

What Was the *Vorlage* for Hebrews 1:6? Reconsidering Early Old Testament Texts

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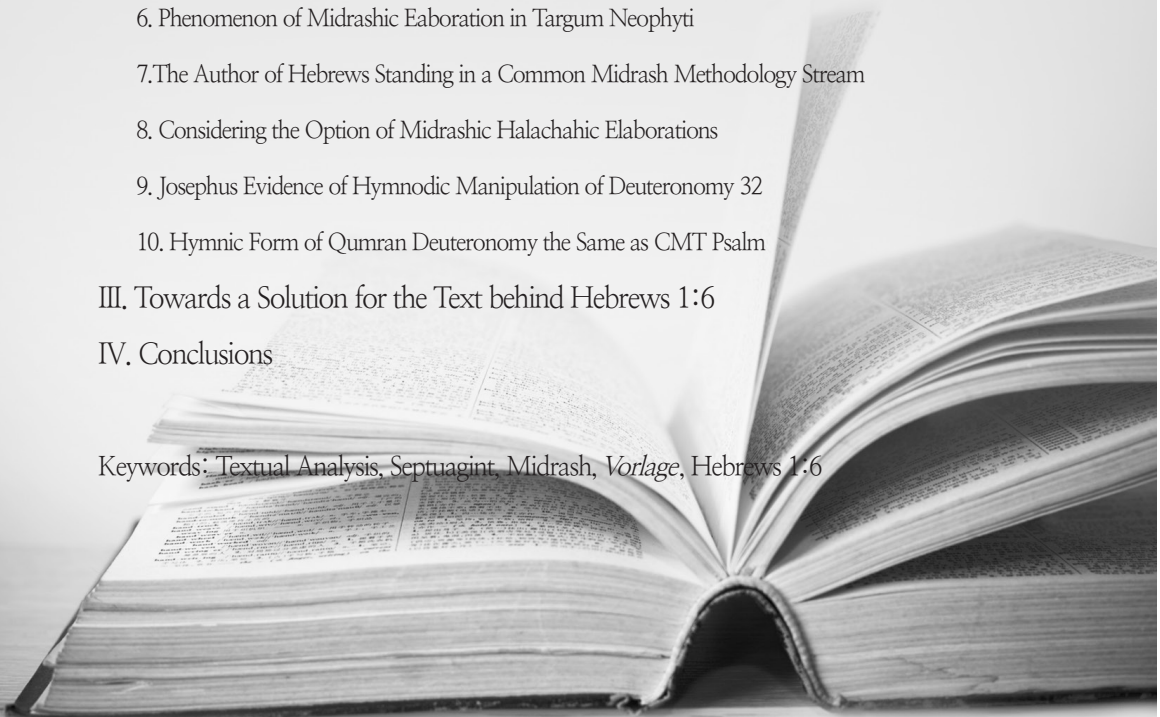
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I. Introduction

It is well known by scholars that the book of Hebrews surpasses all the books of the New Testament canon in its direct and indirect use of the Old Testament. Studies on the textual character of the Old Testament citations in Hebrews and the hymnodic nature of the Psalm citations in Hebrews had been conducted in the past.¹⁾ The importance of a study of this kind, is that it sheds light on the kind of adherence that was made to the present form of the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition or the present LXX editions.²⁾ It illuminates the textual situation of the early Christian church. For quite some time it was assumed and probably still is, that the Bible of the New Testament church was the LXX. However, the more one studies the nature and limitations of the Septuagint project currently still in progress, one may rightfully ask: What LXX?³⁾ It is noteworthy that none of the so-called “Septuagint” manuscripts predate 280

1) · S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam: Wed. G. van Soest N. W., 1961). See also the study of G. Gelardini, ‘Verhärtet eure Herzen nicht’: *Der Hebräer, eine Synagogenhomilie zu Tisha be-Aw, BIS 83* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). He suggested that Hebrews was a homily intended for Tisha be-Aw because it draws on rabbinic sources. This observation calls for the investigation of the Targum forms of some Old Testament citations in the book of Hebrews.

2) · Kistemaker was still restricted to the edition of LXX Rahlfs. In this research the LXX Göttingen of Rahlfs-Ziegler-Wevers will be utilized.

3) For an overview of scholars skeptical about the present status of the Septuagint, see Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu den Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1841), 4; and P. Kahle, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915), 439. Here he says, “Die älteste Form dieser Übersetzung rekonstruieren zu wollen, ist eine Utopie....” See also the comments of Stephen Cook, “Does the New Testament Always Quote from the Septuagint?” at <http://stephencook.wordpress.com/2013/04/16/it-is-written-quotations-from-the-old-testament-in-the-new-testament-3/>. Cook puts it a bit too strong but nearly correct: “A careful analysis of the NT quotations of the OT reveals that practically every quotation has at least minor variants from the Septuagints (or major ones) and is never verbatim.” See also R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

A.D., almost half a millennium after its original production.⁴⁾

Another striking phenomenon is that none of the pre-280 A.D. Greek fragments discovered near the Dead Sea corresponds to the Göttingen edition of the LXX. In fact, it is found that they rather aligned to the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition.⁵⁾ This suspicious difference in nature of the Greek biblical text at Qumran and the Greek biblical texts in the Christian era, calls for a serious re-investigation.

It calls for a search for the original Septuagint form, utilizing the primary sources of Philo, Josephus, the Targumim and the New Testament in order to attempt to answer the question: Did the New Testament writers use the Göttingen edition of the LXX and if not, what was their Septuagint form like?

1. Literature Overview

Hermeneutics specifically in Hebrews has to do with what the author of the

4) On the date of its origin there is a modern tendency to remove the Letter of Aristeas from its early claims due to its apparent propagandistic nature and assign the Septuagint origin to ca. 150-100 BCE.

5) See here the article by Patrick W. Skehan, "4QLXXNum: A Pre-Christian Reworking of the Septuagint," *HTR* 70 (1977), 40-50. In cave 4 of Qumran among 40 000 fragments of that library dating from the end of the 1st century BCE to the opening years of the 1st century A.D., this Greek fragment was found and analyzed. The result was that it does not compare to the Göttingen reconstruction nor to the nine editions or thousands of manuscripts and minuscules of the Byzantine and pre-Reformation era. Skehan said: "its text is not such as can be supposed to underlie the form represented in later Septuagintal codices; it is instead a considerable reworking of the original LXX text nearly indistinguishable, within the limited scope of our evidence, from that of the MT." This would mean pro-Masoretic corruptions in a pre-Christian period. See also B. Lifschitz, "Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror," *IEJ* 12 (1962), 201-207. Lifschitz concluded that these minor prophets fragments were closer to the MT than to the LXX. Could this difference between the LXX editions and Qumranic Greek manuscripts be related to Jerome's objection against the LXX (much to Augustine's dismay) in PL 28 col. 1357: "Hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multa veritate discordet et recto iudicio repudiatus sit."

Book of Hebrews⁶⁾ did with the Old Testament in this book. The question is whether he took an event that was applicable to them in the past and modified it or transformed it to be applicable to his own time. Is Psalm 8 about God

6) The authorship of the Book of Hebrews is a subject of another elaborated research. It will not be a focus of this study, yet some points can be listed for the Pauline authorship of the Book, concerning which we are of the opinion: Leviticus 16 is a hotspot in the Book of Hebrews (6:19; 9:7, 25; 10:22; 7:27; 9:12; 2:17; 13:11) but also in Romans 3:25 and Ephesians 5:26. ἀπαξ is used in Hebrews 12:26; 6:4; 10:2; but also in Paul in 1 Thessalonians 2:18; Philippians 4:16. ἀπάτη is in Hebrews 3:13 but also in Paul at Colossians 2:8; 2 Thessalonians 2:10; Ephesians 4:22. Hebrews 1:6 is citing from Deuteronomy 32:43 but so did Paul in Romans 15:10. Hebrews 10:30 is citing also from Deuteronomy 32:35 as Paul did in Romans 12:19. Hebrews 1:5; 5:5 cite from Psalm 2:7 as did Paul in his speech in Acts 13:33. Hebrews 7:21 is citing from Psalm 110:4 as Paul also did in Romans 11:29. “You have come to need milk and not solid food” in Hebrews 5:12 should be compared to Paul in 1 Corinthians 3:2 “I give you milk to drink, not solid food.” The way Scripture is cited in Hebrews 2:12-13 λέγων (v. 12); καὶ πάλιν (v. 13); καὶ πάλιν (v. 13) is the same as in Romans 15:9-12 καθὼς γέγραπται (v. 9); καὶ πάλιν λέγει (v. 10); καὶ πάλιν (v. 11); καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει (v. 12). Paul is not a machine and one should not expect him to factorize his books in identical format. The issue of the Postscript added to Hebrews similar to all Paul’s other letters, is a strong one. Two monographs dealt with the authorship of Hebrews: D. L. Allen, *Lukan Authorship of Hebrews*, NACSBT 8 (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010); and C. K. Rothschild, *Hebrews as Pseudepigraphon*, WUNT 2.235 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).. Allen ascribed the book to Luke. Vocabulary between Luke, Acts, Hebrews and other Pauline letters will be similar simply because they were travelling together for years and would share daily conversational jargon. Rothschild was convinced that the Postscript (13:20-25) rings Pauline but because she could not see the autograph of Paul, among things, she allocated it to a Pseudepigraphon meant to imitate Paul. The counterargument of J. Dyer (2013) is compelling: “Since Paul’s name is always –even emphatically– attached to his letters, it is curious that someone attempting to pass off an epistle as being from Paul would leave it out.” J. Dyer, “The Epistle of the Hebrews in Recent Research: Studies on the Author’s Identity, His Use of the Old Testament, and Theology,” *JGRChJ* 9 (2013), 104-131; 110. Why is Paul’s autograph not found on this Book? It is possible that the Book was completed by Paul but he was arrested to die before he could submit it to the church. It was thus circulated posthumously after Paul. When vocabularies are only shared between Hebrews and Luke, it is because as a travelling companion with Paul they shared much jargon in common. The word καταπετασμα in Hebrews 6:19; 9:3; 10:20 also used in Luke 23:45 is such an example. Although not much is said about any conclusions now, what is necessary in future is to make an indepth investigation into the results of B. Weiss in 1855 comparing linguistic jargon that Paul and Peter shared in various books and some affinities with Hebrews that were also mentioned. B. Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff: Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie, Sowie zur Kritik und Exegese des ersten Briefes Petri und der Petrinischen Reden* (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Schulze, 1855), 80-88; 383-434. These listed examples are crucial, for the jail experience that Paul and Peter were sharing until 64 A.D. under Nero. They used the same phrases, ideas and rare words. It is almost as if an early “bilingual dictionary of Aramaic and Greek rare expressions” were formulated among themselves and then shared whenever they had to write.

and David and now Hebrews' author is modifying it in Hebrews to become God and Jesus? Scholars will not address the issue but the reality is that Jewish Scholars and Christian Scholars on the Old Testament will have disparate views on the hermeneutics of Psalm 8.

