention to the fact that in all the extant versions of Deut 32:8, the first reference to “sons of God” becomes “angels of the nations” because early Judaism no longer saw “the transcendental ‘sons of God’ as gods, but as angels” (“Epistle,” 350).

⁶¹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 22-23; G. van den Brink, “Schrift zegt of fantaseerd? (2),” 211-217.

⁶² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 57.

- iv. A possible conflation between Deut 32:43 LXX and Ps 96:7 LXX – but there are no convincing arguments that the author of Hebrews conflated these two texts.
- v. A possible conflation of lines 2 and 4 of Deut 32:43 LXX remains a possibility, though more distanced than the identical reading of Ode 2:43. This conflation might simply be due to parablepsis by the author of Hebrews if this LXX version of Deut 32 was directly used.
- vi. The difference might also be as a result of changes made by the early Christian writer himself – due to the argument of the broader context of Heb 1 about Christ and the angels.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation is introduced in Heb 1:6 with the formula ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει· The Son is now referred to with the term πρωτότοκον,⁶³ one of a number of terms that would be used for Jesus during the course of the book of Hebrews. Two terms connect the first pair of quotations with this second pair of quotations. The first is the verb of saying which introduced the very first two quotations in Heb 1:5, and which is employed again in this formula. The second is the term πάλιν – which also combined the first two quotations. There seem to be differing opinions on the reason why πάλιν is used.⁶⁴ Some propose, on the one hand, that it simply introduces the quotation in the same manner as in the cases of Heb 1:5 and 2:13 – which means that the quotation is referring to the incarnation.⁶⁵ Others, however, take it as occurring at Christ's exaltation or enthronement.⁶⁶ A third view proposes that πάλιν is used in the sense of a first-born of a new creation.⁶⁷ A fourth view suggests that πάλιν modifies the verb εἰσαγάγων adverbially and therefore cannot refer to the incarnation. Moreover, it has been argued that the use of ὅταν

⁶³ The term is also used for Jesus in Rom 8:29; Col 1:15, 18; Luke 2:7; Heb 11:28; 12:23 and Rev 1:5.

⁶⁴ See the discussions in P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 117-118; T.K. Oberholtzer, "Warning Passages," 86-87; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 55.

⁶⁵ F. F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 15; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 38; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 56; R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews*, 31.

⁶⁶ H. Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief* (HzNT 14; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1931), 15; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 93; P. Andriessen, "De betekenis van Hebr 1,6," *StC* 35 (1960) 2-13. E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 77; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 162. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 117. Similar G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 27: "...dass Gott den Sohn als den Erstgeborenen in die als Erbe verheiße Welt Gottes hineinführt, d.h. dessen irdischen und himmlischen Einwohnern präsentiert."

⁶⁷ So R.McL. Wilson, referring to Rom 8:29; Col 1:15 and Rev 1:5, although "this is the only case in the New Testament where the word is used absolutely" (*Hebrews*, 39).

with the aorist conjunctive expresses an action in the future,⁶⁸ “but here the main verb λέγει has a rather general temporal reference.”⁶⁹ It should thus be understood in a temporal manner as a reference to the Son’s second coming in future.⁷⁰ Understood in this manner, the quotation could then be taken as pointing to a specific eschatological event with some good reasons as argued by some scholars.⁷¹

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The exegetical method employed by the author of Hebrews in identifying, applying and interpreting this quotation within the context of his catena in Heb 1, could probably be traced back to a midrash-pesher manner of working with these authoritative texts.⁷² It is interesting that Heb 1:1 opens with the same thought as that just prior to the Song of Moses: ἐσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν in Deut 31:29. In Moses’ Song, he mentions that “when the Most High apportioned the nations, when he divided humankind, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of God’s angels” (κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ, Deut 32:8). The author of Hebrews, however, makes it clear that “God did not subject the coming world, about which we are speaking, to angels” (Οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλοις ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, Heb 2:5). Both Moses (Deut 32:20) and the author of Hebrews (Heb 3:12) warn about the danger of apostasy. He aligns himself closely to the existing early Christian tradition where the angels were witnesses during key events in Jesus’ existence: his birth

⁶⁸ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 77.

⁶⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 117.

⁷⁰ This view is held by B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 21-23; M. Dods, “The Epistle to the Hebrews,” in W.R. Nicoll (ed.), *The Expositor’s Greek Testament*, Vol. 4 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1961), 254; T. Hewitt, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Tyndale New Testament Commentaries; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1960) 55-56; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreeën*, 33; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 16; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 50-51.

⁷¹ T.K. Oberholtzer (“Warning Passages,” 86-87), in referring to the work of H. Kent (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1972], 42), says “...this understanding of πάλιν is preferable for several reasons. First, πάλιν follows the subordinate temporal conjunction ὅταν δέ... thereby making πάλιν a part of the clause and not merely an introduction to it. Second, the use of the subjunctive mood in the verb εἰσαγάγῃ argues for a future event rather than the past act of the Incarnation. Third, οἰκουμένην... in 1:6 is also used in 2:5, where it refers explicitly to the future and directs the readers to an eschatological context. Hebrews 1:6, then, as Kent suggests, refers to the ministry of angels at the second advent of Christ (cf. Matt 16:27; 25:31; 2 Thess 1:7).”

⁷² So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 54: “Ein Midrasch-Pescher ist weder ein Kommentar zu einer Schriftstelle, noch ein Midrasch, sondern eine inspirierte Anwendung einer Schriftstelle auf die Jetzt-Zeit – das ist im Hebräerbrief: auf das Christusereignis.” Versus H.-F. Weiss (*Hebräer*, 163), who takes it in a typological manner.

(Luke 2:13-14),⁷³ temptations (Matt 4:11), passion (Luke 22:43) and resurrection (Matt 28:2).⁷⁴

Some interesting observations regarding the issue of this double transmission of “sons of God” and “angels” were made:

In the Song of Moses we read that God established the number of the world’s countries either according to the number of the ‘sons of Israel’ (Masoretic text), or of the ‘angels of God’ (Septuagint), or of the ‘sons of God’ (Qumran). Since ‘angels of God’ and ‘sons of God’ are synonyms, it is reasonable to conclude that the Septuagint represents the Qumran type of Hebrew... Their reasoning therefore runs: the guardian angels of the various peoples were created before man, so when God divided the human race into nations, he ensured that each of the seventy pre-existent angels should have his own special client... Thus the Masoretic ‘sons of Israel’ and the Septuagint-Qumran ‘angels/sons of God’ cannot be explained as stylistic variations: they derive from autonomous traditions.⁷⁵

An interesting parallel regarding the interpretation of Ode 2:43/Deut 32:43 in Heb 1:6 can also be found in the rabbinic tradition of the (ca. 1st cent. B.C.E. to 2nd cent. C.E.) “*Life of Adam and Eve*,”⁷⁶ presented in the form of a midrash.⁷⁷ In the Latin version⁷⁸ the angels were summoned to worship Adam when he was “brought into the world” as the “first born,” but Satan refused, later saying to Adam:

When God blew into you the breath of life and your countenance and likeness were made in the image of God, Michael brought you and made (us) worship you in the sight of God, and the Lord God said: ‘Behold Adam! I have made you in our image and likeness.’ And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying, ‘Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed.’ And

⁷³ Note, however, that the angels are praising *God* during this event.

⁷⁴ “(T)he Son is so great when he is brought into the inhabited world (the οἰκουμένη) that even the angels of the nations must fall down on their knees before him” (M. Karrer, “Epistle,” 353).

⁷⁵ G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: Collins, 1977) 204-205.

⁷⁶ M.D. Johnson, “Life of Adam and Eve,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2 (AB Reference Library; New York: Doubleday, 1985) 249-295, on p. 262; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 40; C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), 156. See F.F. Bruce for more allusions to this story (*Hebrews*, 16, n.77).

⁷⁷ M.D. Johnson, *Adam and Eve*, 249; D.S. Russell, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 15.

⁷⁸ The Greek version, known as *The Apocalypse of Moses*, differs from the Latin.

Michael himself worshiped first, and called me and said, ‘Worship the image of God, Yahweh.’ And I answered, ‘I do not worship Adam’ (*LAE* 13:3 – 14:3a).⁷⁹

It might be possible that the author of Hebrews was familiar with a similar tradition, transferring it from the first Adam to the last.⁸⁰

1.4 Conclusion

There is textual evidence of other versions that fairly closely support the text of the quotation from the Song of Moses as found in Hebrews. The version found in Ode 2, represented by Rom 12:13, of which the readings closely agree with that of the quotation in Hebrews, are proof of this fact. This means that different readings that are to be found in the Hebrews quotations – in comparison with the readings of the MT and LXX Deuteronomy – are not necessarily an indication of the author’s hand, but could be due to alternative versions (textual traditions, oral versions from liturgical usage).

The shift from the “sons of God” to “angels” as found in Heb 1:6, might point in the direction of a possible misperception in those days that Jesus, who was proclaimed to be the Son of God, was perceived in some circles as yet another “angel.” The author of Hebrews corrects this skewed Christology, clearly stating in Heb 1 that he was indeed different than the angels.⁸¹

The liturgical connections of Deut 32 and Ps 135(134) with the festival cult of the Israelite covenant community might, on the one hand, throw some light on the *Vorlage* used by the author of Hebrews, and on the other hand, on the covenant motif as found in Hebrews. In fact, the liturgical significance of the Song of Moses (Deut 32) in Judaism and early Christianity might put us on the right track in our quest for the *Vorlage* of the quotations in Hebrews.⁸²

⁷⁹ Translation taken from M.D. Johnson, “Adam and Eve,” 262.

⁸⁰ R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 40. Compare C.K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last. A Study of Pauline Theology* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1962), 68.

⁸¹ “Dem Hebr ist es lediglich Konsequenz seines messianischen Schriftverständnisses: Alles Reden Gottes kommt im Sohn zum Ziel” (E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 81).

⁸² Cf. also M. Jenny, Art. “Cantica,” *TRE VII* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981) 624-628, on p. 625: “Daß es schon im vorchristlichen Judentum eine liturgische Verwendung von Cantica gab, scheint sicher zu sein.”

2. Ps 104(103):4 in Heb 1:7

The author of Hebrews continues his contrast between the πρωτότοκος of the previous verse (Heb 1:6) and the ἄγγελοι with this next verse (Heb 1:7). Both these quotations emphasise the inferior position of the angels, because the Son and the angels are different beings or entities.⁸³ The angels are spirits, created by God to be servants.⁸⁴ They were told to worship the Firstborn when he was brought into the world (Ode 32:43) and their offices are ministerial and transitory, being made winds and flames of fire (Ps 104[103]:4). They carry the “flaming fire” (πῦρ φλέγον) of God’s glory that he has shown on Mount Sinai (Exod 24:17).⁸⁵

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Ps 104(103)

Ps 104(103) belongs to Book IV of the Psalms, i.e. Pss 90 – 106.⁸⁶ Just as would later be the case with Pss 45(44) and 95(94) that are quoted by Hebrews, also Ps 104(103) belongs to the grouping of hymns or Psalms of praise.⁸⁷ It is a pre-exilic Psalm, “somewhere between the mythical creation picture of Psalm 74 and the sober *fiats* of Genesis 1.”⁸⁸ It also belongs, with Ps 8 (quoted later in Heb 2), to those Psalms that are allusions to God’s creation and is called a “creation Psalm”⁸⁹ – with its perspective on the continuing role of God’s breath of life (רוּחַ, τὸ πνεῦμα σου, v. 30) in the process of creation.⁹⁰ (Compare this with the תְּאַכֵּי רָוחָה or τοὺς ἄγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα of v. 4 that is quoted in Heb 1:7).

⁸³ E. Grässer talks about “unterschiedlichen Wesen” (*Hebräer I*, 81).

⁸⁴ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 120. He draws attention to the fact that “Hebrews does not distinguish between angels and other created supernatural forces, nor between different classes of angels.”

⁸⁵ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 121; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 136.

⁸⁶ See F.-L. Hossfeld for a discussion on the differences between the MT and LXX within this collection (“Akzentsetzungen der Septuaginta im vierten Psalmenbuch: Ps 90-106 (Ps 89-105 bzw. 106 LXX),” in E. Zenger (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter. Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte* (HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001) 163-169.

⁸⁷ According to M.D. Goulder, Book IV of the Psalms closed with Pss 103-104 and it “reached a crescendo of praise in Psalms 103 and 104” (*The Psalms of the Return (Book V, Psalms 107-150)* [JSOT Suppl Ser 258; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998] 285, 294).

⁸⁸ M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 294.

⁸⁹ C. Westermann, *The Psalms: Structure, Content, and Message* (Translated by Ralph D. Gehrke; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1980), 97; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 24; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 41; C.J.A. Vos, *Theopoetry of the Psalms* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2005), 236.

⁹⁰ H. Spieckermann, “Psalmen und Psalter. Suchbewegungen des Forschens und Betens,” in F. García Martínez & E. Noort (ed.), *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. Van der Woude on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 137-153, on p. 150.

Two aspects regarding Ps 104(103) that were proposed in the past are controversial. The first is its possible connections with the key document of Atonism, the great Egyptian Sun Hymn from Tell el-Amarna, also known as the *Hymn of the Aten*. Due to many similarities, some scholars⁹¹ found dependence of Ps 104(103) upon this hymn to the sun god Atum, Aten or Re by the Pharaoh Akhenaton.⁹² Others are sceptical about this view – especially to connect Hebrew monotheism to Egyptian origin, arguing that “many of the thoughts present in the Sun Hymn can be found in Egyptian religious literature from both before and after the Amarna period, and are not the creation of Akhenaton and his scribes and priests.”⁹³ Nevertheless, the connection with the Sun Hymn is fairly widely accepted.

The second controversial aspect regarding Ps 104(103) is a possible connection with some kind of festival – whether that be a New Year’s festival,⁹⁴ an autumn festival or merely a creation festival.⁹⁵ This viewpoint has lost momentum, has been criticised⁹⁶ and is not widely accepted at all.

2.1.2 The use of Psalm 104(103) in early Jewish and Christian traditions

Ps 104(103) was probably used during the Jewish synagogue liturgies on Friday evenings and Sabbath mornings.⁹⁷ Verse 4, which is quoted in Heb 1:7, has also been alluded to by early Judaism in the DSS. There are three places where possible allusions to this text were identified amongst the DSS. The first is within the section 1QS 1:16 – 2:25, which describes the ceremony of the Feast of the renewal of the Covenant.⁹⁸ The listed passage (1QS 1:21-22) is questionable, however, as it only talks about the priests and the Levites who will recite the just deeds of God in his mighty works. The second is within 4QWorks of God (4Q392).⁹⁹ The

⁹¹ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen 1-59* (BKAT XV/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978⁵), 884; J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1946), 371; J.K. West, *Introduction*, 442; D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (London: Harper & Row, 1974), 69; J. Rogerson & P. Davies, *The Old Testament World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 94; C.J.A. Vos, *Theopoetry*, 249.

⁹² Also known as Ikhnaton or Amenhotep IV.

⁹³ C.F. Aling, *Egypt and Bible History. From Earliest Times to 1000 B.C.* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 130.

⁹⁴ P. Humbert, “La relation de Genèse 1 et du Psalme 104 avec liturgie du Nouvel-An Israëlite,” *RHPR* 15 (1935) 1-27; L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* (WBC 21; Dallas: Word Inc., 1983) 28-29.

⁹⁵ S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship* (Transl. D.R. Ap-Thomas; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 140-146; M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 107; A. Weiser, *Psalms*, 666 *passim*.

⁹⁶ Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Gottesdienst in Israel* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1962), 239.

⁹⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 23; *Hebrews*, 41; E. Werner, *Sacred Bridge* (London: D. Dobson, 1959), 150.

⁹⁸ See G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 178.

⁹⁹ 4QWorks of God reads: “9. [...wi]nds and lightning [...the ser]vants of the holy of ho[lies] going out before him...” (Text taken from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 788-789)

third case, from the *Hodayot* (1QH 1:10b-12) can indeed be identified as an allusion.¹⁰⁰ It was thus in principle not an unknown phrase. Furthermore, the broader motif of the angels being flames of fire, and also spirits and winds, was a known motif amongst the community at Qumran.¹⁰¹

In the Greek Jewish literature, although Ps 104(103):4 is not explicitly quoted in the extant literature, the term πνεύματα appears in the LXX¹⁰² and the motif of the λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ is a known motif in Philo¹⁰³ and in the LXX.¹⁰⁴ Further allusions to Ps 104(103):4 are also to be found in the pseudepigraphical literature.¹⁰⁵

In the early Christian period, Ps 104(103) was traditionally used on Ascension Day from the earliest days of the Christian Church.¹⁰⁶ This quotation is found in *1 Clem* 36:3, as well as Ps 2:7 following in *1 Clem* 36:4 – probably due to the influence of Hebrews. Although Ps 104(103):4 is nowhere else quoted or alluded to in the NT itself in any other place, the term λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ appears only once more in the NT (Rom 13:6). Broader knowledge of Ps 104(103) is also clear from the fact that v. 12 was quoted in the Synoptic gospels during the parable of the mustard seed (Mark 4:32, par. Matt 13:32; Luke 13:19). An allusion to Ps 104(103):25 is also to be found in Rev 19:1 when the great multitude praises God in heaven – which confirms the possible liturgical use of this Psalm in early Christian times.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Ps 104(103):4

Comparing the Hebrew witnesses, Ps 104:4 is the most widely covered amongst the findings of the DSS from all the Psalm quotations that occur in Hebrews. Three different fragments

¹⁰⁰ 1QH 1:10b-12 reads: “10b. ...powerful spirits, according to their laws, before 11. they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: luminaries according to their mysteries, 12. stars according to [their] circuits, [all the stormy winds] according to their roles, lightning and thunder according to their duties...” (Text taken from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 158-159).

¹⁰¹ Compare, for example, CD-A II (=4Q266 2 II): “5b. ... strength and power and a great anger with *flames of fire* 6. by the <hand> of all the angels of destruction....” Also 4QJub^a (= Jub 2:1-4; 4Q216): “5: [the waters and all the spirits who serve before him: the angels of] the presence, the angels of ho[lliness,] 6: the *angels of the spirits of fire, the angels of the spirits of the currents* [and] the angels of the spirits of the [clouds]” (Texts taken from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 552-553; 460-461).

¹⁰² Ps 75:13; Ode 8:65, 86 (Dan 3:65, 86); Sir 39:28.

¹⁰³ Philo makes reference to οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ, τὴν οὐράνιον φλόγα ἀνακαίειν καὶ ζωπυρεῖν ἐπειγόμενοι (*Somn.* 2, 186), as well as to the ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί (*Virt.* 74) and to the λειτουργοῖς θεοῦ (*Mos.* 2, 149).

¹⁰⁴ Ps 102:21; Sir 10:2; Isa 61:6.

¹⁰⁵ 2 Bar 21:7; Jub 2:2; 1 En 17:1; 2 En 29:1; 4 Ezra 8:21-22. See B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 76.

¹⁰⁶ C.J.A. Vos, *Theopoetry*, 249-250.

contain the verse used in the quotation of Heb 1:7: 4QPs^d (4Q86) has the section of Ps 104:1-5 preserved; 11QPs^a (11Q5) contains the section of Ps 104:1-6, and 4QPs^l (4Q93) contains Ps 104:3-5. When these readings are compared with that of the MT, the situation appears as follows:

4QPs ^d (4Q86) ¹⁰⁷	11QPs ^a (11Q5) ¹⁰⁸	4QPs ^l (4Q93) ¹⁰⁹	MT
Ps 104:1-5	Ps 104:1-6	Ps 104:3-5	Ps 104:4
עָשָׂי מֶלֶךְיוּ רוחוֹת מִשְׁרָתֵי אָשָׁה[ת] He makes winds his messengers/angels, flames of fire his servants	[א[]] תְּבוּ אָשׁ לְהַטָּה [who make the winds his mess]en[gers,] flaming fire his [ministe]rs	עָשָׂי מֶלֶךְיוּ רוחוֹת מִשְׁרָתֵי אָשׁ לְהַטָּה He makes winds his messenger/angel, flames of fire his servant	עָשָׂי מֶלֶךְיוּ רוחוֹת מִשְׁרָתֵי אָשׁ לְהַטָּה He makes winds his messengers/angels, flames of fire his servants

The readings of the three DSS fragments and that of the MT are very close. 4QPs^d and the MT are identical, whereas 11QPs^a reads “flaming fire” (similar to the LXX πῦρ φλέγον), not “flames of fire,” and 4QPs^l reads “messenger” and “servant” in the singular, not the plural.

Amongst the Greek witnesses to Ps 104(103):4, particularly noteworthy is the 2nd / 4th cent. C.E.¹¹¹ PBod XXIV (Ra 2110).¹¹²

PBod XXIV (Ra 2110)	Ps 103:4 LXX (¤ B)
ο ποιω[ν τους αγγελλους αυτου <u>πνα</u> : και τους λειτουργους αυτου <u>πυρος φλογα</u>	δ ποιων τους ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα και τους λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ <u>πυρ φλέγον</u>

The reading of PBod XXIV seems to be closer to the NT text.¹¹³ It reads πνα (probably for πνεύμα rather than for πνεύματα),¹¹⁴ as well as πυρος φλόγα – as it is found in the quotation of Heb 1:7.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. E. Ulrich, et. al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 67-68.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. J.A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalm Scroll* (New York: Correll University Press, 1967), 160-161.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XI*, 128.

¹¹⁰ P.W. Flint, however, takes the MT to read here נָשָׂא (“Variant Readings of the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls against the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint Psalter,” in A. Aejmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* [MSU XXIV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000] 337-365, on p. 352).

¹¹¹ D. Barthélémy dates the Papyrus in the 2nd cent. C.E. (“Le Psautier grec et le Papyrus Bodmer XXIV,” *RTP* 19 (1969) 106-110, on p. 106). A. Pietersma, however dates it in the 4th cent. C.E. (“Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” 28).

¹¹² R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV. Psalms XVII – CXVIII* (Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana; 1967), 204. Cf. D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 58-61.

There are two clear traditions (probably due to the rabbinic traditions regarding the mutability of angels)¹¹⁵ that can be identified here and which are due to the interchange or switching of the subjects:¹¹⁶

- God makes “the *winds* his messengers¹¹⁷ and *flames* his servants.” This version is followed by the MT.¹¹⁸ Also 1QH 1:10-12 takes the same approach by praising the unlimited possibilities of the Creator who could even use the natural elements as his messengers.¹¹⁹
- God makes “the *angels* winds and his *servants* flames of fire.” This is followed by the LXX,¹²⁰ Targum Jonathan¹²¹ and Hebrews. The Syrian and other eastern versions of 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 8:21f. follow a similar direction by referring to the angels who “are changed to wind and fire.”¹²² Also the interpretation in the Latin version of this passage refers to the angels “whose service takes the form of wind and fire.”¹²³

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:7

The only variant reading regarding the text of the quotation in Heb 1:7 as documented in NA27, is that of the Western text D (followed by 326. 2464 *pc sy^P*), which reads πνεύμα and not πνεύματα as the rest of the witnesses. The difference might be explained by being due to either the assimilation with φλόγα, or because the abbreviation πνά was used for both πνεύμα and for πνεύματα.¹²⁴ Thus, there is little doubt that πνεύματα should be the

¹¹³ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 204.

¹¹⁴ Cf. R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.): “Pareillement, on a πνά pour πνευμα *passim* (mais πνευμα 22,36) et πνί pour πνευματι 41,19, bien qu'il s'agisse ici le plus souvent de l'esprit de l'homme et non pas du Saint-Esprit” (*Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 26). Also A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts*, 46.

¹¹⁵ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 121. H.W. Attridge argues similarly: “the translator of the LXX may have had in mind theophanies in which meteorological phenomena were taken to be transformed angels” (*Hebrews*, 58).

¹¹⁶ See the more extensive discussion on this issue by U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintpsalter*, 178-179.

¹¹⁷ The Hebrew נֶמֶת can also mean “angel.” Cf. W.L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 196; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, Vol II*: נֶמֶת (New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950), 786. This is also the word that is usually translated with ἄγγελος by the LXX translators, including the Psalms (except for Pss 8:5; 77:25; 96:7; and 137:1). Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint, Vol I: A-I* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975) 7-9.

¹¹⁸ F. Schröger formulates too strong when he says that “Im masoretischen Text steht in diesem Psalm überhaupt nichts über die Engel” (*Verfasser*, 57).

¹¹⁹ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 81.

¹²⁰ P. Ellingworth argues, however, that the LXX cannot mean “who makes his angels into winds,” but rather “who makes winds his messengers” (*Hebrews*, 120).

¹²¹ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 58.

¹²² F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 18.

¹²³ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 18; and G. Schunack: “Die Engel sind wandelbare Diener...” (*Hebräerbrevi*, 27).

¹²⁴ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 121.

preferred reading – in the light of the combined support of P^{46} and Codex B, as well as the support of codices κ and A – so that the choice of NA27 should be accepted.

POxy LXVI (4498)¹²⁵ – also known as P^{114} – is one of the latest additions to the pool of variants to Heb 1:7-12. The fragment is an uncial manuscript and is dated to the 3rd cent. C.E. It was first published in 1999¹²⁶ and has not yet been incorporated into the critical text of NA27. The piece is identified to be the text of Heb 1:7-12 as it clearly contains parts of the three texts quoted there and in the same sequence too, namely Ps 104(103):4; Ps 45:7-8(44:6-7) and Ps 102(101):26-28. The fragment might have formed part of a papyrus codex although there is no writing on the reverse side.¹²⁷ It is in a bad state and not much is left of the text. One advantage, however, is that the piece of text belongs to a left margin, which assists in the possible reconstruction of the lines. In counting the characters per line, the text might assist in the choices for or against particular variants.

It is doubtful that this fragment was part of a testimonium as the phrase $\pi\rho\circ\varsigma \delta\dot{\epsilon} \tau\circ\nu \nu\circ\circ\nu$ at the beginning of Heb 1:8 which connects the two quotations from Ps 103:4 LXX and Ps 44:7 LXX, would probably not have been part of such a text. If this phrase is left out and the line is differently reconstructed, then the two survived characters in line 1 should rather be ΟΥ and not ΑΥ, hence:

ΚΑΙΤ]ΟΥ[ΣΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΥΣΑΥΤΟΥΠΥΡΟΣΦΛΟΓΑΟΘΡΟΝΟΣ [40]

However, with the presence of ΑΥ, one can thus assume that the introductory phrase for Ps 45(44), $\pi\rho\circ\varsigma \delta\dot{\epsilon} \tau\circ\nu \nu\circ\circ\nu$, was part of the text. The first line, could thus be constructed:

-ΓΟΥΣ]ΑΥ[ΤΟΥΠΥΡΟΣΦΛΟΓΑΠΡΟΣΔΕΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΟΘΡΟΝΟΣ [39]

Unfortunately, not much more can be deduced from this line. Both the reading of LXX PBod XXIV and Heb 1:7 ($\pi\nu\rho\circ\varsigma \phi\lambda\circ\gamma\alpha$, total 39 characters) as well as that of the LXX κ B ($\pi\nu\rho \phi\lambda\circ\gamma\circ\nu$, totalling 38 characters) is theoretically possible.

¹²⁵ Cf. www.ntgateway.com/resource/image.htm.

¹²⁶ Published by N. Gonis; J. Chapa; W.E.H. Cockle, et. al. (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Nos. 4494-4544, Vol. 66* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999).

¹²⁷ N. Gonis, et. al. (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 9. Cf. also J.K. Elliott, “Seven Recently Published New Testament Fragments from Oxyrhynchus,” *NT* 42/3 (2000) 209-213, on p. 210. Elliott states that two other Papyri from Hebrews (P^{12} and P^{13}) came from a roll, although their other sides contain writing.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 104(103):4 and Heb 1:7

Scholars are in agreement that the quotation from Ps 104(103):4 in Heb 1:7 agrees verbally with the LXX¹²⁸ – against the reading of the MT. This is only partially true,¹²⁹ as there is still the unaccounted difference between πυρ φλέγον (LXX Ps 103:4) and πυρὸς φλόγα (Heb 1:7). The latter, a well-known phrase in the NT, which is also supported by the LXX witnesses Bo Sa L^b A^c(φλέγα!)¹³⁰ in Ps 104(103):4, is most probably due to a “back reading,”¹³¹ or later adaptation in these LXX witnesses on the basis of the NT text.¹³²

Ps 103:4 LXX

ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρ φλέγον

Heb 1:7

καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει·
ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα
καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς
φλόγα,

Some saw this difference between the πυρ φλέγον of the LXX and the πυρὸς φλόγα of Hebrews as a mere stylistic improvement. If this was the case – which is possible with regard to the Lucianic witnesses – then this reading could have entered the LXX witnesses already independently from the NT as such an improvement. Furthermore, the Boharic and Sahidic LXX translations are not known to show NT influence.¹³³ It became clear from the discussion above that, given the evidence of PBod XXIV, there is a definite possibility that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews actually reads πυρὸς φλόγα¹³⁴ – which is confirmed by the Coptic translations.¹³⁵ It seems best to accept Ahlborn’s conclusion:

Die Variante πυρὸς φλόγα ist relativ alt und im oberägyptischen Raum nachgewiesen. Dort könnte auch die Vorlage des Hebräerbriefes beheimatet sein;

¹²⁸ Cf. F. Schröger: “zitiert genau nach LXX” (*Verfasser*, 56). Also B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 24; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 17; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 23; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 41; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreën*, 33; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 41; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 136.

¹²⁹ E. Ahlborn correctly says “Mit Ausnahme der beiden letzten Wörter” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 111), P. Ellingworth talks about reproducing the LXX “closely” (*Hebrews*, 121) and H.W. Attridge about a “minor difference” (*Hebrews*, 57, n.81).

¹³⁰ E. Ahlborn explains this reading as either due to an “Unzialverschreibung von O in E, oder es liegt eine Kontamination vor aus φλέγον und φλόγα” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 111).

¹³¹ P. Katz, “Ἐν πυρὶ φλογός,” ZNW 46 (1955) 133–138, on p. 135; P. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint. Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 323. The latter states: “...its evidence is not ‘ \aleph^A ’, but only Bo. Sa. L^b and a corrector of A” (on p. 323).

¹³² So also P. Walters, *Text of the Septuagint*, 323; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 121.

¹³³ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 112.

¹³⁴ So also U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 179.

¹³⁵ “He who makes his angels spirit, his ministers flames of fire” (G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect (Otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic)*. Vol V: *The Epistles of S. Paul* [Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969], 5ff. Cf. E. Ahlborn: “...einer Vorlage, die der vom Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes in seinen Zitaten benutzten Septuaginta-Fassung nahesteht” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 112).

wenigstens ist sie von daher beeinflußt. Später hat sich die Lesart dann in einem Teil der Zeugen für die lukianische Rezension gehalten.¹³⁶

2.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

Unless one could prove that the author made definite changes due to his applied context, the chances are great that the quotation in Heb 1:7 would be based on a *Vorlage* similar to that represented in PBod XXIV and that it actually read the same as the text of the quotation in Hebrews – reading πυρὸς φλόγα.¹³⁷ Furthermore, the similarity between ως ἵματιον in LXX Ps 103:2, 6 and Heb 1:12 certainly is interesting and might even be an indication that the author of Hebrews read, or knew, the broader context of Ps 104(103).¹³⁸

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The text of this LXX quotation from Ps 104(103):4 is presented in the form of a synthetical *parellismus membrorum*.¹³⁹ By now it is no surprise that the quotation is introduced with a verb of saying, and that the subject of λέγει must be God.¹⁴⁰

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

Whereas the MT and 1QH I,10-11 state that God could make elements of nature, such as wind and fire, his angels, the LXX and Hebrews have another theological understanding. According to the latter, God can reduce the angels to be natural elements.¹⁴¹

The term “spirits” is used around the turn of the first century not less than twenty times in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (ShirShabb)* alone.¹⁴² In 1 Cor 14:32, “the spirits of prophets (πνεύματα προφητῶν) are subject to (ὑποτάσσεται) the prophets,” with the

¹³⁶ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 112.

¹³⁷ S. Kistemaker assumes liturgical connections here: “For reasons of proper balance and rhythm the term πυρὸς φλόγα, harmonizing with the preceding πνεύματα, may have been part of the liturgy of the Church” (S. *Psalm Citations*, 24) – and so does H.W. Attridge supports “influence of liturgical language” (*Hebrews*, 57).

¹³⁸ Cf. also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 121.

¹³⁹ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 164.

¹⁴⁰ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 120.

¹⁴¹ C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 194.

¹⁴² M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 136.

intention that these spirits through whom those prophets speak, submit themselves to the control of the prophets. The spirits that were the objects of exorcism in the NT were also known as πνεύματα¹⁴³ – the same kind who let the people who were possessed with them fall down before (προσέπιπτον) Jesus and acknowledged him as the Son of God (σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Mark 3:11), who submitted themselves (ὑποτάσσεται) to the 72 disciples (Luke 10:20), and who were helpless when confronted with the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts 19:12-13). In the cases mentioned here, there is a special “heavenly” connection with the names of Jesus and the disciples – an aspect which strongly reminds one of Heb 1:4 from which the catena of quotations provides the evidence that Christ is superior to the angels. The idea derived from the quotation of Ps 104(103):4 regarding the submission of the spirits (angels) to Christ,¹⁴⁴ is picked up again in the conclusion to the catena of Heb 1. They are merely “liturgical spirits in the service” of God¹⁴⁵ (λειτουργίκα πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν, Heb 1:14).¹⁴⁶

In the apocalyptic realm, Jesus has the seven spirits of God (ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ, Rev 3:1) who are metaphorically represented by the seven lamps in front of the throne of God (ἐπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρός, Rev 4:5) and by the seven eyes of the Lamb (Rev 5:6).

2.4 Conclusion

The *tradition historical* investigation of Ps 104(103) pointed out that the use of this Psalm is closely linked with a clear liturgical tradition and that allusions to it occur frequently in early Jewish and early Christian literature. Motifs such as the angels being flames of fire, spirits and winds, was an accepted motif within the community at Qumran and the motif of the λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ is a known motif in Philo and in the LXX. Furthermore, the term πνεύματα appears a number of times in the LXX. Although the Psalm and related motifs from it were thus well known by the time the author of Hebrews wrote, the fact that there are no traces of this specific explicit quotation being used before his time should probably point

¹⁴³ Cf. Mark 3:11; 5:13; Matt 8:16; 12:45; Luke 10:20; 11:26; Acts 8:7; 19:12-13. See also 1 John 4:1 regarding the distinction of the πνεύματα and Rev 16:13-14 regarding the ψευδοπροφήτου πνεύματα.

¹⁴⁴ Christ is thus “supreme in his divine sovereignty” and the angels “minister while Christ sits enthroned” (R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews*, 32).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. H. van Oyen: “De strekking van dit citaat bedoelt de onderworpenheid, creatuurlijkheid en dienstbaarheid der engelen uit te drukken” (*Hebreëën*, 17). Also P. Ellingworth: “...the purpose of the quotation is to establish that angels are no more than God’s λειτουργοί” (*Hebrews*, 121).

¹⁴⁶ H.-F. Weiss sees v. 14 as the conclusion to the whole “Testimonienreihe” (*Hebräer*, 164). Cf. the discussion on this issue in Chapter 2 of this study on the first two quotations (Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14).

in the direction of Hebrews' own identification and utilisation of these lines. This might be due to knowledge from its liturgical use in the tradition or to the author's own study of his Scriptures.

The *text critical* investigation of Ps 104(103) made it clear that there were two traditions: (a) The MT and 1QH 1:10-12 support “the *winds* his messengers and *flames* his servants,” whilst (b) the LXX, Targum Jonathan and Hebrews – as well as the Syrian and other eastern versions of 2 Esdras – support God making “the *angels* winds and his *servants* flames of fire.” The investigation, furthermore, discovered that there is a definite possibility that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews actually read πυρὸς φλόγα – based on the evidence of PBod XXIV.

The quotation assists in the author's argument that the Son is superior to the other sons of God. The scene is that of the Son enthroned in heaven with the angels in a serving capacity.

Chapter 4

Motif of the eternal reign of the Son The combination Ps 45(44):7-8 + Ps 102(101):26-28 in Heb 1:8-12

Heb 1:8-12

8 πρὸς δὲ τὸν νίόν·

οὐ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ αἰώνος, καὶ η ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. 9 ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισεν σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου. (Ps 45[44]:7-8)

10 καὶ·

σὺ κατ’ ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· 11 αὐτὸι ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἴμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, 12 καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, ὡς ἴμάτιον καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ει καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν. (Ps 102[101]:26-28)

The two fairly long quotations from Ps 45(44):7-8 and Ps 102(101):26-28 are closely connected with each other¹ by means of a single *καὶ* which binds them together, the second person singular pronoun *σου*² (probably according to the hermeneutical rule of *gezerah shawah*),³ as well as with the Son being addressed as *θεός* in the first and as *κύριε* in the second quotation of this pair.⁴ These two quotations form the third pair of quotations in the catena⁵ with no traces in the tradition of such an existing combination prior to Hebrews. Both deal with the theme of the *eternal reign* of the Son who is addressed as “*God*” (if *θεός* is taken as a vocative in this instance), thereby contributing to the author’s argument that the Son is superior to the angels. In contrast to the transitory nature of the angels, stands the eternal throne and the never-ending kingdom of the Son. The quotations from Pss 45(44) and 102(101) imply the christological descriptions of Jesus as *βασιλεὺς* (eternal throne), *ἰερεὺς* (justice/righteousness) and *λόγος* (creator medium of heaven and earth).

¹ A. Strobel is correct in saying that “die Benutzung der Schriftstellen (geschah) offensichtlich nicht nach zufälliger Auslese, sondern durchaus nach gewissen Grundsätzen” (*Hebräer*, 94). So also E. Grässer: “...die ihm passend erscheinenden Schriftstellen heraussuchte...” (*Hebräer I*, 85).

² W.L Lane, *Hebrews 1*, 25; G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 936, 939.

³ H.W. Bateman, *Messianic Uses*, 17.

⁴ P. Ellingworth argues similarly and points out that “(t)he two titles occupy corresponding positions near the beginning of the quotations” (*Hebrews*, 122).

⁵ Cf. H.W. Bateman, who sees this quotation forming the centre of a conceptual chiasm about the Son amongst the OT citations in Heb 1:5-13 (“*Messianic Uses*,” 26).

1. Ps 45(44):7-8 in Heb 1:8-9

The quotation from Ps 45(44):7-8 in Heb 1:8-9 is the fifth explicit quotation in the catena of Heb 1:5-14. With Ps 45(44):1-2 being quoted prior to Hebrews, it thus belongs to the group of passages that were already quoted prior to the time of Hebrews, although our author quotes another section from the passage. The quotation is closely connected with the next quotation from Ps 102(101):26-28 – the only quotation from the seven cited in this catena of which no evidence exists that the Psalm has been quoted at all prior to the time of Hebrews. The “royal psalm, Ps 45(44):7-8 with its eloquent praise for a Davidic king at his wedding,” probably unites in this instance two first-century Jewish concepts behind Heb 1, namely that of Davidic sonship⁶ and that of Divine Wisdom.⁷

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Ps 45(44)

The possible Egyptian, West-Semitic and Akkadian parallels of Ps 45(44) have already been pointed out in previous scholarship.⁸ Attention was drawn to Ps 45(44):8a for which a good Egyptian parallel is to be found in the word *ntr*, occurring in a set phrase as “the perfect (or beautiful) god.”⁹ This can be compared with the messianic interpretation¹⁰ of the rabbinics in Targum Jonathan: “Thy beauty, O king Messiah, is greater than that of the sons of men.” An interesting parallel with West-Semitic inscriptions also relates to Ps 45(44):7 where a judicial sceptre and a throne are present as royal *insignia* in parallelism. Except for Ps 45(44), the combination of the sceptre with justice (with the exception of being in parallelism with a throne) does not occur at all in the OT.¹¹ This combination might actually be something worth noting in respect of Ps 110(109):4 and Gen 14 as far as the Melchizedek motif is concerned and where the “priest” and “king” elements are combined as qualities or functions of the

⁶ The Jewish concept of *Davidic sonship* might lie behind the quotations from Ps 2:7; Ps 110(109):1 and 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14.

⁷ The Jewish concept of *Divine Wisdom* might lie behind the quotations from Deut 32:43/Ode 2:43; Ps 104(103):4 and Ps 102(101):25–26. See also H.W. Bateman, *Messianic Uses*, 26.

⁸ J.S.M. Mulder, *Studies on Psalm 45* (Nijmegen: Witsiers, 1972) 83-143.

⁹ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 87.

¹⁰ C. Smits, *Oud-Testamentische Citaten in het Nieuwe Testament. Deel IV: De Brief aan de Hebreërs* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 1963), 557; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 24; G. Reim, “Vom Hebräerbrief zum Johannesevangelium, anhand der Psalmzitate,” *BZ* 44 (2000) 92-99, on p. 92.

¹¹ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 92-93, 119.

Son.¹² In Mesopotamia, however, this combination is found “over a wide range of centuries and at different courts.”¹³ Several Akkadian parallels are even closer, such as the “everlastingness of a royal throne given by the gods”¹⁴ and the “qualification of the royal sceptre as ‘right, just’” which are common in Akkadian literature.

In the OT, the element of the “sceptre” surfaces as a symbol for the king – a motif that is found again in the DSS when Num 24:13 is quoted in CD 7:19b-20. In this passage the sceptre is interpreted as “the prince of the whole congregation.” The motif also surfaces in *Ps. Sol.* 17:24¹⁵ when “an iron rod” will be used by the son of David during his rule over Israel (v. 21). Some interesting connections with *Ps. Sol.* 17 were already pointed out during the discussion of Ps 2:7 in Chapter 2 of this study. It is also striking that allusions to a number of the passages from which the author of Hebrews quoted in his catena here in Heb 1, are to be found in *Ps. Sol.* 17.¹⁶

In rabbinical literature Ps 45(44) has been ascribed to a host of possible authors: the sons of Korach, Moses, Aaron and Solomon. It has been ascribed as being an *epithalamion*, or wedding song for an Israelite king,¹⁷ which is actually only applicable to the second part, the “Brautspruch,” vv. 11-17.¹⁸ Some scholars are of the opinion that the Psalm, in its present form, is allegorically directed and that the wedding motif in vv. 11-16 is secondary.¹⁹ With Ps 2 and Ps 110(109), it has also been ascribed to the group of messianic royal Psalms,²⁰ which would particularly apply to the first part, the “Königspruch,” vv. 3-10.²¹ Scholars thus took Ps 45(44) as a composition that was “used for a day of specific celebration of the kingship of

¹² G. Reim writes in this regard: “Es könnte allerdings sein, daß das Verständnis Jesu als ‘König der Gerechtigkeit’ in Hebr 7,7 auf Ps 45,5 (‘für die Sache der Wahrheit und für das Recht’) zurückgeht und so parallel steht zur Übersetzung von Melchisedek als ‘König der Gerechtigkeit’, also eine Brücke bildet für den Schreiber des Hebr” (*Hebräerbrief*, 92).

¹³ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 119.

¹⁴ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 116.

¹⁵ H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament I* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 243.

¹⁶ Cf. 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7 in *Ps. Sol.* 17:4; Ps 2:9 in *Ps. Sol.* 17:23; Ps 104:7 in *Ps. Sol.* 17:25; Ps 101:7 in *Ps. Sol.* 17:27. (See R.B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigrapha II*, 665-667).

¹⁷ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 493; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreeën*, 33; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 17; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 41; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 24, 144; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 42; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 84; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58; “Psalms in Hebrews,” 202; R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews*, 33; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 23; G. Reim, *Hebräerbrief*, 92; C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 128; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 937.

¹⁸ Cf. C.F. Whitley, “Textual and Exegetical Observations on Ps 45,4-7,” ZAW 98 (1986) 277-282, on p. 277; C. Schedl, “Neue Vorschläge zu Text und Deutung des Psalms XLV,” VT 14 (1964) 310-318, on pp. 314-315.

¹⁹ So, for instance, F.-L. Hossfeld & E. Zenger, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1–50* (Neue Echter Bibel; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993), 278.

²⁰ So taken by F.-L. Hossfeld & E. Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 279; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 60.

²¹ C.F. Whitley, “Observations,” 277; C. Schedl, “Vorschläge,” 314.

God and of his Anointed One.”²² The only distinctive feature of these royal Psalms is that the central figure in them is the king, the **מלך** or βασιλεύς.²³ These observations regarding the messianic royal Psalms are interesting in the light of the fact that a number of the passages that are identified by scholars as belonging to this category, are all to be found in Heb 1 – 2, combined in pairs and as part of the first eight quotations.²⁴ Only the second pair of quotations from Hebrews’ catena, the combination Deut 32/Ode 2 and Ps 104(103), are not accounted for in this category of royal Psalms.

Structurally, the section which contains Ps 45(44):4-8a and from which the quotation in Hebrews was taken, belongs to the first section of the Psalm and deals with the king’s justice. Within this section, vv. 7-8a focus specifically on the king’s justice and its God-given foundation.²⁵ The address of אֶל-הָיָם in v. 7, with its translation of ὁ θεός in the LXX,²⁶ is an epithet for the king in the context of Ps 45(44).²⁷ The implication of this, according to Ps 45(44):8, is then that a king of Israel was addressed as “God”²⁸ – even though it might only have been a *topos* of the messiah. The debate on this issue started over a thousand years ago amongst some Jewish scholars with a variant reading of the Peshitta – and the debate still continues to this day.²⁹ The Psalm uses hyperbolic language to praise the monarch’s majesty.³⁰ It is an expression of the king’s royal might and beauty – expressed in vv. 7-9 through the use of the verb **נשִׁיחַ**, which belongs to the pre-exilic base of the Psalm (vv. 2-10, 17-18).³¹

1.1.2 Ps 45(44) in the early Jewish and early Christian tradition

Regarding the occurrence of a quotation from Ps 45(44) in the *Jewish literature* prior to Hebrews, it should be mentioned that amongst the *pesharim* of the DSS, a combination of Ps 37:2-39 + Ps 45:1-2b + Ps 60:8-9, with commentaries, occurs in 4QpPs^a (4Q171 – col. IV:23-

²² Also grouped into this category are Pss 2, 97, 102, 110 and 2 Sam 7 – even including Pss 8 and 22 as being dealing with “a festive royal ceremonial act” (see M. Barth, “OT in Hebrews,” 72). Some also include Pss (18), 20, 21, 72, 89, 101, 132, and 144:1-11 as “royal Psalms” (Cf. C.E. Cox, “Schaper’s Eschatology,” 305).

²³ C.E. Cox, “Schaper’s Eschatology,” 305.

²⁴ This relates to Ps 2; 2 Sam (2Kgdms) 7; Ps 45(44); Ps 102(101); Ps 110(109) and Ps 8.

²⁵ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 28.

²⁶ It could be that the history of the Jews in Alexandria and their struggles with the Ptolemaic authorities inspired the application of the epithet θεός for the ruler “since the dynastic cult nowhere found fuller and more complex expression than in Ptolemaic Egypt” (J. Schaper, *Eschatology*, 82).

²⁷ J. Schaper, *Eschatology*, 80; P.-G. Müller, “Psalmzitate,” 235; S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 17.

²⁸ Cf. the discussion in F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 60.

²⁹ J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 33.

³⁰ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58.

³¹ C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 129, 131.

27).³² It is the only instance of a quotation from Ps 45(44) occurring in the DSS.³³ It thus relates only to vv. 1-2 of Ps 45, whilst the section under discussion here in Hebrews is vv. 7-8 of Ps 45. Apart from the fact of 11QPs^a (11Q5, col. XVII) which merely contains the text of Ps 45:13-32, another interesting parallel of the motif itself is also noticeable elsewhere in 11QPs^a (559, v. 11): “and anoint me with holy oil, and set me as leader of his people, /and chief of/the sons of his covenant.” Further allusions might be present in 4QcommGen A (4Q252; V,1-4) where there is talk of hope for a Davidic king with striking similarities between the “sceptre / staff,” the “messiah of righteousness” and “kingship of his people for everlasting generations.”³⁴

Turning to *early Christianity* prior to the time of Hebrews, no explicit quotations of Ps 45(44) are to be found amongst any of the NT authors (except for Heb 1:8-9), but possible traces of using Ps 45:8 in a messianic manner, have been suggested.³⁵ One such possibility was thought to be Rom 9:5 – relating לֶלֶד יְהוָה to Christ as God.³⁶ But this is doubtful and evidence for this possibility lacks. Other instances were identified in the Gospel of John with possible traces of the use of Ps 45(44) appearing in John 1:1, 18 and 20:28 (Ps 45:7); John 18:33-37 (Ps 45:5).³⁷ These cases are, however, questionable. It would be difficult to prove beyond doubt that the same element(s) occurring in John and Hebrews were not actually part of those authors’ pool of theological knowledge – without there being any particular connection with Ps 45(44). Furthermore, apart from the fact that John is not citing the text as such, these cases occurred at a later stage than Hebrews. One can possibly only go so far as to state that the use of Ps 45(44):8 is not far removed from these passages in John.³⁸ It can thus be postulated with a fair amount of certainty that the Psalm was not interpreted in a messianic manner elsewhere in the NT.³⁹

In the post-Hebrews early Christian literature, the same quotation from Ps 45(44):7-8 that appeared in Hebrews, also played a prominent role amongst some of the Church

³² A. Steudel states: “Zwar entstand die Handschrift um die Zeitenwende, doch ist das Werk nicht zuletzt wegen Kol. II,6-8 in seiner Entstehung vor 70 v. Chr. anzusiedeln. Es handelt sich also um einen frühen Pescher” (*Midrasch*, 189, n.1).

³³ J. Maier *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Bd. III* (UTB 1916; München: Reinhardt, 1996).

³⁴ Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *DSS Study Edition I*, 504-505; G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 938.

³⁵ G. Reim, “Hebräerbrief,” 92.

³⁶ G. Reim, “Hebräerbrief,” 92.

³⁷ G. Reim holds it for possible “...daß sowohl Joh als auch Hebr etwa gleichzeitig von aus der Tradition vorgegebenen Psalmen ausgehen und sie verschieden anwenden” (“Hebräerbrief,” 92, 98).

³⁸ J.P. Meier, “Symmetry and Theology in the Old Testament Citations of Heb 1,5-14,” *Bib* 66 (1985) 504-533, on p. 514.

³⁹ S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 17.

Fathers.⁴⁰ For instance, Justin,⁴¹ Irenaeus,⁴² Origen,⁴³ Athanasius⁴⁴ and Eusebius⁴⁵ quote and refer to it. Furthermore, in a recent study that was conducted on the IBYCUS Scholarly Computer, the 9th cent. C.E. liturgical Coptic/Sahidic fragment (E16385) of Ps 44(45) and Luke 10, was identified. This is a fragment from a liturgy for the purification of a woman after childbirth, citing Ps 44 (45). Unfortunately, it only contains vv. 9b-10a – which seems to be identical with the British Museum codex, but not in strophic format and no evidence of word division.⁴⁶

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Ps 45(44):7-8

The textual tradition and reconstruction of the Hebrew Ps 45 is complex and has been discussed elsewhere.⁴⁷ It is not the purpose of this study to pursue that avenue. Therefore, where necessary, attention will only be paid to vv. 7-8 and the variants thereof that might have served as possible *Vorlage* for the author of Hebrews.

Amongst the *Hebrew witnesses*, the MT could be compared with the DSS fragment 11QPs^d (11Q8),⁴⁸ which contains the section of Ps 45:7-8, i.e. the passage used by the author of Hebrews for his quotation. Although this fragment was not previously included in critical editions and variant listings,⁴⁹ it brings no new information as far as the text of the quotation

⁴⁰ Cf. the note of T.F. Glasson, “‘Plurality of Divine Persons’ and the Quotations in Hebrews I.6ff,” *NTS* 12 (1965/6) 270-272; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 42.

⁴¹ Just. *Dial.* 38,4; 56,14; 63,4; 86. Cf. also B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 71.

⁴² Irenaeus *Haer.* 3.6.1; 4.33.11; *Epid.* 47.

⁴³ Origen *Cels.* 1,56.

⁴⁴ Athanasius *C. Ar.* 26; *Ep. Mort. Ar.* 26; *Ep. Marcell.*; *Homilia de Semente*.

⁴⁵ Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* I 3,14; *Dem. Ev.* IV 15,15.49.57.58; IV 16,47; *Eccl. theol.* I 20,84; *Generalis elementaria*; *Comm. Pss.* 23.

⁴⁶ R.A. Kraft & B.G. Wright III, “Coptic/Sahidic Fragments of the Biblical Psalms in the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Suppl Ser 332; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001) 162-177, on pp. 165, 167, 169.

⁴⁷ See C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 128-131; C.F. Whitley, “Observations,” 277-282; J.S.M. Mulder, *Psalm 45*, 9; C. Schedl, “Neue Vorschläge,” 310-318; J. Schildenberger, “Zur Textkritik von Ps 45 (44), *BZ* 3 (1959) 31-43.

⁴⁸ Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1182-1183. For the text, cf. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar & A.S. van der Woude (ed.s), *Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 70.

⁴⁹ Cf. P.W. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 42, n.101.

is concerned and its reading is thus in agreement with that of the MT. An interesting feature in both these Hebrew texts is the reference to the king as אלֹהִים.⁵⁰

Ps 45:7-8 (11QPs^d / 11Q8)

כָּסָאָה אֱלֹהִים עֹלֶם וְעַד שֵׁבֶט מִישָׁר
[שֵׁבֶט מֶלֶכְוֹתָךְ: אֶחָבָת צָדָק וְתִשְׁנָא רְשָׁע]
עַל כָּן מְשַׁחַח אֱלֹהִים

Ps 45:7-8 (MT)

כָּסָאָה אֱלֹהִים עֹלֶם וְעַד שֵׁבֶט מִישָׁר
שֵׁבֶט מֶלֶכְוֹתָךְ: אֶחָבָת צָדָק וְתִשְׁנָא רְשָׁע
עַל-כָּן מְשַׁחַח אֱלֹהִים אֶלְיָהוּ שָׁמָן
שָׁוֹן מִתְּבָרֵיךְ:

Turning to the *Greek witnesses* of Ps 45(44):7-8, notice should be taken of some Greek papyri. Firstly, PVindob (inv. nr. 9907 – 9971b; Ra 1220) contains Pss 3 – 67,⁵¹ but lacks Ps 45(44)⁵² – thus being of no use for the quotation in Heb 1:8-9. Secondly, PLieipzig 39 (Ra 2013) contains Pss 30–55.⁵³ It represents the Upper Egyptian text and has been grouped by Rahlfs together with the 7th cent. C.E. papyrus book U (β^37) and with the Sahidic translation.⁵⁴ It contains an important variant for the purposes of this investigation, by reading ἀδικίαν (as Codex A^{LXX}) instead of ἀνομίαν (as B R L and 1219) in Ps 44:8 LXX. The Egyptian textual tradition thus runs along two lines: the Lower Egyptian tradition follows the LXX with ἀνομίαν, while the Upper Egyptian tradition chose the synonym, ἀδικίαν.⁵⁵ It is striking that codex κ did not bring the readings of the LXX (ἀνομίαν) and the NT (ἀδικίαν) in agreement with each other in this instance.⁵⁶ Thirdly, PBod XXIV (2110) contains Pss 17–118.⁵⁷ This text is of great importance due to its age, on the one hand, and to its variant readings, on the other hand.

PBod XXIV (2110)

ο θρόνος σου ο ἦ[σ] εἰς τον αιωνα : του
αιωνος : ραβδος ευθητητος η ραβδος της
βασιλεια σου. ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην και
εμεισησας ανομιαν : δια τουτο εχρεισεν σε
ο θη ο θη σου ελαιον αγαλλιασεω[σ]
παρα τους μετοχους σου :

Ps 44:7-8 LXX

ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ
αἰώνος, ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς
βασιλείας σου. ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ
ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε
ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως
παρα⁵⁸ τοὺς μετόχους σου.

⁵⁰ “Das ist im altorientalischen Königskult eine durchaus geläufige Erscheinung, im Alten Testament aber ohne Parallele” (H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 487).

⁵¹ Dated in the 4th cent. C.E. Cf. R.A. Kraft’s list at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypaplist.html>

⁵² See D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 436-440.

⁵³ Also dated in the 4th cent. C.E. See <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypaplist.html>; D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 191-192.

⁵⁴ A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 21, 28-32.

⁵⁵ Cf. E. Ahlborn: “Die Vorlage des Hebräerbriefes steht dem unterägyptischen Text nahe. Diese Linie lässt sich bis zur lukianischen Rezension weiterverfolgen” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 114).

⁵⁶ U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 188, n.68.

⁵⁷ Cf. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypaplist.html>; R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV.*, 96.

⁵⁸ A. Aejmelaeus refers to this use of παρά + acc. as one of eight cases where “‘compared to,’ ‘more than’ is expressed by a preposition” – this being the only one with παρά; the others use ὑπέρ + acc. (“Characterizing

The reconstructed LXX text of Ps 44:7-8 presents a few possible alternatives. Some witnesses (B L^R Aug Cyp) omit the articles τόν (before αἰώνα) and τοῦ (before αἰώνος),⁵⁹ but there is insufficient text critical evidence to choose in favour of these omissions. The variant, however, brings the reading closer to the text of the MT.⁶⁰ The Latin witnesses (La^G) also omit ὁ θεός, yet again, there is not enough evidence for its omission. The situation is slightly different, however, with regard to the alternative of ἀδικίαν (attested by 2013' A) for ἀνομίαν as indicated above.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:8-9

Whether מִתְּלַא in the Hebrew should be read as nominative or as vocative remains an open question.⁶¹ The same applies to the reading of ὁ θεός in the Greek (LXX and NT). Scholarship is divided and some take it to be a nominative⁶² whereas others consider it to be a vocative.⁶³ On the surface thereof, it seems as if the LXX and the NT use the nominative case, but several arguments have been put forward in favour of the vocative-option so that most scholars choose to argue in favour of the vocative use by the author of Hebrews:⁶⁴

- (i) There is enough evidence from classical Greek that the nominative case could also be used for a vocative⁶⁵ – a practice that is followed in both the LXX⁶⁶ and in the NT⁶⁷ as well. The author of Hebrews does so by using the nominative as vocative in Heb 10:7.⁶⁸

Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001) 54-73.

⁵⁹ One possibility in counting the characters in ψ¹¹⁴ is the omission of τόν and τοῦ, or most likely, the omission of εἰς, τόν and τοῦ – the latter bringing it in close conformity with the Hebrew text.

⁶⁰ According to E. Ahlborn, however, “...könnte man immerhin fragen, warum dann trotzdem die Kopula vor גָּדוֹלָה unübersetzt geblieben sei” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 113).

⁶¹ See J.S.M. Mulder for a list of ancient and modern translations and scholars *pro* and *contra* (*Psalm 45, 35-36*).

⁶² B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 25-26; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 305; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 25, 26. Also C.F.D. Moule: “Conceivably a true Nominative, construed so as to mean ‘Thy throne is God’” (*An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* [Cambridge: University Press, 1959], 32).

⁶³ Cf. F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [Transl. R.W. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961], 81-82, § 147(3); Matt 27:46 (par. Mark 15:34). Supporters include F. Büchsel, *Die Christologie der Hebräerbriefs* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1922), 22; O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 118; H. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 47; P. Teodorico, *L'epistola agli Ebrei* (Turin: Marietti, 1952), 51; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 64; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 236; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 49; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 122; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165; J. Schaper, *Eschatology*, 80; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 127.

⁶⁴ J.P. Meier, “Symmetry and Theology,” 514.

⁶⁵ F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Grammar*, 81-82, §147,3; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 61; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58.

⁶⁶ Ps 2:8; 5:11; 7:2, 4, 7; 9:33; 12:4; 16:16; 17:29; 21:2, 3; 40:9.

⁶⁷ Cf. Mark 15:34; Luke 18:11; John 20:28; Rev 4:11; 11:17; 16:7.

⁶⁸ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 127.

- (ii) There might be a further argument in favour of the vocative that needs to be considered. If the broader context is taken into account in terms of the next quotation from Ps 102(101), then the first line of both quotations show striking similarities: Ps 45(44) = ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος; Ps 102(101) = σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας. On this basis it might then be argued that the Son is addressed in the vocative, not only as “Lord” (κύριε), but also as “God” (ὁ θεός).
- (iii) Eusebius († 339/49) already dealt with this issue and referred to the recension of Aquila (an extremely literal translation of the Hebrew) that translated the Hebrew more clearly and treated this as a vocative in translating ὁ θρόνος σου, θεὲ, εἰς αἰῶνα κτλ. His argument runs as follows:

For in the place of the first name, where Aquila has “Thy throne, O God,” clearly replacing ὁ Θεός by Θεέ, the Hebrew has Elohim. And also for “Therefore, O God, he has anointed thou” the Hebrew has Elohim, which Aquila shewed by the vocative ω Θεέ. Instead of the nominative case of the noun, which would be “Therefore God, even your God, has anointed you” — the Hebrew with extreme accuracy has Eloach, which is the vocative case of Elohim, meaning “O God,” whereas the nominative Elohim means “God.” So that the interpretation that says “Therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed,” is accurate (Eusebius, *Dem.Ev.* IV 15,49).⁶⁹

Returning to the Hebrew, there is a totally different angle to the issue that deserves consideration. Rather than asking whether בְּנֵי־תְּהָלָה should be read as vocative or as nominative, one should enquire about the various meanings of the term *Elohim* – which in this case might be understood to mean “the Anointed One,”⁷⁰ or “o Godlike”⁷¹ to some scholars. The fact of the matter is, the LXX translator used the term θεός, even if it was not intended to be the case in the Hebrew,⁷² and the author of Hebrews followed the LXX translation in doing so.

The quotation from Ps 45(44):7-8 in Heb 1:8-9 also poses a few text critical difficulties regarding the NT witnesses. Some omit the phrase τοῦ αἰῶνος,⁷³ some omit καὶ⁷⁴ and some the articles הַ and תַּיְם before בָּרוּךְ and אֱלֹהִים.⁷⁵ There is also a dispute whether σου should be substituted by αὐτοῦ,⁷⁶ as both possibilities are equally attested amongst the textual witnesses. The Western text D* reads ἀνομίας instead of ἀνομίαν,

⁶⁹ Translation from W.J. Ferrar, *The Proof of the Gospel by Eusebius* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

⁷⁰ C.F. Whitley, “Observations,” 281-282.

⁷¹ See the discussion on the historical debate in G. Wallis, “A Note on Ps 45,7aa,” in F. García Martínez; A. Hilhorst & C.J. Labuschagne (ed.s), *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. Van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 100-103.

⁷² Similar S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 17.

⁷³ The phrase is omitted by B 33 t vg^{ms}.

⁷⁴ Καὶ is omitted by (C) D²Ψ E K L P 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 6. 81. 104. 326. 1175. 1834. 0278. 1881. Μ f t vg^{cl} sy Ju Or Eus Ath GrNy Chr Thret.

⁷⁵ The articles are omitted by D Ψ K L P 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 0278. 1881. Μ Ju Or Eus Ath GrNy [ה] = x*

⁷⁶ It is substituted by † P⁴⁶ x B.

whilst other witnesses read ἀδικίαν here.⁷⁷ Only minuscule 876 has an insertion of καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα – which can be rejected due to insufficient text critical support. These variant readings could now be weighed as follows during an attempt to reconstruct the most likely autographon of the NT text here.

(a) *Possible omission of τοῦ αἰῶνος*

None of the LXX witnesses omit the phrase and its inclusion is also closer to the MT. It is clear that the omission of this phrase by some witnesses of the NT (B 33 t vg^{ms}), does not carry enough weight for it to be accepted.⁷⁸ However, a count of the characters in P¹¹⁴ opens up the possibility for the phrase to have been omitted there too. Should that be the case, then the combined support for its omission in P¹¹⁴ and B would have to be weighed against that of P⁴⁶ & A and the rest – which tips the scale in favour of the inclusion of the phrase.

(b) *Possible omission of καί, ἥ and τῆς*

It is clear that in this case the NT witnesses are divided into two groups. One group prefers the same reading as that which is to be found in the LXX. They omit καὶ⁷⁹ and the articles ἥ and τῆς. At least the omission of καί should be seen as a secondary adaptation towards the LXX text.⁸⁰ The textual history of the LXX shows no uncertainty with regard to the reading and the three words are consistently absent in all the LXX textual witnesses. Interesting, however, is that the omission of the article before πάθος εὐθύτητος actually makes this part of the verse the predicate, instead of the subject. This, in turn, has implications for the interpretation of the whole verse. Another group prefers the reading with the inclusion of καὶ and the articles ἥ and τῆς – which makes the phrase subject and not predicate.⁸¹ The textual evidence in favour of this group carries more weight. A character count in the lines of P¹¹⁴ also suggests that this papyrus probably included the three words. It is also clear from the

⁷⁷ & A 33^{vid} pc; Or Eus (*DemEv*) Ath.

⁷⁸ So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n.35.

⁷⁹ Codex C is also listed with the other witnesses in H. Braun, *An die Hebräer* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), 39; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n.35. In NA27 (on p. 690), though, it is noted that C is missing in 1:1-2:4. So also observed with regard to NA26 by A.H. Cadwallader, “The Correction of the Text of Hebrews towards the LXX,” *NT* 34/4 (1992) 257-292, on p. 262, n.30.

⁸⁰ Cf. H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n.35.

⁸¹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 123.

internal evidence that the inclusion of *καὶ* and the two articles create a balanced structure⁸² between two independent clauses:⁸³

ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,
καὶ *η* ἡ βάθος τῆς εὐθύτητος βάθος τῆς βασιλείας σου

The conjunction *καὶ* might have been the cause of some of the differences in this instance.⁸⁴ Its presence opens up the possibility that the author of Hebrews actually read *αὐτοῦ* instead of *σου* (see below) and that the author now eases the transition from the second to the third person, by observing the one quotation as two separate “proof texts.”⁸⁵

(c) *Possible substitution of σου by αὐτοῦ*

There is a dispute about whether the possible substitution of *αὐτοῦ* for *σου* should be accepted in this instance,⁸⁶ i.e. “his kingdom” instead of “your kingdom.” A character count in the lines of *P*¹¹⁴ is of no use here as the lines are between 38 and 42 characters long. It would be 40 characters with *σου* and 42 characters with *αὐτοῦ*. This particular case is problematic and doubts remain about the text.⁸⁷ Both options are equally well attested to.

- (i) Arguments in favour of *σου* are based on the following: Internal considerations would have the decision largely depend on whether ὁ θεός is taken as nominative or as vocative. Should the latter be preferred,⁸⁸ then the decision is towards *σου*. It is argued that (a) “the weight and variety of external evidence” as well as (b) “the difficulty of continuing the third person” are pointing towards a preference for *σου*.⁸⁹ Supporters of *σου* (c) regard the reading with *αὐτοῦ* as a dogmatic correction because only the Father could have been seen as God,⁹⁰ or (d) as an error of an early copyist⁹¹ – a viewpoint already rejected by

⁸² Similar E. Ahlborn: “...daß er die Stelle als zwei gegeneinander abzuhebende Gedanken verstanden wissen wollte” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 113). Also L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 231; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 938.

⁸³ So also U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 181; H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 13; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 25. G.H. Guthrie suspects that “this may have been done to balance stylistically this clause with the previous one, both clauses now beginning with an articular noun plus the genitive...” (“Hebrews,” 938).

⁸⁴ S. Kistemaker argues as follows: “It is the additional connective that separates the clauses, with the result that in the first one the vocative ὁ θεός strengthens the 2nd pers. sing. ... In other words, two particular thoughts are mentioned: one addressing the Son directly as God, and the other in the form of an afterthought referring to the kingdom of the Son. While the conjunction ‘and’ balances the two clauses, it also places them over against each other in order to call attention to the content of the individual statements” (*Psalm Citations*, 25). Similarly also C. Smits, *Oud-Testamentische Citaten*, 557.

⁸⁵ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 84; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 938.

⁸⁶ The latter reading is supported by A D K L P Ψ 0121b latt sy^{b,h} co arm 0243. 0278. 1739. 1881. 33. 81. 104. 326 Chr M (A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 262). NA27 included 0243. 0278. 1739. 1881.

⁸⁷ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 260, n.21.

⁸⁸ So, for instance, H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 84.

⁸⁹ So R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 41.

⁹⁰ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 84.

Büchel⁹² a century ago, but it still appears to be one of the best explanations for supporters of this option. It has also been pointed out that (e) αὐτοῦ is missing in the LXX and that in terms of content and style, it does not fit the context in Hebrews.⁹³ The Greek NT editions, which reconstructed the text with σου (UBS3/4, NA26/27), give it a “C” rating (i.e. those with a considerable degree of doubt).

- (ii) Arguments in favour of αὐτοῦ run along the following lines: (a) Supporters of the nominative-option for ὁ θεός usually prefer αὐτοῦ⁹⁴ – where the nominative also solves the problem of the antecedent of αὐτοῦ;⁹⁵ (b) they argue that the possible change emphasizes the Son’s possession of the kingdom: “It is ‘his’ kingdom”;⁹⁶ (c) there is a similar change between Heb 1:5a and 1:5b, where the second person is changed to the third person in speaking of Christ – a phenomenon which is also to be found in the OT;⁹⁷ (d) furthermore, the textual evidence, in particular, cannot be discarded either, as it is supported by the witnesses P⁴⁶ κ and B⁹⁸ – with support for αὐτοῦ coming from witnesses that “are more frequently found to be resistant to the tendency to conform H[e]b[rew]s to the LXX”;⁹⁹ (e) because αὐτοῦ leads to a syntactically difficult reading, thus the *lectio difficilior*, it is easier to explain a later correction towards the σου of the LXX.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ Cf. H. Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 16. Also G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: Oxford University, 1953), 64; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 114; B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: UBS, 1975) 662-663; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 59; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 84; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 188; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 939.

⁹² Cf. C. Büchel: “Ein zufälliger Schreibfehler ist kaum anzunehmen, da das αὐτοῦ mitten Pronominibus der zweiten Person steht und die Zugehörigkeit des ἡ zu dem ersten βάθος durch die Determinierung von εὐθύτητος gesichert ist” (*Hebräerbrief*, 520).

⁹³ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 114. Similarly also A.H. Trotter, *Interpreting the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1997), 98. The latter states that “(t)here is no real difference theologically, since the kingdom is God’s in either version” (i.e. Hebrew or Greek OT, *GJS*). Trotter considers the case to be “simply a transcriptional error.”

⁹⁴ So NA25; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 305; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 25. Also preferred by A.H. Cadwallader in his critical text (“Correction of the Text,” 283-284). Differently, however, M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 127.

⁹⁵ Cf. K.J. Thomas, “Use of the LXX,” 22. Similar G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 28 *passim*. But the antecedent may either be God or Son (P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 122).

⁹⁶ H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 17. An interesting suggestion is mentioned by S. Kistemaker who points to the similarity between “his kingdom” in 2 Sam (2 Kgds) 7:13 and αὐτοῦ here in Heb 1:8 (*Psalm Citations*, 78).

⁹⁷ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 123.

⁹⁸ K.J. Thomas, for instance, argues in favour of αὐτοῦ because of the strong witnesses P⁴⁶ and κ – “(which in eleven other instances of minority readings in Hebrews, where they are together, and considered to have the original reading), the scribal tendency to use σου to avoid difficulties of interpretation, and the tendency to retain σου as found in the LXX” (“OT Citations,” 305, n. 3).

⁹⁹ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 284. H.C. Hoskier also adds that the reading is supported by “No cursives, no versions, and against Tertullian (extant here), and the LXX (Ps xliv 7)” (*A Commentary on the Various Readings in the Text of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Chester-Beatty Papyrus P⁴⁶ (circa 200 A.D.)* [London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938], 35).

¹⁰⁰ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 127. Also P. Benoit, “Le Codex Paulinien Chester Beatty,” *RB* 46 (1937), 75; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 62-63; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 26; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 10; G.W. Buchanan, *Hebrews*,

(d) Possible substitution of ἀνομίαν with ἀδικίαν

The reconstructed text of NA27 prefers ἀνομίαν,¹⁰¹ with a few other witnesses choosing the alternative.¹⁰² The ἀνομίαν-reading of NA27 should indeed be preferred, based on the textual witnesses¹⁰³ as well as on the attestation of the Church Fathers (see the discussion below). Furthermore, a reference to ἀνομία is inserted by the author in Heb 10:17 (Jer 31:34).¹⁰⁴ It is clear that the plural, ἀνομίας (D*), “is an error influenced either by the ending of the verb (ἐμίσησας) or by the genitive βασιλείας in the preceding verse.”¹⁰⁵

(e) σε ὁ θεός σου ὁ θεός?

The small fragment of POxy LXVI (P¹¹⁴ or 4498)¹⁰⁶ presents a difficulty in line 5. The reading is not very clear, but chances are good that it actually reads ΣΟΥΟΘΣ. This would mean that it contains a reading which is attested absolutely nowhere else, transposing the σου after the second ὁ θεός to a position before it as follows: σε ὁ θεός] σου ὁ θεός.¹⁰⁷ Was this a possible parablepsis with line 2? Did he transpose the σου by bringing it forward and by placing it between the two occurrences of ὁ θεός – so that it would not be misunderstood as an unconscious duplication? Here the LXX and the MT follow the same reading, and so do all the witnesses of the NT. The text that survived in 11Q8, unfortunately, ends bluntly after the first occurrence of בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים. How the reading continues, is not known. The fact is that all the other textual witnesses clearly do not follow this possible alternative in P¹¹⁴.

The text in Hebrews might thus be reconstructed to read ὁ θεός as a vocative, to include καί, ἡ and τῆς, and to maintain the choice of the eclectic editions for σου – mainly on the basis of choosing for the vocative and on the evidence of the Church Fathers.

20; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 41. U. Rüsen-Weinhold, however, is of the opinion that the broad representation of σου (even included in the translations latt sy co), “erklärt sich schlecht durch eine Korrektur am Septuagintatext von Schreibern” (*Septuagintapsalter*, 182).

¹⁰¹ Based on P⁴⁶ B D² Ψ 0243. 0278. 1739. 1881. # latt sy^h.

¹⁰² ἀδικίαν is supported by ρ A 33^{vid} pc; Or Eus (*DemEv*) Ath.

¹⁰³ “...δικαιοσύνη (ist) eindeutig sekundär gegenüber der meistbezeugten Lesart ἀνομίαν” (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n. 35)

¹⁰⁴ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 124.

¹⁰⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 49.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. www.ntgateway.com/resource/image.htm; N. Gonis, et. al., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

¹⁰⁷ This is also confirmed by J.K. Elliott who states that the words σου ο ΘC “are visible, which suggests a unique reading” (*Fragments from Oxyrhynchus*, 211).

1.2.3 Evidence from the Church Fathers

It is of great interest to note the trend amongst some Church Fathers¹⁰⁸ to quote Ps 45(44):7-8 and to interpret it christologically. Without exception they all prefer the reading with the *inclusion* of τοῦ αἰῶνος, the *omission* of καὶ and the *omission* of the definite articles ἡ before the first ὥρα and τῆς before εὐθύτητος, the *inclusion* of the definite article ἡ before the second ὥρα, and the *preference* for σου after τῆς βασιλείας. The only exception is the alternative reading, ἀδικίαν, mainly by Eusebius¹⁰⁹ and Athanasius¹¹⁰ whereas the rest prefer ἀνομίαν. In referring then to Ps 45(44):7-8, the Church Fathers followed the reading of the LXX, despite their christological application and possible knowledge of the quotation in Hebrews. It should probably be understood against the background of polemical writings against the Jews in which the Jewish text itself will carry more weight, hence the original wording of the Psalm in its Greek version.

1.2.4 Comparison of the readings of Ps 45(44):7-8 and Heb 1:8-9

Opinions with regard to the text of the quotation in Hebrews differ depending on each scholar's reconstruction of the texts. Some are of the opinion that it is identical¹¹¹ and "wörtlich nach der Septuaginta zitiert."¹¹² This position is too strongly stated in the light of available text witnesses and in the light of the changes made by the author himself. Others take a more qualified position, perceiving it to be "very close to that of 'the' LXX"¹¹³ and to be the same "except for a few details."¹¹⁴ Yet, others again, found the reading in Hebrews to be even further removed from the LXX and see the text of the quotation from Ps 45(44) – as it appears in Heb 1:8-10 – unlike that of the MT and the LXX.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ See Justin Martyr († ca. 165; *Just. Dial.* 38,4; 56,14; 63,4); Origen († 254; *Cels.* 1,56); Athanasius († 373; *C. Arian.* 26; *Ep. Mort. Ar.* 26; *Ep. Marcell.*); Irenaeus (2nd cent. C.E.; *Haer.* III 6,1; IV 33,11; *Epid.* 47); Eusebius († 393/340; *Hist. eccl.* I 3,14); *Dem. Ev.* IV15,15.49.57.58; IV16,47; V 1,28; *Eccl. theol.* I20,84; *Generalis elementaria;* *Comm.Pss* 23); Gregory of Nyssa († 394; *Ant. Apoll.* 3,1; *Contr. Eun.* 3,2; *Test. Jud.* 46); All dates here according to NA27.

¹⁰⁹ *Dem. Ev.* IV15,15.49.57.58; IV16,47; V1,28.

¹¹⁰ *C. Arian.* 26; *Ep. Serap.* 26; *Ep. Marcell.*

¹¹¹ Cf. G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno who see v. 7 as a "word for word" comparison (*OT Quotations*, 71). Also H.-F. Weiss referring to the "Zitat von Ps 44,7f LXX" and "wörtlich nach LXX" (*Hebräer*, 165). A.F.J. Klijn says it is "volgens de Griekse vertaling van het Oude Testament" (*Hebreëën*, 33).

¹¹² P.-G. Müller, "Funktion der Psalmzitate," 236.

¹¹³ Cf. M. Karrer: "Sein Text entspricht mit kleinen, teilweise wohl redaktionellen Änderungen ... der LXX-Hauptüberlieferung" (*Hebräer I*, 141).

¹¹⁴ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 24; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 60; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 83; P.-G. Müller, "Funktion der Psalmzitate," 235; C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 194.

¹¹⁵ G. Howard, "OT Quotations," 211.

A comparison between the Hebrew witnesses (11QPs^d; MT) and the Greek Codex B^{LXX} pointed to a fairly literal Greek OT translation in this instance.¹¹⁶ In a comparison between these OT texts and that of the NT, however, some differences do occur amongst the available textual witnesses, some of which seemed to have been made in order to bring the NT reading in closer conformity with the LXX.¹¹⁷ Based on the reconstructed texts as discussed above, the following differences can be observed:

Ps 44:7-8 (LXX)	Heb 1:8-9
ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς	ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,	εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος,
ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος	καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος
ἢ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.	ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.
ἡγαπησας δικαιοσύνην	ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην
καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·	καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν·
διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισεν σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σου	διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισεν σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σου
ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους	ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους
σου.	σου.

The point of the added *καὶ* is probably to indicate that its line (v. 8b) contains a separate point, which is perhaps more important than that of the previous line (v. 8a).¹¹⁸ Scholars are probably correct when pointing out that the changes in this instance should not simply be explained stylistically, but rather theologically. It is not just any sceptre, but God's sceptre, which is different than that of Aaron in Heb 9:4 or Jacob's from Gen 47:31 in Heb 11:21, and which is transferred to the Son in this instance.¹¹⁹ The argument that a change in accent took place with the position of the article – a change of subject and antecedent – that gives the sceptre of righteousness¹²⁰ the deciding emphasis,¹²¹ follows along the same lines. The author of Hebrews understands this sceptre of righteousness messianically.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Also G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 938. It can be agreed with P. Ellingworth that “the author of Hebrews probably did not have access to the MT, still less to the original Hebrew reading” (*Hebrews*, 122).

¹¹⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 49.

¹¹⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 122.

¹¹⁹ Cf. E. Ahlborn: “...als zum Wesen Gottes gehörig bestimmte ‘Szepter der Gerechtigkeit’ ist das Szepter seiner Königsherrschaft” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 114). C. Büchel suspected that different ruling sceptres might have been available for the Messiah according to Zech 11:7b (“Hebräerbrief,” 520).

¹²⁰ εὐθύτητος is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT. Also, it is only found twice in the LXX, here in Ps 44:7 as well as in Qohelet 12:10.

¹²¹ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 62; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n.35.

¹²² F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 63.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The fifth explicit quotation in the catena of Heb 1:5-14 is introduced with the words πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, which means that it is God himself again who, in the words of this Psalm, speaks about the Son¹²³ – according to our author’s interpretation – addressing the Son as “God.” The document starts with God who spoke long ago (πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας, v. 1), but who also spoke during these last days through the Son (ἐλάλησεν, v. 2). This element is taken up again in v. 5 at the opening of the catena of quotations with the quotation from Ps 2:7 (Τίνι γὰρ εἰπέν) and referred to in the introductory formulae of the quotations that follow: καὶ πάλιν (v. 5), λέγει (v. 6), λέγει (v. 7), καί (v. 10), and εἴρηκέν (v. 13). The contrast between the angels and the Son is then highlighted in the construction of the introductory formulas of the preceding Ps 104(103) (πρὸς μέν) and here with Ps 45(44) (πρὸς δέ).¹²⁴

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

As is the case with Pss 40(39), 95(94) and 102(101), none of the verses of Ps 45(44) are explicitly quoted anywhere else by any of the NT writers. It thus seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews would have known Ps 45(44) from the early Christian tradition. However, Ps 45:1-2 has been quoted and commented upon in 4QpPs^a (4Q171), providing evidence amongst early Jewish literature that the Psalm was known and used in the Jewish tradition. In fact, should the author of Hebrews have known such a quotation from Ps 45(44) via the Jewish tradition, he rather quoted another section that points to his own theological focus in this regard.¹²⁵

Initially, Ps 45(44) was probably not interpreted in a messianic manner in Judaism.¹²⁶ However, it became one of the “...mit Unrecht messianisch gedeuteten Stellen des AT”¹²⁷ and

¹²³ Although πρός might be understood here in the sense of “about” – so taken by F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 60; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 235 – it should actually rather be understood in the sense of “to” when used with the accusative (Cf. F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Grammar*, 125-125, § 239. See also the semantic domains in E.A. Nida & J.P. Louw, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Vol. 2 [New York: UBS, 1988], 208).

¹²⁴ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 78; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 936.

¹²⁵ Similarly M. Karrer: “Wahrscheinlich liegt also eine Schriftentdeckung des Hebr vor” (*Hebräer*, 141).

¹²⁶ S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 17.

¹²⁷ E. Hühn, *Die messianische Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes bis zu den Targumim* (Freiburg: Herder, 1899), 79. Also S. Kistemaker refers to it as “only indirectly considered messianic” (*Psalm Citations*, 78) and according to Weiss “...eine Einflußnahme der messianischen Deutung von Ps 45 im Targum Ps 45 auf den Hebr (ist) nicht wahrscheinlich” (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165, n.34).

is a classical case of how, by means of its translation, the LXX built a hermeneutical bridge for the early Christian writers to interpret texts in a christological manner. The heading of Ps 44 LXX ($\epsilon\imath\varsigma$ τό τελός)¹²⁸ might have contributed to an eschatological understanding, and the phrase ἔχρισέν σε ὁ θεός¹²⁹ (Ps 44:8b LXX) – with its association with χριστός – to its messianic interpretation.¹³⁰ One could probably also add the connection that was made between the ἡγάπησας in Ps 44:8a LXX and its application in the context of Heb 1:9 as a contributing factor to this interpretation. It is also possible that the reference to the birth of “sons” in Ps 44:17 LXX “may have been linked by the author of Hebrews to the theme of ‘the Son and the sons,’” which is developed in Heb 2:10-18.¹³¹ The LXX thus opened up the possibility for a messianic interpretation, so that this “Greek version is one of the very first witnesses to this tradition.”¹³² Added to these are the elements of the king who is addressed as “god,” his exalted position above his enemies, and his eternal throne ($\epsilon\imath\varsigma$ τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ αἰώνος) – a quality that will also surface during the description of the Son’s priesthood ($\epsilon\imath\varsigma$ τὸν αἰώνα) as based on the quotation from Ps 110(109):4. All these attributes provided a very suitable text for the author of Hebrews’ argument in Heb 1 for Christ’s acknowledgement as Son and his exaltation as King. The “sceptre of righteousness” symbolises royal authority, the “oil of joy” his constant administration of his just rule, and “companions” his followers.¹³³ The intended meaning of the descriptions from the quoted texts up to this point in the catena of Heb 1 is that “(t)his is a kingdom that will put down God’s enemies, involve the eternal establishment of the Son’s throne, give the Son an inheritance over all and now, via Ps 45, is said to be characterized by righteousness.”¹³⁴

When the vocative-option is chosen for ὁ θεός at the beginning of the quotation, it allows for the interpretation that, according to the author of Hebrews,¹³⁵ Christ is addressed as God¹³⁶ so that God’s Messiah-Son, by sitting at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in

¹²⁸ E. Rigenbach pointed to this connection in the LXX: “Auf messianisches Verständnis scheint die Aufschrift der LXX (V.1) zu weisen” (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [KNT 14; Leipzig: Deichert, 1922], 22).

¹²⁹ *Midrash Tehillim* interprets this phrase as an allusion to Aaron and the priesthood (W.G. Braude (transl.), *Midrash on Psalms*, 453).

¹³⁰ The intention with the anointment in Ps 45(44), however, is probably not the appointment as king, but excessive honour and glory to the king during a feast (H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 492; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 27; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 42; H. van Oyen, *Hebreëën*, 18; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 85-86).

¹³¹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 125.

¹³² J. Schaper, *Eschatology*, 79; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 23. Similar, F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 66.

¹³³ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 44.

¹³⁴ G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 939.

¹³⁵ G. Harder, “Septuagintatitiae,” 39; J.W. Thompson, “Structure and Purpose,” 358; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 23.

¹³⁶ See Matt 1:23; Joh 1:1, 18; Rom 9:5; Phil 2:6; Col 1:19; 2:9; Tit 2:13; 2 Pet 1:1.

the heavens, is addressed as one who is on the same level as God himself.¹³⁷ The author adapted the quotation in order to bring the Son and the Father in the closest possible association, in order to underline the exalted status of the Son and his position as being superior to that of the angels. The implication of this is, taken in its widest sense, that the reference to the eternal throne “symbolizes not just the exaltation after Christ’s death, but rather the eternal rule which the pre-existent divine Son has exercised from all eternity.”¹³⁸ The author of Hebrews might have exploited the ambiguity of the Psalm in this regard.¹³⁹

The relatively lengthy quotation from Ps 45(44):7-8 that appears in Heb 1:8-9 is cited here “with a totally new content and thrust which differs greatly from what one usually finds in Jewish reflections on these texts” as the author used this text “with his own set of assumptions.”¹⁴⁰ These assumptions are christologically directed.

1.4 Summarising remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

During the *tradition historical* investigation, it was established that the author of Hebrews might have known Ps 45(44) via the early Jewish tradition. It probably already had messianic connotations. The author’s LXX translation supported the messianic line of interpretation. He must have looked at the text himself and quoted from a section that had never been quoted before. Some possible factors might have led to the author of Hebrews using this particular section, either independently or in some combinations. The first clue is the occurrence of Ps 45:1-2 quoted in 4Q171 amongst the *pesharim* of the DSS. He might have shared an exegetical tradition that included Ps 45(44) as part of the texts studied and commented upon. The second clue may be provided by the heading of Ps 44 in the LXX¹⁴¹ and the fact that the Psalm contained messianic elements for the author of Hebrews.¹⁴² A third clue is to be found a few lines earlier in the context of Heb 1 when the author quoted 2 Sam 7 – which we know was well known in the tradition. Several elements (throne, his kingdom, forever) from the kingdom motif might have provided the *Stichwörter* by means of which the author found his

¹³⁷ R.E. Clements, “Use of the OT,” 39. Also M. Noth, “God, King and Nation in the Old Testament,” in M. Noth (ed.), *The Laws of the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (Transl. D.R. Thomas; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 39. Similarly K.J. Thomas, although in favour of the nominative (“OT Citations,” 305).

¹³⁸ J.P. Meier, “Symmetry and Theology,” 514-515. G.H. Guthrie is correct in stating that “the eternity of the Son is critical to the author’s argument in the rest of the book...” – “He is a priest who does not die, who offers a sacrifice that never needs to be repeated (10:1-14)” (“Hebrews,” 939).

¹³⁹ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 49.

¹⁴⁰ J.W. Thompson, “Structure and Purpose,” 359.

¹⁴¹ Cf. E. Rüggenbach, *Hebräer*, 22.

¹⁴² F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 64.

passage.¹⁴³ A conceptual connection with 2 Sam 7:12 has thus also been evidenced in this instance, a connection that is made in 4QFlor 1:10-11.¹⁴⁴ The royal image elements (judicial sceptre, throne) and the ruler's eternal reign¹⁴⁵ are now christologically interpreted.

On the *text critical* level, ὁ θεός should be taken as a vocative. The Son is addressed as “God” by God self. It becomes one of the titles for the Son in the catena of Heb 1. Having established the hermeneutical bridge that the king of Ps 45(44) is the messiah,¹⁴⁶ the link that his status is equal to that of God, has thus been made. For the author of Hebrews it thus serves as an explicit reference of the divinity of “the Son.”¹⁴⁷ The inclusion of καί, ἥ and τῆς were deliberate changes by the author of Hebrews. These changes were not only made on stylistic grounds in order to create a balanced structure,¹⁴⁸ but also with a theological emphasis: God's sceptre, the sceptre of righteousness, is transferred to the Son. The choice in favour of σου should probably be preferred as it goes with the vocative. It would be difficult to assume that the linguistically refined author, who wrote the best Greek in the NT, would use αὐτοῦ after interpreting ὁ θεός as a vocative. The αὐτοῦ-alternative goes with a nominative interpretation of ὁ θεός. It would be equally difficult to prove that the author of Hebrews followed another *Vorlage*¹⁴⁹ of Ps 45(44), based on two grounds. Firstly, none of the LXX textual witnesses support the changes that include καί, ἥ and τῆς, neither are there any witnesses that even changed σου for αὐτοῦ. The only evidence of a possible alternative is to be found in the ἀνομία / ἀδικία Lower and Upper Egyptian groupings of textual witnesses, where the LXX followed the Lower Egyptian route. However, in this case the NT most probably also followed this option. Secondly, the occurrence of the quotation from Ps 45(44):7-8 by the Church Fathers testifies to the same reading as that found in the LXX. Thus there seems to be little doubt that the *Vorlage* used by the author of Hebrews for his quotation from Ps 45(44), looked very similar to that of the LXX and that the author himself made minute changes to this text by adding καί, ἥ and τῆς.

¹⁴³ Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 78. Similar F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 64-65.

¹⁴⁴ H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 17.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. also εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in the quotations from Ps 110(109):4, as well as τὸν αἰῶνας in Heb 1:2, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος in Heb 1:8, τοὺς αἰῶνας in Heb 11:3 and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας in Heb 13:8.

¹⁴⁶ Similar also R. Rendall, “Method of the Writer,” 214-220; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 235.

¹⁴⁷ Similar: E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 114; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 235; S. Motyer, “Psalm Quotations,” 15; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 189.

¹⁴⁸ Compare also the re-quotations from Ps 40(39) in Heb 10:8ff. and Jer 31(38) in Heb 10:16-17, as well as the conflated quotation from [Isa 26:20+] Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38.

¹⁴⁹ So U. Rüsen-Weinhold: “Wir rechnen damit, daß der Hebr in diesem Psalmzitat eine andere Texttradition bewahrt hat. Die griechischen Psalmen LXX^{Hauptüb.} stellen demgegenüber eine Angleichung an den MT dar” (*Septuagintapsalter*, 188).

Some concluding thoughts on the *hermeneutical and methodological* application of the quotation would suffice. The quotation is closely connected with the next quotation from Ps 102(101) on the theme about the nature of the Son, as well as with the second person singular pronoun. Ps 45(44):7-8 is interpreted in Heb 1:8-9 in terms of Christ,¹⁵⁰ and is therefore christologically¹⁵¹ applied. The danger exists to look for a christological reference in every piece of the quotation (particularly in the anointing terminology). Hebrews does not use it elsewhere, and attempts to over-emphasise its occurrence here would probably be taking the comparisons too far.¹⁵² It should rather be seen as a sign of equipping with power and reward.¹⁵³ The fact of the matter is, the author of Hebrews applies this Psalm to Christ and he does so mainly by the application of the name θεός to the Son. In the quotation taken from Ps 2:7 he was addressed as “Son” and in the quotation from Ps 102(101):26 as “Lord.” The quotation from Ps 45(44) bestows the title “God” on him. The introductory formula taken into account, it finally is God himself who calls the Son “God” too¹⁵⁴ – that is if the vocative is preferred. This issue of the Son as God should be seen within the context of his time. On the one hand, the Roman rulers were partly seen and worshiped as gods.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, Philo referred to the Logos, one of the divine powers, as God. It might be possible, too, that the “author’s understanding of the Psalm may have been influenced by his high christology with its sapiential roots.”¹⁵⁶ The christology of giving Jesus at his exaltation “the name that is above every name” is also found in Phil 2:10. The author of Hebrews then uses Ps 45(44):7-8 as confirmation of the divinity of Jesus as God’s Son. It means that the Son is God, that the throne of the Son¹⁵⁷ is eternal (“unlike the transitory angels”)¹⁵⁸ and that his rule is righteous.¹⁵⁹ His sceptre, according to Scriptural language, is a symbol of legitimate authority to rule.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁰ So also C. Rösel, *Messianische Redaktion*, 128; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 236. In the words of G. Harder: “Die wörtlich verstandenen und ernst genommenen Heilsbegriffe des Alten Testaments weisen auf die Erfüllung in Jesus Christus hin” (“Septuagintazitate,” 47).

¹⁵¹ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 165.

¹⁵² See the notes of caution in J.P. Meier, “Symmetry and Theology,” 515-516.

¹⁵³ P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 235.

¹⁵⁴ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 235; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 141, 142.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 141.

¹⁵⁶ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 58-59.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “...hier (wird) nunmehr mit Ps 44,7 LXX von des ‘Sohnes’ eigenem Thron gesprochen” (*Hebräer*, 165).

¹⁵⁸ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 59.

¹⁵⁹ J.P. Meier, “Symmetry and Theology,” 516; P.-G. Müller, “Psalmzitate,” 235.

¹⁶⁰ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 166.

1.5 Conclusion

The concluding results of the investigation on this quotation were already presented under the previous heading. Suffice it to state here that Ps 45(44) was known and used in the pre-Hebrews tradition, but the author of Hebrews provides the first evidence of specifically vv. 7-8 being quoted and of the imagery of the Psalm being interpreted christologically. His *Vorlage* was similar to the LXX, but a few minute stylistic changes were made with theological implications.

2. Ps 102(101):26-28 in Heb 1:10-12

The Son's superiority over the angels is also emphasised by this quotation from Ps 102(101):26-28. He was present and active as an agent at the creation and his nature is stable, immutable and permanent, whilst the angels are transitory and the whole of creation temporary.¹⁶¹ Even the simile¹⁶² of creation as a garment ("that changes, gradually deteriorates, is eventually rolled up and discarded,"¹⁶³ v. 27) is included in the quotation, with its accompanying contrast with God's eternity (v. 28).¹⁶⁴ The perception that heaven was seen like a tent that was stretched over the world (Ps 104:2; Isa 40:22) made it easier to think of it as being rolled up.¹⁶⁵ Striking is also the analogy with Isa 50:9 ($\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \dot{\nu}\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma \dot{\omega}\varsigma \dot{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\omega\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$) and Sir 14:17 ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha \sigma\grave{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi} \dot{\omega}\varsigma \dot{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\omega\hat{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$), which compare aging human beings with a garment.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Ps 102(101)

Ps 102(101) is a complex Psalm, containing an individual's lament¹⁶⁶ who grieves for Zion, but ends in a song of praise about the unchangeableness of God.¹⁶⁷ Verses 13-23 and 26-29 are possible additions that were made for the purpose of giving the psalm a collective

¹⁶¹ Cf. H.W. Attridge: "Christ, the creator of earth and heaven, is the creator of the angelic realm" (*Hebrews*, 60).

¹⁶² Although scholars refer to this as a metaphor, it is technically more correct to see this comparison as a simile because of the comparative particle $\dot{\omega}\varsigma$.

¹⁶³ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 46.

¹⁶⁴ G. Schunack is correct in saying that this "metaphorische" (sic!) expression does not carry independent weight and does not contain a reference to the end of the world (*Hebräerbrief*, 28).

¹⁶⁵ C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 196.

¹⁶⁶ C. Westermann, *Psalms*, 55; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 182; G.H. Guthrie, "Hebrews," 940.

¹⁶⁷ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 45.

sense.¹⁶⁸ It belongs to the group of Psalms known in the ancient Church as “Penitential Psalms,” or “Bußpsalmen,”¹⁶⁹ and was probably used in public worship, perhaps with particular use during the evening liturgy.¹⁷⁰ Verses 2-12 and 24-25 contain an individual’s lamentation; vv. 13 and 26-28 contain hymnic elements; and vv. 14-23 and 29 contain elements of prophetic promises.¹⁷¹ The first person prayer, which is introduced with רְאֵךְ in v. 25, was probably a fixed liturgical formula that was incorporated by the psalmist into his composition.¹⁷² Structurally, most scholars envisage the Psalm as follows:

A.	vv. 2-12	=	Individual’s lamentation	
B.	v. 13	=	Hymnic section	<i>Possible addition</i>
C.	vv. 14-23	=	Prophetic section	
A.	vv. 24-25	=	Individual’s lamentation	
B.	vv. 26-28	=	Hymnic section	<i>Possible addition</i>
C.	v. 29	=	Prophetic section	

The Psalm presents a clear correlation between the eternal existence of God and the “Wohnen” and “Bestehen” of his people.¹⁷³ The focus of vv. 26-28 – the section from which the author of Hebrews quotes – is that God’s rule is eternal and that he is the Creator and Judge of the world.¹⁷⁴ The supplicant sees his suffering against the backdrop of God’s imperishability and creation abilities.¹⁷⁵ Even earth and heaven, the creation of God’s hands, might pass away, but God will remain forever. The hymn leads to a promise in v. 29, which in anticipation, arises from trust and hope as “he makes confident supplication for mercy and restoration for himself and Zion.”¹⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that the person who prays focuses not on the past, but finds consolation in God’s future acts.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁸ L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 11.

¹⁶⁹ Others are: Pss 6, 32, 38, 51, 130 and 143. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen 60-150* (BKAT XV/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978⁵), 869; J.K. West, *Introduction*, 445; A. Weiser, *Psalms*, 652.

¹⁷⁰ According to M.D. Goulder, the even-numbered Pss 90 and 102 were probably used as evening Psalms (*Psalms of the Return*, 109).

¹⁷¹ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 864.

¹⁷² Cf. M. Henze, “Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran,” in M. Henze (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 168-193, on p. 179.

¹⁷³ H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*, 146.

¹⁷⁴ A. Weiser finds these aspects belonging “to the constitutive basic ideas of the festival cult” (*Psalms*, 655).

¹⁷⁵ J.J. Burden, *Psalms 101-119* (Kaapstad: NG Kerkuitgewers, 1991) 22-23.

¹⁷⁶ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 21.

¹⁷⁷ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 869.

2.1.2 Ps 102(101) in the early Jewish and Christian traditions

Ps 102(101):27 and Isa 51:6 show close resemblances with each other – especially with ἡ δὲ γῆ ὡς ἴματιον παλαιωθήσεται occurring in both – and a possible allusion to the same verse (v. 27) is also to be found in *Jacob's Ladder* 7:35.¹⁷⁸ There are, however, some significant problems in considering this allusion due to the untrustworthiness of the text in its specific form.¹⁷⁹ None of the other verses of this Psalm are explicitly quoted anywhere else by anyone in the early Jewish or early Christian literature known to us today.¹⁸⁰ Ps 102 thus has no other explicit citations that can be found in the entire NT. One could therefore cautiously assume that the author of Hebrews found this quotation by himself, somehow deciding upon using this particular Psalm and these particular verses. It is used later in the early Christian tradition by Irenaeus.¹⁸¹

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Ps 102(101):26-28

Starting with the *Hebrew witnesses*, the text of the quotation that is used by the author of Hebrews is covered by two fragments amongst the finds of the DSS, namely 4QPs^b col. XXII,1-6 (4Q84) which contains the section Ps 102:10-29, and 11QPs^a (11Q5) which covers Ps 102:18-29.¹⁸² The first of these, 4QPs^b, is in complete agreement with the MT,¹⁸³ but not the latter (11QPs^a).

¹⁷⁸ “His own dominion and years will be unending forever” (H.G. Lunt, “Ladder of Jacob,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigrapha II*, 401-411, on p. 411). Cf. also B. McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 76.

¹⁷⁹ See G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 940.

¹⁸⁰ B.W. Bacon, however, argues that “the abrupt form of this citation suggests, this psalm-passage would rather have been a locus classicus of proto-Christian apologetic.” He sees a connection via *Barn.* 4:3, which quotes a passage from a lost book of the Enoch literature and applies it similarly to Mark 13:20 (par. Matt 24:22), arguing that the passage is from Ps 102:23. (“Heb 1,10-12 and the Septuagint Rendering of Ps 102,23,” ZNW 3 (1902) 280-285, on p. 283).

¹⁸¹ Irenaeus *Haer.* IV,3,1.

¹⁸² D.L. Washburn, *Catalog*, 97.

¹⁸³ J. De Waard, *Comparative Study*, 27.

Ps 102:26-28 (MT)	4QPs ^b (4Q84) ¹⁸⁴	11QPs ^a (11Q5) ¹⁸⁵
לְפָנֶיךָ קָרֵץ	לפניהם הארץ	
יָסַרְתָּ וְמַעֲשָׂה יְדִיךָ שָׁמִים	יסדה ומעשה ¹⁸⁶ ידיך שמים	נוסדה ומעשי ידיכה [ש]
הַמָּה יַאֲבֹדוּ וְאַףָּה תַּעֲמֹד	המה יאבדו ואתה העמד	
וְכָלָם כְּבָנָךְ יִבְלוּ כְּלֹבּוֹשׁ	וכלם כבגד יבלו כלבוש	וכולם כבגד יבלו וכלבוש]
תְּחִלְיִים וְתְּלִלּוֹ וְאַקְהָדָה	תחלி஫ם ויהלפו ואתה הווא	
שְׁנוּתִיךָ לֹא יָקְמוּ	[וְשָׁנוּתִיךָ [לֹא יָקְמוּ	ושנותיכה לוא יתמו

Turning to the *Greek witnesses*, there are a number of minor variant readings amongst the LXX texts, which do not carry enough text critical weight to be considered as replacements for the existing reconstructed text of Rahlfs.

P Bod XXIV¹⁸⁷

κατ αρχας κε την γην συ
 εθε]μελιωσας : και εργα των χειρων
 εισι]ν οι ουρανοι : αυτοι απολουται συ δε
 δι]αμενεις : και παντες ως ὕματιον
 παλαι]ωθησονται : ωσει περιβολεαι
 αλλαξεις αυ]τους και αλλαγησονται : συ δε ο
 αυτος] ει και τα ετη σου ουκ εκλιψουσιν

Ps 102(101):26-28 (LXX)

κατ' ἀρχὰς σύ, κύριε,¹⁸⁸ τὴν γῆν
 ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού
 εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτὸι ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ
 διαμενεις, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἴμάτιον
 παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὥσει περιβόλαιον
 ἀλλαξεις αὐτούς, και ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ο
 αὐτὸς ει και τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

The variants of the LXX include the following *omissions*: συ by La^R at v. 26; συ κυρίε and τῶν (between ἔργα and χειρῶν) by και; και before ώσει by La^G and the omission of the definite article ὁ before αὐτός in v. 28 by L^{pau}. There are no convincing reasons to accept any of the omissions against the rest of the supporting witnesses that include them. Rahlfs also listed a different *accentuation* when the futurum διαμενεις is replaced by the praesens

¹⁸⁴ E. Ulrich; F.M. Cross; J.A. Fitzmyer; et.al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, 39.

¹⁸⁵ J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 20; J.A. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 30-31. Translation: “[They will perish, but thou dost endure;] they will wear out like a garment. And [thou changest them] like raiment, [and they pass away; but thou art the same,] and thy years have no end. The children [of thy servants shall dwell secure; their posterity shall be established before thee,] [generation to generation].”

¹⁸⁶ According to P.W. Flint, also 4QPs^b reads here וְמַעֲשֵׂי with 11QPs^a (“Variant Readings,” 351).

¹⁸⁷ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 200-201.

¹⁸⁸ J.W. Wevers reckons that the position of κύριε ought to be noted here and consider this use of the vocative, which follows the second person singular pronoun, as one of 17 instances in the LXX to be an original gloss (“The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and Pentateuch: A Comparative Study,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Supp Ser 332; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001) 21-35. S. Olofsson pointed out that this is one of 30 times where κύριος appears in the LXX without counterpart in the MT (“Qumran and LXX,” in F.H. Cryer & T.L. Thompson, *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (JSOTSupSer 290; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998) 231-248, on p. 241, n. 31. Note, however, its absence in PBod XXIV.

διαμένεις (in Sa La Ga – as in Heb 1:11a).¹⁸⁹ The same tendency is found in Ps 60:8¹⁹⁰ and in Ps 71:17.¹⁹¹ Apart from the fact that such accentuation was not indicated in the uncials and that it is of late origin, the substitution can also not be accepted anyway in the light of the weight and the number of witnesses that read διαμενεις.

The *transposition* of συ κυρίε between τὴν γῆν and ἐθεμελίωσας by Codex B is interesting. The same transposition is also found in La^G Aug, but with κυρίε after ἐθεμελίωσας. Since the Göttingen edition of Rahlfs, one might add here also PBod XXIV as another witness that contains a variation to this transposition, namely κύριε, τὴν γῆν σύ.

More difficult, however, is the variant reading in v. 27 for ἀλλάξεις, which reads ἐλίξεις by B' R(*ellisis*) L' (He εἰληξης) A' (1219 ἰλιξις, 55 εἰλειξεις). The witnesses that support the variant reading all belong to the Lower Egyptian text tradition. No witnesses survived from the Upper Egyptian tradition, neither from the Sahidic Psalter, nor from PBod XXIV, which has a lacuna here.¹⁹² It is thus difficult to decide which of the two readings was the original. The former (ἀλλάξεις), attested by x, is found more frequently in the LXX,¹⁹³ whereas the latter (ἐλίξεις) occurs only in 3 Kgdms 7:45;¹⁹⁴ Job 18:8 and Isa 34:4.

The reconstructed reading of the LXX is close to that as represented by PBod XXIV.¹⁹⁵ It is worth noting that none of the possibilities, as suggested by the variant readings of the LXX, is attested to by PBod XXIV. Differences between PBod XXIV and the reconstructed LXX are the following: κύριε τὴν γῆν σύ vs σύ κύριε τὴν γῆν (LXX); χειρῶν vs χειρῶν σού (LXX); ἀπολουται vs ἀπολοῦνται (LXX – as in Hebrews); ώσει vs καὶ ωσει (LXX – as in Hebrews and also attested by 11QPs^a); περιβολεο—^{ai} vs περιβόλαιον (LXX – as in Hebrews); and ἐκλιψουσιν vs ἐκλειψουσιν (LXX – as in Hebrews).

When one compares the *Hebrew and Greek witnesses* with each other, the MT and LXX versions of Ps 102(101) differ significantly.¹⁹⁶ The following differences should be noted¹⁹⁷ in the passage that is quoted: Some Hebrew manuscripts, 11QPs^a, the LXX and the

¹⁸⁹ See F. Siegert on the issue of accents (*Hebräischer Bibel und AT*, 146).

¹⁹⁰ In Ps 60:8 διαμενεῖ is read by Bo Sa La(La^G Aug) and διαμένει by Ga Sy.

¹⁹¹ In Ps 71:17 διαμενεῖ is read by Bo^D La^G Sy Tert and διαμένει by Bo Sa La^R Aug Ga.

¹⁹² Cf. U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 186.

¹⁹³ Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *Concordance I*, 55. F. Schröger prefers this option for the reading of the LXX on the same grounds and refers to common translation of נֶלֶן with ἐλίσσειν in Gen 35:2; 41:14; 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 12:20; 5:5 and 22:23.

¹⁹⁴ E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath (*Concordance I*, 55) wrongly refers here to 3 Kgdms 7:8.

¹⁹⁵ In R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 200-201.

¹⁹⁶ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 940.

¹⁹⁷ So also G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 79.

Targum agree with each other in reading the plural (“works”: שְׁמָמָה; ἔργα) in Ps 102:26b,¹⁹⁸ contrary to the MT¹⁹⁹ and 4QPs^{b200} which read the singular (מַעֲשֵׂה). Further differences are that the LXX translators inserted κύριε in Ps 101:26a (LXX) – with possible influence from vv. 2 and 13²⁰¹ – though its equivalent lacks in the MT. The words σὺ...ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, κύριε are also to be found in Wis 9:7-9 and, apart from the fact that this passage has many parallels with Hebrews,²⁰² one might assume that it was a fairly common confessional phrase – which should call for caution in trying to find a written *Vorlage* for it. Another difference is that the LXX reads in Ps 101:27b παλαιωθήσονται (“will wax old” – as in Heb 1:11b) whereas the MT has יְבָלֶו (“wear out/away”).²⁰³ The LXX reads in Ps 101:28 ἐκλείψουσιν (“shall come to an end” – as in Heb 1:12c), which confirms the readings of Ps 102:28 (MT) and 4QPs^b: יְכַפֵּר. This is one of three existing orthographical variants that have parallels in the OT.²⁰⁴ An interesting case is the presence of the copulative καί before ώσει, which is attested by all the LXX witnesses (except PBod XXIV) and by the Hebrew text of 11QPs^a. It is however omitted by the Greek witness PBod XXIV (2110), the Hebrew of the MT and 4QPs^b.²⁰⁵

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:10-12

The majority of witnesses²⁰⁶ omit ως ἴματιον in Heb 1:12, but its inclusion is attested by the oldest and most important witnesses (P⁴⁶ & A B).²⁰⁷ P.Oxy LXVI (4498), referred to earlier in

¹⁹⁸ So also J. Cook, “On the Relationship between 11QPSa and the Septuagint on the Basis of the Computerized Data Base (CAQP),” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 107-130, on pp. 122-123. G.H. Guthrie makes the observation that it might have been due to “a developing cosmology that understood the heavens as multifaceted” (“Hebrews,” 940), though P. Ellingworth pointed out that Hebrews “does not develop a cosmology including several heavens” and substantiates his standpoint on Heb 1:2, αἰώνες (*Hebrews*, 127). I am more inclined to accept the standpoint of Guthrie in this case – cf. G.J. Steyn, *Angelomorphic christological myth*, 1107-1128.

¹⁹⁹ J. Cook, *Computerized data base*, 122-123. Cook further points to the fact that “The added ‘waw’ has a corresponding addition in LXX, S’ and V” (on pp. 123-124).

²⁰⁰ Contrary to U. Rüsen-Weinhold (*Septuagintapsalter*, 184) who read the plural here also, which must be a lapse, as the reading is clearly singular in this instance and identical to that of the MT. So also G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 940.

²⁰¹ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 115.

²⁰² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 126.

²⁰³ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 81.

²⁰⁴ Cf. the discussion of G. Brunert, *Psalm 102 im Kontext des Vierten Psalmenbuches* (Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge 30; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 84-85.

²⁰⁵ S. Olofsson takes the deviation with the Hebrew here as reflecting a possible different *Vorlage* from the MT (“Qumran and LXX,” 247-248).

²⁰⁶ D¹ K L P Ψ 0243. 0278. 33. 1881 Μ lat sy sa^{ms} bo; Ath.

²⁰⁷ So also J.K. Elliott, *Fragments from Oxyrhynchus*, 211.

this chapter during the discussion on Ps 45(44), also includes ως ιμα]τι[ον as part of the text. Its omission could be accounted for due to assimilation to the LXX.²⁰⁸ There is thus little doubt that the phrase should be included. Furthermore, the reading ἐλίξεις in Heb 1:12 is attested by P⁴⁶ A B – and should be taken as the most authoritative based on this combination of witnesses. The variant ἀλλαξεις, which is the same reading as that of the LXX, is followed by κ* D* t vg^{cl.ww}; Ath.²⁰⁹

As was argued above during the discussion of the futurum διαμενεις amongst the LXX witnesses, also here in the NT is this difference in accentuation listed amongst the witnesses in the NT critical apparatus. Despite the fact that such a difference would be impossible to be noted in the uncials, is the praesens διαμένεις preferred in the eclectic text of NA27 and the futurum taken to be the reading in D² 0243. 365. 629 pc lat.

2.2.3 A comparison of the readings of Ps 102(101):26-28 with Heb 1:10-12

Based on the discussions above, the existing readings of the eclectic texts could thus be used for the purposes of comparison.

Ps 102(101):26-28 LXX

κατ' ἀρχὰς σύ, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας,
καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί·
27 αὐτὸὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμενεις,
καὶ πάντες ὡς ιμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται,
καὶ ὥσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἀλλαξεις αὐτούς,
καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· 28 σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς
ει καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

Heb 1:10-12

σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας,
καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί·
11 αὐτὸὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις,
καὶ πάντες ως ιμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται,
12 καὶ ὥσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς,
ώς ιμάτιον καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς
ει καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

The major differences between the reconstructed readings of the LXX and the NT texts, seem to be the following:

- Whereas Ps 101:26 (LXX) reads κατ' ἀρχὰς σύ (calling to mind the creation account in Genesis),²¹⁰ Heb 1:10 reads σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς. The second person personal pronoun, σύ, thus seems to be transposed to the beginning of the quoted text in the NT, and now

²⁰⁸ B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 663; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 43.

²⁰⁹ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno are of the opinion “that ἐλίξεις could have been a scribal auditory error for ἀλλαξεις, but since κ* D* read ἀλλαξεις (and likewise Vulg.^{Clem}) the original reading in Heb 1:12 is debatable” (*OT Quotations*, 81). The weight of these two witnesses is, nonetheless, not comparable to that of P⁴⁶ A B.

