

THE PROPHETIC READING OF THE PSALMS

THE PROPHETIC READING OF THE PSALMS
IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS,
IN THE CONTEXT OF SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

BY

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ABSTRACT

The book of Psalms, which contains prayers and songs, is one of the most frequently cited books in the New Testament. The Synoptic evangelists seem to read the Psalms not primarily as prayers but as prophecies of the future. They discovered in its language prophecies concerning the life and ministry of Jesus and attempted to show how Jesus' life was prefigured in the Psalms. The present study is undertaken with a view to examine a topic within the broad subject of the use of the OT in the NT, that of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels, in the context of Second Temple Judaism.

This study will consist of six chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the topic which includes examples of the use of the Psalms in the NT, a survey of selected earlier studies done in related areas, and a working definition of a "citation" and "prophecy." This study deals with four psalm citations in Mark, nine in Matthew, and six in Luke. This study presupposes no particular stance on the order of the Synoptic gospels. Chapter 2 examines the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Jewish literature. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 discuss direct psalm citations found in Mark, Matthew, and Luke respectively. Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusions of the work and makes suggestions for further research. This study contributes to a broader understanding of the early Christian view that Jesus' life and ministry fulfilled what was foretold in the Psalms.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
<u>AUSS</u>	<u>Andrews University Seminary Studies</u>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.</u> Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972-
<u>Bib</u>	<u>Biblica</u>
<u>BR</u>	<u>Biblical Research</u>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
<u>BSac</u>	<u>Bibliotheca sacra</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
ConBNT	Coniectanea neotestamentica or Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
<u>DSD</u>	<u>Dead Sea Discoveries</u>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<u>EvQ</u>	<u>Evangelical Quarterly</u>
<u>EvT</u>	<u>Evangelische Theologie</u>
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>HUCA</u>	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u>
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<u>Int</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>
<u>IMJ</u>	<u>The Israel Museum Journal</u>
<u>JSNT</u>	<u>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</u>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JJS</u>	<u>Journal of Jewish Studies</u>
<u>JTS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<u>McCQ</u>	<u>McCormick Quarterly</u>
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>

<u>NovT</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<u>ResQ</u>	<u>Restoration Quarterly</u>
<u>RevExp</u>	<u>Review and Expositor</u>
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue biblique</u>
<u>RevQ</u>	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</u>
<u>SJT</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<u>SBLSP</u>	<u>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</u>
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<u>SwJT</u>	<u>Southwestern Journal of Theology</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>Studia theologica</u>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<u>SEÅ</u>	<u>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</u>
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
<u>TDNT</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964-1976.

TF	Theologische Forschung
<u>TZ</u>	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
UBSGNT	United Bible Societies <u>Greek New Testament</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>VTSup</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</u>
<u>VC</u>	<u>Vigiliae christianae</u>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>ZNW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</u>
<u>ZTK</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Psalms as Prayers and Prophecy

"Now there is in the Holy Scriptures one book that differs from all other books of the Bible in that it contains only prayers. That book is the Psalms," writes Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who spoke of the Psalter as the prayer book of the Bible.¹ Bonhoeffer considered the psalms as prayers through which we can speak to and have communion with God. Hence he could tell his seminarians that "the Psalms have been given to us precisely so that we can learn to pray them in the name of Jesus Christ."²

"Psalms" and "Psalter," the terms by which the biblical book is commonly known, are taken from the Greek translation of the OT in the third century B.C.E. The Greek word ψαλμός, meaning "song," is equivalent to the Hebrew מִזְמוֹר (cf. Ps 51:1). The plural ψαλμοί serves as a title for the entire collection of songs.³ In the oldest Hebrew manuscripts, there is no title for the collection of songs as a whole. The note at the end of book II, Ps 72:20, reads, "The prayers (תְּפִלוֹת) of David son of

¹ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Life Together and Prayer Book of the Bible (trans. Daniel W. Bloesch and James H. Burtness; English ed. Geoffrey B. Kelly; Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Vol. 5; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1996), 156.

² Bonhoeffer, Prayer Book of the Bible, 157.

³ Manuscript A, the fifth century C.E. *Codex Alexandrinus*, uses ψαλτηριον as a title for the book of songs.

Jesse are ended."⁴ This designates the foregoing psalms as תפלות. The noun תהלים, "praises," comes from the Hebrew root הלל "praise" which is found, for example, at the beginning or ending of Psalms 104, 106, 113, 115-117, 146, 147, and 148-150. Psalm 145 is the only psalm to be designated a תהלה in the title, translated "Song of praise."⁵ Therefore, the two names found in the Hebrew tradition תפלות ("Prayers") and תהלים ("Songs of praise") seem to represent two types of psalms: "Songs of prayers" and "Songs of praise." In the War Scroll, there is a reference to the "Book of Psalms" (ספר התהלים) which seems to be the earliest Hebrew attestation to the title (4QM^a 17, 4).⁶

The NT writers seem to read the Psalms not primarily as prayers but as prophecies of the future. They discovered in their language predictions of the future concerning Jesus.⁷ For instance, in Luke, the risen Christ sees his life as foretold in

⁴ Biblical quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version.

⁵ However, in 11QP^s XVI, 7 which is the earliest copy of Psalm 145, we find the heading תפלה לדוד. See Eileen M. Schuller, "4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research (eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 90-99, esp. p. 98.

⁶ Peter W. Flint notes that the title ספר התהלים may refer to a collection of prayers or hymns for the War, not necessarily to the "Book of Psalms" (The Dead Sea Psalm Scrolls and the Book of Psalms [STDJ 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997], 219 n. 115; 23 n. 56).

⁷ Gerald T. Sheppard sees Psalms 2, 72, and 89 as prophecies about the Davidic Messiah, promised to David through the prophet Nathan in 2 Samuel 7. He further asserts that the lament psalms (e.g., Psalms 22 and 31), from a Christian point of view, reveal the suffering Messiah. Therefore, for Sheppard, the

the Scriptures of Israel including the Psalms: "These are the words that I spoke to you while I was still with you - that everything written about me in the law of Moses (ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως), the prophets (τοῖς προφήταις), and the psalms (ψαλμοῖς) must be fulfilled" (Luke 24:44). Matthew, another Synoptic evangelist, introduces a citation from Ps 77(78):2 with an introductory formula of prophetic fulfillment: "This was to fulfill (πληρωθῆ) what had been spoken through the prophet" (Matt 13:35a).⁸

Although Psalm 78 gives a lengthy account of the history of Israel, Matthew reads Psalm 77(78):2 as foreseeing the teachings of Jesus in parables. Jesus cites Ps 117(118):22-23 to conclude the parable of the vineyard (Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10-11; Luke 20:17), suggesting that it points to his own rejection and vindication. This psalm passage is cited again in the New Testament: in Acts 4:11 in the course of a sermon of Peter's, and again in 1 Pet 2:7 where Jesus is identified with the rejected but exalted stone. Psalm 109(110):1 is quoted in the narrative context of the question about the Davidic descent of the Messiah (Matt 22:41-46; Mark 12:35-37; Luke 20:41-44) where David is believed to be prophesying the exalted state of the Messiah as David's Lord. The same psalm passage is cited again in Acts 2:34-35 and Heb 1:13, where the psalmist is believed to have spoken about the exaltation of Jesus to God's right hand. John, the fourth evangelist, describes the dividing up of Jesus' garments at

language of the Psalms allows one to read them not only as prayers but also as prophecy ("Theology and the Book of Psalms," *Int* 46 [1992]: 154-55).

⁸ In citing references to the Psalms the LXX numeration is used when the Greek text of the psalm is specifically in view. Where two references are given, that to the Hebrew text is in parentheses.

the cross (John 19:24) as the fulfillment of Ps 21(22):18 (also alluded to in Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24). However, in other instances, it is not immediately apparent whether the Synoptic evangelists read the quoted psalm texts as prophecy: Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9; Mark 11:9b-10; and Luke 19:38; Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46 and Mark 15:34; Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b.

The present work is an examination of psalm citations (quotations) found in the Synoptic gospels and is meant to provide a comprehensive picture of the extent to which each evangelist reads the Psalms as prophecy.⁹ A comprehensive treatment of the subject has not hitherto been undertaken.

2. Survey of Selected Earlier Contributions to the Study of Psalm Citations

Although no research has been done comprehensively on psalm citations in the Synoptic gospels, a brief summary of some of the research done on topics related to the use of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels will show something of the variety of approaches that have been undertaken in studying these texts.

In his article on Psalm 22, Hartmut Gese focuses on the early church use of Psalm 22 to explain the death and resurrection of Jesus and possibly the development of the Lord's Supper.¹⁰ First, Gese divides the whole psalm into four sections: the first three sections of the psalm (Ps 22:2-6, 7-12, 13-22) deal with the lament and

⁹ I will be using the terms "citation" and "quotation" interchangeably in this study.

¹⁰ Hartmut Gese, "Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament: Der älteste Bericht vom Tode Jesu und die Entstehung des Herrenmahles," ZTK 65 (1968): 1-22.

complaint, and the last section (vv. 23-32) consists of individual thanksgiving. Second, Gese analyzes the whole psalm section by section. Interesting for his analysis of the psalm is his examination of the thanksgiving song in Ps 22:23-32. For Gese, this stands as an integral part of Psalm 22: the complaint is first enacted, and then followed by "die Errettung kultisch."¹¹ Third, Gese examines the use of Psalm 22 in the passion narratives of the Synoptic gospels. For Gese, the earliest application of the psalm to Jesus' death is found in Mark 15:34-39: Jesus cites Ps 22:2a "with a loud cry" (Mark 15:34); the confession of the centurion (v. 39) is taken as a fulfillment of Ps 22:28; and the event of the resurrection of the saints (Matt 27:52), which, Gese thinks, is added by Matthew, echoes the worship of God by the dead in Ps 22:30 - all these details, for Gese, stem from the influence of Psalm 22.¹² Finally, Gese locates the origin of the Lord's Supper in the early Christian community which experienced the saving act of Jesus Christ. As the petitioner in Psalm 22 comes to the congregation after being saved from death, offers praise to God, and celebrates a sacrificial meal with the congregation (cf. Lev 7:12-14), the early Christian community which constitutes the saved ones celebrates the Lord's Supper in remembrance of God's saving act through the death and resurrection of Jesus (cf. 1 Cor 11:23-26). Gese concludes that the experience of suffering and divine deliverance as expressed in Psalm 22 becomes realized in the account of Jesus' death and resurrection, and the

¹¹ Gese, "Psalm 22," 12.