There are only two options for the hermeneutics here with variation how one is going to get around these two options: either it is ethnic Israelite anthropocentric history the Judaism way or it contains Christological-Messianic embeddings that cancels David and applies to Christ originally. Christ applied it the second way in a number of statements in the Gospels. Either Christ stole imagery from David for himself or Judaism interpreted it wrongly that the Christological key should supply a careful re-reading of the Old Testament with a sensitive Messianic eye.

The concept that the Old Testament was for the Jews and the New Testament for Christianity is not part of the hermeneutics Christ adopted. The author of Hebrews follows this hermeneutics as Christ did. Scholars who would lean to the Judaistic hermeneutics would be probably H-F. Weiss,⁷⁾ C. Frevel “updating the Psalms in Hebrews hermeneutics or ‘violent reinterpretation,’” “inexcusable hermeneutical sin” (hermeneutics of disregard of the original context),⁸⁾ A. J. Saldarini “the structure in Hebrews is not informed by the psalm” (contrastive hermeneutics),⁹⁾ M Karrer (spoken

7) H-F. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

8) C. Frevel, “σημερον - Understanding Psalm 95 within, and without, Hebrews,” in Dirk J. Human and Gert Jacobus Steyn (eds.), *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, LHBOTS 527 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010), 165-193, especially page 166.

9) A. J. Saldarini, “Judaism and the New Testament,” E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae (eds.), *The New Testament and*

and actualization of Psalms in Hebrews by Jesus with “new Christological perspective”) (hermeneutics of spoken and new Christological actualization),¹⁰⁾ G. Steyn (hermeneutics of midrash and typology and adaption),¹¹⁾ K. Green–McCreight “his use of Scripture goes against what many interpreters would deem legitimate interpretation” (hermeneutics of ‘Spirit–given authority to write Scripture’),¹²⁾ J. Macquarrie “we need not suppose that this title [Son of God used as King of Psalm 2 by Hebrews] had the decisive meaning that it acquired later” (hermeneutics of two meanings),¹³⁾ A. H. Lee (hermeneutics of evolving shift of application from David to Messiah to Jesus),¹⁴⁾ J. Gericke

its Modern Interpreters (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 27-54.

10) M. Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer: Kapitel 1, 1-5, 10* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Mohn, 2002).

11) G. J. Steyn says, “the author of Hebrews adapts the already extended meaning of υιος.” G. J. Steyn, “Septuagint terminology as Christian theological concepts in Hebrews,” *Journal for Semitics* 18/2 (2009), 583-607, especially page 590. Steyn argues that the Greek bed of Hebrew thought caused the transformation of the original context to be applied to Jesus with Greek ready-at-hand terminology (604-605). The original context was A but due to Hellenism, Greek ideas penetrated Hebrew thought and a transformation of A (original context of the passages of the Old Testament) became B (newly Hellenistic warmed-up meanings) in the book of Hebrews.

12) Kathryn Greene-McCreight, “Hebrews: Yesterday, Today, and Future—A Theologian’s Response,” in J. C. Laansma and D. J. Treier (eds.), *Christology, Hermeneutics, and Hebrews: Profiles from the History of Interpretation*, LNTS 423 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2012), 225-237. Her proposal accepts the A original meaning and B new meaning but ascribed it to the legitimization of the Holy Spirit. The problem with the view is that if the Holy Spirit is divine and divine cannot lie then the Holy Spirit presents a conflict within Himself by speaking with two tongues, A and B.

13) J. Macquarrie, *Jesus Christ in Modern Thought* (London: SCMP, 1990), 42.

14) A. H. Lee stated about the application of Psalm 2 in the book of Hebrews: “the messianic application of Ps 2:7 to Jesus was not a radical break with Jewish exegetical tradition, but rather a natural continuation of a process which had already begun in pre-Christian Judaism.” A. H. Lee, *From messiah to pre-existent son*. Tübingen: Mohr, 2005), 271. Variation on the date of the transformation of the original text is still a claim that originally it was A but it became B. Whether one says the transformation was late or started earlier the A and B difference is still maintained unchanged.

(hermeneutics of agnosticism and the Book of Hebrews),¹⁵⁾ J. Dyer and G. P. Fewster (hermeneutics of formally invoking scripture following an oral tradition),¹⁶⁾ and D. de Silva (reapplication hermeneutics).¹⁷⁾

The concept that Messianic imagery overshadows David in the original context in the Old Testament is the view of scholars like G. Hughes (hermeneutics of contextual permission),¹⁸⁾ Beale “the Holy Spirit gives the ‘understanding of the deeper Christological meaning of the Old Testament text,’”¹⁹⁾ T. L. Blackstone (Hermeneutics of the living voice),²⁰⁾ M. Barth

15) J. Gerricke, “But Is It True? Philosophical Theories of Truth and the Interpretation of Psalms in the Book of Hebrews,” in Dirk J. Human and Gert Jacobus Steyn (eds.), *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, LHBOTS 527 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010). In reality, Gerricke does not believe A (context of the Psalms) is true nor B (context with Christ in Hebrews) is true and that both contexts are nothing but anthropological concoctions for selfish purposes. Gerricke went through exactly the same educational training as this researcher, but one can say: “two men sat behind bars – the one saw mud, the other one stars.”

16) G. P. Fewster and B. R. Dyer, “Formally Invoking Scripture: Examining Paul’s Explicit Use of the Old Testament,” unpublished paper; J. Dyer, 104-131. The Oral tradition may account for the author of Hebrews’ “unique touches on his source material” (Dyer, 117). Dyer operates with the presupposition that A in the Old Testament has a different context from what B (book of Hebrews) is presenting since it is “unique” in Hebrews.

17) D. A. de Silva, *An introduction to the New Testament* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2004), 808. De Silva felt that “Promises once given to David and his heirs are now applied to Jesus, who is ‘Son’ to God and ‘heir of all things’ (see Psalm 2:7-8).” For De Silva the promises in A (Psalm 2) were made to David but in B (Book of Hebrews) is applied to Jesus. From a purely anthropological point of view one has to do here with plagiarism but since Jesus is the author and finisher of everyone’s faith and co-writer to the Old Testament, He should know the best where the original application was purposed to be made in the first place. It never meant David but was assumed by Judaism that way. The author of Hebrews is bringing out what was misperceived by Judaism.

18) G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics: The Epistle to the Hebrews as a New Testament Example of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

19) G. K. Beale, “Did Jesus and his Followers Preach the Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: An Examination of the Presuppositions of Jesus’ and the Apostles’ Exegetical Method,” in G.K. Beale (ed.), *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts?: Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1994), 387-404.

20) T. L. Blackstone, “The Hermeneutics of Recontextualization in the Epistle to the Hebrews,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, 1995). “While [the author of Hebrews] uses Old Testament citations and draws

“Exegesis is for the author of Hebrews the hearing participation in the dialogue that goes on within God and between God and man” (dialogical hermeneutics),²¹⁾ G. W. Buchanan, G. J. C. Jordaan and P. Nel “the author basically follows the thought structure of the psalm in the epistle” (‘homiletical midrash’ hermeneutics),²²⁾ P. Ellingworth (hermeneutics of Christ’s pre-existence as key),²³⁾ E. Otto “intentions of the authors of the Old Testament texts” (hermeneutics of replication original author intentions),²⁴⁾ K. L. She (hermeneutics of non-conflicting ontologies and epistemologies),²⁵⁾ P.

meanings from them which are ‘permitted’, he also is inspired, directed, and (somewhat) bound by the contexts from which that material is taken. In many instances the citations not only linguistically ‘permit’ the interpretation which is given to them, but the new textual object can only be fully understood with reference to the larger whole from which the piece is drawn,” (op. cit. G. H. Guthrie, “Hebrews’ Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research.” CBR 1/2 (2003), 287).