²¹⁰ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 46.

occupies the most prominent emphatic position.²¹¹ This transforms the quotation into a more parallelistic (hymnic?) structure with three συ-sentences: σὺ κατ’ ἀρχás ... ἐθεμελίωσας (v. 10a); σὺ δὲ διαμένεις (v. 11a); and σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτός (v. 12c).²¹²

- Whereas the LXX text probably read the future διαμενεις based on the future form of the MT and followed by some NT witnesses (D² 0242. 365. 629 pc lat), the main authoritative NT text tradition suggests διαμένεις.²¹³ The circumflex of the LXX was thus replaced with an acute accent on the third syllable in the NT case. The difference would not have been noticeable in the uncials due to absence of accentuation there, but it would have been detected from the context.
- Whereas the LXX text probably read ἀλλαξεις, the author of Hebrews seems to have changed it to ἐλίξεις.²¹⁴ The verb ἀλλάσσω is consistently used in the LXX (ἀλλαξεις, ἀλλαγήσονται). It might also go back to a common early Christian tradition as it is used in 1 Cor 15:51 similar to the “putting on” of immortality.²¹⁵ The verb ἐλίσσω is used in Isa 34:4 LXX for heaven which will be rolled up like a scroll (καὶ ἐλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον)²¹⁶ and also in the apocalyptic text of Rev 6:14 when heaven will disappear like a scroll which is rolled up (ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον).
- It can be assumed that the NT read ὡς ἴματιον in Heb 1:12, whereas the phrase does not occur at all in any of the extant LXX witnesses. The inclusion of the phrase replaces the comparison in the Psalm with that of a rolled up cloak²¹⁷ and is deliberately added by the author²¹⁸ to show that the simile of the garment is continued.²¹⁹ Some scholars, though, assume that the author of Hebrews found this phrase in his *Vorlage*.²²⁰

²¹¹ So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 26; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 115; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 167, n.42; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 88; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 184.

²¹² So observed by E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 92.

²¹³ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 66; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 88.

²¹⁴ Also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 129 *passim*. For E. Ahlborn, however, “besteht kein Zweifel” that this was the reading in the *Vorlage* of the author of Hebrews (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 115). This is, however, difficult to prove.

²¹⁵ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 129.

²¹⁶ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 26-27; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 61; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 186; and G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 941, all suspect that this text might have influenced the variant reading.

²¹⁷ G. Brunert, *Ps 102*, 20; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 61.

²¹⁸ So also A.H. Trotter, *Epistle*, 98. Following Lane, he assumes that the words were added by the author of Hebrews, “apparently ‘to emphasize that the metaphor of the garment is sustained.’”

²¹⁹ B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 663.

²²⁰ M. Karrer is of the opinion that this phrase might go back to the author’s *Vorlage* “da sie sich in den Rhythmus der Parallelismen im Psalm einfügt” (*Hebräer I*, 143). Also U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 186-187.

2.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

Despite the categorical statement of some scholars²²¹ that the quotation from Ps 102(101):26-28 agrees with the LXX, it is clear that this quoted text in Heb 1:10-12 does not agree completely with Ps 101:26-28 LXX.²²² It is, nonetheless, clear that the reading of Hebrews is closer to the LXX versions than to the Hebrew and it follows the same deviations from the MT as most LXX witnesses. The presence of κύριος and of the included καί before ωσει (in the LXX but not in the MT or DSS), is already enough evidence for this.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The connection between this quotation and the former remains very close despite the fact that it introduces a new idea.²²³ This is achieved with a single καί that is used as introductory formula. It forms part of the author's evidence with the quotation from Ps 45(44) what God said about the Son (πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, 1:8) and stands in direct contrast with what God said about the angels (πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους, 1:7).²²⁴

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation context of Heb 1:10-12

This Psalm, which is addressed to God the Creator, is now taken out of its context and used in connection with the status of the Son.²²⁵ The Christian interpretation of Ps 102(101) starts here in Heb 1:10-12 when words that were initially addressed to Yahweh (not to the messiah), are now applied by the author “in leichter Abwandlung” to Christ.²²⁶ It is precisely due to the inclusion of the term κύριος in the LXX, that the activities in Ps 102(101) could be

²²¹ So B.W. Bacon, “Septuagint Rendering,” 280; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëën*, 34.

²²² So correctly S. Kistemaker: “Apart from a few minor deviations caused by reasons of emphasis and style...” (*Psalm Citations*, 26). Also F. Schröger: “ganz geringe Änderungen” (*Verfasser*, 66), and R.McL. Wilson: “following LXX with some minor changes” (*Hebrews*, 42).

²²³ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 28.

²²⁴ So also E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 87.

²²⁵ B.W. Bacon, “Septuagint Rendering,” 280; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 28; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 21; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 42; C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 195. E. Ahlborn wrote: “Der κύριος von dem in Ps. 101(102),26ff. gesprochen wird, ist nach dem Verständnis des Hebräerbrieles Christus” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 115).

²²⁶ G. Brunert, *Ps 102*, 20. Also A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 108.

transferred to Christ.²²⁷ It is especially the LXX that opens up the possibility for a christological interpretation²²⁸ – principally with its inclusion of κύριος of which the Hebrew equivalent lacks in the Hebrew texts. There are furthermore elements in Ps 102(101):13-21 that were probably taken as references to Christ: his enthronement, the liberation from fear and death, the reference to this “to be written down for a future generation,” and the renewal of Zion.²²⁹ The Zion motif of Ps 102(101):14-17 is interesting in the light of Heb 12:22ff. In the Psalm there is a cry of hope for the reparation of Zion in the midst of suffering (perhaps from post-exilic times).²³⁰ One should thus consider a version of the LXX as point of departure for establishing the *Vorlage* of this quotation.

Ps 102(101) serves as proof for the author of Hebrews about the control of the Son of God over the world, and in a broader sense the fulfilment of the divine promises in Christ.²³¹ Creation, which owes its existence to the Son (Heb 1:2), is temporary and will pass away. Christ, on the other hand, who inherits all (1:2) and is God’s Son (1:5), is permanent and eternal. In this manner, the quotation covers in two parts the Son’s activity in both the beginning (v. 10) and the end of time (vv. 11-12).²³²

2.4 Conclusion

With regard to the tradition historical part of the investigation, no evidence was found that this Psalm has been explicitly quoted anywhere else in the early Jewish or early Christian literature prior to the time of Hebrews. The author of Hebrews might thus have identified this quotation himself as an appropriate text for his argument.

The text critical study of Ps 102(101):26-28 made it clear that this quoted text in Heb 1:10-12 does not agree completely with the LXX version, although being closest to it by showing the same deviations from the MT as the LXX does.

²²⁷ So also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 46.

²²⁸ H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 28.

²²⁹ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 125.

²³⁰ See also H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 19.

²³¹ G. Brunert, *Ps 102*, 20. E. Grässer formulates it aptly: “Die Zitationsfähigkeit hängt also nicht vom vorgegebenen ‘messianischen Character’ der Schriftstelle ab, sondern allein von ihrer argumentativen Kraft für den theologischen Gedanken von der Schöpfungsmittlerschaft des Sohnes” (*Hebräer I*, 87-88). Cf. also H. van Oyen: “De tegenstelling vergankelijkheid-onvergankelijkheid wordt hier achtergrond en schouwtoneel, door middel waarvan zich het werk der verzoening voltrekt” (*Hebreeën*, 19).

²³² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 126.

Chapter 5

The motif of the exalted King 1 Cor 15 and the combination Ps 110(109):1 + Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 1:13, 2:6-8

Heb 1:13

13 πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκεν ποτε·

κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου; (Ps 110[109]:1)

Heb 2:6-8

6 διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων·

τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὅτι μιμνήσκῃ αὐτοῦ, ἢ νίδιος ἄνθρωπου ὅτι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτόν; 7 ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους, δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν, 8 πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. (Ps 8:5-7)

Despite the fact that the quotations from Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 1:13, and that of Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8, are not standing in immediate proximity from each other, it is clear that they share the same theme. This is enhanced by both the similarity in wording (ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου – ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ) as well as a pre-Hebrews tradition in early Christianity that connected these two texts with each other.¹ Furthermore, Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5 and Ps 110(109):1 here in Heb 1:13 (the first and the last of the seven quotations in the catena of Heb 1), are used as Scriptural witnesses with regard to the Son's exaltation as *King*.² The same two texts – but with v. 4, not v. 1 of Ps 110(109) – will be utilised later in Heb 5 – 10 with regard to the Son's role as *High Priest*.³ The Son's identity is inseparable from his divine sonship.⁴

¹ G.H. Guthrie states that this “is the only quotation in the chain that is not paired with another passage,” but points to its transitory position in moving towards the discussion of the incarnation and the verbal analogy between Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:4-6 (“Hebrews,” 942).

² On the “royal contribution” of Ps 110(109) in Hebrews, see D.R. Anderson, *King-Priest*, 137-201. On Hebrews’s use of Pss 8 and 110 in the light of the Flavian triumph, see E.B. Aitken, “Portraying the Temple in Stone and Text: The Arch of Titus and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews*, 131-148, on pp. 141-146.

³ Compare Zech 6:12-13 with its expectation of a man called the “Branch,” who has both kingly and priestly functions, someone who will build the temple of the Lord and will rule on his throne.

⁴ D.A. Hagner, “The Son of God as Unique High Priest: The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in R.N. Longenecker (ed.), *Contours of Christology in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 247-267, on p. 257.

1. Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 1:13

A substantial amount of research has been done on the place of Ps 110(109) in the NT,⁵ particularly on v. 1 of this Psalm, but it is not necessary to repeat all that research and observations here. With the focus of this study primarily on the *Vorlage* of the quotation, the emphasis of this discussion will particularly focus on the quest for the *Vorlage* of Hebrews' quotation in this regard.

The author of Hebrews already alluded to Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 1:3⁶ when he referred to the Son's exaltation at the right hand of the Majesty in the highest (heavens): ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. Further allusions appear in Heb 8:1 (ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς); Heb 10:12 (ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ) and in Heb 12:2 (ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικεν). Both elements are important. The act of sitting indicates the Son's elevated status in relation to the angels who are standing before the throne of God. The position at the right hand of God indicates the seat of honour,⁷ the most important place that can be occupied in heaven.⁸

Explicit quotations from Ps 110(109):4 are found in Heb 5:6; 7:17 and 7:21, with allusions to v. 4 also in Heb 1:14 (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα); 5:10; 6:20; 7:3, 11 and 15. It is thus difficult to exaggerate the importance of Ps 110(109) for the author of Hebrews⁹ – which led to the midrash hypothesis referred to in the opening chapter of this investigation and which attempted to understand Hebrews in its totality against the backdrop of Ps 110(109).¹⁰

⁵ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 72, and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 928, who share the same identically formulated statement: "Kein Psalm hat in der Forschung so viele Hypothesen und Diskussionen ausgelöst."

⁶ So also, for instance, F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 23; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëën*, 34; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 43; C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 203; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 169.

⁷ See 1 Kgdms 2:19; Ps 45:9 (44:10 LXX).

⁸ "In the heavenly kingdom God's right hand lends a share in God's honor and power ...because of its special proximity to his throne" (P. von der Osten-Sacken, s.v. δεξιός, in H. Baltz & G. Schneider (ed.), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. 1* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1978-1980) 285-286, on p. 286).

⁹ D.A. Hagner correctly states: "At the heart of Hebrews are the identity and work of Christ as high priest. As the Son who sits at God's right hand (Ps 110:1), he has become a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek (Ps 110:4)" ("Son of God," 265).

¹⁰ See, amongst others, G.W. Buchanan, who calls Hebrews "a homiletical midrash based on Ps. 110" (*Hebrews*, xix). Also G.J.C. Jordaan & P. Nel, *Priest-King to King-Priest*, forthcoming.

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Ps 110(109):1¹¹

Ps 110(109) is ascribed to David in its superscription and belongs with Ps 2 and Ps 45(44), quoted earlier in the catena, to the group of royal Psalms.¹² It reflects a festival act from the earliest times and contains age-old traditions.¹³ Presenting itself literally as “Yahweh’s oracle”¹⁴ ($\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu \delta\kappa\upsilon\rho\sigma$), it contains two “Gottessprüche”¹⁵ in v. 1 and v. 4. Being “a blessing on the national leader in war,”¹⁶ the enemies of David’s messiah-king are subjected under his feet. Imagery of Near Eastern monarchy¹⁷ is utilised and the image corresponds with Sumerian-Akkadian imagery where the conqueror took an honorary position at the right hand side of the god.¹⁸ The Psalm also resembles Egyptian imagery in this regard. The footstool of Tutankhamen of Egypt is carved with pictures of his enemies, and with other Egyptian kings being shown resting their feet on their enemies’ heads. The practice symbolises the victorious and conquering position of the ruler when he placed his feet on the neck of his enemy’s defeated king in order to demonstrate his triumph.¹⁹ Examples of the practice is found in Josh 10:24, with allusions to it in Deut 33:29, Isa 51:23 and Ps 89:11.

Ps 110(109) is followed by a series of Hallelujah Psalms²⁰ which opens it up for the liturgical hypothesis with the suspicion that Ps 110(109) might have been particularly a morning Psalm – together with those of Ps 108(107) and Ps 118(117).²¹

1.1.2 The use of Ps 110(109):1 in the early Jewish and Christian traditions

Being part of the liturgical Hallel, the suspicion is that Ps 110(109) probably already took a kerygmatic key position in the messianic thinking of early Judaism.²² But the passage from Ps

¹¹ For a discussion on the background of Ps 110, see D.R. Anderson, *King-Priest*, 35-86.

¹² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 61.

¹³ Cf. H.-J. Kraus: “Die Frage ist nur, um welchen Festakt es sich handelt, welche Traditionen im einzelnen erkennbar sind und wie der Ablauf des kultischen Ereignisses zu erfassen ist” (*Psalmen II*, 929).

¹⁴ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 23; M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 143; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 928; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 942.

¹⁵ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 72; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 93.

¹⁶ M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 116.

¹⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 62.

¹⁸ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 932.

¹⁹ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 49.

²⁰ M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 152.

²¹ See M.D. Goulder, *Psalms of the Return*, 193 (cf. also p. 209), who suspects that the morning Psalms were here on the even numbers.

110(109):1 was not messianically interpreted in earlier rabbinical literature.²³ There is also very little evidence that it might have been quoted in the DSS and it seems as if the text itself did not play an important role in the Qumran community.²⁴ One such possibility, however, might be in 4QHistorical Work / 4QMidrEschat^e (4Q183).²⁵ The fragment ends with an introductory formula (frag. 1, col. ii, v. 9) but the actual quotation is lost. The suspicion of scholars is that the preceding pesher of the preceding lines might refer to Ps 110:1b-2a.²⁶ Furthermore, although the royal motif of the footstool surfaces amongst the DSS, there are no traces that it alludes particularly to Ps 110(109):1 or that, if so, the Psalm was understood in a messianic manner. This motif surfaces in texts such as the following:

- 4QBlessings^a (4QBer^a / 4Q286, frag.1, col. ii): “your honoured seat and your glorious footstool in your residential [hei]ghts, and your holy dwelling place...” (vv. 1-2).²⁷
- 4QEn^b ar (4Q202, col. iii = *En.* 8:2 – 9:4): “[Ra]phael and Micha[el, Sariel and Gabriel went and said in front of the Lord of the world:] [You are] our great Lord, [you are] the Lord of the world; [you are the King of the kings. The heavens are] the [throne] of your glory /for all/ the generations which exist since eternity [and all the earth is the footstool in front of you for all eternity]” (vv. 13-15).²⁸

The same motif, particularly in the Enoch-tradition, surfaced also in Isa 66:1 where Yahweh declared (οὗτως λέγει κύριος) that “heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool” (ἥ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου).²⁹ This is used in connection with the temple as an earthly dwelling that David wanted to build for the Lord. The roots of this goes back to the understanding that Yahweh accompanied his people for 40 years in the desert – always being present in cloud or fire with his glory (*shekinah*) that rested on the tabernacle. The same motif is particularly seen in Ps 132(131):7-8, which is a call to go to his “dwelling place” (εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα), to “worship at his footstool” (προσκυνήσομεν...οὐ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ). This Psalm was part of those used by the pilgrims as they ascended to Jerusalem to

²² A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 91. D. M. Hay, too, holds this opinion saying that it is “fair to suppose that in the NT era a messianic interpretation of Ps.110 was current in Judaism, although we cannot know how widely it was accepted” (*Glory*, 30).

²³ Cf. H. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 272.

²⁴ H. Braun, *Qumran und NT II*, 313.

²⁵ F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 374-375. The work of A. Steudel also identified the fragment of 4Q183 with the possibility of being 4QMidrEschat^e (*4QMidrEschat*, 152-160).

²⁶ Cf. J.T. Milik, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa^c dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972) 95-144, on p. 138; A. Steudel, *4QMidrEschat*, 155-157. The latter reconstructs the line as possibly כה רך בקרב איביכה (“Und wovon es heißt: ‘He[rrsche inmitten deiner Feinde (Ps 110b) (?)...’.”)

²⁷ Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition II*, 644-645.

²⁸ Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 406-407.

²⁹ The footstool-motif also occurs in 2 Chr 28:2; Ps 99:5; 132:7 and Lam 2:1.

participate in the Jewish festivals and rituals. A number of *Stichwörter*, or important *topoi*, in Hebrews are to be found in Ps 132(131): the ark, priests clothed with righteousness, the faithful, the servant David, the anointed one, the Lord swearing with a sure oath, a son on the throne, the covenant, the Lord teaching them, Zion as the chosen resting place forever, priests clothed with salvation, his enemies, his gleaming crown, etc. Also Ezek 43 expresses the motif of the Lord's glory that enters the temple (v. 4) – which is the place of his throne and his footstool ($\tauὸν τόπον τοῦ ἵχνους τῶν ποδῶν$, v. 7).

The motif of one sitting on the throne of glory is also to be found in 1 En.,³⁰ 4 Ezra,³¹ the Testament of Job³² and the Testament of Levi.³³ Quotations in further intertestamental and rabbinic sources are scarce.³⁴

When turning to early Christianity, the motif of Isa 66:1 is to be found in Matt 5:34-35 which states that heaven is the throne of God and earth his footstool. The passage is also quoted by Luke during Stephen's speech in Acts 7:49. This exalted position of Yahweh (the Lord) was soon connected with, and understood in terms of, the exalted position of Christ (the Lord). The hermeneutical bridge was most probably built via the LXX translation of Yahweh as κύριος – the position and the name that God gave Jesus (cf. Acts 2:36).

It is then even more interesting to note the prominent role that specifically Ps 110(109):1 played in the NT literature.³⁵ It is the quotation that occurs the most frequently in the NT and is quoted six times in this corpus of literature – including here in Heb 1:13. Also quoted is Ps 110(109):4, but only by the author of Hebrews (5:6; 7:17, 21). These occurrences will be discussed at the appropriate places later in this study. A brief look at some of the occurrences of Ps 110(109):1 within the NT would suffice here.³⁶

³⁰ Particularly in the *Parables of Enoch*. Cf. 1 En. 45:3; 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:3-5; 69:27-29. Influence from Dan 7 in 1 En. 45-71 “is apparent throughout in the depiction of the enthroned Son of man” (D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis. Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988], 162).

³¹ Cf. 4 Ezra 12-13. Influence of Dan 7 is also to be noticed in 4 Ezra 13:1-53 – according to D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 162.

³² Cf. T. Job 33:3: “My throne is in the upper world, and its splendor and majesty come from the right hand of the Father” (R.P. Splitter, “Testament of Job,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigrapha I*, 829-868, on p. 855). See also the discussions in D. Hay, *Glory*, 19-33; D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 137; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 943.

³³ Cf. D. Hay, *Glory*, 19-33; D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 137.

³⁴ See D. Hay for a discussion on the role of Ps 110(109) in this corpus (*Glory*, 19-33). Also D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 137-139.

³⁵ See, amongst others, M. Hengel, *Psalm 110 und die Erhöhung*, 43-73; M. De Jonge, *Christology in Context. The Earliest Christian Response to Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 186ff.; W.R.G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbrieves* (WMANT 53; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981); W.R.G. Loader, “Christ at the Right Hand – Ps CX.1 in the New Testament,” *NTS* 24 (1978) 199-217; D.M. Hay, *Glory*, loc. cit.

³⁶ See also D.R. Anderson for a recent discussion of these passages (*King-Priest*, 87-135).

1 Cor 15:25: The passage relates to the resurrection and it argues how death, as the last enemy of Christ (i.e. the messiah), will be subjected under his feet during his reign. Paul “employs a little apocalyptic drama” here in *1 Cor 15:23-28*.³⁷ It is interesting to note that the combination of *Ps 110(109):1*³⁸ and *Ps 8:7* is already to be found in *1 Cor 15:25-27*. The two texts were probably identified and closely connected on the basis of the similar phrase, ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ in both *Ps 110(109):1* and *Ps 8:7*. This is a *crux interpretum*. The question was asked: “whose feet”?³⁹ It was convincingly argued that it is Christ,⁴⁰ not God,⁴¹ to whom the enemies are subjected in vv. 27-28. Attention was also drawn to the fact that “Paul offers the earliest documentation of a christological exegesis of these psalms.”⁴² Important to note is thus the messianic (christological) and apocalyptic (eschatological) dimensions that were connected here with these two Psalms – both of which are linked to the kingship of Christ, as given to him by God. It is technically more correct to take the occurrence of *Ps 110(109):1* here in *1 Cor 15:25* rather as an allusion,⁴³ than as an explicit quotation,⁴⁴ in the light of the absence of a clear introductory formula. This makes the occurrence of the combination with *Ps 8:7* in *Heb 1:13, 2:6-8* all the more interesting. Not only was the combination of these texts known to early Christianity (combined by Paul?) by the time that *Hebrews* was written, but the author of *Hebrews* explicitly quotes from, and comments on both, whilst expanding on the *Ps 8:7* quotation so that it now also includes vv. 5-6 as well.

³⁷ A. Lindemann, “Paulus und die korinthische Eschatologie: Zur These von einer ‘Entwicklung’ im paulinischen Denken,” *NTS* 37 (1991) 373-399, on p. 383; A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGCNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1230.

³⁸ P. Ellingworth refers to it as “freely quoted” (*Hebrews*, 129).

³⁹ H. Conzelmann pointed out that there are four suggestions: (a) it refers to the whole of v. 24 (Heinrici, Lietzmann); (b) to the two ὅταν-clauses (Bachmann); (c) to the second ὅταν-clause (Schmiedel); (d) the element of proof lies in ἔως (*sic!* Paul says ἀχρι) οὐ, “until”; “the σύνθρονον είναι, “sharing of the throne,” has accordingly its limits” (Weiss) (*1 Cor*, 272).

⁴⁰ Cf. H. Conzelmann: “Through the transposition of the verb into the third person, Christ becomes the agent” and he subjects the enemies to himself (*1 Cor*, 273). So also understood by J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 359; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 755-756; A.C. Thiselton, *1 Cor*, 1234.

⁴¹ Cf. C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Black, 1971), 356-357.

⁴² R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 84. Hays also saw these passages presented “as prophecies of Christ’s enthronement at the right hand of God and ultimate authority over all creation.”

⁴³ So rightly taken by A. Lindemann, *Der Erste Korintherbrief* (HzNT 9/1; Tübingen: Mohr, 2000), 347; H. Conzelmann, *1 Cor*, 272-273; R.B. Hays, *Echoes*, 84; A.C. Thiselton, *Hebrews*, 1234. C.D. Stanley, too, omits this in his discussion of the explicit quotations (*Paul and the Language of Scripture* [SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: University Press, 1992], 206, n. 85). However, it is not correct to see *Ps 8:7* here also as an allusion, due to the reference ὅταν δὲ εἴπη in *1 Cor 15:27b*.

⁴⁴ M. Silva sensed the difference, but handles them as part of those quotations that belong to his grades B (“trivial difference(s) without textual (or hermeneutical) significance”) and C (“difference(s) of textual (or hermeneutical) interest”) as a “measure of agreement between Paul and OG” (“The Greek Psalter in Paul’s Letters: A Textual Study,” in R.J.V. Hiebert, C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Suppl Ser 332; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2001) 277-288, on pp. 277-278).

Mark 12:36 (par. Matt 22:44; Luke 20:42): The gist of this passage is that David himself says that the messiah is “Lord.” Interesting to note here is the introductory formula of Ps 110(109):1 in the Synoptics: Mark 12:36 states that “David declared by the Holy Spirit” and the parallel in Matt 22:43 that “David by the Holy Spirit calls him ‘Lord’,” whereas Luke 20:42 merely states that “David himself says in the book of Psalms.” The connection between David as writer of a Psalm and those words being inspired words by the Holy Spirit appears again in Acts 4:25: “it is you who said by the Holy Spirit through our ancestor David, your servant” – a formulation that occurs later in Heb 4:7 in connection with the author’s commentary on Ps 95(94):7. There is also a possibility that the connection between Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 is to be found also in Mark 12:36, where the Markan text assumes a reception of Ps 110(109):1 and which was probably already influenced by Ps 8:7.⁴⁵ See the discussion of the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8 further below.

*Acts 2:34:*⁴⁶ Luke shows knowledge of the superscription of Ps 110(109):1 and ascribes it to David. It is clear that Luke used a LXX version for his quotation of Ps 110(109):1 here, as “only on this basis is the distinction possible between κύριος, ‘Lord’ = God, and κύριός μου, ‘my Lord’ = Christ.”⁴⁷ Luke applies the quotation christologically and argues in his introductory formula that David did not ascend into the heavens, but he himself has spoken these words. The implication is clear: if it does not apply to David, then David must have referred to someone else.

One should distinguish between several traditions in the NT that use Ps 110(109), as well as between the two elements of the subjection of the enemies under the feet and the seating at the right hand.⁴⁸

(a) *Subjection of the enemies under the feet*

- The first is a *Pauline tradition* on the exaltation of Christ in both 1 Cor 15:25 and Eph 1:20-22 and its connection with Ps 8:7 by means of ὑπέταξεν.
- A *Petrine tradition* alludes to the same tradition on the exaltation of Christ in 1 Pet 3:22 with the verb ὑποταγέντων.

⁴⁵ C.J. Breytenbach, „Folgetext und Prätext,” 212-213.

⁴⁶ See my discussion on this quotation in G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 114-125.

⁴⁷ H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 21.

⁴⁸ U. Rüsen-Weinhold is probably correct in suspecting thus that Ps 110(109) was in circulation in several different forms (*Septuagintapsalter*, 187).

- A third is a *Synoptic Gospel tradition* on the “Davidic filiation of the Messiah”⁴⁹ represented in Mark 12:36 / Matt 22:44 and its connection with Ps 8:7 by means of ὑποκάτω. Jesus uses the connection as a clue with regard to his own identity.
- A fourth is a *Lukan tradition* on the Davidic affiliation of the Messiah in Luke 20:43 and on the exaltation of Christ in Acts 2:34 which uses ὑποπόδιον – as the LXX reading does.
- A fifth is a *Synoptic Gospel tradition* on the *parousia* in Mark 14:62 (par. Matt 26:64; Luke 22:69) which connects a quotation from Dan 7:13 with an allusion to Ps 110(109):1.
- A sixth, a *Hebrews tradition*, is found here in Heb 1:13, following the same route as the first two, but quoting Ps 110(109):1 in full (with the LXX reading ὑποπόδιον as Luke), as well as expanding considerably on the Ps 8 text, which includes both ὑπέταξας and ὑποκάτω. Was this expansion by the author of Hebrews perhaps done, not only to include the *Stichwort* ἀγγέλους in Ps 8:6, but also to include νίὸς ἀνθρώπου in Ps 8:5 – based on knowledge of the Gospel tradition that also connected Dan 7:13 with Ps 110(109):1? It is interesting that in both Dan 7:13 as well as in Ps 8:5-7 νίὸς ἀνθρώπου occurs without the usual definite article.⁵⁰

(b) *Seating at the right hand*

- The Pauline tradition (Rom 8:34; Eph 1:20; Col 3:1), Petrine tradition (1 Pet 3:22) and the Hebrews tradition (Heb 1:3; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2), which all utilised *references and allusions*, use the expression ἐν δεξιᾷ (preposition ἐν + dative sg.).

ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ (Rom 8:34)

καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ (Eph 1:20)

ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενος (Col 3:1)

ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Pet 3:22)

ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης (Heb 1:3)

ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θρονοῦ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης (Heb 8:1)

ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ (Heb 10:12)

ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ κεκάθικεν (Heb 12:2)

- The Synoptic Gospel tradition (Mark 12:36; Matt 22:44), the Lukan tradition (Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34) and the Hebrews tradition all presenting Ps 110(109):1 as *an explicit quotation*

⁴⁹ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 62.

⁵⁰ H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 29.

(Heb 1:13), as well as the Synoptic Gospel tradition which alludes to it (Mark 14:62; Matt 26:64; Luke 22:69), prefer the alternative ἐκ δεξιῶν (preposition ἐκ + genitive pl.).

1.2 Text critical investigation

Given the fact of the importance of the quotation from Ps 110(109):1 in the NT, it is quite disappointing that there are no extant fragments of it that were found amongst the DSS. In cases such as 4QPs^f (4Q88)⁵¹ nothing of the material overlaps with the Psalm quotations in Hebrews. The Psalm also lacks in Codex B amongst the LXX witnesses. This means that some important textual traditions are absent for the purposes of our text critical investigation.

1.2.1 Readings of Ps 110(109):1

When comparing the Hebrew MT and the Greek versions of Ps 110(109):1, the texts are almost identical:

Ps 110:1 (MT)	Ps 109:1 (LXX)
לְךָד מִזְמֹר	Τῷ Δαυιδ ψαλμός.
בָּאָם יְתַהֵּה לְאֹדֶן	Εἰπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου
שָׁב לִימִנִּי עַד־אַשְׁתָּה	Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
אַיְבִּיךְ הַדָּם לְרִגְלֵיךְ :	

An important difference, however, is the translation of both יְתַהֵּה and אֹדֶן with κύριος in the LXX versions,⁵² although this section is not quoted by the author of Hebrews. Attention was drawn to the fact that ὁ κύριος “serves as the subject for an aorist verbal predicate” in LXX Ps 109:1 with ειπεν.⁵³ Out of extreme reverence for the divine name of Yahweh, there are 134 places to be found where the *Sopherim* altered “Yahweh” to “Adonai” according to the official list given in the Massorah (§§ 107 – 15, Ginsburg’s edition).⁵⁴ Some of these also occur in the broader context of passages that are quoted by the author of Hebrews – compare, for example, Isa 8:7; Ps 2:4; Ps 22:19, 30; Ps 40:17 and Ps 110:5. Although one manuscript

⁵¹ Cf. P.W. Skehan; E. Ulrich & P.W. Flint, “‘Biblical’ and ‘Apocryphal’ Psalms,” 267-282.

⁵² For a discussion on the Tetragram, see J.W. Wevers, *Tetragram in the Psalter and Pentateuch*, 21-35; A. Pietersma, “Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint,” in A. Pietersma & C. Cox (ed.), *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Mississauga: Benben, 1984) 85-102; G. Howard, “The Tetragram and the New Testament,” *JBL* 96/1 (1977) 63-83. The latter suspects that the NT probably also originally contained the Tetragram.

⁵³ J.W. Wevers, “Rendering of the Tetragram,” 28.

⁵⁴ Cf. <http://www.biblaridion-online.net/zine-online/zine06q1/bibzine06q1.html> (Accessed on 1.1.2008).

(De Rossi) might have done the same here, one cannot give it too much weight as it is not well enough attested.

Amongst the LXX witnesses, the reading of PBod XXIV⁵⁵ differs slightly from the reconstructed LXX texts of Rahlfs and those of the NT. Interesting, however, is that the NT follows none of these alternative readings in PBod XXIV.⁵⁶

P Bodmer XXIV	Ps 109:1 LXX
ειπε <u>κς</u> τω <u>κω</u> μου :	Ειπεν <u>δ</u> κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου
καθου εκ δεξιῶν μου εως θω	Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως <u>ἄν</u> θῶ
τους εχρους σου : ὑποποδιον των ποδων σου	τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 1:13

All the available NT witnesses agree on the reading as it occurs in the reconstructed versions of NA27 and UBS4. There are no variant readings with any traces of omissions, additions, substitutions or transpositions.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 110(109):1 and Heb 1:13

As became clear from the discussion above, apart from the slight variations in PBod XXIV regarding the absence of $\grave{a}\nu$ ⁵⁷ and the *theta* in $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\circ\acute{\sigma}$, the readings of the LXX versions and all the witnesses of the NT agree with each other in the quotation part itself.

Ps 110(109):1 LXX	Heb 1:13
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως <u>ἄν</u> θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;	κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως <u>ἄν</u> θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

The different versions of Ps 110(109):1 in the NT, as well as the *Textfassung* of Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 1:13 against those in Heb 8:1 and 10:12, should be taken as support against an existing

⁵⁵ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 221.

⁵⁶ For a comparison between the LXX, NT and variant Coptic readings on Ps 110(109):1 (Sahidic, Boharic and the Mudil Codex of the Psalms in “middle Egyptian”), see P. Nagel, “Der sahidische Psalter – seine Erschließung und Erforschung neunzig Jahre nach Alfred Rahlfs’ Studien zum Text des Septuaginta-Psalters,” in A. Aeijmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 82–96, on p. 93.

⁵⁷ It is also omitted in Ps 17:38 and Ps 70:18 by a number of manuscripts (A. Pietersma, *Two Manuscripts*, 44).

testimonium from which these texts were taken.⁵⁸ Arguments that the allusions in Hebrews were based “on another Greek translation or on direct access to the Hebrew,” and that they were “drawn from an authoritative source other than the LXX,”⁵⁹ need to be reassessed. There could be other explanations for the differences as well.

One might simply explain the phenomenon, for instance, also on the basis of stylistic reasons. It became clear during the distinction of different traditions above, that the *allusions* to Ps 110(109):1 in the Pauline, Petrine and Hebrews versions all preferred ἐν δεξιᾷ with the dative singular (one Gospel tradition being the only exception). This actually points to a broader practice and is to be expected, as ἐν is the preposition most often used in the NT,⁶⁰ and this version of the expression is also the preferred option in the Greek classical literature.⁶¹ It means that when the authors are writing in their own words, that this might also be their preferential choice. Furthermore, the preposition ἐν is used 65 times in Hebrews alone and ἐκ only 21 times.⁶² The implication is that the author might thus merely show a preference for using expressions with ἐν so that when he alludes to the passage in his own words and style, he rather follows this direction.

Another Gospel tradition, as well as the Lukan and the Hebrews traditions that *explicitly quote* Ps 110(109):1, all preferred ἐκ δεξιῶν with the genitive plural. This means that the actual written Greek *Vorlage* of the quotation itself read differently than the customary practice of the day. Supportive of this is the very rare use of ἐν δεξιᾷ in the LXX.⁶³

Based on the author of Hebrews’ preference for a LXX version from which he took his quotations, it is highly likely that he also used here such a LXX version of Ps 110(109):1 for his quotation⁶⁴ – despite the fact that the reading of the quoted section is in identical agreement with the MT.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ So argued by D. Hay, *Glory*, 35-36; D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, 136; M.C. Albl, *Early Christian Testimonia*, 216-236; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 176, 187-188.

⁵⁹ M.C. Albl, *Early Christian Testimonia*, 220.

⁶⁰ F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 117, § 218.

⁶¹ F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Greek Grammar*, 78, § 141 (2).

⁶² According to H. Bachmann & W.A. Slaby (ed.), *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

⁶³ It occurs only in 1 Chr 6:39 (24) in this form – with the definite article, though, also in Gen 48:13; Judges 16:29 (Codex A); Ps 16(15):11; Prov 3:16; Sir 47:5; Isa 44:20; Epist. 15 (Codex A); 1 Macc 9:12, 14.

⁶⁴ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 71; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 187; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 943.

⁶⁵ Similarly also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 129.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation from Ps 110(109):1 is introduced in Heb 1:13 with the words of a rhetorical question: πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἴρηκεν ποτε – which resembles the introductory formula of Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5,⁶⁶ also presented as a rhetorical question, and thus binding together the introductory and concluding quotations of this catena by means of an inclusio. Whereas the formula in 1:5 uses the aorist tense (*ειπεν*), here in 1:13 the perfect (*ειρηκεν*) is used, suggesting “that the act of installation to which the citation refers took place in the past but has a continuing effect.”⁶⁷

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

Ps 110(109) plays an important role in Hebrews and forms the climax of the seven quotations in the catena of Heb 1:5-13. It “sets the stage for the next chapter and a new christological play on the psalms, focusing on the suffering Son.”⁶⁸ The author uses v. 1 to point to the Kingship of the Son – and will later use v. 4 to point the High Priesthood of the Son.⁶⁹ Ps 110(109):1 has been closely connected with the exaltation of Christ in the early Christian tradition. This is clear from its application in 1 Cor 15:25, Mark 12:36 (par. Matt 22:44; Luke 20:42) and Acts 2:34. The two elements contained in the Scriptural tradition, namely the sitting at the right hand and the subjection of the enemies, supplement those elements that surfaced from the other quotations in the catena in order to describe the royal position of the Son. Christ’s position at the right hand of God’s throne – ordered by God himself – presents a conceptual image of Christ’s royal role as Ruler. The subjection of all his enemies under his feet – like a footstool (Isa 66:1; Ps 110[109]:1; Ps 8:7) – forms an important aspect of this rulership, power and authority that Christ has, on the one hand, and his victorious and conquering position, on the other hand. It is a question about who or what exactly is intended

⁶⁶ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 29; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 28; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 48; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 92; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 942.

⁶⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 61. Cf. H. van Oyen: “De gang der tijden is door de schrijver van begin tot eind christocentrisch gedacht” (*Hebreëën*, 20).

⁶⁸ H.W. Attridge, “*Psalms in Hebrews*,” 203.

⁶⁹ M. Karrer reminds about the fact that the Hasmonians banished rulership and priesthood in Judaism during the 2nd cent. B.C.E. The Herodians, who took over the rulership after them, secured in the 1st cent. C.E. at least the high priesthood to some extent (*Hebräer I*, 139).

as Christ's enemies that will be subjected under his feet.⁷⁰ Despite the viewpoint that it is “particularly mistaken to impose Paul’s exposition on Hebrews,”⁷¹ the intention might probably indeed have been (as in 1 Cor 15:24-26): “every rule and authority and power” – with death as the last ultimate enemy, being referred to between the quotations from Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 in 1 Cor 15:26. A similar motif of Christ who conquered death is picked up again in Heb 2:9 in the author’s brief midrash after his quotation from Ps 8:5-7, as well as in Heb 12:2. The submission of death as the last enemy in 1 Cor 15:26 in connection with Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7, confirms not only the rulership as King in the process of Christ’s exaltation, but also his resurrection. This also becomes clear from its applied context in Acts 2:32-34.

The double reference to κύριος as Subject (τύποι) and as Object (initially the earthly King γῆς, but understood by early Christianity in terms of Christ) in the LXX version of Ps 109:1 (both τύποι and γῆς translated as κύριος), provided an important hermeneutical bridge to interpret this passage in a christological sense.⁷²

1.4 Conclusion

Belonging to the royal Psalms, Ps 110(109) was no unknown passage. Evidence was found about knowledge of different elements and motifs similar to those in this Psalm. However, it is only during NT times that Ps 110(109) is used extensively, particularly v. 1. It was also noted that its combination with Ps 8 was a well-known tradition by the time that Hebrews was written. Against the “Testimony Book” hypothesis, there is insufficient evidence to prove the existence of a list of early Christian testimonies from which the quotation might have derived. On the text critical level, the readings of the LXX versions and all the witnesses of the NT are in agreement – except for the slight variation in PBod XXIV regarding the absence of ἀν and the *theta* in ἐχθρούς.

⁷⁰ See also J.C. Miller, “Paul and Hebrews: A Comparison of Narrative Worlds,” in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews*, 245-264, on p. 253, n. 30. P. Ellingworth, however, reckons that such a question is misconceived, because “Hebrews offers no exegesis of the second line of the quotation, except indirectly via Ps. 8 in Heb. 2:8f.” (*Hebrews*, 131).

⁷¹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 131.

⁷² Although several scholars see the Psalm being “messianically” interpreted, it is technically more correct to understand it rather as “christological” in the early Christian tradition. F. Schröger argues similarly, concluding: “Nach historisch-kritischer Methode kann man aber hier nur von einer indirekt messianischen Stelle sprechen” (*Verfasser*, 73-75). So also H.W. Attridge: “Although in Jewish tradition attestations of a messianic interpretation of the text are weak, the passage became in early Christianity one of the most common vehicles for expressing christological convictions” (*Hebrews*, 61-62).

2. Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Ps 8

Ps 8 belongs to the group of Psalms that prefer to speak of “the Lord” (תִּהְיָ) rather than of “God” (אֱלֹהִים).⁷³ The LXX, however, translated מַלְאָךְ in this Psalm as “angels”,⁷⁴ the reading that is also followed in Heb 2:7. It has as heading in the LXX: Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν· ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ.

The Psalm was probably compiled in the late first half of the 2nd cent. B.C.E.⁷⁵ It is one of those sacred (cultic) songs, which can be described as a “hymn” and of which the object was to simply sing praise to God.⁷⁶ It praises the Lord’s glory and his creation.⁷⁷ Some scholars saw Ps 8 as the third most important statement in the OT on the position of humanity within the created order – after the *Imago-Dei* text of Gen 1:26ff. and the Yahwistic cornerstone in Gen 2:7.⁷⁸ In fact, interesting intertextual connections are to be found between Ps 8:5, Ps 144:3 (143:4 LXX) and Job 7:17-18, which all have similar readings. The same applies to Ps 8:6a when it is compared with Gen 1:26ff. (as an exposition of the priestly anthropology by the poet),⁷⁹ and to Ps 8:7 in comparison with Gen 1:26b, 28b.⁸⁰

Ps 8 is a song that was probably compiled from two tradition elements, the first is found in vv. 2-3, the second in vv. 4-9.⁸¹ The first part describes the glory of the heavens as God’s work in Creation, whilst the second part compares man to the heavenly realm.

⁷³ Similar also J.A. Soggin: “im sonst jahwistischen Psalm kann Elohim nicht ‘Gott’ heißen, wie Α, Σ, Θ es möchten” (“Textkritische Untersuchung von Ps. VIII vv.2-3 und 6,” VT 21 (1971) 565-571, on p. 570).

⁷⁴ Cf. F. Siegert: “Überall, wo *lohim* eine Mehrzahl meint, ändert die Septuaginta interpretierend ab entweder in νῖοι Θεοῦ oder in ἄγγελοι: so Ps 8,6; 89(88),7; 138(137),1” (*Hebräischer Bibel und AT*, 172). See also A. Schenker, “Götter und Engel im Septuaginta-Psalter. Text- und religionsgeschichtliche Ergebnisse aus drei textkritischen Untersuchungen,” in E. Zenger (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 185-195.

⁷⁵ O. Kaiser, “Erwägungen zu Psalm 8,” in: K. Seybold & E. Zenger (ed.), *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung. Für Walter Beyerlin* (HBS 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1994) 207-221, on p. 215.

⁷⁶ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 35, 442. So also E.R. Dalgish, “Psalms in the NT,” 34.

⁷⁷ M.D. Goulder thinks similarly, and considers this Psalm to be an evening Psalm in the liturgy on the basis of Ps 8:4 (*Psalms of the Return*, 110).

⁷⁸ K. Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (Transl. R. Graeme Dunphy; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1990), 153.

⁷⁹ “Der Mensch ist gewiß gottähnlich, aber damit eben nicht gottgleich” (O. Kaiser, “Erwägungen,” 208).

⁸⁰ “Dem Menschen ist das *dominium terrae* übergeben” (O. Kaiser, “Erwägungen,” 209). Cf. also M. Görg, “Alles hast Du gelegt unter seine Füße. Beobachtungen zu Ps 8,7b im Vergleich mit Gen 1,28,” in E. Haag & F.-L. Hossfeld (ed.), *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Heinrich Groß* (SBB 13; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1986) 125-148.

⁸¹ O. Kaiser, “Erwägungen,” 207; W. Beyerlin, “Psalm 8. Chancen der Überlieferungskritik,” *ZThK* 73 (1976) 1-22.

2.1.2 Ps 8 in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

There are no explicit quotations from Ps 8:5-7 to be found in the early Jewish literature. However, allusions to Ps 8:5 and 8:7 occur in 1QS 3:17-18 and 11:20.⁸² Possible further allusions might also be found in 3 Enoch 5:10 and 4 Ezra 6:53-54.⁸³ Turning to early Christianity, it is clear that Ps 8 was known and used by the early Christians. The following occurrences might serve as evidence:

- A possible conflation is suggested in *Mark 12:36* between Ps 8:7 and Ps 110(109):1. The presence of ὑποκάτω in the Markan reading serves as proof of this. In LXX Ps 8:6 the personal pronouns αὐτόν ... αὐτοῦ should be related to the νιὸς ἀνθρώπου of Ps 8:5. In the christological interpretation of the Psalm, though, the νιὸς ἀνθρώπου of Ps 8:5b should be identified with the exalted Christ – as is the case in 1 Cor 15:27 and here in Heb 2:8.⁸⁴
- Paul also quotes Ps 8:7 explicitly in *1 Cor 15:27*, and so does the author of *Eph 1:22*. Both readings here in the Pauline literature are identical and no textual variations amongst the witnesses are to be found in either of these readings. The reading of Ps 8:7 (8:6) here in 1 Cor 15:27 (although not exact) have no implications for the transmission of the LXX text or for the understanding of Paul's hermeneutics.⁸⁵ In cases like these, the author merely adjusts the syntax to the context, for instance by changing the verb from second person to third.⁸⁶ It might be argued that the Psalm is specifically quoted in an eschatological manner⁸⁷ with a christological⁸⁸ application, or interpretation, in both 1 Cor 15:27 and Eph 1:22. Both are also preceded and combined with Ps 110(109):1, and both are followed by a brief exegetical commentary. After the failure of the first Adam, all

⁸² Cf. B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 67. Also G.H. Guthrie, "Hebrews," 945.

⁸³ So identified by G.H. Guthrie, "Hebrews," 945.

⁸⁴ Cf. C.J. Breytenbach, "Folgetext und Prättext," 212-213. Contra A.F.J. Klijn who stated that the "title" is only to be found in the Gospels and in Acts 7:56 (*Hebreën*, 41). C. Koester distinguishes here between the meanings of the OT and Jewish traditions on the one hand, and the early Christian traditions on the other hand (*Hebrews*, 215).

⁸⁵ See M. Silva and his grading categories as a "measure of agreement between Paul and OG" ("Greek Psalter," 277-278).

⁸⁶ M. Silva, "Greek Psalter," 280.

⁸⁷ So D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 287; E. Grässer, "Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn in Hebr 2,6 in M. Evang & O. Merk (ed.), *Erich Gräßer: Aufbruch Und Verheissung. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Hebräerbrief* (BZNW 65; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992) 155-165, on p. 164. C.E. Cox, however, is sceptical about such a possible eschatological interpretation and refers to Schaper who says that the word ἀνθρωπός "was used in Num. 24,7, 17 to refer to a messianic saviour figure. Of course, that ἀνθρωπός was so used in the Pentateuch does not mean that it was employed in that same sense in 8.5..." (C.E. Cox, "Schaper's Eschatology," 296).

⁸⁸ Cf. F. Schröger: "Fest steht, daß der Psalm schon von Paulus (1 Kor 15,27) und vom Verfasser des Eph (Eph 1,22) christologisch verstanden wurde..." (Verfasser, 82).

things are subjected to the second Adam “who triumphs through obedience, and fulfils the destiny of race.”⁸⁹

- Apart from the explicit quotations in the NT, the only possible reference (according to NA27) referring to Ps 8:4, is to be found in *Rom 1:20*. Some even saw a possible “blending” of Gen 3:15 with Ps 8:6 and/or Ps 110(109):1 in *Rom 16:20*.⁹⁰
- Jesus also explicitly quotes Ps 8:3 in *Matt 21:16* in connection with himself – with no textual variations amongst the witnesses.
- Hengel found an underlying christological template that corresponds with the early christological hymns.⁹¹
- A papyrus-fragment was found (Papyrus Wien Nr. 180) containing Ps 8:2 as a writing exercise of a pupil, probably from the Christian era. It indicates how the Psalter took over the same function as Homer had in the past for such exercises.⁹²

Hebrews’ use and application of Ps 8 builds on these early Christian traditions in the sense that (a) it is used again by the author, (b) it is again linked with Ps 110(109):1, and (c) it is again briefly commented upon. It is less likely that both Paul and the author of Hebrews independently found the quotation from Ps 8:7. (The same also applies to Hab 2:4). Neither can literary dependency on Paul by Hebrews be proved,⁹³ nor pre-Pauline Christian usage of both quotations.⁹⁴ It was usually assumed in the past that Ps 8:7 had already acquired a traditional christological interpretation. One should rather assume that Ps 8:7 (and Hab 2:4) found an established place *through Paul* in the Christian tradition, and that the author of Hebrews took this up and reworked it independently. This is supported by the fact that Hebrews quotes every time a larger section than Paul.⁹⁵

The quotation from Ps 8:3 in Matt 21:16 comes from the first part of the Psalm (Ps 8:2-3), whilst the quotations from 1 Corinthians, Ephesians and Hebrews derive from the

⁸⁹ A.F. Kirkpatrick (ed.), *The Book of Psalms* (Cambridge: University Press, 1906), 36; G. van den Brink, “Schrift zegt of fantaseert? (2),” 212. G.H. Guthrie wrote in this connection: “It is vital to understand the ideal relationship communicated here, Adamic kingship being squarely in focus” (“Hebrews,” 945).

⁹⁰ D.G. Reid, Art. “Satan, Devil” in G.F. Hawthorne (ed.), *Dictionary of Paul and his letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 862-867, on p. 866.

⁹¹ Cf. M. Hengel, “Hymnus und Christologie” in W. Haubeck & M. Bachmann (ed.), *Wort in der Zeit. Neutestamentliche Studien. Festgabe für Karl Heinrich Rengstorff zum 75. Geburtstag* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 1-23, on p. 9.

⁹² F. Siegert, *Hebräischer Bibel im AT*, 97.

⁹³ So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29.

⁹⁴ Against C.H. Dodd who reckoned that Paul and the author of Hebrews followed a common tradition (*Scriptures*, 33). Cf. also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29.

⁹⁵ D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 244-245.

second part (Ps 8:4-9). The author of Hebrews quotes almost the whole of the second element, i.e. vv. 5-7. Schematically, the situation could be presented as follows:

<i>Ps 8:3</i>	<i>Ps 8:5</i>	<i>Ps 8:6</i>	<i>Ps 8:7 + Ps 110(109):1</i>
Matt 21:16			Mark 12:36; 1 Cor 15:17; Eph 1:22
	Heb 2:6	Heb 2:7	Heb 2:8

2.1.3 The combination of Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7

It was pointed out that Paul's quotation from Ps 8:7 in 1 Cor 15:27 was preceded by Ps 110(109):1 in 1 Cor 15:25. A similar phenomenon occurred in Eph 1:20-22 where Ps 110(109):1 is alluded to before the actual quotation from Ps 8:7 follows in Eph 1:22. Early Christianity probably identified two important christological elements in Ps 110(109):1 regarding their understanding of the exaltation of Christ, namely the resurrection motif and the motif of everything which is submitted under his feet as triumphant King. Especially the latter element was also identified in Ps 8:7. This might actually have been the link which was made between the two passages and might explain why they were combined in the tradition so that Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 were quoted in close connection with each other in the early Christian tradition. Some also see this combination being alluded to in passages such as Phil 3:21 and 1 Pet 3:22.⁹⁶ The former of these is then similar to the declaration made in 1 Cor 15:27 and is built upon Ps 8:7. Moving to Clement of Rome, one finds the same recurring phenomenon with the combination of Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 (*1 Clem* 36:4-5). This raises again the question about the *testimonia* hypothesis with its proposal of the existence of a possible list of quotations, or some sort of *testimonia*,⁹⁷ similar to the list encountered in 4Q174. Evidence for the existence and use of such a written list of proof texts does not convince.⁹⁸ The least that could be said is that one is perhaps dealing here with the existence of an oral tradition that combined these two passages.

Also here in Hebrews the last quotation cited before the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8, was the quotation from Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 1:13.⁹⁹ This combination of Ps

⁹⁶ E.g., E. Grässer, "Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Jesu in Hebr 2,14-18," in M. Evang & O. Merk (ed.), *E. Gräßer: Aufbruch Und Verheissung. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Hebräerbrief* (BZNW 65; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992) 181-200, 192; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194.

⁹⁷ So, for instance, S.W. Sowers: "This citing of or alluding to Ps. 8 immediately after Ps. 110 in Heb., Paul, and 1 Pet. cannot be mere coincidence. It strongly suggests the two texts were lying side by side in some document which all three writers consulted" (*Hermeneutics of Philo*, 85). Also R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 43 *passim*.

⁹⁸ Similar also M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 169.

⁹⁹ Also noted before by S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 50-51, 168-69; W.R.G. Loader, "Christ at the right hand," 209-213; H.W.

110(109):1 and Ps 8:7, which already existed in the tradition,¹⁰⁰ supports the link between Heb 1:13 and 2:6ff.¹⁰¹ The motif of everything which is submitted under the feet of the Son as King in Heb 2:8 connects thus this quotation from Ps 8:5-7 with that of Ps 110(109):1 where the enemies became a footstool for the king.¹⁰² Some scholars are convinced that Hebrews stands with its demolishing of the enemies doubtlessly in the tradition of old liturgical material, supported by the application of Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 that acknowledge the submission of powers to the exalted Christ in the sense of the Hellenistic acclamation.¹⁰³

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Ps 8:5-7

Regarding the Hebrew witnesses, the text of 5/6HевPsalms¹⁰⁴ was found amongst the DSS,¹⁰⁵ containing Ps 8:1, 4-10,¹⁰⁶ and thus overlaps with the section used for the quotation by the author of Hebrews (Ps 8:5-7). It is the only extant witness of this passage amongst the DSS. Regarding the Greek witnesses, the text of Ps 8:3-9 also survived, amongst others, in the 3rd cent. C.E. papyrus PMich inv. 22 1588 (earlier PMich III 133), which contains Ps 8 – 9.¹⁰⁷ The Bodmer Papyrus only preserved Pss 17 – 118.

A comparison of Ps 8:5-7 between the *Hebrew texts* of the MT and 5/6HевPsalms shows no differences. A comparison between the *Greek texts* of the (reconstructed) LXX and PMich also shows no differences.

Attridge, *Hebrews*, 72; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 117; E. Grässer, “Heilsbedeutung,” 192.

¹⁰⁰ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 117. A rethinking of the Pauline origin of the conflation between Ps 8 and Ps 110(109) was suggested in the light of Mark 12:36. It was argued that the *víóς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* motif plays a role in Mark, but not in Paul. Cf. C.J. Breytenbach, “Folgetext und Prätex,” 197-222. See also the Targumim on *ben Adam* in this regard.

¹⁰¹ U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* (BevT 49; München: Kaiser Verlag, 1968), 343; E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus. Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm 5,12-21; 1 Cor 15* (WMANT 7; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), 235; E. Grässer, “Heilsbedeutung,” 192.

¹⁰² So also J.W. Pryor, “Hebrews and Incarnational Christology,” *Reformed Theological Review* 40/2 (1981) 44-50, here 45.

¹⁰³ E. Grässer, “Heilsbedeutung,” 192.

¹⁰⁴ See J.H. Charlesworth, et. al. (ed.), *Miscellaneous Texts*, 146-147.

¹⁰⁵ Contra U. Rüsen-Weinhold who did not find any witnesses from Qumran here (*Septuagintapsalter*, 189).

¹⁰⁶ Specifically Seiyal 4, col. III, fr. 1 i.

¹⁰⁷ Labelled number 101 by J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus Littéraires Juifs et Chrétiens* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1976), 101-102; by K. Aland as AT 48 (*Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri. I. Biblische Papyri* [Patristische Texte und Studien 18; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976], 113; and number 2067 by A. Rahlf. Cf. also D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 6; <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlpaplist.html>.

MT	5/6HevPsalms	LXX	PMich Inv 22 ¹⁰⁸ (Ra 2067)
מְהֹן־אָנוֹשׁ	מה אָנוֹשׁ	τί ἔστιν ἀνθρωπος,	τι εσ[τιν αν][θρωπο]ς
כִּירְתֹּוּפְרָנֶחֶם		οὐτι μιμησκη αὐτοῦ,	οτι [μιμη]υη[σκη] αυτου
וּבְנֵאָדָם	בן אָדָם	τὸν οὐλός ἀνθρώπου,	η υι[ος] [ανθρωπ]ου
: כִּי תַּפְקִדְנִי :	: כִּי תַּפְקִדְנִי [ו]	οὗτοι ἐπισκέπτη αὐτῶν	[οτι] επισκεπτη αυτ[ο]ν
וְתַּפְרְרוּנוּ		ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν	[ηλατ][τωσ]α[σ αυ]τ[ον]
מֻעָט	מעט	βραχύ τι	βραχν τι
מְאַלְּהִים	מְאַלְּהִים	παρ' ἀγγέλους,	παρ αγ[γ]ελους
וְכָבוֹד וְהָרָר	וכבוד והדר	δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ	[δοξη και] τ[ιμη]
: הַעֲלָרָה :	: הַעֲלָרָה [ה]	ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν,	ε[σ]τεφανωσας αυτο[ν]
7 הַמְשִׁילָהוּ	הַמְשִׁילָהוּ	<u>καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν</u>	[και κατεστ]η[σ]ας αυτον
בְּמַעַשְׂ יְדֵיכֶךָ	בְּמַעַשְׂ יְדֵיךֶךָ	<u>ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν</u>	επι τα εργα των [χειρων
כָּל שְׁחָה	כל שְׁחָה	<u>σου</u> , πάντα ὑπέταξας	σο]υ παντα υπεταξας
: תְּחִתְּרִגְּלִיו :	תְּחִתְּרִגְּלִיו	ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ	[υποκατω τω]ν [π]οδων αυτου

There are some minor changes, however, *between some of the LXX witnesses*, but there is not enough evidence to accept any of them and none of them are confirmed by the reading of PMich III either: V. 6: Codex A reads δόξῃ καὶ τιμήν (*sic*); R reads δόξαν καὶ τιμήν and La^G reads *gloriam et honorem*. V. 7: The article τά is placed before πάντα by Sa Sy. The article τῶν is omitted before χειρῶν by Codex B.

Some differences *between the LXX translation(s) and the Hebrew text* include the Hebrew טען (“a little lower”) that was understood in a temporal sense and became βραχύ τι (“a little while”), as well as that the name of God, אלהים, became ἀγγέλους (in the plural). Research on the prepositions in the LXX indicated that, with regard to Ps 8:6, the choice of the preposition παρά by the translator shows that he recognised the character of these cases in the Hebrew. In the Greek Psalter, this relates to a verb that expresses a quality with the preposition παρά + accusative.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ J.G. Winter (ed.), *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection: miscellaneous papyri* (University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series, XI; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936), 4-6; www.lib.umich.edu/pap/PMICH3/pmich3-ch1.pdf (accessed on 17.2.2003).

¹⁰⁹ A. Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria,” 66-67.

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 2:6-8

Only two variations occur in the NT reading of the quotation. Firstly, the alternative τίς is being read by some witnesses – including P⁴⁶ – instead of τί. Secondly, an insertion of a missing line (v. 7a) from LXX Ps 8 – attested, amongst others, by codices A C and D*. These two cases will be discussed in the next section when the text of Hebrews is being compared with that of the LXX readings.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 8:5-7 and Heb 2:6-8

When comparing now the textual evidence of Ps 8:5-7 above, with that of Heb 2:6-8, the following variations are standing out:

(a) The choice between τί or τίς

Some witnesses of the LXX (A and 12 minuscules) read at the beginning of Ps 8:5 the initial interrogative not as τί (“what”), but as τίς (“who”). The former (τί) is the correct translation of the Hebrew and attested by Codex B.¹¹⁰ This change in the LXX was probably later done due to a christological understanding of the Psalm.¹¹¹

In Heb 2:6 the text as in NA27 with τί is supported by some uncials.¹¹² Other witnesses read here τίς.¹¹³ Scholarship presented several explanations. One viewpoint (a) suggested a reading where the *spiritus lenis* of ἀνθρωπος is read as a *spiritus asper* to be ἀνθρωπος, and νή (“or”) as η (“indeed”). This would allow for a meaningful reading which starts with τίς instead of τί.¹¹⁴ This proposed reading is, however, weak.¹¹⁵ Another group (b) reckoned that this latter reading “originated by a Christian scribe to emphasize the messianic interpretation and application to Jesus.”¹¹⁶ Others again (c) are of the opinion that the change from τί to τίς can be explained from the LXX text tradition itself, which is the reading of Ps 8:5a in Codex A (LXX).¹¹⁷ Some others (d) hold a similar viewpoint and saw

¹¹⁰ Observed also by K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 323; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 116; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 189-190.

¹¹¹ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 116.

¹¹² Supported by codices A B D.

¹¹³ These include P⁴⁶ C* P 81. 104. 1881. 2495 pc d vg^{mss} bo.

¹¹⁴ G. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 71. See also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71.

¹¹⁵ P. Ellingworth has convincingly argued against this viewpoint (*Hebrews*, 148). Rejected also by S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71.

¹¹⁶ K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 323.

¹¹⁷ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194.

the change to be due to “a scribal correction to bring the verse into conformity to the LXX text-type represented in Codex A.”¹¹⁸ Yet some others (e) suspected that the *epsilon* of the following ἔστιν could have been easily confused with a *sigma* which might have resulted in either the inclusion or exclusion of *sigma*.¹¹⁹ A further group (f) is of the opinion that the change in P⁴⁶ should not be taken too seriously. The papyrus is understood to represent a hand which wrote fairly quickly and not always with mechanical correctness. Interesting, though, is that P⁴⁶ originally also read τίς instead of τί between βραχύ and παρ'. It was, however, shortly afterwards corrected – probably even by the same hand of P⁴⁶.

Should the well supported and strong external evidence of codices κ A and B be taken as the decisive criterium, then the choice might thus rather be made towards τί in this case.

(b) *The missing line: καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου (Ps 8:7a)*

None of the LXX witnesses testify to the possible omission of the phrase Καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου and all the available texts include it. The same applies to Eusebius,¹²⁰ John Chrysostom¹²¹ and Theodoretus¹²² who all included it in their discussions on the Psalms – which means that their texts had it included. Some NT witnesses too *include* it.¹²³ Origen (who first quotes Heb 2:9), included the phrase as if his version of the text of Hebrews contained it: Δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου.¹²⁴ The same applies to John Chrysostom¹²⁵ and Theodoretus¹²⁶ who repeat the complete quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in their expositions on Hebrews, by including the phrase under discussion. The external evidence prefer thus the inclusion which was probably made afterwards due to scribal enlargement and in order to agree with the LXX reading.¹²⁷ The later Coptic translation, which did the same, is an example of this case in point. Three arguments for the assumption that the phrase belonged to the original reading in

¹¹⁸ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71.

¹¹⁹ U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 190.

¹²⁰ *Comm. Ps.* 23,37 and 23,48.

¹²¹ *Scr. Eccl. Prooemia in Psalmos* (fragmenta) 55,3 (p. 536).

¹²² *Scr. Eccl., Theol: Interpretatio in Psalmos* 80,28 (p. 917).

¹²³ Included by (κ A C D* P Ψ 0121b. 0243. 0278. 6. 33. 81. 104. 181. 330. 365. 629. 1505. 1739. 1881. 2464. al lat (sy^{p,h**}) co arm eth). Cf. A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 263. A.H. Trotter is of the opinion that “(t)he scribe probably felt that the quotation was incomplete and therefore added the extra phrase from the OT text” (*Epistle*, 98).

¹²⁴ *Sel. Ps.* 12,25 (p. 1185).

¹²⁵ *Scr. Eccl. In epistulam ad Hebraeos, Homiliae 1-34.* 63,40 (p. 38).

¹²⁶ *Scr. Eccl., Theol: Interpretation in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* 82,1 (p. 692).

¹²⁷ B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 663; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 80; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 69.

Hebrews, were listed before:¹²⁸ (a) the fact that it is not a common feature of the author's style to omit parts of a quotation, (b) there are no clear theological reasons for its omission, and (c) the *parallellismus membrorum* would be broken by the omission. Each of these three arguments could be contested, though. It has been pointed out, for instance, that the argument of breaking the parallelism in the Psalm quotation is not convincing as the author of Hebrews does this anyway at other places, as in Heb 10:7 where he quotes Ps 40:8a and in Heb 10:17 where he quotes Jer 31:34.¹²⁹

The *omission* of this phrase, on the other hand, is supported by a few other important witnesses.¹³⁰ Text critics quite rightly prefer the omission of the phrase in their reconstruction of the Hebrews text – as is the case with NA27. Especially the weight of P⁴⁶ (2nd cent. C.E.) and the fact that it is the shorter text reading, are important text critical considerations here. With all the textual witnesses to the LXX which include this line, the readers of Hebrews would no doubt have known that this line is part of Ps 8.¹³¹ Also the internal evidence supports the omission. A closer look at the author's commentary (Heb 2:8b-9) reveals that the last three phrases of the quotation are commented upon, without any reference to the phrase under debate here. The question is then: Why did the author of Hebrews omit this phrase? It could have been a conscious omission based on the content and meaning of the phrase. Or it might have been a non-conscious omission due to the reading of his *Vorlage*, or to a parablepsis made by the author. Against this, however, would count the fact that the author also does not include the missing phrase in his accompanying commentary in Heb 2:9-10. This, in turn, might be debated in the light of the discovery of PVindob G 42417 where the missing line is present. (See the discussion below on the author of Hebrews' commentary on this quotation). It certainly is striking that this is the transitional line between Ps 8:7b, which was quoted in the early Christian tradition prior to Hebrews, and the rest of the quotation (Ps 8:5-6) which is an expansion by the author of Hebrews.

When looking at the possibilities for a *non-conscious* exclusion of the phrase, it is important to consider the following: According to the survived evidence at our disposal, it is highly unlikely that the author's *Vorlage* already contained the omission of this phrase. There

¹²⁸ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 117.

¹²⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 148.

¹³⁰ It is omitted by P⁴⁶ B D² K L ~~A~~ vg^{mss}.

¹³¹ S. Kistemaker takes the position that “the author does not seem to be interested in retranslating the Hebrew, if he had any knowledge of this language; for Ps. 8 is known to his readers in its Greek translation of the LXX” (*Psalm Citations*, 30). It certainly is true that the author of Hebrews does not retranslate his quotations from the Hebrew. This does not exclude the possibility, however, that the author's Greek *Vorlage* represents a Hebrew text where this line was missing.

are no textual witnesses to Ps 8 that testify to its exclusion. It is thus fairly certain that all the OT versions included the phrase and that the *Vorlage* at the disposal of the author to the Hebrews contained the phrase as well. This leaves the possibility that the author might have left out the phrase due to a possible parablepsis – if it was a non-conscious exclusion. However, the linguistic criteria to argue in favour of a parablepsis do not apply here, as the omission does not start and end with the same (or a similar) word that might have resulted in the jump of the eye.

This leaves one then in good company with the option of a *conscious* omission of the phrase by the author of Hebrews himself.¹³² But why would he do it? The principle of the author quoting a shorter version is possibly not foreign to the author of Hebrews. Possible examples might be his condensed versions of OT passages in Heb 7:1f., 10:6f., and the omission of three lines from the quotation of Deut 32:35f. in Heb 10:30.¹³³ It is clear that the missing phrase here in Heb 2 describes human reign and man's dominion status in God's creation¹³⁴ and that the phrase stands against the author of Hebrews' overall argument, which he actually made here, namely that Jesus was made lower than the angels.¹³⁵ Where the Psalm thus speaks about humanity, the author of Hebrews intends to apply it to Christ's exaltation.¹³⁶ It should be remembered that Ps 8 was already used in a christological sense in the Pauline literature (1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:22; Phil 3:21). Because the argument runs then along the lines of Jesus' inferiority, the omitted phrase does not fit in the broader argument and is thus left out.¹³⁷ If the omitted phrase is compared with the very similar line found in the quotation from Ps 102(101):26ff. in Heb 1:10, the pieces of the puzzle start to fall into place –

¹³² So, for instance, J.W. Pryor, "Incarnational Christology," 45; H.J.B. Combrink, "OT Citations," 29; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 69, 71; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; G. van den Brink, "Schrift zegt of fantaseerd? (1)," 206; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 197; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 33.

¹³³ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 148.

¹³⁴ See M. Görg, "Beobachtungen," 125–148; O.H. Steck, "Beobachtungen zu Psalm 8," in O.H. Steck (ed.), *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im Alten Testament. Gesammelte Studien* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1982) 221–231.

¹³⁵ D.-A. Koch, however, is sceptical about this option, pointing out in a personal discussion that this also applies to Ps 8:8a and that Ps 8:7b would actually fit such an argument better with its reference to πάντα (Münster [Westf.], Jan 2008).

¹³⁶ A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëen*, 40. G. Theissen explains the omission of the phrase that the "future world" is not submitted to the angels, but to Christ (*Untersuchungen*, 120). The *Midrash Tehillim* connects Hebrews' omitted line of Ps 8:7a with *Joshua* (cf. W.G. Braude, *Midrash on Psalms*, 128). Although (a) the midrash post-dates Hebrews and (b) was not written in Greek, which could not easily make the connection with Jesus (*Joshua*) by an early Christian tradition, it certainly is interesting that it is this particular phrase that is omitted. Was there perhaps already an interpretative tradition similar to this midrash in circulation during pre-Hebrews times?

¹³⁷ So also H.W. Attridge: "That omission was probably made because the clause refers quite clearly to the mastery of humanity over the present world and would make more difficult the interpretation in terms of Christ, his temporary subjection, and his eschatological reign" (*Hebrews*, 71). Also H.J.B. Combrink: "...because the autō in v.8 refers to man, but also to the Son, and as it has been stated already in 1:10 that the Son was also active at the creation, this line could not be included" ("OT Citations," 29). Similarly argued by G. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 172; A. Vanhoye, *Situation du Christ: épître aux Hébreux 1-2* (Lectio Divina 58; Paris: Cerf, 1969), 264; F. Laub, *Bekenntnis und Auslegung: Die paränetische Funktion der Christologie im Hebräerbrief* (BU 15; Regensburg: Pustet, 1980), 64. P. Ellingworth sees the author's main concern to be "with human beings and their place in the 'world to come' not with creation as a whole" (*Hebrews*, 149).

although due to a different reason as suggested by scholars in the past.¹³⁸ It was assumed that the phrase was left out due to the fact that Heb 1:10 already stated that the Son participated in the creation.¹³⁹ But the emphasis is probably different. Heb 1:10 mentions that “*the heavens* are the works of the Lord’s hands” (καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί). The omitted phrase under discussion states that the “(son of) man” … “was appointed over the works of God’s hands.” If the “works of your hands” (τὰ ἔργα χειρῶν σου) was understood to be “the heavens” (οἱ οὐρανοί – as in the quotation in Heb 1:10), then it certainly would not make sense in the author’s argument that Jesus, who was now made lower than the angels, could have been appointed over the heavens during his inferior state. The heavens are, after all, the dwelling place of these angels! Two arguments could, however, be brought in against this possibility: (a) in Heb 1:10 is the heavens anyway the work of the Son’s hands, and (b) the presence of the very next line (2:8) provides a parallel thought.¹⁴⁰ Should the omitted phrase have been included then it would have appointed Jesus in his inferior state above the heavens as the work of God’s hands and the dwelling place of the angels. The phrase in 2:8 probably allows for submission under his feet of “the world to come” (ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, 2:5), i.e. of “his enemies” (τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου – quoted from Ps 110[109]:1 in Heb 1:13). Even though it is a similar motif, the object of what is submitted is the difference between heaven and earth – “the world to come” (not yet now). Furthermore, the author would explain how he himself interprets the concept of “submission” here in his brief commentary that follows the explicit quotation.

(c) Interpretation of βραχύ τι

βραχύ τι is a degree of indefinite approximation and may be translated with “somewhat” or “about.”¹⁴¹ It is used as translation by the LXX for עַמְּדָה.¹⁴² The Hebrew עַמְּדָה usually only expresses the qualitative meaning (“a little less”), whereas the LXX translation βραχύ τι is taken by the majority of scholars in a temporal sense (“a short while”).¹⁴³ Some scholars, however, are of the opinion that there is a case to be made for the fact that βραχύς could be

¹³⁸ See F. Schröger and references there (*Verfasser*, 82, n. 4). P. Ellingworth also questioned this argument (*Hebrews*, 149).

¹³⁹ Eg. K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 306; M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 168; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 946.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 31.

¹⁴¹ J.P. Louw & E.A. Nida, *Greek-English lexicon*, Domain 78.43.

¹⁴² So also at 2 Kgdms 16:1 and Isa 57:17. βραχύς itself is exclusively used as translation equivalent for עַמְּדָה except once in Exodus.

¹⁴³ Cf. G. Harder, “Septuagintazitate,” 35; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 30; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 82-83; G. van den Brink, “Schrift zegt of fantaseerd (1),” 206; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 29; D. Holwerda, *Hebreën* (Kampen: Kok, 2003), 24; S. Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New. An Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2001), 101; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrevi*, 33.

taken in both the LXX and in Heb 2:7 also in a qualitative sense, as in the Hebrew, so that man was made “a little lower than the angels” and not “a little while.”¹⁴⁴ Proponents of this position argue that both the MT and the LXX refer to degree rather than to time, as there is no hint of eschatological progression, and also that the change from a qualitative to a temporal meaning was then made by the author of Hebrews.¹⁴⁵ The author comes back in his discussion on the quotation to this phrase, and it is especially in the light of his comments in 2:9 that it seems as if he intends the phrase to be taken in a temporal sense. He uses the word again in Heb 13:22, saying that he wrote only “a few” words, or “briefly.”

(d) *Παρ' ἀγγέλους* as translation for מַלְאָכִים

The LXX uses ἀγγέλοι as a translation for מַלְאָכִים – i.e. “a little lower than *angels*”¹⁴⁶ rather than the Hebrew “a little lower than *God / heavenly beings*.¹⁴⁷¹⁴⁸ The possible ambiguity in meaning (either “God” or “heavenly beings” / “gods”), swayed the LXX translators to the latter. The translators of the Greek LXX clearly made their choice here on theological grounds in order to differentiate between the God of Israel und subordinate divine beings.¹⁴⁸ This interpretation is also to be found in Targum Jonathan.¹⁴⁹ The “heavenly beings” were probably understood to be the members of the heavenly court, based on a Canaanite background.¹⁵⁰ The Greek texts thus speak of a humiliation in relation to the angels, while its Hebrew *Vorlage* argued about a “humiliation” in relation to God – but exactly this fits the concept of the author of Hebrews.¹⁵¹

2.2.4 Summarising remarks on the Vorlage of the quotation

The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the analysis and discussion above:

¹⁴⁴ J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida support this interpretation in saying that the expression βραχύ τι as a lexical unit in Heb 2:7 refers to rank (*Greek-English lexicon*; Domain 78.43).

¹⁴⁵ So S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 30. J.W. Pryor found several indications “that the author has chosen to give this phrase a temporal meaning which it may not have had originally” (“Incarnational Christology,” 44-45). This standpoint is also confirmed by J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida who reckon that Heb 2:8-9 “...suggests that the writer of Hebrews probably interpreted βραχύ as meaning a small quantity and as referring to time in the sense of a ‘little (while)’” (*Greek-English lexicon*; Domain 78.43).

¹⁴⁶ Attested by *Psalterium Gallicanum* (G) of Hieronymus and Codex Σ. “Hieronymus hat G entsprechend mit angelis, seine hebräische Vorlage aber mit a Deo übersetzt” (O. Kaiser, “Erwägungen,” 208, n. 8). Also the Coptic version has “angels” here.

¹⁴⁷ The later versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, would again translate מַלְאָכִים with θεός.

¹⁴⁸ Similar A. Schenker, “Götter und Engel,” 191, 193.

¹⁴⁹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 30; G. van den Brink, “Schrift zegt of fantaseerd (2),” 206.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 71; G. Cooke, “The Sons of (the) God(s),” ZAW 76 (1964) 22-47.

¹⁵¹ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 83.

- This quotation was known to the early Christian tradition. It is quoted by Paul in 1 Cor 15:27. It is also quoted in Eph 1:22 and in Matt 21:16. There is a possibility that it was Paul who established its place in the early Christian tradition. The author of Hebrews got it somehow from this early Christian tradition. The readings of the quotation from Ps 8:7b in 1 Cor 15:27 and Eph 1:22 correspond with each other. Both have the same reading with the same differences in comparison with that of the LXX. Both only quote Ps 8:7b, starting and ending at the same place. Hebrews, however, shows three major differences here: (i) He starts the quotation way earlier (Ps 8:5), but also ends with the quotation at the same place. This longer version is probably an indication that he independently reworked Ps 8:7 from the early Christian (Pauline?) tradition from which he received it.¹⁵² (ii) The reading of the section from Ps 8:7b in Heb 2:8 corresponds closely with the reading of the LXX (ὑπέταξας; ὑποκάτω + gen. pl.), against the readings of 1 Cor 15:27 and Eph 1:22 (ὑπέταξεν; ὑπό + acc. pl.). It should be noted, however, that although there might have been pre-Pauline text readings with ὑπό, that it is more likely that Paul changed it as it “...fügt sich glatt in den paulinischen Sprachgebrauch ein”¹⁵³ and that the choice of ὑπέταξεν instead of ὑπέταξας could similarly be explained on stylistic grounds.¹⁵⁴ (iii) It lacks the section from Ps 8:7a LXX, which is also present in the Hebrew (Ps 8:6a MT). The latter, however, should be considered carefully in the light of the text critical evidence.
- This quotation from Ps 8 was already linked with Ps 110(109):1 in the tradition. Traces of it can still be seen here in Hebrews where Ps 110(109):1 precedes the quotation from Ps 8:5-7. It should rather be assumed that the author of Hebrews knew this combination from the early Christian pre-Hebrews literature and / or from an oral tradition, than from a written common list of proof texts that was available to him and to the authors who quoted this combination before.
- The text reading represented in the quotation in Hebrews is closer to that of the LXX than to the Hebrew.¹⁵⁵ When the OT Hebrew and Greek readings are compared with that of the quotation in Heb 2:6-8, it is clear that the author of Hebrews followed the Greek reading

¹⁵² Cf. D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 245.

¹⁵³ So D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 140.

¹⁵⁴ “...eine Abänderung der direkten Anredeform des Psalmtextes (war) erforderlich, da Paulus die Zitate jeweils ohne Einleitungswendung anführt und sie so übergangslos in seine eigene Darstellung einbezieht” (D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 111).

¹⁵⁵ So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29; G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 211; P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 238; J. Hanegraaff, *Tenach en Septuagint*, 173; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 82; S. Moyise, *OT in New*, 101.

of Ps 8:5-7, rather than the Hebrew as represented in the MT. Particularly the phrase, ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους – which is the LXX translators' version of the Hebrew וְתַחֲרֹה מִעֵט מְאַלְמָנִים – fits the argument of the author of Hebrews much better. The author of Hebrews follows thus (a form of) the LXX text¹⁵⁶ and represents one of a few quotations in Hebrews, which agree verbally, or almost verbally, with the LXX. Some of these are the ones in Heb 1:5, 13; 5:6 and 11:18.¹⁵⁷ All of this depends, of course, on whether one includes or excludes the phrase of Ps 8:7a. In this investigation, it has been argued that its exclusion should rather be preferred, based on the external evidence of P⁴⁶ and the internal evidence of the author's commentary on the Psalm quotation that excludes a discussion of this particular phrase.

- The author of Hebrews thus reworked and interpreted the quotation that he found from his tradition in order to fit within its newly given context. He (i) starts earlier with the quotation, (ii) omits a phrase from the known LXX readings and (iii) presents a brief commentary (Heb 2:9ff.). Scholars recently pointed out clearly how the author also masterly interpreted the quotation both anthropologically (according to its LXX context), as well as christologically (according to its early Christian context).¹⁵⁸ This leads us to a few remarks about the author's hermeneutical adaptation of the quotation.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The author starts his quotation with the opening words of a rhetorical question: τί ἔστιν (2:6). This surely appealed to him given his stylistic abilities and preferences – also towards rhetorical questions in his argumentation. This is the way in which he opened his catena of seven quotations in 1:5 (τίνι γὰρ – καὶ πάλιν) and this is the way in which he ended it in 1:13 (πρὸς τίνα ...).

Heb 2:6 is one of two places in Hebrews (the other being Heb 4:4) where a vague reference to Scripture with πού is given in the introductory formula (διεμαρτύρατο δέ που τις λέγων). Apart from these two vague references with πού, and a third similar one without

¹⁵⁶ So also, amongst others, E.R. Dalglish, "Psalms in the NT," 26; C. Smits, *OT Citaten*, 558.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. E. Grässer: "Diese völlig unveränderte und auch ganz und gar unvermittelte Übernahme des LXX-Zitates besagt, daß der Verfasser des Hebr den Text zunächst einmal in seinem ursprünglichen Sinn zu Worte kommen lassen will..." ("Beobachtungen," 158).

¹⁵⁸ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 169.

πού in Heb 7:17, are similar indefinite references not to be found elsewhere in the NT.¹⁵⁹ However, this was a well-known manner in which quotations were introduced in Hellenistic Judaism.¹⁶⁰ Although the phenomenon is well represented by Philo,¹⁶¹ it is not the rule but rather the exception,¹⁶² and the occurrences are taken as Alexandrianisms.¹⁶³ Also the Mishna made use of this indefinite formula.¹⁶⁴ Instead of translating the particle πού in Heb 4:4 in a local sense with “somewhere,” a better translation would probably be to rather translate it in a general sense with “as we know” or “to quote familiar words.”¹⁶⁵

Neither the specific place of the reference in Scripture, nor the human author of it is important for the author of Hebrews. The speaker’s identity therefore remains here indefinite.¹⁶⁶ The Word is spoken word, i.e. living word, and the authority of the quoted words are contained rather in the words themselves.¹⁶⁷ This is a typical characteristic of the author of Hebrews. All the quotations are connected to God, to the Holy Spirit, or to the Son. Human authors do not feature here.¹⁶⁸ No wonder that the author himself made no effort to ensure that future readers would know who he is. Simultaneously, however, exactly this feature reveals a fundamental aspect of the author’s character.

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

Some key elements from the quoted section of Ps 8:5-7 probably gave reason to the author of Hebrews’ choice for this quotation. These started off with the existing line from the early Christian (Pauline) tradition about the subjection of everything under Christ’s feet (Ps 8:7). In the extended section that is also quoted by this author, the keyword ἄγγελος most probably formed part of the reason why he included the broader context of the previous verse. The crowning with honour and glory also suited his broader christological adaptation (Ps 8:6). Yet, he also quoted the previous section with the synonymous parallelism (Ps 8:5) – most

¹⁵⁹ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 96; B.M. Metzger, “The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah,” *JBL* 70 (1951) 297-307, on p. 301; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 115; F Schröger, *Verfasser*, 253, 273.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “...eine im hellenistischen Judentum übliche Weise der Einführungen von Schriftzitaten...” (*Hebräer*, 279, n. 95).

¹⁶¹ Cf. *Deus.* 16.1, 74; *Proflig.* 36.1; *Congr.* 31.1, 176; *Ebr.* 61; *Plant.* 90, 138; *Agr.* 51; *Conf.* 39; *Somn.* 1,150. Also see Clement of Rome’s *ad Cor.* 1.15; *Epist.* 15,2; 21,2; 26,2; 28,2; 42,5.

¹⁶² E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 115, n. 14.

¹⁶³ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 273.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *Nazir* 9,5 (“But was it not once said...?”) and *Sotah* 6,3 (“and elsewhere it says... ”). Referred to by B.M. Metzger, “Formulas,” 301; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 273.

¹⁶⁵ So B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 96; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 75, n. 22.

¹⁶⁶ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 70.

¹⁶⁷ So also P.-G. Müller, “Funktion der Psalmzitate,” 238.

¹⁶⁸ The exception is 4:7 which has David as author of Ps 95, but even in this instance Ps 95 was quoted already before and connected to the Holy Spirit (3:7).

probably because he understood $\nu\acute{\imath}\delta\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\tau\omega$ also in a christological sense and interpreted it in terms of Jesus' humanity.¹⁶⁹

Ps 2:7 served to substantiate the *exalted* position of the divine Son ("Son of God") in Heb 1:5 and 5:5. The quotation from Ps 8:5-7, however, is used to show how the earthly Jesus was made *inferior* to the angels ("Son of Man") for a short while in Heb 2:6-8. The author of Hebrews shifts in his argumentation from proving that Jesus is far above the angels, to a position where he explains now how "it came about that he had appeared as a man, and was known as a human being."¹⁷⁰ Except for John's Gospel, no other book of the NT "puts the real deity and true humanity of Jesus Christ so clearly side by side."¹⁷¹ Ps 8, which expresses the exalted position of man in relation to the angels, is now almost ironically used to point to the inferior position of Jesus in relation to the angels. The "Son" who is the reflection of the glory of God (Heb 1:3), was demoted to the state of a human being.

The quotation from Ps 8:5-7 is the first quotation encountered in Hebrews where the author presents a brief explanation, an exegetical exposition or commentary, on the passage that he quoted.¹⁷² More cases of similar expositions of the Scripture quoted by him, would be encountered later in his work, e.g. when he quotes Ps 95(94) and comments on it in Heb 3:7 – 4:11 and when he quotes Ps 40(39) in Heb 10:5-10. This technique shows some resemblances with the pesher method as found in the DSS.¹⁷³ As the question posed here is primarily concerned with the *Vorlage* of the quotation itself, this study will rather focus on the explicit quotation itself, and not on the author's commentary in Heb 2:8b-9. Nonetheless, some observations regarding his commentary are interesting and forms part of the process of the author's interpretation of the quotation.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. J. Hanegraaff: "Daarmede suggereert de LXX-vertaler echter dat deze 'Zoon des mensen' ... in de eeuwen boven de engelen stond" (*Tenach en Septuagint*, 173). The *Midrash Tehillim* interprets the "son of man" of Ps 8:5b as "referring to Isaac who was begotten by God's remembering Sarah." Ps 8:5a is applied to Abraham; 8:5b to Isaac; 8:6a to Jacob; 8:6b to Moses; 8:7a to Joshua; 8:7b to David (W.G. Braude, *Midrash on Psalms*, 127-128).

¹⁷⁰ R.E. Clements, "Use of OT," 39.

¹⁷¹ M. Barth, "OT in Hebrews," 58.

¹⁷² "While exegesis in the catena of ch. 1 was implicit, it is here explicit and the verses immediately following the citation of the psalm constitute a brief midrash on the text (H.W. Attridge, "Psalms in Hebrews," 204). Similar P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 144; G.H. Guthrie, "Hebrews," 944.

¹⁷³ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 25, 258, 260.

2.3.3 The author's commentary on Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:9-10

The author's commentary (midrash or interpretation) on Ps 8,¹⁷⁴ follows the reversed sequence of the last phrases in the text of the quotation. He first comments on the last line (v. 8), then, moving backwards in the thought pattern of the quotation, comments in vv. 8b-9 on the previous lines – those of vv. 7-8a:

Quotation

A v. 7 βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξῃ καὶ τιμῆ ἐστεφάνωσας

B v. 8a πάντα ὑπέταξας

Commentary

B v. 8b ὑποτάξαι . . . τὰ πάντα . . . τὰ πάντα ὑποτεταγμένα

A v. 9 βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους δόξῃ καὶ τιμῆ ἐστεφανωμένου

The thought patterns in the exposition of the commentary stand thus in a chiastic relationship with those of the quotation itself. (A similar situation will be seen later as well in the commentary on Ps 95:7-11 in Heb 3–4). The text of the commentary is a reflection, a reversed image as if in a mirror, of the text of the quotation itself. The style of using Scripture here reminds of that in the DSS, especially passages such as 1QpHab 12:6-10 and CD 4:13ff.¹⁷⁵ It displays the characteristics of the midrash-pesher¹⁷⁶ and is structured as follows: introductory formula + quotation + a fairly extensive commentary which contains words and phrases from the quoted text, that are being explained within the commentary itself.¹⁷⁷ An exegesis on the son of man from Ps 8:5 is presented in Heb 2:5-9 – a case which had been discussed before.¹⁷⁸ It is only in 2:9 where the link is made that it is actually Jesus who is meant by the ἄνθρωπος of the quotation. Heb 2:14b is, in turn, an exegesis of Heb 2:9b, 10b.¹⁷⁹

It is interesting that Paul already in 1 Cor 15:27-28 also presented a brief explanation of the quotation there, stating that when Scripture says that “everything” is subjected to the Son, but that the Father – who subjected it all to the Son – is excluded in this process. When

¹⁷⁴ The 6th or 7th cent. C.E. PVindob G 42417, which was discovered a few years ago, contains the text of Heb 2:9-11 (*recto*). The reconstructed text is identical to that of the reconstructed NA27 and testifies to the inclusion of the phrase ὅπως χάριτι θεοῦ ὑπὲρ παντὸς γεύσηται θανάτου.

¹⁷⁵ B. Gärtner, “The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew,” *StTh* 8 (1954) 1-24, on p. 12; H. Braun, *Qumran und NT I*, 245.

¹⁷⁶ H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 29.

¹⁷⁷ It is difficult to determine whether this also applies to PVindob as only a small fragment is left, containing the text of Hebrews’ commentary (2:9-11).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. E. Grässer, “Beobachtungen,” 155-165.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. E. Grässer, “Heilsbedeutung,” 192.

everything had been subjected to the Son, then the Son will subject himself to the Father. In the context of Hebrews, the quotation from Ps 8 refers to “man” and to the “son of man” (2:6). This is picked up by the *aὐτόν* of 2:7a and 2:7b, as well as the *aὐτοῦ* of 2:8a. There is little doubt that the Psalm understood the subjection of everything in terms of man, but it is questionable if the author of Hebrews understood and interpreted these words in the same manner. The quotation is presented after the statement that (God) did not subject the inhabited world (*τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν*, 2:5)¹⁸⁰ to the angels. If it is accepted that the author still continues his argument about Christ’s superiority to the angels, then this subjection of the inhabited world refers to the Son as royal King and not to man for the author of Hebrews. Ps 8 is then quoted by him as Scriptural proof, with its last line (Heb 2:8a; Ps 8:7) taken from the early Christian tradition where it was connected with Ps 110(109):1 and its interpretation of the subjection of everything under the feet of Christ as the triumphant royal King.¹⁸¹ Hebrews now also quotes the previous section of the Psalm in which he conveniently finds a further contrasting statement about the position of the angels (from a LXX version). But this reference to “man” could lead to misunderstanding – as it does in modern scholarship. It is suggested that the passage with its quotation and commentary should be understood in the following manner:

- (a) The first element from the quotation that is picked up and referred to by the author of Hebrews, is the implied ἀνθρωπος/νίὸς ἀνθρώπου in his references in 2:8: *ἐν τῷ [αὐτῷ]*,¹⁸² ἀφῆκεν *αὐτῷ* and ὁρῶμεν *αὐτῷ*. The *νῦν δέ ... τὸν δέ* (2:8-9) could be taken as rather expressing the contrast of *phases*, or progression, in Christ’s exaltation: he is already crowned with glory and honour because of his suffering and death but everything has not yet been submitted to him – thus probably referring to the period between Christ’s ascension and his *parousia*. This contrast makes more sense within the broader literary context, than the contrast between *humanity and Christ* (as is often reflected in Bible translations). If so, then the ἀνθρωπος/νίὸς ἀνθρώπου actually continues in the identification with “Jesus” in 2:9 – which is here the first place in the book where the Son is explicitly identified to be Jesus. The absence of the definite article ὁ before *νίὸς*

¹⁸⁰ G.H. Guthrie understands this not only to be with regard to this world, but also with regard to the world to come (“Hebrews,” 944).

¹⁸¹ At the twelve meter high Fountain of Trajan in Curetes Street in Ephesus, the remains of a statue of the Emperor with his foot on the (inhabited) world – as a round entity – can still be seen today. A shift in worldview had already taken place by this time where the world was now seen as a ball, circumphered by seven planets and a heaven with the fixed stars (E. Lohse, *Umwelt des Neuen Testaments* [NTD Ergänzungsreihe I; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980⁵], 169).

¹⁸² The older uncials (P⁴⁶ and B) do not include the referential *αὐτῷ* in Heb 2:8b. Incidentally, these are the same manuscripts that also omit the missing line from Ps 8:7.

ἀνθρώπου cannot be used as an indication that the author does not intend this as a reference to Jesus as the Son of Man, as the author merely quotes the LXX Psalm where it is absent.¹⁸³

- (b) The second element that the author refers to in his commentary, is the line βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους ἡλαττωμένοι. It explains the position of Christ in relation to the angels during the period of his passion and death. The author argued in Heb 1 that the Son is superior to the angels. However, only for this “little while” he was made lower than the angels. In this manner, a clear christological interpretation is connected with the second part of the quotation.¹⁸⁴ The αὐτόν in the quotation (2:7a) is identified to be Jesus in the author’s commentary (2:9).
- (c) The third element that is referred to is the honour and glory with which Jesus (αὐτόν, 2:7b; Ιησοῦς, 2:9) is crowned. In the same manner, God also wanted to lead many as “sons” into glory (2:10).¹⁸⁵
- (d) The fourth element, the one that was already quoted in the Pauline literature, is the subjection of everything under his (Christ’s) feet.

There are thus good reasons to assume that the author interpreted his quotation in a christological manner and, in the light of this, that the author most probably intended the ἀνθρωπος/υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου to be understood also in terms of Jesus.

2.3.4 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation with its commentary

The author made the point: οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλος ὑπέταξεν τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν (2:5). This argument is then substantiated with the quote from Ps 8:5-7 which ends climactically in the phrase πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ (2:8). The quotation from Ps 8:5-7 is applied to Jesus, and he interprets it therefore christologically.¹⁸⁶ The theme of submission is picked up when he starts his commentary directly after the quotation. The christological application of Ps 8 had already been made in the early Christian tradition that linked it with Ps 109:1 LXX. Ps 8 fits the argument of the author of Hebrews

¹⁸³ Contra C. Koester, who points anyway to the exception of John 5:27 in this regard (*Hebrews*, 215).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. H.W. Attridge: “Being made lower than the angels was only for a ‘little while’ and had a salvific function...” (“*Psalms in Hebrews*,” 205).

¹⁸⁵ This matter has received attention since long ago. See the study of J. Kögel, *Der Sohn und die Söhne. Eine exegetische Studie zu Hebräer 2,5-18* (Gütersloh: T. Bertelsmann, 1904).

¹⁸⁶ So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29, 30; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 306; G. van den Brink, “Schrift zegt of fantaseerd (2),” 212; H. van Oyen, *Hebreëen*, 29; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 100.

very well as it confirms the progressive status of Christ who first became lower than the angels for a short while and was then crowned.

Some assume the author's interpretation to be messianic-eschatological, but that a christological position ought to be maintained.¹⁸⁷ Ps 8 was never understood to be directly messianic by the Jews¹⁸⁸ and "there was no such intention in the mind of the original poet."¹⁸⁹ Paul and the author of Ephesians understood Ps 8 christologically.¹⁹⁰ Ps 8 leads the author back to Adam and the events of the first three chapters in Genesis.¹⁹¹ He uses, however, the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in an eschatological manner¹⁹² – as it was used in 1 Cor 15:27 and Eph 1:22 – in order to substantiate the glory of the Son.¹⁹³ The quotation is christologically applied and briefly commented upon¹⁹⁴ in what might be called the author's "*pesher-style*".¹⁹⁵ It becomes the "vehicle for the 'word of encouragement'."¹⁹⁶

2.4 Conclusion

The second part of Ps 8 compares man to the heavenly realm. There are no explicit quotations from it to be found in the early Jewish literature, but some allusions do occur in the DSS, 3 Enoch and 4 Ezra. It is clear, on the other hand though, that Ps 8 was known and used by the NT early Christians. Hebrews' use and application of Ps 8 builds on this early Christian tradition by using it again, linking it also with Ps 110(109), and commenting briefly on it. It is possible that Ps 8:7 found its place through Paul in the Christian tradition, with the author of Hebrews taking it up and reworking it independently. This can be noted in the expansion of the quotation to also include Ps 8:5-6.

It became clear during the text critical comparisons that the author of Hebrews followed a Greek reading of Ps 8:5-7, rather than the Hebrew as represented in the MT. The author of Hebrews reworked and interpreted the quotation that he found from his tradition in

¹⁸⁷ See also the discussion by and reasons for this by G.H. Guthrie, "Hebrews," 946.

¹⁸⁸ So, for instance, B.F. Westcott, *Commentary*, 42; C. Smits, *OT Citaten*, 558; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 29; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 117; and E. Grässer, "Beobachtungen," 164.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics*, 58. He formulates the situation as follows: "It is, plainly and simply, a piece of reflective writing by a Hebrew poet on the created dignity of man. But in the hands of our writer its reference point becomes the eschatological 'world to come' (verse 5) and he who is 'crowned with glory and honour' is Jesus (verse 9)." So also F. Schröger: "Im Ps ist nicht die Spur einer eschatologisch-messianischen Auffassung erkennbar. Hebr versteht es aber eindeutig christologisch" (*Verfasser*, 81).

¹⁹⁰ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 82; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 194.

¹⁹¹ R. Rendall, "Method of the Writer," 218.

¹⁹² Cf. E. Grässer on this particular point: "Hebr legt den Psalm streng eschatologisch aus" (*Hebräer I*, 116).

¹⁹³ So P.-G. Müller, "Funktion der Psalmzitate," 238.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. D.-A. Koch, "Schriftauslegung II," 465.

¹⁹⁵ G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics*, 59.

¹⁹⁶ G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics*, 58.

order to fit within its newly given context by starting earlier in the passage and presenting a longer quoted text, omitting a phrase from the known readings and presenting his brief commentary on the quotation. The missing phrase from Ps 8:7a in the quotation also lacks in the author's accompanying commentary. Although the possibility of a *Vorlage* that excluded this phrase cannot be ruled out, it seems more likely, however, that the author might have omitted the phrase consciously himself.

Chapter 6

The Hymn of the ‘Pioneer of Salvation’ The combination Ps 22(21):23 + Isa 8:17, 18 in Heb 2:12-13

Heb 2:12-13

12 λέγων·

ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομα σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε, (Ps 22[21]:23)

13 καὶ πάλιν·

ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτῷ, (Isa 8:17)

καὶ πάλιν·

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός. (Isa 8:18)

The two quoted texts from Ps 22(21):23 and Isa 8:17, 18 are closely linked with each other by means of the first person singular and verbal analogy of *μου* (Heb 2:12) and *μοι* (Heb 2:13b), as well as by means of the familial terminology *ἀδελφοῖς* (Heb 2:12) and *παιδία* (Heb 2:13b). Furthermore, a “turning of God’s face” occurs in the broader original context of each of these passages.¹ The contexts of both Ps 22(21) and Isa 8 which address suffering may indicate a close connection for Hebrews with the theme of suffering for which it used Ps 8 and which it developed in Heb 2:10.

The quoted text from Isa 8:17-18 is presented by the author in the format of two separate quotations, so that one technically has here three individual quotations that are deriving from the two quoted texts. The two preferential words in Hebrews’ introductory formulae, a verb of saying (here *λέγων*) and *πάλιν*, are binding the quoted phrases together. The quotations are presented as if they are the direct words of the one who is “not ashamed of calling them ‘brothers’” (Heb 2:11). Who this one is, is not explicitly stated, but there is little doubt from the preceding context that it is meant to be Jesus (v. 9), the “Pioneer of their salvation” (*ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας*, v. 10). The argument seems to run as follows: The previous quotation from Ps 8 is christologically interpreted and it is understood that everything has been submitted under the feet of Jesus. The submission of everything under his feet cannot be seen yet, but only Jesus himself is seen (v. 8b-9a).² Jesus was submitted to suffering for a little while – becoming lower than the angels through suffering and death – but

¹ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 950.

² This could be spatial and/or temporal. Could it be, from a spatial perspective, that the author envisages the believers moving up the stairs of the heavenly sanctuary, and as they start their ascension with the first steps are not able to see the full picture of the image of the enthroned Son; not yet his feet, but as they progress his face and upper body becomes revealed – similar to entering the temple of a deity with the statue of the god inside?

is now seen being crowned with honour and glory (v. 9). This demotion had to take place so that Jesus might taste death for all by the grace of God (v. 9). The subject of ἐπρεπεν is probably intended to be God, who is the one who wanted to bring “many sons to glory” (πολλοὺς νίοὺς εἰς δόξαν ἀγαγόντα, v. 10),³ and who achieves this by first having to submit their “Pioneer of salvation” to suffering in order to be perfected (v. 10).

The “sons” are first presented as “brothers” in the quotation from Ps 22(21):23 in Heb 2:12, then as “children” in the quotation from Isa 8:18 in Heb 2:13b, and then as children related to the Son in the author’s commentary, which follows after the quotations in Heb 2:14ff.⁴

By placing these quoted phrases from Scripture in the mouth of the Son, implies that the author of Hebrews presents them as a kind of “Jesus-saying.”⁵ Two things should be kept in mind regarding this matter: (a) this clearly does not belong to the same category of *Jesus-logia* as found in the Sayings Source Q and in the Gospels;⁶ and (b) it shows an interesting hermeneutical development by this late 1st cent. author to interpret these quotations from a Psalm and from Isaiah as if they were Jesus’ own words. The vocabulary used in the quotation from Ps 22(21):23 define the nature of this “Jesus-saying” even closer. This is in fact a kind of *hymn* by the “Pioneer of Salvation,” carefully composed by the author of Hebrews and consisting of phrases from Ps 22(21), which was already used in the mouth of Jesus in the Synoptic tradition,⁷ as well as from Isa 8:17-18, which consists of intertextual phrases from the Davidic Hymn to be found in 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22 and Ps 18(17). Its intention as a hymn is further enhanced, amongst others, by the author’s choice to select the phrase ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας and the term ὑμινήσω (“kultischer Jubel”)⁸ in the quotation from Ps 22(21):23, plus the division of the two phrases from Isa 8:17-18 with the intentional result of having both lines starting with ἐγώ in an emphatic position, as well as the striking *o*-sound at the beginning of each of the four quoted lines⁹ (see below).

³ B.F. Westcott understood the main idea of this section to be that of “Christ fulfilling the destiny of men through suffering, by recalling typical utterances of representative men: (1) of the suffering, innocent king; (2) of the representative prophet” (*Hebrews*, 50).

⁴ Cf. H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 215. He furthermore states that “Alle drei hier gegebenen Zitate bezeugen somit nichts anderes als die Solidarität des ‘Sohnes’ mit den ‘Söhnen’, bezeugen, in welchen Maße der ‘Sohn’ am Weg und Schicksal der ‘Söhne’ teilhat” (*Hebräer*, 216).

⁵ See G.J. Steyn, “‘Jesus-Sayings’ in Hebrews,” *EThL* 77/4 (2001) 433-440. S.J. Kistemaker pointed out that God speaks through Scripture in Heb 1 and the Son in Heb 2 (*Hebrews*, 72). The author “assumes that Jesus is the speaker in all three quotations and through them is showing solidarity with suffering human beings” (J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah in Hebrews,” 162).

⁶ So also F. Schröger: “Dieses ‘Wort Jesu’ findet sich in keiner Sammlung von Jesus-Logien...” (*Verfasser*, 88).

⁷ Cf. F. Schröger for parallels between Ps 22(21):2, 6, 8, 9, 16, 19 and the Passion narrative (*Verfasser*, 89).

⁸ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 177.

⁹ This interesting observation was made by G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 949.

1. Ps 22(21):23 in Heb 2:12

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Ps 22(21)

Ps 22 is ascribed to David in its secondary superscription,¹⁰ and although it connects to no specific event in his life, might have been understood as referring to the time of his persecution by Saul.¹¹ At least three different kinds of material can be identified in this Psalm: (a) an individual lament, vv. 2-22; (b) elements of prayer, vv. 12, 20-22; and a section on (c) praise and thanksgiving, vv. 23-32.¹² The section from which the author of Hebrews quotes belongs to the second part of the Psalm – the section on praise and thanksgiving – and stands in contrast to the preceding lamenting part. The speaker might be understood as either an ordinary individual or as collective Israel.¹³ Within a temple liturgical setting,¹⁴ those giving thanks during the great annual feasts usually stepped forward in the forecourt of the temple and gathered in a circle of listeners around the liturgist.¹⁵

Ps 22:2-27, which probably came into existence in post-exilic times, shows close similarities in terms of its structure with Ps 13, Ps 35:9-10 and Ps 69, as well as with the Akkadian prayers to Girra 2 and Ishtar 2.¹⁶

1.1.2 The use of Ps 22(21) in the early Jewish and Christian traditions

Although the section which is quoted in Heb 2:12 has not been preserved amongst the DSS, Ps 22 is quoted a few times in the *Hodayot*.¹⁷ None of those quotations coincides with Ps 22:2, i.e. the verse that is quoted in the Synoptic Gospels, nor with Ps 22:19 which is quoted in John 19:24. However, one of these cases does include Ps 22:23-24, which is quoted in 1QH

¹⁰ H.-J. Fabry, “Die Wirkungsgeschichte des Psalms 22,” in J. Schreiner (ed.), *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung. Psalm 2 und 22* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988) 279-317, on p. 306.

¹¹ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 50-51.

¹² Cf. P.C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (WBC 19; Dallas: Word Books, 1983), 197.

¹³ Cf. A.Y. Collins, who states that “in one of the few citations of Psalm 22 in the *Midrash Rabbah* which reveals how the speaker of the psalm is understood, ‘the afflicted’ or ‘the poor’ is interpreted literally, as the man who can only afford to make an offering of meal or cereal” (“The Appropriation of the Psalms of Individual Lament by Mark,” in C. Tuckett (ed.), *Scriptures in the Gospels* [Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997] 223-241, on p. 236).

¹⁴ Cf. H. Irsigler, “Psalm 22: Endgestalt, Bedeutung und Funktion,” in J. Schreiner (ed.), *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung. Psalm 2 und 22* (FzB; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1988) 193-228, on p. 223.

¹⁵ A standpoint questioned by M.D. Goulder (*Psalms of the Return*, 154).

¹⁶ This similarity in structure is “strukturtypisch mit *Lobversprechen und Lobdurchführung als Redezitat des versprochenen Lob- und Danklieds* in einem bekannten Rahmen bewegt” (H. Irsigler, *Psalm 22*, 215).

¹⁷ Against G.H. Guthrie who identifies only “a faint echo of our passage” at 1QH^a XIII, 15b (“Hebrews,” 948).

12:3 – the same text that is also cited in Heb 2:12. Nonetheless, the variant text of 1QH throws no light on the readings of Hebrews or on that of the LXX, which are clearly identical.¹⁸ Another case is found in 1QH 2:28 where Ps 22(21):15, 23 is quoted. This verse is part of a congregational hymn (1QH 2:20-30), or a “Song of Thanksgiving,” about divine election.¹⁹

Although Ps 22(21):23 is nowhere else explicitly quoted in the NT,²⁰ there are traces of knowledge of the lamentation, the first part of this Psalm, in the early Christian literature of the NT. Ps 22 was well known and utilised by the Gospel writers in connection with Jesus’ passion.²¹ Mark 15:34, and its Synoptic parallel in Matt 27:46, quote the Semitic words of Ps 22:2 as one of the sentences spoken by Jesus on the cross. Mark quoted them in their Aramaic version and so does Matthew, except for the addressing of God, altered by Matthew to its Hebrew form. In the Synoptics, the words of Ps 22:2 are thus used by the Son to address his Father from the cross in a manner that is overheard by humanity.²² There is a further allusion to Ps 22:8 with the shaking of the head (cf. Mark 15:29). Within the context of the Passion narrative, Mark 15:24 (par. Matt 27:35; Luke 23:34; John 19:24) also alludes to Ps 22:19 when it refers to the dividing of Jesus’ clothes and the casting of the lot during this process. Furthermore, the metaphor of the enemies that are gaping like a roaring lion (Ps 22:14) is similar to that of the devil in 1 Pet 5:8, although it is questionable whether this image in 1 Peter was influenced particularly by that of Ps 22.

There are no indications elsewhere in the NT of the use of the second part of the Psalm though (the praise section), except for the occurrence of Ps 22:23 here by the author of Hebrews and an allusion to Ps 22(21):24 (in combination with Ps 134[133]:1 and Ps 115[114]:19) in Rev 19:5. It is striking that both times when Ps 22 is explicitly quoted in the NT, i.e. during the Passion narrative and here in Heb 2:12, that it is applied as words spoken

¹⁸ J. De Waard, *Comparative Study*, 62-63. G.H. Guthrie pointed out, however, that the reading of Ps 22(21):16 in the Psalm Scroll from Nahal Hever matches that of the LXX against the MT and the Targum on the Psalm (*Hebrews*, 948).

¹⁹ So H.-J. Fabry, “Wirkungsgeschichte,” 300. He points out that this is one of very few places where a motif from the lamenting part is combined with a motif from the praise section.

²⁰ C. Koester reminds that actually none of the three quotations in Heb 2:12-13 are quoted anywhere else in the NT (*Hebrews*, 237).

²¹ Cf. Matt 27:35, 39, 43, 46; Luke 23:35; John 19:24. See also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90, and H.-J. Kraus: “Die Urgemeinde sah nun Assoziationen zwischen dem Schicksal des alttestamentlichen Beters in Ps 22 und dem Kreuzestod Jesu” (*Psalmen I*, 333).

²² This phenomenon of the Son speaking to God through a Psalm continues in Heb 10:5-8 when the author of Hebrews has Jesus quoted from Ps 40(39):7-9. “Diesem christologischen Schriftgebrauch entspricht, dass auch schon in 1,5ff. vor allem durch Psalmworte das Einverständnis zwischen Gott und Jesus, dem Sohn, in sozusagen intimer Anrede zur Sprache kam” (G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 38).

by Jesus to God.²³ This might be implied as well in Rev 19:5 when the words spoken there are coming from the throne: φωνὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἐξῆλθεν λέγοντα. Whereas the occurrence in the Passion narrative represents Jesus' lament, a cry of dereliction and anguish, the occurrence in Heb 2:12 represents Jesus' praise and testimony in which he assures God that he will proclaim his name (and will) to his “brothers.”²⁴ These cases are probably pointing to an early Christian tradition which interpreted the Psalm in a christological manner – a line of thought that runs via the Markan tradition, but of which there are no direct traces in the Pauline tradition. There are thematic points of contact with the Easter traditions in which the resurrected Christ emphatically distributed promises to his “brothers.”²⁵

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Ps 22(21):23

When looking at the Hebrew versions of Ps 22:23-24 MT and the quotation in 1QH 12:3, it is clear that there are some differences – particularly in terms of the word order. These are interesting to take note of, but not too much should be made of it for two reasons: (a) many quotations and paraphrases usually move words or sections from the quoted text around; and (b) the reading of the quotation in 1QH 12:3 shows little resemblance with the quotation as it appears in Heb 2:12. However, although the variant text of 1QH throws no light upon either the LXX Ps 21:23 or Heb 2:12, important here is the *fact* that these verses were already alluded to in the Hodayot, although the text as such, as a possible textual witness, does not shed particular light on the text of the *Vorlage* of the NT quotation.

Ps 22:23 MT

:^[C] אָסְפָרָה שִׁמְךָ^[A] לֹאֵחַ בְּתוֹךְ^[B] קְנַל אֲהַלְלָךְ :

1QH 12:3

[אֲהַלְוֹ בָ] [וַיְשִׁיעָה אֶת־לְלָהּ]
שִׁמְךָ^[A] בְּתוֹךְ^[B] יְרָאֵיכָה

²³ So also observed by A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreën*, 45. F.F. Bruce exaggerates by saying that “no Christian of the first century would have failed to recognize Christ as the speaker” (*Hebrews*, 45).

²⁴ ‘Es wird im Lobpreis der neuen Gottesgemeinde geschehen, die für ihre Heiligung und Rettung dankt’ (A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 103).

²⁵ See Matt 28:10 and John 20:17. A. Strobel suspects that this might go back to a similar Scriptural tradition (*Hebräer*, 103).

Turning to the Greek witnesses, there are no differences in the readings of Ps 22(21):23 amongst the known LXX textual witnesses. The reconstructed reading of Rahlfs' LXX²⁶ is also identical to that as represented by PBod XXIV.²⁷

Ps 22(21):23 PBod XXIV²⁸

διηγησομαι το ονομα] σου τοις αδελφοις
μου, ἐν μεσω εκκλησιας] ὑμνησ[[ο]]^ω σε

Ps 22(21):23 LXX

διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς
μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑμνήσω σε

When comparing now the Hebrew and Greek witnesses with each other, there are some noticeable differences.²⁹ One thing that should be noted, is that the *Piel* of רִבְבָּה has been translated with διηγήσομαι – a common translation in the LXX and occurring 35 times.³⁰ Very interesting, however, is the fact that it has been translated twice in the LXX (both times in LXX Ps 77) with ἀπαγγέλλειν (Ps 77:4, 6).³¹ Something else that should be noted is that לְגָדֵל (“die versammelte Kultgemeinde”)³² is rendered by ἐκκλησίᾳ in eight of its nine occurrences in the Psalms: 22(21):23, 26; 26(25):5; 35(34):18; 40(39):10; 89(88):6; 107(106):32; 149:1.³³ Thus, apart from this Psalm, the same translation equivalent has also been used in at least one of the other Psalms that our author quoted, namely Ps 40(39), which is quoted in Heb 10:5-7. It is interesting that also that Psalm is presented as a “Jesus-saying.”

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 2:12

According to the eclectic edition of NA27, there are no alternative readings in any of the known NT manuscripts regarding the text of this quotation in Heb 2:12.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 22(21):23 and Heb 2:12

It cannot be agreed unqualifiedly that the reading in Hebrews “is clearly identical with the LXX.”³⁴ There is a substitution of ἀπαγγέλλω (“I shall proclaim”; “I will declare”) in Heb

²⁶ Cf. A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 111.

²⁷ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 52.

²⁸ As is customary and in accordance with the printed reconstruction, the accents are omitted here.

²⁹ Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 88; H.-J. Fabry, “Wirkungsgeschichte,” 284; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 948.

³⁰ So according to E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, s.v. διηγεῖσθαι, *Concordance I*, 329-330.

³¹ See E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, s.v. ἀπαγγέλλειν, *Concordance I*, 113-115.

³² Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 330. See also Ps 35:18; Exod 16:3; Lev 4:13ff., 21; Num 10:7; 15:15; 17:12; 20:6.

³³ T.F. Williams, “Towards a date for the Old Greek Psalter,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox & P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Suppl Ser 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 248-276, on p. 257.

³⁴ J. De Waard, *Comparative Study*, 62-63.

2:12 for διηγήσομαι (“I shall tell of”; “I will recount”) in Ps 22(21):23 – although the meaning is roughly the same – at the beginning of the quotation, in the emphatic position.