¹² Gese, "Psalm 22," 16-17.

Lord's Supper as "Bekennnis dieses Ereignisses" constitutes a new celebration in which the Resurrected One is present.¹³

David M. Hay begins his study on Psalm 110 with a survey of the "meanings" of the psalm, starting with the intent of the psalm's author and proceeding with Jewish and Christian understandings up through the Council of Nicea.¹⁴ Hay considers both direct citations and allusions to Psalm 110.¹⁵ His study is divided into two major sections. In the first part, Hay takes into account the original meaning of Psalm 110 as evident in its composition, the textual differences between the MT and the (O)G, and direct quotations and allusions to Psalm 110 found in Jewish literature, including *T. Job* 33:3, *2 Macc* 14:41, *T. Levi* 18, *Dan* 7:1-14, 1 and 2 *Enoch*, and 11QMelch.¹⁶ In the second part, Hay provides a detailed analysis of early Christian interpretation of Psalm 110 down to the time of Justin Martyr, describing various meanings or functions attributed to the psalm. On the use of Ps 110:1 in Mark 12:35-37 (cf. Matt 22:41-45; Luke 20:41-44), Hay points out that the Markan pericope reveals the inadequacy of a contemporary idea. Mark insists that the Messiah is more than the "Son of David." In Hay's opinion, Mark interpreted the debate (Mark 12:35-37)

¹³ Gese, "Psalm 22," 22.

¹⁴ David M. Hay, Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1973).

¹⁵ Hay finds allusions to Psalm 110 where there are "references either to a position at right hand or to a priest of Melchizedek's order" (Glory at the Right Hand, 17).

¹⁶ Hay, Glory at the Right Hand, 19-33.

primarily "as an assurance that Jesus' divine dignity outstrips Jewish notions of the Messiah as David's son."¹⁷ Hay does not explicitly say that Ps 110:1 is interpreted as prophecy by Mark in Mark 12:35-37.

In his analysis of the use of the OT in the passion narrative of the gospels, Douglas J. Moo begins with a survey of hermeneutical procedures in early Judaism.¹⁸ First, he deals with the genera within which scripture was appropriated, e.g., rewritten Bible stories, testimonia, *pesharim*, and *midrashim*. Second, he discusses kinds of appropriation, e.g., direct appropriation of the text, reorientation of the text, and modification in the point of application. Third, he outlines the hermeneutical principles by which the community appropriated the scripture in classical Judaism, apocalypticism, and Qumran.¹⁹ Armed with an awareness of these hermeneutical matters, Moo approaches the scriptural citations and allusions in the passion narrative, especially the Isaianic servant songs, Zechariah 9-14, and the Lament Psalms. In his discussion of the Lament Psalms, Moo pays attention to the textual form, the meaning and the context of psalm citations and allusions, and the correspondence between the passion narratives and the scriptural texts.²⁰ For instance, Moo considers Luke 23:46

¹⁷ Hay, Glory at the Right Hand, 114.

¹⁸ Douglas J. Moo, The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives (Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1983).

¹⁹ Moo, Old Testament, 9-78.

²⁰ Moo considers both citations from and allusions to the psalms of Lament as they appear in the gospels (cf. Moo, Old Testament, 233-84).

as a quotation of Ps 31:5 because of verbal similarities. He discusses the nature and the meaning of Psalm 31 as the petition of a "righteous sufferer." He concludes that Luke appropriated Ps 31:5 in his gospel because Luke saw Jesus' unique relationship to the Father as characteristic of the absolute trust of the suffering individual of Psalm 31.²¹ For Moo, it is the typological identification of Jesus with the "righteous sufferer" of the Lament Psalms that prompted the gospel writers to cite or allude to the Lament Psalms in their passion narratives.²²

In his study of Lukan Old Testament Christology, Darrell L. Bock attempts to examine the purpose of Luke's use of the OT and evaluate whether "proof from prophecy" is a proper term to describe Luke's use of the OT.²³ First Bock surveys the recent critical investigations of Luke's use of the OT in four broad categories: (i) Luke's OT text; (ii) Luke's sources; (iii) the purpose of Luke's use of the OT; and (iv) the hermeneutic or method of OT usage in Luke. Second, Bock examines key passages in which Luke uses the OT to develop Christology. Bock's examination includes OT

²¹ Moo, Old Testament, 281.

²² Moo argues that the identification of Jesus with the "righteous sufferer" of the Lament Psalms is probably motivated by the fact that the Davidic authorship of the Lament Psalms and the Davidic character of Jesus' messiahship (e.g., Jesus as the "Son of David") gave rise to "the transfer of language from the record of the Israelite king's [David's] experiences to the narrative of the sufferings of the 'greater Son of David'" (Old Testament, 299-300).

²³ Darrell L. Bock, Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern: Lukan Old Testament Christology (JSNTSup 12; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 12.

quotations, allusions, and ideas.²⁴ In his analysis of the OT quotations, allusions or ideas, Bock examines Ps 2:7 (Luke 3:22b); Ps 117(118):26 (Luke 13:34-35; 19:38); Ps 117(118):22 (Luke 20:17-18); Ps 109(110):1 (Luke 20:42-43); Ps 21(22):8-9, 19, Ps 68(69):22, Ps 30(31):6 (Luke 23:33-36, 46); Ps 109(110):1 (Acts 2:33-36). In his study of the OT passages (including these psalm texts), Bock analyzes the citations or allusions in terms of their textual sources in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX text. Then he discusses Luke's appropriation of the OT text, the contextual meaning of both the OT passages and the Lukan citations, the theological intent of the OT passage cited, and the historical question whether or not the OT passage merely influenced Luke's presentation or was itself the origin of Luke's account.²⁵ Bock's study suggests that Luke presented Jesus, the Messiah-Servant, both as prophetic fulfillment and as fitting into the pattern of God's salvation acts in the OT.

In his study of Markan Christology, Joel Marcus has given detailed attention to OT citations and allusions in Mark that have implications for Christological titles such as "Christ," "Son of David," "Son of God," "Son of Man," and "Lord."²⁶ In the

²⁴ Bock defines OT quotations, allusions, and ideas in the following way: "A passage will be treated as a *quotation* either when it is introduced by a formula citation or is a substantial reproduction (more than a phrase) of a passage that by its function or precise form is clearly intended to be seen as a quotation. If there is any doubt it will be treated as an allusion. An *allusion* is a verbal or material parallel to a *specific* OT passage. An *idea* is a parallel concept or motif out of the OT *in general* grounded in the distinct use of a term, whether out of the Masoretic text or the LXX, that is developed by Luke without recourse to a specific OT passage" (Proclamation, 47).

²⁵ Bock, Proclamation, 46-53.

²⁶ Joel Marcus, The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992).

process, Marcus pays attention to the textual form of Mark's OT citations, Jewish and Christian interpretations of the OT texts, the function of those texts in the overall framework of Mark, and the situation in which Mark appropriated those texts for his community. Among his analyses of OT citations and allusions, Marcus discusses Pss 118:22-23; 110:1 under the category of citations, and Pss 2:7; 10:7-8; 22:1, 6, 8; 38:11; 41:9; 42:5 as allusions.²⁷ He discovers that the psalm texts as well as the texts from the prophetic books found in Mark are viewed as eschatological prophecies of Jesus' death, resurrection, and exaltation at the parousia. Marcus's study concludes that although Mark's interpretation of the OT largely corresponds to Jewish interpretation of the OT, Mark's exegesis of the OT goes beyond Jewish exegesis in this way:

"Again, however, there seems to be no Jewish parallel for Mark's thought that the Messiah's kingship and the kingdom of God are manifest already and in a definitive way in his [Jesus'] suffering and death."²⁸

In an article on the use of Psalm 118 in Luke's entrance narrative (Luke 19:28-48), James A. Sanders attempts to show how Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem is depicted as a symbolic reenactment of Psalm 118 and other scriptural passages (such as Zechariah 14; Isa 56:7; Jer 7:11).²⁹ First, Sanders looks at the setting of the psalm

²⁷ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 48-65, 111-29, 130-52, 172-86.

²⁸ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 202.

²⁹ James A. Sanders, "A Hermeneutic Fabric: Psalm 118 in Luke's Entrance Narrative," in Luke and Scripture: A Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993), 140-53.

in pre-exilic times and its significance in the annual enthronement festival of the king.³⁰ Second, Sanders discusses how some of the elements in Luke's entrance narrative, such as Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, the hosanna cry, and the acclamation of glory in the highest (Luke 19:38; cf. 2:14) reflect a messianic reading of Psalm 118.³¹ As the king was welcomed by the priests from the temple steps with words from Ps 118:25-26, so Jesus is welcomed by his disciples when he arrives at the temple with words from Psalm 118.³² Apart from the literary relationship between Ps 118:26 and Luke 19:38, Sanders's article dwells more broadly on the thematic relationship between Psalm 118 and Luke's entrance narrative (Luke 19:28-48).

In his study of the Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts, Mark L. Strauss attempts to examine the "fulfillment of the promises to David through Jesus the messiah," within Luke's "'proclamation from prophecy and pattern' motif."³³ First, Strauss analyzes the Davidic promise tradition in first-century Judaism and early Christianity in order to determine a general perspective of traditions concerning the Davidic Messiah which were available to Luke. Second, he focuses on the Lukan birth narrative and the speeches in Acts (Peter's Pentecost speech, Acts 2:14-41; Paul's speech at Pisidian-

³⁰ Sanders outlines the antiphony of Psalm 118 with parts sung by the people and the priests at an annual rite of re-enthronement of the king ("Psalm 118," 146-47).