- 21) M. Barth, “The Old Testament in Hebrews: An Essay in Biblical Hermeneutics,” in W. Klassen and G.F. Snyder (eds.), *Issues in New Testament Interpretation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 65-78.
- 22) G. J. C. Jordaan and P. Nel, “From Priest-King to King-Priest: Psalm 110 and the Basic Structure of Hebrews,” in Dirk J. Human and Gert Jacobus Steyn (eds.), *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, LHBOTS 527 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010).
- 23) P. Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. A commentary on the Greek text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).
- 24) E. Otto, “Hermeneutics of Biblical Theology, History of Religion, and the Theological Substance of Two Testaments: The Reception of Psalms in Hebrews,” in D. J. Human and Gert Jacobus Steyn (eds.), *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, LHBOTS 527 (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010), 16, 26. Online accessed 28th of June 2016 at: https://www.academia.edu/9780071/Hermeneutics_of_Biblical_Theology_History_of_Religion_and_the_Theological_Substance_of_Two_Testaments_LHBOTS_527_. This approach of Otto claims that A in the original is A in Hebrews since it was the embedded intention of the author extrapolated by the author of Hebrews. When Otto talks about Psalm 8 in Hebrews 2, he thinks it was a democratization of ancient Near Eastern [especially Egyptian for him] royal motifs in Psalm 8 (Otto 2010: 13). He has taken scholars like Othmar Keel and his iconographical hermeneutics too far in his exegesis. “Hebrews 2 is in accordance with the theological intentions of Ps 8, and the reception is legitimate” (Otto 2010: 15). Otto suggests that the better alternative to postmodernism is a self-reflexive modernism which is aware of the traps of ethnocentrism, colonialism and paternalism.
- 25) K. L. She, *The Use of Exodus in Hebrews*, Studies in Biblical Literature 142 (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 65. She understands that “a biblical writer cannot have a conflicting ontology – both with themselves and with other biblical writers” (Dyer 2013: 118 at footnote 42). For She, the context of A (Old Testament text) cannot

Enns,²⁶⁾ E. E. Ellis,²⁷⁾ G. B. Caird,²⁸⁾ R. T. France,²⁹⁾ S. Motyer³⁰⁾ (hermeneutics of typology).

The hermeneutics of the author of Hebrews is one that extrapolates from the Old Testament that was layered and embedded there in the first place. For a moment one can use the same jargon as E. Otto supra but his understanding of pluralistic theologies for the Old Testament as tenable, disqualifies him for consideration here as an option.³¹⁾ A faith-document can only be understood in a faith-relationship way: it requires ontological and epistemological understanding combined with the supernatural guidance to properly interpret it. Either God exist or He does not. If He exists, He really revealed Himself or otherwise the Old Testament is just an anthropological document. This view of embedded author intentions in the Old Testament is not the one that E. Otto had.

The literature overview of the textual form of the citations in the Book of

be at variance with the context of B (Book of Hebrews).

- 26) P. Enns, "The Interpretation of Psalm 95 in Hebrews 3.1-4.13," in C. Evans and J.A. Sanders (eds.), *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 352-63.
- 27) E. E. Ellis, *Prophesy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981).
- 28) G. B. Caird, "The Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *CJT* 5 (1959), 44-51. "Thus, the Old Testament has built into itself a note of inadequacy, which, if fulfilled, must be fulfilled by some other means than the institution, person or event immediately in view," (summarized by Guthrie 2003: 289).
- 29) R. T. France, "The Writer of Hebrews as a Biblical Expositor," *Tyndale Bulletin* 47 (1996), 245-76.
- 30) S. Motyer, "The Psalm Quotations of Hebrews 1: A Hermeneutic-Free Zone?" *Tyndale Bulletin* 50.1 (1999), 3-22.
- 31) Otto, 8, 9, 12 where he mentioned Brueggemann saying: "The polyphonic openness" of the Old Testament in substance and modes of articulation allows it to be Jewish, or Christian, Jewish Talmudic, and Muslim. Elijah and Baal are equally correct in their view.

Hebrews reveals a number of different opinions. It appears as if the general assumption of the use of the LXX has slipped out and the situation has become more elusive than clear.

Discussion on the manuscript behind the Book of Hebrews continued. F. Bleek³²⁾ indicated that Paul could not have written the Book of Hebrews because Paul used the Codex Vaticanus and this author is not. This author used a text similar to the Codex Alexandrinus.³³⁾ As G. H. Guthrie indicated, P. Katz³⁴⁾ rejected the concepts of Bleek. Discussions that followed were considering whether Codex Alexandrinus or Vaticanus or both of them were used. K. J. Thomas³⁵⁾ indicated that neither Codex Alexandrinus nor Vaticanus were used but that the writer combined “the more primitive elements of each” to use an earlier form of the Greek text.³⁶⁾ G. Howard³⁷⁾ suggested that a form that is earlier than the Masoretic Text was used and that this text was used in the revision or standardization of the LXX as we know it today.³⁸⁾ Also M. Barth³⁹⁾ followed this idea.

G. H. Guthrie⁴⁰⁾ who made a summary of these scholars said that in 1980,

32) F. Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1828).

33) Guthrie (2003), 275.

34) P. Katz, “The Quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews,” *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958), 213-23.

35) K. J. Thomas, “The Old Testament Citations in Hebrews,” *NTS* 11 (1965), 303-25. This view has building blocks closer to the reality of the situation but not yet there.

36) Guthrie (2003), 275.

37) G. Howard, “Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations,” *NovT* 10 (1968), 208-16.

38) Guthrie (2003), 275.

39) M. Barth, 65-78.

40) G. H. Guthrie (2003), 271-294. See also other articles of Guthrie: G. H. Guthrie, *The Structure of Hebrews*:

J. C. McCullough⁴¹⁾ “concluded that, for several books of the Old Testament, such as Jeremiah and Psalms, the recension from which the text quoted is taken is fairly clear, whereas definite conclusions concerning other Old Testament books were elusive.”⁴²⁾ G. H. Guthrie⁴³⁾ listed a number of items that are necessary to consider to explain the form of the text in the Book of Hebrews citations: “(1) corruption of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (2) adjustments based on prior tradition of interpretation (e.g. in the Christian community), (3) a lapse of memory on the part of the author as he is quoting the Old Testament text, (4) that the author accommodated himself to the Greek text form at hand for his audience, (5) a freedom on the part of the author to make adjustments of the Greek text for stylistic reasons, and (6) a freedom on the part of the author to make slight adjustments or paraphrases, which are theologically motivated.”

M. Silva⁴⁴⁾ felt that “the New Testament authors exercise freedom in paraphrasing the Old Testament text as they interpret and apply it. He also leaves open the possibility that the author of Hebrews exercises freedom in

A Text-Linguistic Analysis. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, v. 73 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994; republished Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998). Guthrie, “The Structure of Hebrews Revisited.” SBL presentation, 2006. Available online under class resources at www.uu.edu/personal/gguthrie. Guthrie, “Hebrews in Its First Century Contexts: Recent Research,” 414-43, in *The Face of NT Studies*, ed. Grant Osborne and Scot McKnight (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2004).

41) J. C. McCullough, “Some Recent Developments in Research on the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *IBS* 2 (1980), 141-65; *Ibid.*, “Some Recent Developments in Research on the Epistle to the Hebrews: II,” *IBS* 3 (1981), 28-43; *Ibid.*, “Hebrews in Recent Scholarship,” *IBS* 16 (1994), 66-86, 108-20.

42) Guthrie (2003), 275.

43) Guthrie (2003), 276.

44) M. Silva, “The New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Text Form and Authority,” in D.A. Carson and J.W. Woodbridge (eds.), *Scripture and Truth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 147-65, especially 155.

proactively using the LXX form for theological reasons.”⁴⁵⁾ D. Leschert⁴⁶⁾ indicated “that the author handled his *Vorlage* (‘textual foundation’) as authoritative and, generally, followed it consistently. Yet, the author may have altered the *Vorlage* slightly to improve on its literary style or to emphasize points of theology...” a situation very difficult to ascertain.⁴⁷⁾ H. Bateman⁴⁸⁾ also felt that “in keeping with his historical milieu, the author freely edits his Old Testament both for stylistic balance and for theological emphasis.”⁴⁹⁾ A very interesting view is that of G. Hughes⁵⁰⁾ that may open up for investigation the exegetical modes in the New Testament times, Midrash and Targum, since he “suggests that by doing new covenant reflection on the old covenant text the author of Hebrews creates a new *logia* (‘saying’ or ‘statement’), and this process may, in line with the techniques utilized by exegetes of the day, involve altering the text to suit the author’s interpretation.”⁵¹⁾ P. Enns⁵²⁾ complained that the author of Hebrews took liberties in order to make a theological point. The exegetical technique is seen as similar to Qumran.⁵³⁾

45) Guthrie (2003), 276.

46) D. Leschert, *Hermeneutical Foundations of Hebrews: A Study in the Validity of the Epistle’s Interpretation of Some Core Citations from the Psalms*, NABPRD 10 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), especially 245-247.

47) Guthrie 2003: 276.

48) H. Bateman, *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1.5-13: The Impact of Early Jewish Exegesis on the Interpretation of a Significant New Testament Passage*, AUS 193 (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

49) Guthrie (2003), 276.

50) G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics: The Epistle to the Hebrews as a New Testament Example of Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

51) Guthrie (2003), 276.

52) Enns, 352-63.

53) Guthrie (2003), 276. This is a valid point to view the New Testament exegetical method as fulfilling the requirements of societies’ scientific expectations. Guthrie considers the LXX for Deuteronomy 32:43 used in

G. Guthrie concluded by summarizing the textual position in 2003: “Thus, one rather substantial current in research on Hebrews’ use of the Old Testament consists of a move away from focus on the question of a specific textual form behind the book and a move to consideration of the author’s own minor adjustments in presentation of the text for stylistic and theological purposes.”⁵⁴⁾ M. L. Torres indicated in his article on the text of the New Testament that did not use the modern editions available to us but rather the phraseology of a *Vorlage* available to them.⁵⁵⁾ D. A. de Silva⁵⁶⁾ proposed that the LXX is versions that are lumped together. G. Steyn 2009 provided a definition of the LXX⁵⁷⁾ in line with that of De Silva. B. R. Dyer⁵⁸⁾ stated “the author of Hebrews made use of a version of the LXX not accounted for in the documents available to us.”⁵⁹⁾

Hebrews 1:6. G. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson (eds.), *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 2007)

54) Guthrie (2003), 277.