Heb 2:12	Ps 21:23 (LXX)	Ps 22:23 (MT)
ἀπαγγελῶ τὸ ὄνομά σου	διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου	אָסְפַּרְה שָׁמֶן
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,	τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,	לְאַחִים
ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε,	ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε	בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲנָשָׁלָם:

Despite the fact that the meaning is roughly the same, this is a striking difference in light of the fact that in each of the textual traditions (LXX and NT) all the witnesses have the same reading. This difference between Hebrews and the LXX reading, corresponds closer with the MT.³⁵ It is also incidentally the same Hebrew word that starts Ps 2:7 (**אָסְפַּרְה**) – the verse which is quoted twice in Hebrews (1:5; 5:5). The same Hebrew word occurs in several Psalms where the LXX translated it with a form of διηγήσομαι:³⁶ Ps 2:7 (διαγγέλλων LXX) – this verse was the first quotation by the author of Hebrews; then also here Ps 22:23, and in Ps 9:2 (διηγήσομαι LXX), Ps 9:15 (ἐξαγγείλω LXX) and Ps 73:15 (διηγήσομαι Ps 72:15 LXX). It is thus translated exactly the same in Ps 21:23, Ps 9:2 and Ps 72:15 in the LXX with διηγήσομαι, and in Ps 2:7 with the same verb, although by means of a participle. The same word occurs elsewhere in the NT only in Acts 21:26, as well as in Sir 43:2. It is just in Ps 9:15 translated with ἐξαγγέλλω – which is the same word that occurs in 1 Pet 2:9 in the sense of proclamation. Apart from the two occurrences in LXX Ps 77:4 and v. 6 that were mentioned above during the comparison of the Hebrew and Greek OT readings, is a translation that testifies to ἀπαγγέλλω not found amongst any of the other occurrences of the reconstructed LXX. There are different possibilities for the NT substitution of ἀπαγγέλω for the LXX διηγήσομαι:

- (a) It might go back to another Hebrew verb than that of the MT,³⁷ presenting another Hebrew *Vorlage* with another Greek translation.³⁸
- (b) Theoretically the author of Hebrews might have applied his own translation of the Hebrew verb, but this is highly unlikely as he uses a Greek *Vorlage* for his quotations.
- (c) The author’s Greek *Vorlage* already had this reading.³⁹ The translation of LXX Ps 77:4 and v. 6 stands as proof of ἀπαγγέλω as an alternative Greek translation for the same Hebrew word.

³⁵ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 31.

³⁶ The Greek διηγήσομαι is also less common in the LXX (P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 166).

³⁷ Cf. G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 211, 215.

³⁸ After considering a number of possibilities, U. Rüsen-Weinhold concludes: “...dass der Psalmvers LXX 21,23 noch zur Zeit des Neuen Testaments in verschiedenen Textformen umlief” (*Septuagintapsalter*, 194).

- (d) The author made a conscious alteration to his *Vorlage*⁴⁰ in this case – maybe even due to knowledge of the very similar phrases to be found in LXX Ps 77. The context of this passage (LXX Ps 77:3-6) might even have influenced the change in Hebrews.⁴¹
- (e) There might have been contextual influence from the broader context of LXX Ps 21 with the similar ἀναγγελῶ which is used in LXX Ps 21:32⁴² – and a term that occurs also in LXX Isa 12:5.
- (f) The word might have been used also as part of the liturgy of the early Church tradition⁴³ – which might even have developed from a conflation between LXX Pss 21 and 77.
- (g) It is also interesting that the same word is being used in LXX Jer 40:3ff. (33:3 MT) where “there is proclaimed to him the redemption from Babylon, the coming of the Messiah and the new covenant.”⁴⁴ Could the author’s knowledge of the language of a LXX Jeremiah text (cf. his long quotation of Jer 31[38] in Heb 8:8-12 and 10:16-17) have influenced his preference here? Furthermore, do we have here evidence of a LXX text that was perhaps closer to our known Hebrew version? Regarding the LXX Psalms text, it is known from the translation of Ps 22:22b and 22:24c – phrases in close approximation before and after the verse quoted here – that the LXX translator probably had a *Vorlage* with different consonants than the MT, which resulted in an altogether different word.⁴⁵ Another case is also to be found in Ps 22:10b. If these cases (vv. 10b, 22b, 24c) from Ps 22(21) are standing as proof for the existence of another Greek *Vorlage*, then the chances are good that this might also be the case in the verse (v. 23) that Hebrews quotes.

From these possibilities above, scholars in general tend to agree that the possibility of a conscious alteration to the author’s *Vorlage* seems to be the most appropriate choice. The term assists better in emphasising Christ’s mission⁴⁶ and emphasises the parallelism with

³⁹ See J.C. McCullough who is assuming another *Vorlage* here (“OT Quotations,” 368).

⁴⁰ So, for instance, G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 38, who sees it as “bewusst … ersetzt.” Also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 117; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 216; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 949. Against this viewpoint is U. Rüsen-Weinhold: “Ein Interesse des Hebr an redaktioneller Veränderung ist nicht sinnvoll auszumachen” (*Septuagintapsalter*, 194), and similar P. Ellingworth: “Hebrews does not generally make significant changes for purely stylistic reasons” (*Hebrews*, 168).

⁴¹ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 168.

⁴² E. Grässer asks the question: “Geht es also bei diesem Vers (i.e. v.12, *GJS*) nur um das Stichwort ‘Brüder’? Oder ist der Kontext von Ps 22 typologisch mitbedacht...” (*Hebräer I*, 139).

⁴³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 32.

⁴⁴ Cf. W. Grundmann, “κοσμοκρατωρ,” in G. Kittel (ed.), *TDNT, Vol.III* (Transl. G.W. Bromiley; Michigan: Eerdmans, 1964) 898- 903, on p. 900.

⁴⁵ In Ps 22:22b the Hebrew שְׁנִיתָא became τὴν ταπείνωσίν μου in the LXX. The Qatal-form could thus have been understood as πινίτη. In Ps 22:24c the Hebrew וַיַּרְא (the Uqetol-form), reads in the LXX φοβηθήτωσαν: γινότω.

Cf. J.H. Sailhamer, *The Translation Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41* (Studies in Biblical Greek 2; New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 144-146.

⁴⁶ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 949. H.J.B. Combrink pointed out that “In this way the superiority of Christ above the angels is again implicated quite effectively, in view of the association that can

ὑμνήσω better than does the LXX.⁴⁷ One might add to this the fact that the term ὑμνήσω is applied extensively by the Gospel writers – specifically by the author of Luke-Acts. Still in line with this thinking is the observation that each of the four quoted lines in Heb 2:12-13 opens strikingly with an *o*-sound:⁴⁸ ἀπαγγελω..., ἐν μέσῳ..., ἐγῷ..., ἵδοὺ ἐγῷ.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

Although there is no doubt that Ps 22(21) was known by early Christianity, it is an interesting diversion when Hebrews quotes v. 23 from the second part of this Psalm and not v. 2 from the first part.⁴⁹ This might be cautiously explained in light of the fact that he either knew the whole Psalm from an oral (liturgical?) tradition, or that by knowing the first part of Ps 22, he went back and consulted his Psalter, choosing the latter part of an already well known Psalm.⁵⁰ The *Vorlage* of his quotation does not agree completely with either the reconstructed LXX and MT texts. Might this be an indication that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of his OT Greek text differed slightly from that of our known LXX witnesses? Some scholars, however, suspected that this quotation was one of the primary sources for early Christian testimonia to the passion of Christ,⁵¹ but evidence for this is weak.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

This first “saying” is introduced with λέγων (Heb 2:12a) – in fact, nowhere in Hebrews are any quotations introduced with a verb of “writing,” all are introduced with a verb of “saying”

be discerned between ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀγγέλος and εὐαγγελίον” (“OT Citations,” 29). Cf. also H. van Oyen, *Hebreën*, 35.

⁴⁷ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 216.

⁴⁸ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 949.

⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that John’s Gospel also quoted from the second part of Ps 22. Cf. Ps 22:18 in John 19:24.

⁵⁰ Also P. Ellingworth points in this direction: “In quoting the psalm’s more positive conclusion, the writer of Hebrews shows the same originality in interpretation which led him to reflect not only on Ps. 110:1 (Heb. 1:13), but also on Ps. 110:4 (Heb. 5:6)” (*Hebrews*, 167).

⁵¹ See C.H. Dodd, *Scriptures*, 108; C. Spicq, *L’Épître aux Hébreux I* (Paris: Gabalda, 1952); H. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 63; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 45. The latter considers it as “a *testimonium* of the crucifixion of Christ; not only is it expressly quoted, but its language has been worked into the very fabric of the New Testament passion narratives, especially in the First and Fourth Gospels.” P. Ellingworth is sceptical about this possibility (*Hebrews*, 167).

only⁵² – referring back to Ιησοῦν in Heb 2:9. In presenting the quoted phrases as a “Jesus-saying,” the statements in Scripture are understood as containing a kind of “Bekenntnis-Charakter.”⁵³

The Gospel writers already made the connection between the resurrected Jesus and his followers being referred to as his “brothers.”⁵⁴ It is especially the word ἀδελφός which is the main point of the quotation.⁵⁵ This links onto the Gospel tradition, where “*Jesus said* (λέγει... ὁ Ιησοῦς) to them, ‘Do not be afraid; go and tell *my brethren* (τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου) to go to Galilee, and there they will see me’ (Matt 28:10); and also “*Jesus said* (λέγει...’ Ιησοῦς) to her, ‘Do not hold me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to *my brethren* (τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου) and say to them, I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God”’ (John 20:17).

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation from Ps 22(21)

There are hardly any indications that this Psalm was used in a messianic manner in the early rabbinic literature, or by Jewish interpreters,⁵⁶ and traditions about a suffering messiah are late.⁵⁷ In early Christianity, however, it became one of the prominent christological passages – especially regarding the Passion of Christ. Already in Heb 2:10 it is stated that Jesus is the *author* or *pioneer* of the sons’ salvation (τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν) – a motif which is found again in 12:2 (τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγόν). Then, in 2:11, it is stated that Jesus who made men holy and those who were made holy are of the same family and that Jesus is not ashamed to call them “brothers” – here to be identified with the body of believers, i.e. those who spiritually make up the church.⁵⁸

There is an interesting interchange between relations in the three quoted texts. Heb 2:12 (the quotation from Ps 22[21]:23) deals with the relation between God and Christ, whereas Heb 2:13 (the quotations from Isa 8:17, 18) deals with the relation between humanity

⁵² So also M. Barth – who points to the exception that Jesus himself says that “it is written in a book(roll) about him...” (“OT in Hebrews,” 58).

⁵³ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 215.

⁵⁴ According to E. Tönges, “These are not the words of the earthly Jesus of Nazareth, but rather words of Christ, who expresses his incarnation and his relation to God and his brothers and sisters in the words of Scripture” (“Jesus-Midrash,” 96-97).

⁵⁵ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 166.

⁵⁶ Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 332; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 89; H.-F. Fabry, “Wirkungsgeschichte,” 313.

⁵⁷ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 167.

⁵⁸ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 72.

and Christ.⁵⁹ By calling them “brothers,” the spiritual relationship between Jesus and the believers is highlighted and superseded the human aspect.⁶⁰ Jesus himself declares here that this is a shared sonship, by himself and by God’s other children. Particularly the terms ἀδελφοί⁶¹ and ἐκκλησία⁶² have strong connotations with the early Christian terminology. It is also interesting that this is the only place in the NT where the term ἐκκλησία occurs within an explicit quotation.⁶³ The author of Hebrews uses ἐκκλησία again in Heb 12:23 in the sense of those who have gathered in the heavenly congregation⁶⁴ – “a liturgy in which the readers participate (προσεληλύθατε), whereas worshippers in OT times were forbidden to approach Mt. Sinai (12:20).”⁶⁵

It was noted that Ps 22(21) is interpreted in a christological manner in both the Gospels and in Hebrews.⁶⁶ However, there is no indication that the author of Hebrews used it here in the same sense as in the Passion narrative. Where the Gospel writers have Jesus quoting from the first part of Ps 22(21) – the lamenting part – the author of Hebrews lets Jesus quote from the second part of the Psalm – the exhortation. Although using the same Psalm then, the author found another portion of it applicable here for his argumentation. This particular section is chosen probably for two reasons: (a) because it reflects the praises of an exalted Jesus as portrayed in the note of vindication in the second part of the same Psalm in which the first part was used for his suffering, and (b) because of the christianized term “brothers” (ἀδελφούς) – a term which the author uses a number of times in the vocative mode⁶⁷ or as part of his argumentation⁶⁸ during the course of his homily. “Now by identifying

⁵⁹ H. van Oyen, *Hebreëen*, 36; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëen*, 46. S. Kistemaker points out that “This verse clearly teaches the *humanity* of Jesus (by implying his identification with the human race) and alludes to his *divinity* (by noting his sanctifying work)” (*Psalm Citations*, 71). Similar H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 29. G. Schunack too, sees in these three quotations “das ganze ‘Christus-geschehen’” (*Hebräerbrief*, 37).

⁶⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 71.

⁶¹ R.McL. Wilson is correct in saying that “...by identifying Jesus as the speaker of Psalm 22, he can claim the name of ‘brethren’ for the Christian community” (*Hebrews*, 58).

⁶² “The employment of this word in synonymous parallelism with ‘brethren’ in a Christian context indicates that those whom the Son of God is pleased to call His brethren are the members of His church” (F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46).

⁶³ Cf. E Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 140. M. Karrer said: “Der Sohn konstituiert die Gemeinde im Zitat der Schrift” (*Hebräer I*, 177).

⁶⁴ Cf. E Grässer: “Weil so die irdische Gemeinde mit der himmlischen zur Einheit zusammengeschlossen ist, partizipiert sie schon jetzt an den Gütern der zukünftigen Welt (6,4f; 12,22-24). Diese auffällige, im Hebr durchweg begegnende Verschränkung von Irdisch und Himmlisch, Gegenwart und Zukunft findet ihren Ausdruck zusätzlich in den Futura V 12.13a” (*Hebräer I*, 140). Also C. Koester: “Praising God in the local assembly anticipates participating in the future heavenly assembly” (*Hebrews*, 238).

⁶⁵ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 168.

⁶⁶ G. Schunack formulates aptly: “Höchst bemerkenswert verwendet der Verf.[asser] Worte der Schrift, um durch diese Zeugnisse des Redens Gottes so etwas wie eine *christologische Selbstinterpretation* des geschichtlichen Jesus im Einverständnis mit Gott zu inszenieren” (*Hebräerbrief*, 38).

⁶⁷ In Heb 3:1,12; 10:19 and 13:22.

⁶⁸ Cf., for instance, Heb 2:11, 17 and 7:5.

Jesus as the speaker of Psalm 22, he can claim the name of ‘brethren’ for the Christian community.”⁶⁹ The description of Christians as the “children” or “sons” of Christ is peculiar to this book among the NT writings.⁷⁰ The use of ἐκκλησία “...in synonymous parallelism with ‘brethren’ in a Christian context indicates that those whom the Son of God is pleased to call his brethren are the members of his church.”⁷¹ “In the midst of the assembly” “...suggests for the first time where the ‘sonship’ spoken of earlier is actualized, in the ‘assembly’ where the confession of Christ’s passion is made and his example imitated.”⁷² Jesus declares those who are holy to be his brothers (2:11). By using Ps 22(21):23 he indicates that he will make the Name of God known amongst his brothers (2:12). It is stated later on that the believers have shown their love for God’s Name by serving each other (6:10) and they are encouraged to continue bringing a sacrifice of praise to God by glorifying God with lips that confess his Name (13:15).

The author of Hebrews holds the “Name” in reverence on two levels. On the one level the *Name of God* is honoured. Jesus declares those who are holy to be his brothers (2:11). By using Ps 22:23 he indicates that he will make the Name of God known amongst his brothers (2:12). It is stated later on that the believers have shown their love for God’s Name by serving each other (6:10) and they are encouraged to continue bringing a sacrifice of praise to God by glorifying God with lips that confess his Name (13:15). On the other level, the *Name of the Son* is linked to his exalted status as described particularly in Heb 1. The fact that the author of Hebrews states that the name of the Son (given to him by God) is different than the name of the angels (1:4), probably refers to the confusion by the readers with Jesus as the Son of God and the angels who were also called “sons of God.”

1.4 Conclusion

The quotation from Ps 22(21):23 is presented as direct words of Jesus. The verse was already quoted in the Hodayot (1QH 12:3; 2:28) and was presented there as a congregational hymn (1QH 2:20-30), or a “Song of Thanksgiving,” about divine election. In the early Christian tradition, the first part of Ps 22(21) – the lamenting part – was well known in connection with

⁶⁹ R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 58. So also F. Schröger: “Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes sieht im Sänger des Psalms Jesus, und so erhält er im alttestamentlichen Schriftwort ein Wort Jesu, das die an ihn Glaubenden ‘Brüder’ nennt” (*Verfasser*, 89).

⁷⁰ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 48.

⁷¹ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46.

⁷² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90.

the passion of Christ. The second part, however, from which the quotation in Hebrews comes, appears here for the first time.

Interesting with regard to the text critical part of the investigation here, was that the *Piel* of רָפַךְ had been translated with διηγήσομαι in most instances in the LXX, but with ἀπαγγέλλειν in LXX Ps 77:4, 6. The latter is used in Hebrews' quotation and different possibilities for this were presented in the disussion above. One of the most likely possibilities seems to be that the *Vorlage* of the author already contained this reading. Furthermore, לִפְנֵי was rendered by ἐκκλησίᾳ in the LXX, as is the case in Ps 40(39):10, the other Psalm quoted by our author (Heb 10:5-7) as being the direct words from Jesus.

2. Isa 8:17, 18 in Heb 2:13

All the quotations thus far in Heb 1–2 came from hymnic texts (with the possible exception of 2 Sam 7:14). This tendency might have been continued here – especially if one looks at the intertextual connections between Isa 8:17 (πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ), Isa 12:2 (πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ), 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3 (πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ) and Ps 18:2(17:3) (ἐλπιῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν).⁷³ In fact, the Davidic hymn in 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22 and that of Ps 18(17) are virtually the same. However, the last part of the three tier quotation in Heb 2:13 makes it clear that the *Vorlage* of the quoted text here is closer to that of Isa 8:17 than to the other versions.⁷⁴ But when looking at the context of the other two versions against the backdrop of Hebrews, there is little doubt that our author is very closely connected to the same theology. Furthermore, this Davidic Hymn, or “Song of Deliverance”⁷⁵ (in its two versions, 2 Sam [2 Kgdms] and Ps 18[17]) carries the superscript that it was sung to the Lord on the day when he was delivered from the hand of all his enemies. This, certainly, is very striking in the light of the previous combination of texts (Ps 110[109] and Ps 8 in Heb 1:13, 2:5-8), which explicitly dealt with the submission of enemies under the Lord's (the exalted Christ's) feet.

The author's presentation of the text from Isa 8:17-18 in two separate quotations is an intentional division. He consciously distinguishes between two aspects or elements: (a) the Son's trust in the Father (Isa 8:17 in Heb 2:13a) and (b) the Son's presentation of his

⁷³ Although E. Grässer does not mention the analogy with Ps 18(17), he states with regard to the others: “Es handelt sich jeweils um Vertrauenslieder bzw. Danklieder Geretteter, in denen auf das erlösende Eingreifen Gottes in aussichtsloser Situation gehofft wird” (*Hebräer I*, 141).

⁷⁴ Also, amongst others, B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 51; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46; J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah,” 160. Contra A.F.J. Klijn who thought that it is “niet uitgesloten dat de tweede ontleend is aan 2 Sam. 22:3” (*Hebreën*, 45).

⁷⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90.

“children” – the “‘remnant,’ the seed of the church”⁷⁶ – to God (Isa 8:18 in Heb 2:13b). The stylistic division also highlights the emphatic position of ἐγώ in both instances.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Isa 8

Isaiah 8 belongs to the book of proto-Isaiah and chapter 8 should be read against the backdrop of the southern kingdom of Judah finding itself within the sphere of Assyrian rule. The section Isa 8:16-20 deals with Isaiah who seals his oracles and handed them over to his disciples.⁷⁷ In their original context, Isa 8:17-18 deals with Isaiah who speaks to the king and the people of the southern kingdom, “encouraging them to have faith in God in face of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, rather than run to Assyria to save them.”⁷⁸ Isaiah trusted the Lord because he knew that he and his children⁷⁹ were signs and symbols (*σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, Isa 8:18; cf. *σημεῖοις τε καὶ τέρασιν*, Heb 2:4) of God’s reign on Mount Zion (Isa 8:18).⁸⁰ Some scholars have argued that “Zion theology is transformed in the book of Isaiah, as God himself through the agency of Assyria turns against his own people in order to purge them and set apart a righteous remnant.”⁸¹

The immediate preceding section, Isa 8:11-16, is seen as an important passage in the LXX that deals with the theological theme of the Law and it is possible that it relates to conflicts in Judea/Jerusalem.⁸²

2.1.2 The use of Isa 8:17-18 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

It has already been mentioned above that the Isaiah phrase of 8:17b (cf. also Isa 12:2) here agrees exactly with the LXX reading of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3, which in turn, agrees with the

⁷⁶ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 51.

⁷⁷ H. Wildberger, *I. Teilband, Jesaja 1-12* (BKAT X; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980²), 342.

⁷⁸ J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah,” 162.

⁷⁹ Some scholars want to see the “children” here as the “disciples” of the preceding context, but this is doubtful in light of the fact that he does not use בָנִים (H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 1*, 347).

⁸⁰ See also Isa 12:6.

⁸¹ C.R. Seitz “Book of Isaiah,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. 3* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 472-488, on p. 481.

⁸² Cf. A. van der Kooij: “Wie wir wissen, wurde zur Zeit Antiochus’ IV. von jüdischen Hellenisten in Jerusalem das Gesetz außer Kraft zu setzen versucht” (“Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta,” in H.G. Reventlow (ed.), *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* [Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997] 9-25, on p. 13).

reading of Ps 18:2(17:3). Another section from 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3 is also quoted in 1QH 9:28⁸³-29, but it does not relate to the quoted parts of Isa 8:17-18 in Heb 2:13. A parallel version to Ps 18:1-19 can be found in 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:2-20⁸⁴ as well as an allusion to 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:2-20 in 1QH 11:6-19 [3:5-18].⁸⁵

Given the eschatological significance and hope in the midst of trying times, it would be no surprise that this passage (Isa 8:17; 12:2 = 2 Sam [2 Kgdms] 22:3 = Ps 18:2) became an important passage for early Judaism during their times of foreign rule. Scholars suspect that the phrase “I will put my trust in him” (ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθὼς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ), was a well-known phrase – despite the fact that it is rarely quoted in the Jewish literature⁸⁶ – and is to be found in psalms and spiritual songs.⁸⁷ It remains strange, however, that the characteristically OT pious “trust in God” is also fairly rare in the NT.⁸⁸

Isaiah 8 was also not an unknown passage during early Christian times.⁸⁹ Paul quoted v. 14 in Rom 9:32-33⁹⁰ (in conflation with Isa 28:16), and so also did the writer of 1 Peter in 2:9-10 – with an allusion to Isa 8:14 already in 1 Pet 2:8. In both instances the readings of the quotation agree almost exactly with each other, but differ from the readings of the LXX witnesses. 1 Pet 3:14 also quotes from Isa 8:12. An allusion to Isa 8:8, 10 is also to be found in Matt 1:23. The quotation from Isa 8:18, though, is nowhere else to be found in the NT.

One can assume that because this hymn of David is still found in a list of biblical Odes registered by Origen,⁹¹ that it was in general use among the early Christians. “Gradually, because of the doublet in Ps 18, it was eliminated from the liturgies of the Church.”⁹² The occurrence of Isa 8:17 in all these instances above, probably testifies to the importance of the

⁸³ Cf. J.A. Hughes who refers to 1QH 9:25-28 as one of the places where the technique of rhetorical questions is employed in the *Hodayot*. (*Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 215, n.124)

⁸⁴ See J.A. Hughes on the relation between Ps 18 and 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22 (*Hodayot*, 220).

⁸⁵ J.A. Hughes, *Hodayot*, 200, 204 n. 77. She suggested that “these two poems are deliberate exercises of biblical interpretation and poetic artistry... What they show is the importance of Ps 18:2-19 (=2 Sam 22:1-20) in the community which produced this poetry. It also indicates that the biblical psalm was interpreted by them in an eschatological context” (*Hodayot*, 229).

⁸⁶ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 94; J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah,” 164.

⁸⁷ Cf. 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3; Ps 18:2; Isa 12:2. So S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 73.

⁸⁸ Cf. Phil 1:6; 2 Cor 1:9. See E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 141.

⁸⁹ One can assume that it was particularly Isa 6-9 in its totality that was especially utilised in early Church services. See also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 94; J.C. McCullough, *Isaiah*, 164. G.H. Guthrie states: “Isa. 8:17-18, which occurs at Heb. 2:13, immediately follows and precedes potent messianic passages, the first on the stone of stumbling (8:14), and the second on the coming of ‘the Prince of Peace’ (9:1-7)...” (“Hebrews,” 950-951).

⁹⁰ For a discussion on this quotation, cf. D.-A. Koch, “Die Überlieferung und Verwendung der Septuaginta im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert,” in D.-A. Koch & H. Lichtenberger (ed.), *Begegnungen zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter. Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum Bd. 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) 215-244.

⁹¹ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 59; H. Schneider, “Biblischen Oden,” 51-52.

⁹² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 33.

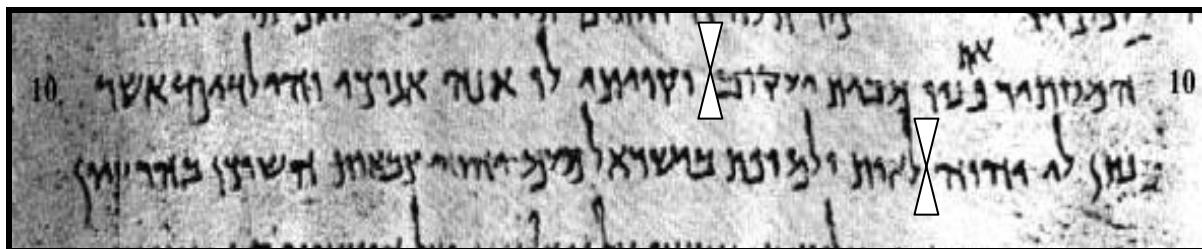
same motif as it surfaces in different documents at different times. It emphasises obedience to God's will.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Isa 8:17-18

The most important witness amongst the DSS with regard to the *Hebrew versions* of Isa 8:17-18 for this investigation, is the great Isaiah Scroll (1QIs^a).⁹³

The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIs^a): Column VIII, Lines 10-11



Isa 8:17b-18 (1QIs^a)

וקויתִי לְךָ אֲנָכִי וּבָנָלְדִים אֲשֶׁר נִתְן לֵיכֶם יְהוָה

Isa 8:17b-18 (MT)

וקויתִי לְךָ אֲנָכִי וּבָנָלְדִים אֲשֶׁר נִתְן לֵיכֶם יְהוָה

A comparison between these texts of Isa 8:17b-18 shows only the following two variations: (a) v. 18, which begins about in the middle of line 10 in 1QIs^a, reads there an *aleph* (אֲנָחָה) and not the Hebrew *he* (הֲנָה) as in the MT, and (b) the next word reads in the MT (without a *waw*) but (with a *waw*) in 1QIs^a. Whilst the latter is merely an alternative form of writing,⁹⁴ the former represents the difference between the attention marker “Look!” (MT) and the *Qal* “lament” (1QIs^a). The LXX Greek translations are following in this instance a Hebrew text that is closer to the MT when translating ὡδού here.

When turning to the LXX-text of Isa 8:17-18,⁹⁵ there are no alternative readings amongst the oldest available LXX textual variants. Some odd insignificant alternatives are

⁹³ For a brief overview of the state of affairs and important literature, see J. Høgenhaven, “The Isaiah Scroll and the Composition of the Book of Isaiah,” in F.H. Cryer & T.L. Thompson (ed.), *Qumran*, 151-158.

⁹⁴ The plene writing of the word was simply a practice of the scribes. See J. Cook, “Orthographical Peculiarities in the Dead Sea Biblical Scrolls,” *Revue de Qumran* 14/2 (1989) 291-303; and J. Cook, “The Orthography of some verbal forms of 1QIsa^a,” in G. Brooke (ed.), *New Qumran Texts & Studies. The Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 133-147.

⁹⁵ Interesting are the observations of I.L. Seeligmann & R. Hanhart that καὶ ἐρεῖ at the opening phrase of Isa 8:17, “is marked in the translation (LXX, GJS) as the beginning of a fresh pericope, by the insertion –

found amongst very few later minuscules, though.⁹⁶ Minuscule 239 is the only witness which adds καὶ σωθήσομαι after ἐπ’ αὐτῷ at the end of Isa 8:17 – possibly influenced by knowledge of the similar reading in Isa 12:2, as it is present there in some prominent witnesses. Furthermore, the words μοι ἔδωκεν were removed, on the one hand, by the Catena group (87-91-309-490), the Syriac Hexapla and the Peshitta, and reads, on the other hand, μοι δεδώκεν by minuscules 26, 736, 538 and in Eusebius. The reconstructed Göttingen LXX text will thus be accepted as the closest to the initial Greek translation of these verses: καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. Ιδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία, ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.

An interesting passage, though, in the light of the three quotations in Heb 2:12-13, is the hymn of Isa 12. A number of verbal analogies are to be found between this passage and the quoted phrases in Heb 2:12-13. The quoted line from Isa 8:17 in Heb 2:13a occurs in Isa 12:2. But particularly striking are the resemblances with the quotation from Ps 22(21):23.⁹⁷ Compare the following:

Ps 21:23 LXX

διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ Ἐμνεῖτε

Isa 12:4-6 LXX

κύριον, βοᾶτε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀναγγείλατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὰ ἔνδοξα αὐτοῦ, μιμησκεσθε ὅτι ὑψώθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ὑμνήσατε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, ὅτι ὑψηλὰ ἐποίησεν, ἀναγγείλατε ταῦτα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ. ἀγαλλιάσθε καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σιων, ὅτι ὑψώθη ὁ ἄγιος τοῦ Ισραὴλ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς

The keywords for the author of Hebrews' argument (ἀδελφοῖς and ἐκκλησίας) do not occur in the Isa 12 passage, but are to be found in the passage from Ps 22(21).

In comparing the Hebrew and LXX versions, however, the Greek inserted καὶ ἐρεῖ at the beginning of Isa 8:17, which creates the impression to the author of Hebrews that it is the messiah who, in this case, is waiting for the Lord, who in turn, is hiding his face from Israel.⁹⁸ This led scholars to believe that the quotations in the NT carry with them their contexts in an

originating either from the translator or from its later use in liturgical preaching,” or “synagogical preaching” (*The Septuagint version of Isaiah and cognate studies* [FzAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 152, 273).

⁹⁶ See J. Ziegler, *Isaias. Septuaginta XIV* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), 153. One weakness of Ziegler's edition is that he listed the papyri with the minuscules (cf. the discussion in S. Jellicoe, *Septuagint*, 299-300). However, this does not affect the two variant readings with which we are dealing here in Isa 8:17-18.

⁹⁷ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 169.

⁹⁸ H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 30; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 141; J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah,” 163.

implied manner.⁹⁹ The same phrase also introduces the eschatological lines of Isa 12:1 and 12:4, which reads: καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐν τῷ ήμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. This section of Isa 8:17, however, has not been quoted explicitly by the author of Hebrews.

It is precisely in comparing the Hebrew and the Greek texts of Isaiah where the situation becomes interesting. Since the work of the LXX scholars Ziegler¹⁰⁰ and Seeligmann, it is widely known that the LXX Isaiah¹⁰¹ represents a much more free translation, which contains many times striking differences at a number of places due to syntactical, exegetical or interpretative reasons.¹⁰² Even before the DSS discoveries, it was already observed that the *Vorlage* of the LXX Isaiah was most probably not a Greek transcribed text, but a Hebrew consonant text, of which the alphabet was a new Aramaic one with a tendency to square script – as is the case in the Pentateuch, although the tendency in the Isaiah *Vorlage* to square script seemed to be stronger.¹⁰³ The importance of the DSS for the understanding of the LXX *Vorlage* was further emphasised by acknowledging that in the quest for the Hebraic *Vorlage* of the LXX Isaiah, the DSS witnesses (especially Qa) are equally important alongside those of the MT.¹⁰⁴ Then again in other cases, such as in a comparison of the contents of LXX Isa 8:11ff. with that of MT Isa 8:11ff., it became clear that the Greek text differed substantially from both the MT and 1QIsa^a in terms of its contents.¹⁰⁵ The conclusion of Van der Kooij¹⁰⁶ is that each of the passages (Isa 8:11-16 LXX and 1QIsa^a 8:11-18) “...constitutes a coherent text in its own right, containing a form and content quite different from the other, and each one is different from MT as well. Deviations or variant readings turned out to be part of a particular interpretation.”¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ Cf. C.H. Dodd, *Scriptures*, 126; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46; H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 30; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 167; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 141. C. Koester, however, is of the opinion that “(t)he basic criterion governing the author’s use of the OT, however, is not a text’s original context, but its relationship to what God has done in Christ” (*Hebrews*, 237).

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Ziegler of Würzburg published between 1939 and 1957 all 16 prophetic books in 5 volumes, of which Isaiah was the first to appear (S. Jellicoe, *Septuagint*, 18).

¹⁰¹ S. Jellicoe points out that “Chester Beatty VII (965) is too fragmentary in this particular book (i.e. Isaiah, GJS) to be of effective assistance, but where its evidence is adducible it aligns itself with x A Q, which, though not always in mutual agreement, tend to combine against B” (*Septuagint*, 178).

¹⁰² A. van der Kooij, “Theologie des Jesajabuches,” 11.

¹⁰³ J. Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* (BZAW 56; Giessen: Alfred Toepelmann, 1930), 89.

¹⁰⁴ A. van der Kooij, “Theologie des Jesajabuches,” 11.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. A. van der Kooij: “Dominanter Zug in LXX ist das Interesse an Leitern, die das Gesetz außer Kraft zu setzen versuchen” (“Theologie des Jesajabuches,” 14).

¹⁰⁶ A. van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of Isaiah: Translation and Interpretation,” in J. Vermeylen (ed.), *The Book of Isaiah, Le Livre d’Isaïe* (BETL 81; Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989) 127-133; A. van der Kooij, “1QIsa^a Col. VIII, 4-11 (Isa 8,11-18): A Contextual Approach of its Variants,” *RevQ* 14 (1989-1990) 569-581.

¹⁰⁷ A. van der Kooij, “The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments,” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers presented to*

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 2:13

There are no variant readings to be found amongst existing NT manuscript witnesses regarding these quotations, according to NA27, and one can thus cautiously accept the reconstructed readings of the text editions that we are using.¹⁰⁸

2.2.3 Comparing the readings of Isa 8:17-18 (and 2 Kgdms 22:3 /Ps 17:3) with Heb 2:13

A comparison with the Hebrew witnesses of Isa 8:17-18 pointed out that the readings of both the LXX version, as well as that of the quotation in Heb 2:13, are closer to the MT in this instance, than to that of 1QIs^a. Let us now next compare the potential LXX versions of the quotations in Heb 2:13 before a LXX version of Isa 8:17-18 is taken as possible source for Hebrews' quotation:

Isa 8:17-18 LXX
καὶ ἐρεῖ Μενῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν
ἀποστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσωπον
αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Ιακώβ
καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι
ἐπ’ αὐτῷ.
ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία, ἄ
μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔσται
εἰς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ
οἴκῳ Ισραὴλ παρὰ κυρίου
σαβαωθ, ὃς κατοικεῖ ἐν τῷ
ὅρει Σιων.

2 Kgdms 22:3 LXX
ὁ θεός μου φύλαξ ἔσται μου,
πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι
ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ὑπερασπιστής
μου καὶ κέρας σωτηρίας
μου, ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου καὶ
καταφυγή μου σωτηρίας
μου, ἐξ ἀδίκου σώσεις με.

Ps 17:3 LXX
κύριος στερέωμά μου καὶ
καταφυγή μου καὶ ρύστης
μου, ὁ θεός μου βοηθός μου,
καὶ ἐλπιῶ
ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ὑπερασπιστής
μου καὶ κέρας σωτηρίας
μου, ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου

This comparison makes it clear that the reading of Ps 17:3 LXX might be eliminated as potential *Vorlage* for Hebrews' quotation for three reasons: (a) another verb is used; (b) the accusative case is used for the 3rd pers. sg.; (c) the quoted section of Heb 2:13b is lacking altogether from this version. The reading of LXX 2 Kgdms 22:3, however, might still be considered then as a possibility. However, although the wording of the first part of the Heb

the International Symposium on the Septuagint and its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 195-213, on p. 205.

¹⁰⁸ Although it might be irrelevant to this investigation, two observations are certainly interesting. The first is that Codex A reads a *mem* in the place of the *nun* in the phrase ἐν μέσῳ: ΕΜΜΕCW. Secondly, the ending of the line in Codex B – which often complete the last letter or two in the line in superscript – replaces the liquid *nun* at the end of ἔδωκεν with a horizontal line: ΤΑΠΛΙΔΙΛΛΜΟΙΞΑΩΚ^ε

2:13 quotation might be almost identical, it is the quotation that immediately follows as the second part in Heb 2:13b which makes us believe that the LXX 2 Kgdms 22:3 possibility should also be eliminated. This leaves one then with the Isaiah versions as the closest comparative material in our quest for the *Vorlage* of these particular quotations. When comparing now the readings of Heb 2:13 with that of the LXX Isa 8:17-18, the following differences are noted:

Heb 2:13	Isa 8:17-18 (LXX)
$\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \check{\sigma}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\theta\omega\varsigma$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\omega}$, <u>καὶ πάλιν·</u> $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\dot{\nu} \dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ <u>καὶ τὰ παιδία</u> <u>ἄ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.</u>	<u>καὶ πεποιθὼς</u> $\check{\sigma}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\omega}$. ¹⁸ $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\dot{\nu} \dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ <u>καὶ τὰ παιδία,</u> <u>ἄ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός,</u>

- The καὶ at the beginning of the section in Isaiah from which Hebrews quotes, reads $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ at the same place in Heb 2:13. This change, following the 1st pers. sg. of $\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\hat{\omega}$ in the first quotation from Ps 22(21):23,¹⁰⁹ assists further in emphasising that the words of the quotation are intended as direct words from Jesus himself. By inserting the 1st pers. sg. personal pronoun $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$,¹¹⁰ Jesus' "direct speech" is thus merely emphasised.
- The change in word order of $\check{\sigma}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota \pi\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\theta\omega\varsigma$ from the Isa 8 quotation in Heb 2:13 might simply be due to the addition of the personal pronoun $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$. "The essential meaning of the text remains the same; there is only a shift of emphasis."¹¹¹

These two changes might thus cautiously be ascribed to the hand of the writer of Hebrews.

2.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

There seems to be little doubt that the author of Hebrews rather utilised the version of Isa 8:17-18 than those of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3 or Ps 18(17):3 for his quotation. The reading in Hebrews is closer to those of the MT and the LXX versions, than to that of 1QIs^a. All the LXX witnesses read the same and represent – in this case – close literal translations of the Hebrew text as found in the MT. Given the situation in the rest of Hebrews, chances are good that the author rather used a Greek version than a Hebrew version for the two quoted sections in Heb 2:13. Two small changes were made to the text: the insertion of $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ and the change in

¹⁰⁹ D. Holwerda is of the opinion that the "Godsvertrouwen" of Ps 22(21) was still in the author's mind here when he quoted Isa 8. Holwerda argues: "Hoe heeft hij anders dit element *afzonderlijk van de rest van het citaat uit Jesaja* van de aankondiging 'opnieuw' kunnen voorzien?" (*Hebreëën*, 135).

¹¹⁰ G. Buchanan reckons that it is thus possible that the author of Hebrews changed the subject to Jesus and left the object the same, a practice that was customary to the author of Hebrews and to other Christian and Jewish interpreters of that day (*Hebrews*, 34).

¹¹¹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 33.

word order to ἔσομαι πεποιθώς in order to emphasise Jesus as the speaker here. Some scholars are of the opinion that the changes should not be attributed to the hand of the author, but rather to an existing florilegium that contained these three quotations.¹¹² Although this is theoretically possible, it remains hypothetical and speculative¹¹³ as concrete manuscript evidence has not been found to prove its existence.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

Using καὶ πάλιν¹¹⁴ twice,¹¹⁵ firstly to link the Psalm quotation with that of Isaiah, and secondly to divide two consecutive sentences from the Isa 8 quotation, the author of Hebrews constructs a kind of Hymn by the “Pioneer of Salvation” which consists of three elements: (a) declaring God’s name to those who are sanctified and whom he calls his brothers, by singing God’s praises in the presence of the congregation;¹¹⁶ (b) by putting his trust in God as Isaiah did during the trying times of his people, and (c) by presenting himself and his “children” to God – as Isaiah did when he and his children served as “signs and symbols.” The author’s insertion¹¹⁷ of καὶ πάλιν in the Isaiah quotation highlights the two different points that are being made, represented by two separate sentences in the LXX, but only one sentence in the Hebrew.¹¹⁸

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The immediate preceding context of this combined quotation from Ps 22(21):23 and Isa 8:17-18 in Heb 2:12-13, includes three references to the suffering of Christ (2:9, 10, 18) and one to

¹¹² Cf. C. Spicq, *L’Épître aux Hébreux. Vol. II* (Paris: Gabalda, 1953), 42.

¹¹³ Also J.C. McCullough is sceptical about this suggestion (“Isaiah,” 161).

¹¹⁴ Not indicated by NA27 is that minuscules 181. 1836. 1898 add λέγετι here in the first occurrence of καὶ πάλιν (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 78).

¹¹⁵ Cf. also the similar use in Heb 1:5, 6.

¹¹⁶ Note that the author uses ἐκκλησία – as does the LXX – and not the more familiar συναγωγή (S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 74; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46).

¹¹⁷ Contrary to F.C. Synge who is of the opinion that it was added by a later copyist (*Hebrews*, 17). Also against J.C. McCullough who considers it to be part of a florilegium which the author of Hebrews might have used (“Isaiah,” 161).

¹¹⁸ So also, amongst many others, H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90; J.C. McCullough, “Isaiah,” 161; D. Holwerda, *Hebreëen*, 134.

his death (2:9).¹¹⁹ The section following (Heb 2:14-15) displays resemblances with both Eph 2:14-16 as well as with Wis 2:23-24.¹²⁰ In fact, familiarity with the book of Wisdom by the author of Hebrews, or at least with the same thoughts contained in it, is striking.¹²¹ “A small change of ‘them’ to ‘him’ (cf. Heb 2:7-9) and the connection to Heb 2:14-18 is even more evident in the Wisdom passage.”¹²² Striking for this study is also the “burnt offering”-motif, which is found in a second “Jesus-saying”¹²³ that will be encountered later in Hebrews (Heb 10:5b-7): “...Having been disciplined a little, they will receive great good, because God tested them and found them worthy of himself...and like a sacrificial burnt offering he accepted them” (Wis 3:1-6).

The σημεῖον-theology of Isa 7–8, which is “messianic in tenor”¹²⁴ and closely connected in the early Christian tradition with Christ as God’s continuing revelation of salvation in the NT, probably plays a role here in Hebrews too – although the term appears only once in Hebrews (2:4). Isa 7–8 was instrumental in this regard in shaping early Christology and appears 78 times in the NT in the form of allusions, references or quotations. The birth of the Son is interpreted in the light of Isa 7:14-17 and 8:1-4 and from this context where Isa 7:14 and 8:8, 10 is applied to Jesus as the “Immanuel.” The σημεῖον-theology is noticeable amongst the Gospel writers, and particularly in Luke-Acts¹²⁵ and in John’s Gospel. Matthew starts his “fulfilment citations” in Matt 1:23, quoting from the section immediately following the term σημεῖον in Isa 7:14, in connection with the birth of the messiah.¹²⁶ The earliest traces of the term in the NT, however, are in the Pauline literature with the first occurrence being that of the Jews asking for signs, but Paul proclaiming Christ crucified (1 Cor 1:22). But nowhere else in the Pauline literature is the term directly used in connection with Christ.¹²⁷

The context of Isa 8:16 deals with the safekeeping and the sealing of the revelation – until God has lifted the darkness over Jacob.¹²⁸ It is within that context that God was “hiding his face from the house of Jacob” – an image which connects to that of Ps 22(21) where

¹¹⁹ So also T.E. Schmidt, “The Letter Tau as the Cross: Ornament and Content in Hebrews 2,14,” *Bib* 76 (1995) 75-84, on p. 79.

¹²⁰ T.E. Schmidt, “Letter Tau,” 79.

¹²¹ Cf. also F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 50; T.E. Schmidt, “Letter Tau,” 80.

¹²² T.E. Schmidt, “Letter Tau,” 80.

¹²³ See G.J. Steyn, “Jesus-Sayings,” 433-440.

¹²⁴ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 72.

¹²⁵ Cf. Luke 2:12, 34; 11:16, 29, 30; 21:7, 11, 25; 23:8; Acts 2:19, 22, 43; 4:16, 22, 30; 5:12; 6:8; 7:36; 8:6, 13; 14:3 and 15:12.

¹²⁶ See also Matt 12:38, 39; 16:1, 3, 4; 24:3, 24, 30 and 26:48 for Matthew’s further use of the term.

¹²⁷ Compare 1 Cor 14:22; 2 Cor 12:12; Rom 4:11; 15:19 (possible indirect connection); 2 Thess 2:9; 3:14; 3:17.

¹²⁸ A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 104.

God's face is hidden from the righteous sufferer.¹²⁹ This is, however, not the only connection between Ps 22(21) and Isa 8:17-18. In LXX Ps 21:5-6, the lamenting party refers to their ancestors who trusted in God (with the term ἡλπισαν occurring three times in the two verses) – a semantically synonymous thought, or echo, to that of the quotation from Isa 8:17 in Heb 2:13a. Furthermore, the σπέρμα Ιακωβ and the σπέρμα Ισραηλ (LXX Ps 21:24), the remnant from whom God did not hide his face (LXX Ps 21:25), have close semantic connections with the παιδία¹³⁰ – originally Isaiah's family but now interpreted as members of the family of Christ – who are assembled in the presence of God (Isa 8:18 in Heb 2:13b). In this second part of the “Jesus Hymn” (the quote from Isa 8:18) the thought is thus expressed “that the Messiah and God's other children are ready to carry out God's will.”¹³¹ The Son thus identifies himself closely with humankind.¹³²

2.4 Conclusion

The Davidic hymn, or “Song of Deliverance,” has intertextual connections with three biblical versions. This can be seen, amongst others, in Isa 8:17b (cf. also Isa 12:2) that agrees exactly with the LXX reading of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 22:3, which in turn, agrees with the reading of Ps 18:2(17:3). Isa 8 was a known passage during early Christian times and v. 14 was quoted by Paul (in conflation with Isa 28:16 in Rom 9:32-33), as well as by the writer of 1 Pet 2:9-10. Also Isa 8:12 is quoted in 1 Pet 3:14, with several allusions to Isaiah to be found elsewhere in the NT. The quotation from Isa 8:18, however, is nowhere else to be found in the NT. Interesting verbal analogies were also found between the hymn of Isa 12 and the quoted phrases in Heb 2:12-13 – and particularly striking were the resemblances with the quotation from Ps 22(21):23.

On the text critical side of the investigation, it became clear that it is particularly the Isaiah version that resembles the two linked quotations in Heb 2:13 the closest. The readings of both the LXX version, as well as that of the quotation in Heb 2:13, were also closer to the MT in this instance, than to that of 1QIs^a. Two small changes were made to the text – probably by the author of Hebrews: the insertion of ἐγώ and the change in word order to

¹²⁹ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 46.

¹³⁰ “Παιδία sind hier nicht Menschenkinder, nicht Gottes Kinder, sondern Kinder Christi” (E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 142).

¹³¹ J.C. Miller, “Paul and Hebrews,” 56.

¹³² J.C. McCullough sees this as the answer to the question in early Christianity: “...why did the Son of God have to suffer and be humiliated in this way at all?” “...the verses are suitable proof-texts to show that Jesus was in solidarity with humankind in his trust in God” (“Isaiah,” 162).

ἐσομαι πεποιθώς in order to emphasise Jesus as the speaker here. Furthermore, the presentation of the text from Isa 8:17-18 in two separate quotations was an intentional division – presenting these phrases, with that of Ps 22(21):23, as Jesus' words in a hymnic format.

Chapter 7

The motif of rest The combination of Ps 95(94):5-7 + Gen 2:2 in Heb 3-4

Heb 3:7-11

7 Διό, καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον·

σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, 8 μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, 9 οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐνδοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἰδον τὰ ἔργα μου 10 τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη· διὸ προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ ειπον· ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου, 11 ὡς ὕμισα ἐν τῇ ὄργῃ μου· εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου. (Ps 95[94]:7-11)

Heb 3:15

15 ἐν τῷ λέγεσθαι·

σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ. (Ps 95[94]:7)

Heb 4:3

3 Εἰσερχόμεθα γὰρ εἰς [την] κατάπαυσιν οἱ πιστεύσαντες, καθὼς εἴρηκεν·

ώς ὕμισα ἐν τῇ ὄργῃ μου· εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου, (Ps 95[94]:11) καίτοι τῶν ἔργων ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου γενηθέντων.

Heb 4:4

4 εἴρηκεν γάρ που περὶ τῆς ἐθδόμης οὕτως·

καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐθδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, (Gen 2:2)

Heb 4:5

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν·

εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου. (Ps 95[94]:11)

Heb 4:7

7 πάλιν τινὰ ὄριζει ἡμέραν, σήμερον, ἐν Δαυὶδ λέγων μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον, καθὼς προείρηται·

σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. (Ps 95[94]:7)

The quotation from Ps 95:7-11 is introduced in Heb 3:7 as if it is an utterance of the Holy Spirit.¹ This is probably done from the tradition that the Spirit spoke through David² – perhaps understood in the sense of prophecy – creating a link with David (cf. Heb 4:7 and the heading of LXX Ps 94) and 2 Kgdms (LXX) 23:2.³ Introducing the quotation as words that the Holy Spirit spoke and with clear signs of following the quoted text as closely as possible, the author's approach to Ps 95(94) is that it is authoritative and normative. The author's

¹ E. Tönges suspects that 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 23:2 might be the origin of these words (cf. “Jesus-Midrash,” 97).

² See also Acts 1:16.

³ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 208.

consistency in using a form of the verb λέγω in Heb 3–4 is striking.⁴ Using λέγω in the introductory formula, corresponds to the author’s view that this is God’s living word that is still valid. “Simply by quoting this psalm, the author is making a statement regarding the continuity between Israel and the church....”⁵

The quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3:7b-11 is the second longest in Hebrews⁶ and probably the third longest in the NT.⁷ Relatively few of the quotations in the NT are fairly long. Most of the lengthy quotations are to be found in Luke-Acts and in Hebrews. The quotation from Ps 95(94) is, with the quotations from Pss 16(15), 34(33) and 40(39) one of the longest Psalm quotations in the entire NT. Not only does the author present this long quotation, but also continues with a *midraschartige* exposition and application of the Psalm passage within his argument. He refers at least four more times explicitly back to the same quotation. This makes it, with Ps 110(109), the two passages that are the most frequently quoted and referred to by the author of Hebrews. It is also the only place where Ps 95(94) occurs in the NT and there are no references to it in the Church Fathers.⁸ The author connects his two quoted texts in a pair around the motif of rest⁹ and uses the two texts from Ps 95(94) and Gen 2:2¹⁰ to make his point.

It is interesting to note that Heb 3:1 – 4:11 parallels the first section, namely that of Heb 1:5 – 2:18. The first section contrasted the Son and the angels, the second contrasts Christ and Moses;¹¹ then there follows an exegesis of a scriptural text and an exhortation; and then the initial contrast leads gradually into a soteriological reflection.¹² The section Heb 3:1 – 4:13 is a cohesive unit¹³ that deals mainly with the issue of belief–unbelief by means of the

⁴ Compare: λέγει (3:7); λέγεσθαι (3:15); εἴρηκεν (4:3); εἴρηκεν (4:4); λέγων (4:7); προείρηται (4:7); ἐλάτει (4:8).

⁵ P. Enns, “The Interpretation of Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3.1–4.13,” in C.A. Evans & J.A. Sanders (ed.), *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (JSNT Suppl Ser 148; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997) 352–363, on p. 355.

⁶ Exceeded only in length by that of Jer 31(38):31–34 in Heb 8:8–12, which is the longest in the NT.

⁷ The quotation from Joel 2 in Acts 2 takes its second place between the quotations from Jer 31(38) and Ps 95(94) in Hebrews. Other long quotations are: Isa 42:1–4 (Matt 12:18–21); Isa 6:9 (Matt 13:14–15; Acts 28:26–27); Isa 40:3–5 (Luke 3:4–6); Isa 61:1 (Luke 4:18–19); Ps 16(15):8–11 (Acts 2:25–28); Ps 34(33):13–17 (1 Pet 3:10–12) and Ps 40(39):7–9 (Heb 10:5–7).

⁸ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 35.

⁹ For the motif of “rest” in Hebrews, see J.H. Wray, *Rest as A Theological Metaphor in the Epistle to the Hebrews and The Gospel of Truth. Early Christian Homiletics of Rest* (SBLDissSer 166; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

¹⁰ G. Gelardini is of the opinion that this quotation is not from Gen 2:2 but from Exod 31:17b (“Synagogue Homily,” 120).

¹¹ For a comprehensive study on the role of Moses in Hebrews, see M.R. D’Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SBL Diss Ser 42; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

¹² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 114.

¹³ So also, amongst others, P. Enns, “Interpretation,” 352–363. S. Kistemaker calls it “an interlude of nearly two chapters” (*Psalm Citations*, 85).

motif of rest. The unit has a clear *narratio*, *amplificatio* with its *hypodeigma*, and closes with a *peroratio*.¹⁴ It starts with (A) the *narratio*, which is a prelude (Heb 3:1-6). Then it moves to (B) the *hypodeigma*, which is an example from Scripture (cf. also Heb 4:11) and already the beginning of his *amplificatio*¹⁵ – where the author presents his introductory formula with the long explicit quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11 (Heb 3:7-11). Hereafter follows (C) the rest of the *amplificatio*, the author's own interpretation of the quotation from Scripture where he presents an even longer exposition and application (Heb 3:12 – 4:11). The little pericope (D) about the Word of God (Heb 4:12-13) is a reflection on the role of the author's previous involvement with Scripture and is the closing part of the unit, the *peroratio*.¹⁶ It serves, in turn, as a hinge between the motif of rest and the motif that follows of Jesus as High Priest.¹⁷ Only sections B (*hypodeigma*) and C (*amplificatio*) are in the focus of this study.

1. The quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3:7-11

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Ps 95(94)

Various scholars have connected Ps 95(94) with the liturgical traditions¹⁸ of early Judaism and early Christianity. Some saw the Psalm addressed to Israel who lives in the Promised Land, and gathered at the temple in Jerusalem for a feast.¹⁹ Although most scholars largely agree that it probably had connections with a harvest and New Year's festival²⁰ in particular,

¹⁴ So also M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 205.

¹⁵ H.W. Attridge refers to this section as “a lengthy meditation” (*Hebrews*, 114).

¹⁶ P. Ellingworth also takes it to be a “concluding comment” (*Hebrews*, 213).

¹⁷ Jesus is referred to as High Priest at key points in the structure of Hebrews: 3:1; 4:14; 8:1; 9:11; 10:21.

¹⁸ W.S. Prinsloo reckoned that although there is fair agreement (“redelike sekerheid”) that Ps 95 functioned in the cult, there is doubt about its precise cultic *Sitz im Leben* (“Ps 95: As julle maar na sy stem wou luister!,” in W. Beuken, et. al. (ed.), *Die lof van my God solank ek lewe. Verklaring van ‘n aantal psalms deur Willem S Prinsloo* (Pretoria: Medpharm Publikasies, 2000) 155-167, on p. 158 (English version published in M.D. Carroll, D.J.A. Clines & P.R. Davies (ed.), *The Bible in modern society* [JSOT Suppl Series 200; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995] 393-410).

¹⁹ G. Braulik, “Gottes Ruhe – Das Land oder der Tempel? Zu Ps 95,11,” in E. Haag & F.-L. Hossfeld (ed.), *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Heinrich Groß* (SBB 13; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1986) 33-44, on p. 43.

²⁰ S. Mowinckel – quite dated by now – described it as follows: “Just as the harvest feast was ‘Yahweh’s festival’, so new year’s day on the 1st of Tishri was the special festal day of Yahweh... New Year’s day is the day for the ‘sounding of horns’ (*yom haššōphār*), a rite characteristic of the festal enthronement procession of Yahweh (Pss. 47.6; 98.6; cf. 81.4). It is also called the ‘day for the cry of homage’ (*yom hatterū`â*); the cry of homage (*tērū`â*) is at the same time characteristic of the psalms and the day of enthronement (47.2, 6; 98.6); the cry of homage means ‘royal homage’, ‘homage to the king’ (*tērū`ath melekh*) for Yahweh; when this cry is heard

they disagree on the particulars. Some argued in favour of a New Year's festival that accompanied the Feast of Tabernacles.²¹ Others considered the festival to be connected closer with an enthronement rite and saw especially the first part of Ps 95 as having all the characteristics of, and belonging to, the “enthronement” Psalms (93; 96–99).²² The second part – from which Hebrews quotes – expresses for them “an idea other than the mere enthronement” so that the Psalm can be considered as a “liturgical composition.”²³ Others, again, found a connection between the New Year's festival and the creation and Exodus themes.²⁴ This is important to remember when considering Hebrews' use of Ps 95(94), its reinterpretation of the motif of rest and its connection with Gen 2:2²⁵ and creation. The Mishnah supports a Jewish tradition that links New Year's day with the day of creation – on a par with the Feast of Tabernacles and the enthronement psalms, which also have a special connection with creation.²⁶

1.1.2 The use of Ps 95(94) in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Although it has been observed before that there are no explicit quotations from Ps 95(94) in our existing corpus of early Jewish and Christian literature, there seems to be at least some possible allusions to Ps 95(94) in the pre-Hebrews literature. It is particularly the motifs of *rest* and of *testing* as found in this Psalm that were part of a number of familiar and recurring motifs in early Judaism and early Christianity. It is thus not surprising that allusions to the section quoted from Ps 95(94):7-11 by the author of Hebrews, are thus to be found elsewhere.²⁷ These motifs also surfaced at Qumran. In 4QFlor 1:7 (4Q174) the motif of *rest* (from enemies) picks up from the quotation of 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:11. Interesting is the occurrence of this motif in some kind of “Joseph-tradition” as it surfaces in 4QapJoseph^a

in Israel it is evidence that ‘Yahweh her God is with her’ (Num. 23.21)” (*Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 122. See also pp. 121-122).

²¹ Cf. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1955); A. Weiser, *Psalms*, 35-52. Others, such as R. De Vaux, rejected this viewpoint (*Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980], 502-506).

²² S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 32, 106, 122, 156.

²³ S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 106.

²⁴ D. Baly states: “The Creation and Exodus themes are tied together in a number of psalms, which were probably used at this festival (Pss. 74:12-17; 89:1-18; 95; etc)” (*Geography*, 86).

²⁵ Not Gen 2:6 as mentioned by A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëën*, 61.

²⁶ S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 122.

²⁷ Ps 95:7 is alluded to in 1QS 5:26; Ps 95:10 in 1QH 1:22, 1QS 5:4 and *Barn.* 8:5; and Ps 95:11 in *Odes Sol.* 20:8. Cf. B.H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 75.

(4Q372)²⁸ and in Joseph and Aseneth 8:9 (1st cent. B.C.E. to 2nd cent. C.E.).²⁹ The motif of the *testing* at Massah and Meribah, in turn, surfaces in 4QTest (4Q175) v. 15 in a quotation from Deut 33:8-11.³⁰ It is also interesting to note – in the light of the allusions in 1QS 5:4 and 5:26 above, that the DSS community often referred to themselves as “covenant-keepers” (e.g. 1QS 5:2). A further explicit reference to Ps 95:10 is found by Rabbi Eliezer (ca. 90 C.E.), who said: “The days of the messiah are forty years, as mentioned in Ps 95.”³¹

Familiarity with Ps 95(94) in liturgical settings can also be accepted. Pss 95(94) and 96(95) were apparently known as Psalms for the invitation of worship, with Ps 95(94) possibly “regarded as a preamble of services on Friday evening and Sabbath morning.”³²

Extremely interesting is the observation that Paul used the example of Israel’s wandering in the desert for either obtaining salvation or losing it in 1 Cor 10:1-13, but without quoting or referring to Ps 95(94).³³ He makes a direct link to the historical situation itself, whereas Hebrews chose to make the link via Ps 95(94). Paul, furthermore, interprets the events in a “spiritual” manner³⁴ and uses the wandering people as examples (*τύποι*, 1 Cor 10:6, 11) so that the recipients of the Corinthian letter should not be led by evil desires and be able to resist temptations – with *πειρασμός* as a *Leitmotif* in 1 Cor 10:13.³⁵

²⁸ Frag. I:5b-6 reads: “...they did not enter] Israel. And he exterminated them from the land [...from the place ... they did not allow them to rest].” See F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition II*, 734-735.

²⁹ “...let her enter your rest which you have prepared for your chosen ones....” Cf. C. Burchard, “Joseph and Aseneth,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigrapha II*, 177-247, on p. 213. See also U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseiterwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1978), 122. H. Gzella, too, pointed to the similarities and states: “Der sehr enge sprachliche Anklang an die Septuaginta-Fassung von Ps 95 (94), 11 (die Formulierung εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν kommt nämlich nur noch dort und in Dtn 12, 9 vor) dürfte zweifelsohne für ein eschatologisches Verständnis der Psalmenstelle zumindest zur Abfassungszeit des Romans sprechen. Zusammen mit Hebr 3, 7ff bezeugt dies eine verbreitete eschatologische Rezeption des Ruhemotivs im griechischen Psalter, an dem sich die Verfasser dieser Texte orientiert haben” (*Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*, 165).

³⁰ “...whom I tested at Massah, and with whom I quarrelled about the waters of Meribah....” See F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 356-357.

³¹ Cf. *Sanh.* 99a. Referred to by A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 113.

³² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 35. According to Kistemaker, the “practice undoubtedly stemmed from the Temple ritual which in later years was gradually taken over in the Synagogue.” The controversial viewpoint of M.D. Goulder is similar when he sees the function of Ps 95(94) as part of the morning liturgy in churches from early times: “The psalms in Book IV are numbered 90-106, and we should therefore have the same mnemonic as with the Songs: if they were a festal sequence, evening and morning, the even-numbered psalms would have to fall in the evening and the odd numbers in the morning. This time we have three probable morning psalms, 95, 97 and 101. Psalm 95, the *Venite*, has been used as a morning psalm in churches from early times: its challenge, ‘Today, if ye hear his voice, Harden not your heart’, seems appropriate in the morning, when there is time for such resolutions (95.7)” (M.D. Goulder, *PSALMS OF THE RETURN*, 109).

³³ See E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 175; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 113.

³⁴ Cf. πνευματικὸν βρόμα, 1 Cor 10:3; πνευματικὸν ἔπιον, 1 Cor 10:4; πνευματικῆς...πέτρας, ἡ πέτρα δὲ ην ὁ Χριστός, 1 Cor 10:4.

³⁵ The connections between the Corinthian correspondence and Hebrews remain an interesting field of study. Attention was already drawn in the previous chapters of this study to the combination of Ps 8 and Ps 110 that occurred in 1 Cor 15 and in Heb 1-2. Furthermore, the inclusion of Hebrews in the Pauline collection of P⁴⁶ after

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Ps 95(94):7-11

The text traditions that might represent the *Vorlage* used by the author of Hebrews for his quotation from Ps 95(94) could be divided into the Hebrew and the Greek traditions. Turning to the *Hebrew* textual traditions, it should be noted that some fragments were found amongst the DSS that contain parts of Ps 95:7-11: 4QPs^m (4Q94) has the text of Ps 95:3-7, whilst 1QPs^a (1Q10)³⁶ contains Ps 95:11 – 96:2.³⁷ This covers at least the beginning and the end of the section used by the author of Hebrews for his quotation. When comparing the evidence from the Hebrew traditions as found in the DSS and the MT, the survived readings are identical:

Ps 95:7 (4QPs ^m) ³⁸	Ps 95:11 (1QPs ^a) ³⁹	Ps 95:7-11 (MT)
כִּי הֵזֶא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַنַּנוּ עִם מְרֻעֵיתוֹ וְצָאן יְדֹו הַיּוֹם אֲם בְּקָלוּ תְשַׁמְעוּ		7 כִּי הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַנַּנוּ עִם מְרֻעֵיתוֹ וְצָאן יְדֹו הַיּוֹם אֲמִבְקָלוּ תְשַׁמְעוּ :
	8 אַל-פְּקַדְוּ לְבָבְכֶם כִּמְרִיבָה קִוּם מִסְתָּה בְּמִדְבָּר :	8 אַל-פְּקַדְוּ לְבָבְכֶם כִּמְרִיבָה קִוּם מִסְתָּה בְּמִדְבָּר :
	9 אֲשֶׁר נָסַן אֲבֹתֵיכֶם בְּקָנָנִי גָּדְרָא פָּעֵלִי :	9 אֲשֶׁר נָסַן אֲבֹתֵיכֶם בְּקָנָנִי גָּדְרָא פָּעֵלִי :
	10 אַרְבָּעִים שְׁנָה אֲקֹוט בְּדֹור וְאַמְּרֵעַ עַם תְּהִיעֵל בְּבֵבָה וְהַם לְאַזְּדָעָה דָּרְכֵי :	10 אַרְבָּעִים שְׁנָה אֲקֹוט בְּדֹור וְאַמְּרֵעַ עַם תְּהִיעֵל בְּבֵבָה וְהַם לְאַזְּדָעָה דָּרְכֵי :
	11 אֲשֶׁר-גָּשְׁבָּעָיו בְּאֶפְיָא אֲסִידְבָּאָן אַל-מְנוּחָתִי :	11 אֲשֶׁר-גָּשְׁבָּעָיו בְּאֶפְיָא אֲסִידְבָּאָן אַל-מְנוּחָתִי :
	[אַל מְנוּחָתִי]	

The fragment of 1QPs^a contains only the last two words in the Hebrew (regarding this quotation) and it agrees exactly with the reading of the MT. No evidence of explicit quotations to Ps 95, however, was found among the DSS themselves.⁴⁰ The closest is the reference to the “forty years” of Ps 95:10 which occurs also in CD 20:14. However, this motif

Romans and before 1 Cor – apart from the fact that the collection follows the order of the length of the books – remains largely unexplained.

³⁶ Cf. D. Barthélemy & J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 69.

³⁷ For the texts, cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition*, 5-6, 283. U. Dahmen also finds evidence of 11QPs^a (11Q5) which contains Ps 95:11, but this is debatable (*Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran* [Leiden: Brill, 2003]).

³⁸ Cf. A. Lehnardt, *Bibliographie zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (Bd. VI) (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 202. The text is taken from E. Ulrich; F.M. Cross; J.A. Fitzmyer, et al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, 132.

³⁹ Cf. the catalogue of J.A. Sanders, “Pre-Masoretic Psalter Texts,” *CBQ* 27 (1965) 114-123, on p. 114. Text taken from D. Barthélemy & J.T. Milik, *DJD I*, 69.

⁴⁰ See J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*. Bd. II (UTB 1916; München: Reinhardt, 1966).

was so widely spread in antiquity that any analogy between these two texts would be impossible to prove.⁴¹

When turning to the *Greek* textual traditions of Ps 95(94), the first striking difference from that of the Hebrew is the presence of the superscription⁴² – one of many in the Greek Psalter. (This connection was thus probably known by the author of Hebrews when he later refers to David when re-quoting the Psalm in Heb 4:7). Comparing now the particular passage of Ps 95(94):7-11, which is quoted in Heb 3:7-11, it is clear that a large part of the text from the quotation reads exactly the same in both the MT and LXX witnesses (the latter mostly followed by NT). The differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Hebrews' quoted section are mainly to be found in Ps 95(94):8-10.

- In v. 8, the *singular* for “heart” + the plural suffix (לֶבֶבִים) is replaced in the LXX by the *plural* for “heart” + the plural personal pronoun (τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν).
- The place names “Meribah” and “Massah” have been translated by the Greek witnesses with παραπικρασμός (“rebellion”) and πειρασμός (“testing”)⁴³ – thus not as place names, but merely as special terms. Attention has been drawn to the interesting phenomenon that the LXX translator of Ps 95(94) interpreted a noun with an initial מ as though this was the first radical and the Hebrew מַר was translated with παραπικρασμός.⁴⁴ When this translation equivalent is compared with the Hebrew מְרִיבָה, then one “...cannot even be sure whether the translator, at this first occurrence of the phrase, did not have in mind instead מְרִיבֵּך part. Hiph., cf. 1 Sam. 2:10; Hos. 4:4....”⁴⁵ Παραπικρασμός is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX, but resurfaces later in the translations of Aquila (1 Chr 15:23), Symmachus (Job 7:11) and Theodotion (Prov 17:11).⁴⁶ The verb παραπικραίνειν, however, occurs fairly frequently in the LXX as a translation for מָרַר (“provoke”); מָרַה (“be bitter”); מָרַח (“be refractory, obstinate”) and מָרַר (“be stubborn”).
- In v. 9b the LXX reads ἐδοκίμασαν (without με) for the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* בְּחִנּוּנִי. The LXX also reads τὰ ἔργα (plural) for the singular פְּשֻׁלִּי of the MT.

⁴¹ So also H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament II* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 312-313.

⁴² J.M. Dines described the superscription here as of a “historicizing or exegetical kind” (*The Septuagint* [London: T & T Clark, 2004], 49).

⁴³ “The result of the translation of the place-names is that the text is less closely tied to what occurred at a particular place in the desert and can be more easily applied to the ongoing contentiousness of the people” (C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 254).

⁴⁴ Cf. P. Walters: “It is obvious that in the Ps. Passage we must spell place-names, ἐν τῷ Παραπικρασμῷ and τοῦ Πειρασμοῦ = מְרִיבָה” (*Text of the Septuagint*, 151).

⁴⁵ P. Walters, *Text of Septuagint*, 152.

⁴⁶ Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *Concordance II*, 1063.

- In v. 10a, the MT has no demonstrative as in the LXX τῇ γενεῖ ἐκείνῃ.
- In v. 10c ἀεί is added in the LXX.

A comparison between the LXX reconstructed text of Ps 94 and that of PBod XXIV shows some differences between these two texts. It also shows that the text of Hebrews is closer to that of the LXX – with one exception, that of ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ of PBod, which reads the same as in Hebrews, versus the ἐδοκίμασαν of the LXX.

Ps 94:7-11 LXX⁴⁷

7 σήμερον, ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε,
8 μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν
τῷ παραπικρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ
πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, 9 οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ
πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐδοκίμασαν καὶ εἴδοσαν τὰ ἔργα
μου 10 **τεσσεράκοντα** ἔτη· προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ
ἐκείνῃ καὶ εἰπα· ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ
αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδούς μου, 11 ὡς ὥμοσα
ἐν τῇ ὄργῃ μου· εἰ σελεύσονται εἰς τὴν
κατάπαυσιν μου.

P Bod XXIV (Rahlfs Ra 2110)⁴⁸

[σημερον εαν της φωνης αυτου ακουσητε]
[μη σκληρυνητε τας καρδιας υμων ως εν]
[τω παραπικρασμω κατα την ημεραν του]
πειρασμου] εν τη ερημω ου επ[ειρασαν οι
πρες υμιν εν δοκιμασια : και ι[δ]οσα[ν] τα ερ
γα μου] μ ετη προσωχθισα τη γενεα εκεινη και
ειπ]α αει πλανωνται τη καρδια : [και αυτοι
ο]υκ εγνωσαν τας οδους μου : ως ωμοσα
εν τη οργη μου εισελευσονται εις τη[ν κατ-
παυσονται μου

None of the additions or omissions – as suggested amongst the variants of the reconstructed LXX text of Ps 94 – are attested by the 2nd / 4th cent. C.E.⁴⁹ PBod XXIV (Ra 2110). The LXX reads (a) ὑμῶν (as Hebrews does) instead of ὑμῖν in PBod; (b) εἴδοσαν (ειδον in Hebrews) instead of εἶδοσαν of PBod; (c) τεσσεράκοντα (as in Hebrews) instead of the representative letter μ of PBod for the numeral; and (d) κατάπαυσιν (as in Hebrews) – instead of καταπαυσονται of PBod, which does not make sense after εἰς τὴν.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 3:7-11

When comparing the NT manuscripts regarding the text of Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3:7-11, a number of variant readings are to be found:

- The inclusion of με between ἐπείρασαν and οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν.⁵⁰ Some later LXX traditions also support the inclusion.⁵¹ However, there is not enough convincing evidence

⁴⁷ A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 246.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. Kasser & M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 189-190; A. Pietersma, “Ra 2110 <P. Bodmer XXIV> and the Text of the Greek Psalter,” in D. Fraenkel, U. Quast & J.W. Wevers (ed.), *Studien zur Septuaginta. Festschrift für Robert Hanhart* (MGSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) 262-286. Cf. also R.A. Kraft: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/earlylxx/earlypaplist.html>

⁴⁹ Cf. D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 58-60.

⁵⁰ Inserted by $\kappa^2 D^2 \Psi$ 0243. 0278. 1739. 1881 \mathfrak{M} lat sy bo.

to assume that με was part of the original text of either the LXX or of Hebrews⁵² and it may thus be excluded.

- The substitution of ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ (which signifies the testing of man by God) by either ἐδοκίμασαν⁵³ or by ἐδοκίμασάν με⁵⁴ – which signifies the tempting of God by man. These substitutions were most probably made later on the basis of knowledge of LXX text traditions. The LXX manuscripts, in turn, all read ἐδοκίμασαν (except for PBod XXIV), but later LXX traditions started to add με as in the latter case.⁵⁵ This inclusion by the later LXX traditions was possibly done on the basis of knowledge of the NT quotation. In the light of the discussion above regarding the differences between PBod XXIV and the LXX witnesses, there might be a case to be made that a LXX textual version existed which also read ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ,⁵⁶ as the NT does, which means that great care should be taken not to ascribe this alternative reading to the hand of Hebrews.⁵⁷ Δοκιμασίᾳ is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT and occurs only twice in the LXX: *Ps. Sol.* 16:14 and Sir 6:21. The possible rarity of this form might have led to the alternatives found in the Latin texts and the second correctors of Sinaiticus (ς) and Claromontanus (D).
- Another variant is the substitution of ταύτῃ with ἐκείνῃ.⁵⁸ All the LXX witnesses read ἐκείνῃ. The combination γενεᾶ ταύτῃ is more frequent in the NT, but is found only once in the LXX.⁵⁹ The combination γενεᾶ ἐκείνῃ, however, is limited to only the LXX.⁶⁰ One can thus assume that the readings in both the reconstructed versions of the LXX and the NT are the closest to the original. If that is the case, then this change ought to be ascribed to the author of Hebrews' hand.

⁵¹ Cf. R' Aug Ga L' 1219 = MT.

⁵² So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 118; and M. Karrer: "...erkennbar sekundär" (*Hebräer I*, 203).

⁵³ So substituted by v vg; Ambr.

⁵⁴ Supported by Σ² D² Ψ 0278. Λ a vg^{mss} sy^(p).

⁵⁵ So by Ga(sub *) L' A' = MT.

⁵⁶ H.W. Attridge is also of the opinion that "the original reading was no doubt ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ" (*Hebrews*, 113) – and so thinks U. Rüsen-Weinhold too: "Der Hebr hat jedenfalls diese Lesart, ein Hapax legomenon im Hebr, in seiner Vorlage gefunden, wie sie durch P.Bodmer (2110) bezeugt ist" ("Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen," 204).

⁵⁷ This reading exists in PBod XXIV and thus *contra* E. Ahlborn who wrote: "So liest kein Zeuge der Septuaginta. Es gibt keine andere Lösung, als daß diese Lesart auf den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes selbst zurückgeht." See his lengthy argumentation that the author of Hebrews made this change on the basis of stylistic grounds (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 118-119). Also P. Ellingworth sees this reading as one "probably made by the author" – "perhaps to avoid the unusual idea of human beings testing God" (*Hebrews*, 218). Similarly P. Enns, "Interpretation," 353, 356.

⁵⁸ Substituted by C D² Ψ 0278. Λ a vg^{mss} sy bo

⁵⁹ NT: Mark 8:12 (2x); Heb 3:10; Luke 11:30; Matt 12:45. LXX: Gen 7:1.

⁶⁰ Ps 95(94):10; Exod 1:6; Judg 2:10.

- The substitution of $\tau\hat{\eta}$ καρδί α αὐτοὶ δέ with $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ τ $\hat{\eta}$ καρδί α αὐτῶν, διό
- is yet another alternative, attested only by P¹³ (col. 2, line 4, cf. Heb 3:10b), also known as POxy 657.⁶¹

It is the most extensive papyrus outside the Beatty and Bodmer collections and contained presumably originally the whole of Hebrews. It aligns frequently with P⁴⁶ and with Codex B for the portions of Hebrews where both exist. It is an extremely important witness that has not, so far, received sufficient attention.⁶² There are no LXX witnesses that support either of these two NT readings. The change should thus also be treated as one that was probably made by the author of Hebrews. The question is, however, which one of these two alternatives is the most authentic one? Some argued in favour of P¹³ (POxy 657)⁶³ – a viewpoint that can be supported by the fact that scribes often conformed their NT text to readings they knew from the LXX.⁶⁴ Others, however, suggested that a re-inking of the scribe's pen was responsible for this change.⁶⁵ The latter is an interesting hypothesis, but controversial and it is difficult to build a case on later copied manuscripts.

1.2.3 Differences between the readings of Ps 95(94):7-11 and Heb 3:7-11

Hebrews seems not only to be closer to the reading of the reconstructed LXX, but almost identical:⁶⁶ (i) It is clear that Hebrews follows a LXX⁶⁷ text which has already translated the

⁶¹ POxy 657 (P¹³), dated in the 3rd to 4th cent. C.E., contains Heb 2:14–5:5; 10:8–22; 10:29–11:13 and 11:28–12:17 with a large number of minor lacunae.

⁶² From <http://www.skypoint.com/~waltzmn/ManuscriptsPapyri.html#P13> (accessed on 19.2.2003).

⁶³ H.W. Attridge argued in favour of the reading of P¹³: “Although P13 may display a simple idiosyncratic corruption, it is likely that the process of making the text of the psalm conform to the LXX was operative and that the unusual wording is original” (*Hebrews*, 113).

⁶⁴ This has been demonstrated in the case of OT citations in Heb by A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 264, n.40.

⁶⁵ This is, according to P.M. Head & M. Warren, one of four passages that are “of particular interest due to the fact that in these places evidence of re-inking coincides with singular readings (readings attested in no other Greek manuscript) in P. Oxy. 657.” They suspect that the readings of POxy 657 might in fact have resulted from “a simple idiosyncratic corruption” – “supported by the observation that the relevant line of script in P. Oxy 657 contains two clear cases of re-inking which relate to the singular readings” and, therefore, “the implied exemplar for P. Oxy 657 would not necessarily have reflected the text represented by NA27.” They conclude: “P. Oxy. 657’s $\epsilon\nu$ τη καρδία αυτῶν (cf. NA27: τ $\hat{\eta}$ καρδί α . Αὐτοὶ) is not a simple alteration but a re-organisation of the thought of the verse, so that the pause for re-inking corresponds precisely with the end of the clause (for P. Oxy 657 although not for NA27). One might argue that, having made that alteration, δε would no longer make sense and so διό is substituted by the scribe. But such a view would necessarily attribute the text of P. Oxy 657 to the conscious activity of the scribe; if the variants reflect deliberate alteration this would strengthen the argument that conscious assimilation towards the text of the LXX is more likely than otherwise inexplicable conscious departure from it, and thus strengthen Attridge’s case” (“Re-inking the Pen: Evidence from P.Oxy 657 (P13) concerning unintentional scribal errors” [NTS 43, 1997] 466–473).

⁶⁶ G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 48.

⁶⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 35; P. Enns, “Interpretation,” 353; D. Moody Smith, “Use of OT,” 59.

names Meribah (מְרִיבָה) and Massah (מֵסָה) with παραπικρασμός and πειρασμός.⁶⁸ (ii) The author's reference later in Heb 4:7 to David who foretold these words of Ps 94 (LXX) (the only reference in Hebrews to a human author), probably also points to his knowledge of this Psalm in the LXX, which carries David's name in the heading to the Psalm but lacks in the Hebrew version.⁶⁹ (iii) Hebrews also differs at some of the same points where the LXX differs with the Hebrew.

Nonetheless, it reads also slightly different than the LXX as well: εἰδοσαν (LXX) became εἰδον in Heb 3:9. Some scholars are of the opinion that there might even have been a textual error in the LXX tradition here, which is why ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ is not as close to בְּנִינִי as is the LXX ἐδοκίμασαν.⁷⁰ However, ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ might have been an alternative LXX reading as testified by PBod XXIV.

Having thus worked our way through the text critical aspects of the Hebrew and Greek textual traditions of Ps 95(94):7-11 and through the possible variant readings of Heb 3:7-11, it became clear that the author of Hebrews used a Greek *Vorlage* for his quotation with very close similarities to that of the LXX.⁷¹ These few deviations might actually represent another LXX *Vorlage* that is lost to us today.⁷² Two changes do indeed serve a very particular purpose in the application of Ps 95(94), as will be discussed below. Closer to the truth might be that “the various textual divergencies are not so much the work of the author, but most likely have been brought about by constant usage in places of worship. It appears plausible that the writer has taken the quotation in its present form out of the ritual of worship services conducted in the Greek tongue.”⁷³ However, due to the lack of such evidence, the following changes between the two versions could alternatively be ascribed very cautiously to the hand of the author of Hebrews:

⁶⁸ Cf. U. Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 202; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 35; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 176; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 259. In the words of H.W. Attridge: “The LXX translates these names abstractly, imitating the etymological play in Hebrew, but obscuring the geographical reference” (*Hebrews*, 115).

⁶⁹ According to P. Ellingworth, the author follows “Jewish tradition in attributing Ps. 95 to David” (*Hebrews*, 217).

⁷⁰ Cf. G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 79; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 115.

⁷¹ So also H.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëen*, 54.

⁷² H.W. Attridge thinks in the same direction, although his reason for this assumption cannot be accepted when he says: “These all may simply be due to a different LXX text, since they do not seem to serve any particular purpose in Hebrews’s application of the psalm” (*Hebrews*, 115-116).

⁷³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 36.

a. Linguistic adaptations towards Attic Greek

- The substitution of $\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (Ps 95[94]:9) with $\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ (Heb 10:9): The form, $\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$, is not to be found in the NT at all, but is fairly common in Hellenistic Greek and in the LXX where it occurs 28 times. The form, $\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\nu$, in turn, is closer to Classical (Attic) Greek. This change should thus be treated as a mere linguistic alteration and one that is probably made on the basis of our author's Greek abilities. The change is of no theological value.
- The substitution of $\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$ (Ps 95[94]:10) with $\epsilon\iota\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ (Heb 10:3): The LXX uses here the more common Hellenistic 1st aor. ind. form of $\lambda\acute{e}\gamma\omega$ ($\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$), whereas the author of Hebrews prefers again – as with $\epsilon\iota\delta\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\nu$ above – the Classical (Attic) Greek 2nd aor. ind. form, $\epsilon\iota\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\nu$. The author's use of the Attic aorist forms is here in line with his practice in the rest of Hebrews to prefer Attic forms.⁷⁴

b. Contextual adaptations for the readers of Hebrews

- The substitution of $\tau\hat{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\hat{\alpha}\ \dot{\epsilon}k\epsilon\acute{i}n\eta$ (Ps 95[94]:10) by $\tau\hat{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\hat{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\acute{u}\tau\eta$ (Heb 10:3): The author of Hebrews adapted his quotation from the original reference in his *Vorlage*, “*that generation*,” to now referring to “*this generation*” – “thus preparing the way for the psalm to be reapplied to his own readers.”⁷⁵ This coincides with the fact that the phrase $\tau\hat{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\hat{\alpha}\ \dot{\epsilon}k\epsilon\acute{i}n\eta$ does not occur in the NT and the author replaces it with the more common $\tau\hat{\eta}\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\hat{\alpha}\ \tau\alpha\acute{u}\tau\eta$.⁷⁶ In light of the fact that the quotation is presented as “the Holy Spirit (who) says” – note the present tense, $\lambda\acute{e}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ – it is clear that the author intended this quotation to be the current living words of God that are directed to his current audience.
- Substitution of καὶ $\alpha\acute{u}\tau\omega\acute{i}$ (Ps 95[94]:10) by $\alpha\acute{u}\tau\omega\acute{l}\ \delta\acute{e}$ (Heb 3:10): The difference between using καὶ and $\delta\acute{e}$ is that καὶ would function more as a copulative particle whereas $\delta\acute{e}$ “is used to connect one clause with another when it is felt that there is some contrast between them, though the contrast is often scarcely discernible.”⁷⁷ The number of sequential vowels in the phrase καὶ $\alpha\acute{u}\tau\omega\acute{i}$ $\text{o}\nu\kappa$ probably would also read easier in the

⁷⁴ “Wenn richtig ist, daß der Verfasser, wie wir annehmen, hellenistische Aoristbildungen in seiner Vorlage hatte, so steht fest, daß er diese selbständig durch attische ersetzte” (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 119).

⁷⁵ C. Spicq, *Hebreux II*, 74; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 218; P. Enns, “Interpretation,” 357. Contra H.W. Attridge who sees this as a “minor variation” (*Hebrews*, 115).

⁷⁶ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 120; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 35-36; K.K. Yeo, “The Meaning and Usage of the Theology of ‘Rest’” ($\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{a}\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma$ and $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\sigma$ in Hebrews 3:7–4:13), *Asia Journal of Theology* 5 (1991), 2-33, on p. 5.

⁷⁷ W.F. Arndt; F.W. Gingrich & F.W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 171. Similarly P. Ellingworth: “The main effect of reading $\alpha\acute{u}\tau\omega\acute{l}\ \delta\acute{e}$ is to suggest a contrast” (*Hebrews*, 218).

alternative αὐτοὶ δέ οὐκ. This might be again probably a linguistic adaptation by the author of Hebrews due to his own stylistic preferences.

- The inclusion of διό between ἔτη and προσώχθισα in Heb 3:10: The particle διό that occurs here in Hebrews is absent in both the MT and the reconstructed LXX text (except for P¹³) and there is no NT manuscript evidence for this variant.⁷⁸ The author made an alternative division in the text of Ps 95(94) with this inclusion. This inferential conjunction results in an important point in the quotation and has shifted the emphasis and changed the meaning significantly. The period of forty years is now not associated with God's wrath, but with the period of God's activity in the desert⁷⁹ when the Israelites tested God's works.⁸⁰ The insertion of διό can thus be explained that it has the effect of connecting the τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη with the previous sentence, whereas in Heb 3:17 the προσώχθισα "is connected with it as in the original text – this change having as result that the 'day of testing' (Heb 3:8) is then parallel to the 'forty years'."⁸¹ Similarly to Num 14,⁸² Ps 95(94) has a negative perception about the forty years in the desert. Whereas the MT and the LXX are interpreted that God was angry for forty years, according to Hebrews God was active in the desert for forty years and his anger follows after that period.⁸³ The difference between the interpretation of the two texts (the LXX and Hebrews) can clearly be seen in the author of Hebrews' commentary on this in Heb 3:17. There he interprets it, without the διό, in the part of his exposition which refers to the original context of the Exodus generation.

The author of Hebrews made very few changes to this long quotation when citing it here. No drastic insertions or omissions occur. Neither are there many substitutions. Those that do occur open the possibility to interpret Ps 95(94) with slightly different theological *foci*. Two kinds of changes do occur, though: (a) a few basically minor linguistic adaptations that resonate the author's preference for Attic Greek, and (b) two alterations within the quotation

⁷⁸ P. Enns, "Interpretation," 353.

⁷⁹ Cf. H. van Oyen: "...de veertig jaren, die in de oude bedeling als oordelen bedoeld zijn, (krijgen) hier het karakter van veertig jaren *genade bewijzen*" (*Hebreëën*, 47).

⁸⁰ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 115. Following Hofius, Attridge reckons that "it is possible that the author conceived of two periods of forty years, one of disobedience and one of punishment." Similarly E. Ahlborn: "Nach dem Hebräerbrief gehören die τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη zum vorausgehenden Passus; die Septuaginta (=Mas) hatte die Zeitbestimmung zum folgenden gezogen" (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 120). Also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 218; E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 176; H.J.B. Combrink, "OT Citations," 30; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 74; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 48; P. Enns, "Interpretation," 353; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, "Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen," 205.

⁸¹ H.J.B. Combrink, "OT Citations," 30.

⁸² E. Grässer warns however, that not only Num 14, but particularly Num 20:1-13 possibly in combination with Exod 17, might be here at the background (*Hebräer I*, 176, n. 17).

⁸³ In the words of P. Enns: "It seems that he is concerned to portray the wilderness period in a positive light – one that is not characterized by wrath" ("Interpretation," 354).

itself by which the author adapts his quotation as a current appeal to the audience of his time: “*that* generation” became “*this* generation,” and the addition of διό points to the reason (“therefore”) for God’s anger with this generation. These alterations bring the quotation in line with the author’s approach to, and theological application of Scripture as living, spoken and authoritative Word of God that is normative for his generation.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

Not a single one of the verses of this Psalm is anywhere else explicitly quoted by any of the NT writers, as is the case with the quotations from Ps 40(39):7-9, Ps 45(44):7-8, Ps 102(101):26-28, and Ps 104(103):4 in Hebrews. Looking at the extensive manner in which Ps 95(94) is quoted here, referred to, and explained by the author of Hebrews, one could fairly safely assume that the author himself was responsible for finding and applying this quotation within his argument. The chances are thus good that the author of Hebrews was himself responsible for the identification and application of this Psalm. In this sense, the identification and application of the quotation from Ps 95(94) should not only provide valuable insight into the author of Hebrews’ knowledge and use of his Scriptures, but also insight into his hermeneutical integration of his Scriptures into the context of his argument. This leaves the interesting question open for now about *how* he found it and in what *version* he found it.

His *Vorlage* clearly follows a LXX text that already provides the author with a more general text that adapts more easily to the context of his readers. The key words, σήμερον and κατάπαυσις determined the delimitation of the quotation for our author. There are very few changes to the text of the Psalm itself and it might actually represent an existing but lost *Vorlage*. If not, then the quotation displays the author’s preference for Attic above Hellenistic forms, and small adaptations to highlight the contrast between *that* generation and *this* generation.⁸⁴

1.3 Interpretation: Exposition and application (3:12 – 4:11): Amplificatio

After presenting the quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3:7-11, the author moves to an exposition and contemporary application of the Psalm for his readers,⁸⁵ which highlights his

⁸⁴ Cf. P. Enns: “We might say that in wishing to make this psalm more relevant to his readers, he says things *about* Psalm 95 that are not actually found *in* Psalm 95” (“Interpretation,” 353).

⁸⁵ S. Kistemaker reckons that the long quotation “stand separate from the foregoing and is quoted for the sake of exposition and application” (*Psalm Citations*, 85).

actual purpose with the quotation.⁸⁶ The “brothers” are exhorted to ensure that an attitude of unbelief does not germinate in their midst and that they don’t “turn away from the living God” (Heb 3:12). What is at stake is their faith in *Christ* (cf. 3:14), but the author of Hebrews argues that they would actually become unfaithful to the living *God* himself. This unfaithfulness to the living God strongly recalls the covenant that God entered to with his people when he led them out of Egypt. He would give them the Promised Land and they had to worship and obey him and never forget him. The Exodus motif is thus interwoven into the author’s argument. (He probably ends his book with this motif as well in Heb 13 when he quotes from Ps 118(117), which was used as part of the great Hallel and was sung during the festival of the Passover during which the Exodus from Egypt was celebrated). The idea of a new Exodus in the existence of the early Church was not a foreign concept during NT times. The suffering of Christ was also linked by John to the Passover, and thus to the Exodus motif. This new Exodus motif was common in some Jewish sectarian groups, such as the Essenes for instance. Although there are clear signs of typology⁸⁷ (Moses-Jesus, and the Exodus generation–this generation), also the allegorical understanding (spiritualisation) of “rest” with its cultic and eschatological connotations cannot be denied.

1.3.1 The structure of the author’s commentary

The exegetical discussion in Hebrews consists of complex patterns.⁸⁸ The argument in which Ps 95(94) is used, starts at Heb 3:1 and runs through to Heb 4:13. It ends in an important remark regarding the author’s opinion of ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in Heb 4:12. Three important ways in which the author of Hebrews deals with this quotation should be noted. Firstly, he quotes fairly substantially from Ps 95(94). Secondly, he also presents a commentary, or explanation, on the Psalm in a midrashic manner similar to the pesher style to be found in the DSS⁸⁹ where particular passages were given eschatological interpretations.⁹⁰ Thirdly, he

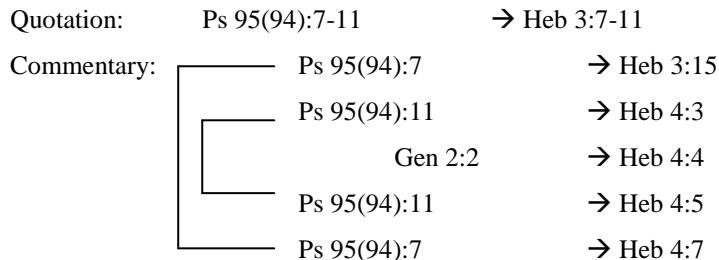
⁸⁶ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 219. C. Koester formulates aptly: “The quotation from Ps 95 fuses various moments from the wilderness period into a composite portrait of unfaithfulness” (*Hebrews*, 263).

⁸⁷ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 215; D. Moody Smith, “Use of OT,” 59-60.

⁸⁸ D. Moody Smith, “Use of the OT,” 59.

⁸⁹ H.W. Attridge calls this a “little homiletic midrash” (*Hebrews*, 114), whilst M. Karrer talks of “Impulsen von Pesher und Midrasch” (*Hebräer I*, 206) and U. Rüsen-Weinhold sees it to be “midraschartig” (*Septuagintapsalter*, 202). Similarly P. Enns: “His exegetical technique is similar to what we find, for example, in the commentaries of the Qumran community” (“Interpretation,” 362); and D. Flusser: “In this case, therefore, the Essene exegesis and the rabbinic midrash do not represent two different worlds – both belong together” (“Today if you will listen to his voice”: Creative Jewish exegesis in Hebrews 3-4,” in B. Uffenhemer & H.G. Reventlow (ed.), *Creative Biblical exegesis: Christian and Jewish hermeneutics through the centuries* (JSOTS 59; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 55-62, on p. 57)

refers four times back to the explicit quotation (repetition) in a ring compositional manner. He picks up the first verse quoted (v. 7) then the last (v. 11), again the last (v. 11) and then again the first (v. 7).⁹¹ The two references from Ps 95(94):11 are presented before and after a reference to Gen 2:2 – which stands in the centre of the ring composition. Structurally it can be illustrated as follows:



The train of thought develops in a circularly fashion rather than in a linear manner.⁹² Just before the passage from Ps 95(94):7-11 is quoted, he referred in Heb 3:6 to the fact that they are holding on to “the courage and the hope.” Then follows the introductory formula introducing the reason why they hold on to this courage and hope, beginning with “therefore.” Immediately following his quotation, the author uses $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (imperative) as an attention marker for his readers, who are addressed again as $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\iota$ (vocative). He now picks up on a number of points in the quotation as key aspects that he wants to draw their attention to. He does this by switching between the contexts of the current readers (*this* generation) and that of the Exodus generation (*that* generation) to which the quotation actually referred.⁹³ He sides himself now and then with his current readers, talking about “we” (1st pers. pl.), whilst at other times he addresses them as “you” (2nd pers. pl.). These current readers are then reminded that they should be cautious not to commit the same acts of unfaithfulness and disobedience as “they” (3rd pers. pl.), i.e. their ancestors, did.⁹⁴

The exposition of the Psalm, which is marked by an inclusion, develops thus in three segments (Heb 3:12-19; 4:1-5; 4:6-11) each of which, in turn, has an inclusion and quotes a part of the Psalm.⁹⁵ Within this scheme, the middle segment would then actually contain both the quotations from v. 11 of Ps 95(94) with the quotation from Gen 2:2 embedded between

⁹⁰ P. Enns, “Interpretation,” 352.

⁹¹ Cf. also G. Schunack: “Das Schwergewicht in der Auslegung des Psalm-Textes liegt auf der Anfangs- und der Schlussaussage” (*Hebräerbrief*, 47).

⁹² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 124.

⁹³ D. Flusser reckons that “in the whole of the epistle (sic!) to the Hebrews there is no contrast between Israel and Christianity, but an essential gradation” (“Creative Jewish exegesis,” 60).

⁹⁴ M. Karrer aptly summarises the structural flow by saying that the author “verschmilzt...seinen rhetorischen Duktus (den Weg vom Imperativ [3,8,12] über rhetorische Fragen [3,16-18] zur Selbstaufforderung [4,1,11]) und jüdische Schriftdarlegung” (*Hebräer I*, 206).

⁹⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 114.

them. The first segment (Heb 3:12-19) deals with the quotation in the light of Num 14, concentrating attention on the past historical situation with a predominant note of warning.⁹⁶ The second and third segments (Heb 4:1-11) relate the quotation to Gen 2:2, concentrating attention to the application of Scripture to the readers' situation with a predominant note of promise.⁹⁷ By using this second passage, he follows the rabbinic method of a *gezerah shawah* argument.⁹⁸

1.3.2 Application to the current readers (Heb 3:12-15): “we” or “you”

The commentary presented by the author of Hebrews is a well-planned and well-thought through exposition.⁹⁹ The first part of the commentary makes it clear that here are two distinct generations: “we” and “they.” The author starts with his current readers and picks up on three key terms at the beginning of the quotation: καρδία, σήμερον and μὴ σκληρυνθῆ.

- He appeals to his readers to take heed of their attitude, so that none of them should have “a sinful, unbelieving heart (καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας) that turns away from the living God” (3:12). The references in the quotation “not to harden their hearts” (μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, 3:8) and that “their hearts are always going astray” (ἀεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ, 3:10) would still have echoed in their minds. The command to reprove one another, probably stems from Lev 19:17.¹⁰⁰
- The urgency of their commitment and perseverance is pointed out by linking back to the σήμερον – the word with which he started his quotation. They should “encourage each other daily as long as it is called ‘today’ (σήμερον)” (Heb 3:13) – a similar idea that resurfaces again in Heb 10:24.
- The reason why (*ἴνα*) they should encourage each other is that sin’s deceitfulness would not harden them (μὴ σκληρυνθῆ, Heb 3:13) – which is the warning at the beginning of the quotation: μὴ σκληρύνητε (Heb 3:8).

⁹⁶ H. Löhr labels 3:12-14 “Mahnung” (‘Heute, wenn ihr seine Stimme hört...’: Zur Kunst der Schriftanwendung im Hebräerbrief und in 1 Kor 10, 226-248, in M. Hengel & H. Löhr (ed.), *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum* (WUNT 74; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), 229.

⁹⁷ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 237.

⁹⁸ Cf. D. Flusser: “This is the way of creative Jewish exegesis and it fits also the method and the spirit of rabbinic Judaism” (“Creative Jewish exegesis,” 59).

⁹⁹ It cannot be agreed with S. Kistemaker that “(h)e begins with a few sweeping statements in which he reveals the heart of the matter” (*Psalm Citations*, 111).

¹⁰⁰ D. Flusser, “Creative Jewish exegesis,” 56. The motif of reproving each other is to be found in Ben Sira 19:13-17. Josephus too, mentions that the Essenes “are obliged ‘to be forever lovers of truth and to reprove and expose liars’” (*Bell. 2.141*). Cf. CD 7:2-3; 9:2-8; 1QS 5:25–6:1.

- Yet again, he refers now back to the opening part of the quotation (Heb 3:7b-8a) and does so by means of explicitly quoting it again with its own introductory formula. This would be the third time that the readers would hear the same words: firstly in the initial quotation itself, then in the exposition, now in re-quoting it again (Heb 3:15).

1.3.3 Explanation of the original context (Heb 3:16-18): “they”

Moving back to the original context to which the quoted passage refers, the author of Hebrews approaches his text by posing a number of questions (five in total)¹⁰¹ to it. He does this in three sets of questions and answers – of which the first two sets of answers are also presented in question form by means of rhetorical questions. Each of the three sets focuses on the identity of the original group. Each set starts with an interrogative: τίνες (“who,” 3:16); τίσιν (“with whom,” 3:17); τίσιν (“to whom,” 3:18).¹⁰² Each of the three sets then picks up again some key phrases from the original quotation that were not yet commented upon in the previous part: ἀκούσητε ... ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ; τεσεράκοντα ἔτη ... προσώχθισα and ὥμοσα ... εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου. The author reminds his readers about the unfaithfulness of the people of God during the time of their Exodus from Egypt.

- Who was the group that rejected the rest? The *subject* that rejected this rest is identified: πάντες οἱ ἐξελθόντες ἐξ Αἴγυπτου (v. 16); τοῖς ἀμαρτήσασιν (v. 17). The original Exodus generation was intended for God’s rest. But because of their disobedience to God and to Moses, they did not succeed in achieving this rest. Now, through the call of Christ, a new generation is called to this rest.¹⁰³ The quotation referred to the Exodus generation who was called to “hear” (ἀκούσητε, Heb 3:7) but they were “in rebellion” (ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ, 3:8). The author of Hebrews asks now (3:16): “Who were they who heard (ἀκούσαντες) and rebelled (παρεπίκραναν)?” The answer is given by means of a rhetorical question, starting with ἀλλ’ οὐ: “Were they not all those Moses led out of Egypt?”
- The quotation referred (Heb 3:10) to the forty years that the Exodus generation spent in the desert (τεσεράκοντα ἔτη) and that God was angry (προσώχθισα) with them. It was

¹⁰¹ H.W. Attridge points to a very similar feature in Philo’s expositions (*Hebrews*, 120).

¹⁰² Cf. also Heb 3:12 (τινι ὑμῶν); 3:13 (τις ἐξ ὑμῶν); 4:1 (τις ἐξ ὑμῶν); 4:6 (τινάς). S. Kistemaker points to the importance of this: “Because the word τίνες specifies in this lesson from church history those that provoked, sinned, died, and did not enter into the promised rest, the interrogative pronoun is of great importance in this pericope” (*Psalm Citations*, 109).

¹⁰³ Cf. G. Reim: “Der Kyrios Jesus ist der große Hirte für diese Schafe (13,20)” (*Hebräerbrief zum Johannesevangelium*, 93).

pointed out above that a shift in emphasis took place from the forty years being a period of testing for the Exodus generation in the desert, to being a present period of God's wrath. Now, in his second set of questions and answers, the author of Hebrews poses his third question: "With whom was he angry (προσώχθισεν) for forty years (τεσσεράκοντα ἔτη)??" He answers again by means of a rhetorical question, starting with οὐχί (3:17): "Was it not with all those who sinned, whose bodies fell in the desert?"

- The quotation referred to the fact that God took an oath (ὥμοσα)¹⁰⁴ that they shall never enter his rest (εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου, Heb 3:11). In his third set, the author of Hebrews asked the next question (3:18): "And to whom did God swear (ὥμοσεν) that they would never enter his rest (μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθαι εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ) if not to those who disobeyed?" The use of εἰ and εἰσελεύσονται in the flow of the argument, also need to be noted here: εἰ εἰσελεύσονται (3:11);¹⁰⁵ μὴ εἰσελεύσονται ... εἰ μὴ τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν (3:18); εἰ (4:3, 5); οὐκ εἰσῆλθον (4:6). The author responds again, although not this time by means of a rhetorical question, but by means of a concluding statement: "So we see (βλέπομεν – cf. also βλέπετε, 3:12) that they were not able to enter (εἰσελθεῖν), because of their unbelief (ἀπιστίαν)" (3:19).

1.3.4 The motif of "rest": κατάπαυσις and σαββατισμός (Heb 4:1-11)

The author starts this next section with the remark that the promise (ἐπαγγελία)¹⁰⁶ about entering into God's κατάπαυσις¹⁰⁷ still stands (Heb 4:1). He picks this issue up from 3:6 where he stated that they are holding on to the courage and hope. The term, κατάπαυσις, becomes a new *Leithema* that is to be found eleven times exclusively here between 3:11 and 4:11.¹⁰⁸ The oldest witness to this idea might be Joseph and Aseneth (8:9; 15:7; 22:13), which understood the κατάπαυσις as a place in heaven that is prepared for those saved and not as a state of body or mind.¹⁰⁹ The motif of "rest" was especially common in gnostic texts and

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 7:21. See also Acts 2:30.

¹⁰⁵ A strong negation and a Hebraism here and in 4:3, 5 (M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 203).

¹⁰⁶ A specifically Jewish-Christian term (M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 211).

¹⁰⁷ For a comprehensive discussion of this term, see O. Hofius, "Katapausis": *Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief* (WUNT 11; Tübingen: Mohr, 1970); G. Theissen, 124-129; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 126-128.

¹⁰⁸ M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 205.

¹⁰⁹ C. Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth," 213, n. f2. See also D.R. Darnell, "Rebellion, Rest, and the Word of God: An Exegetical Study of Hebrews 3:1–4:13" (Unpublished dissertation; Duke University, 1973).

particularly in an eschatological sense. However, they seem to prefer the term ἀνάπαυσις – similar to Philo.¹¹⁰

The recipients of Hebrews are exhorted to “be careful that none of them (‘you’) be found to have fallen short of it.” The author now places himself alongside his readers when he refers to “we” (4:2, 3) and calling them οἱ πιστεύσαντες (4:3). He continues thus with his comparison of the two groups, “we/you” and “they” (καθάπερ κάκεῖνοι, 4:2). *That* generation’s exposure to the message and their reaction to it is compared with *this* generation): “we also have had the gospel preached to us, just as they did; but the message they heard (ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐκείνους) was of no value to them, because those who heard did not combine it with faith” (μὴ συγκεκερασμένους τῇ πίστει τοῖς ἀκούσασιν, 4:2). There is a connection between ἀκοής and ἀκούσασιν here in 4:2 and ἀκούσητε in the quoted Psalm (Heb 3:7b). God’s promise and the people’s response to it by faith go here hand in hand. The difference with that generation was then that they just heard the message, but did not blend it with faith. They are contrasted with the group to whom the author of Hebrews belongs to: “Now, we who have believed enter that rest” (4:3).¹¹¹ The bridge has been built for a new group who could claim the very same promise. The promise thus remains the same but the previous group did not succeed in entering God’s rest. The current group has access to it because they believe, blending the hearing of the promise with faith. The element of faith becomes thus a prerequisite for entering into the “rest”¹¹² and he contrasts warning and promise with each other.¹¹³

The author now re-quotes part of the initial quotation for a *second* (Heb 4:3) and a *third time* (Heb 4:5). Both these are taken from Ps 95(94):11. Between these two recurrences of Ps 95(94):11 stands the quotation from Gen 2:2. The author uses Scripture here to explain Scripture by means of employing the rabbinical *gezerah shawah* technique.¹¹⁴ It is on the basis of the combined strength of the two Scripture passages (Ps 95[94]:11 and Gen 2:2) that the author draws the conclusion that those who believe shall enter God’s rest.¹¹⁵ The reference

¹¹⁰ R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 75-76, 83. See, for instance, the *Apocryphon of John* that refers to the soul being saved and “taken up into the rest of the aeons” (*Cod II 26*). Cf. M.W. Meyer & J. McC. Robinson (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 113.

¹¹¹ In the words of H.W. Attridge: “...fidelity is stressed as the way to attain the goal of divine ‘rest’” (*Hebrews*, 104).

¹¹² Similarly S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 109.

¹¹³ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 219.

¹¹⁴ So also M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 216; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 128-129; A.T. Lincoln, *Hebrews: A Guide* (London: Continuum Books, 2006), 71; H. Weiss, “*Sabbatismos* in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *CBQ* 58/1 (1996) 674-689, on p. 681; C. Koester, *Hebrews*, 278.

¹¹⁵ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 110. Kistemaker states that Hebrews employs the word “rest” *sensu plenioire* by combining the two passages (on p. 113).

to Gen 2:2 is dealt with again later in Heb 4:9. It is at this point, at the core of his ring compositional argument, in quoting Gen 2:2, where the transition from κατάπαυσιν as the Promised Land (location, i.e. spatial) of *that* generation, to κατάπαυσιν as a Sabbatical period (state or condition, i.e. temporal) for *this* generation, takes place.¹¹⁶ By using Gen 2:2 the author reinterprets his key term κατάπαυσις in Ps 95(94) in terms of the Sabbath¹¹⁷ – which is now different from the Promised Land of the Exodus as a *place* and from the *place* in heaven as described in Joseph and Aseneth. Acknowledging some kind of a threefold rest, one could actually connect God's creation rest (a condition) with the quotation from Gen 2:2, Israel's Canaan rest (a place) with the quotation of Ps 95(94):11 just prior to Gen 2:2, and the true rest of God's people (a condition) with the second quotation from Ps 95(94):11.¹¹⁸

The motif of rest is firmly rooted in the importance of the Sabbath as such and substantiated on the basis of God who rested on the seventh day after he created everything.¹¹⁹ This same motivation – that God rested on the seventh day – is to be found in the quotation from Gen 2:2,¹²⁰ presented by the author as the centre of his commentary on Ps 95(94):7-11. One could say that the Sabbath becomes the symbol of eschatological salvation.¹²¹

From the preceding exposition (Heb 3:16-18), κατάπαυσις would seem to refer then to the Promised Land¹²² during the times of the Exodus generation, although it might have been used by the worshiper in Ps 95(94) in terms of the temple as the resting place¹²³ (closer to the idea of Joseph and Aseneth?). The author is at least quite aware of the original context of the Promised Land, as his exposition is showing here in Heb 3:16-18. However, as his

¹¹⁶ S. Kistemaker already pointed out that in Heb 4:4 the concept of rest is placed in the realm of spiritual things (*Psalm Citations*, 110). So also H.W. Attridge who states that in the author's suggestion in 4:4-5, "the term 'rest' has a different sense from that accorded in the psalm, where it refers primarily to the resting place of Canaan" (*Hebrews*, 116). Similarly P. Enns: "By citing Gen. 2.2, our author is arguing that the rest that is the reward to the faithful new exodus community is to be understood not as physical land, but as an eschatological rest; specifically the rest God has enjoyed since the completion of his creative work" ("Interpretation," 359).

¹¹⁷ "Die Ruhe, die Gott den Vätern ihrer Anmaßung wegen versagte, ist deshalb weit mehr als die Ruhe eines verheißenen irdischen Landes um den irdischen Ruheort Gottes (den Tempel in Jerusalem)" (M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 216).

¹¹⁸ S. Kistemaker identified a "threefold rest" of which Ps 95 speaks: "God's rest after creation, Israel's rest in Canaan, and the true rest for the people of God" (*Psalm Citations*, 132).

¹¹⁹ H.W. Attridge reminds about the fact that "in some apocalyptic texts, and particularly in Philo, it is ultimately the primordial sabbath of God's own rest that is in view" (*Hebrews*, 129).

¹²⁰ Cf. G.J. Steyn, "A Note on the *Vorlage* of the Citation from Gen 2,2 in Heb 4,4," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 84 (2002) 43-50. O. Bauernfeind, too, highlights the role of Gen 2:2 in this regard, saying "As the promise of Scripture undoubtedly points beyond the servant Moses to fulfilment by the Son (3:1-6), so the rest mentioned on the very first page (Gn. 2:2) points beyond Joshua (4:8) and David (4:7) to the last things" (s.v. "κατάπαυσις," in G. Kittel (ed.), *TDNT*, Vol. III (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 628).

¹²¹ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 129.

¹²² M. Karrer writes: "Er 'geht ein' in die 'Ruhe' wie ein gelobtes Land" (*Hebräer I*, 205).

¹²³ Cf. G. Braulik, "Gottes Ruhe," 43. Also M. Karrer: "Sie werden anders als die jetzigen Beter des Psalms nicht zu seiner Ruhestätte, dem Tempel kommen" (*Hebräer I*, 210).

exposition develops, the term is being reinterpreted in terms of a Sabbatical period¹²⁴ that does not need to be detached necessarily from a temple context. The noun κατάπαυσις is used in the LXX for the Promised Land (Deut 12:9), when the Ark of the Covenant came to rest (Num 10:35, 6; 1 Chr 6:31; 2 Chr 6:41), for the Sabbath (Exod 34:21; 35:2) or for the Jubilee (Lev 25:28).

An interesting passage that also refers to κατάπαυσις, is 3 Kgdms 8:56:¹²⁵ εὐλογητὸς κύριος σήμερον, ὃς ἔδωκεν κατάπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ Ισραὴλ κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐλάλησεν. Both the motifs of “rest” and of “today” are combined here with “his people Israel” (cf. Heb 4:9: τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ) and with his promise. It is clear that God’s people already received the κατάπαυσις in 3 Kgdms.¹²⁶ So why would the author of Hebrews state that they have not received it? In Heb 4:8 the author refers to the fact that “if Joshua (Ἰησοῦς) had given them rest, God would not have spoken later about another day” (ἄλλης ... ἡμέρας, 4:8). Is he now referring to another κατάπαυσις – perhaps rather a Sabbatical period – than the land itself? Does he imply then that this other “Joshua” (Jesus) would be able to lead them to this “rest” (a Sabbath period)?

Several solutions to this issue were offered by scholars. *Attridge* finds the “key to understanding how it is that the promise remains open to see that God’s promised ‘rest’ is not the earthly land of Canaan but a heavenly reality, which God entered upon the completion of creation (vss 3b-5),” “...and it remains open for those who currently hear the psalm to join in the festive sabbath rest that God enjoys (vss 9-10).”¹²⁷ Slightly different is the theory of *Käsemann*¹²⁸ who wanted to emphasise a “wandering motif”¹²⁹ of God’s people (“das wandernde Gottesvolk”) from the earthly world to the heavenly as the underlying motif of Hebrews. He based his argument on Heb 3:7 – 4:13, as well as on Heb 10:19ff., and understands the “rest” as the “Gott verheißenen himmlische Heimat.” “Das Gottesvolk verlasse die irdische Welt und wandere der himmlischen Heimat zu.”¹³⁰ *Gäbel* quite rightly

¹²⁴ “Die Verheißung ist...verblieben. Sie bestimmt für das Volk Gottes die Ruhe des siebten Schöpfungstages, die Sabbatruhe und Sabbatfeier Gottes” (M. Karrer, *Hebräer I*, 218).