³¹ Sanders, "Psalm 118," 153.

³² In fact, Luke seems to make Jesus superior to the king in that if the disciples were silent, the temple stones would cry (Luke 19:38-40). Cf. Sanders, "Psalm 118," 150.

³³ Mark L. Strauss, The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts: The Promise and Its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology (JSNTSup 110; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 15.

Antioch, Acts 13:16-41; James's speech at the Council of Jerusalem, Acts 15:13-21), which, in Strauss's view, are strongly royal-Davidic. Examination of those passages in Luke-Acts provides a general idea of how Luke sees those promises fulfilled in Jesus.³⁴ Third, Strauss turns to the gospel narratives in Luke to determine whether royal-messianic categories play any significant role there. It is in this context that Strauss briefly discusses two of the psalm citations found in Luke's gospel. For instance, in his discussion of Jesus' triumphal entry (Luke 19:28-40), Strauss draws attention to the wording of Ps 118:26 with which Jesus is welcomed as the king by his disciples, who believe and confess Jesus to be the king, the royal-Messiah (cf. Luke 9:20).³⁵ Strauss points out that although Jesus is acknowledged as king by his disciples with cries from Ps 118:26, Jerusalem as a symbolic representation of the nation does not acknowledge Jesus' messianic identity, and will do so only at the parousia when Jesus returns in judgment (Luke 13:35).³⁶ On the *Davidssonfrage* (Luke 20:41-44), Strauss compares the Lukan account of the narrative with the Markan account and notes the minor changes Luke has made to the Markan text. Strauss concludes that Luke affirms Jesus as both the Son of David and the exalted Lord; Ps 110:1 is applied by Luke to Jesus' exaltation-enthronement at God's right hand (cf.

³⁴ E.g., Peter's speech at Pentecost (Acts 2:14-40) demonstrates how Jesus' resurrection proves that he is the Davidic Messiah in fulfillment of Ps 16:8-11; Ps 132:11; and Ps 110:1-2 (Strauss, Davidic Messiah, 192)

³⁵ Strauss, Davidic Messiah, 313.

³⁶ Strauss, Davidic Messiah, 316.

Acts 2:34-35).³⁷

In his article on "The Redeeming King," Craig C. Broyles explores how Psalm 72 contributed to notions of eschatology and messianism in early Judaism and Christianity.³⁸ First, Broyles points out the frequent use of the royal psalms, particularly Psalms 2 and 110, in the NT (Psalm 2 is cited eighteen times and Psalm 110 twenty-five times). These psalms are used to support the messianic claims of Jesus. He asserts that "the early church cited the strongest texts to demonstrate that Jesus fulfills prophetic claims about the Messiah in order to support their apologetic interests over against Judaism."³⁹ Second, he highlights the literary echoes of Psalm 72 in the Scripture (Matt 2:11; Luke 1:68; Zech 9:9-10; Isa 9:6-7; 11:4; Jer 21:12; 23:3, 16) and in early Jewish literature, particularly in the Psalms of Solomon (*Pss. Sol.* 17:26, 29-30, 34b).⁴⁰ Third, he examines the structure and interpretation of Psalm 72.⁴¹ Although Psalm 72 is seldom cited or alluded to in the NT, Broyles suggests that the psalm's portrayal of the Messiah as characterized by justice, righteousness, and peace underlies Jesus' attention to the poor and needy, and the

³⁷ Strauss, *Davidic Messiah*, 317.

³⁸ Craig C. Broyles, "The Redeeming King: Psalm 72's Contribution to the Messianic Ideal," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 23-40.

³⁹ Broyles, "Redeeming King," 26.

⁴⁰ Broyles, "Redeeming King," 28-34.

⁴¹ Broyles, "Redeeming King," 34-39.

inauguration of the Gentile mission.⁴² Broyles's study shows how the messianic reading of Psalm 72 is reflected in the NT and early Judaism.

The above-mentioned studies which deal with the use of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels examine only particular Psalms. None of them has provided a comprehensive treatment of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels, an area which is worth exploring. All of the above studies deal with the NT context in which the Psalms were appropriated, showing how the Psalms are creatively interpreted when they are placed in a new context. Most of the studies mention the use of the Psalms in early Judaism, but they do not adequately describe how the Psalms were read as prophecy in pre-Christian tradition. The present study will pay attention to the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Judaism in order to determine the Jewish background for the Synoptic evangelists' reading of the Psalms as prophecy. None of the above studies has defined terms such as "citation" and "prophecy." This work will provide a working definition of those terms because it will focus on the *prophetic* reading of the Psalms (*psalm citations*) in the Synoptic gospels.

3. Issues of Definition of Technical Terms and Methods

In order to render an adequate description of citation techniques used by the Synoptic evangelists, it is necessary to define first what is meant in this thesis by a "citation." It is also necessary to define the usage here of the word "prophecy" in order

⁴² Broyles, "Redeeming King," 39.

to focus on the "prophetic" use of the Psalms employed in the Synoptic gospels.

a. Citation

The range of terminology used by modern scholars to speak of the way that a NT writer may use the OT text is simply astounding. The following terms have been used to describe the NT writers' use of the OT: citation, direct quotation, formula quotation, indirect quotation, allusive quotation, allusion, echo, typology, etc.⁴³ It would appear on the surface that the concept of direct citation would be rather straightforward to define and employ as an interpretive category. However, in recent studies of the use of the OT in the NT, especially the study of Paul's use of the OT, the problem of defining the term "direct quotation" where no introductory formula is used has become more evident.⁴⁴ Explicit citations are normally indicated by the use of an introductory formula such as "as it is written," "the Scripture says," or "as it says in the book." In other places, however, the Synoptic evangelists quote psalm texts with no indication to their readers that a citation is even present (e.g., Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9, Mark 11:9b-10, Luke 19:38; Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46, Mark 15:34;

⁴³ For a brief bibliography on the terms used to describe the use of the OT in the NT, see Craig A. Evans, "'It Is Not as Though the Word of God had Failed': An Introduction to Paul and the Scriptures of Israel," in Paul and the Scriptures of Israel (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 83; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 13-14 n(n). 1-2.

⁴⁴ In his study of Paul's use of the Scripture, Christopher D. Stanley recognizes the need for defining what a citation is: "Only rarely, however, does one find even a brief discussion of such technical questions as: what differentiates a 'citation' from other levels of engagement with the biblical text; what sorts of evidence might indicate whether an author is quoting from memory or from some sort of written text . . ." (Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature [SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 8).

Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b, Luke 13:35b; and Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b).⁴⁵

Christopher D. Stanley recognizes the problem of defining the unmarked "citations" in Paul: "Classification becomes increasingly difficult as such unmarked 'citations' diverge further and further from the wording of their presumed *Vorlage*."⁴⁶

In his study of the use of the OT in the NT, Stanley E. Porter discusses two methodological questions that apply to discussion of the use of the OT in the NT: (1) "How does one define the various terms used to label the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament?" and (2) "What is the relation between direct quotations and other kinds of use of the Old Testament in the New Testament?"⁴⁷ In his discussion of the first methodological question, Porter examines many scholarly works that have attempted to define terms such as "citation," "direct quotation," "allusion," "echo," and "intertextuality," and he concludes,

It is clear from what has been said above that the criteria for determining and labeling the use of Old Testament and related texts in the New Testament are far from being resolved and even further from providing objective tests. On the one hand, many simply do not define their terms, and most attempts to do so fail to provide the kind of definitions necessary. On the other hand, research continues unabated, occasionally with a passing nod to the idea that there is a problem, but

⁴⁵ Richard B. Hays and Joel B. Green consider Luke 23:46 as a citation from Ps 30(31):6, even though it is used without an introductory statement ("The Use of the Old Testament by New Testament Writers," in Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation [ed. Joel B. Green; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995], 227.

⁴⁶ Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture, 33.

⁴⁷ Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology," in Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1997), 80.

certainly not one that impedes the discussion.⁴⁸

Porter calls for a narrower definition of "quotation" when it not marked by an introductory formula, as well as of "allusion." Porter suggests that a definition of a quotation without an introductory formula should focus on "formal correspondence with actual words found in antecedent texts"; and a definition of an allusion should involve "the nonformal invocation by an author of a text."⁴⁹

Christopher D. Stanley claims that it was not until a study by Dietrich-Alex Koch in 1986 that any scholar set forth in a methodologically precise way the criteria employed for determining what constitutes a "direct quotation" when it is not preceded by an introductory formula.⁵⁰ Koch states that a "citation" fulfills its function only when the author can know that the "citation-character" of the text is clear to the reader: "Ein Zitat erfüllt seine Funktion nur, wenn der Verfasser damit rechnen kann,

⁴⁸ Porter, "Use of the Old Testament," 80; Stanley E. Porter discusses and evaluates the following scholarly works: E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (repr.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1981), 1, 150-54; Robert H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope (NovTSup 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 9; Richard B. Hays, Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 42-96; Michael Thompson, Clothed With Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1-15.13 (JSNTSup 59; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 28-36; cf. Porter, "Use of the Old Testament," 81-88. Another example is Adela Y. Collins's article on the psalms of Individual Lament in Mark, which does not define the terms "quotation" or "allusion." Collins finds reference to eight of the psalms of individual lament in twelve passages of the gospel of Mark (e.g., Ps 22:7 in Mark 9:12; Ps 41:10 in Mark 14:18). Collins simply invokes the terms "quotation" and "allusion" without defining them ("The Appropriation of the Psalms of Individual Lament by Mark" in The Scriptures in the Gospels [ed. C. M. Tuckett; Leuven: University Press, 1997], 227-28).

⁴⁹ Porter, "Use of the Old Testament," 95.