55) M. L. Torres, “A Septuaginta no contexto do Novo Testamento,” *Revista Teológica do SALT-IAENE* 2/1 (1998), 29-44. Torres said: “não obstante, ao citarem a LXX, com muita probabilidade, os escritores do Novo Testamento, especialmente Paulo, seguiram a fraseologia da *Vorlage* de que dispunham e não as palavras do TS como se encontram nas edições críticas de que dispomos.” Torres, 44. To translate: “Nevertheless, to quote the LXX, very likely, the writers of the New Testament, especially Paul, followed the phraseology of the *Vorlage* of destroyers and not the words of TS as in critical editions available.” The quotations do not match the Critical Editions text of the Septuagint.

56) D. A. de Silva, 807.

57) G. J. Steyn, 583-607. He said: “The Greek versions of the Old Testament, ‘usually lumped together’ as the ‘Septuagint’ (LXX), represent a merger between the religious and sociological worlds of the Hebrew- and Aramaic-speaking Jews, on the one hand, and Greek speaking Jews on the other hand.”

58) J. Dyer, 104-131.

59) Ibid., 117.

2. Approach and Purpose

Faced with the question of the form of the text, the main objective in this research is to study some Old Testament citations in the book of Hebrews so as to get a better understanding of the nature of the *Vorlage* at hand, and also of the author's use of that *Vorlage*.⁶⁰⁾ Scholars may ask what a study of the Targum can bring to an understanding of the form of a New Testament text? The New Testament is citing from the Old Testament and all versions available and relevant for those times must be investigated to see the derivative nature of the form of the text. To investigate the form of the text used in Hebrews, one passage is selected for this purpose, namely: Hebrews 1:6 (Psalm 97:7; Deuteronomy 32:43). The investigation of Hebrews 1:6 will lead to Deuteronomy 32:43 in the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition;

60) To say "*Vorlage*" is to beg the question but there are scholars in the past who sought for a *Vorlage* in the Book of Hebrews, P. Pavda, *Les Citations de l' Ancien Testament dans l' Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris: N. L. Danzig, 1904). See also S. Kistemaker, 44, for a *Vorlage* in Hebrews 10:5-7 but in Hebrews 8:7-11 he said that the copying was not done by *memory*, nor a *Vorlage* but by the *liturgy of the church*. Kistemaker, 41-42. Hebrews 1:8 is considered by Kistemaker "except for a few details, is identical to the LXX". This is not the case since the CMT has no article before the second ῥαβδος contrasting LXX and Origen. The article is also absent from the private copy of Aquila in 150 CE although he used a different equivalent for טַבָּשׁ namely not ῥάβδος but σκῆπτρον. At Hebrews 1:7 Kistemaker said "for several reasons the author to the Hebrews has employed the LXX version". He is correct to see connections between Targum Jonathan and the LXX. Kistemaker, 23, footnote 2. There is actually no difference between CMT "Who makes winds His messengers" and NT "Who makes winds His angels" in this verse. Kistemaker is thus not correct saying "The author did not try to give his own translation of the MT, but presented the text that was prevalent in the Early Church," Kistemaker, 24. About Hebrews 1:6b, he concluded "The Hymn of Moses included in the Odes following the Greek Psalter presents the reading in Deut 32:43b (Odes) which is identical to the quotation in Heb. 1:6b. This reading is testified by the LXX Codex A (except for the addition of the definite article preceding the noun ἄγγελοι), 55, and Justin Martyr," Kistemaker, 21. Actually neither Kistemaker nor the LXXGöttingen edition mentioned that the Bohairic Coptic version also read *angels* here, namely the plural definite article prefixed to it as ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC.

4QDt 32:43;⁶¹⁾ Targum Onkelos;⁶²⁾ Targum Neophyti;⁶³⁾ Hebrew of Origen's Hexapla;⁶⁴⁾ Origen and the Göttingen edition of Deuteronomy 32:43.⁶⁵⁾ The data could reveal something of the nature of the *Vorlage* of the early Church.

● II. The Textual Possibilities of Deuteronomy 32:43 in the Early Church

Hebrews 1:6 is suggested to be a citation from Deuteronomy 32:43. Scholars suggested that the quotation was not made from the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition because *καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ* is not found there in the Hebrew text. In the same vein they have found that there is a correlation of this extra element in Deuteronomy 32:43 of the LXX editions (whether LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen). They admit a slight modification or adaption of this verse though. The suspicious aspect is that the LXX does not contain the words *ἄγγελοι θεοῦ* but rather *υἱοὶ θεοῦ*. In an attempt to investigate this possibility that the LXX served as a *Vorlage* for the

61) Patrick W. Skehan, "A fragment of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) from Qumran," *BASOR* 136 (Dec. 1954): 12-15.

62) Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. Vol. 1, The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959). See also J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments from the Jerusalem Targum*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green and Roberts, 1862-1865).

63) Alexander Díez Macho, *Neophyti I – Targum Palestinense MS De la Biblioteca Vaticana, Tomo V Deuteronomio* (Madrid: Conserjo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1978), 280-281. Note however that the Spanish translation is too paraphrastic and elaborative.

64) F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (Oxford: 1875) at Deuteronomy 32:43.

65) John W. Wevers, *Septuaginta: Deuteronomium* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

author of the book of Hebrews, one needs to look at more ancient texts of the same verse in Jewish and Christian early traditions. That is to say, if the Septuagint used the syntagmem “sons of God,” how did the author of the book of Hebrews arrived at the syntagmem “angels of God”?

It will serve well to study this verse in a wide scenario in order to see additions and modifications in various ancient texts and only after observing the correspondences and differences can one return to a possible answer about the *Vorlage* of the author of the book of Hebrews. In the following pages, the abbreviations for the texts will be: Consonantal text of the MT = CMT; Hebrew text of Origen’s Hexapla = HOH; Targum Onkelos = TO; 4 Qumran Deuteronomy = 4QDt; Targum Neophyti = TN; Origen’s text = O; Septuagint = LXX; Septuagint editions = LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen.

1. Some Observations on Deuteronomy 32:43

The words of the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition (CMT) ו גוים הרננו שמים עמו = “Praise O nations His people” are found in all these textual traditions except 4QDt, Origen and the LXX which read “praise o heavens His people”. 4QDt has it as הרננו שמים עמו; Origen as εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ = [my retroversion in Hebrew] הרננו שמים עמו and the LXX as εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ = [my retroversion in to Hebrew] הרננו שמים עמו. In both cases of the Greek of LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen as well as the reading of Origen’s Hexapla have taken the word “nations” not as a noun but as a preposition “with” plus the pronominal suffix “him” added. The text was unvoweled and such ambivalent reading is a normal phenomenon with unvoweled texts.

The CMT has earlier support than Origen or the extant manuscripts used for reconstruction of the LXX by Rahlfs and the Göttingen edition. The form of Codex Aleppo 1008 CE remained stable as is witnessed in earlier texts like the Hebrew Text of Origen's Hexapla,⁶⁶⁾ the Targum Onkelos,⁶⁷⁾ Theodotion's private Greek translation of 190 CE and earlier also in the private Greek translation of Aquila in 130 CE. The Samaritan Pentateuch also has the same

66) ο Ἑβραῖος αἰνέσατε ἔθνη λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὅτι αἷμα δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκδικήσῃ καὶ ἐκδικίαν ἀντιποδώσῃ τοῖς θλίβουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum* Vol. 1 (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875), 323. It is a direct literal translation of the CMT and indicates that the CMT in Origen's day [250 CE] as preserved in 1875 reconstructed from Codex Ambrosianus of the eighth century CE, copied from the Syro-Hexapla of Paul of Tella dating to the 616 CE, had no differences with the CMT of the Codex Aleppo of 1008 which is the basis of the BH and BHS editions of the Hebrew Bible for scholarly use today. The consonants were exactly the same. Through this chain of data-assembling, copying, translating and retroverting, we have to hope that we arrive at Origen's translation at the other end. It is also not sure if Paul of Tella had access to the original of Origen or whether he was using one of the copies of Pamphilus, the xerox of Origen. He was a student of Origen and he received the books of Origen in Caesarea. The date of the form of CMT is further supported as stable even earlier to the time of Theodotion (190 CE) and Aquila (150 CE). The stable formal pattern of CMT should not be overlooked here and evidence in 150 CE supports this aspect very well. If Aquila has αἰνοποιήσατε ἔθνη λαὸς αὐτοῦ in Deuteronomy 32:43 then that means the text was closely resembling CMT, at least in these four words. In similar vein, if Theodotion has ἀγαλλιάσθε ἔθνη λαὸς αὐτοῦ in Deuteronomy 32:43 then the text aligned very well with the form of CMT.

67) J. Cook indicated correctly that TO and MT represents a corresponding Hebrew *Vorlage*. J. Cook, "Ancient Readings in the Translations of the Old Testament," *JNWSL* 12 (1984), 41-52, especially page 49. Cook's observation is well taken and there are other considerations that must also be looked at. The connection of Targum Onkelos and its relation to the Masoretic text was also studied by A. Sperber, "The Targum Onkelos in its Relation to the Masoretic Hebrew Text," *PAAJR* 6 (1934-1935), 309-351. Patriotic tendencies in Targum Onkelos were studied by M. Aberbach, "Patriotic Tendencies in Targum Onkelos," *JHS* 1 (1969), 13-24. The redaction of the Targum Onkelos was studied by J. Prager, *Zur Redaktion des Targum Onkelos*. Jahresbericht über der Religions-Unterrichtsanstalt der Synagogen-Gemeinde (Breslau, 1876). The translation technique of the scribe of Targum Onkelos of the Pentateuch was studied by M. Levi, "Ueber Onkelos und seine Uebersetzung des Pentateuch," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie* 5 (1844), 175-198; also Z. Frankel, "Einiges zum Text der Uebersetzung des Onkelos zum Pentateuch," *MGWJ* 17 (1868), 33-34; and E. Brederek, "Bemerkungen über die Art der Übersetzung im Targum Onkelos," *STK* 74 (1901), 351-377. Ancient scribes translating the CMT into Aramaic tried to be very literal but at times the scribal baggage surfaced during the translation process.

reading as the CMT. All these texts have unanimously a very simple text with three words following “praise o nations His people”. The same simplicity however, cannot be seen in the other texts, starting with 4QDt, LXXRalhfs or LXXGöttingen, Targum Neophyti, Origen’s translation.