¹²⁵ An “association of the temple with the divinely provided κατάπαυσις” is probably to be found here in 3 Kgdms 8:54-56 (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 126).

¹²⁶ See also Jos 1:13, 15; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1.

¹²⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 123.

¹²⁸ E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk. Eine Untersuchung zum Hebräerbrief* (FRLANT 55; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 5.

¹²⁹ P. Enns holds a similar view: “In the same way that the original exodus community, which rebelled at Meribah and Massah, was a community wandering through the wilderness, so too is the church a community of wilderness wanderers living between Egypt and Canaan with the ever present possibility of rebellion” (“Interpretation,” 352).

¹³⁰ The position of Käsemann as summarised by G. Gäbel, *Die Kulttheologie des Hebräerbriefes* (WUNT II 212; Tübingen: Mohr, 2006), 427.

pointed out that there is no reference to a “*wandering* people of God” in Hebrews, but rather to an “*addressed* people.”¹³¹ It is the faithful listening to the divine speech that becomes the prerequisite for the entry into the heavenly “rest” at the end of time.¹³² It is therefore, in this sense, a “gegenwärtige Teilnahme am himmlischen Kult.” He makes it clear that one ought to distinguish here between the following: “Eines ist die Rede von dem von Gott angeredeten Israel der Wüstenzeit, ein anderes die Rede vom himmlischen Vaterland, ein anderes das gegenwärtige Hinzutreten-Sein der Adressaten zum himmlischen Kult.”¹³³ The suggestion of *Hofius* about entry into the eschatological temple (i.e. that God’s κατάπαυσις is identical with the heavenly sanctuary) would perhaps make sense within the broader context and theology of Hebrews – a viewpoint similar to that of *Gäbel*: “Eintritt in die κατάπαυσις (4,1.11) bzw. in das himmlische Allerheiligste in der Folge des Eintretens Christi (6,19f).” Do we have here a connection between the rich cultic imagery of the temple, sacrifices and the high priest that will still be discussed later in Hebrews, on the one hand, and the author’s understanding of a Sabbath period with its liturgical setting, on the other hand? It was stated in Heb 2:17 that Jesus became “a merciful and faithful high priest in service to God” and that he makes atonement for the sins of the people. The Sabbath was a time of festive praise and celebration, and not a time of quiet and inactivity in the Jewish tradition. The link with praise and thanksgiving to God during an eschatological Sabbath rest (condition) in a heavenly sanctuary (place) seems thus to be a logical one.¹³⁴

There are indeed some indicators that confirm this change from κατάπαυσις as the Promised Land (location) to a Sabbath period (state or condition): (a) the application of Gen 2:2 which clearly refers to the Sabbath *day* (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ) in Heb 4:4; (b) it is clear that this rest is a “rest from work” (τῶν ἔργων) in 4:3, 4; (c) God’s setting of a “certain *day*” (τινὰ ... ἡμέραν) in 4:7; (d) the reference to “another *day*” (ἄλλης ... ἡμέρας) in 4:8 and then (e) the sudden use of σαββατισμός in 4:9. The occurrence of this word here in Heb 4:9 is the oldest evidence of the noun, although it would occur several times in later early Christian writings, independently from Hebrews.¹³⁵ The word σαββατισμός should not be

¹³¹ “...es müsste nach Maßgabe der Einleitung dieses Abschnitts (Hebr 3,7-11) mit dem Zitat aus Ψ 94(Ps 95),7 nicht vom ‘wandernde[n]’, sondern vom *angeredeten* Gottesvolk gesprochen werden” (G. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 427).

¹³² G. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 427.

¹³³ G. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 428.

¹³⁴ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 131.

¹³⁵ Cf. Justin *Dial.* 23:3; Origen *Orat.* 27:16; Epiphanius *Haer.* xxx.2.2; lxvi.85.9; *Acts Pet. Paul* 1; *Apostolic Constitutions* ii.36.2; pseudo-Macarius (Symeon) *Homily* 12.2.4. The only non-Christian occurrence is in Plutarch (ca. 46 – 120 C.E.) *Superst.* 3 (*Moralia* 166a) Cf. O. Hofius, s.v. σαββατισμός, in H. Balz & G. Schneider (ed.), *EDNT*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 219.

seen to be identical in meaning or being interchangeable with κατάπαυσις (cf. Heb 3:11, 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 10f.), but rather designates what God's people should expect when they enter God's κατάπαυσις (compare Heb 4:9 with 4:6a). The author thus understands σαββατισμός probably as an “eternal Sabbath celebration of salvation, i.e. the perfected community’s worship before God’s throne.”¹³⁶ The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices (4QShirShab), or Angelic Liturgy, that was found amongst the DSS and with a fragment at Masada, comes here to mind, where the worshiping community would proceed in a liturgical procession, reaching a point in their liturgy where they believed themselves to be worshiping with the angels in heaven before God’s throne (cf. Heb 12:22ff.).

When looking at Heb 3:7 – 4:11 and the prominence of the motif of “rest” or “resting place” (τὴν κατάπαυσιν, Heb 3:18; σαββατισμός, Heb 4:8), one becomes aware of the possibility that the author and his readers might have been converts from a group that held the Sabbath in high regard. The two keywords used by the author of Hebrews within this motif of rest are σήμερον and κατάπαυσιν. It is thus noteworthy that the author’s delimitation of the quoted section, i.e. the beginning and end of the section that he quotes, is probably chosen on the basis of the fact that it starts with σήμερον (Ps 95[94]:7) and ends with κατάπαυσιν (Ps 95[94]:11). Both these terms are also playing a prominent role in Deuteronomy. For σήμερον compare, for instance, Deut 11:2, 8; 29:9, 14 and for κατάπαυσιν compare Deut 12:8-9. It is clear that one cannot argue in favour of the author’s reliance on Deuteronomy here for these motifs in the light of his use and application of Ps (95)94. What is clear, however, is that Deuteronomy equates the promise to “rest” with the “inheritance of the promised land.”¹³⁷

There are many indicators pointing to Egypt (Alexandria?) as possible context for the author of Hebrews and/or, less likely, the group to whom he writes. The good Greek, the overlap between the readings of the Torah quotations in Philo, close connections with the Alexandrian textual traditions and the use of the LXX are but some of the clues that might support this theory – although they are not exclusive to Alexandria only. But if it is assumed then, as a working hypothesis, that this group is situated in Egypt, and if they are identified with converts to Christianity from a group *similar* to the Therapeutae¹³⁸ about whom Philo

¹³⁶ O. Hofius, “σαββατισμός,” 219. H.W. Attridge refers to the term as “sabbath observance” (*Hebrews*, 130).

¹³⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 115. See also the recent study of D.M. Allen, *Deuteronomy and Exhortation in Hebrews* (WUNT 238; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008).

¹³⁸ It is interesting that Moses is called a θεράπων in Heb 3:5 – a *hapax legomenon* in the NT from the allusion to Num 12:7.

wrote in his *De Vita Contemplativa*,¹³⁹ and that they are sharing a similar theology to that of the Qumran community (as Philo's Therapeuta did also), then certainly they are not sharing in the "rest" of the Promised Land. That land is far away and they are still in Egypt, descendants of the Diaspora. The Sabbath and the sabbatical periods, though, were central to their theology. Please note, however, that it is not the intention here to imply or suggest that Hebrews' audience has any connections with these groups. The theological similarities should merely be noted.

1.3.5 The importance of "today" (*σήμερον*)

Another keyword in the author's argument is the word "today" (*σήμερον*). Already at the beginning of his book (Heb 1:5) the author quoted Ps 2:7 where the word occurs. It was applied there in terms of God who instituted Jesus as his Son. The author starts his quotation now here with the same word in Heb 3:7b and picks it up again in 3:13 and 3:15 when he comments on the quotation, and in 4:7 when he re-quotes a fourth time from Ps 95(94). His discussion on this Psalm also finds its conclusion with the focus on this word and an appeal to his readers to grasp "today" as "it still remains that some will enter that rest" (4:6). The eschatological tone that was set in Heb 1:2 continues here and resurfaces again later when the author begins in 8:8 the longest quotation, taken from Jer 31(38), with the words that "the time is coming." By using and applying Ps 95(94), Moses and the people of God (*that generation*) are compared with the new dispensation in Christ (*this generation*), who share in the promise of God's rest – today.

So *when* should this rest be pursued? The *time* that the promise is due for the new group is identified as "today" – *σήμερον*. There is a sense of urgency in "the present time" – a phrase used in Heb 9:9. A definite appeal is made to his readers at this point – something that was already touched upon in 4:1b. Some scholars suggested that the author of Hebrews probably counted forty years after the death of Jesus, as a similar period that Israel was journeying through the desert, which brings the author to the urgency of this second opportunity – "today." A forty-year typology certainly existed in the DSS (CD 20:15; 4QpPs 37:1, 6). However, others quite rightly pointed out that there is no evidence that the author of Hebrews "attaches any typological significance to the figure of forty years as indicative of the

¹³⁹ Quite interestingly, R.T. Beckwith independently came to the same conclusion as the author of this investigation. See R.T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian. Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 44.

period between Christ's exaltation and parousia.”¹⁴⁰ Nonetheless, there is an eschatological aspect¹⁴¹ in this “today” – both according to Hebrews and to the later rabbinic sources. The famous legend¹⁴² regarding Rabbi Joshua ben Levi is referred to in this regard. When he asked the messiah when he would come, the messiah replied “today.” He did not come that day and the prophet Elijah explained to the rabbi that it means in the mouth of the messiah “today – if you listen to his voice” (Ps 95:7). The idea is connected with the day of the Sabbath by Rabbi Levi, quoting Exod 16:25 and Isa 30:15 in connection with it. This illustrates then, that the concept of “today” became connected with repentance and with the Sabbath¹⁴³ – although this later evidence is not an adequate basis for an existing connection during Hebrews' time.

1.4 Conclusion

Ps 95(94) probably had liturgical connections in early Judaism and early Christianity – perhaps via the Jewish festival traditions. It is thus interesting that there are no explicit quotations from Ps 95(94) in our existing corpus of early Jewish and Christian literature. Allusions and motifs (such as “rest” and “testing”) might, however, be present in the pre-Hebrews traditions.

The text critical investigation made it clear that the text of Hebrews is closer to that of the LXX – with one exception, that of ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ as in PBod XXIV – which reads the same as in Hebrews, versus the ἐδοκίμασαν of the LXX. The author of Hebrews' reference to David (Heb 4:7), in connection with this Psalm, might also possibly be an indication of his knowledge of the broader context of Ps 95(94) in a Greek form. Hebrews, furthermore, followed a LXX text which has already translated the names Meribah (מִרְבָּה) and Massah (מִסָּה) with παραπικρασμός and πειρασμός. There are indications, nonetheless, that the author made (a) some linguistic adaptations to his *Vorlage* – substituting ειδοσαν with εἴδον, and ειπα with ειπον, which is in line with his preference for Attic forms – and (b) some contextual adaptations with regard to his recipients. Apart from the fact that Ps 95(94) is quoted at length, the author also presents an extensive midrash on it, during which he refers back to the beginning and to the end of the Psalm.

¹⁴⁰ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 115.

¹⁴¹ D. Flusser's point makes sense as the book opens already on an eschatological note in Heb 1:2 (“Creative Jewish exegesis,” 59). See also E. Tönges, “Jesus-Midrash,” 100.

¹⁴² See b. Sanh. 98a.

¹⁴³ D. Flusser, “Creative Jewish exegesis,” 59.

2. Gen 2:2 in Heb 4:4¹⁴⁴

It has recently been proposed that the quotation in Heb 4:4 does not have Gen 2:2 as its origin, but rather Exod 31:17b, and that Exod 31:18 – 32:35 should be taken as the *sidrah* and Jer 31:31-34 as the *haphtaroth* which form the basis and hermeneutical key to Hebrews as a synagogue homily.¹⁴⁵ Scholarship remains sceptical about this hypothesis, though.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the reading of the quotation in Heb 4:4, is closest to the reading of Gen 2:2, although the same tradition and similar wording is also to be found at other places, such as Exod 31:17.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 The background and use of Gen 2 in the early Jewish and Christian traditions

The phrase that is quoted belonged, most certainly, to a long tradition that maintained the importance of the observance of the Jewish Sabbath. Its roots are being traced back to the ending of the creation narrative of Gen 2:1-3,¹⁴⁷ which resembles an almost liturgical character.¹⁴⁸ God's rest in the creation narrative is then being used as substantiation for the observance of the Sabbath in the versions of the Decalogue in Exod 20:9 and Deut 5:13. These, in turn, are then referred to many times during the history of Israel.¹⁴⁹ It is important to remember that the Sabbath observation is only instituted with Moses' receiving of the Decalogue at mount Sinai (see Exod 31:12-18). Gen 2:2 is interestingly, not quoted in Jubilees, although one would expect it, given the nature of the document, its laws and the emphasis on the Sabbath. It is particularly in Jubilees where the Sabbath obtains cosmic and metaphysical meaning, not simply observed on earth by people, but also observed in heaven by God himself with the angels – a heavenly celebration that took place after creation.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ See G.J. Steyn, "Citation from Gen 2,2," 43-50.

¹⁴⁵ So proposed by G. Gelardini who interprets the Sabbath rest as "the covenant sign between God and the sons (and daughters) of Israel." She reckons that Heb 4:4 "quotes the beginning of the *sidrah*, which is not referred to literally, but midrashically" ("Synagogue Homily," 120).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 104-105.

¹⁴⁷ See G.F. Hasel, "The Sabbath in the Pentateuch," in K.A. Strand (ed.), *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (Washington: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1982), 21-43.

¹⁴⁸ See C. Westermann: "Durch die beiden Rahmensätze bekommt das Stück 2,1-3 einen in den Wiederholungen schweren, fast liturgisch klingenden Schlußakkord" (*Genesis 1-11* [BKAT I/1; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983], 232).

¹⁴⁹ Cf., for instance, Exod 31:14; 35:2, 35; 36:1, 4, 7; etc.

¹⁵⁰ S. Kubo, "The Sabbath in the Intertestamental Period," in K.A. Strand, *Sabbath*, 57-69, on p. 59.

Turning to early Christianity, it should be noted that except for the author of Hebrews, no other NT writer ever quoted from Gen 2:2.¹⁵¹ (Other verses from Gen 2, however, were known to other NT writers: Gen 2:7 is quoted by 1 Cor 15:45 and Gen 2:24 by Matt 19:5; Mark 10:7; 1 Cor 6:16 and Eph 5:31). This quotation thus belongs to, what may be called, “*Sondergut-Hebräer*” material – material which only the author of Hebrews used and which he found either directly in Scripture, from common knowledge of a well known oral tradition, such as liturgies, or from another source unknown to us today. It is interesting to note in this regard, that also Philo cited Gen 2:2 twice:

De posteritate Caini 64

καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὥν ἐποίησε.

Legum Allegoriae 1.16

κατέπαυσεν οὐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ων ἐποίησε

Philo has exactly the same reading as that which is quoted by the author of Hebrews¹⁵² – that is with the inclusion of ὁ θεός in his *De posteritate Caini*. There are a few possibilities to explain this identical reading in Philo.

- Firstly, the existence of a common *Vorlage* that read the same (i.e. with the inclusion of ὁ θεός) and which was used by both Philo and Hebrews. If the younger LXX textual witnesses were to be set aside, then there is no textual proof for such an inclusion amongst the LXX witnesses. Looking at the NT witnesses, one is faced with a similar situation. There are no variant readings that might support a possible omission, which means in turn, that none of the copyists or correctors ever changed this reading due to their knowledge of alternative readings in Greek texts at their disposal. One could thus cautiously discard this first possibility regarding a common textual source. The oral tradition, however, should still be taken into account, especially if some scholars are to be considered in pointing to the liturgical use of this passage during the synagogue service at the beginning of the Sabbath on a Friday evening.
- Secondly, a later Christian editor might have changed the reading in Philo to correspond to his knowledge of this quotation in Hebrews. Schröger already expressed caution, warning that the textual agreement is not to be taken seriously, as this work of Philo carries evidence of a later Christian editor.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 36; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 247.

¹⁵² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 130, n. 91; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 279, n. 95.

¹⁵³ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 109, n. 2.

- Thirdly, Hebrews might have been influenced by the reading of the quotation in Philo and probably even could have got it from there. This possibility should not be excluded in light of the fact that the other quotations from Genesis in Hebrews also have close connections with Philo.
- Lastly, the inclusion might have been due to the hand of the author of Hebrews. The fact that the quotation is taken from the last part of Gen 2:2 and that the text begins with the subject ὁ θεός, it would be natural to add the subject when half the passage is cited.¹⁵⁴

Two other possible connections with Philo are to be noted here as well: Firstly, the author's hermeneutical method regarding the *specific interpretation of the seventh day*. The introductory formula points here to the eschatological motif of the seventh day and God's rest. Both Hebrews and Philo interpreted the seventh day eschatologically and viewed the divine Sabbath as beginning from the moment when creation's work came to an end and going on to the present time. Another interpretation that was widespread in the early Church, saw the seventh day of Gen 2:2 as "a type of the seventh age of righteousness which is to follow six ages of sin's domination."¹⁵⁵ This interpretation, however, differs from that viewpoint. Secondly, the author's *exegetical method* shows similarities. The citation fits into the broader context of a *gezerah shawah* argument in Heb 4 – an exegetical method that was not confined to rabbinic exegesis only, but is also to be found in Philo.¹⁵⁶ It is on the combined strength of the two Greek OT quotations (Ps 95[94] and Gen 2) that the author of Hebrews concludes that only those persons who believe will enter God's rest.¹⁵⁷

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Gen 2:2

Only the latter part of this verse is quoted in Hebrews. The LXX reading of the first part, however, agrees with the readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Peshitta – which all read the “sixth” day in this instance¹⁵⁸ – versus the “seventh day” of the MT. Although this

¹⁵⁴ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 37.

¹⁵⁵ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 74. See *Barn.* 15:4, 8 in this regard.

¹⁵⁶ H.W. Attridge refers to Philo's *Her.* 275-283 (*Hebrews*, 129, n. 77).

¹⁵⁷ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 108.

¹⁵⁸ This part is not quoted by Hebrews, but reads: καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἔκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, ἀ ἐποίησεν, following by the part that is quoted in Hebrews: καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἔβδομῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐποίησεν. F.H. Polak cautions that one should not assume on the basis of

issue is not in the focus of this investigation, a few brief remarks might assist with the context. Some possible solutions to the issue have been suggested. Firstly, that the difference could be ascribed to an oversight from the MT. The LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch and Peshitta¹⁵⁹ would then all read the *sixth* day, probably according to the Hebrew Σ, which stands for six, and which is therefore possibly the correct reading. The MT, however, might have mistaken this for the Hebrew י, which stands for *seven*. It can, however, safely be assumed that the MT reading with “seventh” represents the original one.¹⁶⁰ A second proposed solution is that the difference is due to the LXX translators – being probably the result of exegetical activity. The rationale for this change from the “seventh” to the “sixth” day might then have its roots in the statement of Gen 2:1, namely that God completed the creation on the sixth day. The LXX translators simplified the text and clarified the reading of Gen 2:2 in relation to the creation narrative. They contrasted v. 2a (“on the sixth day”) with v. 2b (“but on the seventh day”).¹⁶¹ It might have been difficult for the Greek readers of the LXX to understand how God finished his creation on the seventh day and simultaneously rested on the seventh day.¹⁶² This second proposal of some later exegetical activity – because “seventh” was experienced as anomalous¹⁶³ – seems to be more convincing than the former.

Turning then to the latter part of Gen 2:2 in the reconstructed LXX text of Wevers in the Göttingen series, two variant readings are to be found: (a) the second occurrence of ἐν is omitted by some later manuscripts,¹⁶⁴ but does not carry significant weight, and (b) ὁ θεός is added to κατέπαυσεν by some witnesses.¹⁶⁵

None of these changes are attested by the earlier textual witnesses or by any important witnesses of the LXX. They are all supported by recensions and text groups which were in

this scenario that the *Vorlage* of the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch necessarily descended from one common exemplar, as “both these witnesses may well represent an exegetical tradition that aims to avoid a reference to divine activity on the seventh day” (“Statistics and Textual Filiation: The Case of 4QSam^a/LXX (with a Note on the Text of the Pentateuch),” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester, 1990)* [BLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992] 215-276, on p. 222). E. Tov, too, pointed out that the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX (“possibly independently”) removed a theological problem from the text by recording that God stopped his work on the *sixth* day (E. Tov, “Textual Criticism,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. VI* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 393-412, on p. 409).

¹⁵⁹ J. Cook adds to these also the Genesis Midrash (Bereshith Rabbah) (“Exegesis in the Septuagint,” *JNSL* 30/1 [2004] 1-19, on p. 3).

¹⁶⁰ J. Cook, “Exegesis,” 5.

¹⁶¹ J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 20.

¹⁶² Cf. J. Lust: “The (LXX, GJS) translator moderated this incongruence for his Greek public, stating that the Lord finished his work on the sixth day and rested on the seventh” (*Messianism*, 138).

¹⁶³ Cf. J. Cook, “Exegesis,” 5.

¹⁶⁴ It is omitted by 15' 25-408-646 d 56-129 75 46^{s*} (c pr m) 121 120-122 509 = Ald Sixt Ra: haplogr.

¹⁶⁵ It is added by O⁴²⁶ 16-408*(vid) b d 53-56*-664* s 46^s 120 54 730 Hebr 4₄ Phil II 14.14 DionAl 199 Ach Aeth Lat Amb Ep VII 173 Luc V 51 Noe 42 Aug passim Hi Amos 2 Hil Ps XCI 2 Max Hom 17.

wide circulation and which date very late. The insertion of ὁ θεός by the later manuscripts of the LXX, for instance, could possibly be explained on the basis of pre-knowledge of the Heb 4:4 reading.¹⁶⁶ The omission of ἐν, in turn, might simply be due to haplography,¹⁶⁷ or alternatively, might be due to Jewish exegetical influence as, according to the Hebrew, God worked *and* rested on the seventh day.

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 4:4

In establishing the text of Heb 4:4, it is clear that all the known NT textual witnesses have exactly the same reading. There are no variant readings to be found amongst the witnesses on this quotation within the reading of Heb 4:4.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Gen 2:2 and Heb 4:4

The quotation from Gen 2:2 is usually ascribed to the LXX text of Gen 2:2.¹⁶⁸ However, closer observation leaves us with unanswered questions regarding some prominent differences between that proposed option and the reading of Heb 4:4.¹⁶⁹ The reconstructed readings of Gen 2:2 (LXX) and that of Heb 4:4 look as follows:

Gen 2:2 (LXX)	Heb 4:4
καὶ κατέπαυσεν	καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ,	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ,

The quotation represents a slight modification by the insertion of the subject “God” (ὁ θεός) before ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ (against the LXX). Although the inclusion of ὁ θεός here would fit the style of the writer of the Priestly account in Genesis, text critical evidence to support this is weak.¹⁷⁰ This change might thus be ascribed to the hand of the author when it is kept in mind that the introductory formula to this quotation implied God as the Subject – connected with the verb of saying which introduced the quotation. Related to this is the fact that ὁ θεός is anyway to be found in the immediate preceding (Gen 2:2a) and following (Gen

¹⁶⁶ So also P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 220; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 109.

¹⁶⁷ J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 202; J.W. Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 21.

¹⁶⁸ So, for instance, in the margin of the Greek text of NA27.

¹⁶⁹ Also according to P. Ellingworth, there is no “conclusive evidence that the author of Hebrews followed a LXX textual tradition represented by a particular manuscript (such as A)” (*Hebrews*, 38).

¹⁷⁰ “Dem Stil von P würde das besser entsprechen, und es wäre möglich, daß darin der ursprüngliche Text bewahrt ist. Da aber die Bezeugung schwach ist, wird man bei A bleiben” (C. Westermann, *Genesis I*, 111).

2:3a) contexts of the LXX from which the quotation is taken. Alternatively, the change could be ascribed to the *Vorlage* of the author, for which no evidence exists – except for Philo’s reading that also has this addition. Given the fact that the Genesis-readings in Philo are close to those of Hebrews, and that manuscript evidence later confirmed the inclusion of ἐν – also to be found in both Philo and Hebrews – an inclination towards either a common *Vorlage* which was used by both, or dependence on Philo, does not seem to be out of place here. Although ἐν was treated in the past by scholars as being part of the possible additions or differences between the readings of Gen 2:2 and Heb 4:4,¹⁷¹ the reconstructed LXX text critical edition of the Göttingen Genesis by Wevers ought to be followed here, which includes ἐν as being part of the text. Textual support amongst the LXX witnesses for its exclusion is weak and mainly attested by a number of minuscules. One is thus left with a reading in Heb 4:4 which includes ὁ θεός. This does not correspond fully with the known reconstructed LXX. Fact is then, the quotation from Gen 2:2 as it stands in Heb 4:4, does neither corresponds to the MT, nor completely with the known and reconstructed LXX readings.¹⁷² It does go back, however, to a Greek rather than to a Hebrew text in this case.

2.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

The reading of Heb 4:4 goes back to a Greek text because of two reasons:

- The LXX and MT readings agree almost exactly, except for the plural suffix that is used in the LXX (ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων) for the singular of the MT (תְּכַאֲלֵב).¹⁷³ Heb 4:4 follows the same reading as the LXX here and is thus closer to the LXX than to the MT version.¹⁷⁴
- The quotation from Gen 2:2 in Heb 4:4 forms part of the argumentation regarding Ps 95 (94) that started already in Heb 4:3. References to Gen 2:2 are found again, a bit further on in the argument, in Heb 4:10. No wonder that some textual witnesses¹⁷⁵ included πάντων here to correspond to the actual quotation as found in Heb 4:4. Reading the quotation from Gen 2:2 now within the context of the argumentation regarding Ps 95(94), it is clear that there is a word play on the substantive κατάπαυσις (Ps 95[94]:11) and the

¹⁷¹ So incorrectly, amongst others, F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 109; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 37; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 130 and H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 279, n.95.

¹⁷² So also G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 209.

¹⁷³ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 3; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 109.

¹⁷⁴ So also indicated in the margin of the Greek text of NA27.

¹⁷⁵ Supported by a^c D* E* 1611 2005 sy^{p,h} Cyr^l eth (Cf. A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 264, 285).

verb κατέπαυσεν (Gen 2:2).¹⁷⁶ The latter is used in an intransitive sense (rarely used in classical Greek and in the LXX – Eccl 5:6; 1 Macc 9:73).¹⁷⁷ It can thus safely be said that the argument only works as a strict *gezerah shawah* with a Greek form of Gen 2:2, because of the verbal association with Ps 95(94) – again in its Greek form. The hermeneutical principle of *gezerah shawah*, one of seven rules that were traditionally attributed to Rabbi Hillel, plays a key role in Hebrews' appropriation of the OT.¹⁷⁸ It is based on the principle of verbal analogy between passages where the one serves as an interpretation for the other. The author of Hebrews uses this at numerous places in the development of his discourse – for instance, in the context of this passage. “Rest” is a main topic in Heb 3:7 – 4:11, based on the long quotation from Ps (95)94:7-11. In Heb 4:3-5 one observes then how the principle is applied when the two passages are connected with the following verbal analogies:

- κατάπαυσιν (Ps 95[94]:11; Heb 3:11; 4:3) and κατέπαυσεν (Gen 2:2; Heb 4:4)
- τὰ ἔργα (Ps 95[94]:9; Heb 3:9) and τῶν ἔργων (Gen 2:2; Heb 4:4)
- σήμερον (Ps 95[94]:7; Heb 3:7, 15) and ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (Gen 2:2; Heb 4:4)

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation in Heb 4:4 is introduced within the argument with the phrase εἰρηκεν γὰρ που περὶ τῆς ἔβδομης οὕτως, thus with a verb of *saying*.¹⁷⁹ It is not quite clear who the subject of εἰρηκεν in this clause is: God¹⁸⁰ or Scripture?¹⁸¹ When the previous introductory formula (καθὼς εἰρηκεν, 4:3) is compared, then it probably has God as subject. This assumption is based on the fact that the implied subject of προσώχθισεν in Heb 3:17 (from 3:10) and of ὥμοσεν in Heb 3:18 (from 3:11) is God. Those sentences are still part of the exposition of the long quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3:7-11. Although that quotation was put in the mouth of the Holy Spirit (καθὼς λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, 3:7), the author soon

¹⁷⁶ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 130; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 279. S. Kistemaker is, however, cautious not to see this connection in wordplay as the reason why Hebrews chose this passage from Gen 2,2. “It seems more acceptable that the writer borrowed from an existing ritual in which Ps 95 and Gen 2:2 were used” (*Psalm Citations*, 36).

¹⁷⁷ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 96; P. Walters, *Text of Septuagint*, 320. (The Hebrew נִבְשָׁה of Gen 2,2 was translated with the intransitive active καταπαύειν).

¹⁷⁸ See the study of J. Mahne, “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation in Hebrews 3–4” (Unpublished MTh Thesis; Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2007).

¹⁷⁹ Cf. also 1:13; 4:3; 10:9; 13:5 and Acts 13:34.

¹⁸⁰ So B.M. Metzger, “Formulas,” 301 and S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 37.

¹⁸¹ B.F. Westcott (*Hebrews*, 95) and H-F. Weiss (*Hebräer*, 279) who reckon that Scripture is the subject here.

interpreted the first person speaker in that quotation to be the “living God” ($\theta\epsilon\omega\hat{\nu}\zeta\hat{\omega}\nu\tau\sigma$, 3:12). One can thus cautiously assume, on the basis of the preceding remarks, that the subject of the quotation in Heb 4:3 (a repetition of the last part of the longer version) is still God. The broader context thus points here to God as the Subject.

Moving back to the introductory formula of Heb 4:4, it includes a vague reference to Scripture ($\pi\omega\hat{\nu}$ as also 2:6 – where the subject is a human being). Apart from these two vague references (Heb 2:6 and 4:4), similar indefinite references are not found elsewhere in the NT.¹⁸² But this was a well-known manner in which quotations were introduced in Hellenistic Judaism – particularly represented by Philo.¹⁸³ Also the Mishna made use of this indefinite formula.¹⁸⁴ Instead of translating the particle $\pi\omega\hat{\nu}$ in a local sense with “somewhere,” a better translation would probably be to rather translate it in a general sense with “as we know” or “to quote familiar words”¹⁸⁵ – which gives it a rhetorical function.

2.4 Conclusion

As was the case with Ps 95(94), also Gen 2:1-3 had possible liturgical connections with regard to the Sabbath. The motif itself is present in the Decalogue. Interestingly, Philo’s reading in his *De posteritate Caini* has exactly the same reading as that which is quoted by the author of Hebrews (with the inclusion of $\delta\theta\epsilon\omega\zeta\epsilon\nu$) – against the readings of the MT and the LXX. Furthermore, the fact that almost all the Genesis-readings in Hebrews are virtually identical to those of Philo (which is further confirmed with the latest manuscript evidence that includes $\epsilon\nu$ also in Hebrews), the most viable possibilities seemed to be either a common *Vorlage* that was used by both, or dependence on Philo by Hebrews.

The quotation from Gen 2:2 has been embedded within the midrash on Ps 95(94) and it is clear that there is a word play on the substantive $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Ps 95[94]:11) and the verb $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (Gen 2:2) – which, in turn, confirms that Greek versions were used for these quotations.

¹⁸² Cf. B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 96; B.M. Metzger, “Formulas,” 301.

¹⁸³ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “...eine im hellenistischen Judentum übliche Weise der Einführungen von Schriftzitaten...” (*Hebräer*, 279, n. 95). Cf. also B.F. Westcott (*Hebrews*, 96), and B.M. Metzger (“Formulas,” 301) who refer to Philo’s *Deus* 16.1; *De Profugis* 36.1; *Congr.* 31.1 and Clement of Rome’s *ad Cor.* 1.15; *Epist.* 15.2; 21.2; 26.2; 28.2; 42.5. Also H.W. Attridge refers at the discussion of Heb 2:6 to the following parallels in Philo: *Ebr.* 61 ($\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\gamma\acute{a}\rho\pi\omega\hat{\nu}\tau\iota\varsigma$); *Plant.* 90 ($\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\gamma\acute{a}\rho\pi\omega\hat{\nu}$); *Deus* 74 ($\delta\hat{\nu}\mu\nu\omega\delta\delta\varsigma\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\hat{\nu}$) (*Hebrews*, 70, n. 19).

¹⁸⁴ B.M. Metzger refers to two similar indefinite expressions in the Mishnah (Nazir 9,5: “But was it not once said...?” and Sotah 6,3: “and elsewhere it says...”) (“Formulas,” 301).

¹⁸⁵ So B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 96; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 75, n. 22.

Chapter 8

The Motif of a Royal Priest – like Melchizedek Four key texts: [Ps 2:7 + Ps 110:4] Gen 22:17 [Gen 14:17-20 + Ps 110:4]

Heb 5:5-6

5 οὗτος καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἐαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν·
νίσ μου ει σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε· (Ps 2:7)

6 καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει·

σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, (Ps 110[109]:4)

Heb 6:14

λέγων

εἰ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε (Gen 22:17)

Heb 7:1-2

Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μελχισέδεκ, βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὁ συναντήσας Ἀβραὰμ
ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτόν, ὃ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων
ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ... (Gen 14:17-20)

Heb 7:17

μαρτυρεῖται γὰρ ὅτι

σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ (Ps 110[109]:4)

Heb 7:21

λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν·

ώμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Ps 110[109]:4)

The first part of Hebrews dealt mainly, though not exclusively, with the Son as *King* (Heb 1:1 – 4:13), whilst the second part deals mainly with the Son as *High Priest* (4:14 – 10:18)¹ – a title that was given to him in passing in Heb 2:17. In Heb 4:14 to 7:28 four key passages are encountered that are used in the author's argument about the high priesthood of Christ. If only the quoted passages themselves are isolated and used as point of departure, then these are presented in a ring compositional manner, encircling the promise to Abraham. This is very similar to Heb 3–4 where a quotation of Gen 2:2 was put in the centre of the author's commentary on Ps 95(94). In both the first set of quotations here in Heb 5, as well as in the latter in Heb 7, Ps 110(109):4 plays a key role in the argumentation.² The argument seemed to be composed in the following manner:

¹ The theme of the high priesthood of Christ in Hebrews has been dealt with extensively in secondary literature. Cf. amongst others, D.R. Anderson, *King-Priest*, loc. cit. – although mainly based on the MT. Also J.M. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests. Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (JSNT Supl Ser 49; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1991); E. Lussier, *Christ's Priesthood according to the Hebrews* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1975). See also M. Barker, *The Great High Priest. The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London: T & T Clark, 2003).

² On the “priestly contribution” of Ps 110(109) in Hebrews, see D.R. Anderson, *King-Priest*, 203-275.

- Firstly a combination of quotations from Ps 2:7 (with which Hebrews opened in 1:5) and Ps 110(109):4 is presented in Heb 5:5-6, dealing with the appointment of the Son as High Priest according to the order of *Melchizedek* (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ).³
- Secondly a quotation from Gen 22:17 is given in Heb 6:14, dealing with God's *promise* to Abraham when God swore (οὐ θεός ... ὁμοσεν, Heb 1:13) by himself.
- Thirdly, the priesthood according to *Melchizedek*, its superiority to Abraham and its connections with Christ's appointment are discussed on the basis of a paraphrase from Gen 14:17-20, several references to (e.g. κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, Heb 7:17), and a quotation from Ps 110(109):4 (ὁμοσεν κύριος, Heb 7:21) in Chapter 7.⁴

One might present the format of the passages, as used within the argument of Heb 5–7, structurally as follows:

	Ps 2:7 (νίός μου, Heb 5:5) Ps 110(109):4 (σὺ [εἰ] ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, Heb 5:6) → Gen 22:17 [οὐ θεός ... ὁμοσεν, Heb 6:13-14] Gen 14:17-20 (Μελχισέδεκ, βασιλεὺς ... ἵερος, Heb 7:1-2) Ps 110(109):4 (σὺ ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, Heb 7:17) Ps 110(109):4 (ὁμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ [εἰ] ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Heb 7:21)
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1. The combination: Ps 2:7 + Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5:5-6

1.1 The quotation from Ps 2:7 in Heb 5:5

The author of Hebrews quotes Ps 2:7 here in Heb 5:5 for a second time – this time in order to praise Jesus' role as High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek. It seems like a strange application of Ps 2, as there is no reference to priesthood anywhere in the Psalm.⁵ It is thus important to observe here that the author of Hebrews does not use the Ps 2:7 quotation in a uniform manner, but applies it in different ways.⁶ In Heb 1:5 it is used to illustrate the superiority of the Son to the angels, whereas here in Heb 5:5 it is used to illustrate the glorification of Christ as High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek. As the text of this quotation was already dealt with in the discussion above in Chapter 2 of this study, it will not

³ Cf. also P. Ellingworth: “The purpose of vv. 5f. is to bind together the titles of Son and (high) priest as being equally conferred on Christ by God, as scripture attests” (*Hebrews*, 281).

⁴ For a comprehensive study on the Melchizedek typology in Heb 7, see K. Bensel, “Die Melchisedek-Typologie in Hebräer 7,1-28. Ihre Beziehung zu kontemporären Melchisedek-Traditionen und den Prinzipien jüdischer Schriftexegese” (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Evangelisch Theologischen Bijbelinstituut: Heverlee-Leuven, 2005).

⁵ So also P. Maiberger, “Psalm 2,” 117.

⁶ Cf. W.S. Prinsloo, *Kateder tot Kansel*, 45.

be discussed here again. Two aspects, however, need attention: (a) the combination of this Psalm with that of Ps 110(109):4, and (b) a few remarks with regard to the interpretation of this Psalm here in the context of the Melchizedek typology.

1.1.1 The combination

An interesting link is made in this context with a quotation from Ps 110(109):4.⁷ The link between Ps 110(109) and Ps 2 was probably made on the basis of the 2nd pers. sg. pronoun, “you” ($\sigma\epsilon$ at the end of Ps 2:7 and $\sigma\nu$ at the beginning of Ps 110[109]:4), which identifies Jesus as the true Davidic King-Priest⁸. This relationship between LXX Ps 110(109) and Ps 2 “is of particular interest because it points to the concept of the priestly monarchy with a leader who is both ‘king’ (Ps. 2) and ‘priest’ (Ps. 109).”⁹

Although this would be difficult to prove, it might not be out of place to assume that the author of Hebrews made this particular connection between Ps 2 and Ps 110(109) himself. Two factors might support this assumption. Firstly, the Hebrew word ךְתָּלַע is to be found in both Ps 2:7 and in Ps 110(109):3 – the only places where the word in this particular form and combination (Qal perf. 1st pers. sg. + 2nd pers. sg. suffix) occurs in the MT.¹⁰ The LXX translators, however, did not use the $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\sigma\epsilon$ of Ps 2:7 again in Ps 109:3 (LXX), but rather $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\sigma\alpha$ $\sigma\epsilon$. A possible connection based on the ךְתָּלַע or $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\kappa\alpha$ / $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\eta\sigma\alpha$ in the contexts of Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109):3 might be due to the author’s knowledge of the broader context of Ps 110(109).¹¹ Secondly, the fact that Ps 110(109):4 is only quoted in Hebrews and not in any other NT document, might also confirm that the author made the connection between the two Psalms himself.

1.1.2 The interpretation of Ps 2:7 in the Melchizedek-argument

Scholarship pointed out before that here in Heb 5–7 the author of Hebrews utilises typology to explain the position of Christ as High Priest. This is done by means of a comparison

⁷ According to G.W. Buchanan, the rabbis apparently also listed Ps 2:7-8; Ps 110(109):1 and Dan 7:13-14 together (*Hebrews*, 13). Compare also the links between high priest and allusions to Ps 110(109):1 in Heb 8:1; 10:12; as well as the juxtaposition of high priesthood and sonship in Heb 4:14 and 3:1-6. The likelihood of a link via Ps 110(109) v.1 to that of v.4 of the same Psalm, is very high.

⁸ Cf. H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 17; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 24-25; W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, cxxi.

⁹ A. van der Kooij, “Septuagint of Psalms,” 242.

¹⁰ The Qal form is found at other places, though, such as Gen 21:7, but without the suffix.

¹¹ A. van der Kooij, too, pointed to a relationship between LXX Ps 2:7 and LXX Ps 109, stating that the “choice of verb in LXX Ps. 109.3 may well have been influenced by LXX Ps. 2.7” (“Septuagint of Psalms,” 242).

between the priesthood of Christ and the priesthood of Melchizedek. But why does the author start this discussion again with a quotation from Ps 2:7? The Psalm was used in Heb 1:5 to introduce the recipients of the book to the fact that “the Son” has been appointed by God in his royal and exalted position. His royal, divine status has thus been given by God – which leaves no doubt about its authority. It should be along these lines where the reason for the author of Hebrews’ re-application of this Psalm here in the context of the high priesthood should be looked for. Thus, in the same manner in which God appointed the Son in his royal, exalted and divine position as King, so also has God appointed him in his role and status as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary. This can be seen clearly from the introductory formula: ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἐαυτὸν ἐδόξασεν γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ’ ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν (5:5). The appointment did not take place according to the Aaronic line of inheritance, but similar to that of Melchizedek. In the person of Melchizedek, the author conveniently finds the combination of a King-Priest – particularly based on the etymology¹² of his name – one who is just and who fulfils the ritual requirements for the remission of sins.

1.2 The quotation from Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5:6 (and Heb 7:17, 21)

1.2.1 Tradition historical investigation

The background regarding Ps 110(109) has already been dealt with previously in this study and the reader is referred back to the discussion of Heb 1:13 in Chapter 5. The same applies to the use of Ps 110(109) in early Jewish and early Christian traditions. Suffice it to say here that verse 4 of this Psalm has never been quoted before the time of Hebrews in any of our extant Jewish or early Christian sources. It occurs only in Hebrews.¹³ Apart from the quotation here, which is combined with Ps 2:7, it is also alluded to as part of the author’s exposition on Melchizedek in Heb 7:11 and 7:15, as well as quoted again in Heb 7:17 and 7:21.¹⁴ As this quest for the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews is focused mainly on the source, version and reading used by the author of Hebrews for his quotations, we will concentrate only on the explicit quotations and not on the allusions, echoes or references to Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5–7. The text critical investigation will be conducted regarding this particular verse in its three occurrences (5:6; 7:17, 21) as an explicit quotation *per se*.

¹² A frequent phenomenon in Jewish exegesis (S. Moyise, *OT in the New*, 102).

¹³ G. Schunack is correct, in my opinion, that the author of Hebrews found this quotation by himself by reading simply further than Ps 110(109):1 (*Hebräerbrief*, 70).

¹⁴ Cf. K. Bensel: “Der Hebräerbrief versteht den Psalmvers als einen Gottespruch, der unmittelbar auf Christus bezogen ist...” (*Melchisedek-Typologie*, 261).

1.2.2 Text critical investigation

a. Variant readings of Ps 110(109):4

Regarding the Hebrew witnesses, there are, unfortunately, no textual witnesses found amongst the DSS that preserved the text of Ps 110(109):4. Comparing then only the MT with the reconstructed LXX version of Ps 110(109):4 and with PBod XXIV, the readings are as follows:

Ps 110:4 MT	Ps 109:4 LXX	Ps 109:4 PBod XXIV
נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה וְלֹא יְחִים אֶתְתֵּחַן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דְּבָרָתִי מַלְכִּיאָצָךְ :	ὤμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ εἰ ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ,	ωμοσε <u>καὶ</u> οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται σὺ ει ἵερευς εις τον αιωνα κατα την ταξιν μελχισε]δεκ

The reading of the MT and those of the LXX witnesses are virtually identical.¹⁵ The reconstructed reading of the LXX is close to that of PBod XXIV, except that the latter reads ὥμοσε instead of ὥμοσεν.¹⁶ But three more differences are found amongst the rest of the LXX witnesses. The first is the omission of εἰ between σὺ and ἵερεύς by L' A' – which probably happened due to its exclusion in an alternative textual tradition of some of the NT witnesses. This omission is, however, not well attested and the word should be kept as part of the LXX text. The second difference is the substitution of ἵερεύς by the equivalent of ἀρχιέρευς amongst the Syriac witnesses – probably due to the readings of Heb 5:10, 6:20, etc. The third is the replacement of ἵερεύς by βασιλεύς in the Psalter commentary of Hesychius of Jerusalem, which is the only witness with this reading.

b. Variant readings of Heb 5:6; 7:17 and 7:21

Heb 5:6	Heb 7:17	Heb 7:21
καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει·	μαρτυρεῖται γὰρ ὅτι	ό δὲ μετὰ ὄρκωμοσίας διὰ τοῦ λέγοντος πρὸς αὐτόν·
σὺ ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ	σὺ ἵερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ	ώμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται·

¹⁵ So also G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 961. Contrary to A.F.J. Klijn who sees a difference between the Hebrew “naar de wijze van” and the Greek “naar de orde van” (*Hebreëën*, 70).

¹⁶ Cf. R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 221-222. The same trend was found in the reading of Heb 2:13b as contained in Codex B regarding ἔδωκε(ν). See Chapter 6 of this study.

The main difference in all three versions of this quotation in Hebrews, is the possible inclusion of ει by some witnesses between σύ and ιερεύς, of which P⁴⁶ is the most important – including it as part of the text in all three cases. The second corrector of Codex D also includes it in the latter two instances:

- In Heb 5:6 it is included by P⁴⁶ P 23. 47. 73. 629 pc latt et copt.¹⁷
- In Heb 7:17 it is included by P⁴⁶ D² E² K P 326. 1175. 1881. pm d e f vg sah boh aeth syr.¹⁸
- In Heb 7:21 it is included by P⁴⁶ D² E² K P 326. 1175. 1739. al latt syr sah boh aeth arab.¹⁹

There are good reasons to assume that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews actually had this word included. It is present in most of the important LXX witnesses – including PBod XXIV – and also consistently attested by P⁴⁶, the oldest textual witness of Hebrews.²⁰

c. Comparing the readings between Ps 110(109):4 and Heb 5:6; 7:17 and 7:21

It might be suspected that the inserted ει in the three cases where Ps 110(109):4 is quoted in Hebrews, probably found its way via the immediate preceding quotation of Ps 2:7 in Heb 5:5, which reads σὺ ει ὁ νιός, and that σὺ ει ιερεύς became analogous to it. But this variant, however, rather found its way via the LXX witnesses of which all (with the exception of L' A') included ει in their readings. This was then probably followed by P⁴⁶.

Another difference is the inclusion of the phrase κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ by some manuscripts (x² A D Ψ 1739. 1881. M^{mss} vg^{pt} sy bo^{pt}; Eus) – probably due to its inclusion in the other two cases in Heb 5:6 and 7:14.

1.2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

It is important to note that Ps 110(109):4 has been linked here with two passages: with Ps 2:7 and with Gen 14:17-20. The link with the quotation from Ps 2:7 is particularly established in the introductory formula of Heb 5:5. Firstly, the name “Christ” is used (in Heb 1:5 it was the “Son”) and Ps 2:7 confirms for the author his *appointment* by God in the office as High Priest. Secondly, the term ἀρχιερέα is used and Ps 110(109):4 serves as proof of Christ’s appointment by God as *High Priest* (ιερεύς). The link with the paraphrase from Gen 14:17-

¹⁷ Cf. H.C. Hoskier, *Commentary on P⁴⁶*, 37.

¹⁸ H.C. Hoskier, *Commentary on P⁴⁶*, 41.

¹⁹ H.C. Hoskier, *Commentary on P⁴⁶*, 41.

²⁰ So also M. Karrer: “Der Hebr benützt eine griechische Vorlage, die den hebräischen Nominalzusatz in Ps 110,4b durch Ellipse der Kopula spiegelt. Zahlreiche Handschriften ergänzen das sachlich mitzudenkende *ei*, ‘(du) bist’” (*Hebräer I*, 249-250).

20 is established firstly through the name Melchizedek when Ps 110(109):4 is quoted in Heb 7:17, and secondly through the term ἵερεύς when Ps 110(109):4 is quoted in Heb 7:17 and again in Heb 7:21 – now with the added element of the *duration* of this term of appointment: εἰς τὸν αἰώνα. By applying Ps 110(109):4 at different points in his argument, and by linking it with analogous passages, the author succeeds in providing Scriptural confirmation for the following aspects relating to the status of Christ:

- He was *appointed by God* – not by himself
- He was appointed as *High Priest*
- His *priestly order* resembles that of Melchizedek
- His *term of office* is eternal

No evidence exists about Ps 110(109):4 being quoted in written pre-Hebrews traditions and it can safely be assumed that these hermeneutical connections were made by the author of Hebrews himself. It is most likely that the author discovered this passage due to the important place that Ps 110(109):1 had by this time in the early Christian tradition. The author's use and application of another verse from the same passage certainly points in the direction of him being familiar with the broader context of the Psalm – either through liturgical traditions or through his own study of the Scriptures.

2. The Abrahamic promise: Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14²¹

Hebrews might be called a “book of promises.” At least two important divine promises were already dealt with by the author of Hebrews: (a) that of a royal Davidic messiah, which he addressed in Heb 1–2, and (b) that of God’s rest, which he addressed in Heb 3 – 4 (ἐπαγγελίας, 4:1). Here in Heb 5 – 7 we encounter a third important promise, i.e. that made to Abraham (ἐπαγγειλάμενος, 6:13).²² This term, ἐπαγγελία, is also used again in Heb 8 about the promise of a better covenant (ἐπαγγελίαις, 8:6); Heb 9 about the promise of eternal inheritance (ἐπαγγελίαιν, 9:15); Heb 10 about the promise of the *parousia* (the *terminus technicus* as such is not used by Hebrews) and the righteous living by faith (ἐπαγγελίαιν, 10:36);²³ Heb 11 which lists some examples of those who held on to the promises without seeing their fulfilment (11:9, 13, 17, 33, 39) and the apocalyptic promise of

²¹ See G.J. Steyn, “Torah Quotations common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanos and Justin Martyr: What is the common denominator?” in C. Breytenbach; J.C. Thom & J. Punt (ed.), *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan* (NT.S 124; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 135-151.

²² Cf. also Heb 6:12, 15, 17; 7:6.

²³ Cf. also Heb 10:23 and 11:11 on the integrity of God and his faithfulness regarding his promises.

Heb 12 (ἐπήγγελται, 12:26). The author's opening lines about "God who spoke to the fathers and prophets in the past, but in these last days through the Son" (1:1), as well as all the introductory formulae which utilise a verb of "saying," are all pointing in the direction of God's promises. These promises, connected with the passages that are quoted, could be listed as follows:

	<i>Promise</i>	<i>Passages</i>	<i>Hebrews</i>
1	Royal Davidic messiah	Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 Deut 32/Ode 2:43 + Ps 104(103):4 Ps 45(44):7-8 + Ps 102(101):26-28 Ps 110(109):1 + Ps 8:5-7 Ps 22(21):23 + Isa 8:17, 18	1:1 – 2:18
2	Land / rest	Ps 95:7-11 + Gen 2:2	3:1 – 4:13
3	Abrahamic promise	Ps 2:7 + Ps 110(109):4 Gen 22:17 Gen 14:17-20 + Ps 110(109):4	4:14 – 7:28
4	Covenant renewal / Eternal inheritance	Exod 25:40 + Jer 31(38):31-34 Exod 24:8 + Ps 40(39):7-9	8:1 – 10:18
5	Parousia – righteous shall live	Deut 32:35, 36 + Hab 2:3, 4	10:19-39
6	Examples: Tests unto death	Gen 21:12 + Prov 3:11	11:1 – 12:11
7	Apocalyptic promise	Deut 9:19 + Hag 2:6,21	12:12-29

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Gen 22

The section, from which the quotation in Hebrews is taken, belongs to the second part of Genesis (Gen 12–50), which deals with the history of the patriarchs. The narrative about Abraham (Gen 12:1 – 25:18) forms the opening part of this section. Gen 22:1-19 deals in particular with Abraham's near sacrifice of his son Isaac, the so-called "Aqedah" in Jewish

tradition. It is the only Abraham narrative that consists of a superscript,²⁴ dealing with God's testing of Abraham. The test is given in vv. 1b-2, Abraham then obediently submits himself to the requirements of sacrificing his only son in vv. 3-10, the final part of the test is withdrawn in vv. 11-12a, and he is told that he passed the test in v. 12b.

The promise that God made with Abraham in Gen 12:2-3²⁵ about making him into a great nation, is again repeated and confirmed during this event.²⁶ This part should probably be ascribed as part of the Elohist's account.

2.1.2 The use of Gen 22 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

There is an important hermeneutical difference between the Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions of this passage. The Jewish traditions place the emphasis on the interaction between God, Abraham and Isaac, whilst the Christian traditions emphasised the relation between God and Abraham only.²⁷

The story about Abraham's binding ('āqad) of Isaac to be sacrificed on the instruction of God (Gen 22:9) became known as the *Aqedah* in Jewish exegetical traditions. Abraham's obedience to God's test, his willingness to sacrifice his only son, and particularly Isaac's submission to the will of his father, made the *Aqedah* a popular story in Jewish circles. Different interpretations developed, e.g. Isaac's request that his hands be tied and with holy angels attending (*Pseudo-Jubilees*); or as a young man who throws himself joyfully toward the altar (Josephus); even with an atoning sense during early Judaism (Palestinian Targums).

Some scholars relate this background to Rom 8:32. The author of Hebrews alludes to the *Aqedah*, presenting Abraham as a prototype of faithful endurance (Heb 6:15), who received God's promises, and interpreting the event as if Abraham received his son back from death (Heb 11:17-19).

It is only Heb 6:14 that quotes Gen 22:17 amongst the NT writers and it is referred to again in Heb 11:12. Important is the fact that the previous verse of Gen 22 (v. 16) is alluded to just prior to the explicit quotation. This implies broader contextual knowledge of the passage from which the author of Hebrews quotes here. The Songs of Mary and Zechariah

²⁴ C. Westermann, *Genesis. 2. Teilband. Genesis 12-36* (BKAT I/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 434.

²⁵ See also Gen 13:16; 15:5; 18:18; 17:2, 4-6, 16; 26:24; 28:3, 14; 35:11; 46:3; 48:4; Exod 1:7; 32:13; Deut 1:10; 2 Chr 1:9; Isa 51:2; Rom 4:18; Heb 11:12.

²⁶ H. van Oyen, *Hebreëën*, 96.

²⁷ C. Westermann, *Genesis II*, 433.

also “probably reflect something of the ancient promise given to the patriarch Abraham” (cf. Luke 1:55, 73).²⁸ Gen 22:18, in turn, is quoted in Acts 3:25.²⁹

The passage of Gen 22:16f. is also to be found in Philo, with the same quotation of Gen 22:17 included: η μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου (*Leg.* 3,203),³⁰ as well as in the Pastor of Hermas (V II 2,4ff.). We thus have v. 16 in Philo and Hermas, with an allusion in Heb 6:13; v. 17 in Hebrews and Philo; and v. 18 in Acts. Gen 22:17 was also quoted by Clement of Rome (*1 Clem* 32:2) and by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 120). This represents a well-established Jewish tradition that was utilised by a number of writers during this time.³¹

<i>Gen 22:16</i>	<i>Gen 22:17</i>	<i>Gen 22:18</i>
Philo	Philo	Acts 3:25
Hebrews (allusion)	Hebrews	
	1 Clement	
Hermas	Justin Martyr	

This passage belonged, with that of Gen 21:12, to the Jewish New Year’s festival liturgies, and was also used in the early Christian Easter vigil.³² It was thus well established in the Jewish and early Christian traditions as became clear from the occurrences in Philo, Hermas, Acts, 1 Clement and Justin Martyr.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Gen 22:17

The reconstructed LXX translation agrees with the reading of the MT.³³

<i>Gen 22:17 MT</i>	<i>Gen 22:17 LXX</i>
כִּי־בְּרֹךְ אֶבְרָהָם תְּהִרְכֵּה אֶרְבָּה תְּנַשְּׁאֵל תְּנַשְּׁאֵל	η μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου

²⁸ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

²⁹ Cf. G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 153-158 for a discussion on this quotation.

³⁰ In *Leg.* 3,203 =3,72; 1,127. (Cf. also *Abr* 273; *Somn* 1,12; *Q.G.* 4,180; *Sacr.* 90-93). H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 359.

³¹ Cf. H. Köster, “Die Auslegung der Abraham-Verheißung in Hebr.6,” in R. Rendtorff & K. Koch (ed.), *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen, Festschrift G. v. Rad* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961) 95-109. So also H.-F. Weiss: “...daß er mit solcher Reflexion der Eigenart von Gottes eigenem Schwur zunächst in einer bestimmten jüdischen Überlieferung steht, die ihren wohl deutlichsten Niederschlag – im Grunde ganz analog zu Hebr 6,13-15 – wiederum bei Philon gefunden hat” (*Hebräer*, 359)

³² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

³³ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 128.

Amongst the LXX witnesses themselves, though, there are some variations: (a) η is substituted for εἰ by a number of witnesses.³⁴ This was most probably influenced by the reading of Heb 6:14; (b) πληθυνῶ has been substituted by ποιήσω;³⁵ (c) the old Latin follows the reading εὐλογῶν (omitted by ^{Lat}cod 111 Vulg); (d) the phrase η μὴν εὐλογῶν was omitted by 508; and (e) the personal pronoun σε has been omitted by some later witnesses,³⁶ probably due to influence from the NT reading.

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 6:14

It is clear that there are variant traditions regarding the Hellenistic εἰ μὴν reading of the NT text. It has been substituted with the more classical η μὴν reading³⁷ by a number of later manuscripts.³⁸ A few witnesses read εἰ μή³⁹ and a single majuscule (0278) reads ὄντως δε. The later Hellenistic form with the expression εἰ μὴν is the best attested reading.⁴⁰

The present active participle (εὐλογῶν) together with the future active (εὐλογήσω) represents “a Hebrew infinite absolute construction that has been carried into the Greek because it is used in the Septuagint. In the Hebrew the combination of participle and verb strengthens the concept expressed; in the Greek the participle is redundant.”⁴¹

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Gen 22:17 and Heb 6:14

The reconstructed reading of the quotation in Heb 6:14 NA27/UBS4 differs from both those of the reconstructed LXX editions (Rahlfs, Wevers) and that of the MT. Note the changes in the texts: (a) the Hebrew reading of the MT (־כ) reads η μὴν in the LXX and εἰ μὴν in Heb 6:14; (b) the LXX reads “I will multiply your seed” (πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου)

³⁴ Substituted by A D L M 15*-17-82-135-381'-708* fn 130 318'-392,* 120' 54 55 319*.

³⁵ Substituted by Tht I 196 IV 537; + σε καί (> Aeth^P) 55 Aeth Arab; + te valde Sa.

³⁶ Omitted by Tht I 1712^{te}.

³⁷ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 159; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 178; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 337. Cf. also H.-F. Weiss: “Der Hebr schließt sich mit der Lesart εἰ μὴν (korrekt: εὶ μὴν) an die Lesart des Kodex A von Gen 22,17 an, während die übrigen Textzeugen an dieser Stelle (älteres?) η μὴν lesen” (*Hebräer*, 360, n. 8).

³⁸ Substituted by Ψ 1739. 1881 Η (also K L 6. 81. 1834 sy^h Chr Thdrt – according to A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 266) and b, c, d, e, j, l, m, p, t, v, w, x, Philo, Cyr, Ath, DialTim (according to F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 128).

³⁹ So read by D¹ L^c (*:ἡμῖν!) latt (also C vg – according to B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 159).

⁴⁰ Supported by Ρ⁴⁶ κ A B D^{*} P 33. 104. 326. 2464 pc. So according to NA27. P. Ellingworth omitted A here – probably unintentionally (*Hebrews*, 337).

⁴¹ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 172.

and Heb 6:14 reads only “I will multiply you” (πληθύνων πληθυνώ σε).⁴² His substitution in this last clause of the quoted passage might either be due to the author citing from memory, or “— what seems more in harmony with the literary qualities of the author — may have been brought about by a desire to balance two clauses with identical endings.”⁴³ Attention was already drawn before to the fact that this change in Heb 6:14 creates a promise consisting of two clauses with identical endings (“I will bless you and I will multiply you”), which points either to the author’s stylistic preference for parallelistic lines, or to the remnants of hymnic (liturgical) use.⁴⁴ Fact is that the reading of Hebrews agrees neither with that of the MT nor with that of the LXX.

Gen 22:16-17

¹⁶λέγων Κατ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ὕμοσα, λέγει
κύριος, οὐ εἶνεκεν ἐποίησας τὸ ῥῆμα
τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ νίοῦ σου τοῦ
ἀγαπητοῦ δι’ ἐμέ,¹⁷ η μὴν εὐλογῶν
εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ
σπέρμα σου

Heb 6:13-14

¹³Τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὁ
θεός, ἐπεὶ κατ’ οὐδενὸς ειχεν μείζονος
ὅμοσαι, ὕμοσεν καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ¹⁴λέγων·
ει μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ
πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε.

Nonetheless, the wording of the quotation as it appears in Heb 6:14 agrees still closer with that of the LXX witnesses than with the MT. The translation of the infinite absolutes are left unchanged as participles: εὐλογῶν ... πληθύνων.⁴⁵ When comparing now the readings from Gen 22:17 as found in Philo, Heb 6:14, 1 Clement and Justin, the situation looks as follows:

Philo <i>Leg. 3,203</i> ⁴⁶	Heb 6:14	1 Clem 32:2	Just. <i>Dial. 120</i>
η μὴν	εἰ μὴν		Καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται
εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω	εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε		ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου
σε, καὶ	καὶ		πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς
πληθύνων πληθυνῶ	πληθύνων πληθυνῶ		γῆς τῷ δὲ Ἰακώβ·
τὸσπέρμα σου	σε	Εσται τὸ σπέρμα σου	Καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται
		ώς οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ	ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ
		οὐρανοῦ	φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν
			τῷ σπέρματί σου

⁴² Also observed by B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 159; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 179; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 360; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

⁴³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

⁴⁴ Cf. W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 151: “With this modification the promise of blessing is sharply focused upon Abraham.” So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 128.

⁴⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 179. “This construction in imitation of Hebrew *inf.abs.* with the finite verb is found in the NT only in quotations from the LXX in which it is extremely frequent” (B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 159).

⁴⁶ Cf. also *Abr. 273; Somn. I 12; QG 4,180; Sacr. 90-93* (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 359).

The reading of Hebrews is close, but not identical, to that of Philo – whose reading, in turn, is identical to that of the LXX.

2.2.4 Summarising remarks about the *Vorlage* of the quotation

The text of the quotation from Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14 does not correspond exactly with either the MT or with the reconstructed LXX.⁴⁷

- i. In the introductory formula, the Hebrew קָרְבָּן was translated by κύριος by the LXX translators, but the quotation in Heb 6:14 is introduced with ὁ θεός. Did his LXX *Vorlage* read differently here, or is this change simply due to the hand of the author of Hebrews who changed his text in order to correspond with God being the Subject? The latter seems to be the more acceptable possibility, although the former poses an interesting alternative.
- ii. The קִידּוּשׁ of the MT became η μήν in the LXX and εἰ μήν in Heb 6:14.
- iii. The present active participle (εὐλογῶν) together with the future active (εὐλογήσω) correspond with the LXX reading, which translated the Hebrew infinite absolute construction in this manner.
- iv. The τὸ σπέρμα σου in the last clause of the passage from which he quotes, was substituted by the personal pronoun σέ.⁴⁸

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

Heb 6:13-15 is in fact a closed unit and a commentary on Gen 22:16f.⁴⁹ Gen 22:16 is alluded to in Heb 6:13 after which the explicit quotation from Gen 22:17 follows in Heb 6:14. Alluding thus to the words of the angel to Abraham (λέγων Κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὕμοσα, λέγει κύριος, Gen 22:16), the author of Hebrews introduces in Heb 6:13 the explicit quotation in the next verse with the words: Τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ κατ'

⁴⁷ So also G. Howard, "OT Quotations," 209.

⁴⁸ M. Karrer suspects that the *Vorlage* of the author of Hebrews already read σε (*Hebräer II*, 50).

⁴⁹ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 359.

οὐδενὸς ειχεν μείζονος δόσαι, ὥμοσεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγων. This results again in the introductory formula λέγων,⁵⁰ with a verb of *saying*, as direct speech from God.⁵¹

“In as much as the Greek translators have correctly rendered the Hebrew הִנֵּה by κύριος, the author introduces the quotation with ὁ θεός, thereby indicating that it was God who swore and gave his promise to Abraham.”⁵² After Abraham was willing to sacrifice his son, God promised to him: “By myself have I sworn … that in blessing I will bless you, and in multiplying I will multiply your seed” (Gen 22:16). “The constructions ‘in blessing’ and ‘in multiplying’ are intended as equivalents of the Hebrew absolute infinitive, which intensifies the force of the accompanying finite verb....”⁵³

2.3.2 Some remarks about the interpretation of Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14

A possible *Aqedah* motif is suspected here when Hebrews particularly alludes to it by presenting Abraham as the prototype⁵⁴ of faithful endurance when tested, being willing to sacrifice his only son and trusting God’s promises (Heb 6:13-15; cf. James 2:21-24). Abraham’s obedience led to him receiving his son “back from death” (Heb 11:17-19), which alludes to the death of Christ. The reference to “resurrection” later (11:35) is thought to be an allusion connected to 11:17-19, where Isaac was figuratively “raised.”

Paul never develops the motif, but the reference to God not “sparing” his own Son (Rom 8:32) is a possible allusion to Gen 22:16. So is the connection νίός – ἀγαπητός (son – beloved, Luke 3:22). Its influence on Rev 5:6-9 also received attention. Identified allusions in Heb 2:6, 16 and 1 Pet 1:3-12, 22; 4:13 do not convince. A particular understanding of the atoning death of Jesus against the background of the *Aqedah* in NT times is a highly controversial issue. An atoning interpretation with Isaac as a type of the suffering or the resurrection of Christ only surfaced after 70 C.E. and became prominent in the 2nd cent. C.E.

⁵⁰ H.W. Attridge calls this “customary” and refers to Heb 2:5, 12; 3:7, 15; 4:7; 5:6; 7:21; 8:8 (*Hebrews*, 179). P. Ellingworth considers λέγων, on the one hand, not as an introductory formula – classifying this as an implicit quotation – and on the other hand, does not consider it as part of the quotation (*Hebrews*, 337). Whether λέγων is part of the quotation or of the allusion is irrelevant. The author of Hebrews intentionally included it here at the point where it introduces the direct words of God.

⁵¹ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 359.

⁵² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

⁵³ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 129.

⁵⁴ “Der Hinweis auf die Abrahamsverheißung und den Gottesschwur hat typischen Charakter. Mit anderen Worten, es handelt sich hier um eine *typologische* Schriftauslegung” (F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 128).

3. The combination Gen 14:17-20 + Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 7⁵⁵

What follows in Heb 7 is strictly speaking the author's commentary on Ps 110(109):4 – with the assistance of the only other “Melchizedek passage” in normative Scripture, namely that of Gen 14:17-20.⁵⁶ It is only the author of Hebrews amongst all the NT authors, who refers to Gen 14:17-20.⁵⁷ NT scholarship is unclear about the possible *Vorlage* of these Melchizedek phrases. Scholarship is also unclear whether these phrases from Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-4 should be counted with the list of explicit quotations in Hebrews or not – which is, amongst others, one of the reasons for the differences in the number of identified explicit quotations in Hebrews.⁵⁸ No clear introductory formula is to be found for these cited phrases and on closer observation, it would be difficult to classify it, unqualifiedly, as an explicit citation. It should rather be treated as a kind of “free quotation,”⁵⁹ which “considerably abbreviated” Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-2.⁶⁰ He “...strings together a collection of excerpts taken out of their scriptural order to focus on those elements that serve to characterize Melchizedek and his relationship with Abraham.”⁶¹ There are some, though, who want to see everything else before (Heb 1 – 6) as introductory and leading up to the full import of the discussion of the high priesthood here in Heb 7 – which is the “heart of the doctrinal section” in Hebrews.⁶² Koch’s categorisation is helpful here. It can actually be classified as a *paraphrase* – “die freie Wiedergabe eines fremden Textes” which provides the opportunity to interpret that text within the viewpoint of the author. “Innerhalb einer längeren Paraphrase können wichtig erscheinende Punkte zusätzlich durch einzelne ausdrückliche Zitate hervorgehoben werden.”⁶³ Due to the high concentration of phrases that do agree verbatim with a range of clauses from Gen 14:17-20,

⁵⁵ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Melchizedek-Phrases,” 207-223. For the reception of Gen 14:18-20 and Ps 110(109):4 in Hebrews, see also S. Fuhrmann, *Vergeben und Vergessen. Christologie und Neuer Bund im Hebräerbrief* (WMANT 113; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2007), 42-50.

⁵⁶ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 283. He states further that Gen 14:17-20 “is introduced and explained after the fashion of a rabbinic ‘enriching text’ subordinate to Ps 110:4” (*Hebrews*, 350). An interesting link with the Melchizedek motif is found in 1 Macc 14:41, according to A. van der Kooij (“Septuagint of Psalms,” 229). Both Ps 110(109) and 1 Macc date roughly from the same period, i.e. ca. 100 B.C.

⁵⁷ There might be implied references to Gen 14:18 in Matt 5:7 and Luke 8:28, and to Gen 14:19, 22 in Rev 10:6, according to NA27. The passage is used during the 4th cent. C.E. by Hilarius of Poitiers, *Tractatus mysteriorum 1,1* to serve as an example of typological exegesis (M. Fiedrowicz, *Prinzipien der Schriftauslegung in der Alten Kirche* [Bern: Peter Lang, 1998], 128-129).

⁵⁸ Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 16.

⁵⁹ So H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 188 and F. Schröger: “...in freier Anlehnung an den LXX-Text” (*Verfasser*, 131).

⁶⁰ B.F.C. Atkinson, “The Textual Background of the Use of the Old Testament by the New,” *Journal of the Transvictoria Institute* 79 (1947) 39-69, on p. 43.

⁶¹ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 188. Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser* 133, and H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 374.

⁶² Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 98, 183.

⁶³ D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 15.

we will treat these strings of phrases with their interpretations as a paraphrase. Pointers to the *Vorlage* of this paraphrase will be found in those phrases that are explicitly quoted.

Heb 7 is thus in effect an exposition of Ps 110(109):4.⁶⁴ In summary form the exegesis recorded in this pericope (Heb 7:1-25), may be classified in four divisions which run “somewhat backwards from the normal order of Ps 110:4.”⁶⁵ The author firstly deals with the characteristics of Melchizedek (7:1-3), then his relation to the Levitical priesthood (7:4-10), after which he compares the Levitical priesthood with that of Christ (7:11-25).⁶⁶ Scripture is used here to interpret Jesus. The γάρ in Heb 7:1 has – with 6:20 – a commentary function.⁶⁷ He uses *Stichwörter* from Ps 110 and Gen 14, by means of a *gezerah shawah* argument,⁶⁸ and interprets these on the basis of the midrash-pesher method of interpretation, linking it with the high priesthood of Christ.⁶⁹

The unknown author of Hebrews refers to Melchizedek at a few places. The theme of Melchizedek is introduced in Heb 5:6 when he quotes Ps 110(109):4 – a verse that is quoted only by the author of Hebrews and no other NT author. This quotation is repeated in Heb 7:17. In Heb 5:10 and 6:20 he puts the same quotation in his own words, whereafter he presents more information on “this Melchizedek” in Heb 7:1-4.

Heb 7:1-4 received some attention in the past⁷⁰ but not enough has been done to establish the possible *Vorlage* of the quoted Melchizedek phrases in Heb 7:1-4. The question of the *Vorlage* of these phrases is closely intertwined with the tradition history on Melchizedek. Various speculations were made about this mysterious person through the ages.⁷¹ By comparing the different traditions, one should be able to identify specific elements in each of the Melchizedek traditions. By then comparing these elements with those as listed by the author of Hebrews, one should at least get some idea of the tradition(s) with which the Heb 7 account aligns the closest. This would bring us, hopefully, closer to the possible

⁶⁴ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “Gen 14,17-20 hat in diesem Zusammenhang lediglich eine Nebenfunktion bzw. wird vom Autor der Grundaussage von Ps 110,4 zugeordnet” (*Hebräer*, 374). So M. Karrer: “Er entdeckt in der Schrift (Gen 14,18ff; Ps 110,4) ein Kontrast-Paradigma, Melchisedek (5,6 usw.).” “Gen 14 bricht seiner etymologischen Deutung Melchisedeks auf den ‘König der Gerechtigkeit’ (Melchisedek) und ‘des Friedens’ (‘von Salem’) Bahn (7,2)” (*Jesus Christus im Neuen Testament* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998], 128).

⁶⁵ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 118.

⁶⁶ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 170.

⁶⁷ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 373.

⁶⁸ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 151 and H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 187. See also Heb 4:3-4.

⁶⁹ Cf. G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics*, 51; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 133; G. Delling, *Wort Gottes*, 22; H. Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, 287.

⁷⁰ Apart from the commentaries, cf., for instance, M. de Jonge & A.S. van der Woude, “11QMelchizedek and the New Testament,” *NTS* 12 (1965/66) 301-326; B. Demarest, *A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7,1-10 from the Reformation to the Present* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1976); F.L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: University Press, 1976); and other literature referred to in this study.

⁷¹ See the work of M. Delcor, “Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 2 (1971) 115-135.

Vorlage of the Melchizedek phrases in Heb 7. Once the traditions have been identified, the phrases could be compared with the particular representative documents within that tradition in order to determine whether they match that reading and whether this might fit the potential *Vorlage* that the author used.

3.1 Tradition historical investigation

3.1.1 The background regarding Gen 14:17-20

The account of Melchizedek's blessing (Gen 14:18-20) "was probably an independent tradition inserted into an ancient heroic saga about Abraham."⁷² An interesting thesis in this regard was proposed by Astour who reckoned that Gen 14 was dependent on an old *Vorlage* of the Kedorlaomer texts (Spartoli texts) from the 2nd cent., which represents an older text from the 6th or 7th cent. B.C.E. The writer of Gen 14 belongs then to the deuteronomistic school of the 6th cent. B.C.E.⁷³

3.1.2 The use of Gen 14 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Melchizedek was no unknown motif in the Jewish literature.⁷⁴ The following are some examples of familiarity with this motif:

- *Pseudo-Eupolemus* (before the 1st cent. B.C.E.), in a fragment of a lost Judaeo-Hellenistic work, preserved in Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* 9.17.2-9), referred to Melchizedek as ruler and priest of the city-temple of Argarizin.⁷⁵ The text reads: "Abraham was treated as a guest by the city in the temple Argarizin, which means 'mountain of the Most High'. He received gifts from Melchizedek, its ruler and priest of God" (*Praep. ev.* 9.17.5-6). Hebrews, which corresponds here to Gen 14, has it different when Melchizedek is the one who receives the gifts (a tenth of everything) from Abraham. Doran, however, is of the opinion that these

⁷² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 187. C. Westermann: "Die Mehrzahl sieht V.18-20 als eine nachträgliche Einfügung an." "Die Heldenerzählung bildet dann den Grundstock der Tradition, in sie wurde die Melchisedek-Szene eingefügt" (*Genesis II*, 222). So also J.A. Fitzmyer, *DSS and Christian Origins*, 39. C.A. Briggs & E.G. Briggs even called it a "post-exilic midrash" (*The Book of Psalms* [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976], 374). D.R. Anderson states that this would place the dating of Gen 14:18-20 after Ps 110(109) (*King-Priest*, 57).

⁷³ Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis I*, 221. "Viele nehmen an, daß dem Einschub eine eigene Tradition zugrunde liegt" (on p. 222).

⁷⁴ See also the discussion on the Melchizedek tradition by G. Theissen, *Untersuchungen*, 130-152.

⁷⁵ Cf. R. Doran, "Pseudo-Eupolemus," in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigrapha II*, 873-882; D.S. Russell, *OT Pseudepigrapha*, 39, 69 and 72.

gifts were the food and wine which Melchizedek offered Abraham.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, Hebrews refers to Melchizedek as “king of Salem” and “priest of God the Most High.” The concepts are not much different but the readings are and the other elements listed in Heb 7 are lacking. There is of course the possibility that these might have been in the original document that is lost. However, the overall direction of this fragment is different. It places a high emphasis on Abraham and indicates how he came from Phoenicia and brought astrology to Egypt.

- Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 B.C.E. – 50 C.E.) quotes Gen 14:18 (καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλέα τε τῆς εἰρήνης – Σαλὴμ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται – <καὶ> ιερέα ἐαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ὁ θεός, *Leg. 3,79*)⁷⁷ and Gen 14:20 (αὐτῷ φησίν δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων, *Congr. 99*). Philo’s treatment of the Melchizedek story presents points of comparison such as the etymological sense of his name and title.⁷⁸ But it also presents a number of differences from the account of Hebrews. Whereas Philo interpreted the Melchizedek account in an allegorical manner, the author of Hebrews does so typologically. Philo never quotes Ps 110(109):4 which is the text that the author of Hebrews explains here.⁷⁹ Philo also allegorises the bread and wine (*Leg. 3,82*) – an element in the tradition that the author of Hebrews omits altogether.
- Thirteen fragments were found amongst the DSS – the remains of an eschatological midrash, known as the *Melchizedek document* (11QMELCH/11Q13). There is an interesting parallel regarding the motif of a royal priest to be found in 11QMELCH.⁸⁰ Its central motif, however, “is the expectation of the coming of Melchizedek as the Heavenly Judge in the Last Judgment.”⁸¹ Although Melchizedek and the archangel Michael are never explicitly equated in the Qumran literature, we find Melchizedek pictured here as being identical with the archangel Michael.⁸² He is the deliverer and the chief of the heavenly beings (literally “gods,” *elohim*).⁸³ 11QMELCH pictures Melchizedek as “captain of the host of heaven, suggesting that he is to be numbered among the archangels,” and as a seated judge, like

⁷⁶ R. Doran, “Pseudo-Eupolemus,” 880.

⁷⁷ See also *Leg. 3,25* and *3,80-82*; *Abr 235*.

⁷⁸ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 135; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 375.

⁷⁹ So also R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 121.

⁸⁰ Cf., for instance 11QMELCH: “But, Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God’s judgements [on this day, and they shall be freed from the hands] of Belial and from the hands of all the sp[irits of his lot]” (col ii, 13); and “Your God is [Melchizedek, who will fr]ee [them] from the hand of Belial” (col ii, 24-25).

⁸¹ D. Flusser, “Melchizedek and the Son of Man,” in D. Flusser (ed.), *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988) 186-192, on p. 186. See also p. 187 for a reprint of the text.

⁸² The depicting of Melchizedek in 11QMELCH as an angelic being might hold important clues for understanding what the Son as heavenly being and Melchizedek have in common – such as that both abide forever.

⁸³ G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 82, 184.

Moses, on a throne of glory, “exercising judgment over the destinies of men.”⁸⁴ The same similarity between the roles of Melchizedek and the archangel Michael is also to be found in the *War Scroll* (1QM 9.14–16). García Martínez suspected that Melchizedek might be identified in the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q246) with the “Son of God.” Flusser had a similar suspicion that there could have been a contamination between the two personages – Melchizedek as a mythical figure and as the Son of Man.⁸⁵ Along the same lines Vermes is of the opinion that Melchizedek was probably also to be identified with the “chief of the Sons of Light” in the *Testament of Amram* (4QAmram).⁸⁶ The elements of Melchizedek being ruler of the host of heaven, judge or possibly “chief of the Sons of light” do not fit those in Heb 7:1-4. The closest might be the suspicion that “son of God” in 4Q246 refers to Melchizedek, and that “son of God” is identified to be the “king,” as in Heb 7:1-2. But such an argument would be built on too many presuppositions, on the one hand, and there would be too many remaining elements in Heb 7:1-4 that are not found in the Qumran literature.⁸⁷

- Flavius Josephus, the Palestinian Jew (born 37 C.E.), writes that Abraham was received by Melchizedek, “the king of Salem.” “That name signifies *the righteous king*; and such he was without dispute, insomuch that, on this account, he was made the priest of God: however, they afterward called Salem *Jerusalem*.⁸⁸ The elements of Melchizedek being “the king of Solyma” and “priest of God” certainly correspond with the opening lines of Heb 7:1. Reference to him as “the righteous king” corresponds to Heb 7:2. The rest of the phrases in Heb 7:1-4 cannot be accounted for in Josephus.
- There is another interesting account, particularly regarding Melchizedek’s miraculous birth, in the pseudepigraphical apocalyptic book of 2 En. 71 – 72 (ca. late 1st cent. A.D.).⁸⁹ This is a far-fetched story of a child who is born at age three and fully clothed. Nothing in this regard is found in Heb 7. In fact, the author of Hebrews makes exactly a point that his father and mother and his beginning is unknown (Heb 7:4).
- Also, some of the Targums (e.g. the second-century Aramaic *Targum Neofiti* and *Fragment Targum*) identified Melchizedek with Noah’s son Shem in its translation of Gen 14:18:

⁸⁴ D.S. Russell, *OT Pseudepigraphy*, 43, 2.

⁸⁵ D. Flusser, “Melchizedek,” 191.

⁸⁶ G. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 70.

⁸⁷ P. Ellingworth is sceptical about Qumran influence of a kingly and priestly messiah on Hebrews. He argues that the bitter schism between Jerusalem and Qumran on the priesthood would require the author of Hebrews to address either one party or the other (*Hebrews*, 283).

⁸⁸ Josephus *Ant.* 1.10.2 (Translation from W. Whiston, *The Works of Josephus* [Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, ¹⁵2000], 39). See also Josephus *Ant.* VI.67; *BJ* 6.438.

⁸⁹ Cf. F.I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *OT Pseudepigraphy I*, 91-213; D.S. Russell, *Pseudepigraphy*, 34-35.

“And Melchizedek, the king of Jerusalem – he is Shem, the Great, he was a priest of the Most High; he brought out bread and wine, and stood and served in the High Priesthood before God, the Most High.”⁹⁰ A large number of these elements agree with those found in Heb 7:1-2. However, the fact that he is identified with Shem and the reference to the bread and wine, are absent in Heb 7.

Although it seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews used one of these existing Jewish traditions to be found today in the extra-biblical literature for his *Vorlage* of the Melchizedek phrases in Heb 7:1-4, it does seem likely however, that he used a version of Gen 14 itself. But which version? The MT or LXX?

3.2 Text critical investigation

3.2.1 Readings of Gen 14:18-20

An interesting intertextual reference to Gen 14:18 is found on the *recto* of a DSS fragment that deals with scholia on the Hexateuch. By following the order of the book itself, it refers to a number of passages in Genesis (6:14; 8:22; 10:21; 11:29; 12:17; 14:18; 16:13). The line on Gen 14:18 reads:] ()^{וְהִיא כֹה נָא} (“and he was a priest of God [the Most High...]”)⁹¹ – which is in exact agreement with the reading of the MT.

The LXX represents a reasonably accurate rendering from the Hebrew – as found in the MT, differing only in two places from the MT wording, but without any appreciable effect on the sense of the passage:⁹² (a) אֱחָד שֵׁבֶת becomes μετὰ τὸ ἀναστρέψαι in the LXX (and ὑποστρέφοντι in the NT), and (b) the first occurrence of the proper noun, τὸν Αβραμ, found in the LXX Gen 14:19 is not present in the MT. (Heb 7:1 is thus here closer to the MT with αὐτόν). Given the fact that we only have a series of quoted phrases, it would be difficult to give an opinion on whether the author of Hebrews quoted here from a tradition which is closer to the LXX or to that of the MT. However, if one compares the wording of the phrases at our disposal, they do seem in general to be closer to the LXX⁹³ than to the MT tradition. This is confirmed by the word order and word choices that largely coincide with each other.

⁹⁰ See K. Bensel, *Melchizedek-Typologie*, 201-202.

⁹¹ Cf. N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (TSAJ 51; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 118-119.

⁹² Not only one place as indicated by G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, xxv.

⁹³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 38.

3.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 7:1-4

There are some alternative readings amongst the textual witnesses regarding Heb 7:1-4. None of these are attested in the LXX or MT. Neither are they of any significance for our analysis, but are listed here in order to note later changes to the text.

- The definite article ὁ that goes with the participle, συναντήσας, is substituted for the relative pronoun ὃς.⁹⁴ The latter reading probably originated due to corruption created by the reduplication of the initial *sigma* in συναντήσας.
- The genitive plural παντῶν is substituted for the genitive singular πάντος by Codex B and for πάντος αὐτῷ by P⁴⁶ sy^P.
- The καὶ is omitted by some witnesses,⁹⁵ but inserted by others.⁹⁶
- Minuscules 456⁹⁷ and 460 added the phrase: ὅτε ἐδιώξεν τοῦς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἔξείλατο Λωτ μετὰ πασῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. This expansion “...not only reflects the standard tightening of an allusion or paraphrase towards the formal citation ... but also clearly establishes the superiority of Melchizedek necessary for the interpretation of 7:4.”⁹⁸

3.2.3 A comparison between Gen 14:17-20 and Heb 7:1-4

The author’s exposition in Heb 7 on Melchizedek – which is in fact then an interpretation of Ps 110(109):4 – seems to follow the reading of Gen 14:17-20 when a number of phrases are quoted from that passage. But there are also some striking differences in reading and in interpretation.

There is an interesting manner in which the phrases are quoted. The middle set of phrases (Section B, Gen 14:18) is quoted first, then follows the first set (Section A, Gen 14:17), and then the last set (Section C, Gen 14:19-20). It could be illustrated as follows:

	Gen 14:17-20	Heb 7:1-2
Section B		
Gen 14:18	Μελχισέδεκ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου	1 Μελχισέδεκ, βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ, ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου

⁹⁴ By Ι A B C³ D I K 0278. 33 pc.

⁹⁵ Omitted by †(NA26) P⁴⁶ B D^{*} 6. 1739. 1881 pc r vg^{mss} sy^P co.

⁹⁶ The insertion is attested by Ι A C D² E2 K L P Ψ 0278. 33. 1834 f vg^{ms} lat sy^h arm Chr Thdrt. Cf. NA27; and A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the text,” 266.

⁹⁷ Cf. A.H. Cadwallader who adds minuscule 456 to that of NA27. He lists this expansion under those “induced by perceived need for clarification” (“Correction of the text,” 266, 280).

⁹⁸ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the text,” 280.

<i>Section A</i>	συνάντησιν αὐτῷ	ὅ συναντήσας Ἀβραὰμ
Gen 14:17	ἀναστρέψαι	ὑποστρέφοντι
	ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς	ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς
	τῶν βασιλέων	τῶν βασιλέων
<i>Section C</i>	καὶ ηὐλόγησεν τὸν Αβραμ	καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτόν ⁹⁹
Gen 14:19-20	ἔδωκεν αυτῷ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων.	2 φ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν Αβραάμ, ¹⁰⁰

These phrases belong to a group of quotations in the NT which show a close resemblance to the OT,¹⁰¹ even though the phrases are not quoted verbatim in the same order.

The reading of *Section B* corresponds to the readings of the MT and LXX. It starts in Gen 14:18 with the person, Μελχισέδεκ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ – the latter term which is to be identified with Jerusalem.¹⁰² He skips ἔξηνεγκεν ἄρτους καὶ οινον, ην δέ and carries on with ἵερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου.¹⁰³ The two most important elements for the argument about and interpretation regarding Melchizedek are listed first: he is both *king* and *priest*. This combination of functions is important when linking Melchizedek to Jesus. Kings were known to take on priestly functions as well. The opposite also happened, but was scarce. It was found particularly in the Maccabean period with Jonathan (1 Macc 9:30ff. and 10:20ff.) and with Simon (1 Macc 14:41: ἥγούμενος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα).¹⁰⁴

Then follows *Section A*, taken from Gen 14:17, starting with the participle form ὁ συναντήσας (for εἰς συνάντησιν of the LXX). There is an important difference in interpretation here. The author of Hebrews applies it to *Melchizedek* and not to the *king of Sodom* as in Gen 14:17.¹⁰⁵ (It would seem that both met with Abraham according to the context of Gen 14:17-24). The LXX personal pronoun αὐτῷ is exchanged for the proper noun Αβραάμ and the LXX prepositional phrase μετὰ τὸ ἀναστρέψαι for the participle

⁹⁹ + καὶ Ἀβραὰμ εὐλογηθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ: D* E* 330. 440. 823 d e. “This may have been inserted to clear up any confusion in the text about who gave and who received the blessing. This was a subject of some dispute in Jewish circles, possibly exacerbated by Christian appropriation of Melchizedek” (A.H. Cadwallader, *Correction of the Text*, 266). This addition to the text is not reflected in NA27.

¹⁰⁰ Omits Ἀβραάμ: D E d e (A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the text,” 266). Not listed in NA27.

¹⁰¹ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, xxxii.

¹⁰² Cf. MT Ps 76:3 (LXX Ps 75:3 reads here ἐν εἰρήνῃ); apGen 22.13. (M.J. Paul, “Melchizedek in Hebreeën 7 (1),” in A.G. Knevel, M.J. Paul & P.H.R. van Houwelingen (ed.), *Verkenningen in de Katholieke Brieven en Hebreeën* [Bijbel en Exegese 7; Kampen: Kok, 1993] 181-188; J.W. Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 197).

¹⁰³ The Hebrew phrase “El Elyon” (אֵל עֶלְyon) was rendered τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου by the LXX translators. J.W. Wevers draws attention to the fact that ὑψίστος “was well-known from Classical times, being a common epithet of Zeus, though also said of Osiris” (*Notes on Genesis*, 197).

¹⁰⁴ Traces may also be found in *T. 12Patr.* (cf. *T. Levi* 5.1-7; 8.1-19; 17.1-11; 18.1-14; *T. Jud.* 24.1-6). Apocalyptic expected the renewal of the priesthood and a future priestly monarchy, the overcoming of sin and the opening of Paradise. (O. Michel, s.v. “Μελχισέδεκ,” in G. Kittel (ed.), *TDNT*, Vol. IV, [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964] 568-571, on p. 569).

¹⁰⁵ A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 147.

ὑποστρέφοντι – which also differs with the MT. Then, leaving LXX αὐτόν, continuing with ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς (*hapax legomenon*), leaving LXX τοῦ Χοδολλογομορ καί, and including τῶν βασιλεων.

Section C picks up where *Section A* ended (Gen 14:19). It again changes the finite verb of the LXX (ηὐλόγησεν) for a participle (εὐλογήσας) and does the reverse of *Section A*, by now replacing the LXX proper noun τὸν Αβραμ for the personal pronoun αὐτόν. It jumps over the rest of the passage, replaces αὐτῷ with the relative pronoun ω and ends with καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων. The LXX verb ἔδωκεν is replaced with the phrase ἐμέρισεν Αβραάμ here, but found again later in Heb 7:4.¹⁰⁶

Apart from the fact that the Gen 14 passage is presented as a paraphrase (“free quotation”), we noted in the discussion above some definite changes between Heb 7:1-2 and the LXX as possible *Vorlage*:

- The structure in which the phrases are quoted follows a pattern of B-A-C. Within the free quotation, the phrases are not presented at random or loosely, but the phrases of the different sections still remain together. Did he find Gen 14:18 somewhere (e.g. in Philo?) and then went back to his Genesis text, adding it before (v. 17) and after (v. 19)?
- Συναντήσας is applied to Melchizedek in Hebrews and not to the king of Sodom as in the LXX (and MT).
- The Hebrews passage uses the spelling, 'Αβρααμ, which is the spelling throughout the writings of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers, whereas the LXX passage uses the spelling 'Αβραμ, (correct translation of the Hebrew),¹⁰⁷ which in turn, is not found in the NT and the Apostolic Fathers.¹⁰⁸
- He uses in Heb 7:2 the rendering “*divided*” (ἐμέρισεν), instead of the LXX form “*gave*” (ἔδωκεν). In 7:4, however, he gives the reading that had been expected in 7:2.¹⁰⁹
- The μετὰ τὸ ἀναστρέψαι of the LXX became ὑποστρέφοντι in Heb 7:1.¹¹⁰
- The noun (συνάντησιν) and the LXX verbs (ἀναστρέψαι and ηὐλόγησεν) have all been changed to participle forms (συναντήσας, ὑποστρέφοντι, εὐλογήσας).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Some witnesses interchanged the two words, and read ἔδωκεν Αβραάμ: A D Ψ 69 255 442 462 1245 1611 sy^h (A.H. Cadwallader, *Correction*, 267). Not listed in NA27.

¹⁰⁷ Αβράμ features between Gen 11-17 and Αβραάμ between Gen 17-50. (Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *Concordance I-II* (Supplement), 4.

¹⁰⁸ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 39.

¹⁰⁹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 74.

¹¹⁰ M. Karrer is of the opinion that the LXX *Vorlage* of Hebrews already contained the ὑποστρέψαι reading: “(es) ist in vielen LXX-Handschriften bezeugt und Hapax legomenon des Hebr” (*Hebräer II*, 72).

¹¹¹ So also H.-F. Weiss: “Kennzeichnend ist vor allem, daß die Verba finita der Vorlage von Gen 14 vom Autor in Partizipien (συναντήσας, εὐλογήσας) umgesetzt werden” (*Hebräer*, 374, 380).

3.2.4 Some remarks on the possible *Vorlage* of the Gen 14 paraphrase in Heb 7:1-3

It became clear that the author of Hebrews used some version of Gen 14:17-20 for the opening lines in Heb 7:1-2. After these have been quoted, he selected certain elements in the Melchizedek story and interpreted these elements. Two particular elements are standing out: he is a *righteous* king and a king of *peace*. The interpretation of Melchizedek being a righteous king stems from the etymology of his name. The connection of him being king of peace came from him being king of Salem, where Salem means “peace.” Comparing now these elements with those found in the extra-biblical Jewish literature as discussed above, the situation looks as follows:

Heb 7:2	Jos Ant. 1.10.2 §180 ¹¹²	Philo Leg. 3,79
Πρῶτον μὲν ἐρμηνευόμενος	Μελχισεδέκ· σημαίνει δὲ	
βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης	τοῦτο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος	
ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς		καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλέα τε τῆς
Σαλήμ, ὃ ἔστιν βασιλεὺς		εἰρήνης – Σαλήμ τοῦτο γὰρ
εἰρήνης		ἐρμενεύεται

3.2.5 Possibilities regarding the qualities mentioned in Heb 7:3

What follows in Heb 7:3 regarding Melchizedek – being fatherless, motherless and without genealogy¹¹³ – suggest that the author of Hebrews did not know, or at least did not accept, the tradition as represented in 2 En.¹¹⁴ But where did he get the list of qualities that are mentioned in Heb 7:3? This is a complicated matter. Several theories have been postulated in the past.

- A “*Melchizedek Hymnus*”: Weiss, carefully and reservedly, follows the interesting thesis of Theissen¹¹⁵ regarding the existence of a possible “*Melchizedek-Hymnus*”¹¹⁶ which might have served as *Vorlage* alongside other Melchizedek traditions. Indicators regarding the possible hymnic nature of the *Vorlage* are listed as being the focus on his own theme of the christology, “Gliederung, Artikellosigkeit, Partizipialstil, Alliteration

¹¹² Cf. also the targums on Gen 14:18.

¹¹³ In this regard, see the work of J.H. Neyrey, “‘Without Beginning of Days or End of Life’ (Hebrews 7:3): Topos for a True Deity,” *CBQ* 53 (1991), 439-455.

¹¹⁴ Also D. Flusser, “*Melchizedek*,” 190.

¹¹⁵ G. Theissen, *Untersuchungen*, 130-152.

¹¹⁶ Supporting the same hypothesis: O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 261-263; G. Schille, “Erwägungen zur Hohepriesterlehre des Hebräerbrieves,” *ZNW* 46 (1955) 81-109; H. Zimmermann, *Das Bekenntnis der Hoffnung: Tradition und Redaktion im Hebräerbrief* (BBB 47; Bonn: Hanstein, 1977) 79-94; G.L. Cockerill, “The Melchizedek Christology in Hebr. 7,1-28” (Unpublished Dissertation; Virginia: Union Theological Seminary, 1976), 307-327.

und Adjektivhäufung.” But such a hymn might have served as *Vorlage* only for Heb 7:3, as 7:1-2 could be traced back to the freely quoted phrases of Gen 14 itself.¹¹⁷ Weiss, furthermore, concludes thus that “Lediglich im Blick auf die adjektivischen und partizipialen Prädikationen in V.3a ist einigermaßen deutlich daß sie vom Autor des Hebr jedenfalls nicht aus eigener Exegese von Ps 110,4 bzw. Gen 14 gewonnen sind und somit – möglicherweise – einem vom Autor an dieser Stelle übernommenen ‘Hymnus’ entstammen.”¹¹⁸ Others were very sceptical about a reworked hymn here. Strobel, for instance, argues (also on linguistic grounds) the contrary: “Stil, Inhalt und homiletischer Ort des Satzes verbieten die Annahme eines etwa verarbeiteten Hymnus.”¹¹⁹

- *Tell-el-Amarna letters*: Roberts posed another interesting possibility.¹²⁰ In the Amarna Tablets there is reference in 6 to 8 letters of a king of Urusalim to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, calling himself a “slave” of the latter. Urusalim is to be identified with Jerusalem and the letters belong to ca. 1400 B.C.E. The name of the king is given as Abd-Khiba. This king tells his Egyptian overlord: “Neither my father nor my mother set me in this place: the mighty arm of the king established me in my father’s house” (Letter 102 in Berlin collection II.9-13). The words meant originally that he acknowledged that he did not come to the throne because he had a claim through descent. He rather owed it due to appointment. The theory is that there was a tradition in Jerusalem of Melchizedek, a king in pre-Israelite times, who was also priest to El-Elyon – which provides the origin for Gen 14:18-20. This tradition was then used by Ps 110(109) where the king is regarded as Melchizedek’s successor. The author of Hebrews hereafter used Ps 110 (which is taken to be a prophecy of Christ) with Gen 14:18-20 and with an oral tradition outside these. This unwritten tradition could then possibly be explained by the information from the Amarna letters. The Dutch scholar, M.J. Paul, recently argued along similar lines when he wrote that he is of the opinion that the information of Heb 7:3 is to be found in Ps 110(109):4 – because Melchizedek was *appointed* as priest and did not become priest by *succession*.¹²¹
- *Greek literature and gods*: The elements listed in Heb 7:3 were not unknown elements by the time that the author of Hebrews wrote. For instance, in Euripides’ *Ion* (line 109) the motif of ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ is to be found.¹²² Deities such as Athena,¹²³ Hephaestus, and

¹¹⁷ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 379-380.

¹¹⁸ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 380.

¹¹⁹ A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 146.

¹²⁰ D.F. Roberts, Art. “Melchizedek,” in J. Orr (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, Vol. III (Chicago: The Howard-Severance Company, 1930) 2028-2029.

¹²¹ M.J. Paul, “Melchizedek in Hebreeën (2),” 189-195.

¹²² ὡς γὰρ ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ τε γεγὼς τοὺς θρέψαντας Φοίβου ναοὺς θεραπεύω.

Aphrodite were usually depicted to be “fatherless and motherless.”¹²⁴ Even among the Jewish Hellenistic writers, Philo uses (only) ἀμητωρ (*Opif.* 100; *Leg.* 1,15; *Mos.* 2.210 – as does Origen *Cels.* 6.42). Even the number 7 was seen to be “without mother” by Philo!¹²⁵

- *Argumentum e silentio*: The third term, ἀγενεαλόγητος, is only to be found here and is the creation of the author. This conclusion is reached by the author of Hebrews due to the silence of a genealogy by Scripture. Melchizedek therefore has neither beginning nor end and is thus beyond time. This points to eternity.

After having listed all these elements from the Melchizedek traditions, the author of Hebrews now points out that Melchizedek resembles (*ἀφωμοιωμένος*) the Son of God. In Heb 7:15 Jesus is the image (*τήν ὁμοιότητα*) of Melchizedek. His whole argument regarding Melchizedek is drawn to the conclusion in Heb 8:1: “We have such a high priest who went and sat at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven....”¹²⁶ This completes his typological interpretation.

3.2.6 Overview of elements of the Melchizedek motif

This might be an appropriate point in our presentation to pause and have an overview of all the elements from the Melchizedek motif that are listed in Heb 7:1-4.

Ούτος γὰρ ὁ Μελχισέδεκ,
1. βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ,
2. ἵερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου,
3. ὁ συναντήσας Ἀβραὰμ
 ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ της κοπῆς τῶν βασιλέων
4. καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτόν,
5. ὁ καὶ δεκάτην ἀπὸ πάντων ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ,

The information from Gen 14:17-20 was probably used for these five elements (Heb 7:1-2). All the direct discourses have been omitted: the actual blessing of king Melchizedek (14:19-

¹²³ ὁ οὐκ ἔχων μητέρα ἀμήτωρ, καθάπερ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ὁ οὐκ ἔχων πατέρα ἀπάτωρ ὡς ὁ Ἡφαιστός (Pollux, *Onom.* 3,26).

¹²⁴ G. Schrenk, s.v. “ἀπάτωρ,” in G. Friedrich, (ed.), *TDNT*, Vol. V (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 1019-1021, on p. 1020.

¹²⁵ Cf. H.G. Liddell & R. Scott, s.v. “ἀμήτωρ,” *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 82.

¹²⁶ “The sitting on the right hand of the Lord was understood as the sitting in judgment...” (D. Flusser, “Melchizedek,” 190).

20), the request of the king of Sodom (14:21) and Abraham's reply (14:22-24). Both Philo (*Leg.* 3,79) and Josephus (*Ant.* 1.10.2 §180) referred to the first two elements but lack the rest.

6. πρῶτον μὲν ἔρμηνευόμενος βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης

7. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ,

ὅ ἐστιν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης,

After having listed the previous five elements from Gen 14:17-20, the author of Hebrews now elaborates, or interprets, the two most prominent of those elements. The first of these two elements is found in Josephus, the second in Philo. This does not necessarily mean that the author of Hebrews used the works of those authors as his *Vorlage*. But it does mean that the hermeneutics applied here in Hebrews was known at the time when he wrote.

8. ἀπάτωρ

9. ἀμήτωρ

10. ἀγενεαλόγητος,

11. μῆτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν

12. μῆτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων,

These next five elements surely look tempting in terms of style. The assonance, alliteration, parallelistic structure and rhythm is reminiscent of that of a hymn. However, no source could be identified for these elements. Whether it had roots in a hymn, in the Amarna letters, in the Greek cultural world or simply arguing about the eternal priesthood from an argument from silence, fact is that these phrases represent the author of Hebrews' interpretation that Melchizedek's priesthood is eternal.

13. ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ σίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ,

14. μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.

Again, after the previous cluster of five elements the author lists another two: Melchizedek is like the Son of God and he remains priest forever. This interpretation leads us back to Ps 110(109):4 where it was stated that the king is priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek.

15. Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος,

ἥ [καὶ] δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν

ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης.

Another element is mentioned. This is a comment by the author himself, focusing the attention of his readers on the greatness of Melchizedek that even Abraham, one of the patriarchs, gave him a tenth of the spoils.

Six of the ten verbs used in this list are in participle form. Three of the six were changed from (probably) the LXX to participles. The author's preference for participles is more in line with classical Greek authors. In the LXX lesser participles were used due to the paratactical construction which reigns throughout.¹²⁷

3.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

3.3.1 Summarising remarks about the interpretation of the passage in Heb 7

Reference to Melchizedek in the OT is only made in Gen 14:18-20 and Ps 110(109):4.¹²⁸ The γάρ in Heb 7:1 with its commentary function, makes Heb 7 in effect an exposition of Ps 110(109):4, which is interpreted with the aid of Gen 14. With the little information from Gen 14 he constructs his theological argument and reasons from the silence of Scripture¹²⁹ in order to interpret the status of Jesus'¹³⁰ high priesthood along the lines of that of Melchizedek. *Stichwörter* from Ps 110(109) and Gen 14 are employed by means of a *gezerah shawah* argument and interpreted on the basis of the midrash-pesher method. In summary form the exegesis¹³¹ recorded in this pericope (Heb 7:1-25), may be classified in four divisions which "runs somewhat backwards from the normal order of Ps 110:4."¹³² The author firstly deals with the historical setting of *Melchizedek* (7:1-3), then his role as *priest* and that of the priestly *order* (7:4-13), hereafter he discusses the personal pronoun *thou* (7:13-14) and concludes with an elaboration on the epithet *forever* (7:15-25).¹³³

¹²⁷ F.C. Conybeare & G. Stock (ed.), *Selections*, 74.

¹²⁸ So also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 184; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 133-134; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 187.

¹²⁹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 133.

¹³⁰ "Man erkannt aber ... kaum noch den Jesus, der – sehr wenig priesterlich – Sabbat, levitische Reinheit und Tempelopfer angreift und all sein Wirken in das Wort und die helfende Tat verlegt" (H. Braun, "Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament," *ZThK* 59 [1962] 16-31, on p. 29).

¹³¹ S. Moyise is correct in saying that "the techniques can easily be paralleled in the Qumran literature and later rabbinic exegesis" (*OT in the New*, 103).

¹³² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 118; and S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 186.

¹³³ So S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 118. Compare B.F. Westcott who has a slightly different three-fold division (*Hebrews*, 170), referred to earlier in the discussion above.

3.4 Conclusion

Certain elements from the Melchizedek motif were found from different traditions. Some of these were quoted and others were alluded to. Some were again highlighted, interpreted and applied to Christ. The situation might be summarised as follows:

- i. The author of Hebrews refers several times to Jesus as “a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek” (Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:17).
- ii. Heb 7:1-4ff. is an exposition of Ps 110(109):4. Melchizedek is used as an example to interpret the combined kingship and priesthood in a typological manner in terms of Christ.
- iii. Heb 7:1-4 is presented as a paraphrase, containing three clusters of quoted phrases from Gen 14:17-20.
- iv. These phrases are quoted only by the author of Hebrews amongst all the NT authors.¹³⁴ The readings of the phrases agree neither completely with that of the MT nor with that of the LXX, although an argument could be made for some closer resemblance to the latter based on the syntax and vocabulary. Differences encountered could fairly easily be explained to be due to the hand of the author when he adapted the contents of Gen 14:17-20 during his process of writing and when interpreting this passage.
- v. No specific text testifies to the reading of the remaining elements from the Melchizedek motif in Heb 7:3-4. However, traces were found from different traditions, which are being shared with particularly Philo¹³⁵ and Josephus regarding the interpretation of Melchizedek’s *name* – king of righteousness and king of peace.
- vi. Traces were also found which remind about the *divine appointment* and *exalted and immortal position* of Melchizedek. Thus, the qualities listed here about Melchizedek made it possible for the author to compare him with the “Son of God.”

¹³⁴ According to NA27 there might be implicit references to Gen 14:18 in Matt 5:7 and Luke 8:28, and to Gen 14:19, 22 in Rev 10:6. This is debatable.

¹³⁵ Cf. A. Strobel: “7,1-3 verrät sachlich und methodisch deutlich die Voraussetzungen eines gewissen philonisch-alexandrinischen Schuldenkens. Es ist dem christologischen Zeugnis vom ewigen Hohenpriestertum Christi nach Ps.110 unmittelbar dienstbar gemacht” (*Hebräer*, 149). For a general discussion on the high priesthood in Philo, see J. Laporte, “The High Priest in Philo of Alexandria,” in D.T. Runia, D.M. Hay & D. Winston (ed.), *Heirs of the Septuagint. Philo, Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity. Festschrift for Earle Hilgert* (The Studia Philonica Annual. Studies in Hellenistic Judaism, Volume III; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 71-82. Laporte summarises the situation: “The high priest becomes the Divine Logos of the universe, and the Divine Logos becomes the high priest in the soul. In the process of repentance and forgiveness, and first of all in the moral conscience, the Divine Logos assists human reason as a guide, a mediator, and a judge, and is called the high priest” (on p. 71).

- vii. It seems as if we have two sets of 5 elements each – Heb 7:1-2 and Heb 7:3. Gen 14:17-20 was used for the first. No text exists for the second and it is probably a construction by the author from different elements that were derived from tradition historical material.
- viii. There are three sets of commentary material: Elements 6 and 7, which is an etymological explanation on the name of Melchizedek, elements 13 and 14 which explains Melchizedek typologically to be on a par with the Son of God, and element 15 which points to the fact that Melchizedek is greater than the patriarch Abraham.
- ix. If the previous two remarks are taken into account, then we actually have phrases from Scripture (Gen 14:17-20) plus a commentary by the author, and another set of phrases (from tradition[s]?) plus a commentary by the author.

Chapter 9

The motif of cultic worship and the covenant The combination Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5 + Jer 31(38):31-34 in Heb 8:8-12 and Jer 31(38):33, 34b in Heb 10:16-17

Heb 8:5

ὅρα γάρ φησιν,
ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει· (Exod 25:40)

Heb 8:8-12

μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς λέγει·

ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οικον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οικον Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινήν, 9 οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἢν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἔξαγαγένι αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἴγυπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος· 10 ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἢν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ εσονται μοι εἰς λαόν· 11 καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων· γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσιν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἔως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, 12 ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι. (Jer 31[38]:31-34)

Heb 10:15b-17

μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰρηκέναι·
αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῆσομαι ἔτι. (Jer 31[38]:33, 34b)

The author of Hebrews paid attention to Christ's superiority to the angels (Heb 1–2), to Moses (Heb 3–4) and to the high priesthood (Heb 5–7), indicating that Christ is better than these three religious symbols in early Jewish religion. The next central symbol, that of the covenant, was already briefly introduced in Heb 7:22. An important fusion of motifs is achieved here. Two major cultic motifs are combined with the theme of the “New Covenant,” namely Jesus as High Priest (Heb 5–7) and Jesus as Sacrifice (Heb 9–10). These two aspects are related to the promise of a new covenant (Heb 8) – which, in turn, is almost wedged in between the appointment of Christ as High Priest on the one hand, and his sacrifice on the other hand. Some scholars are of the opinion that Heb 8:6 actually forms the climax of the whole book of Hebrews: “But Jesus has now obtained a more excellent ministry, and to that degree he is the mediator of a better covenant, which has been enacted through better

promises.”¹ Two quotations encircle this statement – one from the Torah (Exod 25:40) and the other from the Prophets (Jer 31[38]:31-34). The first refers to the pattern of the old cultic system that was received on the mountain. The latter, the longest quotation in the whole NT, refers to the new covenant.

1. Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Exod 25

Exod 19:1 – 31:18 deals with the revelation of God on Mount Sinai to his covenant people. Particularly Exod 25–40 is believed to belong to the Priestly material that was developed from ritual and ceremony sections (e.g. Gen 1:1 – 2:3, Leviticus and much of Numbers) that were probably composed during the Exile in the 6th cent. B.C.E.² Exod 25–31 describes in vivid detail the layout and contents of the tabernacle as a prescribed plan from God to Moses. The later chapters of this section (Exod 35–40) deal with Moses’ execution of that plan. An interesting aspect following onto these narratives is that they are leading towards a climax with the appearance of “the glory of the Lord” in the Tabernacle (Exod 40:34-38).³

1.1.2 The use of Exod 25 and the heavenly sanctuary in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

There is evidence from at least two areas in the early Jewish tradition, namely from the DSS community, and from Greek speaking Judaism, by Philo of Alexandria, about knowledge of the section which contains Exod 25. The compiler of 11QT^a probably used Exod 25:31-40 as

¹ Cf. H.W. Attridge on the uniqueness of this combination between a superior priesthood and the covenant: “Many early Christians viewed themselves as people of a new covenant, but nowhere else in the New Testament do we find the covenant correlated with a new priesthood. The understanding of the community in terms of a new covenant is shared by the Jewish sectarians of Qumran. Despite their concern for the priesthood and their interest in a heavenly liturgy, the association of a new heavenly priesthood and a new covenant is nowhere made explicit” (*Hebrews*, 220).

² Cf. also P. Kearney, “Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex 25-40,” ZAW 89 (1977) 375-387.

³ G.A. Anderson, “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 870-886, on p. 877.

basis for his discussion of the lampstand (11QT^a 9).⁴ Explicit references or quotations to Exod 25:40 were, however, not found amongst the DSS witnesses.

The Alexandrian Jew, Philo, knew and used the book of Exodus. He once mentioned that Moses gave it the title Εξαγωγή (*Migrat.* 3,1,438), but referred at other places to its familiar Greek name, Εξόδος. It is therefore no surprise when Philo also quotes from Exodus. More interesting, however, is the fact that Philo quotes exactly the same verse from Exod 25 in his *Leg.* 3,102 and alludes to it in his *QE* 2,52 – which serves as evidence of familiarity of this particular verse in at least some circles of the early Jewish Greek speaking world.

However, when widening the focus to the concept of the earthly sanctuary as being a copy of the heavenly sanctuary, a number of occurrences are to be found in the Jewish literature.⁵ Explicit examples of the idea of a heavenly temple are to be found, amongst others, in Ezek 40–48; Wis 9:8-10; *Jub.* 31:34; 1 *En.* 14:15-20; 90:28f.; 2 Bar 4:2-6; *Sib. Or.* 4:10; 1QSb 4:24ff. and Mark 14:58. The idea is also present in 1 Chr 28:11-12, 18-19.⁶ Particularly interesting regarding Wis 9 is the following:

- The wording of v. 8: ειπας οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν ἐν ὅρει ἀγίῳ σου καὶ ἐν πόλει κατασκηνώσεώς σου θυσιαστήριον, μίμημα σκηνῆς ἀγίας, ἥν προητοίμασας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.
- The exposition which displays close similarities with that of Heb 8:5 in its understanding of the concept of a heavenly sanctuary.
- Wis 9:5 states that the speaker is a servant and νίὸς τῆς παιδίσκης σου – a statement which early Christians easily could relate to when they would read this text in a christological manner. The similarities with the theology of Hebrews can be seen in his understanding of Jesus as “Son” (Heb 1:2, 5, etc.) and as “firstborn” (Heb 1:6).
- Wis 9:7 refers to the appointment as king: σύ με προείλω βασιλέα λαοῦ σου καὶ δικαστὴν υἱῶν σου καὶ θυγατέρων. The appointment of Christ as King with the responsibility of judgment, in particularly Heb 1:8 and its quotation from Ps 45(44), comes here to mind.