⁵⁰ Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture, 34-35; Cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986), 11-23.

daß der Zitatcharakter des übernommenen Wortlauts dem Leser deutlich ist."⁵¹

However, Koch points out that citations occur without clear introductory formulae in Paul's writings and that Paul repeatedly cites the same scripture verse both with and without an explicit introduction (e.g., Hab 2:4b is cited with an introductory formula in Rom 1:17b, without one in Gal 3:11b; Lev 18:5c occurs with a formula in Rom 10:5b and without an introductory formula in Gal 3:12b).⁵² Koch recognizes the problem of determining, alongside clearly marked citations, the citations which are not so marked in Paul's writings. He proposes the following six criteria to determine the presence of a citation even when it is not explicitly marked: (1) when the same quotation appears in another context where it is explicitly identified as a citation (Rom 4:22 / 4:3; 2 Cor 10:17 / 1 Cor 1:31; Gal 3:11 / Rom 1:17); (2) when the author makes clear by an immediately following interpretive explanation that he is moving from citation to interpretation (1 Cor 15:27; 2 Cor 3:16, 17); (3) when the citation in question is not syntactically integrated into the context, so that it is recognizable that the citation was not formulated for the present context (Rom 9:7; 10:18; Gal 3:6, 12); (4) when the text in question is clearly distinct from the present context stylistically (Rom 10:18; 11:34; 1 Cor 10:26; 15:32, 33; 2 Cor 9:10); (5) when the author clearly marks the text in question with a slight linguistic emphasis such as *μενοῦνγε*, *ὅτι*, *ἀλλά* or an introductory *γάρ* or *δέ* (Rom 9:7; 10:13; 10:18; 2 Cor 8:21; 10:17; Gal 3:17); and (6)

⁵¹ Koch, Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums, 12.

⁵² Koch, Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums, 12.

when we are dealing with a sentence or pronouncement which belonged to the shared educational or traditional material of the author and his readers (Rom 13:9; Gal 5:14).⁵³

Koch's method of identifying the unmarked citations in Paul is not immune to criticism. Koch adopts a reader-oriented approach. Whether Paul's Gentile readers who were less acquainted with the citations' original sources would have recognized even some of his more explicit unmarked quotations is open to question. For instance, it is unlikely that a Gentile reader unacquainted with their original source would identify biblical quotations indirectly marked with such introductory particles as *ὅτι*, *ἀλλά*, and *γάρ*, as proposed by Koch (e.g. Rom 10:13; 1 Cor 2:16; 2 Cor 8:21; 9:7).⁵⁴

The question remains where to draw the line that would distinguish "quotations" from other less direct methods of appropriating the language of Scripture. Stanley proposes two approaches in identifying "direct quotations" in Paul that, taken together, move toward a more objective method of designating biblical quotations. On the one hand, one might classify as a "quotation" any series of several words that reproduces with "a reasonable degree of faithfulness the general word order and at least some of the actual language (whether original or in translation) of an identifiable

⁵³ Koch, Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums, 13-15.

⁵⁴ Christopher D. Stanley recognizes the difficulties involved in Koch's method in identifying biblical quotations by a Gentile reader (Paul and the Language of Scripture, 35-36).

passage from an outside source."⁵⁵ On the other hand, one might identify as "quotation" "only those texts whose citation character is clearly marked within the text itself, on the grounds that only in these cases can one be certain of attributing the correct motive to the author who adduced the text."⁵⁶ Combining these approaches, Stanley proposes three criteria to determine what texts count as "citation" under his narrower definition. A text is treated as a citation if it meets any one of these three criteria: (1) texts introduced by an introductory formula ("as it is written," etc.); (2) texts followed by an interpretive gloss (e.g., 1 Cor 15:27); and (3) texts that stand in "demonstrable syntactical tension" with their Pauline surroundings (Rom 9:7; 10:18; Gal 3:12).⁵⁷ It is to be noted that the last two criteria are only invoked where the wording in Paul corresponds to wording in an earlier Scriptural text, since not every interpretive gloss or syntactical breakdown indicates a citation.

Christopher D. Stanley's study has called us to define a "citation" in a narrow way. Moreover, restricting the study to citations defined in this way gives us a manageable body of texts from which to draw reasonable conclusions about the degree to which those quotations are read as prophecy. In this study, I am proposing the following criteria to identify "psalm citations" in the Synoptic gospels:

⁵⁵ Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture, 36.

⁵⁶ Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture, 36-37.

⁵⁷ Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture, 37. Christopher D. Stanley's method seems to be a revision of the criteria proposed by Dietrich-Alex Koch. Stanley himself recognizes that the criteria he proposes are similar to Koch's list of criteria. A similar approach is proposed by Michael V. Fox, "The Identification of Quotations in Biblical Literature," ZAW 92 (1980): 416-31.

Category 1: Texts introduced by an introductory statement. The following quoted psalm texts are preceded by an introductory statement and thus are clearly marked as "quotations":

- (i) Ps 117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42; Mark 12:10-11; and Luke 20:17
- (ii) Ps 109(110):1 in Matt 22:43-44; Mark 12:36; and Luke 20:42-43
- (iii) Ps 90(91):11 in Matt 4:6 and Luke 4:10
- (iv) Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35
- (v) Ps 8:3a in Matt 21:16

Category 2: Texts not introduced by an introductory statement. These texts share extensive verbal agreement, i.e. the same or similar wording in the same or similar order with their probable source in the Psalms. The following psalm texts quoted in the Synoptic gospels demonstrate extensive verbal agreement (with a minimum of five words in identical form and order) with their probable source in the Psalms:

- (i) Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9; Mark 11:9b-10; and Luke 19:38
- (ii) Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b
- (iii) Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46 and Mark 15:34
- (iv) Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b
- (v) Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b

The psalm texts I consider to be "quotations" (with or without an introductory statement) coincide with the list of quotations from the Psalms selected by the

UBSGNT with one exception.⁵⁸ The UBSGNT considers Mark 14:62a (cf. Matt 26:64a; Luke 22:69) a citation from Ps 109(110):1; I do not do so because, out of the twenty words that make up Ps 109(110):1, only two are found in the same form and order in Mark 14:62a; and one other word is derived from the same root (Mark 14:62a has καθήμενον, whereas the LXX text has Κάθου). On the other hand, in addition to the list provided by the UBS, I would add one more, namely, Matt 7:23b, because the gospel text shares in common with Ps 6:9a six words in the same form and order.⁵⁹

b. Prophecy

The word "prophecy" has no uniform meaning in early Jewish and Christian literature. The word "prophecy" is associated with the "prophets" who communicated messages from God to human beings. In the OT, the prophet (**נביא**) is one through whom "the Spirit of the Lord" speaks (e.g., 1 Sam 10:10; 1 Kgs 22:24) or to whom "the word of the Lord came" (e.g., Jer 1:24; Ezek 1:3).⁶⁰ In Deut 18:9-22, prophecy

⁵⁸ See Edward R. Dalglish, "The Use of the Book of Psalms in the New Testament," SwJT 27 (1984): 26-27.

⁵⁹ In her study of psalm quotations and allusions in the Fourth gospel, Margaret Daly-Denton identifies the following as quotations from the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels, based on their significant verbal agreement with their sources: Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:26 par.; Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11 par.; Ps 117(118):26 in Mark 11:9 par.; Ps 117(118):26 in Matt 23:39, Luke 13:35; Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6, Luke 4:10-11; Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:15; Ps 8:3 in Matt 21:16; Ps 21(22):2 in Mark 15:34, Matt 27:46; Ps 30(31):6 in Luke 23:46 (David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms [AGJU 47; Köln: E. J. Brill, 2000], 21-23, 33). Daly-Denton's list of psalm citations in the Synoptic gospels agrees with my own with one exception. I added one more text to the list of citations, namely, Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b.

⁶⁰ Cf. R. H. Rengstorff, "προφήτης," TDNT 6:796-99; M. Eugene Boring offered the following definition of a "prophet" for use by the SBL Seminar: "A prophet is an immediately inspired spokesman for the (or a) deity of a particular community, who receives revelations which he is impelled to deliver to the community" ("What Are We Looking for? Toward a Definition of the Term 'Christian Prophet'," SBL

is related to predicting the future. Both false and true prophets are said to speak about the future. But the criterion for distinguishing true prophecy from false is based on the fulfillment of what is said (cf. Jer 28:8-9).

The ability to foretell the future is and was closely associated with prophecy. The phenomenon of prophecy, in the course of Israel's history, included the ability to predict the future, possession by the divine spirit, visions of the heavenly realms, attendance at a divine council, a sense of being compelled to proclaim messages of divine origin, and the performance of miraculous works.⁶¹ Nevertheless, there is evidence in segments of first-century Judaism that OT prophecy was seen primarily as predictions of the age to come or of the events leading up to it.⁶² For instance, in the Qumran literature, the *pesharim* on the prophetic books and the Psalms suggest that all that the prophets and the psalmist wrote was seen as predictive, and that those predictions were now thought to be fulfilled in the life of the community.⁶³ First Maccabees 7:16b-17 quotes Ps 78(79):2b-3 as a prophecy now fulfilled in the present.

Seminar Papers, 1973 [ed. G. MacRae; 2 vols.; SBLSP; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1973], 2:147.

⁶¹ See David E. Aune, Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1983), 85-86, 103-04.

⁶² Cf. John Bowman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Talmud and Midrash," EvQ 22 (1950): 107, 205-06, 210-11; Aune, Prophecy in Early Christianity, 124-25; Paul E. Davies, "Jesus and the Role of the Prophet," JBL 64 (1965): 245-47.

⁶³ Cf. Frank M. Cross, "The Early History of the Qumran Community," McCQ 21 (1968): 83; Hartmut Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs37)," RevQ 14 (1963): 241 n. 20.