Scholars may say, simply line up all the readings of some versions with the Qumran reading and take that one to be the background of the book of Hebrews. Some may even go further to try to cancel the form of CMT to argue for omissions in CMT. The issues at stake are more complex than such a methodology. True enough, at this stage it appears that we are having a scale with some weighing in closely to the author of Hebrews and others weighing closely in with CMT. It almost seems as if he was not using CMT but the LXXRalhfs or LXXGöttingen. Almost, but further investigation is necessary.

2. Finding CMT in the LXXRalhfs and LXXGöttingen

Anyone who thought that the LXXRalhfs or LXXGöttingen in Deuteronomy 32:43 is not reading the CMT form is mistaken. The core of CMT can be discovered in the Greek reading. In fact the words *καὶ εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ* in LXXRalhfs and LXXGöttingen is actually a case of a Hebrew text recognizing the error of ambiguity and putting the preposition supralinear, in what is here suggested, in a notebook of a teacher scribe. The situation looks like this in the notebook: *καὶ εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη ^{μετα τοῦ} λαοῦ αὐτοῦ* [my transcription in Hebrew] *וְהָרַנְנוּ גוֹיִם עַמּוֹ*. Origen was aware of this since he translated the Hebrew text (HOH) as *εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη λαοῦ αὐτοῦ* representing the CMT absolutely literal.

This is a parallelism created by the scribal form of the LXXOrigen⁶⁸⁾ and LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen to the first part of text in Deuteronomy 32:43. It is almost as if the teacher in his notebook wants to say that whereas you read in 43a εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ the words 43a3-4 ἅμα αὐτῷ, actually the rendition by others will be 43c1 μετα for the Hebrew text reading 43c2 λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. The teacher of the notebook may have had in mind only explanative reasons for recasting LXXOrigen or LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen 43a in duplication in 43c with 43c representing CMT very closely.

3. Comparing 4QDt with LXXOrigen, LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen in 43b

The text from Cave 4 of Qumran containing Deuteronomy 32:43 have extra elements in the text that CMT does not have at this point in Deuteronomy.⁶⁹⁾

68) See F. Field, *Origenes Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (Oxford: 1875), 323.

69) 4QDeutⁿ is not a continuous full text but represents excerpts from Deuteronomy rather than the text of the Book. 4QDeut^f does not agree with the Samaritan revision of the text of Deuteronomy from a parallel text in Numbers 10 and it follows rather the CMT or the LXX. 4QDeut^b has a text from Deuteronomy 31:11. 4QLXXDeuteronomy has a reading from Deuteronomy 11:4 that follows the same reading as the LXX. 4QpaleoDeut^{r3} has readings from Deuteronomy 7:10-15; 17 (?) 19; 21-23(?); 28-29; 31(/)-33. The questionmarks after the verses are crucial in proper analysis and one should pay attention to them to prevent dogmatic statements that can spill out into trends of conclusions and ultimately consensus. There are textual affinities with the LXX and the CMT. 4QpaleoDeuteronomy46 has readings from Deuteronomy 6:14-15. There are also affinities with the LXX and CMT. 4QDeut^a and 4QDeutⁱ is a reading from Deuteronomy 32:8 and read the same as the LXX reading of "sons of God" instead of "sons of Israel" as the CMT. The reading "sons of angels of God" which is the same reading as Aquila was interpreted by E. Tov that the change in the MT is theological. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 269. These texts represents excerpts from the Book of Deuteronomy rather than the Book itself. The text 4Q128, 129, 137, or 4QPhylA, B, J is a reading from Deuteronomy and is a shorter text considered by J. Milik as homoioteleuton but by A. Rofé as an originally shorter text. There is no uniformity whether this should be seen as an omission or an addition to the text of the CMT. It omitted a word kl or "all" from 1' in Samuel 2:22-23 and Tov views the omission as original. Tov, 273. The uncertainty of the text's full extent should caution anyone against sweeping conclusions. In

Identical to LXXOrigen, LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen in 43a εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ = [my retroversion in to Hebrew] הֶרְנִינוּ שָׁמַיִם עִמּוֹ; the text from 4QDt also has in 43a הֶרְנִינוּ שָׁמַיִם עִמּוֹ, “Heavens” is not in CMT of the original Hebrew text. The word “heavens” was never in a host of witnesses like Aquila 130 CE, Theodotion 190 CE, Origen’s first column 250 CE, Targum Onkelos and the Samaritan Pentateuch. The connection with the late reconstructed LXX is noteworthy.

There is a second connection in 4QDt in 43b that is similar to LXXOrigen, LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen. There are minor differences as following: 4QDt in 43b has וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּ לוֹ כָּל אֱלֹהִים. Very similar is the rendering of LXXOrigen in 43b as καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ = [my reconstruction of the Hebrew] וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּ לוֹ כָּל אֱלֹהִי, and in LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen in 43b it is καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ = [my reconstruction of the Hebrew] וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוּ לוֹ כָּל בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. Besides these three witnesses linked in this way, there are none others this closely. The distant nearest to this addition is the Targum Neophyti with “before Him” as קִדְמוֹי. How to explain this addition in 4QDt will require a separate treatment.

4. Explaining the Origin of the Addition Deuteronomy 32:43b in 4QDt

In general, scholars of Qumran are divided whether the differences between

the case of 4QPhyl J which is a copy of Deuteronomy 5 and 6 there are a number of omissions, changes in the order of the verses, intentional spaces that demonstrate that this text was to fulfill a role not in control checking the correctness of a copy, but in the prayer-life of an individual or group. There is not an equal value on a formal biblical text and a functional para-biblical text. This is a better solution than to suggest that the Second-Temple period had a multiple of different forms and an absence of a canon.

the biblical fragments in Cave 4 of Qumran and the CMT should be seen as elisions from the CMT or additions to the CMT.

The texts from Qumran are of a degenerative character as far as copy-quality is concerned. There are scribal errors, errors corrected supralinearly or in the margin, corrected towards the CMT in most cases and where it is not, it is from memory believing it to be correct. Dictation was the method of copying since many errors are guttural interchanges due to articulatory/acoustic mistakes. Sometimes the *Vorlage* of the reader was difficult. Qumran had a wider circulation at some point in time since the Peshitta, Targum and LXXOrigen or LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen sometimes share these scribal errors and variants with the Qumran texts. The book was copied, corrected and used. The fact that it was corrected shows that a one-text strict adherence was at play here and not just an anything-goes policy.

One aspect that is very crucial considering Qumran is the difference between formal and functional biblical texts. A formal biblical text purports to be a duplication of CMT even though it is actually at Qumran in a degenerative condition due to the normal human slips of the ear, hand, eye, memory and tongue. A functional text is a biblical text that is shortened (omissions); elaborated or transformed in form to serve other purposes than duplication of its content. They become applied texts as opposed to merely copied biblical texts. The applied biblical texts became para-biblical texts since the Bible is approached with scissors and glue to put together for functional purposes some supportive array of prooftexts around the same topic. Paraphrases of the first verses in Ezekiel 30 were made and quotations of sections from the biblical

text were freely rewritten. Florilegium are texts that strung together a number of CMT verses from different books. Commentaries are sometimes continuous or thematic. Some of the Qumran manuscripts can fulfill other functions like liturgical references in writings for worship (Thanksgiving hymns). It is true that all the texts seemed to be important to certain individuals or groups (whoever they may have been) but it is not true that all the texts were given equal authoritative value when it comes to the matter of correcting the copies of a text.

In the light of this general overview of Qumran, one can approach 4QDt better. The additional element in Deuteronomy 32:43 that 4QDt shares with LXXOrigen and LXXRahlfs as well as LXXGöttingen, is just like the case in 4QFlorilegium, a cut and paste insert from Psalm 97:7. In fact, the citation by 4QDt from CMT Psalm 97:7 is verbatim the same. The insertion in 4QDt of a citation from CMT Psalm 97:7 והשתחוּ לו כל אלהים changes the picture of this Qumran fragment from a formal biblical text to that of a functional biblical text or para-biblical text in the same way as 4QFlorilegium inserted other texts.⁷⁰⁾ This aspect needs to be further researched below, namely the functional role of Deuteronomy in early Judaism.

70) In the case of 4QTestimonia or 4Q175, there is a citation from Deuteronomy 5:28-29 and then followed suddenly a citation from Deuteronomy 18:18-19. See J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4. D/D 5. 4Q158-4Q186* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 57-58 and plate XXI. The transition from one text to another from the same biblical book is uninterrupted and lacks any indentation or marginal symbols to distinguish between the two passages. The scribe made errors and his corrections of particles or letters are in superscript. When the citation is from another book a marginal symbol and indentation is used as in line 8 citing from Numbers 24:15-17.

5. Phenomenon of Repetitive Parallelism in LXXOrigen, LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen

LXXOrigen, LXXRahlfs as well as LXXGöttingen is in form the same as 4QDt in the first part of 43a–b but then there is an elaboration of a repetitive kind.

LXXOrigen in Deuteronomy 43a–b²

Deuteronomy 32:43a	εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{incept}	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ
Deuteronomy 32:43a ^{2 correction}	εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{2 repeating b}	καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ

LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen in Deuteronomy 43a–b²

Deuteronomy 32:43a	εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{incept}	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ
Deuteronomy 32:43a ^{2 correction}	εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{2 repeating b}	καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ

The incept from Psalm 97:7 is reformulated in Deuteronomy 32:43b^{2 repeating b}. It is a repetitive recasting of the CMT form with slips of the eye due to slips of the hand (illegible handwriting) so that the word προσκυνησάτωσαν is the word [my Hebrew reconstruction] והשתחו and the word ἐνισχυσάτωσαν is the word [my Hebrew reconstruction] והזיקו. It is a misreading by someone dictating from a difficult reading that could have originated in orthography that was not to clear,

or the reader is advanced in age and had eye-problems, or it was late in the day and the light was not clear enough but the fact is that a different form originated that is nowhere supported by any other witness for this verse.