⁴ G.J. Brooke, “The Temple Scroll and LXX Exodus 35-40,” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, 81-106, on p. 93.

⁵ See A. Cody for a discussion of the “heavenly sanctuary” in relation to Exod 25:40 and Heb 8:5 (*Heavenly Sanctuary*, 16-21).

⁶ S.J. Kistemaker is thus incorrect in assuming that “(s)peculation about a heavenly sanctuary originated with, and at the same time fascinated, Jewish teachers in the time of the apostles and afterward” (*Hebrews*, 219). The idea already started before the time of the apostles. See also A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 16-20.

- Wis 9:9 refers to the pre-existence of knowledge (μετὰ σοῦ), being aware of God's works (τὰ ἔργα σου) and being present during the creation (ὅτε ἐποίεις τὸν κόσμον) – imagery which strongly reminds one of Hebrews' perception of the pre-existence of Christ. Cf. Heb 1:8-12 and the combination of the quotations from Ps 45(44) and Ps 101(102).

No wonder that some scholars suspect that the author of Hebrews might have learned this from Pseudo-Solomon, also referring to his use of Wis 7:25.

Worthy of mentioning here also, is the post-NT *Testament of Levi*, belonging to the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where the phrase κατὰ τὸν τύπον occurs also in Levi's second vision.⁷ The previous context shows some interesting parallels with the text of our unknown author of Hebrews. Some of the striking parallels with the first apocalyptic vision of Levi in *T. Levi* 1–5, are the following:

- *T. Levi* 3:1-10 describes seven heavens and its inhabitants, with many angels and the archangels, and the “Great Glory” (3:4) in the highest.⁸
- When the Lord looks down, “all is shaken, heaven and earth” (σαλευόμεθα· καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ, *T. Levi* 3:9) – which reminds one of Heb 12:26 and the quotation from Hag 2:6.
- *T. Levi* 4:1ff. describes the execution of judgment and punishment upon the sons of men (e.g., κρίσιν ἐπὶ τὸς νίοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν; οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ἐπιμενοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις) in an apocalyptic setting. Similar motifs are also surfacing especially in Heb 10:27ff.
- *T. Levi* 4:2 explicitly promises Levi that he will become a son, servant and minister in the presence of the Most High (καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ νίον καὶ θεράποντα καὶ λειτουργὸν τοῦ προσωποῦ αὐτοῦ). This imagery strongly resembles that of Jesus' appointment as son in Heb 1:5. In Heb 3:6 Jesus remains the Son, however, while Moses is a servant (θεραπῶν, 3:5 – a hapax legomenon in the NT). It is reminiscent, furthermore, of Jesus' appointment as a priest in Heb 5:5-6 and a minister in the sanctuary (λειτουργός, Heb 8:2).
- Levi will be “as the sun (ώς ὁ ἥλιος ἔσῃ) to all the seed of Israel” (*T. Levi* 4:3), which reminds us about the Son who “radiates” the Glory of God (ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, Heb 1:3).

⁷ Cf. *T. Levi* 8:14.

⁸ I argued elsewhere that a similar concept is probably behind Heb 1. Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Angelomorphic Christological Myth,” 1107-1128.

- Levi saw the holy temple in heaven and the Most High on a throne of glory (καὶ ἦνοιξέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ ειδον τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον, καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τὸν ψιστον, *T. Levi* 5:1-2). This apocalyptic motif reminds one strongly of Heb 1:3ff.; 2:7, 9-10; and 5:5 (cf. also 9:5; 13:21) – but note that the term, ναός, never occurs in Hebrews!
- The blessings of the priesthood were given to Levi until the time that the Most High will come (*T. Levi* 5:2-3).

The second vision, or dream, of Levi describes his appointment as priest by seven men in white raiments (the seven archangels?). It also shows a number of striking parallels with Hebrews:

- In *T. Levi* 8:1-2 he is ordered (imperative) to “put on the robe of the priesthood.” In a similar manner, Levi is also ordered to put on the “crown of righteousness.” The links between the priesthood, righteousness and rulership (see also *T. Levi* 8:10) remind strongly of similar links in Hebrews.
- The “plate of faith” which Levi has to put on (*T. Levi* 8:2) reminds one of faith as a *Leitmotif* in Hebrews – particularly in Heb 11.
- In *T. Levi* 8:3-5, the wording very strongly resembles that of Ps 110(109):4 and the appointment of Christ as priest according to the order of Melchizedek in Heb 5–7. It is presented in an appointment formula and with the qualification of “for ever” and confirmed with the anointment with holy oil.
- The “staff of judgment” (*T. Levi* 8:5) is a motif that was encountered in Heb 1.
- Most interesting of all these parallels, however, is the wording of *T. Levi* 8:14-15 in which the LXX phrase κατὰ τὸν τύπον of Exod 25:40 is found: “And the third (i.e. of three offices, GJS) shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood, after the fashion (κατὰ τὸν τύπον) of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.”

A fragment of the *Testament of Levi* was also found in Aramaic amongst the DSS, which confirms knowledge of (parts of?) this Testament in the DSS community at an earlier, pre-NT date. However, one cannot assume that the Aramaic version would have included the same as what the Greek version had. There is also an ongoing debate whether the *Testaments* should be taken as Jewish documents containing later Christian interpolations, or whether they

should be seen as a Christian composition that is using Jewish sources.⁹ Depending on the position taken, there could be a case made for dating the *Testaments* either as of pre-Christian Jewish (possibly Essene) origin, or composed during the 2nd to 3rd centuries C.E. Fact is that one encounters here a familiar tradition in Judaism regarding worship in a heavenly sanctuary¹⁰ – a notion which is also present in Revelation.

Turning now to early Christianity, it is observed that although there are a number of allusions by some of the NT writers, there are no traces of any explicit quotations to specifically Exod 25–31, except for this occurrence of Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5. The context of Exod 25 most probably was in the back of our author’s mind in Heb 9:2-4 with possible allusions to Exod 25:16, 21 (Heb 9:4); Exod 25:18, 22 (Heb 9:5) and Exod 25:23, 30 (Heb 9:2). Also interesting is the occurrence of the phrase κατὰ τὸν τύπον in Stephen’s Speech in Acts 7:44 (remember the apocalyptic motif in Acts 7:55-56 when he saw the heavens open, the glory of God, and Jesus at the right hand of God).

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Exod 25:40

The oldest manuscripts amongst the discovered DSS are dating back to the end of the 3rd cent. B.C.E. and are most probably representative of the Hebrew texts that were used as *Vorlage* for the first LXX translations¹¹ – thus of a kind of “Proto-Septuagint” text-type.¹² These manuscripts include 4QSam^b (4Q51), 4QJer^a (4Q70) (with a close reading to the LXX) and 4QExod^b (4Q13). There is, unfortunately, no extant fragment that contains Exod 25:40 in the latter or in any of the other DSS Exodus fragments.¹³ When turning to the Greek witnesses, scholars observed, with regard to LXX Exod 25–31 and 35–40,¹⁴ that this section dealing with the tabernacle is “One of the greatest textual problems in the Greek Pentateuch.”¹⁵ The quotation from Exod 25:40, however, is not affected by these difficulties as it does not form

⁹ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 98, n. 218.

¹⁰ For further occurrences regarding elements of this motif, see G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 969.

¹¹ J.J. Collins, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 2, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 85-101, on p. 89.

¹² Cf. N.L. Geisler & W.E. Nix, *A General Introduction to the Bible, Revised and Expanded*, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 373-374.

¹³ Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 244-249.

¹⁴ P. Kearney, “Creation and Liturgy,” 375-387.

¹⁵ A. Aeijmelaeus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques – A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle account,” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, 381-402, on p. 382. See also J.W. Wevers’ Introduction to the Göttingen edition of the LXX Exodus in this connection.

part of the controversial sections. Nonetheless, the following variants occur amongst the LXX witnesses with regard to the eclectic text below:

- ὅρα is substituted by ὁλα in some manuscripts,¹⁶ by καί in others,¹⁷ by ἀ ὥρᾶς in some others,¹⁸ and omitted altogether by a few others¹⁹ – whilst minuscule 318 omitted the whole phrase ὅρα ποιήσεις, and the corrector of minuscule 707 added πάντα after ὅρα.
- The ^{Lat}cod 102 inserts *quae* before ποιήσεις, which, in turn, reads ποιήσης in minuscule 246* = Compl.
- The word πάντα is inserted before the phrase κατά – δεδειγμένον,²⁰ similar to the reading of the quotation in Heb 8:5 and Philo of Alexandria (*Opif.*) 136, in the Boharic (except Compl). The ^{Lat}codd 91 95 96 read *secundum formas ostensas*. Δεδειγμένον reads ὑποδέχθεντα in minuscule 46 and δειχθέντα (διχθέντα in minuscule 376; δεχθέντα in minuscule 130),²¹ similar to Heb 8:5 which is in agreement with Compl.
- The phrase τὸν τύπον τόν reads τὸ παράδειγμα as in Philo (*Opif.*) 135s. The definite article τόν has been omitted in its first occurrence by minuscule 53.

None of these variants above carries enough weight so that the reconstructed LXX text should be altered. Still with the Greek witnesses, discoveries such as that of the 4th cent. Papyrus 866 (MS 187)²² or the 3rd cent. POxy 4442,²³ unfortunately, do not contain the section of Exod 25 – which eliminates a possible contribution by some potential recent finds.²⁴ This leaves one then to compare the Hebrew of the MT with the Greek of the LXX.

Ex 25:40 MT	Ex 25:40 LXX ²⁵
וְרָאֵה וְעַשֵּׂה בְתֹבְנִיתָם אֲשֶׁר־אָתָה מְرָאֵה בְּחָרֶב	ὅρα ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει.

¹⁶ B* (except Sixt).

¹⁷ Only by minuscule 126.

¹⁸ Only by minuscule 72.

¹⁹ Cf. minuscule 75 ^{Lat}codd 100 103.

²⁰ Inserted by F b 129-246 127 s 126 509.

²¹ By O-⁷⁶⁷-15 f s 126-128 426 799.

²² This edition to be published by O. Munnich & R. Pintaudi in the series “Manuscripts in The Schøyen Collection,” Greek Papyri, vol. 2 (<http://www.schoyencollection.com/GreekNT.htm#187>). The first volume of the catalogue appeared earlier: R. Pintaudi, *Papyri Graecae Schøyen (P.Schøyen I)* (Papyrologica Florentina 35; Florence: Gonelli, 2005). See also D. DeSilva and M. Adams, “Seven Papyrus Fragments of a Greek Manuscript of Exodus,” *VT* 56 (2006) 143-170.

²³ Cf. D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 305; D. Colomo, *Atti del XXII Congresso di Papirologia (Firenze 1998)* (Firenze: Gonelli, 2001), 269-277.

²⁴ Lexeme errors in Exod 25:40 (Codex B) are taken as “palaeographically inspired” by J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU XXI; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992) 83. (Wevers’ variants in its digital version of Exodus, were not yet available online during Feb 2008 within the CCAT project. Cf. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/text/religion/biblical/lxxvar/1Pentateuch>.

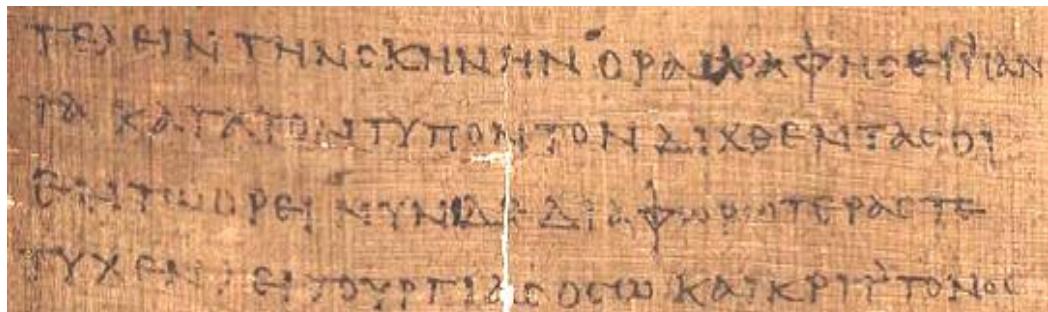
²⁵ A close parallel appears in Exod 26:30: καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σκηνὴν κατὰ τὸ ειδος τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει.

The Hebrew conjunction particles וְ and וְ before the first two verbs (“and look and make”) are absent in the Greek translations of the LXX and in Philo’s quotation (see below). Also the 3rd pers. masc. pl. suffix in בָּתְבִנִּיתֶם was left untranslated in the Greek – similar to the Peshitta and the Vulgate.²⁶ The rest, however, represent a fairly literal Greek translation of the Hebrew in the text of the quotation.²⁷

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 8:5

There are no variant readings, according to NA27, amongst the NT witnesses regarding this quotation and all manuscripts read the same – including πάντα (vs the LXX), δειχθέντα (vs the LXX and Philo) and τύπον (vs Philo). However, not indicated in NA27 is the omission of ποιήσεις in P⁴⁶ – quite rightly presented in the reconstruction of the text. Apart from Philo where ποιήσεις does not occur at the same position (though transposed to the end of the quotation), the omission is not attested by any other witnesses.²⁸

The NT text of Heb 8:5 on P⁴⁶



Reconstruction²⁹

N	
17 ΤΕΛΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΚΗΝΗΝ' ΟΡΑ Γ ^A ΡΑ ΦΗΣΕΙ ΠΑΝ-	29
18 ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΙΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΣΟΙ	28
19 ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΡΕΙ ¹ ᾅΝΥΝ ² ΔΕ ΔΙΑΦΩΡΩΤΕΡΑΣ ³ ΤΕ-	28

1.2.3 A comparison between Exod 25:40 and Heb 8:5

The Greek readings of Philo and the LXX can now be compared with that of the quotation in Hebrews:

²⁶ J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 410.

²⁷ For notes on differences in nuance and the LXX translation, see J.W. Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 410.

²⁸ Cf. H.C. Hoskier, *Commentary on P⁴⁶*, 43.

²⁹ Photo and reconstruction from K. Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften* (Wien: Echter Verlag, 2006).

Exod 25:40 LXX	Philo, <i>Leg.</i> 3,102	Heb 8:5
ὅρα ποιήσεις	ώσ φησι·	ὅρα γάρ φησιν,
κατὰ τὸν τύπον	κατὰ τὸν <u>παραδειγμα</u>	ποιήσεις <u>πάντα</u>
τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι	τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι	κατὰ τὸν τύπον
ἐν τῷ ὅρει.	ἐν τῷ ὅρει	τὸν <u>δειχθέντα</u> σοι
	<u>πάντα ποιήσεις</u>	ἐν τῷ ὅρει.

The NT reading is neither in exact agreement with the LXX, nor does it agree completely with the quotation by Philo. Differences that are clear between Hebrews and the LXX from this synopsis, include a substitution, an inclusion and a transposition:

- *Substitution:* Where the NT reads δειχθέντα, the LXX witnesses and Philo both read δεδειγμένον. Although there are some scholars³⁰ who were of the opinion that the NT reading could be traced back to a LXX tradition from Origen, one might cautiously assume with most scholars that this temporal change from the perfect participle (δεδειγμένον) to the aorist (δειχθέντα), was made by the author of Hebrews himself. The reason for this alteration might be the author's scrupulous care with which perfects are used,³¹ or the change might be understood in terms of the NT author's temporal perspective that the Mosaic tabernacle is a past event and that the relationship with the heavenly temple as a model for the earthly tabernacle is not permanent.³²
- *Inclusion:* The NT witnesses include πάντα before κατὰ τὸν τύπον, whereas the word is absent amongst the most important LXX witnesses here in Exod 25:40. The NT reading of ποιήσεις πάντα resembles Philo's reading: πάντα ποιήσεις. Scholars are divided in their opinion on this. Some are in agreement that "There is no reason to think more of this than that the addition of πάντα 'may have stood in the LXX version used at that time at Alexandria'"³³ – which is also attested by some witnesses.³⁴ If this was the case, then it would be in line with a general LXX tendency to add πάντα where it is not present in the MT.³⁵ Others, however, are of the opinion that πάντα was added as object by the author of Hebrews and that it might have found its way via LXX Exod 25:9: καὶ ποιήσεις μοι

³⁰ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 44; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 159f.

³¹ A. Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood: Studies in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1915²). G.H. Guthrie, too, understands this change as one made by the author of Hebrews "for stylistic reasons, the alteration in this case achieving a more pleasing rhythm as well as the assonance of its final syllable with the final syllables of *hora*, *panta*, and *kata*" (*Hebrews*, 969).

³² K.J. Thomas, "OT Citations," 98, 309; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 220.

³³ So also P. Katz, *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in Some Philonic Writings and its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), 83; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 40, 136; R. Williamson, *Philo and Hebrews*, 539, 558.

³⁴ See F 19 boh Cyril 1/3 and Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.14.3; 4.19.1; 5.35.2).

³⁵ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 160.

κατὰ παντα, ὅσα ἐγώ σοι δεικνύω ἐν τῷ ὅρει.³⁶ This was then done either “to emphasize the total dependence of the copy on its heavenly model”³⁷ (as in Philo), or “more probably to indicate a summary of Ex. 25”³⁸ – where all the “features of the cult become clues to the heavenly liturgy accomplished by Christ.”³⁹

- *Transposition:* Hebrews includes as parenthesis the phrase γάρ φησιν between ὅρα and ποιήσεις – which results in the transposition of ὅρα at the beginning of the quotation.

When turning to Philo’s quotation, the following differences with Hebrews and the LXX can be observed:

- The inclusion of πάντα and the difference to regard to Hebrews’ δειχθέντα were already discussed above.⁴⁰
- Both Hebrews (8:5) and the LXX witnesses of Exod 25:40 read κατὰ τὸν τύπον, whereas Philo (*Leg. 3*), in turn, reads κατὰ τὸν παράδειγμα. Both terms are used by Philo and appear about equally in his works, although παράδειγμα is a word that is characteristic of Plato.⁴¹ This recalls the cosmology of Plato (such as in his *Timaeus*) in which all of earthly reality is a copy (εἰκόν, or image) of a higher reality or model (παράδειγμα).⁴² Interesting however, is that the author of Hebrews also uses this word in very close proximity of the quotation. In Heb 8:5a the author uses the phrase ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ and then introduces the quotation in Heb 8:5b.⁴³ Furthermore, Philo’s use of the word τύπος differs from that of Hebrews in that Philo uses it in a technical sense to refer to “the more insignificant copy, not to designate the more important prototype, as Hebrews does.”⁴⁴

³⁶ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 43; M.R. D’Angelo, *Moses*, 205–222.

³⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 220; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 969.

³⁸ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 407; K. J. Thomas, “Use of the LXX,” 163; J. Schreiner, “Der Anführer und Vollender unseres Glaubens. Zum theologischen Verständnis des Hebräerbriefes,” in J. Schreiner, *Gestalt und Anspruch des Neuen Testaments* (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1969) 262–281, on p. 386; B. Reicke, s.v. πᾶς, ἄπας, in G. Friedrich (ed.), *TDNT*, Vol. V (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 886–890, on p. 889.

³⁹ M.R. D’Angelo, *Moses*, 205–222.

⁴⁰ A. Strobel’s opinion is: “Die exegetisch-metodische Abhängigkeit von Philo bekundet sich bis hinein in das zusätzliche ‘alles’ des Schriftzitats...” (*Hebräer*, 164).

⁴¹ Cf. also A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 19. This despite the fact that R. Williamson stated that “The two words are synonymous, both can mean ‘pattern’ (*Philo*, 558). Also cf. G. Schunack: “Der Verf.[asser] des Hebr. liest die Stelle, angeleitet durch die in der LXX verwendeten Übersetzungstermini *paradeigma* und *typos*, ähnlich wie Philo, im Sinne einer platonischen Schultradition ‘dualistisch’, d.h. die gezeigte Vorlage ist gemäß einer ‘vertikalen Typologie’ das eigentlich wirkliche Urbild, während das irdisch Realisierte nur dessen unwirkliches Abbild ist” (*Hebräerbrief*, 109–110).

⁴² Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 48e, 29b. See also A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 19.

⁴³ The two terms, ὑπόδειγμα and σκιά “bezeichnen hier dementsprechend das schattenhafte Abbild der eigentlichen ‘himmlischen’ Realität” (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 436).

⁴⁴ L. Goppelt, *Typos. The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 177. See also R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 135.

- The phrase, (πάντα) ποιήσεις is transposed to the end of the quotation in Philo's version when compared with the LXX version.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks on the *Vorlage* of Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5

It seems clear that the reading of the quotation from Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5 is closer to that of the LXX than to that of the MT. The reading is, however, not identical with that of our existing LXX witnesses. There is little doubt that the parenthesis of the introductory formula γάρ φησιν between ὅρα and ποιήσεις was made by the author of Hebrews. Given the available textual evidence (including the occurrence by Philo), and taking the author's hermeneutics into account, it can be assumed that our author also made the change from δεδειγμένον to δειχθέντα. But the inclusion of πάντα and its parallel in Philo's *Leg.* seems to be too coincidental. Should this have been a change in retrospect by the later copiers of *Leg.*, then one would find it difficult to explain why they have left παράδειγμα and not changed that also to τύπον. Chances are thus good that this inclusion might have been part of the author's *Vorlage* – one that shows commonality with that which Philo has known. Although being close, here again, caution is needed and the position that “both Hebrews and Philo quote the words in precisely the same form,”⁴⁵ cannot be accepted without qualification.⁴⁶ One might imagine that passages from Exod 25–40 were playing an important role in the cultic life of early Jewish communities such as those at Qumran. Common knowledge from this cultic tradition – possibly even liturgical tradition – probably lies behind the similarities between Hebrews' and Philo's quotation of Exod 25:40.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The fact of the author's presentation of the introductory formula, γάρ φησιν, as a parenthesis at the opening of the quotation itself, has already been mentioned above. This should be taken as the primary introductory formula, although the secondary one provides the setting: καθὼς κεχρημάτισται. Still in line with the author's custom, he uses again a verb of saying, with

⁴⁵ R. Williamson, *Philo*, 571–572.

⁴⁶ Probably on the right track, however, is Williamson's thinking that “whatever place common use and liturgical needs had in the production of the form of words quoted they had by the time they were used by the two writers assumed a permanent written form of some kind” (R. Williamson, *Philo*, 571–572).

God still speaking. This is a voice that is heard from the past when God spoke to their ancestors (Heb 1:1). The use of κεχρημάτισται is “a common term for a divine communication”⁴⁷ (i.e. a *passivum divinum*) when Moses received an oracle or vision. Striking is the use of the same verb when Philo introduces the same quotation in *Leg. 3*.

Apart from a single occurrence each in Gen 24:47 and Exod 2:6, and three occurrences in Num 24, the verb φημί occurs nowhere else in the LXX Pentateuch, but is heavily used in Jeremiah where more than half (25) of its total occurrences (41) are to be found. The highest density (9) is in LXX Jer 38 – the chapter from which our author quotes shortly after Exod 25:40 and the longest quotation in the NT. The verb is to be found three times in the quotation from LXX Jer 38:31-34 alone.

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5

The point of departure for the author of Hebrews is that God spoke in the past to their ancestors, but in these last days through the Son (Heb 1:1). This vision of Moses in Exod 24 during which he received the pattern, or design, (τύπος)⁴⁸ for the tabernacle, belongs to those voices from the past. The author of Hebrews continues this line of thought by means of the way in which he uses and presents this quotation:

- He clearly indicated that it is God who spoke these words by means of his insertion of γάρ φησιν, as introductory formula at the beginning of the quotation.
- He is also probably responsible for the temporal change from δειχθέντα to δεδειγμένον as an indication that the earthly tabernacle belongs to the past and is thus temporary.
- The presence of the term τύπος might have played a role in the author’s selection of this passage,⁴⁹ in the sense that it “attests the ‘shadowy’ character of the earthly sanctuary and

⁴⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 219. He refers to Philo *Mos.* 2.238; Josephus *Ant.* 5.1.14 § 42; Matt 2:12, 22; Luke 2:26; Acts 10:22; Heb 11:7; 12:25; and to B. Reicke, “χρηματίζω,” in G. Friedrich (ed.), *TDNT, Vol IX* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 480–482. So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 437.

⁴⁸ Contrary to F.F. Bruce (*Hebrews*, 165, n. 27), P. Ellingworth states that it is an unnecessary complication to read into Hebrews “the idea that God showed to Moses a τύπος (in the sense of ‘model’) which was itself only a copy of a heavenly reality. This misunderstanding arises from an attempt to treat τύπος as a technical term which must have the same meaning in all contexts. On the contrary, what Moses is shown is constituted a τύπος simply by the fact that he is told to copy it” (*Hebrews*, 408). F. Schröger argued similarly (*Verfasser*, 159). A.F.J. Klijn suggests in this regard, that “Het woord ‘voorbeeld’ (*typos*) kan men vergelijken met het woord *antitypa*, dat in 9:24 voorkomt” (*Hebreëën*, 96).

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Strobel: “Hat in der LXX der Begriff ‘Urbild’ (griech. *typos*) wohl stärker die Bedeutung ‘Vorlage, Muster’, so wird nun mit Hilfe der alexandrinischen Hermeneutik der Ton auf die minderwertige Abbildlichkeit des irdischen Heiligtums und seiner Einrichtungen gelegt” (*Hebräer*, 164).

its liturgy.”⁵⁰ The word occurs fourteen times in the NT,⁵¹ but only here and in Stephen’s Speech (Acts 7:43) within quotations.

The gist of the author’s use of this quotation from Exod 25:40 “is to show from scripture itself that the Mosaic tabernacle, and by implication the whole OT cultus, was only a copy of the heavenly reality.”⁵² It can be assumed that the author of Hebrews must have known (“read”) the broader context, “as the addition of πάντα would already suggest. Ex. 25:10–40 is drastically summarized in Heb. 9:1–5, and Ex. 24:8 is quoted in Heb. 9:20.”⁵³

This is a piece of the puzzle by the author as part of his bigger argument that the earthly cultic worship belongs to a previous era.⁵⁴ The earthly priests were only serving in a shadowy copy of the heavenly sanctuary. This Platonic concept that the earthly is a shadow of the reality⁵⁵ – his theory of ideas – and then the particular use of ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ (Heb 8:5) by Hebrews, led scholars to believe that we have here Platonic influence⁵⁶ (or new Platonic thoughts via Philo). But some scholars are sceptical and of another opinion,⁵⁷ stating that there is “no need to look to Platonic influences for the idea of a building on earth reflecting a heavenly counterpart, since there are parallels both in Judaism and earlier in other parts of the ancient Near East.”⁵⁸ Fact is, however, the fundamental difference between Philo and Hebrews is the christological interpretation of the author of Hebrews in terms of the heavenly realm. For him, this is the dwelling place of the exalted Christ, through whom it gets its meaning.⁵⁹

Our observations regarding the quotation from Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5 might be concluded with the statement that the author of Hebrews portrays the superior offering of the

⁵⁰ So correctly, W.L. Lane, *Hebrews I*, 207.

⁵¹ Cf. John 20:25; Acts 7:43, 44; Rom 5:14; 23:25; 1 Cor 10:6; 16:17; Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; 1 Tim 4:12; Tit 2:7; Heb 8:5 and 1 Pet 5:3.

⁵² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408. Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 160. G. Theißen sees Exod 25:40 as a kind of “hermeneutisches Prinzip” – with possible influence from the Alexandrian hermeneutics (*Untersuchungen*, 91).

⁵³ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408.

⁵⁴ The quotation is found “in the introduction to Hebrews’ extensive treatment of Christ’s superior high-priestly offering (8:3–10:18)” (G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 968).

⁵⁵ Cf. Plato *Resp.* 7.515a-b.

⁵⁶ So, for instance, H.-F. Weiss: “Das ist eine Redeweise, mit der der Autor des Hebr eindeutig in der Kontinuität des Urbild-Abbild-Schemas in der Platonischen Schultradition steht” (*Hebräer*, 437).

⁵⁷ So, for instance, R.McL. Wilson: “...the Jewish idea of two worlds, this present world and the world to come, could be, and sometimes was, fused together with the Platonic conception of the visible and intelligible worlds, although they are in fact distinct, and the same is true here” (*Hebrews*, 135).

⁵⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 408. F.F. Bruce sees the similarities rather in terms of the “author’s use of language, and not his essential thought, that exhibits such affinity.” “If the earthly sanctuary is a ‘shadow’ of the heavenly, it is because the whole Levitical order foreshadowed the spiritual order of the new age” (*Hebrews*, 166).

⁵⁹ So also A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 164.

heavenly High Priest in Heb 8:3 – 10:18 in a typological manner and in the light of salvation history.⁶⁰

1.4 Conclusion

Apart from the fact that the idea of a heavenly temple was a well known motif in early Judaism – with interesting parallels in Wis 9 and *T. Levi* – the passage from Exod 25:40 has already been explicitly quoted by Philo in *Leg.* 3,102. In early Christianity, however, there are only a number of allusions by some of the NT writers. Most interesting is the occurrence of the phrase κατὰ τὸν τύπον in Stephen’s Speech in Acts 7:44.

The text critical investigation confirmed that the reconstructed LXX text could be accepted as it is – none of the variants carry enough weight to alter the text. Furthermore, neither the 4th cent. C.E. Papyrus 866, nor the 3rd cent. C.E. POxy 4442, contain the section of Exod 25. The only conclusion that can thus be drawn with the available evidence of OT witnesses at hand, is that the LXX represents here a fairly literal Greek translation of the Hebrew. It was also established on the side of the NT manuscripts, that they all attest to the same reading – which is closer to that of the LXX than to that of the MT, but including πάντα (vs the LXX), δειχθέντα (vs the LXX and Philo) and τύπον (vs Philo). The NT reading is thus neither in exact agreement with the LXX, nor in exact agreement with the quotation by Philo. Chances are good that the inclusion of πάντα (and its parallel in Philo’s *Leg.*) might have been part of the author’s *Vorlage*. Common knowledge from this cultic tradition – possibly even liturgical tradition – probably lies behind the similarities between Hebrews’ and Philo’s quotation of Exod 25:40.

2. Jer 31(38):31-34 in Heb 8:8-12; Jer 31(38):33-34 in Heb 10:16-7

The quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 is the longest quotation to be found in the NT. Apart from the fact that the author of Hebrews quotes this section in Heb 8:8-12, he continues later in his argument with a re-quotation of two of these verses again in Heb 10:16-17.

⁶⁰ So similarly A. Strobel with regard to the closure of the Jeremiah quotation: “Indem der Verfasser das Zitat mit der Zusage der Sündenvergebung abschließt, steht er wiederum beim größeren Thema, das vom hohenpriesterlichen Dienst des Christus handelt, der eine Reinigung von den Sünden bewirkt hat (1,2)” (*Hebräer*, 166).

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Jer 31(38)

The final formation of the Hebrew Jeremiah probably took place – as with the Pentateuch – during the post-exilic period of the 5th cent. B.C.E.⁶¹ The section, Jer 30–33, is known as the “Book of Consolation.” It belongs to the second unit (Jer 26–45) of the three units of the book. (The first contains Jer 1–25 and the third Jer 46–51). This second unit consists of a long list of miracles (oracles) in which hope is offered to the Israelites during the time of the Exile, namely that Yahweh will re-establish them in their home country.⁶² Both the “houses of Israel and Judah” are addressed here in this section (Jer 31:27, 31; cf. also 33:14). Attention has been drawn to the fact that the juxtaposition of the two “houses” in Jeremiah only appears in Jer 31:27, 31. There, as well as in Jer 33:14, the expression “Behold the days are coming” precedes the mentioning of the two houses.⁶³

When turning particularly to some background to the passage from Jer 31(38):31-34, which is quoted in Hebrews, the following observations have been made:⁶⁴

- (a) The passage could be taken as authentic to Jeremiah because themes and phrases that are characteristic of his expression elsewhere, are also to be found here.
- (b) The proposed setting “is the recitation of the Deuteronomic law during the feast of booths (tabernacles) in the autumn of 587, after the destruction of Jerusalem,” and the likeness to Deuteronomic diction – particularly in the first half – is deliberate.
- (c) The first section of the passage (vv. 31-33α) is a prose section, chiastic in form, and centering on the old covenant. The second section of the passage (vv. 33αβ-34) is a poetic section, also chiastic in form, and centering now on the new covenant.

Some scholars perceived Jer 31(38):31-34 in both its LXX and MT versions to be “part of a complex post-exilic discussion of the nature of God’s covenant with his people.”⁶⁵ Whether it is to be seen as coming originally from Jeremiah or from a Deuteronomic author is

⁶¹ E. Otto, “Old and New Testament Covenant. A Post-exilic Discourse between the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Also a Study on Quotations and Allusions in the Hebrew Bible,” *OTE* 19/3 (2006) 939-949, on p. 941.

⁶² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225.

⁶³ J. Lust, “Messianism and the Greek Version of Jeremiah,” in C.E. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organisation for the Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 87-122, on p. 103.

⁶⁴ W.L. Holladay & P.D. Hanson, *Jeremiah 2: A commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, chapters 26-52* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 197.

⁶⁵ E. Otto, “Old and New Covenant,” 941.

uncertain.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, when understanding Jer 31:31-34 as a direct reaction “to the post-exilic Pentateuch and its theory of covenant and revelation...,” it is seen as a debate which took place in the late layers of the book of Jeremiah and the Pentateuch.⁶⁷ The post-exilic circles of prophetic literature understood that God’s revelation continued to their time, placing particular emphasis on the prophetic words and despite using the same exegetical techniques as the priests.⁶⁸

2.1.2 The use of Jer 31(38):31-34 in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Scholarship has only fairly recently paid attention to the role of Jer 31:31-34 and the new covenant motif within *Jewish* tradition. The reader is referred to these investigations⁶⁹ – with only a few general remarks that will suffice for this study. Traces of the renewal of the covenant are already present in passages such as Ezek 37:23.⁷⁰ The motif from Jer 31(38):31-34 was taken up mainly by two groups in the later tradition: the DSS community (without explicit reference to Jer 31[38] though)⁷¹ and the early Christians. But it is especially at the DSS community where the expectation of a new covenant was present.⁷² They understood themselves as people of the New Covenant, although this covenant “was for them nothing more than the Mosaic Covenant with strong legalistic tendencies.”⁷³ A possible intertextual occurrence to Jer 31(38) was identified in 11QT^a 29:7-8 (11Q19).⁷⁴ Especially the Damascus Scroll (CD) refers explicitly to those who entered into a new covenant in Damascus. The motif of a new covenant is an important motif in CD.⁷⁵ Two fragments of the Damascus Scroll were also discovered in Cairo – even before its discovery at Qumran. The final

⁶⁶ J.A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 580.

⁶⁷ E. Otto, “Old and New Covenant,” 939.

⁶⁸ E. Otto, “Old and New Covenant,” 939-940.

⁶⁹ See H. Lichtenberger & S. Schreiner, “Der neue Bund in jüdischer Überlieferung,” *Theologischer Quartalschrift* 176 (1996), 272-290.

⁷⁰ J.A. Thompson sees Jer 31:31-34 as “the only reference to *a new covenant* in the OT” (*Jeremiah*, 579).

⁷¹ Cf. H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 446: “nur in Gestalt der technischen Wendung vom ‘Eintreten in den Neuen Bund’...also im Sinne des Eintritts in die Gemeinde.” There are thus no grounds to assume that Hebrews received this motif from the DSS community or that he writes polemically against it.

⁷² CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33-34; 20:12; 1QpHab 2:1-4; 1Q28b 3:25-26; 5:21-22; 1Q34 3 ii 5-6. G.H. Guthrie also adds 1QS I,16, 18, 20, 24; 1QS II,10 (*Hebrews*, 971). With regard to the occurrences in the Damascus Document, E.J. Christensen makes the point that “The expression ‘new covenant’ is notably ambiguous. The question is *not* whether ‘new covenant’ is an allusion to Jeremiah 31 or not. Even if there is an allusion to Jeremiah, it is of note that the context there is covenant as ‘new law’ with a different quality to the covenant relationship” (“The Consciousness of Belonging to God’s Covenant and What It Entails According to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule,” in F.H. Cryer & T.L. Thompson, *Qumran*, 69-97, on p. 82).

⁷³ J.A. Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 580.

⁷⁴ G.J. Brooke, “Intertextual Interpretations,” 53.

⁷⁵ Cf. CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33, 34; 20:12 (E. Lohse (ed.), *Texte aus Qumran*, 296). See also CD 8:15; 9:28, 37.

columns of CD contain a liturgy for the renewal of the covenant,⁷⁶ which took place once a year when all members of the community underwent evaluation.⁷⁷ It is debated whether a reference to a “new covenant” originally appeared also at a lacuna in 1QpHab 2:3, the Pesher on Habakkuk.⁷⁸

When turning to *early Christianity*, apart from these quotations from Jer 31(38) in Heb 8:8-12; 10:16 and 10:17, the only other explicit quotation from Jer 31(38), is v. 15 which has been quoted by Matt 2:18. There is a reference though, not a quotation, in Matt 26:28b to Jer 31:34.⁷⁹ But the phrase line of the motif of a “new covenant” is to be found also in the longer text of Luke 22:20 when Jesus passes on the wine, as well as by Paul in 1 Cor 11:25 and 2 Cor 3:6. The tradition might be older, as Paul explicitly refers to the fact that he passes this on “which he received from the Lord” (1 Cor 11:23).⁸⁰

2.2 Text critical investigation

The Hebrew and Greek versions of the OT differ most substantially in the book of Jeremiah. Especially the order and the length of the material are standing out amongst these differences. When comparing the *length* of the LXX and MT of Jeremiah in their entirety, the LXX text is shorter by about one eighth.⁸¹ For many years it was assumed that this shorter version is the result of a deliberately abbreviated Greek translation – an opinion that is still supported by some scholars today.⁸² Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that the shorter Greek version is rather the result of a Hebrew text which is both shorter and superior to that of the MT.⁸³ Proof of this shorter text has been found amongst the DSS with the Hebrew fragment

⁷⁶ J.T. Milik, “Notes d’epigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes,” *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959) 550-575, on pp. 551-552; J.T. Milik, *Milkî-sedeq et Milkî-rešā'*, 135.

⁷⁷ J.R. Lundbom, s.v. “New Covenant,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. IV* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1088-1094, on p. 1090.

⁷⁸ J.R. Lundbom, “New Covenant,” 1090. For an exposition of Jer 31:31-34 in *rabbinic* tradition, see H. Lichtenberger & S. Schreiner, “Neue Bund,” 272-290.

⁷⁹ Confirmed by D. Senior, who is of the opinion that Matthew has added the words εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν as a reference to Jer 31:34 (“The Lure of the Formula Quotations. Re-Assessing Matthew’s Use of the Old Testament with the Passion Narrative as a Test Case,” in C. Tuckett (ed.), *Scriptures in the Gospels* [Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997] 89-116, on p. 110).

⁸⁰ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 77.

⁸¹ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 362. Also N.L. Geisler & W.E. Nix, *General Introduction*, 374.

⁸² Cf. G. Fischer: “Viel eher kann man in G (i.e. LXX, *GJS*) weitgehend das Produkt redaktioneller oder herausgeberischer Tätigkeit sehen, die sich mit der – ohnehin zu leistenden – Übersetzung auf leichte Weise harmonisch verbinden ließ” (“Zum Text des Jeremiabuches,” *Biblica* 78/3 [1997] 305-328, on p. 328). Fischer points out that the debate about the original text is thus still going on and he challenges the reasons listed for an older and a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the LXX was translated.

⁸³ See the work of S. Soderlund, *The Greek Text of Jeremiah. A Revised Hypothesis* (JSOT Supp Ser 47; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), especially on p. 247. Also H.-J. Stipp: “JerG* ist eine zuverlässige Zeugin eines nichtmasoretischen hebräischen Originals. Die Arbeitsweise ihrer Urheber hat den Vorteil daß die Vorlage

of Jeremiah (4QJer^{a,b}) supporting some of these omissions.⁸⁴ There are, furthermore, indications of a closer relation between the LXX and the Hebrew tradition represented in 4QJer, such as four verses that are omitted and one that is transposed in Jer 10 of 4QJer.^a⁸⁵ However, traces of the longer version were also found amongst the DSS, which testifies to the availability of both the shorter and longer forms of the text. The MT and LXX translation of Jeremiah are thus probably based on different recensions of the Hebrew, according to some scholars.⁸⁶

When comparing the *order* of the LXX and MT versions of Jeremiah with regard to the three constituent units, it certainly is also striking to notice that the LXX version of Jeremiah interchanged the third and second units.⁸⁷ In the LXX version, unit III (Jer 46–51, the foreign oracles), is inserted between units I (Jer 1–25) and II (Jer 26–45), which is good evidence that each of these three major portions of the book once circulated as an independent collection.⁸⁸ In fact, the MT and the LXX diverge in no OT book more widely than in that of Jeremiah.⁸⁹ Furthermore, one might add to the issues regarding the differences in length and order also the fact that a different translator seems to have worked from LXX Jer 29 onwards.⁹⁰

2.2.1 Readings of Jer 31(38):31-34

The oldest manuscript of Jeremiah (4QJer^a), amongst those of the DSS, dates back to the end of the 3rd cent. B.C.E.⁹¹ Unfortunately, neither this fragment, nor any of the other Jeremiah fragments that were found amongst the DSS, contain the text of Jer 31(38):31-34.⁹² This

zumeist mit befriedigender Sicherheit aus der griechischen Wiedergabe rekonstruiert werden kann” (*Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches. Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* [Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 136; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994] 59). So too, B. Becking, “Jeremiah’s Book of Consolation: A Textual Comparison. Notes on the Masoretic Text and the Old Greek Version of Jeremiah XXX-XXXI,” VT 44/2 (1994), 145–169, on p. 147.

⁸⁴ N.L. Geisler & W.E. Nix, *General Introduction*, 368.

⁸⁵ Cf. N.L. Geisler & W.E. Nix, *General Introduction*, 374.

⁸⁶ See J.A. Thompson: “It is not possible to say at what point the Hebrew tradition on which the LXX was based diverged from that on which MT was based” (*Jeremiah*, 119).

⁸⁷ Cf., amongst others, A. Rofé, “The arrangement of the book of Jeremiah,” ZAW 101 (1989) 390–398.

⁸⁸ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 362.

⁸⁹ J. Ziegler, has therefore pointed to great caution when it comes to the text of Jeremiah: “Die Textgestaltung begegnet bei Ier. großen Schwierigkeiten. Oftmals ist die Entscheidung, welche Lesart in den Text aufgenommen werden soll, sehr schwer. Besondere Sorgfalt erfordern die Konjekturen, Dubletten und Eigennamen, an denen unter allen prophetischen Büchern Ier. am reichsten ist” (*Septuaginta Vol. XV: Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976], 127).

⁹⁰ B. Becking, “Book of Consolation,” 145.

⁹¹ J.J. Collins, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” 89.

⁹² The situation did not change since the time of E. Ahlborn: “(wir haben) keinen weiteren Beleg aus dem Jeremiabuche” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 75).

leaves only the MT version for comparative purposes. A comparison between the Hebrew of the MT and the reconstructed LXX version of Jeremiah shows that the two texts are very close to each other and that there are few and only minor differences.⁹³

Jer 31:31-34 MT	Jer 38:31-34 LXX
<p>31 הַהֵּם קְאִים נָאֹתִי הָהָרֶן אֲתָּבִית יִשְׁרָאֵל וְאֲתָּבִית יְהוָה 32: בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה לֹא כְּבָרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אָבוֹתֶם בַּיּוֹם הַחֲזִיקִי בַּיּוֹם לְהַזִּיאָם מְאָרֶן מִצְרָיִם אֲשֶׁר־הָקִפה הַפְּרוֹ אֲתָּבִרְתִּי וְאַנְכִּי בַּעֲלָתִי בָּם נָאֹתִי הָהָרֶן : 33 כִּי וְאַתָּה קְבָרִית אֲשֶׁר אָכְרָת אֲתָּבִית יִשְׁרָאֵל אַחֲרִי הַיָּמִים ذָהָם נָאֹתִי הָהָרֶן אֲתָּה־תֹּרֶתִי בְּקָרְבָּם וּלְלָבָם אֲכָתָּהָנָה וְהִיִּתְּ לָהֶם לְאֲלֹהִים וְהַמֶּה 34 : וְלֹא יַלְמֹדוּ שׂׂד אִישׂ אֲתָּה־עָדוֹ וְאִישׂ אֲתָּה־אָחוֹ לְאָמַר דַּעַו אֲתָּיִתְּ כִּיכּוֹלָם יַדְעֻוּ אָתוֹ לְמַקְטָם וְעַד־גָּדוֹלָם נָאֹתִי הָהָרֶן כִּי אָסְלָח לְעַזְבָּם וְלַחֲצָתָם לֹא אָזְכָּר־עוֹד : ס</p>	<p>31 Ιδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶν κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ισραὴλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ιουδα διαθήκην καινήν, 32 οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἔξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔνεμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶν κύριος, 33 ὅτι αὗτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἦν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ισραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, φησὶν κύριος Διδοὺς δώσω νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν, 34 καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων Γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι. —</p>

The differences between the MT and the reconstructed LXX⁹⁴ can be categorised into translation inconsistencies, on the one hand, and substitutions on the other hand.⁹⁵

- *Inconsistencies in translation:* The translation of בְּרִית is once done with the translation equivalent διαθήσομαι (v. 31), once with διεθέμην (v. 32), whereas אֲכָרְתִּי is translated with διαθήσομαι (v. 33). Similar inconsistencies appear when the negative particle אֲלֹא is once translated with a mere οὐ (v. 31) but twice with οὐ μή (v. 34 bis), when the object

⁹³ B.F. Westcott already stated that the LXX “in the main, agrees with the Hebrew” with regard to the text of this particular quotation (*Hebrews*, 220).

⁹⁴ According to F. Schröger these differences are “nur geringfügige Unterschiede” (*Verfasser*, 164). The number of differences, however, is fairly large.

⁹⁵ Simply interesting to note regarding הַשְׁעָרָה in v. 31, is the fact that there also was a town in the western foothills of Judea which carried this name (cf. Jos 15:37).

marker אֵת – which has been constantly translated with the definite article in Greek – is left untranslated in v. 33 before νόμους, and when the fourth occurrence of the phrase נָאָמַר יְהִי (λέγει κύριος) is left untranslated in v. 34.

- *Substitutions:* The Hebrew positive form הָפָרָה has been translated in the LXX in a negative (οὐκ ἐνέμεταν). Furthermore, the phrase אֲחָבָרִיתִי אֲנָשִׁים in v. 32 has been translated in the Greek with a dative construction by including the preposition ἐν to read ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου.⁹⁶ (It is interesting that the preposition ἐν does not appear in the oldest NT witness [P⁴⁶] either, which brings it in closer conformity with the MT). Still in v. 32, the phrase בָּעַלְתִּי בָּם (“I was a husband,” Qal perfect) as found in the MT (followed by the Vulgate) was translated with ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν (“I did not care for them”) in the Greek (similar to the Peshitta) and probably understood rather in terms of the alternative meaning of בָּעַל in the sense of “abhor,”⁹⁷ or simply reading נָעַלְתִּי for בָּעַלְתִּי.⁹⁸ In v. 33, the translation of נָחָזָה was done with the tautological and emphatic διδοὺς δώσω, whilst the Hebrew בְּקָרְבָּן⁹⁹ was translated with εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν – creating a parallelism with the next line.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, אֲחָזָה¹⁰¹ is rendered by the plural νόμους – which “may have been chosen to dissociate the general idea of the divine ‘instruction’ from the special Mosaic code with which it had been identified.”¹⁰¹ Similar cases are found in v. 34 when the singular שׁוֹן is translated with the plural ταῖς ἀδικίαις and the singular נָאָמַר with the plural τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν.

When we turn to the variant readings of the reconstructed LXX text *per se* above, a large amount of different readings can be observed. Most of them are showing clear traces of early Christian influence as many of these variant readings are only attested by some of the Church

⁹⁶ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno add to this that the phrase בְּיֹם חֶזְיוֹן בְּיַד was translated in Greek with ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρός, and that his translation was probably chosen as “ἐν τῷ ἐπιλαβέσθαι would have sounded unfelicitous in Greek” (*OT Quotations*, 137).

⁹⁷ R.McL. Wilson suspects that the LXX reading goes back to another Hebrew *Vorlage* (*Hebrews*, 139). G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, in turn, reckon that if this is the case, then the LXX provides a valuable clue as to the proper interpretation of this word (*OT Quotations*, 137). Different meanings have been allotted to the word, but all in all it remains “hardly possible to account with confidence for the LXX use of ἡμέλησα (αὐτῶν) vis-à-vis preserved (בָּעַלְתִּי) בָּעַל and no conclusion can be drawn from the equation or from any theories built on it” (B.M. Zlotowitz, *The Septuagint Translation of the Hebrew Terms in Relation to God in the Book of Jeremiah* [New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1981], 178).

⁹⁸ So suggested by F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 169; G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 972.

⁹⁹ The Hebrew בְּקָרְבָּן has more the sense of “inward part; bowels” and is used to describe the inner parts of the sacrificial animal (e.g. Exod 12:9). Cf. B. Davidson, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1981), 666; W.L. Holladay, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 324. So correctly translated by the KJV: “their inward parts,” *versus* the NIV: “in their minds.”

¹⁰⁰ So also observed by R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 139.

¹⁰¹ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 223. Along similar lines, also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 83.

Fathers and/or later minuscules. Although a comprehensive list of variants is presented here – following the apparatus of the Göttingen LXX –, most of them are not significant enough to validate considering a different reconstruction of the text, based only on the quotations of the Church Fathers alone, or on the evidence of late minuscules. These differences will merely be listed here for the sake of comprehensiveness, but not be evaluated further.

- (a) *Additions*: In v. 32 is ὥστε inserted by some,¹⁰² and τοῦ by others,¹⁰³ before ἐξαγαγεῖν. In v. 33 is the phrase καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδᾳ inserted after Ἰσραὴλ.¹⁰⁴ V. 34 added ἐτι after the first occurrence of αὐτοῦ¹⁰⁵ and φησὶ(ν) κύριος after the second occurrence of αὐτοῦ,¹⁰⁶ whilst the phrase καὶ τῶν ἀνομίων αὐτῶν is added¹⁰⁷ after ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.
- (b) *Omissions*: In v. 31 is τῷ οἴκῳ victim to homoioteleuton.¹⁰⁸ In v. 32 is τῆς omitted,¹⁰⁹ whilst some omitted in v. 33 αὕτῃ,¹¹⁰ οἴκῳ,¹¹¹ μου,¹¹² or τήν.¹¹³ In v. 34 is λέγων omitted by some¹¹⁴ and ἐτι by others,¹¹⁵ whilst homoioteleuton took place with ἔκαστος by Cyprian. The second occurrence of αὐτῶν is omitted in v. 34.¹¹⁶
- (c) *Substitutions*: In v. 31 is Ἰσραὴλ replaced with Ἰακώβ,¹¹⁷ and Ἰούδᾳ with Ἰσραὴλ,¹¹⁸ whilst the plural ἡμέραι ἔρχονται became singular: ἡμέρα ἔρχεται¹¹⁹ – similar to v. 33 where the plural τὰς ἡμέρας ἔκεινας also becomes singular τῆς ἡμερῆς ἔκεινῆς.¹²⁰ In v. 32 becomes οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν in some witnesses οὐχ – ἦν;¹²¹ διεθέμην is replaced by ἐποίησα,¹²² ἐξαγαγεῖν by ἐξάγειν,¹²³ and γῆς with τῆς.¹²⁴ The phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κ.τ.λ. (until the 2nd αὐτῶν close to the end of the verse), has been changed to ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἥ ἐπελαβομην τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦς.¹²⁵ Furthermore, φησίν became λέγει in vv. 31, 32.¹²⁶ In v. 33 is εἰς replaced with ἐπί¹²⁷ and the phrase αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν reads

¹⁰² By the witnesses *L* -233 Tht.

¹⁰³ By Greg.Nyss. Cyr.III800.1221 IV172^p V576 IX1000 VII928 X861 = MT.

¹⁰⁴ So by minuscule 88 (sub —) and *L* Syh^{mg} Chr. Tht. Opt.: ex 31.

¹⁰⁵ Only by minuscule 233.

¹⁰⁶ By *O*-233 *L* Arm Eus.ecl. = MT!.

¹⁰⁷ Added by *c*-613 Chr.XII 528 Tht.III 737: ex Heb 8:12, 10:17.

¹⁰⁸ By *C* Aug.ep.138,7 et civ.18,33 Euch.

¹⁰⁹ Only by minuscule 311.

¹¹⁰ Only by minuscules 534 and 538.

¹¹¹ Minuscule 538 and Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.19.

¹¹² So by minuscules 239, 410 and by Clem.I81.

¹¹³ Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.38 Cyr.IV81 Chr.VII14 XII528 Tht. (=II956 IV508).

¹¹⁴ By minuscules 410 and 613.

¹¹⁵ By Clem. Hi. ^{cit} Prosp.

¹¹⁶ By Arm Clem. Chr.IX641 Hi. in Is.15,54 Prosp.voc. 1,9.

¹¹⁷ Cyr.III1221 Tert.III424; *iudae* Tert.II₂260.

¹¹⁸ Cyr.; *iacob* Tert.II₂260 Aug.

¹¹⁹ Ath.III352 Tert.III424 (*veniet dies*).

¹²⁰ Not the same witness, though. Only by minuscule 538.

¹²¹ Cf. (ως Clem.) Iust. Clem. Tert.II₂260 III316 Ir. ^{lat} Chrom.p.332 Ambrst.qu.60 Aug.c.Faust.18,4.

¹²² By the 6th cent. Codex Marchalianus (Q^{txt}) = Hebr.8:9.

¹²³ Minuscules 91 and 534.

¹²⁴ By the 8th cent. Codex Venetus (V) and Iust.

¹²⁵ By Iust.; *in die qua eos eduxi* Tert.II₂260; *cum illios eduxisset* Tert.III316 Chrom.(sim.) Aug. ep.138,7(sim.)

¹²⁶ Supported in V. 31 by Justin and many other Greek Fathers (similar to Heb 8:8). Supported in V. 32 by minuscules 407 and 544, as well as by Theodotion and other Greek Fathers (similar to Hebrews) – whereas λέγει is added to it in minuscule 538. In V. 33 φησίν fell out due to homoioteleuton by minuscules 62 and 490.

aὐτῶν θεός by some¹²⁸ and *αὐτοῖς θεός* by others.¹²⁹ In v. 34 *εἰδήσουσίν με* becomes either *με γνώσονται*¹³⁰ or *εἰσόνται τὸν θεόν*.¹³¹ The phrase *ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν* is changed to *ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν* by a single witness,¹³² and to *καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν* by some others.¹³³ So, too, is *μησθῶ* changed to *μησθήσομαι*¹³⁴ and the phrase *ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν* (cf. 43:3) became either *ταῖς ἀνομίαις αὐτῶν*¹³⁵ or *ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν*,¹³⁶ whilst *ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν* reads *ἀνομίῶν αὐτῶν*¹³⁷ and *μησθῶ* reads *μησθήσομαι*.¹³⁸

Some other differences amongst the LXX witnesses, however, might need further exploration as they are also to be found in some of the *uncials*. These will now be briefly surveyed and evaluated.

- (a) *Additions*: In v. 33 is *μου* added after *διαθήκη* by B^{LXX},¹³⁹ and *καὶ ὄψομαι* before *αὐτούς* by \aleph^* -130-239 and A^{LXX}.¹⁴⁰
- (b) *Omissions*: In v. 31 is *καινὴν* omitted by \aleph^* ;¹⁴¹ in v. 34 is *μή* omitted in its first occurrence only by B^{LXX}, and *αὐτῶν* in its first occurrence by A^{LXX}-106'.¹⁴²
- (c) *Substitutions*: In v. 32 became *αὐτῶν* in \aleph ,¹⁴³ *ὑμῶν*, and *krasis* takes place with *καὶ εγώ*, which became *κάγω* in A^{LXX}-106.¹⁴⁴ In v. 33 reads \aleph^* ¹⁴⁵ the singular *νόμον* (and not the plural *νόμους*), as well as *καρδίαν*¹⁴⁶ and not *διάνοιαν*¹⁴⁷ – which is probably “ein vom Schreiber frühzeitig bemerktes Versehen.”¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, in the next occurrence the genitive singular, or accusative plural *καρδίας* in \aleph , becomes an accusative singular,

It is interesting that *φησίν* is found in the LXX only in the vicinity of this Jeremiah passage – between LXX Jer 30:2 – 49:11 (cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 78).

¹²⁷ By Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.19 and Tht.

¹²⁸ Eusebius *Dem. ev. et ps.*27 Cyr.X861.

¹²⁹ ^P) Hi. In Is.14,51.

¹³⁰ By Adam. – or *me scient* by Cypr.test.3,20.

¹³¹ Only by Clem.

¹³² Only by Cyr.X861.

¹³³ See c-613 Chr.XII528 Tht.III737: ex Heb 8:12, 10:17.

¹³⁴ By Cyr.X861: cf. 40:8 Hebr. 10:17.

¹³⁵ Supported by L' Tht.: cf. 28:5.

¹³⁶ Cyr.X861 – or reading *αὐτοῖς* in Clement.

¹³⁷ Only by Cyr.X861.

¹³⁸ Supported by Cyr.X861 (cf. 40:8) and Heb 10:17.

¹³⁹ By minuscule 613 Bo Opt.: cf. Heb 8:10 (also 60 – A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 268).

¹⁴⁰ Also by 36 C'-613 Aeth Arab Aug.civ.17,3.

¹⁴¹ Also omitted by Tert.III316.

¹⁴² So also by 567 239 534 544 Clem. Adam. Cypr. et multi alii patres gr. et lat.: cf. 49,1.

¹⁴³ Also Clem.II452 Chr.II319.320 III284 V215 VI31 VII247 VIII92 XII527 PsChr.II1090 GregNyss.III217^P Tert.III316 Ir.^{lat} Hi.in Is.5,25.

¹⁴⁴ Followed by minuscule 407 multi patres gr.=Hebr 8,9.

¹⁴⁵ So also by Aeth = MT!. *τοῦς* is inserted (— 88) before *νόμους* by 88 L-449 Chr.!

¹⁴⁶ Followed by Aeth Arab Opt.

¹⁴⁷ It reads *διάνοιας* by Tht.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 83.

καρδίαν,¹⁴⁹ whereas the whole phrase ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς had been reshuffled to ἐπιγράψω αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τᾶς καρδίας αὐτῶν by A^{LXX}.¹⁵⁰ Still in the same verse μοὶ εἰς λαόν has become μοῦ εἰς λαόν by Χ*,¹⁵¹ and γράψω reads ἐπιγράψω by Q-V.¹⁵² In v. 34 διδάξωσιν has become διδάξουσιν in B^{LXX}¹⁵³ and the second occurrence of ὅτι became καί by Clement. In v. 34a has πολίτην¹⁵⁴ become ἀδελφόν by A¹⁵⁵ and O, and πλησίον by Heb 8:11 – whilst the reverse took place in the same witnesses in v. 34b when ἀδελφόν became πλησίον.

(d) *Transpositions*: In v. 33 is Διδοὺς δώσω interchanged by B^{LXX}-Χ*.¹⁵⁶ It reflects a close translation of the Semitic *infinitivus absolutus* in conjunction with the *verbum finitum* and is not common in Greek.¹⁵⁷

The majority of these variant readings, relating to the uncials, could be discarded due to the fact that (a) they occur mainly in 5th cent. C.E. codices Χ and A, and (b) they are mainly attested by only one of the important uncials and are not well supported in combination with other important witnesses. Two of those from the list of variants above are, however, interesting with regard to the quotation in Hebrews. The first is the addition of μοῦ after διαθήκη by Codex B in v. 33, which is also added by codices A D and Ψ in the NT, and supported by the Boharic manuscripts in both the OT and the NT. The second is the reading πολίτην (v. 34a), which is consistently attested by Codex B in the LXX (also here by the Boharic witnesses), as well as by Codex B in the NT. Its attestation in the NT is very strong and there is little doubt that it is the authentic reading there.

¹⁴⁹ So followed by Clem. Chr.I827. With the article in accusative singular (τὴν καρδίαν) by Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.38 Cyr.V597. Other variants are καρδίαις (613); *mentibus* (Opt.); pr. τᾶς, Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.19 Cyr.III540.800.1224 II1029 IX1000.1240 X861 Tht.II956; pr. (— O) τοῦ, (> L⁶²) στηθούς (+ τῆς Chr.) O L' Chr.l: ex 17; τοῦ στηθούς τῶν καρδιῶν Tht.

¹⁵⁰ Followed only by Arab.

¹⁵¹ Other variant readings are μοῦ λαός (Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.19.39 Cyr. X 864); λαός μοῦ (Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.67 Hi. cit); μοὶ λαός (Eusebius *Comm. Ps.* 27). Cf. Ezek 37:27.

¹⁵² Also by 26-46-86'-106-130-239-534-544-613 et nonnulli patres gr. Et lat.: cf. Hebr. 8:10, 10:10. It reads γράφων only by Clem.

¹⁵³ Followed by 710 Chr. (= XII 528). Other variants are διδάξει verss.^p PsAth.IV237 Aug.spir.19,33 Prosp.voc.1,9 Fulg.ep.17 = Vulg // + (— O) ἐτι O-86^{mg} L⁴⁰⁷ 239 Aeth Tht. = MT // pr. *ultra* Arm Hi. In Is.15,54. E. Ahlborn states that everything here points to the fact that the trusted Codex B did not contain the original LXX reading (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 85).

¹⁵⁴ Supported by B (-λειτ.)-Χ Bo Aeth Chr.VI30 XII528 Tht.III737 Aug.spir.19,33 (civem).

¹⁵⁵ See the discussion by E. Ahlborn who considers this as “innergriechische Verwechslung” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 78).

¹⁵⁶ Also by Bo Cyr.IV81^p V597 II1029. It only reads δώσω by Aeth Arab Arm Cyr.X861 Aug.(passim) Prosp.voc.1,8,9 Fulg.ep.17; *scribam* by Chrom.; and διδούς rel. (Clem.) = Hebr

¹⁵⁷ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 82: “Demgegenüber ist das einfache διδούς eine textliche Erleichterung, die griechischer Sprachgewohnheit entspricht.”

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 8:8-12; 10:16-17

Heb 8:8-12 (For a synopsis with Heb 10:16-17, see further down)

⁸μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς λέγει·

ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει κύριος, καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ιούδα διαθήκην καὶ μήν, ⁹οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτὸὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔνεμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος. ¹⁰ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη^τ, ἦν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ταρδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν. ¹¹καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ αὐτοῦ λέγων· γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσιν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἔως μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ¹²ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν^τ οὐ μὴ μησθῶ ἔτι.

Columns 51-60 are, unfortunately, missing in the 3rd cent. P.Oxy 657 (P¹³), i.e. Heb 5:6 – 10:27, but the oldest NT witness that we have here, is the 2nd cent. C.E. P⁴⁶. It provides a range of differences: (a) It reads *αὐτοῖς* instead of *αὐτοῦς*; (b) omits the phrase *ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, λέγει*; (c) the last section of v. 8 (*οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ιούδα διαθήκην καὶ μήν*,) is missing due to the transition from the one page to the next; (d) v. 9 starts with an added *καὶ*; (e) the preposition *ἐν* does not appear in the phrase *ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ*; (f) it reads in v. 10 only *γράψω* and not *ἐπιγράψω*; (g) in v. 11 διδάξῃ ἔτερος instead of διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος; (h) *πολίτην* and *μικροῦ* read *πολείτην* and *μεικροῦ* in P⁴⁶ (i) it omits *αὐτοῦ* and probably transposes it after *γνῶθι*; ¹⁵⁸ (j) the first part of v. 12 (ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν) lacks in P⁴⁶.

Further textual variants regarding the NT text, are the following:

(a) *Additions*:

- Some NT witnesses insert *μοῦ* after *διαθήκη* in v. 10.¹⁵⁹ Some LXX witnesses also include *μου* here.¹⁶⁰ This first person singular ending is omitted by the MT, as well as

¹⁵⁸ I would suggest a different reconstruction here in line 14/15, to rather read *λέγων* than *ἔγων*.

¹⁵⁹ A D Ψ bo^{pt} (also E – according to A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 268).

¹⁶⁰ B 613 Bo Opt. E. Ahlborn assumes that this reading is “eine Sonderlesart des Vaticanus,” that it does not belong to the original LXX text, is not representative of it and was unknown to the author of Hebrews. “Durch seine Variante in V.33 bietet Codex B einen parallelen Ausdruck dazu” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 81).

by the majority of most important LXX witnesses. Also interesting here is that Codex A^{NT} follows B^{LXX} by including it.¹⁶¹

- Furthermore, in v. 12 the phrase καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν is inserted after αὐτῶν by some witnesses.¹⁶² As it is not attested in the LXX, the suspicion is that it has been added as a periphrastic expansion by the author of Hebrews.¹⁶³
- Still in v. 12, καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν is added after καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.¹⁶⁴

(b) *Omissions:*

- In v. 11 αὐτοῦ is omitted by P⁴⁶ D* and a few others. Also αὐτῶν is omitted in v. 11 by P⁴⁶ κ A B D* K P al latt Clement. Many witnesses (D² Μ vg^{ms} sy co) added αὐτῶν here, in conformity with the LXX reading.¹⁶⁵

(c) *Substitutions:*

- In v. 9, the dative singular ὑμέρᾳ is changed to the plural (ὑμέραις) by some witnesses.¹⁶⁶ The MT has a singular here and all the LXX witnesses read ὑμέρᾳ.
- In v. 10 καρδίας has become καρδίαν by some,¹⁶⁷ καρδίαις by others,¹⁶⁸ and καρδία in B^{NT}. When looking at the first alternative (καρδίαν), some LXX witnesses¹⁶⁹ also read the accusative singular καρδίαν here, instead of the genitive singular as the MT does – probably due to “Angleichung an das parallele διάνοιαν.”¹⁷⁰ Some Church Fathers add the definite article.¹⁷¹ The most striking amongst all these witnesses is κ, that has the same reading both here in Heb 8:10 as well as in LXX Jer 38:33. The second alternative (καρδίαις) suggests the reading of an accusative plural or a dative plural – only attested by minuscule 613 in the LXX. The third alternative (καρδία), which reads a dative singular and is attested by B^{NT}, has no LXX support for this reading.

¹⁶¹ See E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch – A Discussion of an Early Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1970) 100, 109 n. 25. A.H. Cadwallader finds in the omission a curious reinforcement of his thesis “that the NT scribes conformed their readings to the LXX (*which they possessed*)” (“Correction of the Text,” 268).

¹⁶² In κ² A D 0285^{vid} Μ vg^{ms} sy^h.

¹⁶³ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225.

¹⁶⁴ But only by 075 pc.

¹⁶⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225.

¹⁶⁶ So by B sa^{ms}.

¹⁶⁷ See κ* K pc.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. P 104.365 pc d vg^{mss}.

¹⁶⁹ κ Clem. Chr.I827.

¹⁷⁰ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445.

¹⁷¹ Eusebius *Dem. ev.* p.38 Cyr.V597.

- Still in v. 10, ἐπιγράψω¹⁷² replaces the more common γράψω of P⁴⁶ and B^{NT}.¹⁷³ The ἐπιγράψω-reading emphasises the permanent nature of the new covenant.¹⁷⁴ Also Codex A^{LXX} follows the ἐπιγράψω reading, whilst B^{LXX} reads here in the OT γράψω¹⁷⁵ – which means that Codex B reads consistently γράψω in both OT and NT.
- The word πολίτην¹⁷⁶ in v. 11 becomes πλησίον by some witnesses¹⁷⁷ – a reading found also in some LXX witnesses, which probably influenced the variant in this verse.¹⁷⁸ Codex A^{NT} follows B^{LXX} – “with the added edge that πλησίον may reflect an unrevised section of Jeremiah (it occurs in Q^{pc}).”¹⁷⁹ There is little doubt that the πολίτην reading in Hebrews is the most authentic one.¹⁸⁰ Codex B also supports this reading in both the LXX and the NT. Related is the reading πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκαστος τὸν πολίτην, present in 326 and probably a conflation of the different readings.¹⁸¹
- In a few witnesses τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν (v. 12) is changed to τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν.¹⁸² A comparison between the latter part (vv. 10-12) of the author’s initial quotation in Heb 8:8-12 and his re-quotation later in Heb 10:16-17, reveals some interesting differences too. When the author of Hebrews re-quotes in Heb 10:16-17 from Jer 31(38), he (a) gives a summary of key points for his argumentation, (b) makes no additions to the text, and (c) provides the quoted parts in the form of a *hymnic adaptation*.¹⁸³ The latter is similar to what the author did when he paraphrased Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-3 by following a pattern b-a-c. Here, too, he twice utilises the same pattern. Note his repetitive use of αὐτῶν/αὐτοῦς and ἐπί, as well as the parallelistic presentation of the lines. In the light of all this, the author has clearly not

¹⁷² E. Ahlborn is of the opinion that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews actually read γράψω but that the author changed it due to stylistic reasons to ἐπιγράψω (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 84). H.-F. Weiss, on the other hand, is of the opinion that ἐπιγράψω stood in the *Vorlage* of Hebrews (*Hebräer*, 445).

¹⁷³ Followed by Ψ 0285^{*vid}.

¹⁷⁴ K.J. Thomas, “Use of the LXX,” 167; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 164.

¹⁷⁵ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225.

¹⁷⁶ Strongly supported by P⁴⁶ & A B D K L. The word does not occur elsewhere in Hebrews.

¹⁷⁷ The more commonplace, πλησίον, is supported by P 81. 104. 365. 629. 630. 2464 *al lat sy*^{p,h} cop^{sa,bo,fay} arm Cyr and the *Textus Receptus*. Cf. also B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 667.

¹⁷⁸ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 77-78; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445; A.H. Trotter, *Epistle*, 102.

¹⁷⁹ See E. Tov, *LXX Translation of Jeremiah*, 100, 109 n. 25; A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 268.

¹⁸⁰ E. Ahlborn asks the question: “Wie hätte der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes – von seiner gewohnten Vorlagentreue abgesehen ein eventuelles πλησίον, das im neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch häufiger anzutreffen ist, eigenmächtig in das seltene πολίτην ändern können?” His only to this is that the author got this from his *Vorlage* and that this reading is confirmed by Codex B (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 78).

¹⁸¹ So also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225.

¹⁸² Only by 0278. 33 pc Cyr.

¹⁸³ Without implying any background links at all, this recalls the practice of groups such as the *Therapeuta* of whom Philo wrote in his *De Vita Contemplativa*, describing the composing of hymns as an integral part of their interaction with the studying of Scriptures and their liturgy.

intended here in Heb 10:16-17 to provide an exact quotation from Jer 31(38):33-34 – he has done that already in Heb 8:8-10. This case should rather be treated along similar lines as his commentary on Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2, the commentary on Ps 95(94):7-11 in Heb 3 – 4 and the paraphrase on Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-3. Compare the following:

Heb 8:10-12	Heb 10:16-17
αὗτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἦν διαθήσομαι	αὗτη ἡ διαθήκη ἦν διαθήσομαι
τῷ οἶκῳ Ἰσραὴλ	<u>πρὸς αὐτοὺς</u>
μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος·	μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει κύριος·
διδοὺς νόμους μου	διδοὺς νόμους μου
εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ	<u>ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν</u>
ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν	καὶ <u>ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν</u>
ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς	<u>ἐπιγράψω αὐτούς,</u>
θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν· 11	
καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος τὸν	
πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν	
αὐτοῦ λέγων· γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι	
πάντες εἰδήσουσιν με ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἔως	
μεγάλου αὐτῶν, 12 ὅτι ἵλεως ἔσομαι	
ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν	<u>καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν</u>
καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν	<u>καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν</u>
οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.	οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι.

Due to the author's adaptation of the quotation here in Heb 10:16-17, great caution should be taken in an attempt to determine the *Vorlage* of the quotation¹⁸⁴ for this re-quotation. Nonetheless, the following variant readings are to be found in the re-quotation:

(a) *Additions:*

In v. 16, δέ is added after αὗτη by $\beta^13 D^{*,c}$ lat – the same witnesses that also omitted αὐτῶν. In v. 17, the words ὕστερον λέγει are inserted before καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν,¹⁸⁵ but this change is attested only by some later minuscules and translations. Another alternative, inserted at the same position, are the words τότε εἴρηκεν.¹⁸⁶ The authenticity of all these alternatives seem unlikely and their omissions could be maintained on the basis of the textual evidence.

¹⁸⁴ The number of changes is actually small and typical in nature with the presence of inaccuracies and liberties when one quotes from memory (cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 75).

¹⁸⁵ By 104. 323. 945. 1739. 1881 *al vg^{ms} sy^{hmg} sa.*

¹⁸⁶ Attested only by 1505 *pc sy^h.*

(b) *Omissions:*

Only *αὐτῶν* is omitted in this quotation (between ἀμαρτιῶν and καὶ in v. 17.¹⁸⁷ The attestation of P¹³ and P⁴⁶ with the original of Codex D makes this variant a possibility to consider, but with x A B and others including *αὐτῶν* in their reading, the weight of the latter might make its inclusion more likely.

(c) *Substitutions:*

In v. 16, the singular accusative of the phrase τὴν διανοιαν is changed to the plural genitive τῶν διάνοιων.¹⁸⁸ In v. 17, μνησθήσομαι is changed to μνήσθω by P⁴⁶ x² D² Ψ^{vid} Μ. It is interesting that P⁴⁶ as well as the second correctors of both x and D provide this option.

2.2.3 A comparison between LXX Jer 38:31-34 and Heb 8:8-12; 10:16-17

It cannot be agreed without qualification with some scholars who state that the text of the quotation in Hebrews is “identical” to that of the LXX, “roughly equal to the original Hebrew text” or showing “only a few changes.”¹⁸⁹ There are actually a number of differences¹⁹⁰ and the following should be noted:

- Whereas the MT reads three times הָנָהִי מְאֹד in Jer 31:31-33, the LXX translated it with φησὶν κύριος. The NT, however, reads in all three these cases λέγει κύριος. There might be a possibility that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text of Jeremiah that was used by the author of Hebrews, probably might have read הָנָהִי מְאֹד here.
- The change from the LXX τῷ οἴκῳ to the ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον reading of Heb 8:8 is determined by Hebrews’ choice of συντελέσω.¹⁹¹
- Whereas the MT reads תְּרִירַת בָּרֶךְ the LXX translated διαθήσομαι / διαθήκην consistently in all three cases. The NT, however, reads συντελεῖν,¹⁹² διαθήκην in Heb 8:8, but ποεῖν in 8:9¹⁹³ and διαθήσομαι in 8:10. It is interesting to note that it is only in LXX Jer 41:8,

¹⁸⁷ Omitted by the witnesses P¹³vid.⁴⁶ D^{*} 33. 104. 1739. *pc lat.*

¹⁸⁸ By D¹ Ψ Μ it vg^{cl} sy^(p) Ambr.

¹⁸⁹ So, for example, A.F.J. Klijn: “De tekst is vrijwel identiek aan die in de Griekse vertaling van het Oude Testament en deze is weer ongeveer gelijk aan de oorspronkelijke Hebreeuwse tekst” (*Hebreëën*, 97-98). Cf. also R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 139.

¹⁹⁰ S.J. Kistemaker is correct in referring to “numerous variations” (*Hebrews*, 229) and E. Ahlborn when talking about “die größten Schwierigkeiten, wenn man des Näheren nach der Gestalt fragt” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 75).

¹⁹¹ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 80. The change is without importance (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445).

¹⁹² E. Ahlborn concludes that the *Vorlage* of the author of Hebrews read διαθήσομαι, whereas Hebrews then changed it to συντελέσω (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 80). Symmachus also reads συντελέσω.

¹⁹³ Whether the author made this change on stylistic grounds by alternating the synonyms συντελεῖν and ποιεῖν, or whether he had a particular theological reason for this, is not possible to determine (E. Ahlborn,

15 and 18 where *συντελήσω* and *ἐποιήσα* occur together with *διαθήκη*.¹⁹⁴ The *συντελήσω* reading is most probably a stylistic variant rather than a conscious change by the author of Hebrews from his *Vorlage*.¹⁹⁵

- The LXX reads *διδοὺς δώσω* whereas the NT reads only *διδούς* – a reading which might have been already present in his *Vorlage*.¹⁹⁶
- The change from *καὶ ἐγώ* to *κἀγώ* is either a stylistic change by the author,¹⁹⁷ or already existing in his *Vorlage*.¹⁹⁸
- Whereas the LXX and Heb 8:10 read *τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ*, in Heb 10:16 the reading is *πρὸς αὐτοὺς* – probably in order to apply it directly to the readers.¹⁹⁹
- Whereas the LXX and Heb 8:12 read *ἀμαρτιῶν*, Heb 10:17 also includes this phrase, repeating it then once again, but now with *ἀνομιῶν*.²⁰⁰
- The LXX contains two added words in the phrase *ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕως*, which is absent in Heb 8:11.²⁰¹

A synoptic comparison between the three versions looks thus as follows:

Jer 31(38):31-34 LXX	Heb 8:8-12	Heb 10:16-17
³¹ Ιδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, <u>φησὶν κύριος, καὶ</u> <u>διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ</u> Ισραὴλ καὶ <u>τῷ οἴκῳ</u> Ιούδα διαθήκην καινήν,	ὅδον ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, <u>λέγει κύριος, καὶ</u> <u>συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκον</u> Ισραὴλ καὶ <u>ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκον</u> Ιούδα διαθήκην καινήν,	
³² οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν <u>διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν</u> αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν	οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἦν <u>ἐποίησα τοῖς πατράσιν</u> αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν	

Septuaginta-Vorlage, 80). Still, this does not mean that the change is “sachlich ohne Belang” as H.-F. Weiss suggested (*Hebräer*, 445).

¹⁹⁴ See K.J. Thomas: “The striking fact is that *συντελέω* is used in Jer. xli.8 and 15 in instances in which the covenant is kept or accomplished and *ποιέω* is used in Jer. xli.18 in an instance in which the covenant is spoken of as broken” (“OT Citations,” 310). H.J.B. Combrink makes the conclusion that “(i)n Heb. 8 the use of these words can therefore indicate that the New Covenant will be kept, whereas the Old Covenant was broken” (“OT Citations,” 31). G.H. Guthrie, however, thinks that these changes are rather stylistically made than theologically – “communicating a qualitative difference in the establishment of the new” (*Hebrews*, 972).

¹⁹⁵ Cf. H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445.

¹⁹⁶ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445.

¹⁹⁷ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 81.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445.

¹⁹⁹ H.J.B. Combrink, “OT Citations,” 31.

²⁰⁰ Again an insignificant change for H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445

²⁰¹ This change is without any importance according to H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445.

αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν
τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ ἐγώ
ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, φησὶν
κύριος, ³³ὅτι αὕτη ἡ
διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ
οἶκῳ Ισραὴλ μετὰ τὰς
ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, φησὶν
κύριος Διδοὺς δώσω νόμους
μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν
γράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι
αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ³⁴
ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν, ³⁴καὶ
οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος
τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
λέγων Γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι
πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με ἀπὸ
μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔως
μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἵλεως
ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν
καὶ τῷ ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν
οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι. —

αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγυπτου,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν
τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ
ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει
κύριος· ¹⁰ὅτι αὕτη ἡ
διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ
οἶκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς
ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, λέγει
κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους
μου εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν
ἔπιγράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι
αὐτοῖς εἰς θεόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ¹¹
ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν· ¹¹καὶ
οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἔκαστος
τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἔκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
λέγων· γνῶθι τὸν κύριον, ὅτι
πάντες εἰδήσουσιν με ἀπὸ
μικροῦ ἔως
μεγάλου αὐτῶν, ¹²ὅτι ἵλεως
ἔσομαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν
καὶ τῷ ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν
οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ ἔτι.

αὕτη ἡ
διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι πρὸς
αὐτὸὺς μετὰ τὰς
ἡμέρας εκείνας, λέγει
κύριος· διδοὺς νόμους
μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν
ἔπιγράψω αὐτούς,
καὶ τῷ ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν
καὶ τῷ ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν
οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἔτι.

It is thus clear from this comparison that, apart from the differences between Hebrews and the LXX, that the two versions of the quotation within Hebrews also show some differences. Especially Jer 31(38):34 in Heb 10:17 differs from the reading in both the LXX Jeremiah, as well as the first time that the author of Hebrews quoted it in Heb 8:12, by inserting the line καὶ τῷ ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν.

2.2.4 Summarising remarks on the *Vorlage* of the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 in Heb 8:8-12; 10:16-17

Scholars generally agree that 4QJer^{a,b} represent – with some other DSS manuscripts (e.g. 4QEx^a; 4QDeut; 4QSam^{a,b}) – a proto-Septuagint text type.²⁰² A comprehensive comparative study between Jer 31 in the MT and Jer 38 in its LXX version was done recently²⁰³ and need not to be repeated here. It was established during that investigation that the *Vorlage* of the LXX version represents an older and other Hebrew text than that of the MT.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the investigation came to the conclusion that the LXX version was followed in the NT by Paul in 2 Cor 3:6, as well as in the narrative with the “Kelchwort” during the institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:25; Mark 14:24, par. Matt 26:28; Luke 22:20),²⁰⁵ and also by the author of Hebrews in 8:8-12 and 10:16-17.²⁰⁶

The fact that some scholars understood the differences between “the” reconstructed LXX version²⁰⁷ and the eclectic text of NA27 unqualifiedly as changes that were made by the author of Hebrews,²⁰⁸ calls for caution. There are other possibilities as well. Some scholars²⁰⁹ ascribed these variations to the influence of Christian liturgical use of the text,²¹⁰ whereas others are of the opinion that, although this might be possible, “the differences seem to conform to thematic emphases of the context and are more likely due to authorial adaptation.”²¹¹ This is probably true with regard to the second time that the author quotes Jer 31(38):33, 34b in Heb 10:16-17. However, in the first instance where the long quotation

²⁰² N.L. Geisler & W.E. Nix, *General Introduction*, 373-374.

²⁰³ See A. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten. Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel* (FRLANT 212; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

²⁰⁴ A. Schenker concludes that “Die Gestalt der Verheißung des Neuen Bundes in der Jer 31,31-34 gemäß dem MT ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit die Überarbeitung der hebräischen Vorlage der LXX-Fassung.” Furthermore, “die MT-Fassung (setzt) die LXX-Form voraus und ist aus ihr entstanden, wie jede korrigierte Ausgabe die erste ursprüngliche Edition voraussetzt und sich aus ihr erklärt” (*Neuen Bund*, 95).

²⁰⁵ “Zusammengefasst erweist es sich als wahrscheinlich, dass das Kelchwort des Abendmahls mit seiner Nennung des Bundes die Textgestalt der LXX, vielleicht in der hebräischen Form ihrer Vorlage, für die Verheißung eines neuen Bundes durch Jeremia vorausgesetzt” (*Neuen Bund*, 77). Also A.F.J. Klijn sees the link between Matt 26:28 (par. Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20) and Jer 31:31-33 with regard to the institution of the Eucharist (*Hebreëën*, 98).

²⁰⁶ A. Schenker, *Neuen Bund*, 71, 80. Schenker summarises the issue in Hebrews: “Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes nach der LXX-Fassung von Jer 31,31-34 lässt die Bedeutung des Kommens Jesu verstehen, denn die neuen Gesetze dieses versprochenen neuen Bundes enthalten eine neue kultische oder liturgische Ordnung, in welcher Jesus Christus der Hohepriester einer neuen, himmlischen Liturgie hat” (on p. 73).

²⁰⁷ H.-F. Weiss is correct in his observation that the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 follows “im wesentlichen dem (kritisch rekonstruierten) LXX-Text” (*Hebräer*, 437).

²⁰⁸ See H. van Oyen: “...schijnbaar geringe wijziging, die de schrijver aanbrengt in de LXX tekst, die hij citeert” (*Hebreëën*, 129). H.J.B. Combrink, similarly, understands the differences to be “an obvious example of the freedom with which the *author* used his text” (“OT Citations,” 30). (Italics are mine, *GJS*).

²⁰⁹ Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 42.

²¹⁰ Strongly thinking in this direction are C.H. Dodd (*Scriptures*, 44-46) and S.J. Kistemaker (*Hebrews*, 229).

²¹¹ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225. Similarly implied by F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 164.

occurs in Heb 8:8-10, we actually might have traces of a different LXX version that was utilised by the author of Hebrews²¹² than the reconstructed versions of Rahlfs, the Göttingen edition, and others. The oldest extant version that we have of Hebrews as contained in P⁴⁶ seems, for instance, to be closer to the readings of the LXX witnesses. It has been observed before that this long quotation “is generally in conformity with the text of the LXX Codex Alexandrinus, with some slight, but possible significant, variations.”²¹³ The readings πολίτην and λέγει κύριος, which differ from the LXX, are probably indications of such another *Vorlage*.²¹⁴

As was mentioned during the discussion of Gen 2:2 earlier in this study (Chapter 7), it has recently been proposed that Hebrews should be understood as an ancient Synagogue homily and that Jer 31:31-34 forms the *haphtarrah* and Exod 31:17 the *sidrah* of this homily.²¹⁵ This hypothesis remains, however, unconvincing and is treated with scepticism by scholars.²¹⁶

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 in Heb 8:8-10 is introduced in a similar manner to that of Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5–7. Note how the use of Scripture is intertwined with each of these symbols:

- Seven quotations (almost exclusively from the Psalms) were used in the comparison of Christ with the *angels* (Heb 1).
- Ps 95(94) was used as point of departure in the comparison with *Moses* (Heb 3–4).
- Ps 110(109) was used to compare the *priesthood* of Christ with that of Melchizedek – and Gen 14:17-20 was used in the exposition of this passage (Heb 5–7).

²¹² H.-F. Weiss concludes that “Die meisten Abweichungen ... erklären sich aus belegbaren Textvarianten der LXX-Überlieferung selbst...” (*Hebräer*, 445).

²¹³ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 225; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 445. Similar G. Schunack: “...entspricht mit geringfügigen Abweichungen dem LXX-Text” (*Hebräerbrevi*, 112). E. Ahlborn, however, reckons that “es (gibt) keine Möglichkeit, die Worte in Hebr. 8,8-12 irgendeiner Überlieferung außerhalb der Septuaginta zuzuschreiben” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 77), but is, nonetheless, of the opinion that the quotation in Hebrews is the closest to LXX Codex B – “d.h. das Buch Jeremia lag dem Verfasser im ursprünglichen Septuaginta-Text vor” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 86).

²¹⁴ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 78-79. See H.-F. Weiss, *Hebraer*, 445, for differentiating between differences due to the *Vorlage* and those due to the author.

²¹⁵ Cf. G. Gelardini, “Synagogue Homily,” 120. “As a homily, Hebrews functions as interpretation, teaching, and application of the *sidrah* from Exod 31:18-32:35 (breaking of the covenant) and the *haphtarrah* from Jer 31:31-34 (covenant renewal)” (on p. 124).

²¹⁶ Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 104-105.

- Jer 31(38) now forms the central passage around which the author structures his argument about the old and new *covenants*. The passage is understood “as a direct verbal prophecy, fulfilled by the inauguration of the new covenant in Christ’s sacrificial death and his triumphant exaltation to service as superior high priest.”²¹⁷

The textual witnesses differ with regard to the *αὐτούς*²¹⁸ in the introductory formula *μεμφόμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς λέγει*.²¹⁹ Some witnesses prefer here *αὐτοῦς*²²⁰ – despite the fact that the verb *λέγω* is nowhere connected to a dative object in Hebrews.²²¹ God is again the one who speaks these words according to the introductory formula of Heb 8:8.²²²

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of Jer 31(38):31-34 in Heb 8:8-12; 10:16-17

Eschatological dimensions

The author of Hebrews picks up on a clear eschatological tone²²³ that is present in this passage – which can be seen from the fact that he intentionally starts the quotation with the opening words: *ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται*.²²⁴ This (realised and/or futuristic) eschatological trend can clearly be noticed in his selection of the previous quotations as well. His theologically based selection criteria leads him to quote passages which contain “promises” of God, temporal and spatial terminology and wording that is based primarily on future tenses.

Examples are *σήμερον* (Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5a, 5:5); *ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ... ἔσται* (LXX 2 Kgdms 7:14 in Heb 1:5b); *προσκυνησάτωσαν* (Deut 32/Ode 2:43 in Heb 1:6); *ἔχρισεν* (LXX Ps 44:7-8 in Heb 1:8-9); *αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις ... παλαιωθήσονται ... ἀλλαγήσονται ... οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν* (LXX Ps 101:27-28 in Heb 1:10-12); *ἔως ἂν θῶ* (LXX Ps 109:1 in Heb 1:13); *ἡλάττωσας αὐτὸν βραχύ τι* (Ps 8:6-7 in Heb 2:5-8); *ἀπαγγελῶ ... ὑμνήσω* (LXX Ps 21:23 in Heb 2:12); *ἐγὼ ἔσομαι* (Isa 8:17 in Heb 2:13); *σήμερον ... ἀκούσητε ... εἰ ἐισελεύσονται* (LXX Ps 94:7-11 in Heb 3:7-11, 15; 4:3, 7); *εὐλογήσω ... πληθυνῶ* (Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14); *ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον* (Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5); *ἰδοὺ ἦκω ... τοῦ ποιῆσαι* (LXX Ps 39:7-9 in Heb 10:5-8, 9); *ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω* (Deut 32:35 in Heb 10:30); *μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον ... ὁ*

²¹⁷ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 972.

²¹⁸ This is the reading preferred by NA27, based on the evidence of **A D* I K P Ψ 33. 81. 326. 365. 1505. 2464 al latt co; Cyr.*

²¹⁹ F. Schröger pointed out that the quotation “bekommt vom Verfasser durch das *μεμφόμενος* in der Zitationsformel den Unterton des Tadels, den es bei Jeremias nicht hat...” (*Verfasser*, 166). So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 446.

²²⁰ So followed by *P⁴⁶ x² B D² 0278. 1739. 1881* *¶* G.H. Guthrie is of the opinion that this reading should be preferred, flowing “more naturally from 8:7, which implies that the first covenant was flawed,” and matching the author’s concluding assertion in 8:13 (“Hebrews,” 971).

²²¹ G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrevier*, 112.

²²² So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 163. S.J. Kistemaker, furthermore, points out that *χρηματίζω* “denotes instruction given by God to man in the form of revelation” (*Hebrews*, 222).

²²³ See G.J. Steyn, “The Eschatology of Hebrews as Understood within a Cultic Setting,” in J.G. van der Watt (ed.), *Eschatology in the New Testament* (WUNT II; Tübingen: Mohr, 2009), forthcoming.

²²⁴ So similarly G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 971.

ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει ... ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται (Isa 26:20 + Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37-38); κληθήσεται (Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18).

OT roots of the Covenant motif in Hebrews

The motif of the Sinai covenant between Yahweh and the people of Israel can be traced back to the description of the events in Exod 19:1 – 24:11. It is interesting that just more than half of all the occurrences of the Greek word διαθήκη in the NT could be found in Hebrews. This highlights the importance of this motif for our author. This motif, however, cannot be detached from the motif of priesthood and the cultic life.²²⁵ The author uses *Deuteronomy*, *Exodus* (24:8 in Heb 9:20) and *Jeremiah* (31[38]:31-34 in Heb 8:8-12; Jer 31[38]:33-34 in Heb 10:16-17) for the motif of the Covenant.²²⁶ Jer 31(38):15 is also quoted by Matthew (2:18) – probably within the same decade. This section of Jeremiah was thus at least in use in some early Christian circles.

In Deuteronomy special mention was made that God never forgets the covenant that he made with their ancestors (Deut 4:31. Cf. also Deut 8:18; 9:5). The same underlying theology is implied in Heb 13:20 when the author refers to “eternal covenant.” God promised this covenant to their ancestors by means of an oath (Deut 7:12-13; 32:40).²²⁷ The author of Hebrews also explains that, when God made his promise with Abraham, God took an oath by himself, as there is nobody who is greater than God with whom he could swear this oath (Heb 6:13-20).

However, the old covenant is still lacking something according to the author of Hebrews, because if something did not lack from the first covenant, then a second would not have been necessary (cf. Heb 8:7). Whereas Heb 8:10 refers to the “house of Israel” as the receiver of the new covenant, here in Heb 8:16 it is “they,” the congregation.²²⁸ In this new covenant situation every member would now stand in a personal relationship with God.²²⁹

When the author lists his faith heroes in Heb 11, he then mentions the patriarchs by name and mentions also that Isaac and Jacob, with Abraham, were inheritors of the same promise (Heb 11:9-10). He points out that, although they all believed, they died without

²²⁵ H. van Oyen is of a similar opinion (*Hebreën*, 129).

²²⁶ G.H. Guthrie captures the thought: “Through use of this rich prophetic passage, the author establishes the superiority of the new covenant (8:7-13) prior to addressing the superiority of the new-covenant offering (9:1-10:18)” (“Hebrews,” 970).

²²⁷ One could ask here if knowledge of the latter might have been a reason for the author’s choice in 1:6 – linked to the “promise”?

²²⁸ So also G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 142.

²²⁹ Cf. A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 166: “Ein jedes Glied des Gottesvolkes wird zu Gott in ein Verhältnis unmittelbarer Erkenntnis treten.”

having received the promise (Heb 11:13), and that they all were looking forward to their “fatherland” (*πατρίδα*, Heb 11:14). According to Deut 3:7, Moses spoke with Joshua in the presence of the whole Israel: “Be strong and courageous, because you are the one who have to go with this people to the land that the Lord promised with an oath to give to your forefathers; and you will put them in possession of it.” Hebrews refers to this issue when he points to the fact that, if Joshua had given them rest, God would not have spoken later of another day. This “other day” is “today” (*σήμερον*) for the author of Hebrews (cf. Heb 3:7, 15) which occurs along similar lines in Deut 31:21, 27.

It is said to Israel in Deut 5:3-4 that the covenant that was made with them, was only with those who were present there, and not with their ancestors. The author of Hebrews argues in a similar vein with his readers that they did not themselves come to a physical mountain that burns with fire, to thunderclouds, darkness, a stormwind, etc. (Heb 12:18), but to Mount Zion and to the city of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22). They came to Jesus, the Mediator of a New Covenant (Heb 12:24). The author earlier introduced the quotation from Jer 31(38) wherein the matter of a new covenant is declared. The author refers a number of times to this issue (Heb 7:22; 8:6, 13; 9:15; 12:24) and mentions that this old covenant is now obsolete.²³⁰

The Decalogue was seen as the “two stones of the covenant” (Deut 9:15). So also the author of Hebrews perceives the Decalogue as the “law of the covenant” which is kept in the Ark of the Covenant (Heb 9:4).

The most severe curse that could happen, according to the ancients’ understanding of the breaking of a covenant, was that the political entity of the nation would be scattered by the king with whom the covenant was made. This worst case scenario is what happened in 586 B.C.E. when the Jews were taken into exile. In Hebrews’ understanding, with that event the initial covenant between God and his people expired. The only possibility left now was the initiation of a new covenant.

The “new covenant” of the NT

The traces of the motif of a new covenant in the NT were already referred to earlier. The oldest is to be found by Paul when he writes that the fulfilment of the promise of “a new

²³⁰ H. van Oyen understood the three elements of the new covenant (obedience, knowledge of God and salvation) to become a reality with the coming of Christ in Hebrews (*Hebreëën*, 131).

covenant” takes place in Christ (1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6).²³¹ Also in the longer reading of Luke 22:20 the thought continues when Jesus passes the cup, saying “This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood.” This is an allusion to Exod 24:8 – which will be encountered as the next explicit quotation in Hebrews (9:20).

The early Christian interpretation, which connects Christ’s atoning death with the idea of a new covenant, is being expanded upon by the author of Hebrews.²³² It is Christ’s “sacrifice” (Heb 8:3) – brought by him as High Priest (8:1ff.) during his service ($\lambda\epsilon\tau\omega\rho\gamma\circ\sigma$, 8:2) in the true tabernacle (8:2) – which leads to the connection of the earthly and heavenly tabernacles on the one hand (Exod 25:40), and Christ’s mediating role in establishing a new and better covenant (8:6) on the other hand. The Eucharist tradition with its formula connecting the new covenant and the blood of Christ probably formed the basis for the author of Hebrews’ interpretation. The new covenant motif from Jeremiah is now used by the author of Hebrews – linked to $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Heb 8:6) – and reinterpreted in the light of Christ’s “sacrifice” (Heb 8:3). By repeating the two verses from Jer 31(38):33-34 in Heb 10:16-17, the author accentuates the accomplishment of Christ’s atonement.²³³

2.4 Conclusion

The latter half of the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34, the longest in the NT, is being re-quoted in Heb 10:16-17. The central focus of these quotations from Jer 31(38) is on a new covenant – a motif that was taken up mainly by the DSS community – without explicit reference to Jer 31(38) – as well as by the early Christians (with possible connections to the Eucharist formulas). No evidence has been found, however, of any pre-Hebrews tradition that explicitly quoted these specific verses.

Text critically, neither the oldest DSS manuscript of Jeremiah (the 3rd cent. B.C.E. 4QJer^a), nor any of the other DSS Jeremiah fragments contain the text of Jer 31(38):31-34. From the available witnesses, however, a fair amount of differences between the MT and the reconstructed LXX were noted. These were mainly translation inconsistencies and substitutions. But a large amount of variant readings were identified amongst the LXX

²³¹ For a discussion of 2 Cor 3:6, see C.K. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant: The Exegetical Substructure of II Cor. 3.1–4,6* (AnBib 116; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1989).

²³² For E.W. Stegemann & W. Stegemann, Jer 31:31-34 “presupposes the total removal of sins, the $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu$ (Heb 10:11) or $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ (Heb 10:4), including the cleansing of the conscience/consciousness of sins (Heb 10:2)” (“Does the Cultic Language in Hebrews Represent Sacrificial Metaphors? Reflections on Some Basic Problems,” in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews*, 13-23, on p. 20).

²³³ So also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 283.

witnesses themselves. Most of them, however, are attested by the Church Fathers and later minuscules, thus showing clear traces of Christian influence. From the few remaining differences amongst the LXX uncials, the majority of them could be discarded due to the fact that they occur mainly in 5th cent. C.E. codices **x** and A, are mainly attested by only one of the important uncials and are not well supported in combination with other important witnesses. Noteworthy, however, is (a) the addition of μοῦ after διαθήκη in v. 33 by Codex B^{LXX} and the Boharic manuscripts in both the OT and the NT (also added by codices A D and Ψ amongst the NT witnesses), as well as (b) the reading πολίτην (v. 34a), consistently attested by Codex B^{LXX} (also here by the Boharic witnesses), as well as by Codex B^{NT}. Its attestation in the NT is very strong and there is little doubt that it is the authentic reading there.

Amongst the NT witnesses Heb 5:6 – 10:27 is lacking, unfortunately, in the 3rd cent. C.E. POxy 657 (P¹³). The oldest NT witness on Hebrews, however, the 2nd cent. C.E. P⁴⁶ provides a range of variant readings. It is, furthermore, interesting that when the author of Hebrews re-quotes Jer 31(38) in Heb 10:16-17b, he (a) gives a summary of key points for his argumentation, (b) makes no additions to the text, and (c) provides the quoted parts in the form of a *hymnic adaptation*. In the light of these conclusions, it became clear that the text of the quotation in Hebrews is not identical to that of the LXX, roughly equal to the original Hebrew text or showing only a few changes. The comparative investigation above also pointed out that, apart from the differences between Hebrews and the LXX, especially Jer 31(38):34 in Heb 10:17 differs from the reading in both the LXX Jeremiah, as well as from the first time that the author of Hebrews quoted it himself in Heb 8:12 – now by also inserting the line καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν.

Pertaining to the author's possible *Vorlage* in general then, one should be cautious in ascribing the differences between the LXX and Hebrews without qualification to changes that were made by the author of Hebrews. Traces of a different LXX version that was utilised by the author of Hebrews – other than the reconstructed versions of Rahlfs, the Göttingen edition, and others – could be observed in the first occurrence of the longer version of the Jeremiah quotation in Heb 8:8-10. The oldest extant version of Hebrews (P⁴⁶) seems to be closer to the readings of the LXX. But influence of Christian liturgical use of the text might also have played a role here – which is probably more true with regard to the second time that the author quotes Jer 31(38):33, 34b in Heb 10:16-17.

Chapter 10

The motif of cultic worship – sacrifices The combination Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20 + Ps 40(39):7-9 in Heb 10:5-8

Heb 9:20

λέγων· τοῦτο

τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἃς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός. (Exod 24:8)

Heb 10:5-8

Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει·

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἡθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι· 6 ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ εὐδόκησας. 7 τότε ειπον· ἴδοὺ ἡκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἡθέλημα σου. 8 ἀνώτερον λέγων ὅτι θυσίας καὶ προσφορὰς καὶ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ ἡθέλησας οὐδὲ εὐδόκησας, αἴτινες κατὰ νόμον προσφέρονται, (Ps 40[39]:7-9)

Although these next two quotations from Exod 24:8 and Ps 40(39):7-9 are closely related regarding the theme of sacrifices, they are still part of the same broader motif of cultic ministry (particularly Heb 8:3 – 10:18) that was dealt with in the previous chapter. Also the fairly close proximity of the only two passages that are quoted from Exodus (24:8 and 25:40) by the author of Hebrews, testifies to the fact of the continuation of the cultic theme with this next pair of quotations. Whereas Heb 5–7 dealt with the appointment of Christ in the office of *High Priest* and Heb 8 with the *new covenant*, this section in Hebrews (Heb 9–10) deals with the actual ritual of the sacrifice itself. The new covenant concept is still an integral part of this ritual,¹ confirmed by the broader contexts of both Exod 24 (Mosaic covenant) and Heb 9–10.

1. Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Exod 24²

Exod 24 can be divided into two sections, namely vv. 1-8 and vv. 9-18. The first (Exod 24:1-8) is a cultic ritual during which blood and the “book of the covenant” are central to the ceremony. It deals with the invitation to Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy elders from

¹ G.H. Guthrie reckons that the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 might have triggered this quotation from Ps 40(39) due to verbal analogy. “Both emphasize the internalization of the law, rivet attention with *idou* (‘behold’), have something ‘written’, contain references to ‘sin’ (*hamartia*), and refer to God (*theos*)” (“Hebrews,” 977).

² Cf. also M. Vervenne (ed.), *Studies in the Book of Exodus – Redaction – Reception - Interpretation* (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1996), 79; R.S. Hendel, “Sacrifice as a Cultural System: The Ritual Symbolism of Exodus 24,3–8,” ZAW 101 (1989) 366-390.

Israel to go up the mountain to the Lord and to worship at a distance. Moses alone could come near to the Lord. It describes how, before they ascent, Moses built an altar at the foot of the mountain and how young men offered burnt offerings and sacrificed oxen. These were sacrifices closely linked with covenant-making and covenant relationships.³ Half of the blood was dashed against the altar (the symbol of God's presence) and, after the "book of the covenant" was read (24:7a) and the people confirmed that they would do everything that the Lord commanded them, that they will be obedient (24:7b), the other half of the blood was dashed on the people (24:8).⁴ The last part of this section (24:3-8) is generally known as the institution of the Covenant, or the "Bundesschluß."⁵

The second section (Exod 24:9-18) describes their ascend to the mountain with imagery "like the very heaven" (v. 10), and states how Moses and his assistant Joshua ('Ιησοῦς in the LXX) went further for Moses to receive the law, leaving the seventy behind. Israel's God is seen here on Mount Sinai (v. 10) and there is even a celebration which included eating and drinking (v. 11).⁶ It mentions further how the "Glory of the Lord" settled on Mount Sinai and how the Lord spoke on the seventh day. The Glory of the Lord was like a devouring fire on top of the mountain (v. 17).

1.1.2 The use of Exod 24 in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Some scholars suspected that there might be possible influence from Exod 24 on the central section (vv. 7-21) of Ps 50(49). They observe the same format of the covenant service in Exod 24:3-8 "where the ritual of sacrifice and blood (vs 4-6) is followed by the recital of the law (vs 7, 8). The psalm is thus very suited to a festival of covenant renewal..."⁷ Others, in turn, observed that Ps 78(77):36-37 presumes the Deuteronomistic establishing of the covenant in

³ Cf. R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel* (SANT 9; Munich: Kōsel Verlag, 1964), 118-125; J.I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Dallas: Word Books, 1987), 343.

⁴ U. Cassuto pointed out that "(t)he solemn repetition of the word וַיַּקְרֵב wayyiqqah ['and he took'] at the beginning of each of the three consecutive verses indicates three important phases in the ceremony of the making of the Covenant: the throwing of the blood at the beginning and at the end, and in the middle the reading from the document of the Covenant and the assent of the people" (*A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* [Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1967], 313).

⁵ Cf. E. Grässer: "...als Vertragsbund zwischen JHWH und Israel, mit Mose als Mitler und einem Ritual der Besiegelung" (*Hebräer II*, 177).

⁶ See C.A. Eberhart, "Characteristics of Sacrificial Metaphors in Hebrews," in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews*, 37-64, on p. 41.

⁷ D.A. Carson, "Ps 50," in D. Guthrie & J.A. Motyer (ed.), *New Bible commentary: 21st Century Edition* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1994⁴), 517.

Exod 24:3, 7-8, “for lies and breaking the covenant indicate a covenantal relationship.”⁸ There are also traces of allusions to Exod 24 in Philo of Alexandria.⁹

It might be difficult, apart from the allusions in Philo, to provide convincing evidence of the explicit use of Exod 24:1-8 in early Judaism, as the cultic motif of the sacrifices, blood and covenant formed an integral part of the Jewish identity and is found in a number of places in the OT.¹⁰ The motif was implicitly present in Jewish pilgrimage festivals such as the *Pesach* (Passover), *Mazzot* (Unleavened bread), the rabbinic tradition of *Shavuot* (Pentecost) and the Festival of Covenant renewal at Qumran – if the latter existed as a festival at all. An interesting added interpretation to this particular covenant motif from Exod 24 is to be found in the later Targums (especially Pseudo-Jonathan and Onkelos) where the blood of the covenant is understood in terms of the forgiveness of sins.

When looking for traces of Exod 24 in the early Christian literature of the NT, the only place where it is explicitly quoted is found here in Heb 9:20. There might, however, also be an allusion to Exod 24:3-8 in the verse immediately preceding the quotation in Hebrews (Heb 9:19). Furthermore, another possible allusion to verse seven of Exod 24 might be found in 1 Pet 1:2 in the reference to “the sprinkling of the blood.” First Peter also has an interesting connection with the “priesthood of believers” (1 Pet 2:5, 9).

It is more interesting, however, that the same idea of Exod 24:8 surfaces also at *the institution of the Eucharist* in 1 Cor 11:23-26, with parallels in the Synoptic tradition – Mark 14:22-25; Matt 26:26-29; and Luke 22:14-23. This relates particularly to the formula: “This cup is the new covenant in my blood” (1 Cor 11:25) – which reminds of Moses’ words after he dashed the blood on the people: “This is the blood of the covenant that the Lord has made with you in accordance with all these words” (Exod 24:8b). When Jesus institutes the Eucharist in Matthew’s version, the formula is expanded with the phrase “for the forgiveness of sins” – similar to the interpretation of the later Targums as mentioned above. The early Christian idea was then that Jesus establishes a new covenant through his death (cf. the expression “blood of the covenant,” Heb 9:20-22; 10:26-29). The link with Jer 31(38):31-34 is thus obvious: there is a connection between the forgiveness of sins and the new covenant. This new kind of forgiveness is possible, because Christ brought “once and for all” a sacrifice for sin, which made all the other sacrifices obsolete (Heb 10:15-18).

⁸ F. Hossfeld, et. al., “Psalms 2,” 297.

⁹ Cf. *QE*. 2,32ff. See also P. Ellingworth on Heb 9:19 (*Hebrews*, 467-468).

¹⁰ Cf., for instance, Zech 9:11; Jer 31:31 and Gen 15:9-18.

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 The readings of Exod 24:8

Exod 24:8 MT	Exod 24:8 LXX
וַיַּקְרֹב מֹשֶׁה אֲתָה קָדֵם נִזְרָךְ	λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκέδασεν
עַל־קָרְבָּן יִאֱמַר	τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ειπεν
הַנֶּה לְסִדְךָ בָּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרָת	Ίδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἵστις διέθετο
הַנֶּה עַמְּכֶם עַל־כָּל־קָרְבָּרִים :	κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.
אַל :	

The LXX translation is a literal, or exact,¹¹ translation of the Hebrew as represented in the MT and there are no significant differences to be found between the Hebrew and the Greek of v. 8b from which the quotation in Heb 9:20 comes.¹² Amongst the Greek witnesses themselves, however, there are some variant readings: (a) ὅδού reads τοῦτο by some¹³ – with other witnesses adding τοῦτο after ὅδού;¹⁴ (b) διέθετο reads ἔθετο by some¹⁵ and ἐνετείλατο by others;¹⁶ (c) the phrase κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς reads πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός by the *x* group of witnesses and by Heb 9:20; (d) κύριος was changed to ὁ θεός by some,¹⁷ and the expansion, ὁ θεός ἡμῶν was added to κύριος by others;¹⁸ (e) ὑμᾶς was replaced by ἡμᾶς.¹⁹

There is no substantial evidence to accept any of these alternative readings as the original LXX reading. Both the late dating of the witnesses, as well as the fact that none of these cases have added support by any of the major witnesses, are sufficient reasons to accept the eclectic text as it is. It is especially true in the cases where the variant readings agree with that of Heb 9:20. In two of these cases (ἐνετείλατο and πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός) it is only the very late *x* group of witnesses that testifies to the alternative reading.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 9:20

There are no variant readings in the text of this quotation amongst any of the NT witnesses²⁰ according to NA27. It is interesting to note, however, that ΟΘΣ has been inserted above the

¹¹ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 169; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 469; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 182; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 974.

¹² See J.W. Wevers for notes on the LXX translation from the Hebrew text (*Notes on Exodus*, 383-384).

¹³ In DialTA¹³ 88 Sa – as in Heb 9:20.

¹⁴ So by *f*^{56*} Arm = Tar^O

¹⁵ By 407 76' Cyr Gl 513^P.

¹⁶ The *x* group – which consists of 71-527(ab 28₈)-619; 71' = 71 + 619 – and by Heb 9:20.

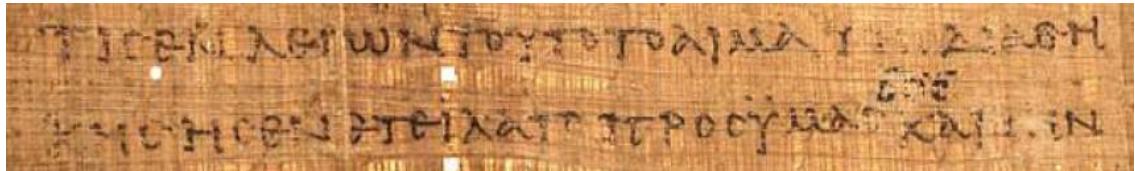
¹⁷ By 44^{Lat} Ambrst Gal IV 24 Sa.

¹⁸ DialTA 88.

¹⁹ By 376 44-107* 246 407* 46 DialTA 88.

²⁰ Codex B lacks the text from Heb 9:14 onwards and is thus unavailable here for comparative purposes.

line in P⁴⁶, on the one hand, and that the Greek letter Θ, on the other hand, is fairly faint. It is difficult to distinguish the Θ and the Greek letter K here from each other – especially when the K is compared with the K of the KAI directly below the insertion.



Reconstruction²¹

08 ΤΙΣΕΝ ²⁰ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΔΗ-	29
09 ΚΗΣ ΗΣ ΕΝΕΤΕΙΛΑΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ὩΜΑΣ ²¹ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ	29

In the *reconstruction* of the capitals in P⁴⁶, at the end of the first line (line 08), the second last letter is reconstructed as Δ and reads ΔΙΑΔΗΚΗΣ instead of ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ. This might be an oversight in the reconstruction, as in its reconstruction in small letters, it reads διαθηκης. The letter compares better with a theta than with a delta in comparison with other occurrences of a theta on the same page.

1.2.3 A comparison between LXX Exod 24:8 and Heb 9:20

Exod 24:8 LXX

λαβὼν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ αἷμα κατεσκέδασεν
τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ειπεν
Ιδοὺ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἡς
διέθετο κύριος πρὸς ὑμᾶς
περὶ πάντων τῶν λόγων τούτων.

Heb 9:20

λέγων·
τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης ἡς
ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός.

In comparison with the shortness of the quotation, it is actually striking how many divergences there are between the readings of the LXX (and/or MT) of Exod 24:8 and that of Heb 9:20. There are three particularly striking differences in the NT text that should be noted:

- Hebrews reads τοῦτο instead of the LXX ἵδού. Some scholars argue that the Hebrew וְאַתָּה could be seen as introduction to the nominal sentence in Exod 24:8, so that the translation with τοῦτο here in Hebrews is to be preferred.²² If this is the case, then it would imply either another LXX *Vorlage* than those extant witnesses known today and which already read τοῦτο, or it would imply that the author of Hebrews made this translation himself

²¹ Photo and reconstruction from K. Jaroš, *Griechischen Handschriften*, loc. cit.

²² So, for instance, F.C. Fensham, *Exodus* (POT; Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G.F. Callenbach, 1970), 183.

from the Hebrew text. However, the text critical investigation confirmed that none of the oldest LXX witnesses already contained the reading τοῦτο.²³ Furthermore, there is not sufficient evidence that the author of Hebrews undertook such a direct translation from the Hebrew with regard to any of his explicit quotations. It is interesting to note, however, that τοῦτο is also the opening word of the Eucharistic formula as it appears in 1 Cor 11:25 and Mark 14:24 (par. Matt 26:28; Luke 22:20).²⁴ The substitution might thus be due to the liturgical formula of the early Christian tradition.²⁵ Another possibility for its presence here would be to take it simply as a mere reference to the αἷμα in Heb 9:19b.²⁶

- Hebrews reads ἐνετείλατο instead of the LXX διέθετο²⁷ – the same reading as found in Philo (*QE* 2,36). Similar cases were recorded in the long quotation from Jer 31(38). There the LXX διαθήσομαι was changed in Heb 8:8 to συντελέσω, and the LXX διεθέμην was changed to ἐποίησα in Heb 8:9. It is also striking that the LXX verb διατίθημι in all three cases (LXX Jer 38 and Exod 24) is substituted by another verb – a change which might thus possibly be ascribed to the hand of the author of Hebrews. One suggestion for this is that the change might have had “the effect of reserving διατιθέναι for the establishment of the new covenant,”²⁸ and another that it was a stylistic change that “was done to avoid ambiguity.”²⁹ Hebrews’ ἐνετείλατο does occur, however, in LXX Jer 11:4 (יְנִזְחֵן = ἐνετειλάμην), Josh 23:16 (נִזְחֵן = ἐνετείλατο) and Judg 2:20 (נִזְחָן = ἐνετειλάμην) – but there it is used as translation for נִזְחֵן and not for נִזְחָן. The author of Hebrews uses the word in this exact form again in Heb 11:22 when Joseph “made mention of the exodus of the Israelites” and “gave instructions” (ἐνετείλατο) about his bones.