In the NT, the phenomenon of prophecy includes "proclamation of the message of God" (1 Cor 11:4-5; 13:9; 14:1, 4-5), "proclamation of the future in advance" (Mark 7:6; Matt 11:13; 15:7; 1 Pet 1:10), "divine inspiration" (Acts 19:6), and the "gift of prophecy" (Acts 21:9).⁶⁴ However, the NT writers predominantly considered the OT prophecy as prediction of future events fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus Christ and the life of the Church. For instance, Luke reads Joel 3:1-5 as a prediction of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:16-18).⁶⁵ Peter's speech at Solomon's portico refers to prophecy in the sense of predictions, since all the "prophets" since the time of Samuel are said to have announced (κατήγγειλαν) the time of Christ (Acts 3:24). The Lukan Jesus refers to the words of the "prophet" Isaiah as foretelling his own mission (Luke 4:17-21). This study will use the term "prophecy" to mean "prediction of the future" and will ask to what extent the Psalms are read as "prophecy" by the Synoptic evangelists. It is this limited aspect of prophecy as "prediction of the future" that is the focus in my study.

c. Methods

This study will pay detailed attention to the topic of the prophetic reading of psalm quotations in the Synoptic gospels. It will place this reading in the context of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Jewish literature. It will examine (1) the textual form of the quoted psalm texts, (2) the significance of the

⁶⁴ Cf. G. Friedrich, "προφήτης," *TDNT* 6:829.

⁶⁵ Cf. Davies, "Jesus," 248.

introductory statement by which the psalm texts are introduced, (3) the gospel narrative context in which the psalm texts occur, (4) the context of the texts in their OT literary setting, and (5) the function of the texts in the argument or narrative of the gospel writer.

The procedure followed in this study will have four main features. First, the point of entry into the topic of the prophetic reading of the Psalms will be Second Temple Jewish literature in which the reading of the Psalms as prophecy will be explored. The results attained from the study of the prophetic readings of the Psalms in Second Temple Jewish literature will provide a basis by which one can determine to what extent the early Christian writers differ or follow the example of their non-Christian Jewish counterparts.

Second, this study will pay attention to whether and how each evangelist modifies the quotations. In this connection, the quoted psalm texts will be compared primarily with their LXX sources in order to ascertain the changes the evangelists made and to speculate on the reason for the changes. In this way, I will be able to determine distinctive ways in which the quotation is modified to suit the purposes of the evangelists.⁶⁶

Third, this study will pay attention to the use of introductory statements by

⁶⁶ David S. New's study of the OT quotations in the Synoptic gospels provides a detailed account of how the OT texts have been altered by the Synoptic evangelists (Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis [SBLSCS 37; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993]); also Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament (Ramsey, N.Y.: Sigler Press, 1st Sigler Press ed., 1991); Gundry, Use of the Old Testament.

which the psalm texts are introduced. By an "introductory statement" I mean a phrase explicitly indicating that the following words are taken from the Scriptures. For example, the words οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε are followed by a citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11 (cf. Matt 21:42; Luke 20:17); ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος are followed by a quotation from Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35; αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βιβλῳ ψαλμῶν are followed by a citation from Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 (cf. Matt 22:43-44; Mark 12:36). Although the introductory statement does not always define the quotation as prophecy, in some cases the introductory statement provides important evidence for our study.

Fourth, the question of the meaning of the texts quoted from the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels is studied by a contextual evaluation of the sources of the quoted texts and of the narrative context in which the quoted text is placed. What is the contextual setting of the psalm text quoted? What is the narrative context in which the text is quoted? Only on the basis of this study of the original context in the OT can the crucial decisions be made about whether the Synoptic evangelists have diverged from the original context in the OT in order to read the quoted psalm text as prophecy in a new context.

4. An Assumption

In view of the continuing dispute over the Synoptic problem, I am not adopting

a particular stance on the order of the Synoptic gospels.⁶⁷ This study will focus on the issue of the individual evangelist's prophetic reading of the Psalms.⁶⁸ My presentation of psalm citations will be set forth in the order Mark-Matthew-Luke. This, however, is not intended to imply any particular chronological order in the composition of the Synoptic gospels. The order has been adopted for pragmatic reasons. First, I would like to begin with a gospel which has fewer psalm citations; Mark's gospel has only four. Second, I would like to begin with Mark's gospel whose psalm citations are shared by the other two gospels; Mark's psalm citations are found both in Matthew and Luke, leaving Mark with no psalm citations that are unique to it.

5. Plan of This Study

In chapter 2, the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Jewish literature will be surveyed to determine the background for the Synoptic evangelists' reading of the Psalms as prophecy. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 will deal, respectively, with

⁶⁷ For a good summary of the contemporary debate on the Synoptic problem, see Arthur J. Bellinzoni Jr., Joseph B. Tyson, and William O. Walker Jr., eds., The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal (with an introduction by Arthur J. Bellinzoni Jr.; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985); E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, Studying the Synoptic Gospels (London: SCM Press, 1986) 51-119; William R. Farmer, "The Present State of the Synoptic Problem," in Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson (eds. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 11-36.

⁶⁸ David B. Peabody's study of redactional features of Mark is an example of how redactional study can be done on any gospel without assuming a source hypothesis (Mark as Composer [New Gospel Studies 1; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1987]). Other studies have been done on Matthew, Mark, and Luke without presupposing any source theory (e.g., Jack D. Kingsbury, Matthew as Story [2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988]; David M. Rhoads, Joanna Dewey, and Donald Michie, Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982]; Jack D. Kingsbury, Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples [Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1991]).

the direct citations from the Psalms found in Mark, Matthew, and Luke. The purpose of these chapters is to determine how each evangelist reads the Psalms as prophecy and to gain a general idea of how the Synoptic evangelists see those prophecies fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus. In chapter 6, conclusions from the previous chapters will be summarized and suggestions made for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THE BACKGROUND: THE PROPHETIC READING OF THE PSALMS IN SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH LITERATURE

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show how some Jews in the Second Temple period began to read the Psalms as prophecy about future events. First, I will show in the OT, the writings of Qumran, Philo, and Josephus how David, the king, came to be regarded as the prophetic author of the Psalms. The consideration of David as a prophet may shed light on the reading of psalms as prophecy. Second, I will provide specific instances where psalms are read as prophecy in some Second Temple Jewish literature. I have chosen examples from the Qumran writings and First Maccabees where psalms have been quoted with an introductory statement, e.g., "As it is written . . . ," or where a quotation from the Psalms is followed by an interpretive statement (e.g., "Its interpretation concerns . . .").¹ These statements will enable me to identify the citations in question.

2. David the Prophet

David is not called a prophet in the OT. But in Second Temple literature and in the NT, David began to be seen as a prophet. For instance, in Christian literature,

¹ The English translation of the Qumran texts is mostly taken from Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955-present). When the translation is taken from a different source, it will be indicated.

especially in the NT, there are several references in which David is spoken of as a prophet. Acts 2:29-30 reads, "David . . . being therefore a prophet (προφήτης οὐν ὑπάρχων)"; Acts 1:16 also claims that the Holy Spirit "spoke beforehand by the mouth of David" (cf. 4:25); the Epistle of Barnabas says that "David himself prophesies (προφητεύει)" (*Barn.* 12:10).² In some Second Temple Jewish literature as well, David was credited with the title "prophet." Here I will examine references found in these texts that open the door to the understanding of David as a prophet.³

a. David in the OT

The earliest biblical tradition links David with music, but not with psalmody. In 1 Sam 16:14-23, David comes to Saul's court as "a musician and royal weapon-bearer."⁴ In 2 Sam 6:1-19, David, when the Ark of God is being brought to Jerusalem, leads the celebration in song and dance, though nothing is said about the composition of psalms. However, 2 Samuel provides three poems attributed to David: the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:17-27); the praise of David for the Lord's deliverance from his enemies and from Saul (22:1-51); and the last words of David (23:1-7). The first poem of David is said to have been written in the

² For a discussion of the prophetic character of David in Acts 2:30, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "David, Being therefore a Prophet . . . (Acts 2:30)," *CBO* 34 (1972): 332-39.

³ James L. Kugel discusses how David gradually came to be known as a prophet in Jewish literature ("David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* [ed. James L. Kugel; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1990], 45-55).

⁴ P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel* (AB 8; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), 282.

book of Jashar.⁵ The second poem of David sung on the occasion of his victory over his enemies (2 Sam 22:1-51) appears as Psalm 18 in the book of Psalms, with the narrative introduction corresponding to its setting in 2 Samuel. This is the first literary evidence which makes a connection between David and the book of Psalms. The third poem (2 Sam 23:1-7) identifies David as "the favorite of the Strong One of Israel" (v. 1b) and portrays him as a "person with prophetic capacity."⁶ It begins with the phrase, "the oracle of David" (**נאם דוד**) (2 Sam 23:1), employing a term for prophetic utterances, namely, **נאם יהוה צבאות** (e.g., Isa 17:3; 19:4; Jer 8:3).⁷ What David speaks in 2 Sam 23:2-7 is an utterance of the Lord as spoken through the Lord's Spirit (v. 2). *Even though David is not explicitly called a prophet, he displays a prophetic character by speaking an oracle through the Spirit of the Lord.*

In the books of Chronicles, David is seen not only as the composer of psalms, but also as the originator of the music and song of the Temple worship. First Chronicles 16:4 reads, "Moreover he [David] appointed certain of the Levites as ministers before the ark of the Lord, to invoke, to thank, and to praise the Lord, the God of Israel." It is further reported that it was David who made musical instruments used for divine praise (1 Chr 23:5; 2 Chr 7:6). Solomon, David's son, continued the

⁵ James L. Mays thinks that the book of Jashar is probably the "book of the Song" as attested in a Greek textual tradition (cf. 3 Kgs 8:53 (LXX)) ("The David of the Psalms," *Int* 40 [1986]: 148).

⁶ Mays, "David of the Psalms," 149.