6. Phenomenon of Midrashic Eaboration⁷¹⁾ in Targum Neophyti

Targum Neophyti has many problems of its own well discussed by scholars but what is interesting is to see the repetitive style or multiple readings also portrayed here.⁷²⁾

71) Considering the variety of options on interpretation by the Targums, one notices for example in Genesis 3:15 that Targum Onkelos on Genesis 3:15 is not using Messiah at all. See A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. Vol. 1, The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos*, Leiden: Brill, 1959), 5. Targum Neofiti I Genesis 3:15 Text from Add. 27031 uses “in the days of the king, the Messiah.” Targum Pseudo-Jonathan uses “in the days of the king, the Messiah” in Genesis 3:15. The earlier the Targum the less likely one will have the explicit reference to the Messiah or the volume of it is less. What one can conclude from this is that Targums may differ as to the form of expression of the concept, namely, less explicit and more implicit or more explicit and less implicit but regardless of this manner of formulation choice, the concept among them regarding the Messianic interpretation was the same. The text functioned the same for them although the final form of the derivative texts interpreting the original CMT differed. One has to take it case by case but in Genesis 3:15 they are sharing this common understanding. One can strongly take it that CMT had this also in mind but may have formally shaped it with indirect forms (third person verbal forms and suffixes) rather than the word Messiah explicitly. The Targums brought out what they understood to be inside the text already. The author of Hebrews is bringing to the surface what is in the deep structure of the Old Testament source text.

72) The liturgical character of Targum Neophyti is noteworthy. B. Barry Levine in “Targum Neophyti I: A Textual Studies,” in *Studies in Judaism 1* (London: University Press of America, 1986), 52-53 said that the phenomenon of multiple readings attested in this Targum shows an “ongoing, conscious or unconscious editorial process that has left double and triple readings. . . . To be sure, there are passages that are better perceived as rhetorical furnishes or conscious repetitions than as textual duplications.” About the phenomenon of insertion of proper names, Levine adds (page 49): “These were all designed to help keep the congregants perception of the material close to the understood intent of the text.” Martin McNamara indicated, that it is natural “that those sections of the Torah read in the synagogue would be the first to be provided with a liturgical paraphrase.” Martin McNamara, “The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch,” *Analecta Biblica* 27A (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 44. Wisdom vocabulary from Deuteronomy in the Targum Neophyti was studied by J. Malfroy, “L’utilisation du vocabulaire sapientiel du Deutéronome dans le Targum palestinien (Codex Neofiti),” *Semitica* 17 (1967), 81-96. The study of glosses in the Targum Neophyti

Targum Neophyti on Deuteronomy 32:43a–43b²

Deuteronomy 32:43a	קלסו קדמוי אומייה
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{incept}	סבהו יתיה עמיה בית ישראל
Hebrew retroversion of Deuteronomy 32:43a and Psalm 97:7	
Deuteronomy 32:43a	הרנינו גוים עמו
	= “Praise O nations His people”.
Deuteronomy 32:43b ^{incept from Psalm 97:7}	והשתחוּ לו כל אלהים.

It is as if those in control of Targum Neophyti felt that the content of “all the gods” is commonly understood to be the “sons of God” as one can also find in the LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen and thus a specific etiquette referring to “house of Israel” is not that far. After all, they are “His people” of Deuteronomy 32:43a. The one verse lends content to the other and it is considered legitimate content–elaboration. There is no evidence that Targum Neophyti’s Hebrew *Vorlage* was purported to be any different from the CMT.

A word of explanation can be given to the apparent misreading of גוים as קדמוי. A slip of the hand caused the bad orthography of גוים to appear to the reader as קדם and subsequently led to the misreading in Targum Neophyti in Deuteronomy 32:43a as קדמוי. Alternatively, the acoustic distance between /gimel/ and /qof/ is not that far for the possibility of an acoustic misperception (slip of the ear) in the copying process letter by letter before reading for

was done by R. Le Déaut, “Levitique XXII 26-XXIII 44 dans le Targum Palestinien: De l’importance des gloses du Codex Neofiti 1,” VT 18 (1968), 458-471.

translation. The one dictating the letters one by one to the copyist said /gimel/ but the copyist misheard /qof/ and the letter /waw/ appeared by a slip of the eye due to bad handwriting or slip of the hand as a /dalet/ and thus the *Vorlage* of Targum Neophyti was meant to have גי'ם (noun) but it became קדם (preposition). The intention of the ones in control of Targum Neophyti was not to rewrite or substitute it always. As McNamara puts it using the Latin: Affert ad eam (i.e. Sacra Scriptura) sua quisque dogmata. Invenit in ea dogmata quisque sua – “they took their own beliefs to the scriptures and believed that they found them there.”⁷³⁾

7. The Author of Hebrews Standing in a Common Midrash Methodology Stream

It is evident from Qumran that midrash methodology⁷⁴⁾ was common in the

73) M. McNamara, “Midrash, Culture Medium and Development of Doctrine: Some Facts in Quest of a Terminology,” *PIBA* 11 (1988), 67-87, especially 81. The end-result was not always sober as one can see in the exegesis of Isaiah 53 in the Targumim. Also the exegesis of Psalm 110 is problematic for Jewish interpretation. Only a romantic historian will put it fully in the words of McNamara only. In reality it does not work that comfortable always. There are problems and scholars are aware of that. There is still the beauty of the objective to treat the text as totally coherent and self-consistent and to interpret any part of Scripture in the light of any other part of it and harmonized it. Contradictions are viewed as apparent and not real. Diverse scriptures are weaved together reconciling scripture with scripture. Alexander felt that it is difficult to say whether the interpretation was derived at by meditation only or deliberately devised. The dynamic that drives the midrash forward is located not in the pure meditation on scripture but in the need to validate the tradition. They felt that they were working with an ongoing tradition of scholarship. There was the article of S. Sandmel, “Parallelomania,” *JBL* 81 (1962): 1-13 warning scholars not to look too much for identical ideas between the rabbis, their methods, their products and the New Testament authors. There is also the work of M. McNamara of collected essays in *Targum and New Testament: Collected Essays* where he indicates that despite what Sandmel says, there is evidence for “a good instance of continuum in exegetical tradition” (M. McNamara, *Targum and New Testament: Collected Essays. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 279. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011, 526).

74) Midrash is sometimes seen as only Jewish exegesis and with no interest in the inherent meaning but rather

Second Temple Period. Not only in Palestine was this methodology applied, it can be seen also in the scholarship of Homer's works at Ptolemaic Alexandria. Scholars met each other in those days and one asked the other where he can find a reliable text of Homer. The answer was: "not one of these recent edited ones." They conflated Homer's texts, added, omitted, harmonized, made concise editions, created odes and hymns on the basis of past ones. As it is with the Homer texts so it is with the texts from Qumran and the books of the New Testament and other pseudepigrapha: the fundamental question remains whether the product of midrash is supported by the harmonized corpus of canonical books or are there discrepancies in the new works? The principle of consistency, harmonization, comparison, support, synonymity, are all ingredients of a wholesome approach. The author of Hebrews stood within this methodological *modus operandi*. He may differ with Judaism but not with the biblical text. He may use the same midrashic methodology to legitimize an interpretation but illegitimate connections and farfetched

the personal or social needs of the community that serves as a tool to extrapolate from the exegetes of the Old Testament relevant points to make meaning in their own day. See M-K Chan and P. M. Venter, 'Midrash as exegetical approach of early Jewish exegesis, with some examples from the Book of Ruth', *HTS Theologese Studies/Theological Studies* 66/1 (2010), Art. # 787, 6 pages. DOI: 10.4102/hts.v66i1.787. It is gap-filling, application of interpretation, homiletic, and adaption to the present, to name a few functions. In this research, the understanding of Midrash is maximalist and not Jewish ethnic minimalist, namely, that *midrash* is a linguistic expression format that is common in all cultures, namely that an alignment with an authoritative basis is at play, whether that basis is decided to be the interpreters of the canon of authority (Judaism) or the canon itself (Jesus, Paul, John and other New Testament writers). Midrash was the "Chicago style of publishing requirements to be scientific" in the days of the apostles. It is a format requirement rather than an ethnic-connected manner of exegesis. The author of the Book of Hebrews utilized this manner of expression but more seriously sticking to the canon of the Old Testament as authority than the authority of the exegetes of that canon, except if he was convinced that Jesus did the exegesis or that the exegetical basis is validated by the canon. Midrash is not to be equated here in this research with Judaism's content although themes may overlap.

conclusions he would not abide with and would oppose it. That is why the author, although a product of his day's Judaism, is in dialectic discussion with it most of the time.⁷⁵⁾ He can argue with Judaism since he is familiar with their midrashic methodology but he also knows the limits and red-card cases of the methodology when it goes overboard with conclusions.⁷⁶⁾

Jesus had the same dialectics with Judaism of His day. It was not the biblical text that Jesus had problems with but with Judaism's midrashic illegitimate ideas and conclusions from the biblical text. The midrashic methodology of Jesus and the author's day was then a common method used and misused and can be seen as a scholarly *modus operandi* with normative texts.⁷⁷⁾ It was

75) There is in Hebrews the phenomenon to *invert the syntagma* of the Old Testament; the phenomenon of *elision* which functions as *selectivity*, emphasis or highlighting due to expression; the phenomenon of *inserting a conjunctive* to signal the transformation of a new syntagma on the basis of one left out by suppression or elision but necessary to introduce; phenomenon of *semantical substitution of words* of which the ideological semantical characteristics correspond. The rules for phonological, syntactical, semantical, morphological and phonetical subsystems of these characteristics correspond to the context for both words and are so used.