²³ The reading is followed by the LXX Sahidic version, 88, the Dialogue of Timothy and the Recension of Aquila (G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 974).

²⁴ So also observed, amongst others, by E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 44; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 169; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 257; J. Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, 2.1: *Die Realpräsenz des Leibes und Blutes Jesu im Abendmahl nach dem Neuen Testament* (Freiburg/Vienna: Herder, 1961), 145; O. Moe, “Das Abendmahl im Hebräerbrief,” *StTh* 4 (1951) 102-108; J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 162; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 313; O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 319-320; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 480, n. 22; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 469. The latter says: “The argument for eucharistic influence, while admittedly falling short of proof, does not rely only on the use of τοῦτο, but on the typological structure of the wider argument.”

²⁵ Sceptical about this assumption remain W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 245, and G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 974. They reckon that the change results from a “carefully structured argument in the immediate context.”

²⁶ So taken by E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 182. He argues that Hebrews “hat christologische Gründe, nicht vom Abendmahl zu handeln. Das Erde und Himmel umspannende ἐφάπαξ-Opfer Jesu lässt *keinen* irdischen Kult mehr zu, auch nicht das Herrenmahl.”

²⁷ E. Ahlborn is of the opinion that “die Variante als sinnvollen Ausdruckswechsel zu verstehen, der dazu dienen sollte, das etwas eintönige διατιθέναι διαθήκην zu umgehen” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 45).

²⁸ So argued by H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 257.

²⁹ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 274.

- Hebrews reads ὁ θεός instead of the LXX κύριος as the subject of the relative clause. Although there is some doubt regarding this substitution in the light of the evidence of P⁴⁶ as pointed out above, there seems to be a careful distinction between the terms κύριος, which is almost exclusively applied for Christ (the “Son”), and θεός, which is mainly applied for God (the “Father”) in Hebrews.³⁰ If the substitution were due to the hand of Hebrews, it would make sense in the light of this distinction – precluding the association of Christ with the old covenant.³¹ The implication is then that there is a clear distinction between the identity of the Father and the Son and their roles in salvation history.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks on the *Vorlage* of the quote from Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20

Scholars have differing opinions regarding the divergences in the NT text. Some reckon that these are due to the author himself,³² whilst others are of the opinion that we have traces here of another LXX *Vorlage*.³³ This is nothing new, as one is constantly confronted with these two possibilities regarding the differences at each one of the explicit quotations in Hebrews.

It remains, despite our inclusion, discussion and treatment of Exod 24:8 above, doubtful whether this occurrence in Heb 9:20 should be treated as an explicit quotation or as a mere explicit and conscious reference by the author. The changes and additional elements with regard to Exod 24 in the immediate literary context of Heb 9:19ff., as well as the high number of substitutions in such a brief quote – in comparison with Jer 31(38):31-34, for instance – makes one wonder if this passage is not merely a midrashic section consisting of allusions and an explicit *reference* (in opposition to an explicit quotation) to Exod 24. One should thus probably rather think of a retelling of the original narrative within Heb 9:18-22, which contains the elements of paraphrasing, references, allusions and quoted phrases.³⁴ All these changes are probably pointing to a citation from memory here,³⁵ either as a reflection on

³⁰ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 470; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 974.

³¹ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 169; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 257.

³² Cf. K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 313-314; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 480, 481; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 182.

³³ Cf. G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 214-215; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 42-43.

³⁴ E. Grässer talks about “teils berichtend (V 19), teils zitierend (V 20)” and refers to Lev 14:4 and Num 19:6 in this connection (*Hebräer II*, 177).

³⁵ H. van Oyen thinks similarly: “Mogelijk heeft de schrijver uit zijn geheugen geciteerd” (*Hebreëën*, 150). S. Kistemaker, however, reckons that although the opinion might be held that the author quoted from memory, “it is better to assert that he adapted the quotation – whether he took it from the liturgical ritual of the Early Church remains an open question – to the context of Heb 9” (*Psalm Citations*, 42-43). Also H.-F. Weiss is sceptical and rather wants to ascribe the differences to conscious changes by the hand of the author himself (*Hebräer*, 481).

the tradition of the Mosaic covenant, or influenced by its presence during cultic festival ceremonies, or both.³⁶

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation (conscious reference?) is orthographically printed in the Greek text editions (NA27, UBS4) as if it is introduced with the term λέγων – thus again with a verb of saying rather than with “being written.” The same form of the verb, in its participle, was also used to introduce the quotations of Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:5, Ps 22(21):23 in Heb 2:12 and Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14. It will occur once more as introductory formula in Heb 12:26 when the quotation from Hag 2:6 is introduced and is a continuation of the author’s argument at the beginning of his work (Heb 1:1) that God “speaks” (through the prophets and through the Son). However, it might be argued that λέγων actually belongs to the quotation itself which reads רֹאשׁוֹν in the MT and καὶ εἰπεν in the LXX.³⁷

It might be useful to consider the possibility that the author intended the participle here in the sense of introducing the words as an indirect quotation, i.e. as a conscious *reference* to Exod 24:8 – and not as an explicit quotation. The difference between the quotation and a reference would be that the latter would not intend to utilise the exact wording of Exod 24:8, but only recognisable parts. Against this possibility would count, on the other hand, the other occurrences of the word in Hebrews as a technical term for introducing explicit quotations – of which there is little doubt that at least that from Ps 8:5-7 is intended as a quotation.

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20

The tradition of the first covenant was transferred to early Christianity. The institutional formula of the covenant, which refers to the role of the blood, forms a key element in establishing the covenant. It is this formula (Exod 24:8) that is quoted by the author of Hebrews here in Heb 9:20. The similarity between this formula and that of the institution of the Eucharist, as the “new covenant,” is obvious.

³⁶ S.J. Kistemaker noted that “the writer of Hebrews relied on oral tradition, extrabiblical material, or the five books of Moses. Perhaps he gained his material from various passages of these books” (*Hebrews*, 258).

³⁷ So taken, for instance, by E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 181, n. 137. Also B.F. Westcott (*Hebrews*, 470) and F. Schröger (*Verfasser*, 168) are of the opinion that this quotation is not introduced with an introductory formula and they do not understand λέγων in this sense.

The author of Hebrews interprets the covenantal events in the light of Christ who is now the mediator of a new covenant – by means of his death in order to save people from their disobedience regarding the requirements of the first covenant (9:15).³⁸ The author draws attention to the link with, and the importance of, the blood (9:18).³⁹ In referring to the events of the first covenant, the author included more elements that are absent in the narrative of Exod 24. The first is that Moses took the “*water* and the blood,” the second is that the blood belonged to “calves and *goats*,”⁴⁰ the third that he sprinkled it with “red wool and hyssop,”⁴¹ and the fourth that Moses sprinkled the blood not only on the people but also on “the Book” (9:19). This might have been a development by the author himself, or traces of an expansion or mutation of the existing tradition⁴² during the course of time. It might even have been ritual elements during a feast,⁴³ such as for a covenantal renewal – if such a feast existed. More possible is a probable merging between the traditions of the first covenantal events and the celebration of the Day of the Atonement⁴⁴ – referred to in the preceding context of Heb 9:12.⁴⁵ Targum Onkelos, interestingly, states that Moses “poured it (the blood) upon the altar as atonement for (לע) the people, *adding the words ‘upon the altar,’ and taking על נעם to denote ‘on behalf of the people,’ i.e. he poured it out to atone for the people.*”⁴⁶

But, rather than speculating here about how the additional elements found their way into the author of Hebrews’ narrative, what should be noted is the “blood-formula” and its

³⁸ The account is mostly a summary of these events with some modifications (F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 214; R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 160).

³⁹ Cf. H. van Oyen: “Het oude verbond is derhalve met bloed ingewijd, zo redeneert de schrijver, eveneens het nieuwe met het bloed van Christus, en het oude is op deze wijze schaduwbeeld van het nieuwe en volmaakte” (*Hebreëën*, 149). M. Karrer makes it explicit: “Das ist das Blut (nämlich der zum Inkrafttreten notwendige Tod und der aus dem Tod resultierende Blutritus) des Testaments, das Gott zu euren Gunsten verfügt hat” (*Hebräer II*, 163). Note that the word “blood” appears six times in Heb 9:18-22 alone (S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 257).

⁴⁰ Some manuscripts omit “and goats” [καὶ τῶν τράγων]: P⁴⁶ x² K L Ψ 0150. 0278. 1241. 1319. 1505. 1739. 1852. 1881 al sy^{(p)h} pal Chrysostom. The omission is followed by some translations (e.g. NIV), whilst most others include it (e.g. KJV; GNV; OAV; NAV; NLV). The inclusion of goats is found in the broader context where reference was already made to it in Heb 9:12, probably influencing the reading here in Heb 9:19. F.F. Bruce, too, is of the opinion that it was probably a later addition to the text of Hebrews in 9:19 (*Hebrews*, 214).

⁴¹ This is used, with the element of water, in Lev 14:4-7 and 49-52 during the cleansing ritual of lepers.

⁴² F.F. Bruce takes this position, arguing that “our author may well have drawn upon some source which is no longer extant” (*Hebrews*, 215).

⁴³ Cf. A. Strobel: “...daß ein festlicher Gottesdienst, der als ‘Sitz-im-Leben’ der Homilie angenommen werden darf, die Assoziation mit den Einsetzungsworten jederzeit begünstigen konnte” (*Hebräer*, 183).

⁴⁴ Cf., for instance, Lev 16:3-28 which refers to the sacrificing of a young bull and a goat and the sprinkling of the blood. S.J. Kistemaker thinks in a similar direction (*Hebrews*, 258). H.-F. Weiss, too, links the quotation to a context of a “Sühne- und Reinigungsritus” (*Hebräer*, 480) and sees it “in Bezugnahme auf den Opferritus am Versöhnungstag (V. 12!)” (*Hebräer*, 481).

⁴⁵ F.F. Bruce signals a similar possible link between Exod 24 and Num 19 regarding the triennial synagogue lectionary that “would have been read around the same season of the year in the second and third years respectively” (*Hebrews*, 216).

⁴⁶ M. Rosenbaum & A.M. Silbermann (transl.), *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi’s Commentary: Exodus* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1965), 129.

connection to the covenant. It is within this context that the author argues about a new covenant and in which he interprets the role of Jesus' death.⁴⁷ This is enhanced with the "blood-formula" quotation from the first covenant (Exod 24:8) and its allusion to the institution of the Eucharist.

1.4 Conclusion

It was established during the tradition historical part of the investigation that the cultic motif of the sacrifices, blood and covenant formed an integral part of the Jewish identity. Some allusions are present in Philo, it is found in a number of places in the OT and it was implicitly present in Jewish pilgrimage festivals. No evidence was found, however, of any explicit quotation from Exod 24:8 in the early Jewish or early Christian literature that pre-dates Hebrews. The same idea of Exod 24:8, however, also surfaces at the institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:23-26 with parallels in the Synoptic tradition), which can be seen in the formula: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor 11:25).

It became clear from the available textual witnesses, during the text critical part of the investigation, that (a) the LXX translation is a literal translation of the Hebrew as represented in the MT; (b) none of the variant readings amongst the Greek OT witnesses render sufficient support to warrant any changes to the reconstructed LXX text; and (c) no variant readings were found amongst the NT witnesses. Interesting, though, was the insertion of ΟΘΣ above the line in P^{46} . But three particularly striking differences were identified during the comparative analysis of the readings between the LXX (and/or MT) of Exod 24:8 and that of Heb 9:20 in the NT text. Firstly, Hebrews reads τοῦτο instead of the LXX ἵδού – which might be due to another LXX *Vorlage*, although the text critical investigation confirmed that none of the oldest LXX witnesses already contained the reading τοῦτο. It seemed more likely that the substitution might rather be due to liturgical influence from the Eucharistic formula. The second difference was that Hebrews reads ἐνετείλατο instead of the LXX διέθετο – the same reading as in Philo (*QE* 2,36) and with similar cases that were recorded in the long quotation from Jer 31(38). There is a slight possibility that – due to the substitution of the LXX verb διατίθημι in both Jer 38 and Exod 24 by another verb – the change might be ascribed to the hand of the author of Hebrews. The third difference was that Hebrews reads ὁ θεός instead of the LXX κύριος. Although there is some doubt regarding this substitution in

⁴⁷ Cf. also F. Schröger: "Durch den Vergleich mit dem Sinai-Bundesschluß, der mit Blut geschlossen wurde, wird u.a. klargestellt, daß der Neue Bund, verheißen vom Propheten Jeremias, bereits besteht, beschlossen im Blute Jesu Christi" (*Verfasser*, 172). Similar G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 973.

light of the evidence of P^{46} , Hebrews displays a careful distinction between the terms $\kappa\upsilon\rho\tau\sigma$ (almost exclusively applied for Christ) and $\theta\epsilon\circ\varsigma$ (mainly applied for God).

It was concluded that – in the light of the abovementioned analysis – it is actually doubtful whether the occurrence of Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20 should be treated as an explicit quotation or rather as a conscious reference by the author. The number of changes, additional elements and the high number of substitutions in such a brief quotation and its immediate new context, leads to suspicion that this passage might merely be a midrashic section consisting of allusions and an explicit *reference* to Exod 24. It was concluded that it might actually be better to rather think of a retelling of the original narrative within Heb 9:18-22, which contains the elements of paraphrasing, references, allusions and quoted phrases.

2. Ps 40(39):7-9 in Heb 10:5-7⁴⁸

This quotation belongs to one of the longer quotations in Hebrews, together with those of Pss 8, 45(44), 95(94), 102(101) and that of Jer 31(38). These six quotations in their lengthy versions seem to be a unique and striking feature of our author. Furthermore, except for those of Ps 45(44) and 102(101), which are part of the catena in Heb 1, are all the other quotations commented upon by the author in a midrashic manner. The same also applies here to Ps 40(39):7-9 – after it has been quoted, the author elaborates on it in Heb 10:8-10.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Ps 40(39)⁴⁹

Ps 40(39) has intertextual links with Ps 70(69):1-5 and particularly vv. 14-18 of Ps 40(39) are frequently discussed in the light of Ps 70(69) – possibly indicating the circulation of Ps 40(39):14-18 as an independent unit.⁵⁰ OT scholars have also drawn attention to the intriguing question about the relation between Ps 40(39):1-12 and Jer 17:5-8. Some, for instance, are of

⁴⁸ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Jesus-Sayings,” 433-440. See also the discussions of R.H. van der Bergh, “A Textual Comparison of Hebrews 10:5a-7 and LXX Psalm 39:7-9” (Unpublished M.Div. Thesis; Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2007); F. Siegert, *Hebräischer Bibel und AT*, 60; M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39:7-10 in Hebrews 10:5-7,” in D.J. Human & G.J. Steyn, *The Reception of the Psalms in Hebrews* (London: T&T Clark, 2009) (forthcoming).

⁴⁹ For an extensive discussion on the background of Ps 40, see G. Braulik, *Psalm 40 und der Gottesknecht* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1975).

⁵⁰ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 976.

the opinion that Ps 40(39):1-12 is dependent on Jer 17:5-8,⁵¹ with Ps 40(39):8-11 possibly being evidence of Torah-piety appropriate to the postexilic period.⁵²

The heading of LXX Ps 39 reads in Greek: Εἰς τὸ τέλος, τῷ Δαυὶδ ψαλμός. It differs from the MT, which reads “To the leader.” This heading of the LXX (which appears frequently) is disputed in scholarship. Was this heading meant to be directed to the future, and thus eschatologically intended by the translators of the LXX? Although this is doubted by scholarship, fact is that the LXX provided here a convenient link to the eschatological understanding of early Christianity.

The Psalm itself consists of two major parts:⁵³ vv. 1-10 is a “Song of Thanksgiving,” and vv. 13-17 is a “Prayer with a confession of sins.”⁵⁴ These parts can be subdivided into seven sections: vv. 1-3; 4-5; 6-8; 9-10; 11-12; 13-15 and 16-17 (according to the MT versification – the LXX counts the heading as v. 1, the rest are all a number higher). The section that Hebrews quoted, vv. 6 (7) to 8 (9), forms part of a number of passages that point to the inadequacy of the sacrificial cult.⁵⁵ The intention is probably to include the four types of offering as known from the Levitical ritual. The first word pair in the quotation, “sacrifice and offering,” probably refers to the animal offerings and meal offerings, whereas the second word pair, “burnt offerings and sin offerings,” probably refers to “eucharistic offerings, which belonged to the life of the Covenant, and expiatory offerings, which were provided for the restoration of the life of the Covenant.”⁵⁶

2.1.2 The use of Ps 40(39) in early Jewish and early Christian traditions

No verse of Ps 40(39) is explicitly quoted by either early Judaism, or anyone of the NT writers anywhere.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, some possible allusions to the motif of the importance of love and purity of heart, rather than sacrifices, might be identified in some early Jewish

⁵¹ W.L. Holladay & P.D. Hanson, *Jeremiah* 2, 69.

⁵² So interpreted by H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen I*, 307.

⁵³ The twofold division of Ps 40(39) has led scholars to believe that the Psalm actually consisted of two individual Psalms. There is enough evidence to assume, however, that Psalm 40(39) as it stands forms a unity and should be taken as one Psalm. See, for instance, the work of E. Naudé in this regard: “Psalm 40: Één of twee Psalms?” (Unpublished PhD Thesis; Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1999).

⁵⁴ F. Schröger divides the Psalm into vv. 2-12 and vv. 13-18 (*Verfasser*, 173).

⁵⁵ Cf. U. Busse, *John: A commentary on the Gospel of John*. (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 223. Other passages are Isa 1:11-20, 29:13; Joel 2:13; Amos 5:1-25; Mic 6:6-8; Pss 50:7-23; 51:18f.

⁵⁶ So B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 309; similarly F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 240-241. P. Ellingworth agrees that this distinction might apply to the LXX, but is sceptical about it in Hebrews (*Hebrews*, 502).

⁵⁷ So also M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39,” (forthcoming).

literature.⁵⁸ Due to this lack of any evidence that testifies to the use of the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 in early Judaism and early Christianity prior to the time of Hebrews, one might safely assume that it was most probably discovered by the author of Hebrews himself.⁵⁹ This is similar to the cases with Ps 45(44), Ps 95(94), Ps 102(101) and Ps 104(103). There might be an allusion, however, to Ps 40(39):7 in Eph 5:2 – when it is stated that Christ “gave himself for us as a fragrant offering and a sacrifice to God” – but this is not sufficient proof to assume general knowledge of the Psalm in early Christianity. Only shortly after the time of Hebrews, at the close of the 1st cent. C.E., Clement of Rome quoted v. 2 of Ps 40(39) in *1 Clem* 60:2.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Ps 40(39):7-9

There are no textual witnesses to Ps 40(39):7-9 that survived amongst those of the DSS – except for a small fragment (fr. 6) in 11QPs^d (11Q8).⁶⁰ This leaves us thus only with the texts of the MT and the LXX as comparative readings for the text of the quotations in Hebrews.

Ps 40:7-9 MT	Ps 39:7-9 LXX
זֶבֶח וּמִנְחָה לְאֱלֹהִים	⁷ θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἡθέλησας,
אֲנָニִם כְּרִתָּה לֵי עוֹלָה	ώτια δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, ὀλοκαύτωμα
וְקַרְבָּנָה לֹא שָׁאַלְתִּי אָמַרְתִּי	καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ ἤτησας. ⁸ τότε ειπον
הַנְּהָבָאתִ בְּמִגְלָת-סְפָר קְטוּב	Ιδοὺ ἦκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται
עַלְיָה: ⁹ לְעַשְׂוֹת-רְצָוָנָךְ	περὶ ἔμοῦ, ⁹ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου,
אָלָה	ο θεός μου,

The Greek translation of the eclectic LXX text provides a literal translation of the Hebrew, following the Hebrew almost word for word – even with the interesting equivalent of ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου for the Hebrew בְּמִגְלָת-סְפָר (“scroll book,” “roll,” “volume”).⁶¹ Most exegetes assume that the reconstructed LXX text also reads ωτία as the MT does (אֲנָニִים). There are no convincing text critical grounds, however, to assume that ωτία was present in

⁵⁸ G.H. Guthrie refers to Jdt 16:16; Sir 34:18 – 35:12; and in the contemporary late 1st cent. C.E. Slavonic Apocalypse of 2 En. 45:3 (“Hebrews,” 976).

⁵⁹ M. Karrer is of the same opinion (*Hebräer II*, 194).

⁶⁰ Cf. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar & A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11*, 69. So also confirmed by M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39” (forthcoming).

⁶¹ For differences in nuances between the Hebrew and the process of the LXX translation, see F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 173-175.

the oldest LXX witnesses⁶² and the change from “ears” to “body” could be explained due to palaeographical interchange.⁶³

Some have argued that the presence of temporal markers in the source and in the receptor language often influenced the choice of an equivalency in the Greek translation.⁶⁴ However, as can be observed from Ps 40(39):8a – אָמַרְתִּי (Qatal) and τότε ειπον (aorist indicative) – the mere presence of the temporal marker was not determinitive.⁶⁵

Amongst the LXX witnesses, however, there are some variations. The fact that minuscule 2013 (PLeipzig 39, which contains Pss 30–50), agrees with Hebrews in two of these cases (όλοκαυτώματα and ηὐδόκησας), should be ascribed to influence from the NT. Noteworthy is the attestation of the group combinations R'' L'' A' – which often, individually or in combination, follow an alternative reading in the LXX tradition, and one which is closer to the text of the quotations in the book of Hebrews.⁶⁶ The variations that are referred to are the following:

- The LXX reads ωτία in some witnesses.⁶⁷
- The singular όλοκαύτωμα is read by some,⁶⁸ whilst the plural όλοκαυτώματα (as in Heb 10:6) is read by others.⁶⁹
- The reading ὑτησας is followed by a few witnesses;⁷⁰ ἐζήτησας by others;⁷¹ ἡθέλησας by minuscule 55; and ηὐδόκησας by a few.⁷²

The reconstructed reading of the LXX is close to that of the oldest witness to Ps 39 (LXX), namely PBod XXIV⁷³ (minuscule 2110), which contains Pss 17–118. Despite the fact that it was published about 40 years ago, PBod XXIV has not yet been included in the unchanged reprints of the eclectic Psalms edition of Alfred Rahlfs in the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* in

⁶² So already confirmed by E. Ahlborn who adds: “Wenn es sich nähmlich um einen Schreibfehler handelte, müßten sich irgendwelche Spuren des als richtig angenommenen ωτία in der Tradition aufzeigen lassen” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 122).

⁶³ The LXX translator of Ps 40(39) probably interchanged σῶμα [ΗΘΕΛΗΣΑΣΣΩΜΑ] for ωτα (ωτία occurs only rarely) [ΗΘΕΛΗΣΑΣΩΤΙΑ]. Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 122; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 174; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 500.

⁶⁴ Cf. J.H. Sailhamer, *Translation Technique*, 184.

⁶⁵ J.H. Sailhamer, *Translation technique*, 185.

⁶⁶ See the Tables with a synopsis of variants at the end of this study.

⁶⁷ La^G Ga = MT (sic “omnes interpretes,” i.e. a’ s’ θ’ e’, = recensions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. et εβρ [“ωσναϊμ”] teste Sy).

⁶⁸ So attested by Ι B Ga 1213. 1219. MT.

⁶⁹ Supported by A R T Bo 2013' L'.

⁷⁰ B, cf. La^G Ga assimilating to the MT.

⁷¹ Ι A R T Z L' petisti La^R Aug Theodoret and the Syriac (Cf. also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 173).

⁷² Bo 2013': ex Hebr. 10:6, cf. Ps 50:18.

⁷³ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 86.

Göttingen.⁷⁴ Places where PBod XXIV differ from the *eclectic* text of the LXX in this case, are the following:

- Where Rahlfs' reconstructed LXX text reads ὡτία (as the MT does), PBod XXIV reads σῶμα – the reading supported in the NT. There are, however, no thorough text critical reasons to accept the reading of Rahlfs. The reading as found in PBod XXIV can be assumed as the original and is supported by the important LXX witnesses κ A B (also R).
- Where the LXX reads ὀλοκαυτώμα, PBod XXIV reads ὀλοκαυτώματα – as supported in the NT. This reading was also supported by Bo 2013' R'' L'' A'.
- Where the LXX reads ἥτησας, PBod XXIV reads ηὐπόκητσας. The difference between the *pi* here and the *delta* of the NT εὐδόκητσας might simply be due to a *Schreibfehler*. The reading of the papyrus is also supported by Bo 2013'.
- Where the LXX reads ειπον, PBod XXIV reads ειπα. None of the LXX witnesses, nor any of the NT witnesses support this reading.

P Bod XXIV Ps 39:7-9⁷⁵

θυσίαν [κ]αι προσφοραν [ο]υκ ηθέλησας
σῶμα δε κ[α]τηρτισω μοι ολοκαυτωματα
 και περι [αμα]ρτιας ου[κ] ηὐποκητσας το]τε
ειπα ιδου [ηκ]ω εν κεφ[α]λίδι βιβλιου]
 γεγραπται [περι] εμου το[ν] ποιησαι το
 θέλημα σου] ο θε μου

LXX Ps 39:7-9

⁷θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἤθέλησας,
 ὡτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, όλοκαύτωμα
 καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ ἥτησας. ⁸τότε
ειπον Ιδοὺ ἦκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου
 γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, ⁹τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ
 θέλημά σου, ὁ θεός μου,

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 10:5-7

Two variants occur amongst the NT witnesses. In both cases, P⁴⁶ and D are supporting the alternative reading.

- Instead of όλοκαυτώματα, some witnesses (P⁴⁶ D E 1881. vg^{ms} sa^{mss}) read όλοκαυτώμα – similar to the eclectic text of the LXX. Some scholars are of the opinion that the singular reading in the NT was influenced by knowledge of the LXX text.⁷⁶
- The word γάρ has been inserted between γέγραπται and περί in Heb 10:7 by the witnesses P⁴⁶ D^{*.2}.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Psalmi cum Odis*, 143-144; A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpres, Editio altera* (ed. R. Hanhart; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006) II, 41.

⁷⁵ Text taken from R. Kasser & M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 86.

⁷⁶ So, for instance, E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 123.

The author of Hebrews refers back to the quotation in Heb 10:8-9, following the same technique of selecting key phrases and summarising the gist of the quotation for his argument in the same midrashic manner as with some of the long quotations before. The λέγων ὅτι indicates that the author presents this section as an implicit quotation, or as a conscious reference, to the text that he already quoted. This calls for great caution not to use this section of Heb 10:8-9 in the same manner as that of the explicit quotation in our quest for the *Vorlage* of the quotation. The author basically follows the same order of the quotation with regard to the phrases that he refers back to, except for moving οὐκ ἡθέλησας. He first refers back to the first part of the quotation in Heb 10:8,⁷⁷ only omitting the phrase σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. He then comes back to the second part of the quotation in Heb 10:9, this time omitting the line ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ, as well as ὁ θεός in the last line of the quotation – although some witnesses⁷⁸ do include it as part of the text.

Heb 10:5b-7

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν
οὐκ ἡθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι·
όλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας
οὐκ εὐδόκησας.
τότε ειπον· ἵδον ἦκω,
ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ,
τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεὸς τὸ θέλημα σου.

Heb 10:8-9

ἀνώτερον λέγων ὅτι
θυσίας καὶ προσφορᾶς
καὶ
όλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας
οὐκ ἡθέλησας οὐδὲ εὐδόκησας, ...
τότε εἴρηκεν· ἵδον ἦκω,
τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα σου.

In the latest Greek eclectic edition of NA27 the τότε εἴρηκεν is not printed in cursive print and not taken as part of the intended reference text by the author. However, as can be observed above, there is little reason not to include it as part of the text as it parallels the τότε ειπον of the quotation in Heb 10:7. The UBS4 edition, however, still printed the phrase in bold print.

2.2.3 A comparison between Ps 40(39):7-8 and Heb 10:5b-7

Ps 40(39):7-9 LXX

7 Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἡθέλησας, ὡτία

Heb 10:5b-7

Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει·
θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἡθέλησας, σῶμα

⁷⁷ The following witnesses interchanged θυσίας καὶ προσφορᾶς for θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν: κ^2 D² I Ψ 0278. 1739. 1881. MT sy^h sa^{mss}.

⁷⁸ Supported by κ^2 0278. ^{vid} 1739. MT lat sy^{p,h**} bo^{ms}.

δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι· ὁλοκαυτώμα καὶ
περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ ἔτησας. 8 τότε ειπον·
ἰδοὺ ἡκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται
περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι
τὸ θέλημα σου, ὃ θεὸς μου, ἐβουλήθην

δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι· 6 ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ
περὶ ἀμαρτίας οὐκ ἐνδόκησας. 7 τότε ειπον·
ἰδού ἡκω, ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται τὸ
περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι
ὅ θεὸς τὸ θέλημα σου.

The versions of Ps 40(39) as found in the MT, Targum Jonathan and in Irenaeus, on the one hand, are closely related. The LXX reading of Ps 39:7-9, on the other hand, agrees fairly well with that of the quoted Ps 40(39):6-9 in Hebrews. However, in the lengthy quotation in Hebrews there are some striking differences with the LXX to be found.⁷⁹ It thus cannot be agreed unqualifiedly with some scholars that the “quotation follows the LXX version, with some slight modification.”⁸⁰ These differences probably represent the removal of conflations and corrections by means of the addition of words, change in word order and the substitution of words. The differences, and some of the solutions or explanations for these, offered by scholars, are the following:⁸¹

(a) Hebrews reads the plural, ὁλοκαυτώματα⁸² whilst the reconstructed LXX has the singular ὁλοκαύτωμα.⁸³ One possible explanation for this was that the singular “possibly indicates contact with a LXX text showing recensional / revisional activity towards the Hebrew.”⁸⁴ Another explanation was that this is a redactional change by the author of Hebrews.⁸⁵ A further earlier explanation was that the reading ὁλοκαυτώματα οὐκ εὔδοκήσεις in Ps 51(50):18 had an influence on the reading here.⁸⁶ But there are two clear traditions here. On the one hand, the NT witnesses β ⁴⁶ and D (also 1881 vg^{ms} sa^{mss}) support the LXX singular,⁸⁷ whereas the LXX witness, PBod XXIV, on the other hand, supports the NT plural form.⁸⁸ It is especially the upper Egyptian textual tradition that firstly shows support for the plural reading as found in Hebrews.

⁷⁹ See A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 257-292. A summary in table format of all the different readings and its textual witnesses for this passage is to be found there on p. 270.

⁸⁰ So, for instance, R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 175; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 507.

⁸¹ See also the discussion by U. Rüsen-Weinhold on this quotation (“Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen,” 201-205).

⁸² The plural reading of Hebrews is also found in the LXX witnesses A R T 2013.

⁸³ The singular reading follows the Hebrew text and is supported by LXX witnesses x B and 1213. (F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 173; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 216).

⁸⁴ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of Text,” 291. Similar, E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 123.

⁸⁵ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 203.

⁸⁶ So E. Rigggenbach, *Hebräer*, 300. However, E. Ahlborn has convincingly argued that this could not be the case as the witnesses that read ἔτησας represent the upper Egyptian textual tradition – and all of them, without exception, follow the plural ὁλοκαυτώματα, which points to the fact that the author of Hebrews followed the reading of his Egyptian *Vorlage* (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 124).

⁸⁷ Codex B is, unfortunately, deficient from Heb 9:14 to the end of the book, so that it is not possible to compare its NT reading here. So also F.W. Beare, *Text of the Epistle*, 379.

⁸⁸ That both trajectories of the upper and lower Egyptian textual traditions existed alongside each other, was already pointed out by E. Ahlborn: “zur Charakterisierung der Psalmen-Septuaginta des Hebräerbrevierverfassers

(b) Hebrews reads σῶμα (as LXX witnesses καὶ A B) instead of Rahlfs' ὡτία (La^G Ga) in his eclectic text. Scholars proposed a number of possible solutions in the past.⁸⁹ Some scholars are of the opinion that the solution is a *text critical* one.⁹⁰ The LXX should read “body” – as in the quotation in Hebrews – because the revisers of the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, with Origen’s Quinta and Sexta, as well as some late LXX editions corrected σῶμα, “body,” to ὡτία, “ears.”⁹¹ The LXX codices B, καὶ and A indeed read σῶμα.⁹² Others argue in the opposite direction – assuming that the LXX in fact read ὡτία and that σῶμα found its way in the three important uncials due to corrections of later scribes who wished to conform the LXX text to Hebrews.⁹³ Another position wants to understand the difference as being due to a *free rendering* of an older textual tradition.⁹⁴ Authors find a possible explanation for the choice of “body” instead of “ears” as in the OT texts, in the *style* of the author, i.e. that Hebrews “...uses synecdoche (the whole for the part).⁹⁵ The ears represent the entire body of the servant of Yahweh, listening and attentive to the voice of God’s command.”⁹⁶ Closely linked to this opinion is the viewpoint that the change is a *redactional* one that was made consciously by the author of Hebrews on the basis of rhetorical grounds.⁹⁷ Yet another opinion seeks a solution in the *context*, namely that the key to the change from “ears” to “body” is probably to be found in Heb 10:10: διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The phrase, “a body you have prepared for me” implies, for some others, that only by Christ’s becoming incarnate can he accomplish the will of God to do away with sin by His voluntary self-sacrifice.⁹⁸

werden wir also beide ägyptische Textfassungen bedenken müssen. Deutlich ist, daß die Vorlage des Hebräerbriefes aus dem ägyptischen Raum stammt” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 123-124).

⁸⁹ G. Theissen asked the question: “Lieg bei der Mehrzahl der Zeugen ein Schreibfehler oder eine messianische Interpretation vor?” (*Untersuchungen*, 73).

⁹⁰ So H.W. Attridge who understands it as an “interpretive paraphrase” by the LXX for the “obscure Hebrew phrase” (*Hebrews*, 274). A number of German scholars take the change as due to a “Lese- oder Schreibfehler.” Cf. C. Büchel, *Hebräerbrief*, 519; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 174; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 191; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 507; and E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 216 (“Verlesung für ὡτία, da ein σ vorangeht”).

⁹¹ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 232; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274, n.70.

⁹² G.W. Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 164.

⁹³ So argued by G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 977. This remains unconvincing when text critical criteria are applied.

⁹⁴ U. Rüsén-Weinhold, *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 202.

⁹⁵ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews 9-13. Vol. II* (WBC 47B; Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 255.

⁹⁶ G.L. Archer & G. Chirichigno, *OT Quotations*, 69. See also F.F. Bruce (*Hebrews*, 232); R.McL.Wilson (*Hebrews*, 175), and S.J. Kistemaker (*Hebrews*, 275) who refer to this as a possible instance of *pars pro toto*.

⁹⁷ Cf. K.H. Jobes, “Rhetorical Achievement in the Hebrews 10 ‘Misquote’ of Psalm 40,” *Bib* 72/1 (1991) 387-396, on p. 388.

⁹⁸ N.F. Miller, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: An Analytical and Exegetical Handbook* (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1988), 282.

(c) Hebrews reads *εὐδόκησας* (“thou hadst...pleasure”) instead of *ἥτησας* (or *ἐζητήσας*).⁹⁹

Although there is a case to be made for the fact that the Greek *εὐδόκησας* is more expressive than the Hebrew *בְּרָאַת*,¹⁰⁰ there seems to be consensus amongst a number of scholars that Heb 10:6 represents probably the removal of conflations found in the LXX *Vorlage* of Hebrews. The author of Hebrews “...whilst possibly a mere correction to the wording of the citation, effectively remove what has generally been seen as a conflation (with Ps 50,18 [51,16]).” These were “...probably perceived as being faults in the exemplar (as indeed are the majority) and reflect a correctional disposition concerned for exactitude in Scripture reference.”¹⁰¹ The change emphasises the criticism with regard to sacrifices.¹⁰²

(d) The phrase *τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου ὁ θεός μοῦ* in Ps 39:9 (LXX) reads *τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεὸς τὸ θέλημά σου* in Heb 10:7. Some explained the omissions as follows: “Hebrews omitted the pronoun ‘my’ (*ὁ θεός μού*) and the verb ‘I wanted’ (*ἐβουλήθην*).¹⁰³ By omitting this verb, the finite verb understood to accompany the infinitive would be ‘I have come.’ This suited the author’s needs, because he was emphasizing Jesus’ coming into the world (10,5) to replace the sacrifices prescribed in the Pentateuch.”¹⁰⁴ Others also highlighted this difference between the readings of the LXX and that of Hebrews, namely that the quotation stops short of the verb *ἐβουλήθην* in Heb 10:7. “That alters the whole construction. The LXX had the sense ‘I wanted to do your will.’ Hebrews gains the new construction *ἥκω τοῦ ποιῆσαι ‘I come to do....’*”¹⁰⁵ It is precisely the omission of *ἐβουλήθην* at the end of the quotation that justifies the more suggestive *εὐδόκησας*.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, what becomes clear from the changes at the end of the quotation, is that these were mainly the result of theologically motivated grounds by the author himself.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ “Perhaps under the influence of Ps 51:16 = 50:18, LXX” (F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 232). U. Rüsen-Weinhold has pointed out that the author of Hebrews uses *εὐδοκέω* only three times (10:6, 8, 38) – all of them in quotations – but usually he prefers *εὐαρεστέω* (“Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen,” 203).

¹⁰⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 44.

¹⁰¹ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the Text,” 281.

¹⁰² E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 216.

¹⁰³ F. Schröger is of the opinion that the omission of *ἐβουλήθην* is the biggest change to the text of the quotation and that it was made by the author of Hebrews (*Verfasser*, 175).

¹⁰⁴ G.W. Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 165.

¹⁰⁵ M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39” (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁶ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 44.

¹⁰⁷ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 125: “Es werden theologisch-sachliche Gründe gewesen sein, die bei seiner Änderung der Vorlage einen Einfluß ausübten.” Also M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 196.

It is therefore extremely difficult to establish here in Heb 10:5b-7 the *Textvorlage* used by the author for his quotation. No wonder that scholars differ in their classification of this particular reading from a viewpoint that it is unlike either the Hebrew or the Greek OT, although there might be some “slight LXX influence,”¹⁰⁸ to a viewpoint that “dependence on the LXX is quite clear.”¹⁰⁹

2.2.4 Summarising remarks on the *Vorlage* of the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 in Heb 10:5-7

It is appropriate to ask here to what extent the Eucharistic liturgical formulas might have played a role in the author’s selection and presentation of the quotations from Exod 24:8 and Ps 40(39):7-9. It certainly is striking that the quotation from Exod 24:8 deals with the “blood” ($\tauὸν αἷμα$) and that of Ps 40(39) with the “body” ($\sigmaῶμα$).¹¹⁰ The influence of the Eucharistic formula on the quotation from Exod 24:8 was noted during the discussion of that quotation above. Was this present in the back of our author’s mind, and/or is the christological interpretation of the *pesach* at play here? Whatever way one might look at it, the real question is: was the reading of $\sigmaῶμα$ already in the *Vorlage* that our author utilised for his quotation, or did he make the substitution from $\omegaτία$ to $\sigmaῶμα$ himself? There certainly seem to be enough external evidence from the LXX witnesses that it can be assumed that the text of the author of Hebrews indeed read $\sigmaῶμα$ ¹¹¹ – and that this was one of the *Stichwörter* that was important for his selection of this text. It is also clear that the quotation is closer to a LXX version than to the MT¹¹² and that (at least the majority of) the differences in reading between the quotation in Hebrews and the reconstructed and eclectic text of the LXX should rather be explained in the light of an existing *Vorlage* that was used by the author of Hebrews and for which proof can be found in the different existing LXX textual traditions, than to ascribe these differences here to the hand of the NT author.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Cf. G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 211.

¹⁰⁹ So F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 232; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 274; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 159; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreeën*, 109; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 44.

¹¹⁰ This observation is usually missed in expositions of this section in secondary literature. It was already noted, however, by G. Theißen, *Untersuchungen*, 73.

¹¹¹ Scholars agreed on this position now for quite some time. Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 122; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 174; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 500; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, “Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen,” 202; C.A. Eberhart, “Sacrificial Metaphors,” 61, n. 45. Others, however, still build their arguments incorrectly based on Rahlf’s LXX reconstruction with an assumed $\omegaτία$ reading – for instance E. Tönges, “Jesus-Midrash,” 95; J. Hanegraaff, *Tenach en Septuagint*, 178, 332, n. 189.

¹¹² So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 44; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 196; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 217.

¹¹³ E. Ahlborn already argued in favour of the upper Egyptian textual tradition (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 123-125). M. Karrer, too, is of a similar opinion. He argues that neither $\sigmaῶμα$ nor $\epsilonὐδόκησας$ represent the preferred

In the quotation from Ps 40(39), the Son clearly states his obedience and submission to God: ἴδοὺ ήτοι ... τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεὸς τὸ θέλημα σου. The sacrifice that Christ brought by giving his “body,”¹¹⁴ stands in contrast with that of the “blood” of the animals from the Mosaic rituals that were not desirable to God.¹¹⁵

An interesting observation was made that the *inclusio* which is formed by ήθέλησας and εὐδόκησας, encircles the clause that contains the substitutions (of σῶμα for ωτία and the plural ὀλοκαυτώματα for the singular ὀλοκαύτωμα).¹¹⁶ This creates then an a-b-b'-a' pattern, which highlights vv. 5c-6a by having it “standing in the center of the phonetic and semantic inclusio. The center colon b-b' is set in contrast to a-a’.” The structure of the unit is then presented as follows:

θυ- σί- αν- καὶ- προσ- φο- ρὰν- οὐκ- ή- θέ- λη- σας	a
σῶ- μα- δε- κα- τηρ- τί- σω- μου	b
ό- λο- καν- τώ- μα- τα- καὶ- πε- ρὶ-	b'
ά- μαρ- τί- ας- οὐκ- εὐ- δό-κη- σας	a'

This observation has an important implication for our study: It confirms, not only the hymnic nature of the text quoted, but more specifically our author’s inclination towards this particular *genre* for his presentation of the passages that he quotes.¹¹⁷

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula¹¹⁸

Pss 1–41 predominantly refer to הָנָן (MT) or κύριος (LXX), whereas Pss 42–82 prefer to rather use מְלֹךְ (MT) or θεός (LXX). One can image then that it was fairly obvious for an early Christian author such as Hebrews, to make the hermeneutical leap via the LXX Ps 39

vocabulary of Hebrews (*Hebräer II*, 195, 196). H.-F. Weiss holds a different opinion and ascribes most differences to the hand of the author (*Hebräer*, 507). So does K.H. Jobes, “The Function of Paronomasia in Hebrews 10.5-7,” *TJ* 13 (1992) 181-191, and G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 977.

¹¹⁴ “Dieses Tun des Willens Gottes mündet und erfüllt sich in der Darbringung seines Leibs” (G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrevier*, 139).

¹¹⁵ R.McL.Wilson agrees that the chosen quotation here “serves a double purpose for our author: in the first place, it goes further than many other Old Testament passages in affirming God’s rejection of sacrifice, and the powerlessness of sacrifices in themselves to please God and bring about a proper relationship between God and man...; and in the second place it provides him with the basis for a new understanding” (*Hebrews*, 176).

¹¹⁶ Cf. K.H. Jobes, *Rhetorical Achievement*, 392-394.

¹¹⁷ M. Karrer responds to this as follows: “Such assonances are of great interest because they help mnemotechnically. But they may be formed well by the original translators and therefore cannot decide stages of text history” (*LXX Psalm 39*, forthcoming).

¹¹⁸ See also the study of L.C. Laughton, „The Hermeneutic of the Author of Hebrews as Manifest in the Introductory Formulae and Its Implications for Modern Hermeneutics“ (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2005), 51-54.

(Ps 40 MT) to the κύριος, i.e. Christ, as the speaker of these words.¹¹⁹ This Davidic Psalm is, therefore, attributed to Christ in the introduction of the citation in Heb 10:5a, which introduces a “climactic discussion of Christ’s sacrifice.”¹²⁰ The writer “...may have argued (as Peter did with regard to Ps 16 on the day of Pentecost) that the words of the Psalm could not refer to David *in propria persona* (since David did offer sacrifices), and therefore they should be understood as referring to ‘great David’s greater Son’.”¹²¹ In this manner, the Davidic psalm is messianically understood¹²² and christologically interpreted. What follows was thus (according to the author of Hebrews) an “Introitus-Gebet Jesu”¹²³ about what Christ was saying¹²⁴ (λέγει, referring back to Heb 9:28). The author emphasises this point of *saying*: “he said” (10:5), “then I said” (10:7), “first he said” (10:8), and “then he said” (10:9).¹²⁵

Christ said this as he “comes into the world” (εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει, 10:5) – an expression which was simply a Semitic way of saying “when Christ was born.”¹²⁶

The author of Hebrews steps back through the proclaimed Christ of the early church to picture a human Jesus who also uttered some “sayings,” although these are exclusively quotations from Scripture in order to let Jesus himself interpret Scripture,¹²⁷ saying himself that it was written about him in the scroll: ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου γέγραπται περὶ ἐμοῦ.

A few side remarks are appropriate here. It is the only reference in Hebrews to the expression “it was written” and it is found only as part of the quotation itself. Interestingly, however, is the fact that the author omits this line when he refers back to the quotation for a second time. Furthermore, the fact that the author included in Heb 9:19 Moses’ sprinkling of the Scroll (τὸ βιβλίον) – not in the original narrative of Exod 24 – and Jesus’ (sic!) reference here to the Scroll (ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου), testifying about his sacrifice, simply seems to be too coincidental. Both κεφαλίς and βιβλίον were used to denote Scrolls in general until the

¹¹⁹ This is the pre-existent Christ for E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 122.

¹²⁰ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 90.

¹²¹ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 232.

¹²² So also E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 215.

¹²³ E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 215.

¹²⁴ The subject of λέγει is the Messiah and Son of God (F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 173). A. Cody is of the opinion that Hebrews put this Psalm on the lips of Jesus “to show the relations between His Incarnation and His priesthood” (*Heavenly Sanctuary*, 94).

¹²⁵ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 274.

¹²⁶ Cf. S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 274. Similarly H.-F. Weiss: “Die Wendung...umschreibt zunächst nichts anderes als die ‘Menschwerdung’ Jesu, im Sinne der Christologie des Hebr” (*Hebräer*, 508). Cf. H.W. Attridge: “While this phraseology could be used in Jewish tradition simply for birth, Christ’s ‘entry’ is that of the eternal Son. Although the incarnation is clearly in view, the introductory verse is important not because it stresses a particular moment when Christ’s act of obedience to the divine will was made, but because it indicates that the cosmos is the sphere of the decisive sacrifice of Christ” (*Hebrews*, 273).

¹²⁷ Cf. B.L. Melbourne on “the imitation of Jesus motif” and the invitation to the readers/hearers of Hebrews to “consider” (κατανοέω, 3:1; ἀναλογίσασθε, 12:3) Jesus (“An Examination of the Historical-Jesus Motif in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *Andrews University Seminar Series* 26 [1988] 281-297, on p. 295).

end of the 1st cent. C.E.,¹²⁸ which, if so understood, serves to emphasise the testimony of the Scriptures about the events regarding Jesus for the early Christians in general and for the author of Hebrews here in particular.

It is thus Jesus himself – with the quotation as presented as his own words – who points to this new hermeneutical key, namely that the Scriptures have to be read and understood as testifying about him. This is still God speaking in the history of salvation, but here “through the Son” (Heb 1:1). It is thus correct when saying that “(i)n consequence Jesus actually speaks, but he does not speak a new word. Even in the detail his living word is taken from, and can be controlled in, the scriptures of Israel.”¹²⁹ The author’s handling of the (re-)interpretation of Scripture by authoritative figures – here by placing it on the lips of Jesus himself – seems to be in line with that of other NT authors, such as Luke, for instance.¹³⁰

The gist of all three quotations in the two “Jesus sayings” (Heb 2:12-13 and Heb 10:5b-7), is obedience by God’s Son to his Father. The first proclaims God, Jesus mediates, coming himself with the “children.” Christ came as the obedient child of God and speaks here with God.¹³¹ The second is a matter of putting trust in God. The third requires not sacrifices, but to do God’s will.

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of Ps 40(39):7-8 in Heb 10:5-7

The author of Hebrews uses the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-8 christologically.¹³² The quotation provides proof for the author that the reality of Christ’s death puts the shadow of the Levitical sacrifices aside.¹³³ He applies the quotation as a “prayer of Christ” as he entered the

¹²⁸ Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 184. Karrer, furthermore, makes some interesting observations in this regard: (a) that one might even think about another kind of Scripture (Psalm, Torah or Festival Scroll) of Israel: “In diesem Falle würde das Zitat nebenbei signalisieren, es gebe weitere Schriftbelege für die Christologie des Hebr; der Hebr fände eine willkommene Unterstützung für seine Reflexion, die er nicht einmal konkretisieren müsste”; (b) “Die Schriftrolle (*biblion*) ist indeterminiert, kann daher jede beliebige, auch eine nichtbiblische Rolle meinen” (*Hebräer II*, 184). E. Grässer, too, states that the “Buchrolle ist also nicht mit der Tora identisch oder mit einer Prophetenschriftrolle oder mit der im prophetischen Sinn gelesenen Tora” (*Hebräer II*, 215).

¹²⁹ M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39” (forthcoming).

¹³⁰ Cf. G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 24.

¹³¹ Cf. also A. Strobel: “Christus äußert sich in der Weise des gehorsamen Sohnes, der bereit ist, den Willen Gottes zu erfüllen und sein Leben als Opfer zu geben” (*Hebräer*, 191).

¹³² Cf. M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 197: “Die Schrift Israels ist christologisch zu lesen, aber in eine Aktualisierung, die den alten Text nicht ändert und eigenen Interpretationseinschnitte erkennbar hält.” Also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 507; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 216.

¹³³ S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 275.

world.¹³⁴ It is especially the term σῶμα in the author's *Vorlage* of Ps 40(39) which assists him in interpreting this passage from Scripture in terms of the death and the body of Christ.¹³⁵

Scholars are generally in agreement that the author of Hebrews used the method of "midrash-pesher" when applying this Psalm – as is the case with Ps 8:4-6; Ps 95(94):7-11; and Ps 110(109):4 – within its new context.¹³⁶ It forms one of the central passages, which the author not only quotes but also elaborates upon, by means of a commentary (midrash) on the quoted passage. These passages appear to dominate the entire document.¹³⁷ It is a question whether the allusions by Paul in Eph 5:2 and later by Irenaeus, could be used to make the point that "though the source material for the passage from Ps 40 is indeed scanty, the presence of the references intimates that the verses 6 to 8 of this psalm were not entirely unknown in a context of offering true sacrifices of love to God."¹³⁸ The motif of offering love rather than sacrifices could have been a well established motif and might not have had any connections with Ps 40(39) at all!

Hebrews' interpretations regularly depend on the fact that verses are taken out of context and imaginatively fitted into a new situation. In this respect it differs little from contemporary Jewish exegesis as represented either at Qumran or in Philo.¹³⁹ The author understands Ps 40(39) to be a statement that the Lord does not desire sacrifices and offerings, but purity of heart, whereas the Pentateuch requires sacrifices to be offered.¹⁴⁰ The term θυσίαν ("sacrifice") serves, like the Hebrew term, as a general designation of any animal sacrifice, but the term προσφορά ("offering") is relatively rare in the LXX and occurs in the NT only here in Heb 10:8, 10, 14, 18.¹⁴¹

If one observes how Irenaeus interprets Ps 39(4) when he quotes v. 7 a century later than Hebrews,¹⁴² he clearly applies this verse anthropologically and points to the ethical consequences of the Psalm – not using it in a christological sense as Hebrews does. That "is

¹³⁴ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 175.

¹³⁵ E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 217. Cf. also Rom 7:4; 1 Pet 2:24; Heb 13:11.

¹³⁶ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 175; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 12; E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 202; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 506.

¹³⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 12. So also E. Grässer, *Hebräer II*, 202-203.

¹³⁸ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 43.

¹³⁹ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 91, n. 137.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. G.W. Buchanan: "In the author's judgement the Pentateuch was obsolete, out of date, almost gone (8,13). He used later Psalms and prophecies to supersede the Pentateuch" (*Hebrews*, 164).

¹⁴¹ N.F. Miller states: "A contrast indicates what God's will is: not this, but that" (*Hebrews*, 280). Cf. also H.W. Attridge: "Hebrews exploits this contrast of sacrifice and willing obedience, yet the interpretive translation in the LXX of 'body' for 'ears' also serves the purpose of the argument. For Christ's conformity to the divine will is clearly an act that involves his body (v. 10)" (*Hebrews*, 274).

¹⁴² Irenaeus, *Haer.* IV 17:1

of special importance since Irenaeus knows Hebrews.¹⁴³ Evidently Hebrews offers an interpretation deviating from the normal sense.”¹⁴⁴

2.4 Conclusion

The quotation from Ps 40(39) is one of the longer quotations in Hebrews and was most probably discovered by the author of Hebrews himself. No traces were found of any explicit quotation from vv. 7-8 by either early Judaism or early Christianity, although some possible allusions might be present in early Jewish literature.

On the text critical level, the eclectic LXX text represents a literal translation of the Hebrew and is close to that of PBod XXIV, which is the oldest witness to LXX Ps 39. No convincing text critical grounds could be found that ὠτία was present in the oldest LXX witnesses and the change from the Hebrew “ears” to the (oldest) LXX “body” might be explained to be due to palaeographical interchange.

In the NT part of the investigation, it became clear that the quotation is closer to a LXX version than to the MT – which was followed by Targum Jonathan and Irenaeus. Hebrews reads σῶμα (as the LXX witnesses & A B also do) instead of Rahlfs’ ὠτία (La^G Ga) in his eclectic text. Some differences with the LXX were noted, though. The majority of these might be explained in the light of an existing *Vorlage* that was used by the author of Hebrews and for which proof can be found in the different existing LXX textual traditions. The question about the extent that the Eucharistic liturgical formulas might have played a role in the author’s selection and presentation of the quotations from Exod 24:8 and Ps 40(39):7-9 remains, however, to a large extent unanswered. It certainly is striking that the quotation from Exod 24:8 deals with the “blood” (τὸ αἷμα) and that of Ps 40(39) with the “body” (σῶμα).

Furthermore, although NA27 did not indicate τότε εἰρηκεν in cursive print as part of the intended reference text by the author, there is little reason not to include it as part of the text as it parallels the τότε ειπον of the quotation in Heb 10:7. The author refers back to the quotation in Heb 10:8-9, following the same technique of selecting key phrases and summarising the gist of the quotation for his argument in the same midrashic manner as with some of the long quotations before. The hymnic nature of the quoted text was noted and the author’s inclination towards this particular *genre* in his selection of passages.

¹⁴³ See Eus, *Hist. eccl.* V 26 – which provides proof that Irenaeus knew Hebrews; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* II 30:9; III 6:5; V 32:2.

¹⁴⁴ M. Karrer, “LXX Psalm 39” (forthcoming).

Chapter 11

The eschatological motif of judgement

The combination of the phrases from Deut 32:35, 36 in Heb 10:30 + Isa 26:20 & Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37-38

Heb 10:30

οἴδαμεν γάρ τὸν εἰπόντα·
ἔμοι ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω.
καὶ πάλιν.
κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. (Deut 32:35, 36)

Heb 10:37-38

Ἐτι γάρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, (Isa 26:20)
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ᾔξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει· 38 ὁ δὲ δίκαιος μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ. (Hab 2:3-4)

The tone of the next section in Hebrews (Heb 10:19 – 12:29) changes now to an exhortation to persevere in faith. The theme of judgement is being picked up (κρίσεως, v. 27; ἀποθνήσκει, v. 28; ἀξιωθήσεται, v. 29) and leads to the quotation from the *Canticum Mosis* in which the keywords ἐκδίκησις and κρινεῖ appear. Judgement becomes a major topic in Heb 10, within which the following quotations are embedded. The quotations are connected by this theme. The author firstly presents a quoted text from the *Torah* – actually a hymnic text which he splits up into two quotations – then proceeds a few verses further with another quotation, consisting of a possible conflation of texts from the *Prophets* (Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3-4). These last two texts combine the theme of judgement with the promise (ἐπαγγελίαν, Heb 10:36) of the One who will come soon (ὁ ἐρχόμενος ᾔξει, Hab 2:3b in Heb 10:37). All this echo Paul’s opening statement in Rom 1:2 (ὅ προεπηγγεύλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν), as well as his quotations from Hab 2:4b in Rom 1:17 and Deut 32:36 in Rom 12:19.¹

The pattern of quoted texts has already been noticed in Chapter 1 of this study, alternating between a pair of quotations from the Torah and the Psalms with a pair from the Torah and the Prophets. This is then the fourth pair in this scheme, with regard to the second set of seven pairs of quotations. It is also the second pair of quotations in which the combination of texts are from the Torah and the Prophets. At the very end of 4 Maccabees, in 18:10-18, one gets a glimpse of the “teaching of the Law and the Prophets” by the then already deceased father to his seven sons. An interesting list of ten teaching techniques that were utilised by their father is listed:

¹ The connections here with Romans might be taken as supportive evidence for the theory that Hebrews was probably intended for an audience in Rome.

- “Read about” (*ἀνεγίνωσκεν*,² v. 11) – with examples from narratives of the Torah.
- “Told about” (*ἐλεγεν*,³ v. 12) – example from the Torah.
- “Taught about” (*ἐδίδασκεν*,⁴ v. 12) – example from (possibly) the Prophets.
- “Praised” (*ἐδόξαζεν*,⁵ v. 13) – example from the Prophets.
- “Blessed” (*ἐμακάριζεν*,⁶ v. 13) – example from the Prophets.
- “Reminded of the Scripture” (*ὑπεμίμνησκεν*⁷... γραφήν,⁸ v. 14) – the Prophets.
- “Sang the songs of David” (*ἐμελώδει*⁹... τὸν ὑμνογράφον, v. 15) – the Psalter.
- “Recounted the proverbs of Solomon” (*ἐπαροιμίαζεν*¹⁰...λέγοντα,¹¹ v. 16) – Proverbs.
- “Confirmed the query of” (*ἐπιστοποίει*¹² τὸν λέγοντα, v. 17) – example from Prophets.
- “Teach the Song of Moses” (*ῳδὴν ... ἐδίδαξεν*, v. 18) – from the Torah/Odes.

The list is structured in a ring-compositional manner: a-b-c-b'-a'. The references from the Torah form an *inclusio*, with those from the Prophets inside this ring composition and the poetic references in the centre. One can only speculate to what extent such a list might have been an established manner of teaching children – especially in light of Philo’s reference to Abraham’s choice of ten “as the number peculiar for instruction” (*Sacr.* 122).

1. Deut 32:35, 36 in Heb 10:30¹³

The author of Hebrews quotes here for a second time from the Song of Moses. In Heb 1:6 he quoted LXX Deut 32:43 (Ode 2:43) and is now quoting from a few lines earlier in the same Song. A longer quotation from the Song of Moses is thus found here in Heb 10:30, corresponding with Deut 32:35, 36.

² Ἀναγίνωσκω is not found in Hebrews, only γίνωσκω (3:10; 8:11; 10:34; 13:23).

³ The verb λέγω occurs frequently in Hebrews and is found 32 times.

⁴ The verb is only found in Heb 8:11.

⁵ The verb occurs only in Heb 5:5, although the noun is found seven more times.

⁶ The verb lacks in Hebrews, but the semantically related εὐλόγησεν is used (cf. 6:14; 7:1, 6, 7; 11:20, 21).

⁷ This verb is used in Heb 2:6; 8:12; 10:17 and 13:3.

⁸ Cf. Heb 10:7 for the only occurrence of this stem.

⁹ This particular verb does not occur in Hebrews, but the semantically related ὑμνήσω appears in the quotation from Ps 22(21) in Heb 2:12.

¹⁰ This particular verb is not found in Hebrews. In Heb 12:5 when the quotation from Prov 3 is introduced, it is called ἐκλέλησθε τῆς παρακλήσεως.

¹¹ The form εἰπόντα is used in Heb 10:30 – the first in our pair of quotations under discussion here.

¹² This verb does not occur in Hebrews, but ἐβεβαιώθη is used in a similar context in Heb 2:3 about the fathers who confirmed what they have heard (cf. also Heb 6:16).

¹³ See also G.J. Steyn, “Song of Moses,” 263-272.

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Deut 32

What has been discussed under this heading was already dealt with during the discussion of the quotation from LXX Deut 32:43 / Ode 32:43 in Heb 1:6 (Chapter 3 of this study) and it does not need to be repeated here again. What would be of importance though, is the question about the use of particularly vv. 35-36 from the *Canticum Mosis* in early Judaism and early Christianity.

1.1.2 The use of Deut 32:35, 36 in Jewish and early Christian traditions

Deut 32:35-36 was not unknown in the intertextual Scriptural tradition of Judaism.¹⁴ A possible allusion to Deut 32:36 can be found in Ps 135(134):14 – which speaks of the temple in which it was sung.¹⁵ Reference was already made in Chapter 3 of this study to the liturgical connections between Deut 32 and Ps 135 with the festival cult of the Israelite covenant community. Another place where traces of Moses' Song can be seen, is in 2 Macc 7:6, which directly refers to the “Song of Moses” (ψόδησ...Μωυσῆσ). It quotes a line from Deut 32:36.¹⁶ Some allusions are also to be found in 4 Macc 18:18¹⁷ – where it is part of a catena of quotations. Amongst the Greek-Jewish literature, another occurrence is also present in Philo of Alexandria (*Leg. 3,105*) who quotes from Deut 32:34, 35.

When moving to the literature of NT early Christianity prior to Hebrews, scholars already assumed that the Song of Moses “furnished the early Christians with a remarkable number of *testimonia*.¹⁸ An explicit quotation from Deut 32:36 occurs in Rom 12:19. The broader context of Deut 30–32 must have been in the background of Paul’s mind during the composition of Rom 10–15, consciously or subconsciously, as it alludes to the same sequence as in Deut 30–32.¹⁹ Possible allusions to Deut 32:36 might be present in Rev 19:5 and 9:20,²⁰ as well as an explicit *reference*²¹ in Luke 21:22. The differences between these readings will

¹⁴ G.H. Guthrie finds “faint allusions to God’s vindication or judgment” in 1QS I, 11; X, 18-19 (“Hebrews,” 980).

¹⁵ Cf. R. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 458.

¹⁶ So also N.F. Marcos, *Septuagint*, 263.

¹⁷ N.F. Marcos, *Septuagint*, 263.

¹⁸ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 262.

¹⁹ Compare the following two strings with each other: [Deut 30:12 → 30:14 → 32:21 → 32:35 → 32:43] and [Rom 10:6 → 10:8 → 10:19 → 12:19 → 15:10].

²⁰ Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 46. He assumes that this verse, which is identical to Ps 135(134):14a, probably belonged to the liturgy of the Early Church.

²¹ S Kistemaker takes this as an allusion (*Psalm Citations*, 45).

be discussed below when the comparison is done between the text of Hebrews and the other possible intertexts. Important here, is the *fact* that these verses seem to have been well known in the Jewish and early Christian traditions – as one can expect from a hymn that was utilised in the liturgy.

When putting now together all these occurrences that were mentioned above, including the quotation-phrases of Hebrews (in bold print below), then the following picture unfolds with regard to LXX Deut 32:35-36:

Deut 32:35-36 LXX	Quoted or alluded phrases	Source
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω, ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν,]ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως, ἀνταποδώσω[]ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν[Philo, <i>Leg.</i> 3,105
ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν, καὶ πάρεστιν ἔτοιμα ὑμῖν.]έμοι ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω,[]ὅτι ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως,[Rom 12:19/Heb 10:30 Luke 21:22
36 ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται, εἰδεν γάρ παραλελυμένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκλελοιπότας ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ καὶ παρειμένους.]ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ[] κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ [] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ παρακληθήσεται[Ps 134:14 LXX Heb 10:30b 2 Macc 7:6

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Deut 32:35-36

When starting with the Hebrew witnesses of the quoted line from Deut 32:35, a comparison between the Samaritan Pentateuch, the MT and the Targumim might be of value here.²²

Samaritan Pentateuch	MT	Targum Onkelos ²³	Targum Yerushalmi / Neofiti 1	Palestinian Targum
לִי יְמֵן נָקַם וְשָׁלֵם	לִי נָקַם וְשָׁלֵם	קְרֻבִּי פְּרֻעֲנוֹתָא וְאָנָּא אֲשֶׁלֶם	דִּידִי הִיא נְקַמְתָּא וְאָנָּא הוּא דְמַשְׁלָם	דִּידִי הִיא נְקַמְתָּא וְאָנָּא הוּא דְמַשְׁלָם

When comparing now the MT with the LXX of Deut 32:35-36 and Ode 2, whilst keeping the comparison of the Hebrew versions in mind, the following picture unfolds (with phrases that are quoted in Heb 10:30 being indicated in bold print):

²² Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 53-54, n.2; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 45; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 295, n. 60.

²³ Text taken from M. Rosenbaum & L. Joseph, *Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary: Deuteronomium* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, date unknown), 164.

Deut 32:35-36 MT

לֵי נָקַם וּשְׁלָמָם
לֹעֲתָה קָמֹות כִּנְלָמָם
כִּי קָרוֹב יוֹם אֵידָם
וְקַשְׁ עֲתָדָת לְמוֹ:
כִּי־זָהָן יְהֻה עַמּוֹ
וּשְׁלָמָךְ־עֲבָדָיו
וַתְּגַחַם כִּי יְרָאָה
כִּי־אֶזְלָת יְצָרָה
וְאֶפְסָעַ צָרוֹר
וְעוֹבוֹ:

Deut 32:35-36 LXX

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω,
ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν,
ὅτι ἔγγὺς ἡμέρᾳ ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν,
καὶ πάρεστιν ἔτοιμα ὑμῖν.
36 ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ
παρακληθήσεται, εἰδεν γὰρ
παραλελυμένους αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἐκλεοιπότας ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ
καὶ παρειμένους.

Ode 2:35-36 A^{LXX}

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω,
ἐν καιρῷ, ὅταν σφαλῇ ὁ ποὺς αὐτῶν,
ὅτι ἔγγὺς ἡμέρᾳ ἀπωλείας αὐτῶν,
καὶ πάρεστιν ἔτοιμα ὑμῖν.
ὅτι κρινεῖ κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ
παρακληθήσεται, εἰδεν γὰρ
αὐτοὺς παραλελυμένους
καὶ ἐκλεοιπότας ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ
καὶ παρειμένους.

All the differences between the MT and the LXX versions of Deut 32 and Ode 2 will not be discussed, but only those that relate to the phrases that are quoted by the author of Hebrews.²⁴ There is a major difference between the beginning of v. 35 in the Hebrew and in the Greek texts.²⁵ The Hebrew reads, “It is mine to avenge and I will repay” (or, “To me [belong] vengeance and recompense”), whereas the Greek reads: “In the day of vengeance, I will repay.” When turning to the Greek tradition, it is clear that the quotation from Deut 32:35 in Philo (*Leg. 3,105*), as well as the allusion in Luke 21:22, resemble the LXX reading, which is closer to the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch – rather than that of the MT at the opening line of v. 35. The situation is different, however, with regard to Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30, both of which are closer to the MT than to the LXX²⁶ and very similar to the reading as found in Targum Onkelos.²⁷

Samaritan Pentateuch

Philo *Leg. 3,105*

לֵי
מְקַנָּה
מְלַשָּׁם

LXX Deut 32:35

Luke 21:22

ἡμέραι
ἐκδικήσεως
ἀνταποδώσω

²⁴ See also J.W. Wevers, “The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy,” in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge 1995* (SBLSCSS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 57-89.

²⁵ See E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 52-53, for further differences between the MT and LXX.

²⁶ So also O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 354. It can thus not be agreed with B.F. Westcott that, because Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30 seem to be closer to the Hebrew text, that it “had probably taken this shape in popular use” (*Hebrews*, 332). This assumption would not explain the Lukian version of the quotation.

²⁷ Cf. B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 332; R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 195; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 45. The latter is of the opinion that “(t)he change in the textual tradition may have been caused by the loss of the last two letters of the word מְיִלָּה, so that the remainder לֵי most definitely refers to God” (on p. 45).

MT	Targum Onkelos	Rom 12:19	Heb 10:30
לְ	מִתְּקַנֵּן	ἐμοὶ	ἐμοὶ
בְּקָרֶב	בְּקָרֶב עַדְיָה	ἐκδίκησις	ἐκδίκησις
	אֲגָבָן	ἐγώ	ἐγώ
מְלָשָׁן	מְלָשָׁן	ἀνταποδόσω	ἀνταποδόσω

There seem thus to be two traditions here: (a) the Samaritan Pentateuch, Philo, LXX and Luke 21:22, and (b) the MT, Romans, Hebrews and Targum Onkelos (as well as the Peshitta).

Another difference between the Hebrew and Greek versions in the second part of the first line of Deut 32:35, is that of the 1st pers. sg. (“In the day of vengeance *I* will recompense...” LXX) and the 3rd pers. sg. (“Vengeance is mine, and *he* will recompense...” MT). In this instance, though, Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30a are closer to the LXX readings.

A third case to be noted is found in the LXX translation παρειμένους (“released”) for the Hebrew “‘polar mode of expression’ עַצְוָר וְשׂוֹבֵעַ in Deut 32:36²⁸ – which means that ἐπαγωγὴ should be understand as “detained,” “and this is bound to have been expressed by ἐν απαγωγῇ.”²⁹

Looking particularly at the Greek text, there are some variant readings to the LXX text of the quotation from Deut 32:35-36. Most of these are minor alterations and appear mainly in the Latin witnesses and in later translations – with some variants also amongst the minuscules. The variant readings that are attested by Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30 are all in closer agreement with the Hebrew of the MT. Almost none of the cases contain variants that are also attested by some of the codices. The list of variants provided here, only relates, however, to the quoted phrases of Heb 10:30.

Additions include *et* at the beginning of v. 35,³⁰ as well as ἐμοὶ and ἐγώ by Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30. *Omissions* include ἐν ἡμέρᾳ by Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30, ἀνταποδόσω,³¹ ἐν καιρῷ,³² and the omission of the phrase τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ by Rahlfs. *Substitutions* include the replacement of ἐκδικήσεως with ἐκδικήσις³³

²⁸ P. Walters, *Text of the Septuagint*, 130.

²⁹ So followed by a few minuscules, the Armenian, and *Lugdunensis* in the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts (P. Walters, *Text of the Septuagint*, 130).

³⁰ Added by Aeth{M} Sa{3}{17}.

³¹ It lacks in Phil I 136, whilst minuscule 19 transposes it after ἐν καιρῷ and minuscule 246 substituted it with ἀνταποδόσεις. Three different additions were also made here: *eis* by {Lat}Cant{Sin} Syh; *illis* by {Lat}cod 100 250 330 Cant{Mil R Rom Verec} Greg *Job* XII 21 Aeth Bo Sa{3}{6} and *καί* by 739 Hipp *Antichr.* 38.

³² It lacks in Codex B and in Phil I 136, whilst Bo adds *enim*.

³³ In this instance, ἐκδικήσεως is omitted by minuscule 414*.

by Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30, the accusative κύριον instead of the nominative κύριος,³⁴ and αὐτῶν instead of αὐτοῦ.³⁵

Important to note in light of the above, is that a “new reading”³⁶ of Deut 32:35 was recovered for Symmachus: ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσεις καὶ ἀνταποδώσω.³⁷ This is of importance in our quest for the *Vorlage* of the quotation in Heb 10:30 (and Rom 12:19), as this reading corresponds to these two cases in the NT.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 10:30a-b

There are three variations amongst the NT witnesses with regard to the text of the two quoted phrases in Heb 10:30a-b:

- Some of the NT textual witnesses have the insertion λέγει κύριος after ἀνταποδώσω in Heb 10:30a.³⁸ This insertion is actually inappropriate, as direct reference to God is avoided by the introduction to the quotation.³⁹ The eclectic text with the omission of this phrase, is also testified by some witnesses.⁴⁰ This reading, as printed in the reconstructed text of NA27, is to be preferred. It is interesting, though, that Paul adds λέγει κύριος in Rom 12:19. The fact that Hebrews omits it in comparison with Paul, proves for some scholars that the quote in Heb 10:30 cannot be ascribed to Paul.⁴¹ Others, however, disagree and see possible knowledge from Romans here in Hebrews.⁴² One might assume, though, that the textual tradition that does insert the phrase, such as Codex A and the correctors in Heb 10:30a, could have done so afterwards due to their knowledge of the Romans quotation.⁴³
- After the binding phrase, καὶ πάλιν, some witnesses include ὅτι⁴⁴ – in agreement with the LXX text, which also includes ὅτι before the phrase that is quoted in Heb 10:30b. It is

³⁴ Only by minuscule 68.

³⁵ Only by minuscule 376.

³⁶ So N. Fernández Marcos who reckons that this is “probably the source of this curious quotation in Rom. 12:19 and Heb. 10:30” (*Septuagint*, 138). Cf. also W. Baars, *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 148.

³⁷ Cf. M. Karrer: “ein Detail des Zitats weicht von der Überlieferung ab; Röm und Hebr verbinden die Satzglieder nicht, während das lat.[einischen] erhaltene Symmachus-Stück lautet: ‘mir gehört die Rache (Rechtsnahme), und (!) ich werde vergelten’ (*mihi ultio et retribuam*)” (*Hebräer II*, 214).

³⁸ These witnesses are: \aleph^2 A D² K L א b r vg^{mss} sy^h sa^{mss} arm and Theodoret. See also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 542; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 541, n.21.

³⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 542.

⁴⁰ Cf. the originals of P^{13} (vid. P^{46}) and also D P Ψ 6. 33.629. 1739. 1881 pc lat sy^p sa^{mss} bo.

⁴¹ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 53; D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 77, n.96; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 50; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 542.

⁴² Cf., for instance, T.W. Manson, “The Problem of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *BJRL* 32 (1949-50) 1-17, on p. 16; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 315, 121; Also M. Karrer thinks in a similar direction (*Hebräer II*, 214).

⁴³ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 53.

⁴⁴ Cf. D 81. 104. 629. 1505. 1739. 1881 pc lat.

most probably a secondary inclusion that was made on the basis of knowledge of the LXX Deut 32 text.⁴⁵ Some scholars are of the opinion that the initial omission of ὅτι in Hebrews was due to formulation of the introductory formula. It is questionable whether ὅτι is really omitted in P⁴⁶. The text has a lacuna here and the reconstruction omitted it with a total number of 26 characters in the line. Should ὅτι be included, however, then we will come to 29 characters – within the same range as many of the other lines on the same folio (number 32) of P⁴⁶.

- In the second quoted phrase in Heb 10:30b, there is an interchange of κρινεῖ κύριος by some textual witnesses.⁴⁶ The text as printed in NA27 is to be taken, however, as closer to the original.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this part is missing at the bottom of folio 32 in P⁴⁶ so that it is impossible to tell what the reading might have been there:⁴⁸



1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ode 2 / Deut 32:35, 36 and Heb 10:30

It is interesting to note that the first part of the quotation in Heb 10:30, corresponds exactly with the version in Rom 12:19 (ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω) – against the Greek readings of Ode 2 and Deut-LXX. The readings in Hebrews and Romans are much closer to the Hebrew.⁴⁹ PMich inv.6238, dating approximately between 150 and 250 C.E., confirms clearly the presence of γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις ἐγὼ ... λέγει κύριος. It has rightly been pointed out that the alternative reading in Romans and Hebrews is not necessarily evidence of another *Textvorlage*, because the ἐμοί – in the position of emphasis – might simply be pointing to the own viewpoint of the writer.⁵⁰ However, “The result is that the text of the two epistolary quotations reflects the reading of our Hebrew Bible and, since this is secondary, its

⁴⁵ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 49. Similar F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 181.

⁴⁶ These witnesses are Κ² Ψ and Μ.

⁴⁷ This is attested by Κ^{*} A D K 33. 81. 104. 326. 629. 1241. 1505. 1739. 1881 *al latt.*

⁴⁸ Photo from K. Jaroš, *Griechischen Handschriften*, loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Cf. D.-A. Koch: “...eine Textanführung die dem MT nähersteht als der LXX, das Zitat von Dtn 32,35a in Röm 12,19, das in gleicher Form auch in Hebr 10,30 vorliegt” (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 77), and “Als Textgrundlage hat grundsätzlich die Septuaginta zu gelten, auch wenn (wie im Falle der Deuteronomium-Zitate) mit sekundärer Angleichung der Textvorlage an eine hebräische Vorlage zu rechnen ist” (D.-A. Koch, “Schriftauslegung II,” 465).

⁵⁰ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 541.

reflection in the N.T. is secondary too.”⁵¹ The NT reading (both Rom and Heb) is thus here closer to the MT⁵² than to the existing LXX witnesses. In fact, the quotation as a whole is closer to the Targum of Onkelos and to the Peshitta.⁵³ The LXX reading, in turn, corresponds closer with the reading as presented by the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The second part of this double quotation, Deut 32:36 in Heb 10:30b, is closer to the LXX version – which makes it impossible to postulate unqualifiedly in general that this double quotation is closer to either the MT or the LXX.

1.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation(s)

The author of Hebrews utilises here the same method of quotation as he did with the Isa 8:17-18 quotation in Heb 2:13. Two brief phrases in close proximity of each other are merely taken from the source text and presented as a quotation – lacking the full text in-between. The phrases are then linked with καὶ πάλιν⁵⁴ – probably on rhetorical grounds. The same principle also applies to the combination of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam (2 Kgdms) 7:14 in Heb 1:5, and the combination of Ps 22(21):23 and Isa 8:17, 18 in Heb 2:12-13. Similar, but not with the same phrase binding them together, is the quotation pair Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109):4 in Heb 5:5b-6, as well as that of Deut 31:6 and Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:5b-6. There are thus six cases of this phenomenon. In two the same text is being used, whilst another two used different texts, and yet another two, not only different texts, but also another binding phrase.

Furthermore, attention was drawn to the fact that the readings of Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30 are in agreement with each other and closer to the MT than to the LXX readings.⁵⁵ It is also interesting that Hebrews quotes the very same line from Deut 32:35 in Heb 10:30a as is

⁵¹ P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 220.

⁵² Long since noted by G. Harder, “Septuagintazitate,” 50.

⁵³ G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 213.

⁵⁴ The phrase “may act as an ellipsis, indicating the omission of Dt. 32:35b-d; more probably it serves to emphasize the second part of the quotation, and especially its final words, τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ” (P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 542).

⁵⁵ M. Morgen also, in his analysis of the Lukan text, drew attention to this situation: “Dans deux emplois néotestamentaires de ce terme, la référence à l’Écriture (Dt 32,35) est explicite: en Rm 12,19: ‘car il est écrit à moi la vengeance et la rétribution’; en Hb 10,30: ‘Car nous connaissons celui qui a dit: À moi la vengeance! C'est moi qui rétribuerai!’ Ces citations, dans l’épître aux Romains comme dans l’épître aux Hébreux, sont faites d’après le TM. La LXX de Dt 32,35 traduit l’hébreu ‘à moi la vengeance’ par ‘le jour de vengeance’” (“Lc 17,20-37 et Lc 21,8-11.20-24: Arrère-fond scripturaire,” in C. Tuckett (ed.), *Scriptures in the Gospels* [Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997] 307-326, on pp. 319-320. Paul and Hebrews apply the quotation with different reasons, though. Paul warns his readers against revenge and retaliation, whereas Hebrews is closer to the sense of Deut 32 itself – about God’s vindication of his people (R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 195). So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 542.

found in Rom 12:19.⁵⁶ The reference in Luke 1:22, on the other hand, seems to be closer to the LXX reading. This situation calls thus for great caution when scholarship categorically speaks of Hebrews using “the LXX.”⁵⁷ Are we dealing here with quotations that were translated directly from the Hebrew by these two NT authors?⁵⁸ Or are we dealing here with some kind of free quotation from memory?⁵⁹ Or is this an indication of another LXX version that was in existence and which was closer to the MT?⁶⁰ Was this a “proverbial saying?”⁶¹ Does it represent the traces of a common liturgical tradition⁶² – or was it merely known in the oral tradition? What can be assumed safely is that the author of Hebrews got this quotation from the same branch of the tradition as where Paul got it from – and a branch to which the Targumim of Deut 32:35 also belonged.⁶³

The quotation from Deut 32:43 in Heb 1:6 has already shown textual evidence of other versions, such as 4QDeut and Ode 2, that fairly closely support the text of the *Canticum Mosis* quotations in Hebrews. To this might now be added the quoted phrase from Deut 32:35 in Rom 12:13 and Heb 10:30 – both which are closer to the MT, and even closer to Targum Onkelos and to the Peshitta, than to the LXX. Deut-LXX and Ode 2, in turn, are in closer agreement with each other and with the readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁶⁴ All in all, this means that alternative readings to be found in the Hebrews quotations (in comparison to the readings of the MT and LXX-Deut), are not necessarily an indication of the author’s hand, but

⁵⁶ M. Karrer suspects that Hebrews might have known Romans, which can be deduced from the same section that is quoted by both as well as the same difference in the detail of the wording (*Hebräer II*, 214).

⁵⁷ So, for instance, A.F.J. Klijn: “volgens de Griekse vertaling” (*Hebreën*, 114).

⁵⁸ E. Ahlborn, quite correctly, excludes this possibility altogether: “(er hat) ohne Zweifel nicht selbst aus dem Hebräischen übersetzt” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 52).

⁵⁹ F. Schröger is of the opinion that the overlap between Paul and Hebrews, regarding the same line and the same wording, excludes this possibility (*Verfasser*, 180).

⁶⁰ Cf. B. Lindars, *NT Apologetic*, 245; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 315; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 54; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 180, 181; D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 78. Also P. Ellingworth: “There is in any case no sufficient reason for believing that the author of Hebrews, contrary to his normal practice, followed the MT against the LXX” (*Hebrews*, 542). G.H. Guthrie observes thus in this regard, that “it is more likely that Hebrews follows an alternate Greek version, perhaps conformed to the Hebrew, rather than depending on the MT” (*Hebrews*, 980). H.-F. Weiss, however, reckons that the differences with the LXX “weist somit nicht notwendig auf eine hier benutzte andere Vorlage der griechischen Bibel zurück” (*Hebräer*, 541).

⁶¹ S. Kistemaker reckons “(i)t may be that the phraseology which the Targums and the NT writers have recorded, prevailed in an oral tradition, and that the quotation, which was considered divinely spoken, circulated as a proverbial saying” (*Psalm Citations*, 46). Cf. also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 296.

⁶² “It may have been known to the faithful as they sang the words in the Synagogue of the Diaspora as well as in the early Church, or it may have circulated among them as a proverbial saying” (S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 45).

⁶³ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 55.

⁶⁴ F. Schröger understands the situation as follows: “Die LXX A/B und Philo basierten demnach mit Ihrer Version auf einem vor-masoretischen Deuteronomium, der Hebräerbrief, der Römerbrief und das Targum Onkelos dagegen auf einer Übersetzung, die das בְּרוּ ‘ל mit ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις wiedergab und die absolute Majestät Jahwes deutlicher herausstellt” (*Verfasser*, 180). E. Ahlborn thought similarly (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 53).

might also be due to alternative versions (such as textual traditions, oral traditions and liturgical usage).⁶⁵

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation from Deut 32:35, 36 is introduced with the words οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὸν εἰπόντα.⁶⁶ This is one of the occasions in Hebrews where the author talks in the first person plural and associates himself with the recipients of this homily.⁶⁷ An interesting suspicion by some scholars is that the phrase λέγει κύριος, as it appears in Rom 12:19, is implied in this introductory formula of Heb 10:30 – pointing in the direction of the oral tradition.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the introductory formula follows as an answer (οἴδαμεν γάρ)⁶⁹ to the question that the author asked in the previous verse: “How much worse punishment do you think will be deserved by those who have spurned the Son of God, profaned the blood of the covenant by which they were sanctified, and outraged the Spirit of grace?” Being part of Moses’ speech in Deuteronomy, the author of Hebrews gives authority to the quotation with the formula τὸν εἰπόντα as the direct words of God.⁷⁰

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The author of Hebrews does not quote the entire section from Deut 32:35-36, but selects only two lines and omitting the rest. These two lines – one quoted text but actually two quotations – “establish two facts with regard to the divine judgment.”⁷¹ These lines confirm⁷² that it is in

⁶⁵ Pauline scholarship argued in favour of an oral transmission when dealing with the same issue in the Romans quotation – “einer verbreiteten mündlichen Verwendung der paulinischen Zitatfassung folgte, die ‘zum Sprichwort geworden’ ist.” Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 54; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 50.

⁶⁶ The meaning is ambiguous: “we know God, who said in scripture,” and “we know that it was God who said in scripture.” P. Ellingworth reckons that the latter is perhaps more prominent in this context (*Hebrews*, 541).

⁶⁷ Also A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 202.

⁶⁸ Cf. E. Ahlborn: “Gerade in diesem Wortlaut setzt sie nicht nur den κύριος sondern auch den von ihm her ergangenen Ausspruch als allgemein bekannt voraus” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 55).

⁶⁹ It suggests for H.W. Attridge, that Christians knew “the character of the God who speaks in scripture and who has acted in Christ and that an essential attribute of this God is a negative attitude toward sin” (*Hebrews*, 295).

⁷⁰ Cf. E. Grässer: “Der εἰπών ist der κύριος von V 30c” (*Hebräer III*, 48). Paul, on the other hand, states explicitly λέγει κύριος with his introductory formula to this quotation in Rom 12:19.

⁷¹ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 332. Similar G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 981.

⁷² P. Ellingworth sees the argument of Heb 10:28 “confirmed (γάρ) by an appeal to scripture. The confirmation is in general terms, not specifically of the *a fortiori* aspect of the argument...” (*Hebrews*, 541). H.W. Attridge (*Hebrews*, 295), however, does indeed take this as an *a fortiori* argument. E. Grässer, too, talks about a “Schriftbeweis” and “Stützung des Gesagten” (*Hebräer III*, 48), saying that this text is indeed “ein Beleg dafür, daß ‘die neue christliche Situation’ für Hebr tatsächlich ‘nur eine verstärkte Gefährdung der alttestamentlichen’

God's nature to be just and to judge.⁷³ The first line points to both the vindication of the righteous and innocent, as well as to the condemnation of the wicked.⁷⁴ The author starts his double quotation with “mine is” (ἐμοί) in an emphatic position⁷⁵ – similar to that of Rom 12:19.

The second part of the double quotation points to the fact that God's people will be judged – now not referring to Israel, but applied to the recipient congregation⁷⁶ as “eschatological judgment.”⁷⁷ What the judgement will be, lies within themselves.⁷⁸ The saying that “God will judge his people” became a “geflügelten Wort” in Israel – identical to the wording of Ps 135(134):14 – and which was understood in a positive sense.⁷⁹

1.4 Conclusion

Hebrews quotes here for a second time from the Song of Moses – which was well known in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions. With regard to the quoted verses in Hebrews, 2 Macc 7:6, for instance, quotes a line from Deut 32:36 and Philo of Alexandria (*Leg. 3,105*) quotes from Deut 32:34, 35. The broader context of Deut 30–32 also seems to be present in Rom 10–15.

Two clear traditions regarding Deut 32:35 were traced during the text critical part of this investigation: (a) the Samaritan Pentateuch, Philo (*Leg. 3,105*) and Luke 21:22 are closer to the LXX, whilst (b) Rom 12:19, Heb 10:30, the Targum Onkelos and the Peshitta are closer to the MT. The author quoted two brief phrases in close proximity of each other, which are merely taken from the source text and presented as a quotation. It is interesting, though, that Hebrews quotes the very same line from Deut 32:35 in Heb 10:30a as is found in Rom 12:19. It can thus safely be assumed that the author of Hebrews got this quotation from the same branch of the tradition as from where Paul got it.

ist” (*Hebräer III*, 49). H.-F. Weiss calls it “eine Art Schriftbeweis” (*Hebräer*, 541). The quoted lines do not actually present “proof from Scripture,” according to G. Schunack, “vielmehr konfrontiert der Verf.[asser] sich und die Adressaten Worten Gottes, mit denen Gott Gericht, Vergeltung und Strafe zu seiner eigenen Sache erklärt” (*Hebräerbrief*, 154).

⁷³ Similar H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 178.

⁷⁴ R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 195.

⁷⁵ Cf. A. Strobel: “In diesem Sinne spricht aus 5.Mose 32,35 klar der entschiedene Wille...” (*Hebräer*, 202). Also G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 154.

⁷⁶ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 49; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 542.

⁷⁷ Cf. G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 981.

⁷⁸ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 332. R.McL.Wilson pointed out that the “actual form of words is the same, but the emphasis suggested by the context is different” (*Hebrews*, 195). So, similarly, F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 262; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 214.

⁷⁹ M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 228.

2. [Isa 26:20] + Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37-38⁸⁰

The fact that the first quotation (phrases) from Deut 32:35, 36 actually corresponds to the *Ode of Moses* (Ode 2 LXX-A) was noted above, as well as during the discussion on Heb 1:6. Striking is now, that the first line of the conflated second quotation (a phrase from Isa 26:20) also corresponds to an Ode, namely the *Ode of Isaiah* (Ode 5 LXX-A).⁸¹ These cases recall the hymnic nature in Heb 7:1-3 of the paraphrase from Gen 14:17-20 with parallels in Philo and Josephus. It also recalls the possible hymnic nature of the quoted passages from Jer 31(38) in Heb 10:16-17 and that on Ps 40(39) in Heb 10:8-9 in the midrashic commentary sections – as discussed previously in this study. These occurrences from the Odes of Moses and of Isaiah in Heb 10, are certainly striking against the backdrop of those other cases. Furthermore, the fact that Ode 4 (LXX-A) is an *Ode of Habakkuk* (although on Hab 3, not Hab 2), surely raises suspicion about the nature and origin of several passages that are utilised by the author of Hebrews, particularly here in Heb 10: Jer 31(38); Ps 40(39); Deut 32; Isa 26 (and Hab 2?). It highlights at least the hymnic nature of the texts utilised here in Heb 10, and calls for caution in our approach to the latter part of the second quotation, i.e. that from Hab 2:3b-4.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Hab 2

The section of Habakkuk from which the NT quotations (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; Heb 10:37, 38) are taken from is the section that belongs to Yahweh's second response to Habakkuk (Hab 2:1-5).⁸² Habakkuk's vision centres on "judgment and destruction to be visited upon Israel by the Chaldaeans."⁸³ This is another vision, or oracle,⁸⁴ from Yahweh to a *prophet* in the past

⁸⁰ For an in depth discussion on the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 in Hebrews, see the extensive study of R. Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, loc. cit.; D.H. van Daalen, "The 'emunah / πίστις of Habakkuk 2.4 and Romans 1.17," in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Evangelica 7* (TU 126; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982) 523–527; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Habakkuk 2:3–4 and the New Testament," in J.A. Fitzmyer (ed.), *To Advance the Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 236–246. On the relation between Habakkuk, the Commentary on Habakkuk from Qumran Cave 1, Paul, and Hebrews, see J.A. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1959).

⁸¹ S. Kistemaker states that "we may be certain that the hymns circulated among the early Christians for quite some time before they were recorded in the present order, and that many of these hymns were sung in the churches near the end of the first century A.D. already" (*Psalm Citations*, 47, n.1). The scepticism of A. Pietersma with regard to a pre-NT date has already been referred to in Chapter 3 of this study. Cf. A. Pietersma, "Present State," 27.

⁸² See M.H. Floyd, "Prophecy and Writing in Habakkuk 2,1-5," ZAW 105/3 (1993), 462.

⁸³ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301.

(cf. Heb 1:1) and one which had to be written down on tablets (Hab 2:2, cf. Isa 8:1) – see again Rom 1:2 (ὅ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις). The other oracles that were used by Hebrews, were those to Jeremiah (Jer 31[38]) and the quotations from Exodus (25:40; 24:8), which were taken from sections where God appeared to “the prophet,” Moses (Deut 18). One might add here God’s promise to the patriarch Abraham in the Aqedah tradition of Gen 22 (cf. Heb 6:14). Add to these also the hymnic material: the Ode of Moses (Deut 32/Ode 2) and that of Isaiah (Isa 26/Ode 5), plus the Psalms “of David.” Most of these passages were already familiar to our author via the early Jewish and Christian traditions. Then there were also other cases where *the Son* was heard speaking through Ps 22 and Isa 8 (Heb 2:12-13), as well as through Ps 40(39) (Heb 10:5). This strategy points to a careful and conscious selection of particular passages that are utilised by the author of Hebrews in support of his opening statement. It also points to the likelihood of the author’s knowledge of the broader context from which these quotations came – via the tradition or discovered and studied by himself.

Back to Habakkuk, though, who lived in the late 7th cent. B.C.E.,⁸⁵ this lament has traditionally been understood within “Yahweh’s use of the Babylonians to punish the wicked in Israel.”⁸⁶ Appealing, but difficult to prove here, is the speculative suspicion by some scholars that Habakkuk might have been a cultic prophet⁸⁷ and that this section was part of a liturgy that was in use for the New Year’s festival in Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Some OT scholars assume dependence on Habakkuk by Jeremiah, a contemporary.⁸⁹

2.1.2 The use of Hab 2 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

The interpretation of Habakkuk played an important role in early Judaism – especially at the DSS community with their *Pesher on Habakkuk* (1QpHab). This is not the place to discuss the document as a whole, or even the whole chapter, but we will focus only on the verses that are relevant for the purposes of this investigation. The DDS community interpreted the ‘reader’ of Hab 2:2 “as the Teacher of Righteousness and applied Habakkuk 2:3b and 4b to the doers of the Law in Judah, whom God will deliver from condemnation because of their

⁸⁴ See R.D. Weis, “Oracle,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. V (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 28-29, on p. 28. E. Grässer calls it a “prophetisches Heilsorakel” (*Hebräer III*, 74).

⁸⁵ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 272; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301.

⁸⁶ R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Dallas: Word Books, 1984), 103.

⁸⁷ R.R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 276-279.

⁸⁸ R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 103.

⁸⁹ W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah* 2, 52ff.

suffering and their faithfulness or loyalty to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 6:12–8:3).⁹⁰ Especially 1QpHab 7:5 – 8:3 deals with the pesher on Hab 2:3-4, which is strongly eschatologically interpreted:

- *Hab 2:3a* (“For there is still a vision for the appointed time; it speaks of the end, and does not lie”) is quoted in 1QpHab column 7:5-6 (“Because he will yet have vision for a season and *shorten* the end [time] and he will not lie”), followed by its pesher in the next two lines (7:7-8), interpreting it in terms of the *lengthening* of the end time and the destination of all – already spoken by the prophets, because God secretly acts to remove the infection.
- *Hab 2:3b* (“If it seems to tarry, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay”) is quoted in 1QpHab 7:9-10 (“If he delays, wait for it, it will surely come and not be late”), followed by its pesher in 7:10-14, interpreting it in terms of “the men of truth” who observe the Law and will not abandon the service of truth when the final age comes at the right time as God prepared it in his prudence.
- *Hab 2:4a* (“Look at the proud! Their spirit is not right in them”) is quoted in 1QpHab 7:14 (“Behold his exalted [soul] is not straight”), followed by its pesher in 7:15-16, interpreting it that persecution on them (the righteous) will double, but will not find mercy when they will be judged – with lacunae here in the text.
- *Hab 2:4b* (“but the righteous live by their faith”) was probably quoted between 1QpHab 7:17 and 8:1 – a section that is not preserved. The pesher on it follows, though, in 1QpHab 8:1-3, interpreting it as referring to all those in the “house of Judah” who are practicing the Law, by which God delivered them from the “house of judgement” in serving their evil doings and their Faith in the “Moreh Tsedek.”

Again, this is not the place to discuss the contents and background of the Habakkuk Pesher *per se*, but suffice it to say that it certainly is interesting that column 8 has references to the office of the high priest who co-operated politically with the Romans in order to gain personal wealth. These contrasts between the Teacher of Righteousness and the corrupt high priestly office at the end of the Hasmonean period, certainly situate Hebrews’ Jesus as High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek (King of Righteousness) within an interesting eschatological setting.⁹¹

⁹⁰ M. Silva, “Old Testament in Paul,” in G.F. Hawthorne, R.P. Martin & D.G. Reid (ed.), *Dictionary of Paul and his letters* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993) 630-642, on p. 640. Also A. van der Kooij, “Theologie des Jesajabuches,” 19; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 982.

⁹¹ There might also be a possible allusion to Hab 2:3-4 in 1QH 5:27.

Hab 2:4 also played a prominent role in the Jewish apocalyptic literature,⁹² as well as in the rabbinic literature. Rabbi Hillel, for instance, the Pharisaic leader from the late first century B.C.E., answered a Gentile who asked about a summary of the Law whilst standing on one foot, that you should not do to your neighbour what you would not have done to yourself. Hillel then states that everything else is interpretation and that Habakkuk (amongst others) reduced the commandments to only one, implying Hab 2:4 (b.Shab, 31a).⁹³

The connection between Hab 2:3-4 and its interpretations in early Judaism with those who observe the *Law*, who are the righteous and who will be delivered from judgement, is thus clear. This brings us to another Pharisaic rabbi, Paul, who also deals with the interpretation of the Law in his letters to the early Christians in Galatia and Rome, using references to Hab 2:4 in Gal 3:11b and Rom 1:17b.⁹⁴ In Gal 3:1-14 Paul argues about the importance of justification through *faith* in contrast to the Law (ὅτι ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοῖ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεός, 3:8). In Gal 3:10, he quotes Deut 27:26 and argues that no one is justified before God by the Law (ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, 3:11) – after which Paul quotes Hab 2:4 (ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται). In Romans again, Paul refers to Hab 2:4 in connection with faith. Paul's quotation in Rom 1:17b follows from his argument that the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith: δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλυπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. It is along similar lines that the unknown author of Hebrews interprets the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4: ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑποστολῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀλλὰ πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς (Heb 10:39). After this follows Heb 11 with the so-called “list of faith heroes.”

Apart from the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37-38 then (which will further be discussed below), and an allusion to Hab 2:3 which occurs in 2 Pet 3:9, there are no other quotations, allusions or references to these two particular verses from Habakkuk to be found in the NT. The only other explicit quotation from Habakkuk at all, is that of Hab 1:5 which is quoted by Luke in Acts 13:41.⁹⁵

⁹² Cf. 4 Ezra 4:26-27, 34, 39; 2 Bar. 21:21, 25; 54:17.

⁹³ Referred to by W. Gutbrod, “The Law in the Old Testament,” in G. Kittel (ed.), *TDNT IV* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 1036-1091, on p. 1058.

⁹⁴ See D.-A. Koch on these in *Schrift als Zeuge*, loc. cit.; and D.-A. Koch, “Text von Hab 2,” 68-85.

⁹⁵ Cf. G.J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations*, 185-194.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Hab 2:3b-4

One of the most important discoveries on the text of the Minor Prophets, is the Greek scroll from Naḥal Ḥever which was most probably hidden during the Bar Kokhba revolt against Rome during 132–135 C.E. – labelled as 8HevXIIgr.⁹⁶ It contains fragments of the books of Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah and Zechariah – including the text of our quotation from Hab 2:3b-4.⁹⁷ The text was attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, or Theodotion in Greek, by Barthélemy⁹⁸ – therefore known as the Theodotion recension, or the *kaige*-recension (based on the frequency of its usage of καὶ γέ). It is probably based on a proto-Masoretic, “Hebrew consonantal text which is nearly identical to the MT.”⁹⁹ The text shows striking similarities with that which was used by Justin Martyr (ca. 150 C.E.) and with Origin’s *Quinta*. Another text from the DSS – referred to above – that is of interest for the reading of Hab 2:3b-4, is that of 1QpHab 7,9-17¹⁰⁰ when stripped of its commentary:

Hab 2:3b-4 MT	1QpHab 7,9b-10a, ¹⁰¹ 14b-15a, ¹⁰² 17 ¹⁰³	8HevXIIgr	Hab 2:3b-4 LXX
כִּי־בָא יְבָא לֹא אֶאֱחַר: הַנָּה עֲפָלָה לֹא־יִשְׁרָה נֶפֶשׁ בָּו וְצָדִיק בְּאַמְנוֹתָיו יִחְיָה :	כִּיא בָוָא יְבָא וְלוֹא יִאֱחַר [] הַנָּה עֲפָלָה לֹא יוֹשֵׁרָה [] נֶפֶשׁ בָו [] וְצָדִיק [] בְּאַמְנוֹתָיו יִהְיָה []	ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦ[ξει] καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ. <u>ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,</u> οὐκ <u>εὐδοκεῖ</u> η ψυχή <u>μου ἐν αὐτῷ,</u> οὐ <u>δὲ δίκαιος</u> <u>ἐκ πίστεώς μου</u> ζήσεται.	ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ. <u>ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,</u> οὐκ <u>εὐδοκεῖ</u> η ψυχή <u>μου ἐν αὐτῷ,</u> οὐ <u>δὲ δίκαιος</u> <u>ἐκ πίστεώς μου</u> ζήσεται.

⁹⁶ See E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990; P.W. Flint, “The Biblical Scrolls from Nahal Hever (including ‘Wadi Seiyal’),” in S.J. Pfann (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.26: Miscellaneous Texts, Part 2* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁹⁷ The sections from Habakkuk that were preserved here are Hab 1:5-11; 1:14–2:8; 2:13-20; 3:9-15. For an investigation into the text of Hab 2:19-20 in the MT, LXX and 8HevXIIgr, see D.-A. Koch, “Überlieferung und Verwendung der Septuaginta,” 215-244.

⁹⁸ D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (VT.S 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 144-157.

⁹⁹ M.A. Sweeney, “Book of Habakkuk,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. 3* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1-6, on p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Text and translation taken from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 16-17.

¹⁰¹ “... it definitely has to come and will not delay []” (vv. 9-10a).

¹⁰² “See, it is conceited and does not give way [his soul within him]” (vv. 14b-15a).

¹⁰³ “[..But the righteous man will live because of their loyalty to him]” (v. 17).

There are a number of differences to be noted between the Greek texts of 8□HevXIIgr and the eclectic text of the LXX regarding the reading of Hab 2:4: (a) *ιδου σκοτία* instead of *ἐὰν ὑποστείληται* in the LXX; (b) *εὐθεῖα* instead of *εὐδοκεῖ* in the LXX; (c) the inclusion of the definite article *ἡ* before *ψυχή* in the LXX; (d) *αὐτοῦ* instead of *μον* in the LXX; (e) the inclusion of *ἐν αὐτῷ* in the LXX; (f) the definite article *ὁ* is inserted before *δὲ δίκαιος* in the LXX; (g) *καὶ* instead of *δέ* in the LXX; (h) the substitution of the prepositional phrase *ἐν + dative*, with *ἐκ + genitive* by the LXX; and (i) the LXX reads *μον*, whereas 8□HevXIIgr reads *αὐτοῦ* (as does Aquila) after *ἐκ δίκαιος*. In some of these instances are the readings of 8□HevXIIgr closer to the Hebrew MT. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek translation of 8□HevXIIgr looked similar to that of the MT, then the other Greek translations that represent the text of the LXX, probably read the *waw* suffix (i-), i.e. *αὐτοῦ*, as a *yod* suffix (‘), i.e. *μον*.¹⁰⁴

Another DSS fragment, being part of *A Commentary on Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets* (15b), contains some references to Habakkuk. Some words from Hab 2:3-4 are recognisable on the *recto* side: יְבָאֵץ (“wait for it”) and הַפְּלִעָה (“he is puffed up / be lifted up”).¹⁰⁵ The text is not of much use for this investigation, except for showing – in comparison with the MT and with 1QpHab – that the *waw* is optional, being present in the first word but lacking in the latter.

Looking at the differences between the MT and the LXX, it is not far fetched to assume that either the LXX did not understand the vision in Hab 2 anymore and reflected thus a new intention, or that the variant readings are to be traced back to another *Vorlage* of the current text.¹⁰⁶ Some of the major divergences are the following:¹⁰⁷

- The MT of Hab 2:4 reads: “See, he is puffed up (*הַפְּלִעָה*); his soul (*שְׁנָא*) is not upright” (*חֲרַשֵּׁת*), whereas the eclectic text of the LXX translates: “If he shrinks back (*ἐὰν ὑποστείληται*),¹⁰⁸ my soul (*ἡ ψυχή μον*) will not be pleased (*εὐδοκεῖ*) in him.”
- The LXX inserts the definite article *ὁ* before *δὲ δίκαιος*, whilst it is lacking in the Hebrew.

¹⁰⁴ So suggested, amongst others, by E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 91; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 241.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (TSAJ 51; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 268-269.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. E. Ahlborn: “Letzteres ist wahrscheinlicher, wenn man vor allem den Schlußteil des Zitates ins Auge faßt” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 91).

¹⁰⁷ See also the discussion on these differences in F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 272, n. 195; E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 91ff.; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 302; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 248-249; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 983.

¹⁰⁸ It might be due to another *Vorlage*. Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 272; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 983.

- The LXX translates the Hebrew נַמְנָא with πίστις, which results in a slight semantic difference.¹⁰⁹ The Hebrew has the meaning of “faithfulness,” in the sense of “trustworthiness,” or “steadiness,” which implies obedience to the Law.¹¹⁰ The Greek, however, usually has the meaning of “faith” *per se* – although there are cases where the intention can also be “faithfulness” (e.g. Ps 32[33]).¹¹¹ The word πίστις becomes a keyword in Paul’s theology about justification.

When turning now to the variant readings amongst the LXX witnesses, some alternatives are to be found. None of them is supported by any papyri and hardly any of them by any uncials. They are clearly secondary and almost all of them are the result of influence by the reading in Hebrews:¹¹² (a) The definite article ὁ is inserted between ὅτι and ἐρχόμενος in Hab 2:3b¹¹³ – with very little doubt of influence from Heb 10:37; (b) μὴ is omitted¹¹⁴ – also probably influenced by Heb 10:37; (c) χρονίσῃ reads χρονίσει by some witnesses¹¹⁵ and χρονιέτι by others.¹¹⁶ The first is again in accordance with Heb 10:37 and merely an itacistic feature of the language. The latter is an attic future. Furthermore, (d) καὶ is added in Hab 2:4;¹¹⁷ (e) ὑποστέλληται reads ὑποστέλεται.¹¹⁸ (f) Different textual traditions exist amongst the LXX witnesses regarding the position of μου in the phrase ἐκ πίστεώς μου: (i) some retain it after ἐκ πίστεως;¹¹⁹ (ii) others transposed it before ἐκ πίστεως¹²⁰ – the same position in which it appears in Heb 10:38;¹²¹ (iii) some others omit the pronoun altogether¹²² – as is the case in Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11.¹²³

¹⁰⁹ D.H. van Daalen, ‘*emunah / πίστις* of *Habakkuk 2.4*, 523-527.

¹¹⁰ M. Silva, “OT in Paul,” 640.

¹¹¹ Cf. J. Lust, E. Eynikel & K. Hauspie, s.v. πίστις, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

¹¹² So, similarly, B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 348; R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 199; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 241, 249.

¹¹³ By minuscules 46 130', and the Fathers Cyr Th Thph.

¹¹⁴ By V II'-410 87*-534 Cyr^p Tht.

¹¹⁵ (vel XRONHSEI) II'-86-410 26 Bas.N Thph^{comm}.

¹¹⁶ 46'-613 534 Cyr^p Tht Thph^{lem}.

¹¹⁷ By 410 Aeth Arm Cyr^p (= X 965).

¹¹⁸ Only in minuscule 147.

¹¹⁹ Attested by codices Σ B.

¹²⁰ A`-49-407 36-III C-68 Ach Arm^p Tht Thph.

¹²¹ The reading with μου before ἐκ πίστεως is preferred by T.W. Manson, “The Argument from Prophecy,” *JThS* 46 (1945), 129-136, on p. 129; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 273.

¹²² W^c 763* 130' 106 Bo Aeth Arm^p Cyr.

¹²³ But it is included by W* Eus^{dem} Cypr Spec.

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 10:37-38

Some variant readings are also found amongst the NT witnesses to the text of Heb 10:37-38:¹²⁴ (a) In Heb 10:37 γάρ is omitted from the phrase of Isa 26:20,¹²⁵ which is conflated with the Habakkuk quotation, (b) In Heb 10:38 μον is – in its first occurrence – omitted by some witnesses,¹²⁶ retained by others,¹²⁷ and transposed after ἐκ πίστεως by some others;¹²⁸ (c) A similar transposition of μον took place – in its second occurrence, being moved from after ἡ ψυχή to a position before it.¹²⁹

Difficult to decide here is the presence and the position of μον¹³⁰ at both its occurrences as printed in NA27. Easier is the fact that it is retained in the *second* case with ἡ ψυχή by *all the witnesses* (although its position shifted by some) – so that one can fairly safely assume the validity of its inclusion there. Possibilities regarding the *first* occurrence, however, are the following:

- (a) μον ἐκ πίστεως: The combined support of P⁴⁶ x and A is strong. This possibility is also supported by the LXX Alexandrian group of witnesses.
- (b) ἐκ πίστεώς μον: The single witness of D* amongst the uncials does not outweigh the support of the first possibility above.¹³¹ This possibility is supported by the LXX witnesses x B. It is possible that the presence of the pronoun in its second occurrence in Heb 10:38, but particularly its presence in the LXX, probably led to its inclusion here in the first instance by D* and the rest. It would also explain the reason for its place after ἐκ πίστεως.
- (c) ἐκ πίστεως: The combined support of P¹³ D² is also strong, though not to the same extent as that of the first possibility above. The only LXX uncial that supports this omission is W^c. The Pauline readings in Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17, on the other hand, both omit μον¹³² – which most likely led to its omission here by the NT witnesses P¹³ D² in Heb 10:38.

¹²⁴ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 184; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 297.

¹²⁵ By P¹³ 104 vg^{mss} sy^P.

¹²⁶ P¹³ D² H^c I K L P Ψ 1881 Μ b t z vg^{mss} bo and Chrysostomus.

¹²⁷ P⁴⁶ x A H* 33. 1739. 1898 pc lat sa bo^{mss}, Clement of Alexandria, Theodoret and Primasius = “my righteous one will live by (his faith).”

¹²⁸ D* 366. 369. 472 pc μ d e sy Eusebius = “the righteous one will live by faith in me.”

¹²⁹ By the witnesses P^{13,46} D*².

¹³⁰ See D.-A. Koch, “Text von Hab 2,” 70-74.

¹³¹ E. Grässer confirms this: “Sie ist schwach bezeugt und scheidet deshalb als ursprünglich aus” (*Hebräer III*, 77, n. 82). Also D.-A. Koch, “Text von Hab 2,” 74.

¹³² Cf. the following witnesses: W^{*vid} B x Q V cet it sy^h.

Scholars in general tend to prefer the inclusion of μον in Heb 10:38 and argue that its omission in Hebrews is secondary and was influenced by the reading in Paul.¹³³ The author of Hebrews himself, though, is not depended upon Paul, as is clear from the length of the text that he quotes and from the differences in reading.¹³⁴ The presence of μον in the second occurrence in the same text, probably signals also its presence in the first occurrence.¹³⁵ It could thus be possible that Hebrews already made the transposition and that this influenced the LXX witnesses, or alternatively, that it already existed in the textual tradition of the LXX.¹³⁶

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Hab 2:3b-4 and Heb 10:37-38

This quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 belongs to the group of quotations in Hebrews that were quoted before his time already, but where he presents an expansion of the same passage. Already encountered were cases such as Ps 8:5-7 and Jer 31(38):31-34. In this case, Paul already quoted from the passage, but only a short line though, whereas Hebrews presents a longer version. In all three these instances, the part that was quoted prior to Hebrews forms the ending of the quotation, and the expansion takes place by adding some immediate preceding lines from the same text. Furthermore, all three these cases are expansions from a quotation that is only to be found in the early Christian literature.

Gal 3:11

ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

Rom 1:17

οὐδὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

It became clear from the above that the text of 8□HevXIIgr differs at a number of points with that of the LXX. The latter seems to be closer to Heb 10:37-38 than the former.¹³⁷ When comparing the LXX with the reading in Heb 10:37-38, the following differences are noted: (a) ὅτι in the LXX is replaced with the definite article ὁ; (b) the aorist subjunctive of the LXX is

¹³³ Cf. R.McL.Wilson, who argues that “the majority of late manuscripts of Hebrews, with one papyrus, omit the possessive, but this is probably an assimilation to Paul” (*Hebrews*, 200). E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 93; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 184; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554; D.-A. Koch, “Text von Hab 2,” 75; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 297, n. 7; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 550, n. 30; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 240; and B. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 669, are all of a similar opinion.

¹³⁴ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 93.

¹³⁵ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554.

¹³⁶ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303.

¹³⁷ So also E. Ulrich who points out that this is one of the cases where the NT “appears to be quoting the OG form of the text rather than the recensional 8□HevXIIgr” (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications for an Edition of the Septuagint Psalter,” in A. Aeijmelaeus & U. Quast (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*, 323-336, on p. 335).

changed to a future indicative¹³⁸ – resulting in the omission of μή (which conforms to *koine* usage)¹³⁹ and the diphthong –ει instead of the long –η; (c) καί is included before the phrase ἐὰν ὑποστείληται in the NT text – called for because of the shift of clauses in order to join the two parts of the sentence.¹⁴⁰

Hab 2:3-4 LXX

διότι ἔτι
ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας
καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν, ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ, ὑπόμεινον
αὐτόν,
ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μη χρονίσῃ.
ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ,
οὐ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

Heb 10:37-38

ἔτι γάρ
μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,
ὅ ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει.
οὐ δὲ δίκαιος μη ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται,
καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ.