⁷ Cf. Mays, "David of the Psalms," 149.

ordinances of David for temple worship and it is in the context of this observation that David is described as "man of God" (דָּוִד אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים) (2 Chr 8:14; cf. Neh 12:24, 36), a term used as a prophetic title in biblical narrative (1 Sam 9:7, 8, 10; 1 Kgs 13:14, 21, 23, 26, 29; 2 Kgs 1:13).⁸ The above evidence suggests that David, the founder of temple music, has been elevated to the level of a prophet, though he is not explicitly given the prophetic title (נְבִיא).

In the book of Psalms, David appears in three important ways: "in the ascription of some psalms to settings in his story, in the simple attribution of many psalms to David, and in what is said about David in the text of a few psalms."⁹ There are twelve psalms (Psalms 3, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, and 142) that are explicitly linked with settings in David's life. There are sixty-one psalms (in the MT) attributed to David with the superscription לְדָוִד.¹⁰ In the Greek Psalter, more psalms have been attributed to David. The superscription ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ or ὁδῆς τῷ Δαυίδ appears in fourteen Greek psalms (Psalms 32(33), 42(43), 70(71), 90-98(91-

⁸ Cf. Kugel, "David the Prophet," 47.

⁹ Mays, "David of the Psalms," 151.

¹⁰ In the Psalms Scrolls (11QPs^a), four psalms that have no Davidic superscriptions in the MT do contain Davidic superscriptions (Psalms 33, 91, 104, 123, and also 151A, 151B). Peter W. Flint points out that the compiler's statement that David wrote 4050 songs through "prophecy" (11QPs^a XVII, 10-11) suggests Davidic authorship even of those psalms which lack Davidic superscriptions in the MT (Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls 194).

99), 103(104), 136(137), 151) not attributed to David in the MT.¹¹ Apparently there was an attempt to attribute more and more psalms to David. David is also specifically mentioned and talked about in a few psalms (Pss 18:50; 78:70; 89:3, 20, 35, 49; 132:1, 10-12; 144:10). James L. Mays says, "This short list is, however, of great importance, because it is here that we learn from the psalter who the David of the psalms' titles is. The David *in* the psalms is the king of the Lord, the servant of the Lord, the chosen one, the anointed one (messiah), with whom the Lord has made covenant by solemn oath that his dynasty will last forever."¹²

In the biblical tradition, David is seen, like the prophets, as uttering the word of God. For instance, Psalm 110, a psalm of David, begins with the phrase "the oracle of the Lord" (נאם יהוה), a term used for prophetic utterances (cf. Jer 6:12; Amos 4:1). However, the phrase is lacking in the LXX text. Moreover, James L. Kugel draws attention to the implications of attributing Psalm 137 to David. In the Greek Psalter, Psalm 136(137) bears the superscription Τῷ Δαυιδ, which is lacking in the MT. He says,

Here David the poet almost inevitably becomes David the prophet, for how else was one to interpret the tradition of the Davidic authorship of psalms (for example, Ps. 137) that seem to be set in a period far more recent than David's - how else but that their author, David, a true prophet of God, was able to foresee

¹¹ For a discussion of the superscription τῷ Δαυιδ/τοῦ Δαυιδ in the Greek Psalter, see Albert Pietersma, "David in the Greek Psalms," VT 30 (1980): 213-226.

¹² Mays, "David of the Psalms," 153.

conditions centuries, nay ages, after his own time? ¹³

By attributing the psalm to David, the LXX seems to cast David in a prophetic role:

David was able to foresee conditions of the exiled community in Babylon centuries after his own time.¹⁴ Here David, the poet, implicitly becomes David, the prophet.

b. David and the Psalms Scroll in Qumran

David's name is mentioned in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a), especially in the prose composition (XVII, 2-11) which attributes the composition of psalms and songs to David.¹⁵ David is credited with prophecy through which he composed psalms and songs: "All these [psalms and songs] he [David] composed through prophecy (כול אלה דבד בנוואה) which was given him from before the Most High" (11QPs^a XVII, 11).¹⁶ According to this prose insert, David wrote 3,600 psalms and 450 songs,

¹³ Kugel, "David the Prophet," 50. Psalm 137 describes the lamenting Jewish exiled community in Babylon (vv. 1, 8); cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalms 1-59: A Commentary (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 501-02.

¹⁴ Cf. Kugel, "David the Prophet," 50.

¹⁵ James A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell university Press, 1967), 91-92.

¹⁶ James A. Sanders uses this prose epilogue as proof that the compiler attributed all psalms in the scroll to David and thus considered them all equally authoritative and, finally, canonical (Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, 136-37; cf. James A. Sanders, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)" HTR 59 [1966]: 84-85). M. H. Goshen-Gottstein argues that the prose epilogue yields no evidence for canonicity; rather, the prose insert establishes the non-canonical nature of the scroll ("The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text," Textus 5 [1966]: 22-23). Although the prose insert itself does not supply any evidence for the process of canonization in Qumran, the compiler's statement that David composed psalms and songs through "prophecy" (בנוואה) does provide background for why the Psalms of David came to be regarded as prophecy in the *peshtarim*. James C. Vanderkam draws attention to the number of texts belonging to the *pesher* category: six on Isaiah; three on various psalms; two each on Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah; and one each on Nahum and Habakkuk. He points out that the book of Isaiah and the Psalms have more *peshtarim* than any other biblical book. He believes that the Qumran community regarded the Psalms as prophetic in

45 compositions beyond the number attributed to Solomon in 1 Kgs 5:12.¹⁷

The statement that David wrote psalms and songs through "prophecy" suggests that the Qumran community considered the Psalter a prophetically inspired book. For our purposes, it is important to ask what the word **נְבוֹאָה** entails. Does it refer only to "divine inspiration"? or does it include "foretelling the future"? Joseph A. Fitzmyer reads the word **נְבוֹאָה** as meaning "divine inspiration": "In the context of the Qumran passage, *n'bu'ah* would seem to be a divine gift resembling the biblical prophetic inspiration of old, and in virtue of this David composed his psalms and songs."¹⁸

Although the word **נְבוֹאָה** refers to "divine inspiration," it has to be understood in the overall context of the Qumran writings.¹⁹ There are *pesharim* on the biblical psalms interpreted as prophecy about the events of the Qumran community. That David wrote

some sense, because the Psalms scroll from Cave 11 credited David with prophetic insight (The Dead Sea Scrolls Today [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994], 45-46).

¹⁷ Sanders, Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, 134

¹⁸ Fitzmyer, "David," 337; James L. Kugel also thinks that the word **בְּנְבוֹאָה** is used to say that David composed with divine help, "in prophecy" ("David the Prophet," 47).

¹⁹ William H. Brownlee argues that the description of David's psalms and songs as composed through "prophecy" (**נְבוֹאָה**) in the prose insert in 11QPs^a XVII, 11 suggests two kinds of prophecy in existence in the OT: "oracular preaching and hymnody." The latter is referred to as prophecy in Qumran and in the NT. In other words, although the Psalter does not fall into the category of oracular preaching, yet it is considered as prophecy in hymnic form in both Qumran and the NT writings ("The Significance of 'David's Composition'," RevQ 5 [1966]: 571-72). I am not sure whether Qumran and the NT writers made a distinction between oracular preaching and hymnody. In fact, some oracular preaching, like Isa 63:7-64:12, is in hymnic form and some of the hymns of David, like 2 Sam 23:1-7, Psalm 110, are introduced as prophetic oracles (**נְאֻם־יְהוָה**). Both the Qumran community and the NT writers considered the prophetic books and the Psalms as prophecy irrespective of their literary genre.

the Psalms and songs through "prophecy" could well include the idea that David predicted events to come in the future, as claimed in the *pesharim* on the Psalms.

In the OT, the word משיח is primarily associated with the historic David, some historic king of the Davidic line, or some other kingly figure (e.g., 1 Sam 24:6, 10; 26:23; 2 Sam 2:4; 19:21; 22:51; 1 Kgs 5:1; 2 Chr 6:42; Dan 9:25-26), but it is not related to prophetic figures. However, in 1 Kgs 19:16 Elijah is told by the Lord to anoint (משח) Jehu as king (מלך) over Israel and also to anoint (משח) Elisha as prophet (נביא). In Qumran literature, the title "anointed one" also applies to the prophets in 1QM XI, 7-8a: "By the hand of your anointed ones, seers of decrees, you taught us the times of the wars of your hands"; CD II, 12-13: "And he taught them by the hand of the anointed one through his holy spirit and through seers of the truth, and their names were established with precision"; and CD V, 21-VI, 1-2a: "And the land became desolate, for they spoke of rebellion against God's precepts through the hand of Moses and also of the holy anointed ones. They prophesied deceit in order to divert Israel from following God."²⁰ Fitzmyer concludes that although David receives the title "anointed" in the OT (cf. Ps 18:51; 2 Sam 22:5; 23:1), in the Qumran community, the anointing began to be understood not only of his royal function, but also of his

²⁰ The English translation is taken from Florentino G. Martínez, The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

prophetic one.²¹ The prose insert in 11QPs^a provides the earliest literary evidence of belief that David was associated with "prophecy."²²

c. David in Philo

Philo, an Alexandrian Jew who wrote in the first half of the first century C.E., brought a new synthesis of Jewish and Hellenistic thought patterns. One of the most distinctive elements found in Philo's writings is the way he uses the Scripture. Drawing on Greek allegorical exegesis which seeks to find an underlying figurative meaning behind the literal meaning of the text, Philo interprets the Scripture allegorically in order to establish his philosophical claims.²³ Philo's exegetical works are usually divided into three categories: The Questions and Answers, the Allegory of the Law, and the Exposition of the Law.²⁴ In all these categories, Philo uses a number of citations from and allusions to the biblical books, including the book of

²¹ Fitzmyer, "David," 338; cf. James E. Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran," in The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam; 2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 2:358-360.

²² For other references to David in the Qumran Scrolls, including references to the historical David, David's virtues, and the messianic expectation of the Davidic king, see Craig A. Evans, "David in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After (eds. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 183-97.