76) Philippians 3:5-7 illustrates to us Paul's dialectics with Judaism being one of them himself fervently before. "Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; Concerning zeal, persecuting the church; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless. But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ." There is a contrasting dialectical "but" after mentioning his full qualification as part of the Judaistic system. It is not the Old Testament messages that Paul is rejecting here, it is the misapplication and misuse of the Old Testament as proof-texts for their own ideology that is not in harmony with the total of the Old Testament.

77) Similar methodologies as the author's citation of the Old Testament are also in the texts found at Qumran: Order of the words are changed (4QSama Tov, 114); order of verses are changed (4QJerb Tov, 325; LXX Judges 8 and 9 Tov, 332; LXX Kings 1 Kings 8:1 where vv. 2-13 appears after verse 53 Tov, 340); order of letters are changed; polyvalens of words to explain other difficult words in a similar phrase (2QJer Tov, 262; 4QSama Tov, 258; 4QSama on 1 Sam 1:23 Tov, 304); polyvalens of phrases to fill in apparent absent spaces (doublets) (4QKings on 1 Kings 8:16 from 2 Chron 6:5-6 Tov, 239; 1QIsaa on Isaiah 37:9 where information from 2 Kings 19:9 appear Tov, 241); instead of other passages of scripture, imagination is used to fill in the spaces (3QSama Tov, 344); addition of a gloss to explain a seemingly difficult word (1QIsaa on Isaiah 7:25 which added brzl "iron" Tov, 278); addition of a grammatical particle to make the implied comparison explicit (1QIsaa on Isaiah 44:3 where kn is added Tov, 281).

the required publishing style of the time. The author in the book of Hebrews is standing within this scholarly style fashion of his time. One may argue that midrashic exegesis is part of the *modus operandi* of prophets interpreting the works of Moses and that it is actually embedded already in the CMT.⁷⁸⁾ This is correct with certain strong limitations.⁷⁹⁾

78) The concepts of the "Holy Spirit" and "Spirit of Prophecy" was studied in the Targums by J. P. Schäfer, "Die Termini 'Heiliger Geist' und 'Geist der Prophetie' in den Targumim und das Verhältniss der Targumim zueinander," *VT* 20 (1970): 304-314. Christian ideas in the Targum Jerusalemi was studied by M. Ginsburger, "Christliche Ideen im Thargum Jeruschalmi?" *JesHalb* 5 (1896), 73-74.

79) One may argue that the whole origin of the CMT is midrashic halachahic. That may be true (and Michael Fishbane has set himself the task of illustrating this) but this phenomenon happened closer to the time of the original author and once it was canonized as sacred by ancient Israel, its duplication and preservation in that form was set. Qumran represents later additions and modifications of an already canonized fixed form. The form of 4QDana is proof of the existence of an absolute canon, unchanged even unto 1008 A.D. For Aggadic exegesis in the Old Testament see with caution Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). One example illustrating the methodological handicap of Fishbane is his analysis of Jeremiah 2:3 using Leviticus 22:14-16. *Ibid.*, 300-304. Fishbane is surprised that Jeremiah "spiritualize" what is in his analysis, pure law. Polarizing Moses (data as purely legal and literal cultic) against Jeremiah's (reused data of Moses in a spiritual sense) he continued throughout his discussion in this section as well as all the pericopes of Aggadic exegesis that he endeavored to analyse. He admitted that maybe Jeremiah got his idea of a spiritual application from Exodus 19:4-6 and Deuteronomy 7:6 but because he worked with a Wellhausen-contaminated-methodology, he sideshifted these pericopes into a different non-related later gutter called "Deuteronomist." Jeremiah is thus overriding Wellhausen and cancelling his methodology of clinically cutting the works of Moses into pieces. For Jeremiah they are all by Moses and whether you read Leviticus 22:14-16 it is in the metanarrative of Exodus 19:4-6 and of Moses' other work, Deuteronomy 7:6. The holistic Moses is what Jeremiah is working with not the Wellhausinian, or Fishbane particles. The result is that Moses did not write "a concrete cultic behavior" or "a concrete, literal force" (Fishbane 1961, 302) so strictly dichotomized. Jeremiah did not "recast" in "an entirely unexpected spiritual dimension" (Fishbane 1961, 308-309) since it was already embedded in Moses other works. Jeremiah does not "nationalize the original Pentateuchal rule and gives it a covenantal dimension" (Fishbane 1961, 316); it already had a covenantal metanarrative in which it was embedded by reality and also Moses' description of that reality. The difference between the covenant classes of Edward Heppenstall and the covenant view of Michael Fishbane is that Heppenstall provided data for science to build on due to the method of harmonization and a holistic approach (Old Testament Theology, Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, New Testament Theology, Ancient Near Eastern Cultures and History) but Fishbane's approach leads to the disintegration of these sciences and finally to nihilism. See E. Heppenstall, "The Covenants and the Law," *Our Firm Foundation* Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1953), 437-492. If everyone could say just what they like even in

8. Considering the Option of Midrashic Halachahic Elaborations

This researcher will consider the possibility of the midrashic halachahic elaboration of the CMT at Qumran and that such additions were made probably to serve a specific function (liturgical or hymnodic purposes). If this proves to be the case, it would remove the nature of the Qumran so-called biblical text from a status of pure biblical to para-biblical. What this means is that it is not a different *Vorlage* but a functional expansion of the *Vorlage* closely resembled by the CMT. The fact that the Hebrew text of Origen (HOH) did not include elaborations and additions and is the same as CMT is a strong indication that the CMT remained the same in that form already in Qumran⁸⁰ and in Origen's time witnessed also with Codex Aleppo in 1008 A.D. Such a line of accuracy cannot go unnoticed when the matter of the

contradiction to other earlier authors then there is no need to pay attention to the biblical data in modern times. SookYoung Kim in her study on the Warrior Messiah found also a harmony or continuation in the two Testaments rather than divisive ideas. Sook-Young Kim, *The Warrior Messiah in Scripture and Intertestamental Writings* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010). Fishbane shot himself in the foot with his methodology. This pluralistic understanding of theologies in the Old Testament is similar to what E. Otto mentioned as he talked about syncretism and plurality. Otto, 9. Jeremiah understood the spirituality as meta-narrative of the law exactly the way Moses did. There is no plurality of theologies in the Old Testament if the faith-document is what it purports to be. Ellen G. White said "Thus the gospel was preached in every sacrifice; the works of the believers continually revealed their faith in a coming Saviour. Jesus said to the Jews: 'for had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed Me; for He wrote of Me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe My words?'" E. G. White, *Signs of the Times* (March 14, 1878). This is the essential core of the Old Testament content that Fishbane did not grasp. The original reads: εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσεῖ ἐπιστεύετε ἂν ἐμοί περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν. εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν οὐ πιστεύετε πῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς πιστεύσετε; (John 5:46-47).

80) See the exactness of the correspondence of 4QDana with CMT in Eugene Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1 A preliminary Edition of 4QDana," *BASOR* 268 (Nov. 1987), 17-37. Our own collation of this fragment article with CMT convinced us that the *Vorlage* is identical to the CMT with minor orthographical differences. This is extremely remarkable for such a long period separating the two texts compared. It is probably the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of literary transmission.

quality of scribal duplication process is under consideration.

As Judaism made their additions to the CMT in their liturgical use of the Targumim,⁸¹⁾ so also did the Christian tradition used liturgical texts from Qumran to compose the translation forms of Origen and LXXRahlf's or LXXGöttingen.

9. Josephus Evidence of Hymnodic Manipulation of Deuteronomy 32

Josephus' explanation of the description of Deuteronomy 32 or the "song of Moses" is relevant.⁸²⁾ In *Antiquities of the Jews* BK IV chapter VIII no. 44, he mentioned that Moses read to the people a song:

"After this he read to them a poetic song which was composed in hexameter

81) The role of liturgy and the Targums as well as the early church was studied by A. Díez Macho, "El 'targum' en la liturgia de la Iglesia," *AposSac* 23 (1967), 33-39. Also R. Le Déaut, *Liturgie juive et Nouveau Testament. Le témoignage des versions araméennes* (Rome, 1965).

82) Eupolemus was a Jewish-Greek syncretistic historian who elaborated the CMT witness in haggadic fashion to make it more acceptable for his Hellenistic audience. He freely expanded, concocted, computed, elaborated, adjusted and changed the CMT data. Since Eupolemus was a source for Josephus, it indicates that this method of historiography and tradition writing was known in the New Testament period. It further allows for the possibility that Qumran libraries could have had Eupolemus as source and that the haggadic additions in 4QSam 11 must be understood in this light. Did the New Testament synagogical schools in Galilee at places like Sepphoris and Beth-sean had Eupolemus on their shelves? When the scribes of the 3rd century CE utilized the Jewish traditions for their education they were also influenced by this Eupolemic-Talmudic historiography so that when the LXX was "improved" by Jews as Justin the Martyr is complaining, the Hebrew CMT was that of the adjusted Eupolemic CMT and the Greek is reflecting these adjustments and when the scribes were copying the Greek manuscripts of the LXX, will it be odd to suggest that they aligned these issues in similar fashion in the LXX manuscripts? What Eupolemus was doing was done to the Homeric texts at Ptolemaic Alexandria since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. What separates one product from another, tapping from this stream of common methods or modes of articulation, is whether the core was legitimate enough. That core had to be within the confines of the CMT or otherwise the product was in jeopardy like Psalm 110 and Isaiah 53 in the Targumim. The moment the product is in conflict with the CMT or an illegitimate adaptation of it, it creates controversy with those who are interested in preservation of the veracity and exactness of the CMT. That is why Jesus and Paul were in constant dialectics with Judaism of his day.

verse”. He further indicated that the way the blessings and curses were related was in: “answering one another alternately by way of confirmation of what had been said.”