Although doubtful, it is certainly interesting that if μοῦ should be omitted in its first occurrence in Heb 10:38, then again a similar pattern unfolds in the presentation of the quotation as was encountered before during the quotation from Jer 31(38):33-34 in Heb 10:17-17. A parallelistic structure is created by the transposition of line d between lines a and b (reversal of the clauses), by changing the aorist subjunctive to a future indicative, and by replacing ὅτι with the definite article ὁ at the beginning of the Habakkuk quotation. Both inverted lines in Hebrews (a and d) now have an astonishing 12-syllable structure and striking assonance:

ὁ ...-ος ... ἥξ- ...-ει

ὁ ...-ος ... ἐκ ...-αι

This rearrangement, plus the addition of the Isaianic phrase just before it, creates, yet again, a hymnic format¹⁴¹ in which the quotation is presented.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Not too much should be made of this change. It is “eine unbedeutende, stilistische Variante” and both forms are so close that the “Textlesart oft schwankt” (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

¹³⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554. This omission is thus most likely a conscious one, made by the author of Hebrews, in relation to his *Vorlage* (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

¹⁴⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554.

¹⁴¹ So also H. van Oyen: “(De schrijver) ontwikkelt het citaat en bevindt zich hiermede dichter bij de oorspronkelijke bedoeling van de profeet” (*Hebreëën*, 184).

¹⁴² A. Strobel reckons that this rearrangement leads to a better understanding of the “Urtext” (*Hebräer*, 206).

Hab 2:3b-4 LXX

διότι ἔτι

ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας καὶ
οὐκ εἰς κενον, ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ, ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν,
α. ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μη χρονίσῃ.

b. ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
c. οὐκ εὑδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ,
d. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

Heb 10:37-38

ἔτι γάρ
μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,

a. ὁ ερχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει.
d. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ~~μω~~ ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται,
b. καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
c. οὐκ εὑδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ.

By interchanging the line from the last clause of the Habakkuk quotation, the meaning changes from “my righteous one” to now be the subject of both parts, and not the vision of the ὑποστείληται.¹⁴³

2.2.4 Summarising remarks regarding the Vorlage of the quotation

The dimension regarding the temporal perspective on Christ’s second coming is highlighted here. Known technical terminology is used in this regard.¹⁴⁴ The author of Hebrews probably used then the phrase from Isa 26:20 from memory¹⁴⁵ as a fixed expression and merges it with his own reworking of the quotation from Hab 2:4,¹⁴⁶ which was known via the early Christian tradition, but expanded upon it and rearranged it in poetic format. Some scholars suspect that the combination between the two quotations might have been made already in the traditions that were available by the time that the author of Hebrews wrote.¹⁴⁷ This is doubtful,¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ So noticed by a number of scholars in the past, for instance, E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 983.

¹⁴⁴ See Philo *Leg.* 2,69. The words ὅσον ὅσον “appears to be a colloquial form,” according to B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 337. He refers to Aristophanus *Vesp.* 213 and Leon. Tarent. *LXX.4 (Anthol.* I.238). So also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 302.

¹⁴⁵ B.F. Westcott speaks of “freely using familiar language to convey his own thought” (*Hebrews*, 348). M. Karrer, too, assumes that the absence of an introductory formula, the conflation of Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b-4, as well as rearrangement of the quoted lines, point to a situation where the author quoted these lines from memory and not from a Scroll, or from a testimonium that originated shortly before his time (*Hebräer II*, 247). S.J. Kistemaker, in turn, thinks in a similar direction when pointing to the fact that Isa 26 “was chanted or read in worship services of the ancient synagogue and of the early Christian church” (*Hebrews*, 302; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 47).

¹⁴⁶ I.L. Seeligmann talks about this as a case where the NT contains a “free reminiscence” of the OT, particularly by “contamination” of two different passages (*Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 158, n. 23).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem, auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Habakuk 2,2ff.* (NT.S II; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 84.

¹⁴⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 555; D.-A. Koch, *Text von Hab 2*, 76, n. 39. So also E. Grässer: “(es) ist nicht nachweisbar” (*Hebräer III*, 76, n. 61).

however, as the author of Hebrews usually follows the practice of paying attention to the context of his quotations.

The quotation, consisting of a conflation between two quoted texts,¹⁴⁹ is neither in exact agreement with the Hebrew readings, nor with the Greek readings of Hab 2:3b-4. The reading in Hebrews is, nonetheless, closer to the LXX reading than to that of the MT.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, the reading between 1QpHab and Hab 2:4a LXX differs, which makes it unlikely to assume a *Vorlage* similar to 1QpHab for Heb 10:38.¹⁵¹ This leaves the question about how these differences in the text of Heb 10:37-38 should be explained. Is this the result of another *Textvorlage*¹⁵² that was followed by the author? Were these changes available to him via a liturgical tradition¹⁵³ or some kind of “promise list”¹⁵⁴ in an oral tradition, or even an existing “testimonium to the coming of Christ.”¹⁵⁵ Or, were these changes due to the hand of this early Christian writer himself?¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ E. Tönges correctly states that “This practice appears frequently in other Jewish literature, and such study and interpretation of Scripture was an established practice in first-century Judaism” (“Jesus-Midrash,” 95).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. also J. de Waard: “In general the LXX character of Heb 10,37.38 is ascertained beyond doubt. Heb 10,38 follows the deviating reading of Hab 2,4a LXX” (*Comparative Study*, 19). Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 182; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 302; H. van Oyen, *Hebreëen*, 186; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 548, 550; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 250.

¹⁵¹ For a discussion on the relation between 1QpHab and Hebrews, see amongst others, H. Kosmala, *Hebräer – Essener – Christen. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung* (StPB 1; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 97ff.; A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 79–86.

¹⁵² E. Ahlborn already pointed out that Hebrews’ δύκατός μου is particularly supported by the Alexandrian tradition, some witnesses of the Lucianic recension and the Catena group. “Es ist möglich daß der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes die Variante seiner Vorlage, einem der alexandrinischen Gruppe nahestehenden Text, entnommen hat. Doch ist die Bezeugung zu schwach, um dieses Urteil zur Gewißheit zu erheben” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 94).

¹⁵³ The inclusion of ὁ with ἐρχόμενος and possible knowledge thereof from Ps 118(117):26 via the liturgical tradition, might be evidence in this regard.

¹⁵⁴ M. Karrer thinks in this direction, suggesting an early Christian testimonium that originated shortly before the time of Hebrews. “Im Testimonium könnte unsere Zitatenkombination nämlich in einer Reihe von Gottesworten gestanden haben....” Due to the difficulty of proving such a theory, Karrer chooses to keep the possibility open that the author of Hebrews also could have made these changes himself (*Hebräer II*, 249).

¹⁵⁵ E.E. Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the OT*, 93.

¹⁵⁶ E. Ahlborn concludes that the author of Hebrews used another *Vorlage* than that known today, altering it independently (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 94–95). M. Karrer, however, doubts redactional changes by the author resulted in the form of this quotation, mainly because “der auffällig freie Umgang mit dem Schrifttext ist für den Hebr-Autor ungewöhnlich” (*Hebräer II*, 249). But the author’s use of Gen 14:17–20 in Heb 7:1–3 might be used as a counter argument against this position. P. Ellingworth, for instance, thinks precisely that it is “less probably his source” but rather the author of Hebrews that made the changes (*Hebrews*, 554). So, similarly, H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

A typical introductory formula with a verb of saying, as encountered time and again in Hebrews, is absent here. Technically spoken, these quoted phrases could thus be taken not to be an explicit quotation.¹⁵⁷ However, the mere two words, ἐπι γάρ, are introducing the quoted phrases¹⁵⁸ from Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37. This, in turn, is closely connected with the immediately preceding phrase κομίσησθη τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. The link between the promise and a quotation that follows was noted before in this study.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, γάρ played an important role at other places where references to Scripture were introduced or discussed and where the author presented it as the counterpart, or as contrast, in his argumentation. See, for instance, Heb 1:5 (τίνι γάρ); Heb 7:1 (οὗτος γάρ); Heb 7:17 (γὰρ ὅτι); Heb 8:5 (γὰρ φησιν); Heb 8:8 (γὰρ ... λέγει); Heb 10:15 (μετὰ γάρ); Heb 10:30 (οὐδαμεν γάρ) and Heb 13:5 (γὰρ εἰρηκεν). In fact, the rhetorical use of γάρ in Hebrews is an illuminating study in itself.

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The phrase from Isa 26:20 with which the author of Hebrews opens his conflated quotation, has clear eschatological overtones.¹⁶⁰ Turning to the Habakkuk part, also this part points in an eschatological direction.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, both 1QpHab 7:5–8:3 and Heb 10:37f. are close to each other regarding the usage of Hab 2:3.¹⁶² However, a major difference in the interpretation¹⁶³ of Hab 2:3b-4 between 1QpHab of the DSS community and Heb 10:37-38, is that the former has it about the end time that is long in coming – without referring to the messiah, whereas the latter saw it as hastening towards the end¹⁶⁴ and adding the definite

¹⁵⁷ Cf. H. Löhr, *Umkehr und Sünde im Hebräerbrief* (BZNW 73; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 111. Also E. Grässer: “Das hat nichts mit der Bekanntheit des Textes zu tun, sondern mit der Textfunktion” (*Hebräer III*, 75).

¹⁵⁸ So also J. de Waard, *Comparative Study*, 19; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 347.

¹⁵⁹ See the discussion on the quotation from Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14 earlier in this study (Chapter 8).

¹⁶⁰ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 982. Guthrie states: “this inaugurated eschatology is oriented to a person, for the theology here is overtly messianic” (on p. 984).

¹⁶¹ Cf. G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 982.

¹⁶² Cf. F. Schröger: “es geht beiden Autoren um die Treue, um das Nicht-Weichen im Blick auf das nahe Eschaton; das Nicht-Weichen (Hebr 10,39) entspricht der Gesetzesbeobachtung, die 1QpHab 8,1-3 aus Hab 2,4 herausliest” (*Verfasser*, 186-187).

¹⁶³ Although “Hebrews reflects a similar situation of eschatological expectation,” “there are important differences as well” (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303).

¹⁶⁴ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549.

article before ἐρχόμενος to refer to the soon coming of Christ,¹⁶⁵ which “strengthens a messianic reference already implicit in the LXX.”¹⁶⁶ The author of Hebrews thus clearly interprets his quotation in a christological manner – a connection that is probably made on the basis of the messianically understood words of the prophets.¹⁶⁷ Only those who have not shrunk back, but persevered, will receive God’s promise (10:35-36): the Coming One is coming in a little while and the righteous, who lived by faith, will be saved (10:38-39).

The quotation from Hab 2:4 consists of three main elements:

- a. receiving the reward: ὁ δὲ δίκαιος μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται
- b. perseverance: ἐὰν ὑποστείληται
- c. doing the will of God: εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ

The author of Hebrews picks these elements up and form a semantic *inclusio* around the quotation in verses 36 and 39 as the direct result of his interpretation:

- b. perseverance (ὑπομονῆς ἔχετε, v. 36; οὐκ ὑποστολῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν, v. 39)
- c. doing the will of God (τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεου ποιήσαντες, v. 36; ἀλλὰ πίστεως, v. 39)
- a. receiving the reward (κομίσησθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, v. 36; εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, v. 39).

Scholarship pointed to this as a rabbinic technique of reinforcement, adding “support to an exhortation by quoting a biblical phrase, often using ‘for’ as part of the introductory formula.”¹⁶⁸

Included amongst these elements, are the phrases from Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b, which are adding a temporal perspective on these matters.¹⁶⁹ Especially the *period* of a “short, short while” (μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον) as expressed through the quoted words from Isa 26:20 in connection with Christ’s second coming, reminds one of the “short while” (βραχύ τι) of the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8 in connection with Christ’s first coming. So too, does the *action* of Christ’s second “coming” here in Hab 2:3b-4 (ἥξει) reminds of Christ’s first

¹⁶⁵ Cf. A.T. Hanson, “Hebrews,” in D.A. Carson & H.G.M. Williamson (ed.), *It is Written: Scripture citing Scripture* (Cambridge: University Press, 1988) 292-301, on pp. 295-296; L.C. Laughton, *Introductory formulae*, 81; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 184; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 76; R.McL.Wilson, *Hebrews*, 199; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 274; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49.

¹⁶⁶ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554; G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 983. I.L. Seeligmann called this “an utterly remarkable conversion of the Hebraism ἐρχόμενος ἥξει into a Messianic prophecy...” (*Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 158, n. 23).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 273; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 302; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 48; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 302; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 187; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 76; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 159. Also A. Strobel: “Die Prophetenstelle erweist sich als Kernbeleg jüdischer Messiaserwartung” (*Hebräer*, 205). H. van Oyen makes the point that particularly Hab 2:3 is given a messianic connotation, and that the terms “faith,” “justification,” “life,” “perfection,” are all christologically determined – “zij wortelen alle in de schaduwen van de vroegere bedeling, maar treden pas in Christus in het volle, heerlijke hemellicht” (*Hebreëën*, 184, 185).

¹⁶⁸ G.H. Guthrie, “OT in Hebrews,” 843-44; and G.H. Guthrie, “Recent Trends,” 281-282.

¹⁶⁹ See T.A. Lewis, “‘And if he shrinks back’ (Heb. X.38b),” *NTS* 22 (1975/76) 88-94.

“coming” (*ῆκω*) in the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 earlier in the same chapter, in Heb 10:5-8. The *μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον*¹⁷⁰ on the one hand, and the *ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει* on the other hand, serve a repetitive and emphatic function in order to appeal and encourage the recipients of the document to persevere. Hebrews’ interpretation of Habakkuk is thus along the lines of perseverance in faith, which leads onto Heb 11 and the list of “faith heroes.” What follows thus in Heb 11 is closely connected to the conflated quotation from Isa 26:20 + Hab 2:3b-4, and most probably intended to be an extended commentary on the quotation. There is thus ultimately a difference between Hebrews and Paul regarding the interpretation of Hab 2:4. Although the faith concept is not absent in Paul when working with Hab 2:4, Paul’s emphasis is rather on the contrast between the *Law* and faith,¹⁷¹ whereas Hebrews focuses on the *perseverance* in faith.¹⁷² By moving *μον* before *ἐκ πίστεως*, it now belongs to *δίκαιος* so that the phrase *ἐκ πίστεως*, carries the weight.¹⁷³

By adding the definite article before *ἐρχόμενος*, Hebrews uses yet another description for the Son – a familiar one within the early Christian tradition¹⁷⁴ (cf. Matt 11:3; Luke 7:19-20; John 6:14; 11:27), but probably already known via the early Jewish liturgical tradition.¹⁷⁵ The addition of the article makes it easier to relate this prophecy to Christ’s second coming.¹⁷⁶ This is directly rooted within the eschatology of early Christianity about an imminent coming of Christ.¹⁷⁷ The author of Hebrews adds his voice, or rather the voice of the prophets (!), to this *promise*¹⁷⁸ and he does so by means of reworking Hab 2:3b-4 in a midrashic manner.

¹⁷⁰ A “short time” was probably understood to be a period of ca. forty years according to 1QpPs 37:10 (cf. A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205).

¹⁷¹ This applies particularly to the occurrence in Gal 3:11.

¹⁷² Cf. V. Rhee, “Christology, Chiasm, and the Concept of Faith in Hebrews 10:19-39,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 16 (2003) 33-48. Also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 185; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreeën*, 116; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205, 206; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 555; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 550; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 75; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 256-257; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 984 – They all make the point that both Paul and Hebrews use the quotation in their own manner.

¹⁷³ “Nicht mehr also von der Treue (*πίστις*) Gottes ist hier die Rede; vielmehr bezeichnet *πίστις* nunmehr die Art und Weise, in der der Mensch des eschatologische Heilsgut, die *ζωή*, gewinnen wird” (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 550).

¹⁷⁴ So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 249.

¹⁷⁵ E. Ahlborn reckons that “Der Titel ὁ ἐρχόμενος darf von Ps. 117(118),26 her in der Urgemeinde als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

¹⁷⁶ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92; J.M. Dines, *Septuagint*, 144.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the expositions of A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205-206; and G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrevi*, 158-160, on Heb 10:37-38 in this regard. H.W. Attridge says that “(t)he context, with its imagery of resurrection as well as judgment, suggests an eschatological scenario and probably facilitated the understanding of the phrase (i.e. ‘a brief while’, *GJS*) as a reference to the end time” (*Hebrews*, 301).

¹⁷⁸ Also M. Karrer points to the centrality of the “promise” here (*Hebräer II*, 250). Keeping in mind the absence of a formal introductory formula, as well as the explicit link with the “promise,” G. Schunack captures the situation aptly: “Die Kombination von Zitaten der LXX-Version von Jes. 26,20 und Hab. 2,3f. wird nicht

2.4 Conclusion

It was established, with regard to the conflated quotation from Isa 26 and Hab 2, that it was neither in exact agreement with the Hebrew readings (including 1QpHab), nor with the Greek readings (including 8[□]HevXIIgr) of Hab 2:3b-4 – though nonetheless being closer to the LXX readings. A parallelistic structure is created by the transposition of the last line of the quotation to a position between the first two lines (reversal of the clauses), by the change to the future indicative, and by the substitution of ὅτι with ὅ. No convincing text critical support could be found to support any of these differences so that it seems most likely that they should be ascribed to the hand of Hebrews. There might be some reasons to assume that this version of the Habakkuk quotation in Hebrews was due to the interpretative hand of the author of Hebrews: (a) there are indications that he might have known the Habakkuk quotation via the Pauline tradition and that he expanded on the quotation; (b) the conflation with the phrase from Isaiah 26 and the Habakkuk quotation might be ascribed to the author; (c) he, furthermore, shows a definite and clear preference for hymnic texts and made similar adaptations elsewhere – such as when he quoted a second time from both Jer 31(38) and from Ps 40(39) in those midrashic sections, showing a similar tendency to represent those quotations also closer to a hymnic format.

förmlich als Schriftzitat eingeführt, sondern unmittelbar als verheißungsvolle und entscheidungsträchtige Aussage Gottes in Anspruch genommen” (*Hebräerbrief*, 158).

Chapter 12

The motif of God testing believers The combination Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18 + Prov 3:11-12 in Heb 12:5-6

Heb 11:18

πρὸς ὅν ἐλαλήθη ὅτι

ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα, (Gen 21:12)

Heb 12:5-6

καὶ ἐκλέλησθε τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἵτις ὑμῖν ὡς νίοις διαλέγεται·

νίέ μου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου μηδὲ ἐκλύουν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· 6 ὅν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα νίὸν ὅν παραδέχεται. (Prov 3:11-12)

A number of contextual matters should be kept in mind during the investigation of the two quotations in this chapter of our study. Firstly, it belongs to the section of Heb 10:19 –12:26 that deals with the exhortation to persevere in faith. This is the same section within which the previous two quotations (Deut 32:35-36 and [Isa 26:20+] Hab 2:3-4) also occurred.

Secondly, Hebrews' citation of Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:17-19 cannot be understood without the context of the author's own interpretation.¹ It is embedded within the history of God's test to Abraham to be willing to sacrifice Isaac² – despite the promise that God had made about the descendants through Isaac.³ Abraham's perseverance in his faith goes beyond the questioning of God's promise and beyond the test itself. According to Hebrews, he believed that God would be able even to resurrect Isaac from death. The list of faith heroes then continues to the beginning of Heb 12 where the example of Jesus himself is presented. All of these were believers who suffered in the past, but who did not abandon their faith. After having dealt with all those before them, the author comes to the context of the recipients of the book. Apart from all the others as well, they can be encouraged by the examples of Abraham and Jesus. A connection is made now with their own struggle against sin (Heb

¹ Cf. Heb 2:18; 3:8ff.; 4:15; 12:11. "...de brief (i.e. Hebrews, GJS) wordt geschreven in het aangezicht der beproevingen Gods" (H. van Oyen, *Hebreëën*, 203).

² Abraham's test is described particularly in Gen 22. F.F. Bruce makes the point that "(t)he 'Binding of Isaac', as the story of Gen. 22 has traditionally been called among the Jews, is treated in Jewish interpretation as the classic example of the redemptive efficacy of martyrdom" (*Hebrews*, 309). Abraham's willingness to obedience and the focus of this obedience as an act of Abraham (not on Isaac here) should be noted. Cf. also H. van Oyen, *Hebreëën*, 203; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 209; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 178; A Strobel, *Hebräer*, 218.

³ "Gottes Weisung an Abraham, Isaak als Opfer darzubringen, steht im Widerspruch zu seiner eigenen Verheißung bzw. stellt sie radikal in Frage" (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 597).

12:4). He uses Prov 3:11-12⁴ in Heb 12:5b-6 as a reminder of God testing his children and explains it by means of a comparison of a father who disciplines his child, because he loves him.

Thirdly, the immediate context of Gen 21, from which Hebrews quotes a phrase, is interesting. The Abrahamic promise is made within the context of God referring to Abraham's two children. He implies Isaac as "the child" (περὶ τοῦ παιδίου, Gen 21:12) and Ishmael as "the son" (καὶ τὸν γιόν, Gen 21:13) of the slave woman. The terminology is striking and reminds of those used, not only in Heb 2 when Jesus expressed his relation with the believers, but also here in Heb 12 when the believers are referred to within a similar relationship. The concept of God as the Father and the believers as his children is firmly rooted within the theology of early Christianity. It can be observed in Paul,⁵ the "Our Father" prayers of Jesus from the Q tradition in the Synoptic Gospels,⁶ and in Jesus' teaching. In Hebrews, however, the term only appears three times (out of four)⁷ in connection with God.

Fourthly, the author's focus on God's promise (Heb 11:17) is again connected with a quotation that follows (Gen 21 here), and is striking in the light of our observations before. The Abrahamic promise was already encountered in Heb 6:14 when Gen 22:17 was quoted by the author in connection with the near sacrifice of Isaac (*Aqedah*). Abraham's test stands thus in stark contrast with God's promise, which in turn, puts the recipients' suffering in perspective.

Fifthly, the recipients have heard God speaking in the past. Here he spoke again through the words of his promise to Abraham. It stands within the list of passages that were quoted before in Hebrews where God communicated his relationship by means of visions, or oracles. Philo interprets the situation similarly with regard to Abraham (*Mut.* 39; *Somn.* 1,64).

Sixthly, the Proverbs quotation is presented with the author of Hebrews' own commentary (own explanation and interpretation) on it (Heb 12:7-11). This is a feature of the author that has been observed now in his use of many of his quotations, e.g. Ps 8; Ps 95(94); Ps 110(109); Jer 31(38); [Ps 40(39)?]; Hab 2:3b-4.

⁴ Not Prov 11:3f. as (mis?)printed in P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 647.

⁵ Cf., for instance, 1 Thess 1:3; 3:11, 13; Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15; 1 Cor 8:6; 2 Cor 1:2; 6:18, etc.

⁶ Cf. Matt 6 and Luke 10–11.

⁷ Heb 1:5; 2:11; 7:3 and here in 12:9.

1. Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18⁸

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Gen 21

One finds in Gen 21:8-21 the Yahwist's story of Hagar's rejection. "The culminating point in this dramatic account of Sarah's envy is God's promise to a displeased Abraham." "These words appeal to the heart of the Jew."⁹

Gen 21 (Isaac's birth) and 1 Sam 1–2 (Samuel's birth and Hannah's praise) were the passages which were read at the occasion of the Jewish New Year's festival, the *Rosh Hashanah*. It constantly stressed the ideas of birth and moral rebirth.¹⁰ They "...recount stories about the divinely induced conceptions of heroes, persons who would play a positive role in the divine economy."¹¹

1.1.2 The use of Gen 21 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Gen 21 was read during the occasion of the Jewish New Year.¹² Being God's covenant with Abraham, one can expect that references to this particular verse (v. 12) are often to be found in the OT literature. It appears as a reference outside the Pentateuch, for instance in 1 Chr 16:16 – with a repetition of that phrase again in Ps 105:9. Interesting, however, is that there are no traces of any *explicit* citation of this phrase, neither in the OT literature, nor amongst the DSS. However, it was very well known and many times quoted by Philo.¹³ Also a part of the verse under discussion here, Gen 21:12a is quoted by Philo (*Leg. 3,87* – cf. *Cher.*): Πάντα ἀν ὅσα εἴποι Σάρρα, ἄκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς. There are probably also allusions to this

⁸ Cf. also G.J. Steyn, "Torah Quotations," 139-140.

⁹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51.

¹⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 50.

¹¹ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs who worry about their wives. A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in M.E. Stone & E.G. Chazon (ed.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 137-158, on p. 144.

¹² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 50.

¹³ Cf. Gen 21:2 in *Profug.* 30; Gen 21:6 in *Leg.* 2,21; 3,77; *Det.* 33; *Mut.* 24; Gen 21:7 in *Migr.* 25; Gen 21:8 in *Somn.* 2,10; Gen 21:10 in *Cher.* 3 – the same verse that is also quoted by Paul in Gal 4:30 – Gen 21:14-16 in *Sobr.* 2; Gen 21:19 in *Post.* 38; Gen 21:25, 26 in *Somn.* 1,14; and Gen 21:33 in *Plant.* 18, 20; *Mut.* 35. References taken from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and H.E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1909²).

matter¹⁴ in Philo's *Leg.* 3,203; *Her.* 313. Most striking is Philo's wording: "Moses says that 'God did tempt Abraham...'" (ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, *Somn.* 1,195). Interesting, however, is Philo's use of παιδεία in connection with education, e.g. *Sacr.* 43, 63 (and especially 122), referred to in the previous chapter of this study, makes the link between Abraham and the number ten as the "number peculiar for instruction." Furthermore, one reads that "Seth is the beginning of the just Noah; and his perfection (τέλειωσιν)¹⁵ again is the beginning of the education (παιδευέσθαι) of Abraham" (*Post.* 174), and that God is the one "who has also fashioned the archetypal forms of our instruction (τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τῆς παιδείας) while they were still indistinct, so as to make them visible, teaching Abraham wisdom (*Somn.* 1,173).

Turning to the Deutero-canonical books, a number of references to this Abrahamic promise are also to be found, such as those in 2 Macc 1:2 and 2 Esd 3:15. The Aqedaic event as such, is referred to amongst this literature in 4 Macc 13:12; 18:11 – with a close resemblance in interpretation particularly between 4 Macc 16:20, 25 and Heb 11:17-19.

Gen 21:12 is also quoted in the NT by Paul in Romans and by the author of Hebrews, but only the part of the quotation following directly after that quoted by Philo. Gen 21:12b is first to be found in Rom 9:7 (ἐν' Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα)¹⁶ and again in Heb 11:18 (ὅτι ἐν' Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα). The quotation from Gen 21:12 also surfaces later in post-NT times in Justin (*Dial.* 56), who quotes the extended section as found in Gen 21:12, including both parts of the verse – the section that occurred in Philo (v. 12a) as well as that which occurred in both Paul and Hebrews (v. 12.b: ...πάντα ὅσα ἀν εἴπη σοι Ζάρρα, ἀκούε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἐν' Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα, *Dial.* 56). The latter part represents exactly the same reading as in Romans and Hebrews and there are no differences regarding v. 12b.¹⁷ The reading of the first part (v. 12a), however, differs between Philo and Justin.

Given the prominence of Gen 21 during the New Year, it is no surprise to find it playing a role in the Jewish tradition and being quoted also by the early Christian authors.

¹⁴ Compare also *T. Ab.* 8,5ff; 12.

¹⁵ On the perfection of Abraham, see also *Deus.* 1,4 (Αβραὰμ τοῦ τέλείου) and *Mut.* 270 (τέλειος ὁ μαθητὴς ἐγένετο). On Abraham being called "a king from God," see Gen 23:6 and Philo *Mut.* 151-152; *Somn.* 2,244.

¹⁶ Cf. also Rom 4:18-20.

¹⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51.

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Gen 21:12

Despite a number of fragmentary remains of Genesis that were found amongst the DSS,¹⁸ none of these contain the text of Gen 21:12.

Gen 21:12 MT	Gen 21:12 LXX
כִּי בַּיִצְחָק יִקְרָא לְךָ זָרָעַ :	ὅτι ἐν Ισαακ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.

The LXX phrase was omitted by minuscules 58, 64, 426, 509 and 56. In addition, although they retained the phrase, minuscule 31 omitted *ἐν* and minuscules 376, 610 omitted *σοί*. Minuscule 78 substituted *κληθήσεται* for *κληρονομηθήσεται*. All of these variants though, without exception, belong to later minuscules and are not well attested or supported by important witnesses. There is no support from any early Papyri or from any of the codices for these variant readings.¹⁹ PChBeat IV (961) from the 4th cent. C.E., for instance, as well as 940 from the 8th cent. C.E., are in support of the reconstructed reading. It can thus be concluded that the LXX version is a literal translation of the Hebrew (if it read the same as the MT) and that there are no differences between the two.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 11:18

There are no alternative readings amongst all the known NT textual witnesses regarding the quotation here in Heb 11:18, according to NA27.²⁰ This reading here in Heb 11:18 corresponds exactly with that of Rom 9:7 as well as with that of the LXX and MT. Also the reading as found in Justin (*Dial.* 56) represents exactly the same reading and there are no differences.²¹

¹⁸ See F.H. Cryer for a discussion on “Genesis in Qumran,” in F.H. Cryer & T.L. Thompson (ed.), *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (JSOTSupSer 290; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998) 98-112.

¹⁹ Cf. the text critical apparatus in J.W. Wevers, *Genesis. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Bd. 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) and the online edition of R.A. Kraft on the internet at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/text/religion/biblical/lxxvar/1Pentateuch/01Gen01-25.html>.

²⁰ B.F. Westcott, however, pointed out that ὅτι is omitted by D₂^{*}, but this evidence alone would still be insufficient to accept such an omission in the earlier text (*Hebrews*, 366).

²¹ So also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Gen 21:12 and Heb 11:18

When comparing now Gen 21:12 in the versions of the MT, the LXX, and the text of the quotation in Heb 11:18 with each other, there are no differences to be found between those readings. The quotation corresponds exactly with the reading of the reconstructed LXX text²² (and the MT). There is a slight difference, though, between the readings of Rom 9:7 and that of Heb 11:18.

Gen 21:12 LXX	Rom 9:7	Heb 11:18
ὅτι ἐν Ισαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα.	ἀλλ’ ἐν ’Ισαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα,	πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη ὅτι ἐν ’Ισαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα,

If ὅτι is to be taken as part of the quotation in Heb 11:18,²³ as will be argued below, then this is the only difference between the textual readings of the quotation in Heb 11:18 and Rom 9:7. However, Romans and Hebrews apply the verse differently.²⁴ Rom 9:7, 8 function rather as short exegetical “Nachbemerkungen,” which confirm or expand on the meaning of the previously introduced scriptural passage.²⁵ Gen 21:12b has its own clear accents in the context of Heb 11.²⁶ Gen 21:12b is finally a quotation that agrees *verbatim* with the LXX in both Rom 9:7 and Heb 11:18. It agrees with the transmitted reading of the LXX in its oldest available form.²⁷

1.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

A very brief quotation is being presented here – as was the case with almost all those from the Torah (Deut 32:35, 36 being an exception) thus far in Hebrews. It can be accepted that well-known passages, such as this one, were known off by heart as they played an important role in the theology, tradition and festival liturgies of Judaism.

²² Also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 41; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 597.

²³ Οτι is omitted by P⁴⁶ & D* P Ψ (B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 366; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 601).

²⁴ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 334.

²⁵ Cf. D.-A. Koch: “Das sachliche Verhältnis zwischen Zitat und Erläuterung kann dabei durchaus verschieden sein” (*Schrift als Zeuge*, 272).

²⁶ In the words of H.-F. Weiss: “Wie schon das wörtliche Zitat von Gen 21,12 in V.18 zeigt, folgt der Verweis auf das Beispiel des Abraham zunächst der entsprechenden biblischen Vorlage in Gen 22, setzt aber doch zugleich sehr deutliche eigene Akzente, die den paradoxen Charakter dieses Geschehens hervortreten lassen” (*Hebräer*, 596).

²⁷ D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 102.

The readings of the MT, the reconstructed LXX, Rom 9:7 and Heb 11:18 all agree with each other,²⁸ so that it would be difficult to make a categorical statement that the author (and Paul) quoted Gen 21:12 *verbatim* from particularly the LXX. It has been pointed out that ὅτι should be taken as part of the quotation in Heb 11:18, which in turn, corresponds exactly with the reading of Gen 21:12 in its Greek version. This quotation has been listed amongst those that are difficult to determine whether they share a pre-Pauline history of usage by early Christianity or not and that Gen 21:12 can probably only be connected indirectly with Paul.²⁹ Others argue similarly, thinking that there is “no need to suppose that the one took from the other. The LXX is the common source. The writer of Hebrews had an especially accurate memory.”³⁰

Gen 21 was read during the occasion of the Jewish New Year. This fact, plus the occurrence of a number of verses from this passage in Philo, as well as the occurrence of the quotation in Paul (Rom 9:7), most probably points to the Jewish oral tradition as possible origin for the *Vorlage* of the quotation.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

This short quotation is introduced by the phrase πρὸς ὃν ἐλαλήθη – thus again with a verb of saying – indicating that it is God who speaks.³¹ The ὅτι could either be taken as being part of the quotation or of the introductory formula. It has not been printed in cursive in NA27, and therefore not being seen as part of the introductory formula, as if ὅτι introduces the quotation in Gen 21:1 – thus as hoti recitativum. This is questionable, however, on the basis of two factors: Firstly, there are no textual witnesses amongst either the LXX or the NT that testify to its exclusion or inclusion at this point. It must have been perceived through the centuries to be part of the text and never has been an issue of contention. Secondly, even if its function changed from causal to recitative, it still remains part of the verbatim quotation. It should therefore rather be seen as already being the first word of the actual quotation, even though its function might have changed.

²⁸ So also G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 209; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 601.

²⁹ D.-A. Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 243.

³⁰ B.F.C. Atkinson, “Textual Background,” 47.

³¹ So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 597.

It is incorrect in treating ὅτι as not being part of the quotation – and therefore as an omission³² – because it functions as a causal ὅτι at the beginning of the quotation. Even if the function of the ὅτι here in Heb 11:18 changed to a recitative ὅτι, it still does not change the fact that the quotation should start with it, as it is still part of the verbatim quotation. It is, another matter in Rom 9:7, however, which introduced the quotation with the adversative particle ἀλλά.³³

1.3.2 Some remarks regarding the interpretation of the quotation

The quotation is embedded in the author’s interpretation of the story of Abraham, which, in turn, belongs to the list of stories about past “faith heroes.” Abraham’s story takes a prominent place and a substantial part of the exposition is dedicated to his life story, as well as the author of Hebrews’ interpretation thereof. The history of Abraham and Sarah is encountered in Heb 11:8-13, with the author’s own theological interpretation of the events in Heb 11:13-16. Hereafter follow the other patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob, with Abraham in Heb 11:17-21.

Two clear theological motifs are surfacing in Heb 11:17 within the immediate context of the quotation: (a) the story of Abraham (and Isaac) is connected with the motif of God’s *testing* (πειραζόμενος), and (b) the quoted passage is intended as a reminder of the very own words of God’s *promise* (ὁ ἐπαγγελίας) – the latter of which is confirmed by the divine passives ἐλαλήθη and κληθήσεται, as well as by the direct speech of the quotation itself.

1.4 Conclusion

Being read during the New Year’s festival, traces of Gen 21 are fairly frequently found in biblical and extra-biblical literature. Although no explicit quotations of Gen 21:12 were found in the OT or DSS, the situation is different in the Philonic literature. In the early Christian literature, Gen 21:12b is quoted by Paul in Rom 9:7 – but only the part of the quotation following directly after that which was quoted by Philo (v. 12a).

It was also argued that ὅτι should be taken as part of the quotation in Heb 11:18. The reading in Heb 11:18 corresponds to that of Rom 9:7 (and with the LXX and MT) – except for

³² S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51. Kistemaker himself implicitly contradicts his own point when he states that “The omission of the conjunction ὅτι does not alter the meaning in the least, for the causal idea is found in the immediate context of the respective places.”

³³ See S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 51.

the fact that the LXX and Hebrews read ὅτι, where Paul used ἀλλά. The investigation of this quotation concluded that the Jewish oral tradition might have served possibly as origin for the *Vorlage* of the quotation.

2. Prov 3:11-12 in Heb 12:5-6

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Prov 3:11-12

Proverbs belongs to the Jewish and Israelite wisdom literature and might have originated either as part of a collection of proverbs that were collected over a period of time from an oral tradition, or originally compiled as part of a literary work. The book can be divided into a pre-exilic section (Prov 10–30, consisting of individual sayings) and a post-exilic section (Prov 1–9; 31, consisting of wisdom poems and speeches). This passage (Prov 3:11-12) belongs then to the latter and stands within the wisdom tradition.³⁴ It describes the human relationship between a father and his child, dealing with the paradox of “educative discipline” ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$),³⁵ which is a display of a father’s love for his son. Discipline, or instruction, was seen as an important way of a parent’s, or teacher’s involvement in guiding their children to keep on the right way and to behave morally correct according to the customs of the community. Many times this took the form of physical discipline – as can be seen from Prov 13:24, amongst other proverbs³⁶ – involving “chastisement and reproach ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\oslash$),”³⁷ which is rooted in the wisdom traditions.³⁸ The comparison between this manner of human guidance as a means of care and love was transferred to God’s relation to his people as well, as can be seen here from Prov 3:11-12,³⁹ which is the only place in Proverbs where the

³⁴ M.V. Fox labels Prov 3:1-12 “the wisdom of piety” (*Proverbs 1-9* [AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000], 141).

³⁵ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 361; G. Bertram, “πατέρω,” in G. Friedrich (ed.), *TDNT V* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 596-625. According to M.V. Fox, “(t)he author of Prov 3:11-12, unlike Elihu (in Job, *GJS*), is not rationalizing suffering; he is inculcating the right attitude toward it. One must accept suffering as an act of divine love, not repudiate it and rebel against one’s condition” (*Proverbs*, 153).

³⁶ H.W. Attridge refers also to Prov 23:12-14; 29:17; Sir 22:6 and 23:2 (*Hebrews*, 361).

³⁷ Cf. H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 361, who refers to Prov 5:12; 15:32; Job 5:17. Also F. Büchsel, “ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\omega$,” in G. Kittel (ed.), *TDNT II* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 473-476.

³⁸ With regard to parents and children: Prov 1:8; 4:1; 13:1. With regard to teachers and students: Prov 1:2, 7; 15:33; 23:23. Cf. M.A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 161.

³⁹ Cf. also Deut 8:5; Job 5:17; Ps 94:12. S.J. Kistemaker is of the opinion that Prov 3:11-12 “refers to a text that was basic to training believers in the church” (*Hebrews*, 373).

problem of suffering is directly touched upon.⁴⁰ The viewpoint of the author of Prov 3:11-12 is that “(s)ometimes suffering is divine discipline, a gracious warning intended to spare you greater punishments.”⁴¹

2.1.2 The use of Prov 3 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Keeping in mind the list of ten teaching techniques from 4 Macc 18 that were encountered in the previous chapter, it was noted that one of them was the recounting of the “proverbs of Solomon.” It is thus no surprise that a proverb, such as this one from Prov 3:11-12, would surface many times in the tradition in connection with teaching or with suffering, and with many parallels in the Jewish literature.⁴² Not all of these need to be listed, but only some striking parallels would suffice.

- *Job* 5:17-27; 33:15-30 is similar, where suffering is seen as contributing towards the conversion of a sinner.⁴³ These allusions to Prov 3:11 are sometimes used by scholars as external evidence for the antiquity of Job. This is based on the similarity in the Hebrew wording between Prov 3:11 and Job 5:17 – except for Job’s use of “Shaddai” and Proverbs the Tetragram. But it is hard to know which quoted which first here.⁴⁴
- There is also a series of allusions in the *Psalms of Solomon: Pss. Sol.* 3:4; 7:3; 8:26; 10:1-3; 13:9-10; 14:1-2; 18:4.
- *Sirach* too, interprets affliction as the lot of the pious: Τέκνον, εἰ προσέρχῃ δουλεύειν κυρίῳ, ἐτοίμασον τὴν ψυχήν σου εἰς πειρασμόν (Sir 2:1). It “substantiates this notion with the heroic motif that it is precisely gold which is tested in fire” (Sir 2:5), arriving “at a merely pedagogical view of suffering, somewhat like that in the speech of Elihu of Job 36:8ff or that in Prov 3:11f.”⁴⁵
- Philo of Alexandria also used Prov 3:11-12 in *Congr.* 177. He introduces it with the words, ὅς πατριψ γλώττῃ Σαλομῶν καλεῖται, φάναι – thereby clearly indicating that he is quoting (a proverb) from Solomon.

⁴⁰ R.E. Murphy, *Proverbs* (WBC 22; Dallas: Word Incorporated, 1998), 21.

⁴¹ M.V. Fox, *Proverbs*, 152.

⁴² See Deut 8:5 and *Pss. Sol.* 3:4; *2 Bar.* 13:9-10; Jdt 8:27; Wis 12:22. See also G.H. Guthrie for further references from Rabbinical literature (*Hebrews*, 986). E. Grässer points to the fact that the idea was particularly present in Maccabean times (e.g. 2 Macc 6:12, 16; 7:33; 10:4; 4 Macc 10:10) (*Hebräer III*, 257). Cf. M. Karrer: “(alles) spricht für eine verwandte Rezeption der im Judentum weit verbreiteten Idee, Gott meine es selbst dann mit seinen Kindern gut, wenn er sie durch Leiden züchtige und zum Techten bewege” (*Hebräer II*, 319).

⁴³ R.E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, 21.

⁴⁴ Cf. R.L. Harris, “The Book of Job and Its Doctrine of God,” *Grace Theol Jnl* 13/3 (1972) 3-33, on p. 4.

⁴⁵ M. Dibelius, *James* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 71.

Turning to early Christianity, Prov 3:11-12 is only explicitly quoted in the NT here in Heb 12:5, with an allusion to it in Eph 6:4.⁴⁶ The motif, though, might be found behind passages such as 1 Cor 11:32; 2 Cor 6:9; 1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 3:16 and particularly Rev 3:19 (the rebuke to the church of Laodicea).⁴⁷ Clement of Rome (96 C.E.) – who, most likely, was familiar with Hebrews – also cites the passage in his first letter to the Corinthians (*1 Clem.* 56:4), but only the last part, i.e. Prov 3:12.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Prov 3:11-12

An eclectic edition of Proverbia has not yet been compiled in the Göttingen series and is thus also not to be found on the CCAT database of Robert Kraft in Pennsylvania.⁴⁸ The LXX Proverbs has been studied extensively, however, by Cook the last number of years from different angles, including its dating,⁴⁹ translators,⁵⁰ differences with the MT,⁵¹ hellenistic influence,⁵² its textual problems,⁵³ text-critical value,⁵⁴ relationship with the Psalms,⁵⁵ with Job,⁵⁶ with Qohelet,⁵⁷ with Jeremiah,⁵⁸ with the Law,⁵⁹ its apocalyptic terminology,⁶⁰ and theological tendenz.⁶¹

⁴⁶ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 257. There is too little evidence regarding quotations and allusions to Prov 3 to agree with S.J. Kistemaker that it was well known in the NT (*Hebrews*, 373).

⁴⁷ H. van Oyen, *Hebreën*, 220; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 257.

⁴⁸ Peter J. Gentry has been commissioned to do this task, which was close to completion in July 2008.

⁴⁹ See J. Cook, “The Dating of Septuagint Proverbs,” *EThL* 69/4 (1993) 383-399.

⁵⁰ J. Cook, “The translator(s) of LXX Proverbs,” *TC – a Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002) 1-50.

⁵¹ J. Cook, “The Greek of Proverbs – evidence of a recensionally deviating Hebrew text?” in S.M. Paul; R.A. Kraft; R.L. Schiffman & W.W. Fields (ed.), *Emanuel. Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in honor of Emanuel Tov* (Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2003) 605-618. See also in this regard: E. Tov, “Recensional differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins & T.H. Tobin (ed.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins – Presented to John Strugnell on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday* (College Theological Society Resources in Religion 5; New York: University Press of America, 1990) 43-56.

⁵² See J. Cook, “Hellenistic Influence in the Septuagint Book of Proverbs,” in C. Cox (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leuven 1989* (SBLSCSS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991) 341-353; J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs - Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? (concerning the Hellenistic colouring of LXX Proverbs)* (VTS 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁵³ J. Cook, “Textual Problems in the Septuagint of Proverbs,” *JNSL* 26/1 (2000) 77-88.

⁵⁴ J. Cook, “The text-critical value of the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in R.L. Troxel; K.G. Friebele & D.R. Magary (ed.), *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays in honor of Michael V. Fox on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, 2005) 407-419.

⁵⁵ J. Cook, “Intertextual Relationships between the Septuagint of Psalms and Proverbs,” in R.J.V. Hiebert; C.E. Cox, and P.J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOT Supp Ser 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 218-228.

⁵⁶ See J. Cook, “Aspects of the Relationship Between the Septuagint Versions of Proverbs and Job,” in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge 1995* (SBLSCSS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 309-328.

When comparing now the Hebrew and the Greek versions of Prov 3:11-12 for the text critical purposes of this investigation, some interesting differences surface here:

Prov 3:11-12	Prov 3:11-12	Philo <i>Congr</i> 177	<i>1 Clem</i> 46:4
MT	LXX A	LXX B	
בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים	נִאֶ, μὴ ὀλιγώρει	παιδείας θεου,	
מוֹסֵר יְהוָה	παιδείας κυρίου	νία, μὴ ὀλιγώρει,	
אֱלֹהִים	μηδὲ ἐκλύου	καὶ μὴ ἐκλύου	
בְּתַחְתָּיו :	ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος,	ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος.	
אֲשֶׁר יְאַהֲבָה יְהוָה	ὸν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος	ὸν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος	ὸν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος,
כִּי אָתָּה	παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ	<u>ἐλέγχει</u> , μαστιγοῖ δὲ	παιδεύει· μαστιγοῖ δὲ
וְכַד יְאַבֵּב אָתָּה :	πάντα νίὸν ὅν	πάντα νίὸν ὅν	πάντα νίόν, ὅν
רְצָח :	παραδέχεται.	παραδέχεται	παραδέχεται

Some of the differences that can be noted here between the Hebrew and the Greek versions, are the following:

- The word order between the MT and the LXX versions differ. The Hebrew opens with the “discipline of Yahweh,” and hence emphasising this aspect. Philo’s word order is in agreement with this (except for translating Yahweh with θεός). The LXX, however, starts with the second part of the sentence, thus opening with the vocative.
- The MT has the first person singular suffix, “my,” attached to “son,” whereas the LXX only has the vocative without the first person singular pronoun. Philo is, in this instance, closer to the LXX than to the MT by excluding the μου.
- The Hebrew reads the בָּאָבָּה, “like a father,” whereas the Greek translator, though, used μαστιγοῖ, which has the sense of “scourges,” and hence reading the Hebrew as the verb בָּאָבָּה.⁶² It is interesting to note that Philo also follows the LXX reading here (as does Hebrews).⁶³

⁵⁷ J. Cook, “Aspects of the Relationship between the Septuagint Versions of Kohelet and Proverbs,” in A. Schoors (ed), *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters Press, 1998).

⁵⁸ Cf. J. Cook, “A Comparison of Proverbs and Jeremiah in the Septuagint,” *JNSL* 20/1 (1994) 49-58.

⁵⁹ See J. Cook, “The Law of Moses in Septuagint Proverbs,” *VT* 49/4 (1999) 448-461; and J. Cook, “The Law in the Septuagint Proverbs,” *JNSL* 23/1 (1997) 211-223.

⁶⁰ Cf. J. Cook, “Apocalyptic terminology in Septuagint Proverbs,” *JNSL* 25/1 (1999) 251-264.

⁶¹ J. Cook, “Theological/ideological Tendenz in the Septuagint – LXX Proverbs a case study,” in F. García Martínez & M. Vervenne (ed.), *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in honour of Johan Lust* (Leuven: University Press, 2005) 65-79.

⁶² Cf. J. Lust, E. Eynikel & K. Hauspie (ed.), “μαστιγόω” in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003); F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 188; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 357; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 222.

⁶³ F.F. Bruce (*Hebrews*, 357) is of the opinion that the LXX might represent the original sense, and P. Ellingworth (*Hebrews*, 648) that it might represent a more primitive Hebrew text.

Amongst the LXX witnesses, codices **x** and A read παιδεύει⁶⁴ (as Hebrews does),⁶⁵ whilst Codex B and a few minuscules read ἐλέγχει⁶⁶ (as Philo does). Furthermore, it is well known that the Greek translation of Proverbs represents a much freer version and not a literal one. Some scholars see the LXX translator as “a conservative Jewish translator with an excellent education in Judaism and Hellenism, which he employs in order to make clear the intention of the text he translated.”⁶⁷

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 12:5-6

There are two possible changes to the text of Heb 12:5-6:

νίέ ομου, μὴ ὀλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα νίὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

- Some witnesses omit μου.⁶⁸ This reading aligns itself closer with the Hebrew text and is also followed by Philo (*Congr. 177*). It might possibly be “a natural expansion rather than the result of following a Hebrew text.”⁶⁹
- β^{13} reads καὶ μή instead of μηδε. This seems to be a mere stylistic alternative. There is no support from any other witnesses and the meaning is not influenced by this change.

Nonetheless, none of these alternatives are supported by enough substantial evidence from the available textual witnesses that the reconstructed eclectic text can be accepted as it is.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Prov 3:11-12 and Heb 12:5-6

It is clear that the reading of Hebrews is closer to that of the LXX⁷⁰ than to the MT. It follows the same word order in the first stich (contra the MT and Philo) and also the same interpretation of μαστιγοῖ (contra MT, but with Philo).⁷¹ Despite the fact that it also follows

⁶⁴ It is used in Prov 10:4a and 22:3 in the sense of “being instructed.” See J. Lust, et. al., “παιδεύω,” *Lexicon of the Septuagint*, loc. cit.

⁶⁵ Also followed by 1 Clem 56:4.

⁶⁶ It is used in the LXX in the sense of “reprove” (J. Lust, et. al., “ἐλέγχω,” *Lexicon of the Septuagint*, loc. cit.).

⁶⁷ J. Cook, “The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs – Is his style the result of Platonic and/or Stoic influence?” in M. Karrer & W. Kraus (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008) 544-558, on p. 558.

⁶⁸ Omitted by D* 81. 614.630. 1241^s pc b.

⁶⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 648.

⁷⁰ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 188-189; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 361; A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëën*, 134; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 222; M. Karrer, *Hebräer II*, 318; G.H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 987.

⁷¹ F. Schröger reckons that this change “ist der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes nicht verantwortlich zu machen; er zitiert nach der LXX” (*Verfasser*, 188).

the LXX (particularly Codex A) in the second stich (contra MT),⁷² is it not identical to the LXX (or to Philo in this instance), by its inclusion of $\mu\sigma\nu$ – which is in accordance with the MT.⁷³ Apart from these, Hebrews also differs from Philo by retaining the LXX readings κύριος (not θεός) and παιδεύει⁷⁴ (not ἐλέγχει). *I Clem* follows the LXX and Hebrews with regard to Prov 3:12 which is quoted by him.

2.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

There is little doubt that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews follows a LXX version, although one that differed from that used by Philo.⁷⁵ It is known that the LXX translator of Proverbs used a Hebrew version which differs recensionally from that of the MT.⁷⁶ The possible inclusion, or exclusion, of $\mu\sigma\nu$ in Heb 12:5 should probably not be dealt with in this individual quotation in isolation anymore. Not only does it align closer to the Hebrew text,⁷⁷ but a similar tendency was also observed in the case of the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37-38. (In the commentary on the quotation from Ps 40[39] in Heb 10:8-9 the first person pronouns $\mu\sigma\tau$ and $\epsilon\mu\sigma\bar{u}$ were carefully avoided.) LXX Jer 38:33 has both an inclusion and omission of $\mu\sigma\nu$ at two places in the text by some witnesses – with similar tendencies to be found in Heb 8:8-12.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation from Prov 3:11-12 is introduced in Heb 12:5 with the phrase: καὶ ἐκλέλησθε⁷⁸ τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἦτις ὑμῖν ὡς νίοῖς διαλέγεται. The quotation is thus understood and

⁷² Also E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 260.

⁷³ This personal pronoun is probably added by the author of Hebrews, emphasising the addressing character of the quotation. Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 132; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 648. H.W. Attridge is of the opinion that, “(t)he supplement is a natural one and hardly points to use of a Hebrew text” (*Hebrews*, 361). So also G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 987.

⁷⁴ Παιδεύει is probably an old LXX variant, which improved the language stylistically by refraining from a repetition of the expression (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 133). Apart from Hebrews, is it found in the NT only in Eph 6:4 and 2 Tim 3:16 (G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 987). For a brief discussion of the term and its translation, see E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 259.

⁷⁵ Cf. M. Karrer: “wir (können) nicht beweisen, dass der Hebr Philos Schrift kannte...” (*Hebräer II*, 318).

⁷⁶ Cf. E. Tov: “When the book of Proverbs was translated into Greek, presumably in the second century BCE, a scroll was used that contained an editorial stage of the book differing from the one now contained in the MT” (“Recensional differences,” 56). However, J. Cook disputes this (“Greek of Proverbs,” 605-618).

⁷⁷ M. Karrer states that such adaptations towards the Hebrew are pointing in the direction of a younger text form: “Anpassungen an die hebräische Oberfläche kennzeichnen, wie wir oft beobachten, Revisionen der LXX um die Seitenwende. Interessanterweise passen P13.46 den Hebr an Philo und den LXX-Haupttext an” (*Hebräer II*, 319).

⁷⁸ Εκλέλησθε is a hapax legomenon.

presented as an exhortation (*παράκλησις*),⁷⁹ a word that is used only three times in Hebrews and which occurs, apart from here in Heb 12:5, also in Heb 6:18 and 13:22.⁸⁰ The exhortation is “Word of God.” A verb of saying appears again here when the author uses διαλέγεται. It is the only place in Hebrews where this verb occurs.⁸¹

2.3.2 Some remarks regarding the interpretation of the quotation

True to the author’s method of providing a midrash on the passages that he quotes, he also presents such a midrash⁸² on the quotation from Prov 3:11-12 in Heb 12:7-11.

The recipients were reminded in Heb 2:1 to “pay greater attention to what we have heard, so that we do not drift away (*παραρυθμεν*) from it.” In Heb 6:18 the recipients are encouraged, using the phrase: *παράκλησιν ἔχωμεν*. The same undertone of encouragement surfaces also here in the quotation from Prov 3:21: “My child, do not let these escape from your sight...” (νίέ, μὴ παραρρυῆσ).⁸³ The author of Hebrews, furthermore, refers to his own work at the end as an exhortation (*παράκλησις*, 13:22). This purpose can be detected at a number of places throughout the book. Here, however, he links directly an explicit quotation with the term *παράκλησις*.

The metaphorical connection between a father disciplining his children and the experience of trying times by believers as God’s instruction of his children, was already well established in the tradition by the time that Hebrews wrote his book. Although the author is clearly dealing with the *theodicy* problem,⁸⁴ he utilises this known notion from the Jewish sapiential literature to interpret the difficult times of his recipients in the light of Scripture.⁸⁵ It is presented as if these are the direct words of God to them, hence encouraging them that what

⁷⁹ R.McL. Wilson (*Hebrews*, 222) and A.F.J. Klijn (*Hebreeën*, 134) noted that the introductory formula could also be read as a question – as the RSV indeed did.

⁸⁰ *Παράκλησις* is never used in the LXX Pentateuch, but only in Job 21:2; Ps 93:19; Isa 28:29; 30:7; 57:18; 66:11; Jer 16:7; 38:9; Hos 13:14; Nah 3:7; 1 Macc 10:24; 12:9; 2 Macc 7:24; 15:11.

⁸¹ It is never to be found in the Pauline or pseudo Pauline literature, but appears often in Acts (ten times), once in Mark 9:34 and once in Jude 9. It is used at only three places in the LXX: Exod 6:27; Judg 8:1 and Isa 63:1.

⁸² According to F. Schröger, this is done in the form of a “Midrasch Haggadah” (*Verfasser*, 188).

⁸³ “Die *παράκλησις*, das ist hier konkret der tröstliche und zugleich ermahrende Zuspruch der Schrift” (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 647).

⁸⁴ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 257. Cf. also H. van Oyen, who has an interesting perspective on this matter: “Het is niet waarschijnlijk (tegen vele patristische en ook nieuwere exegeten) bij de woorden ‘niet ten bloede’ te denken aan de mogelijkheid, dat de gemeente nog geen bloedige vervolgingen te verduren heeft gehad; de bedoeling moet wel zijn, dat zij zelf nog niet als de worstelaar in het stadion tot op het bloed de kamp heeft doorstaan...” (*Hebreeën*, 220, 221)

⁸⁵ G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 197.

they experience is not a sign of God's rejection, but of his love and involvement.⁸⁶ They are personally addressed as "son(s)" (similar to Heb 2:10), putting their relationship with God in the same perspective as that between Christ (Son) and God (Father) as became clear from Heb 1–2. Trying times, difficulties or suffering, are thus perceived to be normal within the parent-child relationship where instruction, guidance and discipline takes place.⁸⁷ Having ended his list of faith heroes with Jesus himself – examples of believers who suffered despite God's promises to them – *that Son* should become the ultimate example to them. They should "keep their eyes fixed on Jesus ... who endured the cross" (Heb 12:2). If they succeed in persevering through God's painful discipline, they will be received at the end into the heavenly "festival gathering," which they have already "approached" (Heb 12:22–24).⁸⁸

As already stated, as with many of the other quotations that were the second in a particular pair in Hebrews, one also finds here a midrash on Prov 3:11–12 in Heb 12:7–11. He uses two key concepts from his quotation on which he now elaborates: παιδείαν/παιδεύει⁸⁹ and νιός. The latter occurs three times in this brief commentary (vv. 7 *bis*, 8), the former (either the noun or the verb) five times (vv. 7 *bis*, 8, 10, 11), plus the noun παιδευτής (v. 9). The meaning is probably closer along Jewish wisdom lines, than along the classic Greek training lines.⁹⁰

Although the specific term, κύριος,⁹¹ in the quotation is not used in his commentary, he refers to θεός (v. 7) and to "the Father of spirits" (τῷ πατρὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, v. 9), in relation to the human fathers (vv. 7, 9). The midrash is encircled by two key terms in Hebrews: ὑπομένετε (v. 7) and δικαιοσύνης (v. 11). This reminds one strongly of Abraham: καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Αβραμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην (Gen 15:6).

⁸⁶ Cf. G. Schunack: "Das als Züchtigung Gottes verstandene Leiden ist nicht Erfahrung heilloser Ferne von Gott, sondern Erfahrung der Nähe und liebenden Zuwendung Gottes zu Söhnen, die als Brüder des Sohns zum Heil bestimmt wird" (*Hebräerbrevier*, 197). Similar A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 232, 233.

⁸⁷ R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 22: "we must remember that in the ancient world a father's word was law within the family, his authority absolute."

⁸⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 650.

⁸⁹ Probably with the intention of "Discipline in the form of punishment from God"? Cf. G. Schneider, s.v. παιδεύω in H. Balz & G. Schneider (ed.), *EDNT*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 4; W.F. Arndt & F.W. Gingrich (ed.), s.v. παιδεύω, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 604. According to P. Ellingworth, "(b)roadly speaking, the Greek tradition emphasized παιδεία as education, whereas the Hebrew tradition stressed the positive value of (especially God's) discipline of his people by punishment" (*Hebrews*, 649).

⁹⁰ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 648.

⁹¹ Κύριος is used 16 times in Hebrews. Only three of these refer to Jesus and 12 of the remaining 13 are found in quotations or paraphrases of the OT.

2.4 Conclusion

The proverb contained in Prov 3:11-12 surfaces many times in the tradition in connection with teaching or with suffering, and with many parallels in the Jewish literature. However, apart from its presence here in Heb 12:5 it is absent in the NT literature.

The Greek version of Proverbs represents a much freer translation in general. In this case, the LXX witnesses κ and A read παιδεύει (as Hebrews does), whilst Codex B and a few minuscules read ἐλέγχει (as Philo does). It is clear that the reading of Hebrews is closer to that of the LXX than to the MT. It follows the same word order in the first stich (contra the MT and Philo) and also the same interpretation of μαστιγοι (against the MT, but with Philo). Despite the fact that it also follows the LXX (particularly Codex A) in the second stich (contra MT), is it not identical to the LXX (or to Philo in this instance), by its inclusion of μου – which is in accordance with the MT. Apart from these, Hebrews also differs from Philo by retaining the LXX readings κύριος (not θεός) and παιδεύει (not ἐλέγχει). There is thus little doubt that the *Vorlage* of Hebrews follows a LXX version, but one that differed from the one that was used by Philo.

Chapter 13

The motif of the law on Sinai The combination of Deut 9:19 in Heb 12:21 and Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26

Heb 12:21

καί, οὕτω φοβερὸν ην τὸ φανταζόμενον, Μωϋσῆς ειπεν·
ἔκφοβος εἰμι καὶ ἐντρομος (Deut 9:19)

Heb 12:26

οὐδὲ φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλευσεν τότε, νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται λέγων·
ἔτι ἄπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν (Hag 2:6)

The quotations from Deut 9:19 and Hag 2:6 are the third set of quotations that is to be found in the traditionally structured section of Heb 10:19 – 12:26. Should this traditional division be accepted, then the section itself is concluded with the quotation from Hag 2:6, 21. However, this is questionable in light of the fact that the author continues after this quotation with a brief midrash on the second quotation of the combination, thus on Hag 2:6, and he does so in Heb 12:27-29 when expanding on the words ἔτι ἄπαξ from the quotation.

This pair of quotations (Deut 9:19 and Hag 2:6)¹ is the last where the combination of a quotation from the Torah and from a Prophet is encountered. The context in which this pair of quotations is to be found, starts already after the midrash on Prov 3:11-12 was presented in Heb 12:7-11. The author now proceeds in Heb 12:12-17 with a list of instructions, the first three of which are imperatives: ἀνορθώσατε, v. 12; ποιεῖτε, v. 13; διώκετε, v. 14. The last, a participle (ἐπισκοποῦντες, v. 15), leads into three μή τις constructions. Then follows the motif of receiving the law on Sinai (Heb 12:18-24) – the immediate context of the pair of quotations that one is dealing with here and within which the first quotation is embedded. Another instruction follows in v. 25: “See to it ($\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$) that you do not refuse the one who is speaking.” This is an appeal to the recipients to listen to God’s voice as he spoke to their fathers in the past through the prophets and in these last days through the Son (Heb 1:1). The voice of God was heard at the introduction of the explicit quotations when the author utilised a verb of saying, putting the words of Scripture in the mouths of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

¹ Neither of these explicit quotations is to be found in the rest of the NT, nor in the Early Church Fathers (S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 54).

1. Deut 9:19 in Heb 12:21

Two things are clear with regard to the first of these two quotations, occurring in Heb 12:21. Firstly, it is presented as an explicit quotation due to the clearly formulated introductory formula. Secondly, the text of the quotation, as presented in Heb 12:21, is nowhere to be found in the OT in this particular format and sequence. Some phrases, however, show agreement with a number of texts. The closest is probably that of Deut 9:19, which is in agreement with the first part of this very, brief quotation.² It is only one of two places where the word ἔκφοβος is found in the LXX.³ However, interesting parallels are also to be found in LXX Ps 17:8 and LXX Ps 76:19 – two of three places where the term ἔντρομος occurs. (The third place is found in Dan 10:11 which describes Daniel's state during the epiphany and speech of the angel). The context in which the term is used in both Psalms (17 and 76) is also similar to that described in Hebrews.

- LXX Ps 17 (18 MT) is, according to the heading of the Psalm, “David’s thanksgiving when the Lord delivered him from his enemies.” It mentions that he called upon the Lord in his distress and cried to his God for help, and that God heard his voice from God’s temple (v. 7). The Psalm states then that when God spoke “the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations also of the mountains trembled and quaked...” (καὶ ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ, v. 8). Attention was already drawn to LXX Ps 17 during the discussion of Isa 8:17-18 in Heb 2 earlier in this study. The intertextual connections between those two passages (Isa 8 and LXX Ps 17), as well as that of LXX 2 Kgdms 22, were observed.
- LXX Ps 76 (77 MT) recalls the mighty deeds of God and v. 19 states that the voice of his thunder (φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου) led “the earth trembled and shook” (ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ) – ending the Psalm two verses later with an explicit reference to the Exodus “by the hand of Moses and Aaron.”

Apart from the canonical literature, however, one finds a very close parallel with regard to the wording (but not the context) of Hebrews’ quotation in 1 Macc 13:2: καὶ ειδεν τὸν λαόν, ὅτι ἔντρομός ἐστιν καὶ ἔκφοβος.

² F.F. Bruce (*Hebrews*, 372). So also G.H. Guthrie: “Rather than drawing ... from the passages to which he has been alluding thus far, the author seems to allude here to Deut. 9:19a...” (“*Hebrews*,” 988). Similarly R.McL. Wilson: “There is nothing to correspond to this in the Exodus theophany at Sinai, and the closest parallel is in Dt. 9:19” (*Hebrews*, 229); and S.J. Kistemaker: “The accounts recorded in Exodus 19–20 and Deuteronomy 4–5 are silent about the fear of Moses” (*Hebrews*, 390).

³ Apart from Deut 9:19, the word is also found in 1 Macc 13:2.

The quotation thus seems like a conflation between Deut 9:19 (*ἐκφοβός*) and the concept of the earth's trembling (*ἐντρομός*) from LXX Pss 17/76 when God spoke at that time. The phrase might have been a familiar expression in early Judaism if 1 Macc 13:2 is also taken into account. The other element encountered in Ps 17 and Ps 76, namely that of the earth's shaking (*ἐσαλεύθη*), will be picked up in the introductory formula of the second quotation from Hag 2: οὐδὲ ἡ φωνὴ τὴν γῆν ἐσάλευσεν τότε (Heb 12:26).

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Deut 9

Deut 9 might be divided into three parts: 9:1-7, 9:8-21 and 9:22-29. Deut 9:1 starts with *Shema' Israel*, or ἀκουε Ἰσραὴλ in the LXX, coming from a context in which God is speaking. There are some familiar words and phrases from vv. 1-7 in this rhythmic section in the speech of Yahweh that are encountered in Hebrews: ἀκουε (v. 1), σήμερον (vv. 1, 3); πῦρ καταναλίσκον (v. 3; cf. Heb 12:29);⁴ ειπέν σοι κύριος (v. 3); τὰς δικαιοσύνας μου (v. 4, 5, 6); τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ, ἥν ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν (v. 5, 6). The account of the theophany that Moses experienced on Mount Horeb and the melting of the golden calf during his absence, is described particularly in the middle section, in Deut 9:8-21. The imagery regarding Moses' experience on the mountain abounds again in Heb 12:18-21 – which actually summarises the events.

1.1.2 The use of Deut 9 + Ps 18(17) / Ps 77 (76) in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Although an exact *quotation* from Deut 9:19 is not found in early Jewish literature, the *motif* of fear and trembling when the law was received, was, as one can expect, not an unknown motif. Apart from appearing in Ps 18(17) and in Ps 77(76), it surfaces furthermore in the DSS in 4QPsJoshua^a (4Q378).⁵ Also 4QLights 2:8 refers to Moses who received the Law.

⁴ See also Heb 10:27; 11:34 and 12:18.

⁵ It reads: “And the children of Is[rael...] [...] wh]ich YHWH established with [...] [...]fe]ar of you and dread of you [...]” (Frag. 14, 3b-5). (Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition II*, 746-747).

There are interesting connections between Deut 9 and the deutero-canonical literature as well. Compare, for instance, v. 18 of the *Epistle of Jeremiah*⁶ with Deut 9:23; v. 19 with Deut 9:7, 24; and v. 21 with Deut 9:23. Particularly the prayer in the Ep Jer shows resemblances with Deut 9 and is deuteronomistic.⁷ Another deutero-canonical book, 2 *Esdras*, deals with the forty days of fasting and the epiphany on Mount Sinai, referring to what is described in Deut 9:9, 18 and also in Exod 24:18; 34:28 (see 2 Esd 14:23). Similar elements of the motif are to be found in 2 *Bar.* 76:2-4 and *Apoc. Ab.* 12:1-3. The pattern was thus clearly influential, “but neither of these sources deals with the revelation of scripture.”⁸

The motif of the receiving of the Law on Mount Sinai was thus a well-known motif and became part of the Jewish pilgrimage Festival of Weeks (*Shavu'ot*, or Pentecost), especially since rabbinical times. The feast was celebrated seven weeks after Passover.⁹

In pre-Hebrews Christianity, only an allusion to Deut 9:4 is found in Rom 10:6. In Hebrews itself an allusion to Deut 9:3 (cf. 4:24) also surfaces in Heb 12:29 – at the end of the midrash on Hag 2:6, 21. The author of Hebrews’ knowledge of Deut 9 can further be seen in his use of the expression αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης from Deut 9:9 in Heb 9:4. Furthermore, an allusion to Deut 9:19 might be present also in Acts 7:32b where it is stated: ἐντρομός δὲ γενόμενος Μωϋσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι.¹⁰

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Deut 9:19

If only the quoted phrase, as it is found in Hebrews, is considered for the purposes of the text critical investigation here, then the reading relates only to the words, כי ינרא in the MT, and καὶ ἐκφοβός εἰμι in the LXX of Deut 9:19. The rest of the Hebrews quotation is not found in either of these Hebrew or Greek versions of Deuteronomy. 1 Macc 13:2 reads similarly by containing both terms, but the word order (and the context) differ: ὅτι ἐντρομός ἐστιν καὶ ἐκφοβός. Neither the word ἐντρομός, nor ἐκφοβός, occurs in any of Philo’s works, or in

⁶ It consists of only 73 verses and is included as Chapter 6 of Baruch in the Vulgate of Jerome.

⁷ So also C.A. Moore, “Additions to Jeremiah,” in D.N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 698-706, on p. 699.

⁸ M.E. Stone & F.M. Cross, *Fourth Ezra: A commentary on the book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 431.

⁹ Cf. Lev 23:15-21; Num 28:26; and Deut 16:9-12; 34:22.

¹⁰ So also F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 372; R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 229.

Josephus. This is a rather strange phenomenon, as all the other quotations from the Torah in Hebrews were also to be found amongst the writings of Philo of Alexandria.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 12:21

The only difference amongst the NT witnesses to this verse, according to NA27, is that codices **X** and **D*** read ἐκτρομός instead of ἐντρομός. However, despite the fact that the first part of the quotation is lost due to the state of the end of the previous folio, the oldest witness to Hebrews, **P⁴⁶**, clearly reads ENTPOMOΣ on top of folio 36:¹¹



The ἐντρομός reading is also attested by codices **A** and **B**, so that there is little doubt to choose in favour of this reading.

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Deut 9:19 and Heb 12:21

Hebrews agrees neither completely with the reading of LXX Deut 9:19, nor with that of the MT. No alternative readings are to be found for either the text of Heb 12:21 or for that of Deut 9:19 (LXX) for the quotation as it stands as a whole. Nonetheless, the only difference between Heb 12:21 and Deut 9:19 is an addition of καὶ ἐντρομός by the author of Hebrews – probably with the rhetorical function of describing the fear in more vivid terms. It suits the contexts of theophanies in the OT and thus also the reference here to Moses' state in the presence of God. Still, the question remains about where the author might have found the term ἐντρομός. There are several possibilities. *Firstly*, it might have been added simply for the sake of emphasis by the author.¹² *Secondly*, similarities with LXX Ps 17 and LXX Ps 76 were pointed out at the beginning of the discussion above. When comparing those – in combination with the quoted phrase from Deut 9:19 – with the quotation in Heb 12:21, then it is clear that one might indeed have here a conflation between the passages of Deut 9:19 and the wording of LXX Pss 17 / 76. *Thirdly*, despite the presence of both terms (ἐντρομός, ἐκφοβός) in 1 Macc 13:2, the context is not that of a theophany there, but that of Simon who observed the fear of the people regarding the attack by Tryphon. It is thus unlikely that this

¹¹ Image from K. Jaroš, *Griechischen Handschriften*, loc. cit.

¹² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 676; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 673.

passage from 1 Macc 13:2 was used for the quotation in Hebrews as the latter clearly takes place in terms of Moses on Mount Sinai.¹³

Deut 9:19 LXX	Ps 17:8 LXX	Ps 76:19 LXX	1 Macc 13:2	Heb 12:21
καὶ ἔκφοβός εἰμι			ὅτι ἐντρομός ἐστιν	ἔκφοβος εἰμι

καὶ ἐντρομος καὶ ἐντρομος καὶ ἔκφοβος καὶ εντρομος

A *fourth* interesting option to be considered is the possible allusion in Acts 7:32 where it was stated that Moses' state was that of ἐντρομος. The context there in Acts, however, is one that is used in connection with the burning bush, whereas the context here in Hebrews suggests fear about God's anger over the golden calf.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the two emotions – expressed by homophonic words – probably merged in the oral tradition,¹⁵ so that it became a natural step to include the one with the other in a quotation such as is the case here.

A *fifth* proposal runs precisely along the lines of the oral tradition. The author then probably had access to a rabbinic tradition (e.g. *Babli Shabbath* 88b) in which Moses said that he feared that the angels would burn him with the breath of their mouths.¹⁶ Some scholars suspect particularly knowledge of a Jewish haggadic account of the Sinai theophany that explicitly mentioned the fear and trembling of Moses also on this occasion,¹⁷ whilst others reject this possibility.¹⁸

These latter proposals, although more difficult to prove, imply at least the merging of traditions¹⁹ – based on homophonic terminology. The basis of access to an oral tradition could thus be supported.²⁰

1.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

The quotation of what Moses would have said contains only part of the actual words of Deut 9:19. The rest is nowhere to be found *from the same passage* amongst the textual witnesses of

¹³ But M. Karrer is of another opinion and takes 1 Macc 13:2 as “einen zweiten Textverweis” (*Hebräer II*, 334).

¹⁴ So also R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 229; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 207. Cf. also H.-F. Weiss: “Insgesamt liegt hier also eine durchaus eigene Deutung des Sinai-Geschehens vor” (*Hebräer*, 673).

¹⁵ Also P. Ellingworth thinks in a similar direction, saying that the most likely explanation “is that the author, as in v.20, has fused different aspects of the Sinai event” (*Hebrews*, 676).

¹⁶ Proposed by H. van Oyen, *Hebreën*, 230. Compare also Judg 13:6.

¹⁷ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 372; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 374.

¹⁸ Cf. E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 309.

¹⁹ H.W. Attridge, too, thinks in this direction: “(it) may reflect yet other episodes of the lawgiver’s encounter with Yahweh” (*Hebrews*, 374).

²⁰ Already B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 412. Also S.J. Kistemaker is thinking in the direction of an oral tradition: “Possibly the author of Hebrews had access to an oral tradition, much the same as Stephen had received the information that ‘Moses trembled with fear’ at the sight of the burning bush (Acts 7:32)” (*Hebrews*, 390; similar S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 53).

the LXX or the MT and were probably added by the author of Hebrews. These might have come via LXX Ps 17:8 and / or LXX Ps 76:19 (both which read καὶ ἐντρομος), thus presenting us with a conflated quotation. The wording of the quotation, on the other hand, might simply have been a familiar expression to refer to a state of being terrified, as might be seen from 1 Macc 13:2. The latter possibility, however, does not exclude the fact that this is a conflated quotation in Heb 12:21 due to the author's own interference.

It seems quite possible that the author of Hebrews might have included different elements from Deut 4 and Deut 9, together with the quotation from Deut 9:19, into the broader context of his argument. “Both experiences happen at Mount Sinai (4:11; 9:8), and both focus on the Ten Commandments (4:13; 9:9-11). In both passages the mountain burns with fire (4:11; 9:15), and Moses speaks with the Lord (4:14; 9:19).”²¹ The author thus composes the narrative about the events at Sinai from his own perspective by selecting different elements from different episodes and conflating phrases from different narratives. The explicit quotation from Deut 9:19 represents one of those elements, which in itself is expanded with synonymous terminology from elements of other narratives.

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

There is a clear introductory formula, which might be understood in its broadest sense to be Καί, οὗτῳ φοβερὸν ην τὸ φανταζόμενον, Μωϋσῆς ειπεν, or in its narrower sense simply as ειπεν.²² This marks the phrase that follows as an intended explicit quotation from the mouth of Moses. This could thus, strictly speaking, be classified as an explicit quotation. The expression, τὸ φανταζόμενον, in the parenthesis is the only occurrence in the NT and a hapax legomemon.²³

²¹ Cf. G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 988.

²² So taken by P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 676.

²³ Cf. Sir 34:5 and Wis 6:16 – the only places where the word occurs in the LXX. The term describes “außergewöhnliche, übernatürliche Phänomene” (E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 309). So also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 374. See also G.J. Steyn, “Hapax Legomena in Ad Hebraeos. What can we learn?,” in E.G. Dafni & G.J. Steyn (ed.), *The Septuagint as Praeparatio Evangelica?* (BZAW; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009) (forthcoming).

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The context in which the Jews received the old covenant (Heb 12:18-21) is contrasted with the context in which the new covenant is received (Heb 12:22-24): Οὐ γὰρ προσεληλύθατε... (v. 18), ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε (v. 22). The two sections are contrasted as follows:

Old covenant – Heb 12:18-21	New covenant – Heb 12:22-24
<p>You have not come to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - something that can be touched, - a blazing fire, - and darkness, - and gloom, - and a tempest, - and the sound of a trumpet, - and a voice whose words made the hearers beg that not another word be spoken to them. <p>(For they could not endure the order that was given, “If even an animal touches the mountain, it shall be stoned to death.” Indeed, so terrifying was the sight that Moses said, “I tremble with fear.”)</p>	<p>But you have come</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to Mount Zion - and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, - and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, - and to the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, - and to God the judge of all, - and to the spirits of the righteous made perfect, - and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, - and to the sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel.

In this contrast, all the earlier argumentative tracks about the comparisons between the Son and the angels, Moses, the cultus, and the covenantal motif, are being pulled together. The early Christian believers have to persevere in their faith in Jesus Christ in order to experience the ultimate rest and the heavenly city. The Son is different than the angels, better than Moses and he is the true High Priest who not only brought the sacrifice, but gave himself as sacrifice. He himself is the ultimate example of suffering that transcended into glory.

It is within this context where Moses’ absolute state of fear in God’s presence on Mount Sinai, as expressed in the quotation, is now contrasted with the elevated state of joy of the believers in God’s presence on Mount Zion. These are two contrasting paradigms in terms of their cultic interaction with God. When even an animal that touched the mountain then had

to be killed, now, due to the mediator of the new covenant, the recipients are said to have arrived at the assembly of the Firstborn – in heaven! This is the second place in Hebrews (12:23) where the term ἐκκλησία is used.²⁴ The first time was in Heb 2:12 in the quotation from Ps 22(21):23 which were presented as the words of the Son praising God in the midst of the congregation.

1.4 Conclusion

To summarise the observations above: The quotation in Heb 12:21 is clearly intended as an explicit quotation. The text of the quotation as it reads here in Hebrews, however, is nowhere to be found in the OT. The closest reading is probably Deut 9:19, which is in agreement with the first part of this very, brief quotation. It is the only place where the word ἔκφοβος is found in the canonical books of the LXX. The only difference between Heb 12:21 and Deut 9:19 is finally an addition of καὶ ἐντρομός in Hebrews. However, interesting parallels are also to be found in LXX Ps 17:8 and LXX Ps 76:19 where the term ἐντρομός occurs. Also the context in which the term is used in Pss 17 and 76 is similar to that as described in Hebrews. The quotation seems thus ultimately like a conflation between Deut 9:19 (ἔκφοβος) and the concept of the earth's trembling (ἐντρομός) from LXX Pss 17/76 when God spoke at that time. Neither the word ἐντρομός, nor ἔκφοβος, occur in any of Philo's works, nor in Josephus. This is a strange phenomenon, as all the other quotations from the Torah in Hebrews were also to be found amongst the writings of Philo of Alexandria.

The quotation of what Moses would have said contains only part of the actual words of Deut 9:19. The rest is nowhere to be found *from the same passage* amongst the textual witnesses of the LXX or the MT and were probably added by the author of Hebrews. These might have come via LXX Ps 17:8 and / or LXX Ps 76:19 (both which read καὶ ἐντρομός), thus presenting us with a conflated quotation. It seems quite possible that the author of Hebrews might have included different elements from Deut 4 and Deut 9, together with the quotation from Deut 9:19, into the broader context of his argument. The phrase was probably also a familiar expression in early Judaism. The motif of the receiving of the Law on Mount Sinai was a well-known motif and became part of the Jewish pilgrimage Festival of Weeks.

²⁴ Cf. also the similarity between LXX Deut 4:10 and 9:10 where the same word is used to describe the assembly of the people to listen to the words of God.

2. Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Hag 2

The name of the prophet Haggai means “festival” and the book displays a carefully planned chronological order according to some scholars. Its five sections²⁵ is dated according to the months and days of the Babylonian lunar calendar in 520 B.C.E.²⁶ These are structured as follows in the Julian calendar:

- 1:1-11 29 August – 20 September
 - 1:12-15a 21 September – 16 October
 - 1:15b – 2:9 17 October – 17 December
 - 2:10-19 18 December 520 B.C.E.
 - 2:20-23 18 December 520 B.C.E.

The third and middle section consists of Hag 1:15b – 2:9, which forms a unit, deals with the promised glory of the new temple.²⁷ An oracle of assurance is conveyed here during the dedication of the post-exilic Second Temple (516 B.C.E.) by the prophet Haggai to the governor Zerubbabel and to the high priest Joshua (*πρὸς Ἰησοῦν ... τὸν Ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν*, Hag 2:2, 4).²⁸ Scholars noted that “there are obscure references to an apocalyptic-like shaking of the cosmic order and the overthrow of kingdoms, events which should avail to fill the temple with the treasures of the nations and establish Zerubbabel as Messiah” (Hag 2:6-7, 20-23).²⁹

Looking at the Jewish apocalyptic literature of the rabbis, this particular passage was considered to be messianic and the “shaking” was understood eschatologically with reference

²⁵ G.H. Guthrie points to a fourfold structure, organised around messages that are introduced with בְּדָבֵר יְהֹוָה in Hag 1:3; 2:1; 2:10 and 2:20 ("Hebrews," 989).

²⁶ Cf. H.W. Wolff, *Haggai. A Commentary* (Transl. M. Kohl; Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 17, 35; E. Achtemeier, *Nahum-Malachi* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986), 94.

²⁷ P.A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 91.

²⁸ F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 382. According to P. Ellingworth, the references to a high priest called Ἰησοῦς in Hag 1–2 may have drawn “the attention of the author of Hebrews to this passage, but his use of the quotation and its context show care and restraint, and he could not fail to note that Jesus/Joshua in Haggai is stated to be the son of Jehozadak, and that Jesus in Haggai is not the speaker but the one addressed by God” (*Hebrews*, 685).

²⁹ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 419.

to a cataclysmic final shaking of heaven and earth.³⁰ Especially Hag 2:6 was considered to be messianic, for it is reported that Rabbi Aqibah (died ca. 135 C.E.) applied this text to affirm the coming of the messiah at the end of the second Temple.³¹

2.1.2 The use of Hag 2 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

As was the case above with the conflated quotation from Deut 9:19, also here evidence is lacking in early Jewish and early Christian literature of explicit quotations from Hag 2:6. The motif of heaven and earth that shook, however, occurs at some places. It is found amongst the DSS, for instance, in 4QExhortation, which is based on the Flood.³²

A similar motif of the shaking of the people, heaven and earth – in this order, as in the MT and the LXX versions – is also found in the *Testament of Levi*: ὅταν ουν ἐπιβλέψῃ κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντες ἡμεῖς σαλευόμεθα· καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ ἄβυσσοι, ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ σαλεύονται (*T. Levi* 3:9).³³ A similar scenario was also encountered with the use of the Testament of Levi during the discussion on the quotation from Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5.

The setting of Hag 2 takes place against the backdrop of a festival event on the 21st of the seventh month (i.e. 21 Tishri) when the Lord spoke ἐν χειρὶ Ἀγγαίου τοῦ προφήτου (LXX Hag 2:1). This was the last day of the last of the three annual Jewish pilgrimage festivals, namely the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*), which started on the 15th of Tishri and was celebrated for seven days. It was celebrated initially as the time during which the rededication of Solomon's temple was remembered, but later also the commemoration of the exodus from Egypt became part of the festival. Booths were erected during the five days between *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkoth*.

When turning to the NT, it is striking to note that no other NT writer quoted from Haggai, except for the author of Hebrews with excerpts from Hag 2:6 and 2:21.³⁴

³⁰ Cf., for instance, *Jub.* 1:9; *I En.* 45:1; *Sib. Or.* 3.675-80; Ps.-Philo, *L.A.B.* 19.5; *2 Bar.*; 32:1; 59:3; also *b. Sanh.* 97b; *Exod. Rab.* 18 [81a]; *Midr. Tanhuma B* (תַּנּוּמָה בְּ). Similarly: S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 398; and F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192, 193.

³¹ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 54. See also the rabbinic *Sanh* 97b which interprets Hag 2:5 in a messianic manner.

³² It reads: "...[and] all the foundations of the ea[rth sh]ook, [and wa]ter broke forth from the abysses, all the sluice-gates of the heavens were opened and the abyss[e]s overflowed [with] mighty waters" (4Q370, Col.1, v.3c-4). (Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition II*, 732-733).

³³ Translation: "When the Lord looks upon us, we all are shaken: both the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken at the presence of his majesty."

³⁴ Cf. some later authors who quote this passage: Athanasius (ca. 297 – 373), the Bishop of Alexandria (*Ep. Serap.* 26); John Chrysostom (ca. 344/354 – 407) (*Hom. Heb.* 1–34, Vol.63); Concilia Oecumenica (ACO):

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Hag 2:6

Hag 2:6 MT	Hag 2:6 LXX
שׁׂוד אַחֲתָה מְעֻטָּה יִאָנֵי מְרֻעִישׁ	Ἐτι ἄπαξ ἐγώ σείσω
אֶת־הַשְׁמִים וְאֶת־הַאֲרֹץ	τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
: אֶת־הַקְּרָבָה	καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν,

The MT and LXX readings are almost in agreement with each other. One difference, however, is the inclusion of the words **מְעֻטָּה** in the MT, which understands the reading literally to be “once again, a little while it is.” The LXX, Peshitta and Heb 12:26 read differently here, lacking the two Hebrew words. The inclusion in the MT was probably due to a gloss.³⁵ Another difference is the MT plural **םִימְשָׁה**, which has been translated into the singular **τὸν οὐρανόν** in the LXX.

Two minor variations occur amongst the LXX witnesses: minuscule 130 reads ὅτι **ἐγώ** instead of **Ἒτι** at the beginning of the section that is quoted by Heb 12:26, and instead of the future **σείσω** it reads a present **σείω**.³⁶

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 12:26

The only variant amongst the NT witnesses, is the substitution of **σείσω** with **σείω**.³⁷ The reading of **σείσω** should be preferred, however, based on the combined evidence of P⁴⁶, Ξ and A. The future, **σείσω** is well attested and the variant (the present form, **σείω**) might have been influenced by Hag 2:21³⁸ that has a very similar reading to Hag 2:6, following the same order of heaven first and then earth.

*Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431 I,1,5; Didymus Caecus (*In Genesim*, Codex p.25); John Damascenus (*Sacra parallela* 96; *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli* 95); Origen (*Cels.* 7,30); Theodoretus (*Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* 82,777).*

³⁵ Cf. P.A Verhoef for a discussion on the textual difference between the MT and the LXX (*Haggai-Malachi*, 101).

³⁶ By the following witnesses: V L' 407-613 233 544 Cyr. ^PTh.Th.: cf.21.

³⁷ By D Ψ ⌂ K L P 81 104 326 1834 Arm (See NA27; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 380; A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of the text,” 274) – possibly by assimilation to Hag 2:21 LXX (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 378, n. 7; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 686; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 331).

³⁸ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 378; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 380.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Hag 2:6 and Heb 12:26

Hag 2:6
 Ετι ἄπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω
 τὸν οὐρανὸν
 καὶ τὴν γῆν
 καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
 καὶ τὴν ξηράν,

Heb 12:26
 ἔτι ἄπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω
οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

The LXX reads: “yet once more I will shake *heaven and earth*, and sea and dry land” whilst Heb 12:26 reads: “yet once more I will shake not only *the earth but also heaven*.” The author of Hebrews made some changes to the text from which he quotes: (a) he omitted the references to sea and land,³⁹ (b) inserted *οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ* (*καὶ*),⁴⁰ probably to emphasise the reference to heaven,⁴¹ and (c) interchanged the units *τὴν γῆν* and *τὸν οὐρανόν*, the latter now in an emphatic position and necessary after the insertion.⁴² These changes assist in the contrast of the past and future shakings and in emphasising the shaking of heaven as well.⁴³ The result is that the final quake will be far more drastic than the first.⁴⁴ In Heb 1:10-12 the description of the transitory heavens of Ps 102(101):26-27 was cited, which is now recalled by the quotation of this oracle here.

2.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

- This passage was known in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition and was connected with a messianic expectation. It is interesting to note that all the citations found in Heb 12 have a rather decidedly Jewish background.⁴⁵ Scholars observed that in the Day-of-Yahweh passages (e.g. Isa 13:13), and in the Theophany passages (e.g. Judg 5:4; 2 Sam 22:8; Ps 68[67]:8) *σείω* is “a common rendering of *rēš*, especially for the ‘shaking of the earth’.”⁴⁶

³⁹ Cf. H.W. Wolff who points to the fact that the OT has an “unusual four-term announcement of an impending threat,” whereas the two-term formula is much more frequent (*Haggai*, 71, 80).

⁴⁰ See A. Strobel: “Der Wortlaut selbst ist im Sinne der für den Hebr. typischen Schlußfolgerung vom Kleineren zum Größeren (s. ‘nicht nur, sondern auch’) verändert” (*Hebräer*, 241).

⁴¹ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 95; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 686.

⁴² Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 54.

⁴³ According to E. Grässer: “Um das Überbietende der letztmaligen Weltkatastrophe hervorzuheben...” (*Hebräer III*, 332).

⁴⁴ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 419; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192. So similarly H. van Oyen, *Hebreën*, 234.

⁴⁵ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 53.

⁴⁶ J. Verheyden, “Describing the Parousia: The Cosmic Phenomena in Mk 13,24-25,” in C. Tuckett (ed.), *Scriptures in the Gospels* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997) 525-550, on pp. 545-546.

- The quoted passage is adapted from the LXX⁴⁷ and relies more on the eschatologically oriented wording of the LXX⁴⁸ than on that of the MT. The metaphor of “shaking” was found by the writer in the LXX text of Hag 2:6.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that the reading of the quotation from Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26 is unlike either the MT or the LXX,⁵⁰ it shows influence from the LXX.⁵¹
- By citing the temporal adverbs ‘yet once again’ (ἐτι ἄπαξ) in his exegetical comment on this passage in the verses following, the author placed his focus on the distinctive element of the LXX version.⁵² The Hebrew could have been translated by ἐτι ὀλίγον,⁵³ but the LXX translated it with ἐτι ἄπαξ, which the author of Hebrews follows then in his argumentation.
- The differences between the LXX and Hebrews’ readings, as discussed above, were probably due to the hand of the author of Hebrews rather than to the text of his *Vorlage*. There is, however, one possible exception: the omission of the sea and dry land. Given the fact that the fourfold threat as presented in the MT and the LXX is unusual – in comparison with the more usual twofold one – this leaves open the slight possibility that his *Vorlage* might only have had the twofold structure.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation is introduced with the phrase νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελεται λέγων⁵⁴ – thus once again with a verb of saying and pointing to God as the Subject, here as “Promiser.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, the term ἐπαγγέλομαι,⁵⁶ which has been encountered now several times in Hebrews, and which is often closely connected with a quotation, also appears here in the introductory formula of Heb 12:26. The promise is linked to Hag 2:6 (διότι τάδε λέγει κύριος

⁴⁷ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 95; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 420; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380; E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 331. Cf. A. Strobel: “Wie immer ist auf die Fassung der LXX zurückgegriffen” (*Hebräer*, 241).

⁴⁸ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380.

⁴⁹ Similarly A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary*, 85.

⁵⁰ It is, according to H.-F. Weiss, “ein sehr freies, im Grunde schon interpretierendes Zitat, das hier vorliegt” (*Hebräer*, 688).

⁵¹ G. Howard, “OT Quotations,” 210.

⁵² H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380.

⁵³ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192.

⁵⁴ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 190.

⁵⁵ See Heb 6:13 (+ Gen 22:17); 10:23; 11:11 and 11:17 (+ Gen 21:12). See also Rom 4:21 and Gal 3:19.

⁵⁶ See P. Ellingworth for a discussion of the term in this context (*Hebrews*, 686).

παντοκράτωρ), which, in turn, is interpreted in a midrashic manner.⁵⁷ This introduction of the quotation as a “promise” is in line with the original character of Hag 2:6 as an eschatological message of salvation for Israel.⁵⁸

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

The events at Sinai as pictured in the description of Exod 19:18, were probably in the back of the author of Hebrews’ mind.⁵⁹ Particularly the trembling of the mountain during the theophany might have led him to utilise this particular passage from Hag 2:6. It is part of yet another oracle to a prophet, on the one hand, and in actual fact a promise, on the other hand.⁶⁰ The passages of Joel 2:10 and Hag 2:6, 21 that combine the shaking of heaven, “represent a later development of the Theophany genre in which the shaking of the heaven has become almost an independent motif that is used to characterize theophany of the Lord as a universal event and as ‘ein neues Heilshandeln’.”⁶¹ The wording of the LXX, ἐπὶ ἀπαξ, provides for an eschatological⁶² interpretation of the quotation by the author of Hebrews as can be seen when he refers back to it in his brief midrash which starts in Heb 12:27.

Presented against the backdrop of the first covenant and Moses on Mount Sinai during which the mountain shook, the author uses apocalyptic imagery⁶³ that he finds in the oracle of Haggai – whose motif occurs broader as could be seen in the wording of LXX Ps 17:8 and LXX Ps 76:19. He adapts the quotation from Hag 2:6 by emphasising the eschatological shaking of the *heavens* too,⁶⁴ and not only the earth, as was the case with Moses according to those two Psalms.⁶⁵ This adaptation of Hag 2:6 is achieved by two alterations: firstly the

⁵⁷ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 193.

⁵⁸ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 687.

⁵⁹ Cf. F.F. Bruce: “This earthquake remained deeply rooted in the national memory, and is celebrated in the Psalter and other Old Testament poems” (*Hebrews*, 382). Also implied by A.F.J. Klijn, *Hebreëen*, 141; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 241.

⁶⁰ Cf. H.W. Wolff, *Haggai*, 80. B.F. Westcott says “...this final catastrophe of the world, however awful in itself, is a ‘promise,’ because it is for the triumph of the cause of God that believers look” (*Hebrews*, 419). Also according to R.McL. Wilson, it “is really a promise, for after the shaking of heavens and earth and sea, it goes on to end with ‘I will fill this house with splendour’” (*Hebrews*, 233).

⁶¹ J. Verheyden, “Parousia,” 545-546.

⁶² Closer to “Hellenistic eschatology” than to “Apocalyptic eschatology” according to H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 688. E. Grässer explains it as follows: “Für Hebr liegt die heilvolle Zukunft damit außerhalb der Schöpfung, was ihn charakteristisch von apokalyptischen Texten... trennt” (*Hebräer III*, 332).

⁶³ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “die Art und Weise, in der Hag 2,6 in V.27 tatsächlich ausgelegt wird, liegt keineswegs auf der Linie jüdischer und urchristlicher Apokalyptik, sondern ist viel eher wiederum Indiz für eine ‘dualistische’ Interpretation” (*Hebräer*, 689).

⁶⁴ This recalls the transitory heavens which were mentioned in the quotation from Ps 102(101):26-27, cited in Heb 1:10-12 (H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380).

⁶⁵ Cf. also Exod 19:18; Judg 5:4; Ps 68:7-8; 114:7.

interchange of the two entities $\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma\hat{\eta}\nu$ and $\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $o\grave{u}\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu$, and secondly the addition of $o\grave{u}$ $\mu\acute{o}\nu\nu\ldots\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$ $\kappa\acute{a}\iota$. This sets the scene of the new covenant and the eschatological kingdom. The reversal in word order makes this “a prophecy of the final consummation.”⁶⁶

The last sentence of the author’s midrash in Heb 12:27-29 on Hag 2:6, is an allusion to Deut 4:24 and Deut 9:3 – the latter belonging to the section from which the author quoted v. 19 a few lines earlier in Heb 12:21. The understanding of the nature of God as a consuming fire ($\kappa\acute{a}\iota$ $\gamma\grave{a}\rho$ \grave{o} $\theta\acute{e}\grave{o}\sigma$ $\grave{\eta}\mu\acute{o}\nu$ $\pi\acute{u}\rho$ $\kappa\acute{a}\tau\alpha\alpha\lambda\acute{i}\sigma\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) expresses the intensity and severity of God’s judgement – in Deut 9:3 against the Anakim, in Deut 4:24 against idolatry within the covenantal relationship.

2.4 Conclusion

The setting of Hag 2 takes place against the backdrop of 21 Tishri, which was the last day of the last of the three annual Jewish pilgrimage festivals, namely the Festival of Tabernacles. During this occasion the re-dedication of Solomon’s temple was remembered as well as the commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt.

Although the motif of heaven and earth that shook occurs at some places – especially known in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition and connected with a messianic expectation – no evidence exists in early Jewish and early Christian literature of *explicit quotations* from Hag 2:6. It is thus striking to note that no other NT writer quoted from Haggai, except for the author of Hebrews with excerpts from Hag 2:6 and 2:21. The quoted passage is adapted from the LXX and relies more on the eschatologically oriented wording of the LXX than on that of the MT. Some of the adaptations in Hebrews’ quotation include the omission of the references to sea and land, the insertion of $o\grave{u}$ $\mu\acute{o}\nu\nu\ldots\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha}$ ($\kappa\acute{a}\iota$), and the interchanged units $\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\gamma\hat{\eta}\nu$ and $\tau\grave{o}\nu$ $o\grave{u}\rho\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu$ – the latter now in an emphatic position. These changes assist in the contrast of the past and future shakings and in emphasising the shaking of heaven. The differences between the LXX and Hebrews’ readings were probably due to the hand of the author of Hebrews rather than to the text of his *Vorlage*. One possible exception, however, is the omission of the sea and dry land.

⁶⁶ R.McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 233. Cf. G.H. Guthrie: “The author quotes Hag 2:6, weaving an interpretation into his quotation to speak of the coming judgment” (“Hebrews,” 990).

Chapter 14

The motif of God's imminent presence The combination Deut 31:6 + Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:5-6

Heb 13:5

αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν·
οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ οὐδὲ οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω, (Deut 31:6)

Heb 13:6

ῶστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν·
κύριος ἔμοὶ βοηθός, [καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος (Ps 118[117]:6)

The last pair of quotations in Hebrews consists of a combination between Deut 31:6 and Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:5-6.¹ The final note from these two quotations is a comforting one, consisting of a statement by God about his presence – “another promise of God, which the author has appropriated as a word of assurance to new-covenant believers”² – and a confessional reply by the believers. This reminds of the covenantal formula in a liturgical setting, so that the central message of Heb 13:1-9, 17-19 is “der wahre Gottesdienst des Neuen Bundes.”³ The thought was already present in the context of Hag 2:4b-5: διότι μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα μου ἐφέστηκεν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν.

1. Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5

There is no doubt that the quotation in Heb 13:5 is clearly an intended explicit quotation and that it is appropriately introduced by a clearly formulated introductory formula: αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν, referring to God as the Subject of these words. It is not easy to locate the quotation, though.⁴ Possibilities include Deut 31:6, Gen 28:15,⁵ Jos 1:5⁶ and 1 Chr 28:20 (LXX). Although the actual form of the quotation is unsupported in the surviving manuscripts of the

¹ Cf. M. Karrer: “13,5f. bilden die letzte große Zitatkombination des Hebr und runden insofern seine Schrifttheologie ab” (*Hebräer II*, 358).

² G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 992.

³ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 366.

⁴ F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 194; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 388.

⁵ P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 220-221; P. Katz, “οὐ μὴ σε ἄνω, οὐδὲ’ οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλιπω, Hebr. XIII.5. The Biblical Source of the Quotation,” *Bib* 33 (1952) 523-525.

⁶ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 434; H. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 240-241; R. Williamson, *Philo*, 570; J. Thurén, *Das Lobopfer der Hebräer. Studien zum Aufbau und Anliegen von Hebräerbrief 13* (Theologie und Philosophie 51; Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1976), 218; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 706, n. 36.

Old Greek Version,⁷ the Deut 31:6 option will be assumed in this study as a possible *locus* as its reading is closest to that of Hebrews and, which in turn, agrees exactly with Philo (*Conf.* 166) against the readings of the MT and the LXX.⁸

1.1 Tradition historical investigation

1.1.1 Background regarding Deut 31

Attention has already been drawn earlier in this investigation to the role that Deuteronomy played in the book of Hebrews.⁹ Some contextual issues were considered during the earlier discussions in this study on the quotations from Deut 9 and Deut 32 (or its equivalent in Ode 2). The importance of the last section of the Torah, contained in Deut 31–33, was noticed. Numerous allusions and the majority of quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews are coming from Deut 31–33. It is thus interesting to note that the list of Torah quotations in the second set of quotation-pairs ends with a quotation from this section – and also on a hopeful and positive note. It is also interesting that Deut 31 is situated between the covenant ceremony of Deut 27:1 – 30:20 and the Song of Moses in Deut 32.¹⁰ The section, Deut 31:6–8, is part of those passages that picture God’s protection within the understanding of an ancient oriental image of a divine shepherd who accompanies one on life’s journey.¹¹

1.1.2 The use of Deut 31 in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

The motif of not being forsaken by the Lord surfaces in the history of ancient Jewish literature. There is a verbal parallel, for instance, between Deut 31:6 and Gen 28:5, as well as an allusion to the passage in Jos 1:5. The motif might also be traced back to the DSS in statements like: “In their many sorrows he did not forsake them...” (4QBless^a I,1:4).¹²

⁷ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 519.

⁸ So also E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 360. C. Büchel is of the opinion that the author of Hebrews took it from Philo (*Hebräerbrief*, 528). More probably: according to O. Kuss, both Philo and Hebrews independently used a special Greek translation of Deut 31:6 (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [Regensburger Neues Testament 8/1; Regensburg: Pustet, 1966], 216).

⁹ See also G.J. Steyn, “Deuteronomy,” 152–168.

¹⁰ G.H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” 991.

¹¹ H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*, 154.

¹² Also known as 4Q343 (4QBar-e-ki Napshi-a), Frag. 1, col.1, v.4.

Furthermore, the most striking occurrence appears – once again – by Philo of Alexandria, particularly in light of the fact that the readings correspond exactly with each other.¹³

Intratextual similarities between the quoted passages in Hebrews and the Testaments of Abraham and Levi were also noted before in this study. Another Testament, the *Testament of Moses*, a 1st cent. C.E. document¹⁴ emphasises the prophetic role of Moses. It is particularly the picture of Moses in Deut 31:3-6, 16-22, 29 that became popular during the first century.

Turning to early Christianity, there are no clear traces of Deut 31:6 being used as a quotation by early Christianity prior to Hebrews and this quotation in Heb 13:5 is the only one that exists from Deut 31 in NT early Christianity.¹⁵ Allusions to Deut 31 do not abound in the NT, but two of the five occurrences are also to be found in Hebrews, namely v. 7 in Heb 4:8 and v. 8 in Heb 13:5. The remaining three allusions are found in Matt 26:1 (v. 1), Matt 10:18 (v. 26) and John 5:45 (v. 26). The motif of contentment or greediness regarding money and possessions, surfaces also in Matt 6:24 (par. Luk 16:13); Luk 12:15; 1 Tim 3:3; 6:10.

1.2 Text critical investigation

1.2.1 Readings of Deut 31:6

It would not be appropriate to consider only here the readings of Deut 31:6 as it was already mentioned that there are also similarities between Gen 28:15 and Jos 1:5 with the quoted text of Hebrews. In the light of this, the readings of Gen 28:15 and Jos 1:5 will have to be considered, with that of Philo, during the comparison with the quotations in Heb 13:5 later in the analysis.

Deut 31:6 MT	Deut 31:6 LXX
לֹא יַرְפֵּךְ וְלֹא יִזְבְּךָ :	οὐ μή σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ

The reading of the first part of the quoted text from Deut 31:6 above – as it stands in the Greek LXX eclectic edition – is attested by Codex A.¹⁶ Variant readings, however,¹⁷ mainly follow a different word order. These are the following:

- The Hebrew order (οὐ μὴ ἀνῆ σε) is followed by O [exc. 82] Arm Syh.
- The Greek Papyrus Fouad Inv Nr 266 (Rahlfs 848)¹⁸ reads οὐ σε μὴ ἀνηι (as 29*).

¹³ Already long ago noticed by C. Büchel, *Hebräerbrief*, 528.

¹⁴ See J. Priest, “Testament of Moses,” 919-934.

¹⁵ Justin Martyr later quoted Deut 31:6 in his *Dial.* 58.

¹⁶ Also by codices F M V and most minuscules.

¹⁷ Cf. Z. Aly & L. Koenen (ed.), *Three Rolls*, 110-111.

- Codex B (“notably careless” of the negative¹⁹) and 319 read οὐτε μὴ σε ἀνῆ.

In the second part of the quoted text, codex A reads οὐδ’ οὐ instead of οὐτε.

1.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 13:5

There is only one variant reading amongst the NT witnesses where some of them read ἐγκαταλείπω²⁰ instead of ἐγκαταλίπω.²¹ There are two possible explanations here. Firstly, although the text critical evidence favours ἐγκαταλείπω, the reading ἐγκαταλίπω is grammatically more correct as only the future indicative (and not the present) could accompany the aorist subjunctive after negation by οὐ μή.²² Secondly, should this merely be part of an itacistic trend, then the variant reading should actually be of no importance.²³

1.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Deut 31:6 and Heb 13:5

Let us now consider the available readings of the quoted text in Heb 13:5 – including Justin’s *Dial* 58 for the sake of the comparison. The first set of comparisons relate to the text of Gen 28:15, whilst the second set of comparisons deal with the text of Deut 31:6.

Gen 28:15	Philo <i>Somn.</i> 1	Just <i>Dial.</i> 58	
ὅτι	ὅτι	ὅτι	
οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω,	οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω,	οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω	
ἔως τοῦ ποιῆσαι με πάντα	ἔως τοῦ ποιῆσαι με πάντα	ἔως τοῦ ποιῆσαι με πάντα ὅσα	
ὅσα ἐλάλησα σοι	ὅσα ἐλάλησα σοι	ἐλάλησά σοι	
Deut 31:6	Josh 1:5	Philo <i>Conf.</i> 166	Heb 13:5
ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός σου ὁ			
προπορευόμενος μεθ'			
ὑμῶν ἐν ὑμῖν			
οὐ μή σε ἀνῃ	Οὕτως ἔσομαι καὶ	οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ,	οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ
οὐτε μή σε	μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ	οὐδὲ οὐ μή σε	οὐδὲ οὐ μή σε
ἐγκαταλίπῃ	ἐγκαταλείψω σε	ἐγκαταλίπω	ἐγκαταλίπω
	οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαι σε		

¹⁸ PFouad contains Deut 17–33, including the text of our quotation. It dates around 50 B.C.E. and still presents the Tetragrammaton in square Hebrew letters.

¹⁹ Cf. J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (MSU XIII; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) 113–114.

²⁰ Supported by P⁴⁶ N A C D² K L P Ψ 0243. 0285. 33. 1739. 1881 Μ.

²¹ Supported by D^{*} 81. 326. 365. 629. 630. 945. 1175. 1241^S. 1505 al.

²² Cf. E. Ahlborn: “Die Formen ἐγκαταλείπω im Hebräerbrief bzw. ἐγκαταλείπῃ in der Septuaginta sind daher falsch” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 61). So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 700; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 706.

²³ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 61.

An interesting phenomenon can be observed here. It seems, on the one hand, as if Philo's *De Somnis* and Justin's *Dialogue* are closer to the reading of Gen 28:15. The readings of Philo's *De Confusione Linguarum* and Heb 13:5, on the other hand, seem to be closer to the reading of Deut 31:6. Both Philo and the author of Hebrews read the triple negative οὐδ' οὐ μή and both follow the first person aorist subjunctive (ἀνῶ, ἐγκαταλίπω) instead of the third person aorist subjunctive (ἀνῇ, ἐγκαταλίπῃ) of the LXX. They both also ascribe their quotation here to be the words of God. It is important to note that the reading of Heb 13:5 agrees completely with that of Philo against the readings of the LXX and the MT. There are different explanations: (a) Some scholars thought that Hebrews was dependent upon Philo for his reading,²⁴ whilst others were of the opinion that it could not have been the case due to the different applications of the same quotation by the different authors.²⁵ The solution to these intertextual connections was then looked for (b) in a form of the quotation that might have been in circulation in the oral tradition through the preaching or liturgy of the hellenistic synagogues in Alexandria.²⁶

Another option (c) for the origin of the quotation was to look at a conflation between Deut 31:6 and Gen 28:15.²⁷ It was argued that the text was combined from Gen 28:15 and “enlarged from the similar passages in Deut 31:6, 8 as found in the recension of the Old Greek version used by both Philo and Hebrews.”²⁸ A variation of the same idea (d) was proposed where the words of the quotation were seen to be dependent upon Jos 1:5 and supplemented by Deut 31:6.²⁹ These suggestions do not convince, as is clear from a

²⁴ This position is mainly represented by commentaries from the 19th and early 20th centuries. Cf. F. Bleek, *Hebräer II*, 992; W.M.L. de Wette, *Kurze Erklärung der Briefe an Titus, Timotheus und die Hebräer* (HzNT 2; Leipzig: Weidmann, ¹1844), 257; G. Lünemann, *Kritisch exegesisches Handbuch über den Hebräerbrief* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1867), 420; J. Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), 229; C. Spicq, *Hébreux I*, 336.

²⁵ B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 432; R. Williamson, *Philo*, 570-573; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 388; W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 519; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 992. Similarly E. Ahlborn: “Wegen der stark divergierenden Einleitungen des Gottespruches im Hebräerbrief (αὐτὸς γάρ ειρηκεν) und bei Philo (λόγιον τοῦ ἵλεω θεοῦ) hält es schwer, eine direkte Abhängigkeit des Hebräerbriefverfassers von Philo anzunehmen” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 60).

²⁶ E. Riggenbach, *Hebräer*, 431; O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 483-484; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 194-196; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 992.

²⁷ Cf. B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 434; P. Katz, “Biblical Source,” 523-525; P. Katz, *Philo's Bible*, 72; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 706, n. 36.

²⁸ P. Katz, “Deuteronomy,” 220-221; P. Katz, “Biblical Source,” 523-525; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 247.

²⁹ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 519; B.F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 434; H. Montefiore, *Hebrews*, 240-241; R. Williamson, *Philo*, 570; J. Thurén, *Lobopfer*, 218; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 238; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 706, n. 36. Also R.McL. Wilson sees the quotation as “an adaptation of Dt. 31:8 (cf. Dt. 31:6; Jos. 1:5)” (*Hebrews*, 239). Other scholars are more cautious. Cf. A.F.J. Klijn (“deze bewoordingen (is) onbekend, maar het kan ontleend zijn aan Deut. 31:6; Gen. 28:15; Joz. 1:5 of 1 Kron. 28:20,” *Hebreeën*, 143); S.J. Kistemaker (“...because of its frequent usage the quotation had become proverbial,” *Hebrews*, 411); and G.H. Guthrie, who speaks of “(a)pproximate parallels” (“*Hebrews*,” 991).

comparison of the reading of Jos 1:5.³⁰ It is also clear from the tables above that the readings of Philo (*Conf.* 166) and Hebrews (13:5) are similar to that of Deut 31:6 and that the readings of Philo (*Somn.* 1) and Justin (*Dial.* 58) agree closely with that of Gen 28:15. It is more likely that we are dealing here with two strands (Gen 28:15 and Deut 31:6) of a similar tradition – both used by Philo in different works of his. Hebrews follows again one of these (Deut 31:6), and Justin the other (Gen 28:15).

There is thus another possibility (e) to be proposed. If it is assumed that both Philo and Hebrews independently quoted from their Deuteronomy source(s), and if the Old Greek Version (OGV), i.e. the first translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, was made from a different Hebrew text than that known to us today in the form of the MT, then there is a real possibility that this co-incidental reading between Philo and Hebrews, on the one hand, and the Genesis reading of Philo and Justin, on the other hand, is a remnant of that text.³¹ But this does not explain the mere occurrence or use of the exact same Deuteronomy quotation by both Philo and Hebrews. Could Hebrews therefore have had firsthand knowledge of Philo's writings?

1.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

"Keep your lives free from the love of money and be content with what you have"³² is what the author of Hebrews urges his readers to do (Heb 13:5-6). This directive is explicitly linked with a quotation that is closest to Deut 31:6, but also related to other passages.³³ It is clearly meant to be an explicit quotation and is properly introduced with an introductory formula. Although the wording differs from the readings of the MT and the LXX,³⁴ it agrees exactly with that of Philo in *Conf.* 166. This is one of a few cases where the readings of Hebrews and Philo are in exact agreement with each other and against those of the MT and LXX. It is therefore assumed that "whatever place common use and liturgical needs had in the

³⁰ Versus H.-F. Weiss, for instance, "daß hier Jos 1,5 wörtlich in der Gestalt zitiert wird, wie sie auch bei Philon, *Conf* 166, vorliegt" (*Hebräer*, 706, n. 36). It is clear from the comparison above that Philo and Hebrews are closer to each other than to Jos 1:5.

³¹ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 60. He argues further that the "unklassische Verbindung von οὐδέ und οὐ μή zu οὐδ' οὐ μή muß dem Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes bereits vorgelegen haben, da er selbst diesen Ausdruck nicht verwendet, sondern οὐδὲ μή vorgezogen hätte." H.W. Attridge is thinking along similar lines (*Hebrews*, 388-389).

³² Cf. also Matt 6:24 (Luke 16:13) and Matt 6:31-34 (Luke 12:29-32).

³³ Similar P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 699. Cf. M. Karrer: "(es) ist unseren kritisch hergestellten Septuagintatexten nicht präzis zuzuordnen; am ehesten mischt es Dtn 31,6.8 mit Gen 28,15 und Jos 1,5" (*Hebräer II*, 358).