²³ On Philo's exegetical method, see Roger Arnaldez, "La Bible de Philon d'Alexandrie," in Le monde grec ancien et la bible (ed. Claude Mondesert; Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 37-54; J. Cazeaux, "Philon d'Alexandrie, exegete," ANRW 21.1:156-226; B. L. Mack, "Philo Judaeus and Exegetical Traditions in Alexandria," ANRW 21.1:227-71; David T. Runia, "Further Observations on the Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises," VC 41 (1987): 105-38; Jaap Mansfeld, "Philosophy in the Service of Scripture: Philo's Exegetical Strategies," in The Question of Eclecticism: Studies in Later Greek Philosophy (eds. John M. Dillon and A. A. Long; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 70-102.

²⁴ David Winston, Philo of Alexandria (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), 6-7.

Psalms.

Philo uses citations from and allusions to the book of Psalms as illustrations for his interpretation of the Torah.²⁵ He usually introduces a direct citation from the Psalms with the phrase ἐν ὕμνοις or the combination ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται.²⁶ Although Philo does not read psalms as predictions of the future, his description of David as a prophet (προφήτης) has implications for my thesis as to how David, the king, began to be perceived as a prophet in the Second Temple period.

The following two texts from Philo describe David as a prophet and how he is gifted with prophetic knowledge.²⁷ Philo says,

Indeed, so good a thing is shepherding that it is justly ascribed not to kings only and wise men and perfectly cleansed souls but also to God All-Sovereign. The authority for this ascription is not any ordinary one but a prophet (προφήτης), whom we do well to trust. This is the way in which the Psalmist (ὁ τὰς ὕμνωνδίας) speaks: 'The Lord shepherds me and nothing shall be lacking to me' (Ps. xxiii. [xxii.] 1).²⁸

Philo also speaks of the psalmist as being gifted with the knowledge of prophecy. He writes,

²⁵ Roger Arnaldez points out that Philo cites from the Psalms not for meditation, but to illustrate his commentary on the passages from the Torah ("Bible," 44). Also see F. H. Colson, "Philo's Quotations from the Old Testament," *JTS* 41 (1940): 237-51.

²⁶ Ps 22(23):1 in Philo, *Agr.* 50-51, *Mut.* 115; Ps 26(27):1 in *Somn.* 1.75; Ps 30(31):19 in *Conf.* 39; Ps 36(37):4 in *Plant.* 39, *Somn.* 2.242; Ps 45(46):5 in *Somn.* 2.246-247; Ps 64(65):10 in *Somn.* 2.245; Ps 77(78):49 in *Gig.* 16-17; Pss 79(80):6 and 41(42):4 in *Migr.* 157; Ps 79(80):7 in *Conf.* 52; Ps 93(94):9 in *Plant.* 29; Pss 100(101):1, 74(75):9, 59(60):11 in *Deus.* 74, 77, 82; Ps 113(114):25 in *Fug.* 59.

²⁷ All quotations from Philo are taken from the Loeb translation (Philo [trans. F. H. Colson et al; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929]).

²⁸ Philo, *Agr.* 50.

To him who enjoys a peace like this Moses promises a goodly old age, not meaning, we may be sure, the life of long duration, but the life lived wisely. For the welfare of a day ranks as far above multitude of years, as the briefer daylight above an eternity of darkness. It was a wholesome saying of a man of prophetic gifts (τις προφητικὸς ἀνὴρ) that he would rather live a single day with virtue than ten thousand years in the shadow of death (Ps. lxxxiv. [lxxxiii.] 11) where under the figure of death he indicates the life of the wicked.²⁹

This quotation provides another example in which Philo calls David a "prophet," though it adds nothing new. Philo does not explain what he means by a "prophet" when he so labels the psalmist. However, Philo's understanding of a "prophet" may be gathered from his description of Moses as "prophet."

Philo describes Moses as king, law-giver, prophet, and high priest.

Now all the virtues are virgins, but the fairest among them all, the acknowledged queen of the dance, is piety, which Moses, the teacher of divine lore, in a special degree had for his own, and through it gained among a multitude of other gifts, which have been described in the treatises dealing with his life, four special rewards, the offices of king, legislator, prophet (προφητείας) and high priest.³⁰

Philo describes Moses as a "prophet" who speaks the divine word while under divine possession and who also possesses prophetic knowledge by which he is able to reveal future events. First, Philo speaks of Moses as a "prophet" who utters the divine word while under divine possession.

We said above that there are four adjuncts to the truly perfect ruler. He must have kingship, the faculty of legislation, priesthood and prophecy (προφητεῖαν), so that in his capacity of legislator he may command what should be done and forbid what should not be done, as priest dispose not only things human but

²⁹ Philo, *Her.* 290; Philo uses the phrase τις προφητικὸς ἀνὴρ (a man of prophetic gifts) when he alludes to Ps 83(84):11).

³⁰ Philo, *Praem.* 53.

things divine, as prophet (τῆς προφητείας) declare by inspiration what cannot be apprehended by reason. I have discussed the first three, and shewn that Moses was the best of kings, of lawgivers and of high priests, and will now go on to shew in conclusion that he was a prophet (προφήτης) of the highest quality. Now I am fully aware that all things written in the sacred books are oracles delivered through Moses; but I will confine myself to those which are more especially his, with the following preliminary remarks. Of the divine utterances, some are spoken by God in His own Person with His prophet (τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτου) for interpreter, in some the revelation comes through question and answer, and others are spoken by Moses in his own person, when possessed by God and carried away out of himself.³¹

Again, Philo writes,

In fulfilment of my promise, I must begin with the following examples. There are four cases upon which the divine voice laid down the law in the form of question and answer and which therefore have a mixed character; for, on the one hand, the prophet (ὁ προφήτης) asks a question under divine possession, and on the other hand the Father, in giving the word of revelation, answers him and talks with him as with a partner. The first case is one which would have enraged not only Moses, the holiest of men ever yet born, but even one who knew but a little of the flavour of godliness.³²

In another context, Philo says,

Now with every good man it is the holy Word which assures him his gift of prophecy (προφητεῖαν). For a prophet (προφήτης) (being a spokesman) has no utterance of his own, but all his utterance came from elsewhere, the echoes of another's voice. The wicked may never be the interpreter of God, so that no worthless person is 'God-inspired' in the proper sense. The name only befits the wise, since he alone is the vocal instrument of God, smitten and played by His invisible hand.³³

Second, Philo attributes to Moses another function of a prophet, that of

³¹ Philo, *Mos.* 2.187-88.

³² Philo, *Mos.* 2.192.

³³ Philo, *Her.* 259.

possessing the power to predict future events.

In the second kind we find combination and partnership: the prophet (τοῦ προφήτου) asks questions of God about matters on which he has been seeking knowledge, and God replies and instructs him. The third kind are assigned to the lawgiver himself: God has given to him [Moses] of His own power of foreknowledge and by this he will reveal future events(θεσπιεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα).³⁴

Philo even calls Noah, Isaac, and Jacob "prophets," a title that is not accorded to them in the Hebrew Bible.³⁵ One of Philo's reasons for calling them "prophets," especially in the case of Isaac and Jacob, is that they were able to predict what would happen in the future.

What of Isaac? What of Jacob? They too are confessed as prophets (προφητεῦσαι) by many other evidences, but particularly by their speeches addressed to their children. For 'Gather ye together that I may proclaim what shall happen to you at the end of days' (Gen. xlix. 1) were the words of one inspired. For apprehension of the future (τῶν μελλόντων κατάληψις) does not belong to man.³⁶

From these passages, we gather that Philo has attributed to Moses two functions of a "prophet," namely, uttering the divine word while under divine possession and possessing prophetic knowledge to predict the future. From my discussion of Philo's description of a "prophet" in the context of his treatment of Moses, it is evident that Philo does assign the predictive role of a prophet to Moses. Philo also calls Isaac and Jacob "prophets" because they were able to predict the

³⁴ Philo, *Mos.* 2.190; cf. *Mos.* 2.269.

³⁵ See Philo, *Her.* 260-61.

³⁶ Philo, *Her.* 261.

future. Therefore, when Philo calls David a "prophet," he may well have presupposed David's ability to predict future events.

d. David in Josephus

Josephus, a Jewish historian who wrote in the second half of the first century C.E., provides valuable information about Jewish life at the close of the Second Temple period. Among his works, the *Antiquities* and the treatise *Against Apion* contribute to our understanding of the Bible and the biblical canon at the beginning of the common era.³⁷ Although Josephus never makes mention of the Psalms, his description of David in prophetic terms sheds light on how David came to be regarded as a prophet in the Second Temple period.³⁸

On three occasions, where the Hebrew Bible makes no mention of David's prophetic character, Josephus refers to David's prophetic activity. In the first instance, Josephus says explicitly that when the Spirit of the Lord came upon David he began to prophesy, whereas the Hebrew Bible does not indicate that David went on to prophesy (1 Sam 16:13). Josephus writes,

So, after these exhortations, Samuel went his way, and the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy (προφητεύειν) (cf. 1 Sam 16:13). But as for Saul, he was beset by strange disorders and evil spirits which caused him such suffocation and strangling that the physicians could devise no other remedy save to order search

³⁷ See S. D. Leiman, "Josephus and the Canon of the Bible," in Josephus, the Bible, and History (eds. Louis. H. Feldman and Gohei Hata; Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 50-58.

³⁸ Louis H. Feldman, "David," chap. in Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1998), 537-69; also "Josephus's Portrait of David," HUCA 60 (1989): 129-74.

to be made for one with power to charm away spirits and to play upon the harp, and, whensoever the evil spirits should assail and torment Saul, to have him stand over the king and strike the strings and chant his songs.³⁹

In the second case, whereas the Hebrew Bible makes no reference to David as a prophet when he bought the threshing floor from Araunah (2 Sam 24:24; 1 Chr 22:1), Josephus does.