It is said that Josephus took priestly documents with him to Rome. In all likelihood, it included Greek hexametric remodelings of the Qumranic Deuteronomy text. It is noteworthy that the text from Qumran is written, differently from the CMT, in Greek hexameter: 3 + 3; 3 + 3; 3 + 3.

If one takes Josephus seriously, the Greeks had certain rhythmic tools to create harmonious hexameters. In Greek poetry and song, the enclitic is a word which loses its own accent and is pronounced as if it were part of the preceding word.⁸³⁾

A proclitic word is mono-syllable that has no accent and which is sometimes⁸⁴⁾ attached to the following word. An example in 4QDt would be: <והשתחוּלו וְהַשְׁתַּחֲוּ לוֹ.

The caesura (i.e. cutting) of the foot of the hexameter was done whenever a word ends before a foot is finished. This phenomenon was to make the verse more melodious.⁸⁵⁾ An example of caesura in 4QDt would be: <כִּי זֶם >כִּידֶם.

If the above phenomena occurred in 4QDt and if Josephus was right about the song of Moses he knew to be the Greek hexameter, then 4QDt is in perfect hexameter style. After the first three feet, a conjunctive signals the end of the previous rhythmical series of feet of the same measure and the beginning of a new rhythmical series of feet of the same measure. The context-bound copulative כִּי

83) · William W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1978), 31 paragraph 140.

84) · There are exceptions.

85) · Ibid., 353-354.

formally an explicative particle signals the end of the second rhythmical series and the beginning of the second series of six feet. The rest of the rhythmical series has the waw conjunctive after or before each new set of three feet as signaling copulative.

10. Hymnic Form of Qumran Deuteronomy the Same as CMT Psalm

There is in the second line of 4QDt an elaboration from another syntagma from citing Psalm 97:7c (CMT). The form is exactly like the CMT. It is probable that his hymn was circulated in textual form so that the Western Church preserved, adapted and elaborated these texts for their textual “hymnbooks” (Origen). The copies which served as uncials for the LXX editions (all of them including Göttingen) were copies and elaborations made from Christian (Origen) and Jewish (Targumim) traditions as well as remnants of Qumran hymns preserved in the days of Origen.

● III. Towards a Solution for the Text behind Hebrews 1:6

The reality of the *Vorlage* of Hebrews 1:6 lies in the fact that Psalm 97:7c (CMT) is quoted.

CMT and 4QDt:

השתחוּ לו כל אלהים

“prostrate before Him all gods”

LXX (96:7)

προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ

“prostrate before Him all His angels”

NT (Heb 6:1)

καὶ προσκυνήσάωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ

“and let all the angels of God prostrate themselves
before Him”

Various observations become clear:

1. Qumran and the CMT are using “gods” whereas the LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen are using “angels”. For similar synonymous usage of these terms, see J. Wevers Septuaginta on Genesis 6:2 where Philo, Josephus, Augustine and Jerome read ἄγγελοι for υἱοὶ of the printed editions. It seems to advocate for the idea of “gods” and “angels” used interchangeably contemporaneous with the time of the book of Hebrews as far as Philo and Josephus is concerned.

2. To say that the Septuagint served as *Vorlage* to Hebrews 1:6 is to ignore the additions of καὶ and θεοῦ in Hebrews. Where did the author of Hebrews get the “of God” from?

3. It is interesting to see that in Origen’s elaboration of Deuteronomy 32:43 from Greek Psalm 96:7, he used the exact form as in Hebrews 1:6 and not the one in LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen.⁸⁶⁾

If the author did use this different form from the LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen then Origen superimposed this different form onto the LXX of his day or later scribes modified the LXX of Origen’s day to be what LXXRahlfs and LXXGöttingen is given it to be. Origen is the only one who was using this form. Was Origen influenced by Hebrews 1:6 in his rendering?

86) Field, at Psalm 96:7.

4. The author could have exegetically thought this way: The CMT which is identical as 4QDt 32:43b and Psalm 97:7c may have viewed כל as the nomen regens determined by the genitive אלהים “all of God”. In doing so, the author to the Hebrews could have concluded that “all of God” implies the “angels” and thus he brought to the surface a syntagmem that was seemingly in the deep structure anyway and supported by Psalm 97:7c.

5. The author of Hebrews did not use the LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen as *Vorlage* in 1:6 because the LXX’s masculine plural definite article οἱ is left out in Hebrews. Additionally, while the LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen is using the second person plural active imperative, the NT is using the third person plural active imperative. It is a shift between “yourselves” (LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen) and “themselves” (NT).

6. Pre-New Testament Jewish exegesis styles may also have played a role in the author’s writing of the book of Hebrews so that the New Testament is not a product of Targumic Midrash but sometimes independent of that yet at times standing in the same stream of “scientific-kerugmatic” methodology.⁸⁷⁾ There is evidence of midrashic style in Cave 4. At Qumran one can also see the phenomenon of liturgical additions as in 11QPsa. There are also degenerative form changes away from the CMT. The Qumran text may have served as a

87) See here the work of Michael B. Shepherd, “Targums, the New Testament, and Biblical Theology of the Messiah” *JETS* 51/1 (March 2008): 45-58. “In other words, the Targums and the NT both have a biblical theology of the Messiah. It is highly unlikely that Judaism after the first century ad produced such a rash of messianic renderings that coincided with the very texts that formed the heart of Christian exegesis. Perhaps the NT authors were influenced in some way by targumic renderings, but some measure of independence has to be allowed. The solution probably lies somewhere between these two options.” (Shepherd 2008: 57). The Targums’ role in Paul’s writings were studied by R. Le Déaut, “Traditions targumiques dans le corpus Paulinien?” *Biblica* 42 (1961): 28-48.

hymn or recital commonly used. One needs to come up with some synthesis of connections and differences in Judaic and Christian ancient sources.

● IV. Conclusions

To make a synthesis of the results of this research, the question may be posed: is it possible that what scholars are analyzing as Christian influences in the Targumim (because the copies are late) are actually Jewish correct understanding since some of their individuals were also faithful remnant who worked with a wholesome *modus operandi* able to share concepts that from a distance appear very Pauline, Johannine, Petrine, or even teachings of Jesus?⁸⁸⁾ Paul, John, Peter, James and Jesus in turn brought out what was embedded originally by the faithful writers in the Old Testament to be seen in that view from the earliest times.⁸⁹⁾ The streams of similarities lend support for a true believer, regardless

88) Ellen G. White provided a key to understand the data of Judaism and Christianity in both conflicting and harmonious clustering. White said "From the beginning faithful souls have constituted the church on earth. In every age the Lord has had His watchmen, who have borne a faithful testimony to the generation in which they lived. These sentinels gave the message of warning, and when they were called to lay off their armor, others took up the work," *The Acts of the Apostles in the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911), 11. In every generation there was the remnant seed and thus, in the Second Temple period, Qumran period, New Testament period, and all the periods of the Christian church there were spiritual faithful people who shared common understandings regarding the *memra* as one finds in the Targums or Logos of John chapter 1; the Holy Spirit of Genesis 1 or the Spirit of Prophecy as one also find in the Targums. In Hebrews 1:6 then the author is employing the same faithful *modus operandi* of scholarship to extrapolate from the Old Testament "systematic theology" that stands in harmonious and cohesive status with the *modus operandi* of scholarship in Judaism of the Targums and that of the paraphrastic Halacha of Qumran.

89) This sameness here in mind is not the suggestion of E. Otto (2010) that somewhere in ancient times the Levant religious concepts and social institutions like the kingship were borrowed and make-shift to be adjusted as a tool for Hebrews of the Old Testament and that Jesus, Paul, John and Peter is bypassing the

whether it is individuals in Judaism or individuals in Christianity or other sharing in the harmonious protected understanding of the CMT stance on the subjects. Finally, it seems rather that evidence calls for a *Vorlage* closer to the CMT than to the LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen with elements adapted for stylistic or other reasons in the NT. A major point of S. Kistemaker, however, still holds: much of the Old Testament citations in the book of Hebrews prove that these passages were commonly used in the early church for liturgical purposes.⁹⁰⁾ That is not to say that these passages are mere reflections of such liturgical hymns because the alignment is closer to the CMT than to Qumran, Targumim, Origen or the later LXXRahlfs or LXXGöttingen.

further adjusted situation in Hellenistic times (more eschatological thus) by going back to those original “kingship institutions” and milieu. It is based upon the understanding that in every generation God had His people who were faithful, consistent and harmonious in thinking and that this remnant of every generation’s faith expressions should coincide and overlap.

90) · S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam: Wed. G. van Soest N. W, 1961).

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히브리서 1장 6절의 출처를 찾아서 초기 구약 본문들을 재고함

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히브리서 1장 6절에 인용된 구약 본문의 출처를 찾기 위해 다양한 해석학적 모델과 함께 히브리서의 인용문을 중심으로 탈군, 칠십인역, 쿰란, 요세푸스, 그리고 마소렛 본문 등을 살펴 보았다. 히브리서 저자의 본문 번역과 고대 역본들, 그리고 마소렛 본문 사이에는 차이점이 존재하였으나 이는 단지 접속사나 전치사, 대명사, 어휘의 치환 등 사소한 차이에 불과하였다. 이들 본문들의 문서 분석학적 연구 결과 바울은 칠십인역의 현대 비평본을 인용한 것이 아니라 당시 과학적 서술 방법으로 여겨져 공통적으로 채택되었던 미드라쉬 방법을 활용하고 있었으며, 중간사 시대 유대교에 의해 뜻이 모호해진 문서들과는 달리 원래 본문이 의도한 바와 차이가 없음이 나타났다.

핵심주제어

본문분석, 칠십인역, 미드라쉬, 원형본, 히브리서 1:6