³⁴ Against G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 221. According to M. Karrer, "stoßen wir auf einen nur durch die Zitate erhalten gebliebenen Nebentext der LXX" (*Hebräer II*, 358).

production of the form of words quoted they had by the time they were used by the two writers assumed a permanent written form of some kind.”³⁵

1.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

1.3.1 Introductory formula

This is clearly an intended explicit quotation and is appropriately introduced by a clear introductory formula: αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰρηκεν, referring to God as the Subject of these words.³⁶

1.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

A discussion on the interpretation of the quotation from Deut 31:6 will be done together with that of Ps 118(117):6 below as both quotations are closely connected. Suffice it to say here that some scholars believe that this quotation is intended “to calm the legitimate fears of a community that had already suffered from persecution and the seizure of their property.”³⁷

1.4 Conclusion

There are no clear traces of an explicit quotation from Deut 31:6 in the pre-Hebrews tradition. However, the motif of not being forsaken by the Lord surfaces in the history of ancient Jewish literature with verbal parallels between Deut 31:6 and Gen 28:5, as well as an allusion to the passage in Jos 1:5.

During the textual comparisons of Deut 31:6, Gen 28:15 and Jos 1:5, with the quoted texts in Philo, Hebrews and Justin, it became clear that Philo’s *De Somnis* and Justin’s *Dialogue* are closer to the reading of Gen 28:15, whilst the readings of Philo’s *De Confusione Linguarum* and Heb 13:5 are closer to the reading of Deut 31:6. Furthermore, the reading of Heb 13:5 agrees completely with that of Philo against those of the LXX and the MT. It was argued that one should possibly reckon here with two strands (Gen 28:15 and Deut 31:6) of a similar tradition – both of which were used by Philo in different works of his. Hebrews

³⁵ R. Williamson, *Philo*, 571-572.

³⁶ Cf. F. Schröger: “in der LXX spricht Moses über Gott; hier und bei Philo ... spricht Gott selbst” (*Verfasser*, 194).

³⁷ R. Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 51. Along similar theological lines, cf. K. Backhaus: “God is unwaveringly on the side of those who believe in him and proves himself the only normative court, so that in comparison with him any human opinion turns out to be of limited importance” (“How to Entertain Angels: Ethics in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in G. Gelardini (ed.), *Hebrews*, 149-175, on p. 165).

follows again one of those (Deut 31:6), and Justin the other (Gen 28:15). Both strands – as testified by Philo, Hebrews and Justin – possibly point to remnants of the Old Greek Version (OGV), i.e. the first translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, made in Alexandria in the 3rd cent. B.C.E. (unless, of course, Hebrews had firsthand knowledge of Philo's writings).

2. Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:6

Preliminary results of this study are pointing to three different possible origins for the quotations that were used. The first consists of those that were probably already known from existing early Jewish and early Christian literature and where exactly the same quotation appears, starting at the same point and ending at the same point. Examples are the quotations from Ps 2:7 and Ps 110(109):1. The second group of quotations is similar, except that the author of Hebrews probably knew the passage, or the broader context of the passage from which he quotes, or even independently studied the section, from which a familiar quotation was taken before his time. The author of Hebrews then quotes from another section of the same passage. He quotes sometimes from a preceding section (Ps 8:5-7) or from a later section (Ps 22[21]:23) of the same passage. The third group consists of quotations that were unknown in existing pre-Hebrews literature that survived until they appear the first time in Hebrews. They were probably found by the author himself and they also tend to be much longer than the other quotations. Examples are the quotations from Ps 95(94) and Jer 31(38).

The quotation that will be dealt with here, namely that of Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:6, belongs to the second group, i.e. those of which evidence is available about quotations and references from these passages in early Jewish and Christian literature prior to Hebrews.³⁸ This can be seen in the fact that especially Ps 118(117):22-26 was frequently quoted by the Gospel writers as well as by First Peter. The unknown author of Hebrews probably knew this passage, but quotes from a different section when he uses v. 6.

2.1 Tradition historical investigation

2.1.1 Background regarding Ps 118(117)

Psalm 118 represents a “Dankfestliturgie,”³⁹ relating to an individual in vv. 5-21 and to a section in vv. 22-29, intended to be sung antiphonically. The Psalm belongs to the group of

³⁸ Cf. G.J. Steyn, “Some observations,” 495.

³⁹ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 978. Similar F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 196.

so-called Hallelujah Psalms, i.e. those specifically assigned for festivals and pilgrimages.⁴⁰ Particularly Pss 113–118, the so-called “Egyptian Hallel,” was traditionally associated with the Passover⁴¹ when it was recited on the first evening during the Passover supper. It was initially sung at the Feast of the Lights (*Hannukah*) – particularly relating to the addition of v. 27 that refers to Yahweh as God their light. The liturgical use of Ps 118(117) was later extended to the three great festivals of Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of the Tents,⁴² which were feasts of pilgrimage (Deut 16:16-17). Ps 118(117) not only formed the conclusion of the Egyptian Hallel group of Psalms, but also belonged to the opening of the Great Hallel that consisted of Pss 118–136.

2.1.2 The use of Ps 118(117) in the early Jewish and early Christian traditions

Particularly two documents amongst the DSS are of interest here. The first is 4QpPs^b (4Q84), which has a commentary on Ps 118:26-27.⁴³ The second is 4QPsJoshua^a (4Q378), which picks up on the same motif.⁴⁴

Ps 118(117) was initially only closely associated with Jewish festival services, such as the Passover, but was also gradually used during Easter in the early Church.⁴⁵ Scholars suspect that particularly during the last remnant of the seven-day Jewish celebration of Passover, it was sung during the entire week following Easter Sunday.⁴⁶ Some even interpret Matt 26:30 and Mark 14:26 (“and when they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives”) to be a possible reflection of the Hallel that was sung in homes at the Passover

⁴⁰ J.K. West, *Introduction*, 440.

⁴¹ H.L. Ellison, “Hallelujah,” in D.R. Wood (ed.), *The New Bible Dictionary* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1962³) 441, on p. 441.

⁴² R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 512; D.K. Falk, *Daily Sabbath*, 198-199; J.R. Sampey, “Hallel,” in *ISBE II*, (Chicago: The Howard-Severance Company, 1930), 1323.

⁴³ The same document (4Q173) also comments on Ps 127:2-3, 5 and Ps 129:7-8.

⁴⁴ Translation: “... and do not be afraid, be strong and re[solute because] you will cause [this people] to take possession [...] he will not] leave you or desert [you]” (4Q378, frag.3, col.ii, vv. 10-11a). (Cf. F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition II*, 746-747).

⁴⁵ K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 319. See also E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 362, n. 46. E. Werner argued similarly, saying that “(a)pparently this psalm citation belonged to the liturgy of synagogue and church” (*Sacred Bridge*, 57). So also S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 411.

⁴⁶ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 57. H.-J. Kraus summarises the prominent place that Ps 118(117) took during NT times: “...es (ist) durchaus verständlich, daß Ps 118 im Neuen Testament eine besondere Bedeutung gewinnen konnte. Die zahlreichen Zitierungen und Anklänge einzelner Aussagen an den 118. Psalm bestätigen, daß die Urgemeinde die überindividuelle und urbildliche Verkündigungskraft des alttestamentlichen Psalms aufgenommen und in ihren wesentlichen Aussagegehalt rezipiert hat” (*Psalmen II*, 985).

*seder.*⁴⁷ Both the Targum and Talmud attested to the fact that Ps 118(117) “was appointed to be antiphonally recited in the liturgy.”⁴⁸

Verse 6 of Ps 118(117) is not quoted anywhere else in the NT. However, other verses of the same Psalm were quoted by post-Pauline NT writers and by some early Church Fathers. Compare, for instance, the following: v. 18 in *1 Clem.* 56:3; vv. 19-20 in *1 Clem.* 48:2; v. 22 in Mark 12:10;⁴⁹ Matt 21:42; Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11 and 1 Pet 2:7. Some scholars⁵⁰ suggested that Ps 118:22 could have been connected with Isa 28:16 and Isa 8:14 – as in Rom 9:33 (Isa 28:16 + Isa 8:14) and in 1 Pet 2:4-8 (Isa 28:16 + Ps 118:22 + Isa 8:14). Also *Barn.* 6:2-4 connects Isa 28:16 and Ps 118:22 – with Ps 50:7 which has been inserted in between these passages. Isa 28:16, in turn, has its parallel in 1QS 8:4b-8a; v. 25 in Mark 11:9; Matt 21:9 and John 12:13; v. 26 in Matt 23:39 and Luke 13:35; 19:38.

In table form, the situation looks as follows:

Ps 118:6	Ps 118:18	Ps 118:19-20	Ps 118:22-23	Ps 118:25	Ps 118:26
Heb 13:6	<i>1 Clem.</i> 56:3	<i>1 Clem.</i> 48:2	Mark 12:10-11	Mark 11:9-10	Matt 23:39
+Deut 31:6,8			Matt 21:42	Matt 21:9	Luke 13:35
			Luke 20:17	John 12:13	Luke 19:38
			Acts 4:11		
			1 Pet 2:4-8 [<i>Isa 28:16 + Ps 118(117):22 + Isa 8:14</i>] (Cf. Rom 9:33 = Isa 28:16 + Isa 8:14) Barn 6:2-4 [<i>Isa 28:16 + Ps 50:7 + Ps 118(117):22</i>]		

Whereas most of the early Christian literature quotes from vv. 22-26 (the section that deals with the praise of God by the choir of pilgrims who attend the feast),⁵¹ Hebrews chooses v. 6 as his quotation, coming from the section consisting of vv. 5-21 about the thanksgiving of an individual. (Only *1 Clem.* quotes from the same section of the psalm, but from different verses). This is thus in agreement with the nature of the second group of quotations as mentioned earlier, i.e. those of which the author probably knew the broader context but now quotes from another part of the same passage.

⁴⁷ D.K. Falk, *Daily Sabbath*, 197.

⁴⁸ A. Weiser, *Psalms*, 724.

⁴⁹ Cf. C.J. Breytenbach who also includes Mark 8:31 in this regard: “Aus diesem Psalm stammt bekanntlich der Begriff ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι in Mk 8,31 dessen Vorkommen in Mk 12,10f. und Parallelen ebenfalls mit der Zitation von LXX Ps 117,22 zusammenhängt” (“Folgetext und Prätex,” 215).

⁵⁰ O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 159.

⁵¹ A. Weiser, *Psalms*, 724. E. Grässer, however, takes vv. 22-25 “persönlich-schriftstellerisch” (*Hebräer III*, 365).

The fact that the last line of the quotation in Heb 13:6 is to be found exactly as it is in Ps 55:12 (56:11 LXX)⁵² must be seen as merely an intertextual occurrence within the Psalms. The author of Hebrews did not use Ps 55(56) as source for his quotation, as the rest of the quotation is different and closer to Ps 118(117):6. There are, furthermore, no quotations or references to Ps 55(56) in Hebrews.

2.2 Text critical investigation

2.2.1 Readings of Ps 118(117):6

A fragment was found amongst the DSS that contains the text of Ps 118:6, namely 4QPs^b (4Q84) – consisting of Ps 118:1-3, 5-10, 12.⁵³ The fragment dates from the second half of the 1st cent. B.C.E. It is stichometrical and contains Pss 91–118 – with Ps 112 which follows Ps 103, and with Pss 104–111 missing.⁵⁴ A comparison of the Hebrew texts of Ps 118:6 in this fragment with that of the MT, shows an identical reading. Both Hebrew versions omitted the equivalent of καὶ (κ) before אָלֶה.

Ps 118:6 (MT)	Ps 118:6 (4Q84 / 4QPs ^b)
יְהוָה לְיִלְאָן אַיְרָא מֵה יַעֲשֵׂה לְיִאָדָם	[יְהוָה לְיִלְאָן אַיְרָא מֵה יַעֲשֵׂה לְיִאָדָם

One clear difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts of Ps 118(117):6 is the addition of βοηθός in the LXX.⁵⁵ This has been explained in different ways. Some saw it as an attempt “to bring out the force of the personal pronoun,”⁵⁶ others “to clarify the Hebrew idiom,”⁵⁷ or as a result of dittography caused by the homoioarcton of vv. 6 and 7 [117:7 and 8 LXX].⁵⁸ Scholarship confirmed that both the noun (βοηθός) and the verb (βοηθεῖν) occur repeatedly in Deut 32–33,⁵⁹ which is the section that follows immediately after the quoted passage in

⁵² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 701.

⁵³ F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *DSS Study Edition I*, 278; A. Lehnhardt, *Bibliographie*, loc. cit.; E. Ulrich, F.M. Cross, J.A. Fitzmyer, et. al. (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4*, 45; U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption*, 109.

⁵⁴ P.W. Skehan, “A Psalm Manuscript from Qumran (4QPs^b)”, *CBQ* 26 (1964) 313-322 + pl.I; P.W. Flint, “The Psalters at Qumran and the Book of Psalms (PhD. Dissertation; University of Notre Dame, 1993), 40-41.

⁵⁵ Against F. Schröger who says that the LXX translation “(entspricht) genau den Worten des hebräischen Textes” (*Verfasser*, 196).

⁵⁶ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 701.

⁵⁷ R. Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 51.

⁵⁸ Deut 32:32, 33:7, 26, 29.

Hebrews.⁵⁹ The word itself was “firmly rooted in the liturgy of the early Church as descriptive of Jesus or God in the role of protector (cf. *1 Clem.* 36:1; 59:3).”⁶⁰

There are only two minor variants regarding the LXX text. The first is that v. 6 is being split up into two stichoi.⁶¹ The second is the addition of καὶ.⁶² The reconstructed reading of the LXX is identical to that as represented by PBod XXIV⁶³ (Rahlfs 2110, vh118 T075a), which contains Pss 17–118.

PBod XXIV	Ps 117:6 (LXX)
κέ εμοι βοηθος ου φοβηθησομαι τι ποιησ]ει μ[οι] ανο[] κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, [καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;	

2.2.2 Alternative readings of Heb 13:6

The NT reading of Heb 13:6, containing the reading of Ps 118(117):6, has only one variant amongst some manuscripts, namely the omission of καὶ.⁶⁴ Its inclusion, though, is well attested.

2.2.3 Comparison between the readings of Ps 118(117):6 and Heb 13:6

Ps 117:6 (LXX)	Heb 13:6
κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, τ[καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;	ὦστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν· κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, ο[καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;

Keeping in mind that Ps 117 (LXX) is lacking in Codex B, the only variation in reading is to be found in either the presence or absence of the conjunction καὶ between βοηθός and οὐ – in both the LXX and the NT readings. Its presence in the *New Testament* is well attested.⁶⁵ It might be “another example of manuscripts conforming to a textual witness of the LXX which is not regarded as critically established (so *L' A'*).”⁶⁶ The omission, however, is less well

⁵⁹ R. Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 51.

⁶⁰ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 520; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 56; O. Michel, *Hebräer*, 333.

⁶¹ By La^G Ga Sy, unus rel.

⁶² Supported by x^{c.a.} L' A'.

⁶³ R. Kasser & M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV*, 229.

⁶⁴ By † x^{*} C^{*} P 0285^{vid.} 33. 209^{*} 1175. 1739 pc d f lat sy^p sa bo.

⁶⁵ Cf. p⁴⁶ x² A C² D Ψ 0121 b Μ vg^{ms} sy^h; Clem. The inclusion is also supported by NA26 and by H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 384.

⁶⁶ A.H. Cadwallader, “Correction of text,” 274.

supported.⁶⁷ It is probably due to the influence of some witnesses of the LXX⁶⁸ where it is also absent – and most probably representing those witnesses closer to the original.

Scholars also seem to be divided on the issue whether *καί* was part of the original *Septuagint* reading. According to some, “*καί* was originally in LXX and omitted in Hebrews,”⁶⁹ whilst others are of the opinion that *καί* was *not* part of the original LXX text.⁷⁰ The presence of *καί* amongst the LXX textual witnesses occurs only in the Lucian recension and should thus most probably be taken as an addition to the original LXX reading.⁷¹

2.2.4 Remarks regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotation

One would expect that there should be consensus amongst scholars on whether the reading of this quotation in Hebrews corresponds to that of the LXX – due to the brief nature of the quotation and due to fair degree of agreement amongst textual witnesses in this regard. Surprisingly, this seems not to be the case. Although most scholars take the LXX to be the *Vorlage* of the Hebrews quotation,⁷² some others have their doubts.

It was noted that the reading, or text form, of the quotation from Deut 31:6 agrees neither with the MT nor with the LXX readings, but agrees with an occurrence in Philo. The reading of the quotation from Ps 118(117):6 is almost identical to that of the LXX with the presence of *βοηθός* – against the MT. It is thus clear that the *Vorlage* of these quotations is closer to our Greek version(s). But this might only be part of the explanation.

At this point in the investigation, one is thus left with at least two possibilities for the occurrence of Ps 118(117):6 here in Heb 13:6: Firstly, the author might have got it from a so-

⁶⁷ Cf. *א* ב* ג* ד* פ* 0285^{vid.}* 33. 209* 1175. 1739 d f lat sy^p sa bo. Also supported by J. Moffatt, *Hebrews*, 229; G. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 172; K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 523; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 388; and NA25. Cf. also U. Rüsen-Weinhold: “Der Hebr hat kein ernsthaftes Interesse, redaktionell so einzugreifen” (“*Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen*,” 205).

⁶⁸ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 384.

⁶⁹ K.J. Thomas, “OT in Hebrews,” 319. So also A.H. Trotter, *Epistle*, 108. Following Lane, he states that “Absence of the ‘and’ stresses a main thought of the book: the necessity to banish fear through meditation on, and acceptance of, God’s sovereignty.”

⁷⁰ Cf. P. Ellingworth: “...it appears most likely that the author followed a text which did not contain *καί*” (*Hebrews*, 701).

⁷¹ E. Ahlborn, convincingly, understands the situation as follows: “Jedenfalls handelt es sich deutlich um einen selbstständigen Eingriff Lukians; denn der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes hatte *καί* noch nicht in seiner Vorlage belegt, die hier mit der unrezensierten Septuaginta-Fassung übereingeht und, da keine Varianten vorliegen, durchaus wie sonst in den Psalmen dem ägyptischen Raum entstammen wird. Als dann später die lukianische Rezension allgemein vorherrschend wurde, setzte sich der Zusatz auch bei mehreren neutestamentlichen Handschriften durch” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 126).

⁷² C. Smits, *OT Citaten*, 565. S. Kistemaker says “it does not provide any textual changes” (*Psalm Citations*, 88); F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 196; G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 221; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 389; O. Kuss, *Hebräer*, 216; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 701; U. Rüsen-Weinhold, “*Septuaginta-Psalter Textformen*,” 205; G.H. Guthrie, “*Hebrews*,” 991.

called florilegium or testimony book based on the evidence of connection with other passages in the intertextual early Christian context. Some have argued thus that the connection between Heb 13:6 (Ps 118[117]:6) and Heb 13:5 (Gen 28:15; Deut 31:6, 8; Jos 1:5) was found “...in einer LXX-Version, die der Verfasser schon vorfand.”⁷³ But there is no convincing evidence that the quotations in Heb 13:5 and 13:6 formed part of such a florilegium, as “neither is applied christologically as a testimony.”⁷⁴ Furthermore, the particular combinations differ between the available documents where they occur.

Secondly, it would be possible that the author himself knew the broader context of Ps 118(117) and that v. 8 of this Psalm lead him to the connection between the quotations of Heb 13:5 (Gen 28:15; Deut 31:6, 8; Jos 1:5) and Heb 13:6. This would be in agreement with some other scholars who are of the opinion that the author of Hebrews read the words of Ps 118(117) in its context as the Psalm “refers to persecution (v. 5), faith (v. 8), and hope (v. 9), and to πατέρα (v. 18); (cf. Heb. 12:5-11).”⁷⁵ The author of Hebrews might thus have known the Psalm from the liturgies of the Jewish festivals, but possibly from a liturgy that was based on a Greek version.

2.3 Hermeneutical adaptation

2.3.1 Introductory formula

The quotation is introduced with a clearly formulated introductory formula, namely ὅστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν. It is no surprise that one still finds the consistent use of λέγω here.

2.3.2 Some remarks on the interpretation of the quotation

Ps 118(117):6 is the very last explicit quotation in *Ad Hebraeos*. The *finale* of this sermon ends in a quotation from a Psalm that was well known and widely used during the Jewish feasts, namely from the Hallel. Why is it concluded in this manner? Why is this particular quotation being used which is closely linked with the exodus tradition and the new covenant motif? Does this pilgrimage character and cultic setting (which were connected with Ps

⁷³ G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 221.

⁷⁴ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 701.

⁷⁵ Cf. P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 700-701.

118[117]) have any answer regarding the reason why the author quoted from this particular Psalm? Can it provide any answers regarding its hermeneutical application within the context in which it re-surfaced?

Linking Ps 118(117) with Deut 31: The Sabbatical Year and Feast of the Tents/Booths

Heb 13:6 cannot be detached from Heb 13:5. It is part of the same sentence that refers to Deut 31:6. Whereas Heb 13:5 (Deut 31:6, 8) was most probably the *pars dei*, which is God's promise, Heb 13:6 (Ps 118[117]:6) was probably the *pars populi*, the response of the people.⁷⁶ This second quotation might thus have been introduced as a response that the early Christian receivers of Hebrews, thus "we" ($\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$), made as a result of God's promise in the Torah.⁷⁷ "The use of $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\omega$ in Ps.118(LXX 117):8 may have suggested to the author the link between his two quotations in 13:5f,"⁷⁸ or merely the fact that both Deut 31 as well as Ps 118(117) were connected with the Feast of Tents.

Some OT scholars understood Deut 31:9-13 to connect the reading of the Law primarily with the Sabbatical year and secondarily with the Feast of Tents (*Sukkoth*) in that year.⁷⁹ According to Lev 23:34-36, 39 the Feast of Tents was held on the 15th day of the seventh month, Tishri. It was preceded by a feast on the first day of the seventh month (Num 29:1-6) and the Day of the Atonement (*Yom Kippur*) on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev 23:26). The Day of the Atonement is referred to in Heb 5:5, 10:4, etc. The Feast of Tents lasted for seven days (15–21 Tishri). On the last day the priests walked seven times around the altar and the singers of the temple sang Ps 118(117). The people only joined at v. 25 after which the High Priest blessed them (v. 26).⁸⁰ Verse 25 was apparently used as a supplication for rain at the Feast of Booths procession during which the procession approached the altar with branches.⁸¹ After the Feast followed a solemn day of rest (22 Tishri).⁸²

Is it co-incidental that Heb 13:5 quotes from the section immediately preceding of Deut 31:9-13 which refers to the Sabbatical year and to the Feast of Tents? "It was the most important and the most crowded of the three annual pilgrimages to the sanctuary,"⁸³ and

⁷⁶ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 56.

⁷⁷ H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 389 – and similarly H.-J. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 706.

⁷⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 701.

⁷⁹ R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 502.

⁸⁰ F.C. Fensham & J.P. Oberholzer, *Bybelse Aardrykskunde, Oudheidkunde en Opgrawings* (Pretoria: Interkerklike Uitgwerftrust, 1976), 305.

⁸¹ Cf. J. Petuchowski, "'Hoshi'ah na' in Psalm CXVIII 25, – a Prayer for Rain," *VT* 5 (1955) 266-271.

⁸² R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 472-3.

⁸³ R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 495. Also E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 525.

referred to by Josephus to be the “holiest and the greatest of Hebrew feasts” (*Ant.* VIII, iv.i). Therefore, although it is possible that this was co-incidental, it is highly unlikely when the motifs of the new covenant, the Sabbath and the day of rest are all playing key roles in the argumentation of the unknown author of Hebrews.⁸⁴

Deut 31:1-6 reports how Moses told the people of Israel that he came to the end of his journey and that Joshua will lead them further. They are reminded about the promises of God and that they should be strong and courageous, that they should not be afraid or terrified because the Lord their God goes with them and will never leave or forsake them (v. 6). In the following section (Deut 31:7-8), Moses calls Joshua and inspires him with the words that he should be strong and courageous and that he will enter the land promised with an oath to the ancestors of the Israelite people. “He will never leave you, nor forsake you” (v. 8). Hereafter follows Deut 31:9-13 which reports how Moses gave this Law to the Levite priests with the instruction that it should be at the end of every seventh year, “in the year for cancelling debts, during the Feast of the Tabernacles...you shall read this law before them in their hearing. Assemble the people – men, women and children, and the aliens living in your towns...” (Deut 31:10-12). Heb 13 becomes clearer against the backdrop of Deut 31: “Do not forget to entertain strangers” (13:2) and especially that they “should keep their lives free from the love of money and be content with what they have” (13:5) – following the quotation from Deut 31:6. The context of the Sabbatical year during which the “cancelling of debt” takes place, referred to in Deut 31, stands in contrast to the “love of money” referred to in Heb 13:5. In line with almost all of his other quotations, the author of Hebrews places the quotation directly in the mouth of God.

If this connection of Deut 31 with the Sabbatical Year and the Feast of Tents exists, and if the author of Hebrews had this in mind when writing the last part of his book (sermon), then what is the connection with Ps 118(117)? Why does the author link these two quotations and why does he choose to conclude his work with Ps 118(117):6 as the last quotation?

⁸⁴ A comparative study between Hebrews and the Therapeutae (who were very similar to the Qumran community) of whom Philo of Alexandria wrote in his *De Vita Contemplativa*, makes it clear that the same motifs were also strongly present in the Therapeutae communities. Even the simplistic housing of these communities calls to mind the “huts” (*sukkōth*) during the Feast of Tents. These connections might point partially to Christian converts from similar groups in the desert outside Alexandria. But this is an investigation for another time.

The place of Ps 118(117):6 in Heb 13:6 against the backdrop of the Jewish festivals.

The author of Hebrews presents the quotation from Ps 118(117):6 as a conclusion to the foregoing discussion on the love of money with its reference to Deut 31:6.⁸⁵ The focus of the argument shifts now to contentment. This is being done by the connecting phrase ὥστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν which combines the two quotations as part of the same argument and as part of the same sentence. The introductory formula (λέγειν) to the quotation of Ps 118(117):6 here in Heb 13:6 does not function as a quotation formula and it is the only place in Hebrews where it does not have some reference to God as the source of authority.⁸⁶

It is significant that Ps 118(117) is quoted at this particular place in Hebrews, as the next section (13:7-19) deals with the sacrifice of Christ and “seems to allude to the sacrament of the Eucharist. It is possible that this saying was used by Christians as a slogan to refer to the experience of the Eucharist (cf. Heb. xiii.9).”⁸⁷ Particularly vv. 9-10 argue against a “‘sakramentalistischen’ Auffassung des Herrenmahls als eines Opfermahls.”⁸⁸ The connection here lies in the fact that the Eucharist had its roots in the Jewish festival of the Passover. Particularly in post-apostolic times some celebrated the Eucharist more in the sense of a “sacrifice” rather than as a “love feast”⁸⁹ so that it could serve as a counter position against the sacrificial nature of the OT Jewish cultic practices such as the Passover.

The Passover was made a pilgrimage feast – as the Feast of the Unleavened Bread was already during the reform of Josiah and by the time of Deuteronomy. The obvious move was then to combine the two feasts.⁹⁰ According to Lev 23:5-8, the date of the Passover was fixed for the full moon and was left unchanged. The feast of the Unleavened Bread was now attached to it⁹¹ and the people of Israel were ordered to keep it during the following seven days.⁹² Passover was fixed during NT times on the 14th of Nisan and the feast of the Unleavened Bread the following seven days, 15-21 Nisan. The traditions of the Pentateuch connected the Feasts of the Unleavened Bread and the Passover with the Exodus from Egypt⁹³

⁸⁵ W.L. Lane is of the opinion that “the quotation has the sobering effect of establishing a social context for the instruction in v 5a” (*Hebrews II*, 520).

⁸⁶ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 700.

⁸⁷ K.J. Thomas, “OT Citations,” 319.

⁸⁸ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 379.

⁸⁹ E. Grässer, *Hebräer III*, 380.

⁹⁰ So also E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 523.

⁹¹ F.C. Fensham & J.P. Oberholzer, *Bybelse Aardkykunde*, 304.

⁹² R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 491.

⁹³ D.A. DeSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 78; A.B. du Toit (ed.), *The New Testament Milieu* (Guide to the New Testament II; Halfway House: Orion Publishers, 1998), 467; E. Lohse, *Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament* (NTD; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 113; S. Duvenage, *Die Dekor van die Nuwe Testament: ‘n Kultuurhistoriese Agtergrondstudie* (Pretoria: NG

so that these two feasts, which were simply known as the Passover, became a festival of redemption.⁹⁴

According to the Mishnah, during the beginning of the Feast of the Passover, the first part of the Passover Hallel was sung responsorially (according to the school of Hillel both Ps 113 and Ps 114, or only Ps 113 according to the school of Shammai) and the *haggadah* cup was drunk. The remaining Hallel Psalms (Pss 115–118) were sung after drinking the fourth and last cup, the *hallel* cup.⁹⁵ Formerly, at the temple as the central place of worship, it was chanted whilst the Passover lambs were being slain. It was chanted verse by verse by the Levites who were standing before the altar upon which the people responded by repeating the verses. A similar practice took place around the table by private families during the feast of Passover when family members would also chant the verses. The paschal lamb was made to typify Jesus in John 19:34–36, with a similar analogy also to be found in Heb 11:28.

As pointed out above, Deut 31 was primarily connected with the Sabbatical Year, but also secondarily with the Feast of Tents. It is therefore interesting to note, against that background, that apart from the connection between Ps 118(117) and the feast of the Passover, the Egyptian Hallel (Pss 113–118) was also sung daily during the Feast of Tents as an expression of joy.

2.4 Conclusion

There is sufficient evidence from early Judaism and early Christianity that Ps 118(117) played a key role in the liturgies of the Jewish festivals as a Hallel Psalm. Particularly its links with the Jewish Sabbatical Year, the Passover and the Feast of Tents became clear during this investigation. The prominence given to Ps 118(117) by the writers of early Christianity, as well as the presence and the liturgical rootedness of $\beta\omega\eta\theta\circ\sigma$ in the early Church, are clear indications that this Psalm also played a key role in early Christianity. The author of Hebrews builds on this tradition. He creates a close link between the quotations from Deut 31:6 and Ps

Kerkboekhandel, 1981), 175; N. Isaacs, “Passover,” in *ISBE IV* (Chicago: The Howard-Severance Company, 1930), 2256; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 492.

⁹⁴ E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 523. In the words of R. de Vaux: “One spring-time there had been a startling intervention of God: he had brought Israel out of Egypt, and this divine intervention marked the beginning of Israel’s history as a people, as God’s Chosen People: this period of liberation reached its consummation when they settled in the Promised Land. The feasts of the Passover and of Unleavened Bread commemorated this event, which dominated the history of salvation” (*Ancient Israel*, 493).

⁹⁵ W.L. Lane, *Hebrews II*, 520; A.B. du Toit, *Milieu*, 468; E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 523; S. Duvenage, *Dekor*, 175; E. Lohse, *Grundrisse*, 114; F.C. Fensham & J.P. Oberholzer, *Bybelse Aardrykskunde*, 304; J.R. Sampey, “Hallel,” 1323.

118(117):6 in Heb 13:5-6. Structurally both quotations are being presented by means of a single sentence and with a single introductory formula. The occurrence of ἐγκαταλείπω strengthens this link.

Behind this structural connection lies, however, a deeply rooted Jewish festival tradition that combined the two quotations. The Sabbatical Year and Feast of Tents, to which Deut 31 testified, provides a liturgical link for the author with Ps 118(117), which was sung at these occasions as well as during the Passover. The dialogical nature of the two quotations, “*God said*” (through the words of Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5), and “*we say*” (through the words of Ps 118[117]:6 in Heb 13:6) has a liturgical tone. It thus makes sense to assume a possible *pars dei* (Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5) and a *pars populi* (Ps 118[117]:6 in Heb 13:6). When adding to this the preceding context of the love for money (Heb 13:5) in the light of a Sabbatical Year motif in Deut 31, on the one hand, as well as the possible motif of the Eucharist (especially Heb 13:10-12) in the light of the Passover festival, on the other hand, the author and his readers’ familiarity with these texts from a liturgical tradition, becomes clear.

Chapter 15

Synthesis and Conclusion

The end of the analytical section of this investigation has been reached and it is time to evaluate the data that was gathered during this quest. The quest about the author's *Vorlage* was approached from two angles: from a tradition historical angle, and from a text critical angle. The main purpose was to ask about the origin and version that were utilised for the explicit quotations in Hebrews, rather than focusing on their function or their reception in the current context. It was argued from the outset that the latter (function and reception) cannot be done responsibly without establishing the former (origin and version).

Rather than drawing these conclusive lines in a linear manner, it would be better to envisage a grid, or mesh, where the tradition historical trends are represented by the vertical lines of the grid and where the text critical trends are represented by the horizontal lines of the grid. In order to present the results in a crisp and clear manner, the collective evidence will be surveyed by means of tables that will be referred to during the discussion.

1. The nature of the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews

- in the light of the tradition historical investigation

We seem to be closer to a better understanding of the similarities between the quotations of Hebrews, on the one hand, and those in the DSS, Philo and the rest of the NT, on the other hand. There is no single place from which the author of Hebrews derived his quotations. A large number came from the early Jewish and early Christian traditions, but a few others – particularly some of the longer quotations – were added by the author himself.

1.1 Three groups of quotations

There are three clear groups of quotations that can be identified in Hebrews: (i) those that have parallels in the pre-Hebrews tradition, (ii) those that probably have parallels from the pre-Hebrews tradition relating to the same passage, but quoted from another section or expanding on an existing quotation by the author of Hebrews, and (iii) those that the author identified and applied himself and that are not to be found anywhere else in existing literature prior to Hebrews. The largest number of quotations belongs to the first two groups with

occurrences in the DSS, Philo of Alexandria and the pre-Hebrews NT literature. Clear evidence was also found of the occurrence of some quotations in literature prior to Hebrews, that were thought to have been ascribed to the author of Hebrews himself in the past.

1.2 Commonalities with quotations in the DSS

It was observed that a large number of the explicit quotations in Hebrews were already alluded to, or even quoted, in some of the DSS. The following table presents an overview:

DSS document	OT Quote/motif	Hebrews reference	Cross references
4Q174 (4QFlor 4QMidrEschat) ➤ I:10,12 ➤ ➤	2 Sam 7:14 Ps 2: I Isa 8: II	Heb 1:5 Heb 1:5; 5:5 (Ps 2: 7) Heb 2:13 (Is 8: 17-18)	1 Chr 17:13
1QH (Hodayot) ➤ 1:10-11 ➤ 1:22 ➤ 9:28-29 ➤ 12:3	Ps 104:4 Ps 95:7-11 Isa 8:17/2 Sam 22:3 Ps 22:23	Heb 1:7 Heb 3:7-11,15; 4:3,5,7 Heb 2:13 Heb 2:12	Cf. 1QS 1:21-22; 4Q392 Cf. 1QS 5:4, 26 Cf. Ps 18:2 Cf. 1QH 5:6
1QpHab ➤ 2:3 ➤ 7:5 – 8:3 + pesher	Jer 31(38):31-34 Hab 2:3-4b	Heb 8:8-12; 10:16-17 Heb 10:37-38	Cf. CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33f; 20:12; 4Q392 Cf. 1QH 5:27 (Rom 1:17b, Gal 3:11b)
4QpPs ^a	Ps 45: I-2b	Heb 1:8 (Ps 45:7)	
4QpPs ^b	Ps 118: 26-27	Heb 13:6 (Ps 118: 6)	4QPsJoshua ^a
1QapGen 22:14-17	Gen 14:17-20	Heb 7:1-2,4	Cf. 11QMelch
4Q385 (PsJer)	Isa 26:20	Heb 10:37	Cf. 1QH 3:18
4QLights 2:8	Deut 9:19	Heb 12:21	
11QMelch	Ps 110:1 Ps 110:4	Heb 1:13 Heb 5:6; 7:17,21	Cf. 1 Macc 14:41
4QExhortation 1:3-5	Hag 2:6	Heb 12:26	
4QBless ^a I,1:4	Deut 31:6	Heb 13:5	

A large number of the quotations in Hebrews were thus already quoted or alluded to in the DSS and thus show similarities with the readings there. The readings of some of these quoted texts are also in closer agreement with existing DSS witnesses, against the readings of the MT

and the LXX. As there is no direct connection between the DSS and Hebrews, it raises the possibility of these readings being remnants of an earlier Hebrew form of the LXX.¹ Also the oldest LXX papyri at Qumran testify to a Greek text that seems to be closer to that as found in the MT. The quotation in Heb 1:6 from Deut 32:43 is such a case in point.² The quoted line does not appear in the MT (which only consists of four stichoi), but is found in 4QDeut (consisting of eight stichoi) – probably representing a similar Hebrew text from which the LXX translations of Deut 32:43 and Ode 2 in Codex A were made.

Scholars have already pointed to some kind of similarity between the DSS and Hebrews.³ It is therefore not surprising to find some quotations, allusions and motifs that appear in both the NT and in the DSS. This does not mean at all that the author of Hebrews used the DSS as *Vorlage* for his quotations, or that he had some direct connection with the community in the Qumran vicinity. However, what is clear is that there seems to be a common theology and common motifs that are shared by both the Qumran covenanters and the author of Hebrews – if not also by the group to whom he wrote. The role of angels, Moses, Melchizedek, a heavenly sanctuary that is different from the temple in Jerusalem, the expectation of a royal Davidic messiah installed as the son of God, and of a royal priest connected with judgment, a new covenant and a common core of textual quotations are all elements that are to be found in both the DSS community/ies and in Hebrews. Although several of these motifs are also present in other literature apart from the DSS, one can cautiously imagine a *similar Jewish sectarian matrix*⁴ from which certain Christian converts might have come – such as the author of Hebrews himself.⁵ Many DSS (3rd cent. B.C.E. to 1st cent. C.E.) are interpretations and re-workings from older biblical texts. Their biblical interpretation shows similarities to that of the author of Hebrews. Biblical passages were taken and re-worked.

These commonalities require that the DSS should be taken into account as well alongside other literature where similar motifs occur. This implies, in turn, that the DSS

¹ For a discussion on this issue see, for instance, the contributions of E. Tov, *Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls*, 11-47; J. Cook, *Relationship between 11QPs^a and the Septuagint*, 107-130; E.C. Ulrich, “The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: a Reappraisal of Their Value,” in G.J. Brooke & B. Lindars (ed.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 49-80.

² G.J. Steyn, “Song of Moses,” 263-272. Cf. also R.T. McLay, *Use of the Septuagint*, 107-114; R.T. McLay, “Biblical Texts,” 51-55; M. Karrer, “Hebrews and the Septuagint,” 349-353.

³ Cf. also C. Spicq, *Hébreux I*; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen*; G.W. Buchanan, *Hebrews*; B. Pixner, “The Jerusalem Essenes, Barnabas and the Letter to the Hebrews,” in Z.J. Kapera (ed.), *Intertestamental Essays in honour of Josef Tadeusz Milik* (Jerusalem: Krakow, 1992) 167-178; and others.

⁴ Phrase indebted to T. Lim during personal discussion at the University of Edinburgh on 14 July 2006.

⁵ Please note the word “similar”. It is not at all the intention of this study to propose that the author of Hebrews and the DSS community/ies had any direct contact.

should be taken more seriously in Hebrews than might be the case in the other NT books. It relates particularly to the Psalter,⁶ of which a substantial number of the explicit quotations in Hebrews was taken from.⁷ 11QPs, however, is of little use as none of the Psalms quoted in Hebrews were preserved amongst the 41 canonical Psalms found in it. However, the relation between the text readings found amongst the DSS, those of the LXX witnesses, and the quotations in Hebrews, needs much more attention.⁸ How does one explain, for instance, the fact that the subject matter of Heb 1:1-5 agrees closely with that of 4QFlor,⁹ that three of the seven texts quoted there overlap with Hebrews (2 Sam 7:10-14; Isa 8:11 and Ps 2:7) and that Ps 45:1-2 is also quoted in the DSS? But apart from the Psalter, what does one do with the striking prominence of the Melchizedek motif shared in 11QMelch and Hebrews? Although one might differ on the detail of some similarities as briefly pointed out in the past, one must take note of the special affinity to the DSS which is shown by Hebrews.¹⁰ Added to this is the fact that the Hebrew equivalents of the introductory formulae in the NT are found in greater abundance in the Qumran literature than amongst all the known early rabbinic literature (such as the Mishnah).¹¹

It is striking, however, that some of these motifs show close parallels with each other. At least six of the quoted texts in Hebrews are to be found in the DSS: Ps 95(94) and 2 Sam 7:14 (*vid. 4QFlor I:7; 4Q372* and the motif of *rest*); Gen 14 and Ps 110:4 (*vid. 11QMelch* and the motif of the *royal priest*); Jer 31(38):31-34 (*vid. CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33; 20:12* and the motif of the *new covenant*); Deut 9:19 (*vid. 4Q378* and the motif of the *law on Sinai*). But the similarities are even closer than mere motifs. Four of the quoted texts in Hebrews have also been quoted in the DSS, although a different verse from them: Ps 2:7 (4Q174=Ps 2:1); Isa 8:17-18 (4Q174=Isa 8:11); Ps 45:7 (4Q171=Ps 45:1-2); Ps 118:6 (4QpPs^b=Ps 118:26-27). Closest, however, are four quoted texts in Hebrews that have already clearly been quoted also

⁶ E. Tov pointed to these during the August 2000 SNTS conference in Tel Aviv.

⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 14; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 9; D.-A. Koch, “Schriftauslegung II,” 465.

⁸ For an overview of studies in this regard, refer to E. Grässer, “Hebräerbrief 1938-1963,” 171-176; F.F. Bruce, “To the Hebrews’ or ‘to the Essenes?’,” *NTS* 9 (1962/63) 217-232; I.W. Batdorf, “Hebrews and Qumran: Old Methods and New Directions,” in E.H. Barth & R.E. Cootroft (ed.), *Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich*, (Leiden: Brill, 1972) 16-35. See also M. Wilcox, “According to the pattern (TBNYT)...”: Exodus 25,40 in the New Testament and Early Jewish Thought,” *Revue de Qumran* 13/49-52 (1988) 647-656.

⁹ Also that of Heb 1:5-13 according to H.W. Bateman, “Messianic Uses,” 11-27.

¹⁰ “The fact that next to Acts the Epistle to the Hebrews shows so much affinity to the DSS proves once again, from a different angle, the strong connection between these two New Testament writings” (J. de Waard, *Comparative Study*, 81-82). Cf. also H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 28-29; F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, li; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 381ff.

¹¹ J.A. Fitzmyer, “Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls,” in L.E. Keck & J.L. Martyn (ed.), *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honour of Paul Schubert* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon Press, 1968) 233-257, on p. 253. For a comparison between NT and rabbinical formulas, cf. M.S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics. A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 504; and B.M. Metzger, “Formulas,” 297-307.

in the DSS: 2 Sam 7:14 (4QFlor I:10, 12); Ps 22:23 (1QH 12:3); Ps 104:4 (1QH 1:11) and Hab 2:3b-4 (1QpHab 7:9-16).

1.3 Commonalities with Philo of Alexandria

Almost all the Torah quotations in Hebrews are to be found in Philo's writings (except for the allusions to Gen 47:31 and the quotations from Deut 9:19 and Deut 32:43). The following table presents an overview:

Philo	OT quotation	Hebrews reference	Cross-reference
<i>Poster. 64; Leg. 1,2-3.6.16</i>	Gen 2:2	Heb 4:4	
<i>Leg. 3,79</i> <i>DeCongr. 99 (Heb 7:3)</i>	Gen 14:17-20	Heb 7:1-2, 4	1QapGn 22:14-17 (11QMelch) (1QLamech 22:14)
<i>Leg. 3,87 (3:245)</i>	Gen 21:12	Heb 11:18	<i>TestAbr</i> 8:5ff /12 Rom 9:7
<i>Leg. 3,203</i>	Gen 22:16-17	Heb 6:13-14	
<i>QuEx 2:36 (QuEx 2:47)</i>	Exod 24:8	Heb 9:20	
<i>Leg. 3,102</i>	Exod 25:40	Heb 8:5	
<i>Conf. 166</i>	Deut 31:6	Heb 13:5	
<i>Leg. 3,105 (Deut 32:35)</i>	Deut 32:35-36	Heb 10:30	2 Macc 7:6
<i>Congr 177</i>	Prov 3:11	Heb 12:5-6	

It is simply too coincidental that such a large amount of quotations from Philo are to be found in Hebrews, and many times with the exact same reading – against that of the LXX and MT. Also interesting is the fact that both the author of Hebrews as well as Philo quote *explicitly* only from three books in the Torah: Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy. It was interesting to note that the unknown author of Hebrews mainly made use of these books in the Torah. The scale on which the author utilised Deuteronomy in particular, is astonishing!¹² Apart from the explicit quotations that were mainly found in the Song of Moses (Deut 32), an immense amount of references or implied knowledge of Deuteronomy surfaced here.

The relation between Philo and Hebrews has long since been noted, although the specific nature of this relation is difficult to establish. The themes that are discussed in

¹² Cf. G.J. Steyn, "Deuteronomy," 152-168; D.M. Allen, *Deuteronomy*, loc. cit.

Hebrews show similarities with Philo's works, e.g. *De cherubim*, *De vita Mosis*, *De Abrahamo*, etc. Some of the very same quotations re-appear in Clement of Rome and by Justin Martyr – either with the same reading and as an explicit quotation, or as an allusion. Striking, however, is that some of these quotations, where they share the exact same reading, differ with the known readings of the LXX and the MT. With the exception of the quotation from Deut 31:6 (often ascribed to Gen 28:15), most of these are to be found in Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*. Four appear again in Justin and two in Clement. The quotation from Gen 22:17 is to be found in Philo, Hebrews, Clement and Justin. There is also an overlap between Philo and the DSS (the paraphrase from Gen 14:17-20). Roughly a quarter of the explicit quotations (quoted texts) in Hebrews are to be found in Philo. The readings of all the explicit Torah quotations (allusions and references excluded), are in agreement with the readings as found in Philo – against those of the MT and the LXX.¹³ This raises the suspicion that both Hebrews and Philo might have known and used here an earlier LXX version. It could well be that they independently used the same version of the Scriptures in another form from that known to us in the reconstructed versions of the LXX and the MT. This might actually even strengthen possible Alexandrian commonalities between the two. If Hebrews did not know and use Philo directly, then they both knew the same literary and/or oral tradition. The argument that different interpretations and applications by Philo and Hebrews should testify against this, does not make sense. Both could simply have applied the same texts differently.

1.4 Commonalities with early NT literature

Apart from a number of quotations that have shown commonalities with the DSS and with Philo of Alexandria, a number of quotations were also to be found quoted already in the early NT literature. They occurred before Hebrews' time, almost exclusively in Paul's letters to the Romans and 1 Corinthians. Some have parallels with both Paul and the DSS (e.g. Hab 2:3-4 in Rom 1:17b, Gal 3:11b and 1QpHab 7:9-16), whilst others have parallels between Paul and Philo (e.g. Gen 21:12 in Rom 9:7 and *Spec.Leg.* 3:87). One quotation also occurred in Paul's first speech in Acts (Ps 2:7 in Acts 13:33). Add to these Ps 22(21) and Ps 118(117) that were taken from well-known Psalms already quoted before Hebrews by NT writers. The following table gives an overview:

¹³ G.J. Steyn, "Torah Quotations," 135-151.

NT occurrence	OT quotation	Hebrews	Quotation in Hebrews
Rom 1:17b / Gal 3:11b	Hab 2:4b	10:37-38	Hab 2:3-4
Rom 9:5 (allusion)	Ps 45:8	1:8-9	Ps 45:6-7
Rom 9:7	Gen 21:12b	11:18	Gen 21:12
Rom 9:33-34; 1 Pet 2:8	Isa 8:14	2:13	Isa 8:17-18
Rom 10:6 (allusion)	Deut 9:4	12:21	Deut 9:19
Rom 12:19; Luke 21:22	Deut 32:36	10:30	Deut 32:35-36
Rom 15:10	Deut 32:43 LXX / Ode 2	1:6	Deut 32:43 LXX / Ode 2
1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6	Jer 31:(31?)	8:8-12; 10:16-17	Jer 31:31-34
1 Cor 11:25	Exod 24:8	9:20	Exod 24:8
1 Cor 15:25; Mark 12:36; Acts 2:34	Ps 110:1	1:13	Ps 110:1
1 Cor 15:27; Matt 21:16; Eph 1:22	Ps 8:7	2:6-8	Ps 8:5-7
Acts 13:33	Ps 2:7	1:5; 5:5	Ps 2:7
Gospels; 1 Pet	Ps 118:22-23, 25-26	13:5-6	Ps 118:6
Gospels	Ps 104:12	1:7	Ps 104:4

Summa: Given the information above, it means evidence exists that three quarters of all the explicit quotations in Hebrews were already used as quotations in the Jewish literature before his time with parallels in the DSS, Philo and early NT literature. It is interesting to see that there is an overlap of more than one quotation between Hebrews and the following documents: 4QFlor; 1QH; 1QpHab; Philo's *Leg.* 3 and 1 Cor 15. The fact that those quotations that coincide with Romans are also to be found prior to Paul, begs for caution here. But, how should this overlap be understood? This needs further investigation.

1.5. No existing evidence of parallels elsewhere

Some of the quotations, however, remain unaccounted for: Pss 40(39):7-8; 102(101):26-28; 110(109):4; 118(117):6; and Hag 2:6. These belong to Hebrews only and no existing evidence of its use – as quotations – prior to Hebrews could be found. Possible evidence of liturgical use with some quotations can be deduced from our study, at least with regard to the last quotation in Hebrews: Ps 118(117):6.¹⁴

¹⁴ See G.J. Steyn, "Ps 118(117):6 in Hebrews 13:6," 119-134.

2. The nature of the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews – in the light of the text critical investigation

One could limit the reasons for the differences in the readings between the LXX text of the quotations and the readings in Hebrews to the following possibilities:

- (a) The existence of another LXX *Vorlage* than that as currently represented by the eclectic LXX texts – *with* attestation by particular witnesses (and with care to be taken for reverse correction by the copiers of the LXX based on their knowledge of the NT readings).
- (b) The existence of another LXX *Vorlage* than that as currently represented by the eclectic LXX texts, but *without* any attestation by the extant manuscripts (which might only cautiously be determined in the overall amount of available data from the internal evidence).
- (c) Differences that actually represent changes made by the NT author himself to his *Vorlage* (due to either stylistic reasons, or theological reasons, or both).

As this study attempts first to establish the NT author's *Vorlage*, before any remarks can be made about the author's own hermeneutical adaptation of his quoted texts in their new contexts, two steps need to be implemented in order responsibly to establish the reading of such a possible *Vorlage*. Firstly, the texts of both the NT and the LXX need to be established. It was noted earlier in this study that there are good reasons to consider some modifications to these eclectic texts at certain points. Secondly, given the fact that the textual witnesses are the only concrete evidence that one has, we need to return to these, sift through the available evidence and work our way back through the textual traditions and variant readings in our quest for the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations. Only after these two steps have been implemented are we in a position to distinguish between differences due to the author's *Vorlage* and those due to his own stylistic changes.

2.1 Modification of the eclectic texts

2.1.1 Possible modifications to the eclectic NT text of the quotations in Hebrews

Some possible modifications to the eclectic text of Hebrews might be considered, particularly in the light of the oldest textual witness of Hebrews, namely P^{46} . It is important that, in the following cases, P^{46} and the 4th cent. C.E. Codex B testify to the same reading. Unfortunately, in none of these cases has the text been preserved by the 3rd/4th cent. C.E. P^{13} – which might have assisted in determining the most authentic text. The following two cases fall into this category:

- Heb 1:8 = Hebrews' *Vorlage* of Ps 45(44):6-7 read $\sigma\omega$ after $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and is so attested by all the LXX witnesses. It is suggested that Hebrews should, however, read $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{o}\hat{u}$, not only based on the evidence of P^{46} , but also in the light of its combination with B and κ . The alternative, $\sigma\omega$, is attested by the later witnesses A D K L P Ψ 0121b – perhaps influenced by the LXX reading.
- Heb 8:10 = The variant $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega$ in the first and longer quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 – attested by the NT witnesses P^{46} B (also B-LXX) Ψ – should be considered against $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\omega$ (attested by κ A D and others).

There are also some similar cases to those above, but where P^{46} testifies in combination with the later 6th cent. C.E. Codex D (Claromontanus), to the variant reading.¹⁵ None of these cases, again, has been preserved by P^{13} . Might it be possible that these readings of P^{46} , the proto-Alexandrian and oldest witness to Hebrews, found their way into the later Western text? Examples are the following:

- Heb 8:11 = There is a possibility that $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{o}\hat{u}$ should be omitted between $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\nu$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$ in the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34. The omission is attested by P^{46} and D* – mainly against κ A B and others.
- Heb 10:6 = The singular $\acute{\delta}\lambda\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ in the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9, should also be considered in the light of the combination of P^{46} and D. There is little doubt that the singular is the reading of the LXX. The NT witnesses that support the plural, as followed by the eclectic text, include κ A B and others.

¹⁵ F.W Beare lists 20 such cases where P^{46} and D are in agreement against κ A B and C. His conclusion, however, is that “there is nothing resembling a consistent Western support for these readings” (*Text of Hebrews*, 395-396).

- Heb 10:7 = There is also a possibility that γάρ should be included between γέγραπται and περὶ ἐμοῦ in the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9. The inclusion is attested by P⁴⁶ and D*.²

Some cases, however, where a modification on the basis of P⁴⁶ might be considered, are more difficult and doubtful. Here too, our fragmented version of P¹³ did not include these passages. Examples are the following:

- Heb 2:6 = Hebrews' *Vorlage* of Ps 8:5-7 read τί, but Hebrews should probably read τίς. The former (τί) is attested by B in both the LXX and the NT, as well as by κ A and D in the NT. The latter (τίς) is attested by A in the LXX and by P⁴⁶ C* P in the NT. The weight of P⁴⁶, as well as the fact that the reading differs in A between the LXX and NT, should be taken more seriously here.
- Heb 5:6; 7:17, 21 = The NT text should probably include εἰ in all three cases of the quotation from Ps 110(109):4, based on the readings of P⁴⁶ (and D² K in the last two cases). This is also in agreement with the LXX witnesses.

There is one case where evidence from P⁴⁶ is missing and not documented in the eclectic NT text:

- Heb 8:5 = The omission of ποιήσεις in the quotation from Exod 25:4 in P⁴⁶ has not been indicated in the text critical apparatus of NA27 and needs to be listed. It is also lacking at this position in Philo *Leg.* 3,102, but is transposed to the end of the quotation there. It is unlikely, however, that it would be missing altogether in the original NT reading, as this will leave the quotation without its main verb. Thus, apart from just ensuring that the omission in P⁴⁶ is listed in the text critical apparatus of NA27, the NT text most probably included it anyway – as indeed followed by the reconstructed eclectic text.

2.1.2 Possible modifications to the eclectic LXX text of passages quoted in Hebrews

A survey of the data that has been gathered, points to modifications of the eclectic LXX text that should be considered. This is mainly based on the evidence of the 2nd / 4th cent. C.E. PBod XXIV (Ra 2110), which clearly represents an alternative version to the readings of the Greek Psalms in the later codices at a number of places. Not only does one have here one of the oldest Greek witnesses to the Psalms, but also one that stands alone in its variant readings and close to those represented in the explicit quotations of Hebrews. It is interesting to note that the Bohairian and Sahidic witnesses sometimes are the only witnesses that align closer

with PBod XXIV. Following the order then of the passages quoted in Hebrews, the following cases should all be considered in the light of this papyrus:

- Ps 104(103):4 = The Greek *Vorlage* probably also read πυρὸς φλόγα as in Heb 1:7 and not πῦρ φλέγον as in the reconstructed eclectic LXX text.
- Ps 95(94):7-11 = The Greek *Vorlage* probably also read ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ as in Heb 3:10 and not ἐδοκίμασαν as in the reconstructed eclectic LXX text.
- Ps 40(39):7-9 = The Greek *Vorlage* probably also read σῶμα as in Heb 10:5 and not ωτία as in the reconstructed eclectic LXX text. This is based, not only on the evidence of PBod XXIV, but also on the LXX versions of κ A B.¹⁶
- Ps 40(39):7-9 = It is interesting that only PBod XXIV reads εἰπα while all other LXX witnesses read ειπον as in Heb 10:7. In the quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11, the LXX reading is also εἰπα, but was changed to ειπον in Heb 3:10.

It is particularly the latter two cases that are extremely interesting for this investigation. They both relate to the quotation from LXX Ps 39 and are both identical to the version used by the author of Hebrews. An interesting and somewhat more uncertain case is the remaining textual variant from Ps 40(39):7-9. It was suggested in the section on the modification of the eclectic NT text above, that Hebrews probably might have had the singular ὀλοκαυτώμα in Heb 10:6, based on the evidence of P⁴⁶ and D – similar to the reconstructed eclectic LXX text. The LXX alternative, with the plural ὀλοκαυτώματα, is supported by the evidence of PBod XXIV (as well as by R L A 2013). This places the readings of P⁴⁶ (the oldest NT witness on Hebrews) and that of PBod XXIV in opposition to each other, probably pointing here to a change that was made by the author of Hebrews.

Another very interesting case, relating to the reconstruction of the LXX text, is the quotation from Deut 32:35-36 in the *Canticum Mosis*. The addition of ἐμοὶ and the alternative ἐκδικήσις (as in the NT, not ἐκδικήσεως as in the LXX) that seem to have been added in Heb 10:30, were most probably also already part of the author's *Vorlage*. This is attested by the newly recovered Symmachus-reading of Deut 32:35¹⁷ as argued during the discussion of this quotation earlier in our investigation. To these alternatives, one might add the omission of the phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ and the inclusion of ἐγώ – all of which appear in both Paul (Rom 12:19) and in Hebrews (10:30). These readings bring the text closer to the MT, which is interesting, although not the criterium for choosing these possibilities. It simultaneously also creates a

¹⁶ This reading is also supported by Buchanan, Attridge and Karrer.

¹⁷ ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσεις καὶ ἀνταποδώσω.

perfect parallelistic phrase. Given all this evidence, one has here the remnants of a Greek version of the *Canticum Mosis*, which differs from that of the eclectic LXX text, being closer to the Hebrew, and was known to both Paul and the author of Hebrews. This is supported by the other quotation from the Song of Moses, namely Deut 32:43, which was quoted in Heb 1:6. The evidence from 4QDeut there, supported the existence of an alternative Hebrew version similar to that of LXX Deut 32:43.

The last passage that needs consideration regarding the modification of the LXX text is that of Hab 2:3b-4. Two changes to the reconstructed eclectic LXX text should be considered here in the light of 8H_evXIIigr. Firstly, the Greek *Vorlage* probably read *aὐτοῦ* and not *μον* – the latter possibly due to the other LXX witnesses that read the *waw* as a *yod*. Secondly, the definite article *ὁ* precedes *δὲ δίκαιος* in 8H_evXIIigr (as in Heb 10:38). These changes bring the text, incidentally, also closer to the reading of the MT.

2.2 Assessing and evaluating the data via the Greek variants

After the texts of the NT and the LXX have now been established, the differences between these two versions can be addressed. There are thus those, on the one hand, that could be explained on the basis of a different *Vorlage* that was used by the author of Hebrews, and those, on the other hand, that were due to the hand of the author. Before an informed opinion can be formulated, however, one needs to evaluate the evidence of this investigation. This will be done by means of two tables that are collating the (external!) evidence regarding the readings of the explicit quotations in Hebrews. Table I will provide a synopsis of the differences between the LXX and NT texts and where the NT readings are *supported* by LXX textual traditions. Table II will provide a synopsis of the differences between the LXX and NT texts, but where *no LXX support* exists for the NT reading.

2.2.1 Table I: Differences between Hebrews and the LXX with LXX textual support

A comparative survey of the main variants and their witnesses is presented in the table below. An interesting phenomenon unfolds with regard to what one may call, “double textual traditions,” in a number of these cases. This means that in a number of cases two distinct readings developed alongside each other in the textual tradition. Some of these occur amongst the LXX witnesses, some amongst the NT witnesses, and sometimes in both. In order to

attempt an interpretation of this data, the following criteria have been developed *as guidelines* and might assist us in determining the authentative reading in each instance.

Criterium I: If there is a clear double variant tradition in both the LXX and the NT, then it might be difficult to make a choice only on the basis of the textual evidence. It might simply represent a parallel tradition which, within a textual theory of the existence of a multiplicity of texts, means that alternative textual traditions developed alongside each other from an early stage.

Criterium II: If there is a clear double variant tradition only in the LXX, but a single, uniformed tradition in the NT, then it is possible that the LXX might have changed its reading at some point to be on a par with that of the NT. The alternative reading of the LXX should then be preferred as more authentic, unless the text critical evidence of the LXX supports the similar reading of the NT.

Criterium III: If there is a clear double variant tradition only in the NT, but a single, uniformed tradition in the LXX, then it is possible that the LXX did not alter its reading to adapt to the NT, but that an alternative tradition started in later NT textual witnesses to be in agreement with the reading of the LXX. If the text critical evidence of the NT supports the similar reading of the LXX, then that reading should be preferred.

After the criteria, or guidelines, have been applied, the second column from the right in the table below distinguishes then between NT readings that could be ascribed to the author's *Vorlage* and those that are to be ascribed the hand of the NT author himself. If the authentic NT reading and the authentic LXX readings are in agreement with each other, then there is, of course, no difference between the two – which implies that the NT reading is in agreement with the author's *Vorlage*. However, if the NT and LXX authentic readings differ, then the difference might be ascribed to the author. The last column indicates then, in these cases, what type of difference it might be.

Heb	Quotation	LXX variants	NT variants	Crite- rium	Author/ <i>Vorlage</i>	Type of difference
1:6	Deut 32:43 /Ode 2:43	Deut 32 νίοὶ θεοῦ (all mss) txt Ode 2 ἄγγελοι θεοῦ (all mss) txt	ἄγγελοι θεοῦ (all mss) txt	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	
1:7	Ps 104 (103):4	πυρ φλέγον txt πυρος φλόγα PBod	πυρὸς φλόγα (all mss) txt	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	

		XXIV Bo Sa L ^b A ^c (φλέγα!)				
1:8-9	Ps 45:6-7 (44:7-8)	<i>Om καί</i> (at 1 st ὁάβδος) (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	<i>Ins καί txt</i> <i>Om καί</i> (at 1 st ὁάβδος) D ² Ψ E K L P 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 6. 81. 104. 326. 1175. 1834. 0278. 1881. ℳ f t vg ^{cl} sy Ju Or Eus Ath GrNy Chr Thret	III	Author	Addition
1:8-9	Ps 45:6-7 (44:7-8)	ἀνομίαν <i>txt</i> ἀδικίαν 2013' A	ἀνομίαν <i>txt</i> ἀδικίαν καὶ A 33 ^{vid} pc; Or Eus (<i>DemEv</i>) Ath	I	<i>Vorlage</i>	
1:8-9	Ps 45:6-7 (44:7-8)	σου (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	σου <i>txt</i> αὐτοῦ P ⁴⁶ καὶ B	III	Author	Substitution αὐτοῦ
1:10-2	Ps 102(101) :26-28	ἀλλάξεις <i>txt</i> ἐλίξεις B' R(<i>ellipsis</i>) L'' (He εἰληξης) A'' (1219 ἰλιξις, 55 εἰλειξεις): cf. Hebr. 1:12; Isa 34:4.	ἐλίξεις P ⁴⁶ A B <i>txt</i> ἀλλάξεις καὶ D* t vg ^{cl.ww} ; Ath	I	Author	Substitution (This is a typical example of cross- retrovertic correction by later copiers)
2:6-8	Ps 8:5-7	τί <i>txt</i> τίς L ^{pau} A (12 minuscules)	τί καὶ A B D <i>txt</i> τίς P ⁴⁶ C* P 0150. 81. 104. 1881 pc d vg ^{mss} bo	I	Author	Substitution
2:6-8	Ps 8:5-7	<i>Incl καὶ</i> κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου (<i>all</i> <i>mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	<i>Om P⁴⁶ B D² ℳ vg^{mss}</i> + internal support (comm. omits) <i>txt</i> <i>Incl καὶ A</i>	III	Author	Omission
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	Om <i>txt</i> Incl με [οἱ πατέρες] R'- Aug Ga L'' 1219 ℳ .	<i>Incl με [οἱ πατέρες]</i> καὶ D ² Ψ 0243. 0278. 1739. 1881 ℳ lat sy bo. <i>Om P⁴⁶ A B etc txt</i>	I	<i>Vorlage</i>	
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	ἐδοκιμασαν <i>txt</i> + με Ga(sub *) L''	ἐδοκιμασαν με καὶ D ² Ψ 0278. ℳ a vg ^{mss}	I	<i>Vorlage</i>	

		A' ℳ ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ PBod XXIV	sy ^(p) ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ <i>txt</i>			
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	εἴδοσαν <i>txt</i> ειδον καὶ L' A''	ειδον (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	δέο = Bo ^D R Thtp <i>Om</i> δέο <i>txt</i>	δέο (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Addition
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	ἐκείνη (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	ταύτη <i>txt</i> ἐκείνη C D ² Ψ 0278. ℳ a vg ^{mss} sy bo	III	Author	Substitution
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	εἰπα <i>txt</i> ειπον L ^b TTht ^p He* A' (1219 deest): cf. 29,7	ειπον <i>txt</i> εἰπα A [<i>This variant is not indicated in NA27</i>]	II	Author	Substitution
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	αὐτοὶ <i>txt</i> αὐτοὶ δε καὶ L' A'' et Psalm Rom	αὐτοὶ δε (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Addition
3:7-11	Ps 95(94): 7-11	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ PBod XXIV Sa L ^{pau}	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Vorlage	
4:3	Ps 95(94):11	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ Sa L ^{pau} He A*: ante εὶσ	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ p ^{13.vid} A pc	I	Vorlage	
4:5	Ps 95(94):11	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ Sa L ^{pau}	εἰ εἰσελεύσονται <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ p ¹³ D* 81. 629. 1739. pc bo	I	Vorlage	
5:6	Ps 110(109):4	Incl εὶ B etc <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ L' A'	Incl εὶ p ⁴⁶ P 629 pc <i>Om</i> εὶ καὶ A B D etc <i>txt</i>	I	Vorlage?	
6:13-4	Gen 22:17	η μήν <i>txt</i> εὶ μήν A	εὶ μήν <i>txt</i> η μήν Ψ 1739. 1881 ℳ	I	Author	Substitution
7:17, 21	Ps 110(109):4	Incl εὶ <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> εὶ L' A'	Incl εὶ p ⁴⁶ D ² K P 326. 1175 <i>Om</i> εὶ καὶ A B etc <i>txt</i>	I	Vorlage	Incl εὶ
7:21	Ps 110(109):4	<i>Om</i> κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	Incl κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ καὶ A D Ψ 1739. 1881. ℳ vg ^{mss} sy bo ^{pt} ; Eus <i>Om</i> p ⁴⁶ (καὶ) B C etc <i>txt</i>	III	Vorlage	
8:8	Jer 31(38):31	φησίν <i>txt</i>	λέγει (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution

		λέγει καὶ Α				
8:10	Jer 31(38):33	γράψω (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	ἐπιγράψω καὶ Α Δ <i>txt</i> γράψω β ⁴⁶ Β Ψ; Cl	III	<i>Vorlage</i>	γράψω
8:10 10:16	Jer 31(38):33	δώσω καὶ Β <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> rest of mss	<i>Om</i> δώσω (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	
8:11	Jer 31(38):34	αὐτῶν καί (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	<i>Om</i> αὐτῶν καί <i>txt</i> <i>Incl</i> αὐτῶν Δ ¹ Μ sy co	III	Author	Omission
8:11	Jer 31(38):34	αὐτοῦ αντε λέγων (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	αὐτοῦ καὶ Α Β <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> αὐτοῦ β ⁴⁶ Δ*	III	Author	Omission αὐτού
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	εἰπον <i>txt</i> εἰπα PBod XXIV	εἰπον <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution from εἰπα
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	ώτια <i>txt</i> σῶμα PBod XXIV	σῶμα (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	σῶμα
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	όλοκαυτώμα <i>txt</i> όλοκαυτώματα PBod XXIV Bo 2013' R'' L'' A'	όλοκαυτώμα β ⁴⁶ D 1881. vg ^{ms} sa ^{mss} όλοκαυτώματα καὶ Α Β <i>txt</i>	I	Author	Substitution όλοκαυτώμα
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	<i>Om</i> γάρ (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	<i>Om</i> γάρ <i>txt</i> <i>Incl</i> γάρ β ⁴⁶ D*. ²	III	Author	Addition γάρ
10:16	Jer 31(38):33	γράψω <i>txt</i> ἐπιγράψω Α	ἐπιγράψω (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution
10:17	Jer 31(38):34	μνησθῶ (<i>all mss</i>)	μνησθῶ β ⁴⁶ κ ² Δ ² Ψ ^{vid} Μ μνησθήσομαι <i>txt</i>	III	<i>Vorlage</i>	μνησθῶ
10:30a	Deut 32:35	ἐκδικήσεως <i>txt</i> ἔμοι ἐκδίκησις ἐγώ Symm.	ἔμοι ἐκδίκησις ἐγώ ¹ (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	
10:37	Hab 2:3	οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ <i>txt</i> οὐ χρονίσῃ V II'- 410 87*-534 Cyr. ^P Tht.	Οὐ χρονίσει (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution
10:37	Hab 2:3	ἐρχόμενος <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> 46 130'	ὁ ἐρχόμενος (<i>all</i> <i>mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Addition
10:37	Hab 2:3	χρονίσῃ <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> II-86-410 26 Bas.N. Thph. ^{comm}	χρονίσει (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution
10:38	Hab 2:4	ἐάν <i>txt</i> <i>Om</i> 410 AethArm	καὶ ἐάν (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Addition

		Cyr. ^P (=X 965)				
10:38	Hab 2:4	ἐκ πίστεως μου <i>txt</i> μου ἐκ πίστεως A'-49 –407 36-III C-68 Ach Arm ^P Tht.Thph.	μου ἐκ πίστεως <i>txt</i> ἐκ πίστεως μου D [*] <i>pc</i> μ sy	I	Author	Word order (Transposition)
10:38	Hab 2:4	μοῦ <i>txt</i> αὐτοῦ 8HevXIIgr	μοῦ <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Substitution (αὐτοῦ)
10:38	Hab 2:4	δικαίος <i>txt</i> ὁ δικαίος 8HevXIIgr	ὁ δικαίος <i>txt</i>	II	<i>Vorlage</i>	
12:5-6	Prov 3:11	νίέ, μή <i>txt</i>	νίέ μου, μή <i>txt</i> νίέ μή D [*] 81. 614. 630. 1241 ^s <i>pc b</i>	III	Author	Addition
13:5	Deut 31:6	οὕτε μή <i>txt</i> οὐδ' οὐ μή 83 [*]	οὐδ' οὐ μή (<i>all mss</i>) <i>txt</i>	II	Author	Addition
13:6	Ps 117(118):6	<i>Om kai</i> <i>txt</i> <i>Incl kai</i> L' A'	<i>Om kai</i> κ [*] C [*] P 0285 ^{vid.} 33. 1175. 1739 <i>pc lat sy^P</i> <i>Incl kai</i> <i>txt</i>	I	Author	Addition

There are 17 cases that could probably be explained on the basis of a different *Vorlage*. Another 27 cases might be identified as possible changes by the hand of the author:

- Half of these are *substitutions* (14). In three of these cases the Hellenistic forms (εἰδοσαν, εἰπα *bis*) are replaced with Attic forms (ειδον, ειπον *bis*) in LXX Ps 39 and Ps 94. Three substitutions involve close semantic parallels: η μήν to εἰ μήν in the quotation from Gen 22; φησιν to λέγει in LXX Jer 38; and ἐπιγράψω for γράψω – the latter only in the re-quotation of LXX Jer 38. In three more cases we have a change in person or number: twice from the 2nd pers. (σου, LXX Ps 44) to the 3rd pers. (αὐτοῦ), or from the 3rd pers. (αὐτοῦ, Hab 2) to the 1st pers. (μου), as well as from the plural (όλοκαυτώματα) to the singular (όλοκαυτώμα) in LXX Ps 39. A further change of a pronoun is that of ἐκείνη to ταύτη in LXX Ps 94. Related to this trend is the possible change from τί (“what?”) to τίς (“who?”) in Ps 8. Another case involves the change (twice) from the aorist subjunctive (οὐ μη χρονίσῃ) to the future indicative (οὐ χρονίσει) in Hab 2. A more radical difference is that from ἀλλάξεις (“exchange”) to ἐλίξεις (“roll up”) in LXX Ps 101.

- About a third of these cases are *additions* (9). Six of them involve the addition of conjunctions: three times καὶ (LXX Pss 44, 117, Hab 2), once each δέ and διό (LXX Ps 94) and once γάρ (LXX Ps 39). Also the personal pronoun μου (Prov 3), the article ὁ (Hab 2) and the added οὐ (Deut 31) for the emphatic negative οὐ μή with its appropriate morphological change from οὐτε to οὐδ' due to the insertion.
- Three *omissions* were identified. One of these is the complete phrase from Ps 8, the other is the omission of the pronoun αὐτοῦ and the words αὐτῶν καὶ in the long quotation from LXX Jer 38.
- A single *change in word order* (transposition) occurred in the quotation from Hab 2.

2.2.2 Table II: Differences between Hebrews and the LXX with no LXX textual support

It is almost impossible to decide in the cases below whether these differences were due to another *Vorlage* or to the hand of the author of Hebrews. Should one argue in favour of another *Vorlage* here for the quotations in Hebrews, assuming then that Hebrews has the authentic reading, then one does not have any traces of such an alternative textual tradition or its *Nachwirkung* in any of the extant LXX witnesses. On the other hand, should one argue that these were changes that were made by the author himself with regard to his *Vorlage*, assuming that the LXX readings represent the authentic tradition, then one needs to explain why this has not emerged as an alternative textual tradition amongst the NT witnesses.

One criterium that might assist us in making a decision between another *Vorlage* or the hand of the author might be to search for certain *tendencies* amongst these differences and to compare these then with similar tendencies in Table I above – where those changes, assumed to have been made by the author, were easier to identify due to their manifestation in variants of the textual traditions. From the 29 cases listed below according to the types of NT differences,

- The highest percentage, almost a third (ten), involves *additions* to the LXX readings. Apart from the two cases where ἐπί + accusative replaced the dative in the first and longer quotation of Jer 31(38), could all the others be explained in terms of emphatic purposes within the context of the NT author's argument.
- Close to another third (nine), are cases where *substitutions* are found between the LXX and NT text readings. Three of these nine (in the quotations from the longer LXX Jer 38 and from Exod 24) involve a substitution of διατίθημι – once with συντελέω, once with

ποιέω, and once with ἐντέλλομαι. A further three cases present a semantically related alternative: ἀπαγγελῶ for διηγήσομαι of the LXX Ps 21; the consistent replacement of the alternative λέγω (three times) in the NT text, whereas the LXX text of Jer 38 itself reads φήσιν in those places; and εὐδόκησας for ἤτησας of the LXX Ps 39. In two cases (Gen 22 and the re-quotation of LXX Jer 38) the objects are merely replaced with a pronoun. The remaining case involves the replacement of ἵδού with τοῦτο – which brings the Exod 24 quotation closer to the Eucharist formula.

- About a fifth (six) involve a *change in word order*. The passages involved, are all representative of those where the author made some hymnic adaptations: the two “Jesus-sayings” (LXX Ps 21 + Isa 8 and LXX Ps 39), the re-quotation of LXX Jer 38; the conflated Hab 2 quotation and Hag 2.
- Only two *omissions* are found, of which one is a mere stylistic use of καί in LXX Ps 94. The other, however, is an extensive phrase from the second and shorter LXX Jer 38 quotation. It is thus likely that the author probably omitted this phrase – a similar case as with the quotation from Ps 8 in Heb 2.
- One case involves a *temporal change* from the perfect participle δεδειγμένον of LXX Exod 25 (and Philo *Leg. 3*) to the aorist δειχθέντα.
- One case also involves a *change in person*, from the 3rd pers. sg. aor. subj. ἀνὴ...ἐγκαταλίπῃ of Deut 31 LXX, to the 1st person singular ἀνῷ...ἐγκαταλίπω.

Heb	Quotation	LXX – all witnesses	NT – all witnesses	Type of NT difference
1:8-9	Ps 45:6-7 (44:7-8)	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> καί η ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος	Addition
1:10-12	Ps 102(101): 26-28	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> ὡς ἴματιον	Addition
1:10-12	Ps 102(101): 26-28	κατ' ἀρχάς συ	σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς	Word order
2:12	Ps 22(21):23	διηγήσομαι	ἀπαγγελῶ	Substitution
2:13	Isa 8:17, 18	πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι	ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθώς	Word order
3:7-11	Ps 95(94):7-11	<i>Incl</i> καί (after τῇ καρδίᾳ)	<i>Om</i>	Omission
4:4	Gen 2:2	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> ὁ θεός ἐν	Addition
6:13-14	Gen 22:17	<i>Incl</i> τὸ σπέρμα σου	<i>Om</i> – substitution σε	Substitution
8:5	Exod 25:40	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> πάντα (after ποιήσεις)	Addition
8:5	Exod 25:40	δεδειγμένον	δειχθέντα	Temporal
8:8	Jer 31(38):31	διαθήσομαι	συντελέσω	Substitution

		(τῷ οἶκῷ)	ἐπί (τὸν οικον)	Addition
8:8	Jer 31(38):31	τῷ οἶκῷ (2 nd instance)	ἐπὶ τὸν οικον (2 nd instance)	Addition
8:9	Jer 31(38):32	διεθέμην	ἐποίησα	Substitution
8:9, 10; 10:16	Jer 31(38):31-33	φησὶν κύριος (3x)	λέγει κύριος (3x)	Substitution
9:20	Exod 24:8	Ιδού	τοῦτο	Substitution
9:20	Exod 24:8	διέθετο κύριος	ἐνετείλατο	Substitution
9:20	Exod 24:8	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> ὁ θεός	Addition
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	ῆτησας	εὐδόκησας	Substitution
10:5-7	Ps 40(39):7-8	τὸ θέλημα σου, ὁ θεός μου	ὅ θεὸς τὸ θέλημα σου	Word order
10:16	Jer 31(38):33	τῷ οἶκῷ Ἰσραὴλ	πρὸς αὐτούς	Substitution
10:16	Jer 31(38):33	εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ¹ καρδίας αὐτῶν	ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν	Word order
10:17	Jer 31(38):34	<i>Incl</i> καὶ ἔσομαι ... ἀδικίαις αὐτῶν	<i>Om</i>	Omission
10:17	Jer 31(38):34	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> καὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν	Addition
10:37-38	Hab 2:3-4	[I] χρονίσει(η) [II] ὁ δὲ δικαίος ... ζήσεται [III] (καὶ) ἐὰν...ἐν αὐτῷ	[II] ὁ δὲ δικαίος ... ζήσεται [I] χρονίσει(η) [III] (καὶ) ἐὰν...ἐν αὐτῷ	Word order
12:21	Deut 9:19	<i>Om</i>	<i>Incl</i> καὶ ἔντρομος	Addition
12:26	Hag 2:6	τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν	Addition Word order
13:5	Deut 31:6	ἀνῆ...ἐγκαταλίπη	ἀνῶ...ἐγκαταλ(ε)ίπω	Person

2.2.3 Traces of a different Greek Vorlage

Reviewing the data of the synopses above and the analyses during the course of this investigation, it seems then as if one does indeed have traces of a different Greek *Vorlage* that was used by the author of Hebrews and one that was different from those as represented by the eclectic text of the LXX. These could be observed in the following:

- The *Torah quotations* in Hebrews were closer to the same quotations in Philo, not only in overlap but also in their readings, and most often against the existing readings of both the MT and LXX witnesses.
- The quotations from the *Song of Moses* pointed to a different *Vorlage*, closer to the versions of 4QDeut, Ode 2 and the recovered Symmachus reading. The quotation from Deut 32:36 already appeared in Paul (Rom 12:19) and the readings of Paul and Hebrews are in agreement with each other, further from the LXX but closer to the MT. The other quotation from Deut 32 also appears in Paul (32:43 in Rom 15:10), although another line is quoted.
- The readings of some of the *Psalms*, particularly LXX Ps 39, Ps 94 and Ps 103, were discovered to be closer to the readings of PBod XXIV.
- The reading of the *quotation from Habakkuk* (2:3-4) seemed to be closer to the text as represented by 8HevXIIigr. Hab 2:4 was already quoted by Paul in Rom 1:17 and in Gal 3:11 – both readings being in agreement with each other and with Hebrews, but against the LXX. The quotation from Hab 2:3b-4, amongst others, has also shown signs of a closer alignment towards parallelistic, poetic or hymnic tendencies. Care should be taken, however, to attribute these too quickly to a different *Vorlage* as became clear from the second quotation from LXX Jer 38:33-34 by the author of Hebrews – which is clearly a reworking of the first quotation by the author himself.
- Two striking sets of combinations, or quotations in close proximity of each other, are to be found between Paul and Hebrews. The first is Jer 31(38):31 and Exod 24:8 in 1 Cor 11:25. The second is Ps 110(109):1 and Ps 8:7 in 1 Cor 15:25-27.
- Two doubtful cases remain the missing lines in the quotations from Ps 8:5-7 and LXX Jer 38:31-34. Given the fact, however, that the second case is to be found in the shorter and reworked quotation from Jer 31(38) and that the first in Ps 8 might be explained from the context, these omissions were probably made by the author of Hebrews.

2.2.4 Stylistic changes made by the author

a. Morphological and grammatical changes

- Two interesting stylistic changes were made in Heb 3:9-10 in the quotation from Ps 95(94):7-11, namely from the more common Hellenistic 1st aor. forms of the LXX, $\epsilon\imath\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$ and $\epsilon\imath\pi\alpha$, to the better Attic 2nd aor. forms $\epsilon\imath\delta\sigma\nu$ and $\epsilon\imath\pi\sigma\nu$ in Hebrews.

- The LXX η (“surely/truly/indeed”) in the quotation from Gen 22:17 is replaced in Heb 6:14 with the morphologically similar adverb of confirmation εἰ (“surely/truly”). The substitution is also attested by the LXX witnesses A D L M *et. al.*, but should not be the preferred reading in the LXX and was probably a later adaptation to the NT text.
- There are cases where possible itacism took place between -ει- and -ι-: cf. Jer 31(38):34 and Heb 8:11; Deut 31:6 and Heb 13:5.
- The quotation from Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5 reads οὐδέ instead of LXX οὐτε due to the addition of οὐ for the emphatic negative οὐ μή.

b. Definite articles

The definite articles ἡ and τῆς were added in Heb 1:8 by the author in the quotation from Ps 45(44):6-7. This is testified by the textual evidence of P⁴⁶ & A B D* *et. al.* – and probably done on the basis of stylistic grounds as well as for the sake of theological emphasis.

c. Conjunctions

- The author of Hebrews added καί before ἡ ράβδος in Heb 1:8 in the quotation from Ps 45(44) – supported by the NT witnesses P⁴⁶ & A B D* *et. al.*
- In Heb 3:10 the author exchanged the copulative particle καί of the LXX, with the particle δέ – emphasising the contrast here.
- Hebrews preferred the contracted form κάγω in Heb 8:9, for the LXX καὶ ἐγώ when the author quotes Jer 31(38). The reading is followed by A^{LXX}.
- The conjunction ὅτι in the quotation from Deut 32:36 has been omitted by Heb 10:30b.
- The author of Hebrews includes the phrases οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί in the quotation from Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26 which results in an emphatic contrast that also the heaven will be shaken in the future.
- An addition of καί occurs again in Heb 13:6, whereas the LXX quotation from Ps 118(117):6 omits it. The inclusion is well attested amongst the NT witnesses: P⁴⁶ &² A C² D Ψ 0121b etc.

d. Pronouns

- In the quotation from Ps 102(101):26-28, which is quoted in Heb 1:10-12, the author of Hebrews transposed the personal pronoun σοῦ to the beginning of the quotation and emphasising it as the first word in the quotation.

- In the quotation from Isa 8:17, which is quoted in Heb 2:13, the author of Hebrews inserted the pronoun ἐγώ at the beginning of the phrase and changed the word order. This places the emphasis on the first person talking here and on these words as a “Jesus-hymn.”
- Our author changed the LXX referential pronoun ἐκείνη to ταύτη in Heb 3:10, applying the quotation to his current recipients.
- Hebrews replaces the LXX ἵδού of Exod 24:8 with the pronoun τοῦτο as the opening word of the quotation in Heb 9:20. This change coincides with the early Christian formula for the initiation of the Eucharist.
- In Heb 10:7 the author omits μου whilst the LXX witnesses of the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 include it.
- Whether the LXX quotation of Hab 2:3b-4 read μου or αὐτοῦ (as in 8H_{ev}XIIgr) between ἐκ πίστεως and ζήσεται, fact is μου is omitted by P¹³ D² H^c I Ψ *et. al.* in Heb 10:38 – except for D*, and transposed before ἐκ πίστεως by P⁴⁶ κ A H* etc. It is omitted by Paul in Rom 1:17b and in Gal 3:11.
- In the quotation from Prov 3:11-12, Heb 12:5 includes μου, similar to the MT, whilst the LXX witnesses, Philo and Codex D*^{NT} all omit μου.

d. Conflations

Three clear cases of conflated quotations were identified. The first occurred in Heb 2:12-13 when he combines Ps 22(21):23 with phrases from Isa 8:17 and Isa 8:18 into a “Jesus saying.” The second was in Heb 10:37-38 when the author combines a phrase similar to that in Isa 26:20 with Hab 2:3b-4 into a single quotation. The third is to be found in Heb 12:21 when the author seems to compile a quotation from phrases that mainly correspond with Deut 9:19, but also contains elements that are present in LXX Ps 17/76 and 1 Macc 13:2.

e. Paralellistic and hymnic reworkings

There are signs of what might be either hymnic reworkings of passages quoted by the author, or remnants from liturgical traditions. This was noted in the quotations from *Ps 102(101):26-28* in Heb 1:8-12; *Ps 22(21):23 + Isa 8:17-18* in Heb 2:12-13; *Deut 32:35* in Heb 10:30; *Hab 2:3b-4* in Heb 10:37-38; and *Hag 2:6* in Heb 12:26 – as well as in the author’s re-quotations from LXX *Ps 39:7-9* in Heb 10:8-9 and in LXX *Jer 38:31-34* in Heb 10:16-17. The author of Hebrews also replaces the LXX phrase τὸ σπέρμα σου in the quotation from *Gen 22:17*

simply with the accusative personal pronoun $\sigma\epsilon$ in Heb 6:14. This creates a perfectly balanced parallelistic sentence with $-\hat{\omega}\nu -\sigma\omega \sigma\epsilon$ and $-\hat{\omega}\nu -\hat{\omega} \sigma\epsilon$.

2.2.5 Theological and semantic changes made by the author

- The term $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$, “to roll up”) is preferred by the author of Hebrews in the quotation from Ps 102(101) in Heb 1:12, instead of the LXX $\grave{a}\lambda\lambda\alpha\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ($\grave{a}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$, “to change/exchange”).
- Heb 1:12 added the phrase $\grave{\omega}\varsigma \, \acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma\nu$ in the quotation from Ps 102(101). It is a repetition of the phrase in Heb 1:11 which dramatically emphasises – with the previous change of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ – the apocalyptic motif. The addition is supported by the fairly recently published POxy LXVI (P¹¹⁴), as well as P⁴⁶ & A B.
- The lack of a whole sentence in the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:5-8 is probably omitted by the author of Hebrews and due to theological reasons. Its omission is attested by P⁴⁶ B D² et. al.
- In Heb 2:12 our author exchanged the LXX term $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\acute{\jmath}\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ (“to tell”) for the semantically related term $\grave{a}\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\jmath}\epsilon\lambda\hat{\omega}$ (“inform/tell”), which is closer to the MT, but not attested by any Greek OT witnesses. It forms a hymnic pattern (cf. also $\acute{\u}\mu\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ here) with the beginning of the two lines from Isa 8:17 ($\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$) and 8:18 ($\grave{i}\delta\o\grave{n} \, \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$).
- In Heb 8:5 the author added $\pi\acute{a}\n\tau\alpha$ in the quotation from Exod 25:40, thereby emphasising that *everything* had to be made exactly according to the pattern of the heavenly sanctuary that was shown to Moses.
- The author of Hebrews also changed the perfect participle $\delta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\acute{\jmath}\acute{\e}\nu\varsigma\acute{\o}\nu$ of the LXX to the aorist $\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\theta\acute{\e}\nu\tau\alpha$ in the quotation from Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5, indicating that the Mosaic tabernacle is a past event.
- In Heb 8:8 the author changed the LXX verb $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\jmath}\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ (“to establish a covenant”) in the quotation from Jer 31(38):31-34 with $\sigma\upsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\e}\sigma\omega$ (“cause to exist”). A similar exchange took place in the quotation from Exod 24:8 where Hebrews changed the LXX form $\delta\iota\acute{\e}\theta\epsilon\tau\o$ to $\acute{\e}\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\i}\lambda\alpha\tau\o$ in Heb 9:20. The same Hebrew term (תָּבִיב) is used in both Exodus and Jeremiah. This shows consistency in the MT, LXX and Hebrews’ change of the term in both quotations. Did the $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\e}\omega$ -stem carry a sense of finality and completion for the author of Hebrews in these cases?
- In Heb 8:9 the author changed the same LXX verb $\delta\iota\acute{\e}\theta\acute{\e}\mu\eta\iota$ (“to establish a covenant”) to $\acute{\e}\pi\o\acute{\i}\eta\sigma\alpha$ (“make/carry out”) in the quotation from Jer 31(38).

- The author of Hebrews omits the LXX κύριος in the quotation from Exod 24:8 and replaces it with ὁ θεός in Heb 9:20 at the end of the quotation – if one accepts the later addition in P⁴⁶ to be by the same hand, and if the faint middle letter there indeed is a *theta* and not a *kappa*. The author anyway carefully distinguishes between the two terms by using κύριος for the Son and θεός for the Father.
- The LXX ἡτησας (“to ask for/require”) in the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 has been replaced with εὐδοκήσας (“be pleased with”) in Heb 10:6. [LXX PBod XXIV reads here ἡυποκησας].
- Hebrews ends the quotation from Ps 40(39) in Heb 10:7 just before the verb ἐβουλήθην (“I wanted to do your will”) – because by the time that these words are being put in the mouth of Jesus, he already accomplished his mission.
- The quotation from Deut 31:6 in Heb 13:5 reads ἀνῶ instead of the LXX ἀνῇ and ἐγκαταλίπω instead of LXX ἐγκαταλίπῃ. This changes the third person to the first person – which makes these words the direct words of God.

3. Conclusion (Part I): Reconstructing the process

Based on the above two angles of the investigation, i.e. the traditional historical and the text critical aspects of the investigation, the question can be asked: What might have been the underlying *modus operandi* for the selection of the utilised texts and the composition of the book?

3.1 Liturgical traditions

There are some clues that are pointing in the direction of a possible liturgical background or context:

- The high frequency of quotations from the Psalms, Odes and other hymnic sections.¹⁸
- The paralellistic, poetic, or hymnic tendencies in the presentation of the “Jesus hymns,” the conflated quotation of Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3-4, as well as the format of the author’s own re-quotation of Jer 31(38):33-34 and Ps 40(39):7-9.
- The use of Ps 95(94) during the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*).

¹⁸ S.J. Kistemaker refers to the situation in Ephesians and Colossians in that they “had become familiar with the Psalms in the local worship services in which the congregation sang ‘psalms, hymns and spiritual songs’ (Eph 5:19; Col 3:16)” (*Hebrews*, 35).

- The use of Gen 22 during the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*).
- The section that is quoted from Hag 2:6 which came from the vision on the 21st of the seventh month (Tishri) – which is the day for the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*).
- The cultic imagery, priesthood, sacrifices, sanctuary, and the allusion to the Day of the Atonement.
- The quotation from Ps 118(117) – the Hallel, with which the book ends – was a key passage during the great Jewish festivals.
- The influence of the Eucharistic formula and the reference to the baptism of the recipients.
- The climax with the “arrival” of the recipients at “Mount Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem.”
- The importance of seven, which was key to the festivals: the catena in Heb 1 consists of seven quotations, Heb 3-4 emphasises the seventh day as the day of rest, and the two sets of seven pairs of quotations, as well as the pointers to the festivals of the seventh month, Tishri, might all support the background of Jewish festival motifs.

The backdrop of the Jewish liturgical tradition, particularly the Jewish festival traditions, might explain the parallels with the DSS and Philo, the high frequency of quotations from the Psalms and Odes, and the selection of passages from oracles or visions to the prophets. The Jewish festival calendar, which represents the cultic rituals of early Judaism, might have provided our author with the basic template for his work. These Jewish traditions, in combination with the christological and eschatological hermeneutics of early Christianity, contributed to the basic layout of this work. The trend of constant alteration between known texts from the Jewish tradition and key texts from early Christianity plus the author's own addition of texts, fits this understanding. One might probably even go so far as to assume here a series of early Christian midrashim on the theology (and some texts) of the Jewish festivals. A similar methodology was observed in 4QMidrEschat and the *pesharim* of the DSS.

It seems probable that the author wrote in Alexandria – maybe as a convert from a community *similar* to that of Qumran or the Therapeutae.¹⁹ He most probably had access to an earlier version of the LXX – at least for the Torah, which shows resemblances with that used by Philo of Alexandria. He was familiar with the Scriptural reference tradition of early Judaism and that of early Christianity – with an 85% overlap between the quotations used by himself and those in the DSS, Philo and the NT. The common ground for the origin of the

¹⁹ An interesting resemblance is found, apart from similarities in theology and early Jewish-Christian hermeneutics, in the use of the term θεράπων for Moses (Heb 3:5) – which is a *hapax legomenon* – in the allusion to Num 12:7.

quotations might thus probably be found in a liturgical tradition, based mainly on some of the Jewish festivals.

Furthermore, there are some striking similarities between the remnant manuscript fragments of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* (4QShirShabb), also known as the *Angelic Liturgy*, from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q400-407), and an underlying procession in the sequence of quoted texts as presented in Hebrews. Does one have in Hebrews perhaps an implied early Christian reaction against a group that was involved in some sort of “Angel Liturgy,” or “Heavenly Passover Ritual”?²⁰ It certainly is most likely that the author addresses a skewed Christology which might have seen Jesus as just another angel. This “angelomorphic myth” is addressed particularly in the catena of quotations in Heb 1.

3.2 A list of promises?

It is certainly striking that ἐπαγγελία is used several times in the context of the explicit quotations. The word is found 18 times in Hebrews and its occurrences are indicated in brackets in the left column of the table below. This is very frequent in comparison with the LXX where the term is found only 21 times in the whole collection (only four times in the canonical books, and 17 times in the deuterocanonical books).²¹ To this, one might add the occurrences of the related terms, ὁμιλώ (Heb 3:11, 18; 4:3; 6:13, 16; 7:21), ὁρκωμοσία (Heb 7:20, 21, 28) and ὁρκος (Heb 6:16, 17), which the author utilises in connection with God who made an oath by himself. Some of these occurrences are found within the quotations themselves and are further elaborated upon by the author. These promises are presented and interpreted in the sense of “a near and an ultimate fulfillment.”²²

²⁰ See G.J. Steyn, “Angelomorphic Christological Myth,” 1107-1128; G.J. Steyn, “Eschatology,” (forthcoming).

²¹ Cf. Esther 4:7; Ps 55:9; Prov 13:12; Amos 9:6; Wis 2:13; Sir 20:23; 1 Macc 10:15; 11:28; 2 Macc 2:18; 4:8, 27, 45; 1 Esd 1:7; 3 Macc 1:4; 2:10; 4 Macc 12:9; Ode 12:6; *Ps. Sol.* 7:10; 12:6; 17:5.

²² R.D. Phillips, *Hebrews*, 30.

	Promise	OT Passages	Hebrews
1	Davidic: Royal messiah	Ps 2:7 + 2 Sam 7:14 Deut 32/Ode 2:43 + Ps 104(103):4 Ps 45(44):7-8 + Ps 102(101):26-28 Ps 110(109):1 + Ps 8:5-7 Ps 22(21):23 + Isa 8:17, 18	1:1 – 2:18
2	Mosaic promise: Land / rest (Heb 4:1)	Ps 95:7-11 + Gen 2:2	3:1 – 4:13
3	Abrahamic promise (Heb 6:12, 13, 15, 17; 7:6)	Ps 2:7 + Ps 110(109):4 Gen 22:17 Gen 14:17-20 + Ps 110(109):4	4:14 – 7:28
4	Jeremiah: Covenant renewal / Eternal inheritance (Heb 8:6; 9:15)	Ex 25:40 + Jer 31(38):31-34 Ex 24:8 + Ps 40(39):7-9	8:1 – 10:18
5	Habakkuk: “Parousia” – righteous shall live (Heb 10:23, 36)	Deut 32:35, 36 + Hab 2:3, 4	10:19-39
6	Tests of faith in the promises unto death (Heb 11:9, 11, 13, 17, 33, 39)	Gen 21:12 + Prov 3:11	11:1 – 12:11 (?)
7	Haggai: Apocalyptic promise (Heb 12:26)	Deut 9:19 + Hag 2:6,21	12:12 - 29

How should this be interpreted? Does this imply some kind of existing “list of promises” (testimonia?) that might have been known amongst some early Christian circles, or is this our author’s own creation? It is interesting to note the underlying promises to David,²³ Moses, Abraham, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Habakkuk and Haggai. This phenomenon plus the occurrence of the λέγει introductory formulae present us with a well planned compilation of prophetic “logia” that seemingly underlies the presentation of the explicit quotations.

3.3 Early Christian “midrashim”

It was pointed out before that a number of the explicit quotations were presented with an exposition, or commentary, by the author. These are the author’s own compositions which he based on key words and components from the passages that he quoted. In a number of instances the NT context of these commentaries displays an awareness of the immediate OT context of the passages from which the quotations were taken.²⁴

The commentaries, or midrashim, relate particularly to the second quotation in each given pair of presented quotations, starting after the catena of Heb 1 and are usually attached to the

²³ Cf. F.F. Bruce: “...the divine promises made to David regarding his son and heir were not exhausted in Solomon” (*Hebrews*, 14).

²⁴ Contra R. McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 37.

longer of the two quotations.²⁵ This trend was observed particularly with the quotations from Ps 8:5-7; [Isa 8:17-18?] Ps 95(94):7-11; Ps 110(109):4; Jer 31(38):31-34; Ps 40(39):7-9; Hab 2:3b-4; Prov 3:11-12; Hag 2:6; [Ps 118(117):6?].²⁶ It certainly presents us with the author's hermeneutic and his own particular exegetical method. The similarities with the pesharim of the DSS, the utilisation of the Jewish exegetical method of *gezerah shewah*, the ring compositional structure and poetic, or hymnic, presentation in many of these midrashim, not only reveal the author's *Schriftverwendung*, but also the author's theology. A particular inclination towards a christological and an eschatological hermeneutic became evident during this quest. The *midrashartige* nature of the compilation of promises certainly shows some similarities with what one encounters in the DSS in 4Q*MidrEschat*.

It is no easy task to differentiate here between "midrashim" or "pesharim." If *pesher* is taken to be "the hidden mystery in a text clarified by its fulfillment" and *midrash* as "a combining of Scriptures so as to give a new interpretation with an application to new situations according to personal experience or some event,"²⁷ then the commentaries on the quotations in Hebrews are probably closer to being midrash than pesher.

3.4 The process

This process might be understood within the typical stages of tradition development within the historical critical paradigm. Thus, given all our information, one might attempt to reconstruct the process as follows:

Stage I: The text critical reconstruction – a written Vorlage

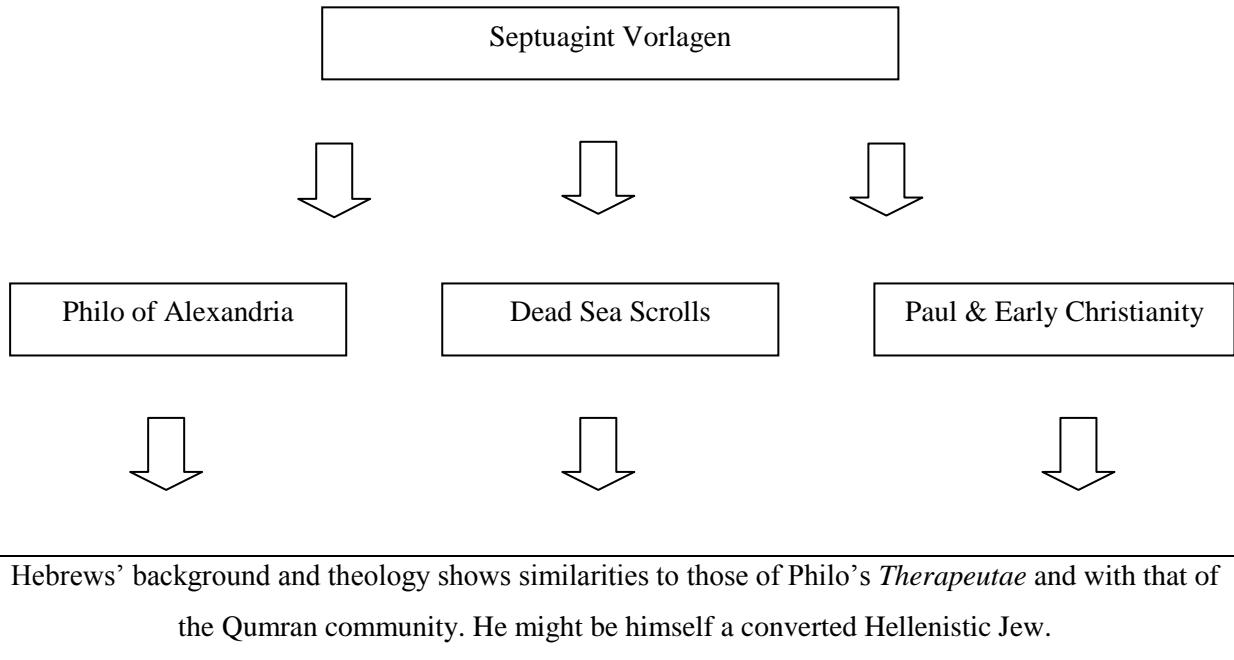
It can be assumed that the version (text, or text reading) of the quotations in Hebrews ultimately represents a written *Vorlage*. This can be observed in light of the fact that those readings are closer to the Greek version(s) of the OT. This *Vorlage* differs at some points from the reconstructed eclectic LXX editions today, but traces of these "differences" were found in textual witnesses. The suspicion of scholars that another Textvorlage underlies the "differences" of the quotations is thus justified – although it needs to be qualified in each

²⁵ The introductory formulae might, however, also be taken as commentary by the author – especially within the catena of Heb 1.

²⁶ See E. Tönges for a list of passages that were identified by scholars as midrashim in Hebrews ("Jesus-Midrash," 91-92).

²⁷ E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 509.

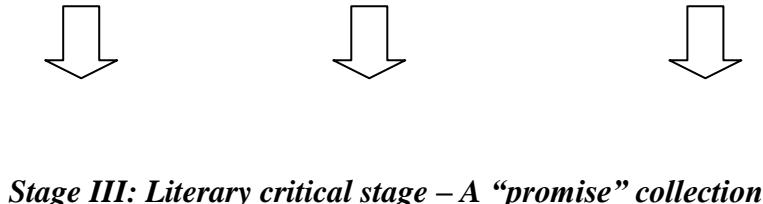
particular case. The text critical analysis of this investigation attempted to investigate this stage.



Stage II: The form critical stage – formulas and liturgies

Some of these written texts were used by early Judaism and early Christianity – specifically in the oral stages through formulas and liturgies. They became known in temple, synagogue and early church rituals, festivals, prayers and services. Evidence of this in Hebrews is seen in the high frequency of Psalm quotations, hymnic tendencies, the cultic nature of the book and connections with feasts – such as the climactic ending of the book with Ps 118(117). Thus, there also seem to be some truth in the liturgy hypothesis.

The author draws on cultic rituals and liturgies with close connections to the Jewish festival calendar and its important feasts (especially to the pilgrimage festivals).



Stage III: Literary critical stage – A “promise” collection

Contrary to the “Testimony Book” hypothesis, no *convincing* evidence has been found about the existence of an early Christian testimony book or collection. If this had been the case, then one would have expected not only statistical evidence of more (of the same) quotation combinations in the literature, but also more specific, combinations of the same quotations in other related and pre-Hebrews literature. What is striking, however, is the fact that the quotations in Hebrews are closely connected to “promises.” The author most probably compiled his own “testimonia collection” based on particular themes. This has been structured into two sets of seven pairs of quotations, which ultimately formed the ground plan or structure of Hebrews (and also of this investigation).

The author’s selection of passages came to a large extent from the existing early Jewish and early Christian citation traditions, although he added some longer passages that he selected himself. These are compiled into a selection of “promise”-traditions.



The presentation follows a distinct pattern of quotation pairs in two sets of seven, it is thematic, and develops against the backdrop of the festivals and promises.



Stage IV: Redaction criticism – Midrashic exposition

During the compositional and redactional stages of his book, the author of Hebrews adapted and interpreted his quotations by making some stylistic and theological alterations to the text of the quotation itself. There are few changes and those that do occur are minute changes, mainly consisting of substitutions and transpositions. Instead of substantially altering the text of his quotation, the author rather adds his own exegetical commentary in the form of early Christian midrashim as part of his rhetorical exposition. There is thus some truth in the midrash hypothesis as well – but not in the sense that the book has been molded on the basis

of a midrash on Ps 110. The homily hypothesis, however, seem to be too hypothetical to be taken seriously into consideration.

Stylistic and theological alterations to the text of the quotations. Added interpretation by means of his own Christian midrashim, which display hymnic tendencies and paraphrasing, often using the *gezerah shewah* technique.

In order to establish the origin and versions used for the quotations in Hebrews, the route that was chosen took us back and forth through these stages. *The only starting point before one can even attempt to venture into discussions on the author's application of his Scriptures, or the function of the quotations within their new context, should thus be the quest for the Vorlage of these quotations.*

4. Conclusion (Part II): Summative theses

The results of this investigation may now be listed in the following statements:

- i. There is a clear and *well planned structure* behind the presentation of the explicit quotations. They are presented in pairs and grouped into two sets of seven each. The first set consists mainly of Psalms or hymnic texts. The second set follows the pattern of a combination between Torah plus Prophet, alternated with Torah plus Psalm.
- ii. There seems to be sufficient evidence that the author himself was responsible for the majority of the *combinations* of the quotations, though there are traces of the existence of exegetical traditions that combined particular passages prior to his time. This should be distinguished from a “Testimony Book” hypothesis.
- iii. The author thus quoted *mainly from the Psalms*, but also from the Torah, the Prophets and also from Proverbs. Fact is, “Hebrews is generally less interested in OT narratives than in texts which have a continuing or contemporary significance.”²⁸
- iv. The quotations are all *introduced with a verb of saying* (except one re-quote from Ps 95) and are thus in line with the author’s opening statement that “God *spoke* in the past

²⁸ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 110.

through the Prophets, but now through the Son” (Heb 1:1).²⁹ The quotations are being put mainly in the mouths of God, the Son and the Holy Spirit: “*Gott spricht in der Schrift*”³⁰ – an *argumentum ex auctoritate*. The author’s view of Scripture is thus normative and he sees Scripture as the living Word of God.

- v. Scripture is interpreted through *christological* glasses by the author of Hebrews.³¹
- vi. We encountered quotations that relate to the oracles, or *visions of God* to the prophets Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk and Haggai, as well as the Abrahamic promise against the backdrop of the *Aqedah*.
- vii. A large number of the quotations are presented in combination with a reference to an existing *promise of God*.³²
- viii. There is no doubt that the author of Hebrews tapped into the *existing early Jewish and early Christian quotation traditions*. The majority of explicit quotations in Hebrews were already quoted before his time in the DSS, Philo or in the early NT literature (mainly Paul).
- ix. Regarding *the DSS*, there are a number of similarities between particularly *4QMidrEschat*, the *Hodayot* and the *Pesharim*. These documents are representative of a hermeneutic tradition of creatively working with and interpreting OT passages.
- x. The explicit *quotations from the Torah* were taken from Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy. These quotations are all very brief. Almost all of these Torah quotations (including the quotation from Prov 3) occurred already *in the works of Philo* of Alexandria, mainly in his *Legum allegoriae* 3. All the Hebrews readings tend to be the closest to those of Philo – and both Hebrews and Philo often deviate together from the readings of the MT and the LXX witnesses. It cannot be assumed that the later copiers of Philo corrected or adapted their readings to be on a par with the readings in Hebrews because in a few cases the quotation is found more than once in Philo and then with

²⁹ Cf. H.W. Attridge: “After his remarks at Heb. 10:5-7, the voice of the Son falls silent. Yet the voice of God continues to speak. Speaking in manifold and various ways, it speaks words that threaten judgement (Heb. 10:30), ‘Vengeance is mine, I shall repay’ (Deut. 32:35), words that console, ‘My child, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord...’ (Prov. 3:11-12, at Heb. 12:5-6), words of warning, ‘Once more I shall shake not only the earth but also heaven’ (Hag. 2:6, 21, at Heb. 12:26), and words of comfort, ‘I shall never leave you or forsake you’ (Deut. 31:6 and Gen. 28:15, at Heb. 13:5)” (“Psalms in Hebrews,” 211).

³⁰ E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 73.

³¹ See the recent work of A. Rascher, *Schriftauslegung und Christologie*, especially pp. 215ff.

³² Cf. G. Schunack: “Das Alte Testament bzw. die LXX ist ihm Zeugnis des Redens Gottes in Verheißung und Gericht, Fundort von Paradigmen für Glauben und Unglauben und rhetorischer Fundus göttlich autorisierter Argumente” (*Hebräerbrevier*, 207).

different readings. The phenomenon can best be understood as being most probably proof of a common textual tradition that was utilised by Hebrews and Philo.³³

- xii. Quotations that show an overlap with the then *existing NT literature* are almost exclusively to be found in *Romans and 1 Corinthians*, and to a lesser extend also *Ephesians* and *1 Peter*. In many of these instances, Hebrews would expand on the existing quotation by quoting the section immediately preceding that of Paul, often including the Pauline quotation (or allusion) as well, e.g. Ps 8:5-7 and Hab 2:3b-4.
- xiii. *Psalm 2* plays an important role in Hebrews. It reminds one of its use in the early Christian tradition at key events in Jesus' life: his baptism, temptations, transfiguration and resurrection. Hebrews uses it now as initiation formula for Jesus' exaltation, the first time as King in heaven, and the second time as High Priest in heaven.
- xiv. The early Christian liturgical formula with the *institution of the Eucharist* seemed to have played a role in the quotation pair Exod 24:8 (blood) and Ps 40:7-9 (body).
- xv. Quotations for which no evidence was found that they were quoted before the time of Hebrews, tend to be *very long quotations*. These include Pss 40(39), 95(94), 102(101) and Jer 31(38).
- xvi. The quotation pairs that follow after the catena of Heb 1, have an *exposition, or commentary*, that follows after the second quotation in such a pair. These sections are the author's own midrashim on the passage quoted and often follows a *ring compositional or a chiastic structure*. Examples include those of Pss 40, 95, and Jer 31.
- xvii. In several cases the author of Hebrews would present a reworking from long sections (such as Ps 95, Ps 110, Gen 14, Ps 40, and Jer 31) in the format of a *parallelistic, poetic or hymnic structure*. The conflation between Isa 26 and Hab 2:3b-4 shows the same tendencies. There is probably a similar kind of thinking behind cases where the quotation is split (such as Isa 8:17-18; Deut 32:35-36). The two "Jesus-sayings,"

³³ One should remain cautious, however, not to convert "parallels into influences and influences into sources" as pointed out by E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the OT*, 82. So also R. McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 135.

³⁴ "Ps 2 zusammen mit Ps 110 (steht) im Zentrum der messianischen Botschaft des Neuen Testaments" (E. Grässer, *Hebräer I*, 74).

consisting of Ps 22:23 plus Isa 8:17,18 (Heb 2:12-13) and Ps 40:7-9 (Heb 10:5b-7) are part of this tendency.

- xviii. It is striking that he quoted from the *Song of Moses* (Ode 2) and the *Song of Isaiah* (Ode 5). This might point in the direction of the Jewish liturgical tradition. There are also noticeable links with *liturgical traditions*, and in particular, with the Jewish festivals.
- xix. Some *modifications to the eclectic LXX text* need to be considered in the light of this investigation – and especially in the light of the evidence from PBod XXIV.
- xx. A few modifications ought to be considered *regarding the eclectic NT text* too, and the evidence of P⁴⁶ should be taken more seriously.
- xxi. Some *criteria were developed* that might assist in determining the authentic reading amongst the double textual traditions that were identified during the course of the comparative study of textual variants.
- xxii. A *number of tendencies* regarding the variant readings can be noted, such as transpositions, omissions and inclusions.
- xxiii. Given the fact that the LXX readings are *closer to Codex Alexandrinus* might be explained in general on the basis of its retrovertic correction of the LXX text based on its knowledge of the NT text.
- xxiv. It is clear that the quotations are closer to *a Greek form of the OT text*, though not consistently and conclusively in all cases. It can thus not unqualifiedly be stated that the author followed “the” LXX. There are possible traces of the Old Greek version to be seen in the similarities between Philo and Hebrews regarding the Torah quotations.
- xxv. The *differences* between Hebrews and “the” LXX could be explained in the light of —
- a. An alternative *Vorlage* where the readings of the quotations seem to be closer to an Egyptian text tradition, based on P⁴⁶ B and others;
 - b. The author of Hebrews that applied some *stylistic changes* to the text of his quotations. Conjunctions, and particularly pronouns, seem to have been altered more often;
 - c. A number of *theological and semantic changes* were made to suit the argument of the author;
 - d. Some quotations were *conflated* together;

e. Parallelistic, poetic or *hymnic reworkings* of a number of quotations took place.

Summa: Apart from the fact that the author utilised a number of quotations from already existing early Jewish and early Christian traditions, there are definite indications, on the one hand, of an alternative *Vorlage* than that as represented in the eclectic editions of the LXX and NT today. But the unknown author of Hebrews himself, on the other hand, is also creatively involved in some stylistic and theological changes to his quotations.

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