Then, when David saw that God had hearkened to his prayer and had accepted the sacrifice with favour, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God; and, in uttering this word, he came close to foretelling what was later to happen, for God sent a [the] prophet (τὸν προφήτην) to say that in this place a temple would be built by the son who was destined to succeed him on the throne (cf. 2 Sam 24:24; 1 Chr 22:1).⁴⁰

In the above text, Josephus makes an extra-biblical addition that David accurately (εὐστόχως) predicted a future event; God sent David as a prophet (τὸν προφήτην) to foretell that his temple would be built by David's son.⁴¹

The third reference to David's prophetic gifts is in a statement that Josephus attributes to Solomon: some of David's prophecies are said to have come to fulfillment, and the rest would follow. The Hebrew Bible simply states that God had fulfilled what he promised to Solomon's father, David (1 Kgs 8:15). Josephus writes,

After this solemn appeal to God he [Solomon] turned to address the multitude and made clear to them the power and providence of God in that most of the future events which He had revealed to David, his father, had actually come to

³⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166. All quotations from Josephus are taken from the Loeb translation (Josephus [trans. H. St. J. Thackeray et al.; 9 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926-1965).

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Ant.* 7.334.

⁴¹ Cf. Feldman, Josephus's Interpretation, 561.

pass, and the rest would also come about, and how God Himself had given him his name even before he was born, and had foretold what he was to be called and that none but he should build Him a temple, on becoming king after his father's death (cf. 1 Kgs 8:15). And now that they saw the fulfillment of these things in accordance with David's prophecies (προφητειών), he asked them to praise God and not despair of anything He had promised for their happiness, as if it were not to be, but to have faith because of what they had already seen.⁴²

In these descriptions of David, Josephus attributes the title "prophet" to David and credits him with prophetic powers to predict the future.

Louis H. Feldman points out three major functions of a "prophet" in the writings of Josephus. He states, "[T]he prophet in Josephus has three major functions, corresponding to present, past, and future: as contemporary mediator between God and man he declares the utterances of God, he interprets the past and creates the Scripture that records this past, and he predicts the future."⁴³ The three functions of a "prophet" are not taken from a single text in Josephus, but are inferred from the following texts found in various contexts. First, for Josephus, a "prophet" is one who communicates the utterances of God to people:

In speech and in addresses to a crowd he [Moses] found favour in every way, but chiefly through his thorough command of his passions, which was such that he seemed to have no place for them at all in his soul, and only knew their names through seeing them in others rather than in himself. As general he had few to equal him, and as prophet (προφήτης) none, insomuch that in all his

⁴² Josephus, *Ant.* 8.109-10.

⁴³ Louis H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *JTS* 41 (1990): 394. Also see William C. V. Unnik, "A Formula Describing Prophecy," *NTS* 9 (1962-63): 86-94; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 239-62; Rebecca Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 30-34.

utterances one seemed to hear the speech of God Himself.⁴⁴

Second, Josephus states that the prophets wrote their prophecies which are now contained in the Scripture. With reference to Daniel, Josephus writes, "For the books which he [Daniel] wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God, for he was not only wont to prophesy (προφητεύων) future things, as did the other prophets (προφήται), but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass."⁴⁵

Third, for Josephus, the role of a "prophet" is to predict the future. Josephus mentions a number of prophetic predictions made by the biblical prophets and draws attention to the fulfillment of those predictions. Josephus writes of Moses: "When Moses, at the close of life, had thus spoken, and, with benedictions, had prophesied (προφητεύσαντος) to each of the tribes the things that in fact were to come to pass, the multitude burst into tears, while the women, too, with beating of the breast manifested their emotion at his approaching death."⁴⁶ Josephus speaks of Samuel as a prophet because his prophecies came true, whereas in the Hebrew Bible the reference to Samuel's prophecy is lacking (1 Sam 3:19):

⁴⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.329.

⁴⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* 10.267. Josephus uses the plural "the books" (τὰ βιβλία), though a single book of Daniel is found in the Hebrew Bible. It is not clear whether Josephus had in mind various apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel.

⁴⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 4.320.

All this Eli constrained the prophet (τὸν προφήτην) by oath to reveal to him - for Samuel was loth to grieve him by telling it - and he now awaited with yet more certainty than before the loss of his children. But the renown of Samuel increased more and more, since all that he prophesied (προφήτευσεν) was seen to come true (cf. 1 Sam 3:19).⁴⁷

Josephus believes that the biblical prophets predicted many of the events that took place during his own time.⁴⁸ For instance, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were supposed to have predicted the destruction of Jerusalem that took place during the time of Josephus. Josephus writes,

This prophet (ὁ προφήτης) [Jeremiah] also announced the misfortunes that were to come upon the city, and left behind writings concerning the recent capture of our city, as well as the capture of Babylon. And not only this prophet (ὁ προφήτης) predicted these things to the multitude, but also the prophet (ὁ προφήτης) Ezekiel, who left behind two books which he was the first to write about these matters.⁴⁹

From Josephus's descriptions of a "prophet," it is evident that a "prophet" has a variety of functions including the predictive role. In this context, we may recall that Josephus elevated David to the level of a "prophet" and spoke of his predictions of the future, an activity that is not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible.

e. Conclusion

In the Second Temple period, the attempt was made to attribute more and more psalms to David and to elevate him to the level of a "prophet." In the OT tradition,

⁴⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 5.351.

⁴⁸ Gray, *Prophetic Figures*, 32.

⁴⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* 10.79.

Qumran literature, and Josephus, David is credited with the gift of prophecy which included the ability to predict future events. In Philo and Josephus, David is called a "prophet." However, David is not explicitly called a "prophet" in the OT or in Qumran literature.

3. The Psalter and the *Pesharim* in Qumran Literature

a. Introduction

Among the manuscripts discovered in the Judean desert, no less than thirty-six are Psalms Scrolls preserving parts of the biblical Psalter.⁵⁰ The book of Psalms is represented more than any other biblical book (thirty-six copies), followed by Deuteronomy (twenty-nine) and Isaiah (twenty-one). The large number of psalm manuscripts found at Qumran seems to suggest that the Qumran community used the Psalms for a variety of purposes: "for worship, meditation, and proof-texting."⁵¹ In the manuscripts found at Qumran, biblical psalms are found in two types of manuscripts. The first are copies of biblical psalms with some manuscripts including both canonical as well as apocryphal psalms (4QPs^f, 4Q522, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b,

⁵⁰ James C. Vanderkam lists the number of copies of each biblical book found in the Qumran library (Dead Sea Scrolls Today, 30).

⁵¹ Vanderkam, Dead Sea Scrolls Today, 31-32. Recently Eileen M. Schuller has pointed out that the two copies of the biblical Psalms from Cave 11 (11QPs^a and 11QPs^b) display liturgical features, but there is no evidence to suggest how they may have been used in a non-temple context ("Prayer, Hymnic, and Liturgical Texts from Qumran," in The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls [eds. Eugene Ulrich and James C. Vanderkam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994], 164-66). Peter W. Flint argues that 11QPs^a as a collection was viewed as "Scripture" at Qumran on three grounds: the attribution to David (11QPs^a XVII, 11), its structure, and its usage among the Qumran writings (Dead Sea Psalms Scroll, 204-27).

11QPsAp^a). The second type are quotations of biblical psalms that are used as the basis for Qumran biblical exegesis. The second type of texts, in which the biblical psalms are explicitly quoted and interpreted, include 4QpPs^a, 4QpPs^b, 1QpPs, 4QFlor, 4QCatena^a, and 11QMelch. Here I will discuss psalm quotations that are explicitly used to interpret the life of the community, its beliefs, and the events of the last days.

b. The *Pesharim*

Qumran biblical exegesis designated by the word "*peshet*" (פֶּשֶׁט) has a consistent literary pattern. As Devorah Dimant points out,

The designation *pesharim* was given to a group of biblical interpretations of a peculiar type. They have a fixed literary structure: a biblical quotation to be expounded, followed by the commentary which is often introduced as such by the word *peshet*. It consists of an identification of certain nouns in the text with the aid of various exegetical methods, and further elaborations on one or two details. Thus the term *peshet* designates the isolated unit of interpretation, the interpretation itself, its technique and its literary form.⁵²

The word "*peshet*" is frequently used in the commentaries on the prophetic books, as well as those on the Psalms. But the word "*peshet*" has become a cover term for modern scholars to describe the sort of interpretation found in Qumran sectarian materials pertaining to biblical exegesis. Therefore, the word "*peshet*" has come to be used to refer to a group of sectarian writings that present commentaries on biblical books, or interpretations of a single or a few themes with the help of passages taken from different books of the Scripture.

⁵² Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus (ed. Michael E. Stone: Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 504.

Scholars have divided the Qumran *peshtarim* into two major categories: continuous *peshtarim* and thematic *peshtarim*.⁵³ The continuous *pesher* provides a continuous interpretation of a prophetic book or a biblical psalm. Most of the continuous *peshtarim* are on the prophetic books (e.g., Habakkuk, Nahum, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Zephaniah, and Malachi) and the Psalms.⁵⁴ There are three manuscripts that contain *peshtarim* on the biblical psalms. The manuscript, 4QpPs^a, contains *peshtarim* on Psalms 37, 45, 60, and 108(?); the manuscript, 4QpPs^b, has Psalms 127, 129, and 118(?); and 1QpPs included Psalms 57 and 68.⁵⁵ The texts preserved in 4QpPs^a contain identifiable portions of the biblical psalms, whereas the manuscripts of 4QpPs^b and 1QpPs are extremely fragmentary in nature. Moshe J. Bernstein argues that 4QpPs^a can not be considered as a continuous *pesher* as it does

⁵³ See Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 2-3; Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 44-54; Devorah Dimant, in addition to two major types, adds a third type of *peshtarim* known as 'Isolated *Pesharim*.' Examples of the isolated *peshtarim* may be found in CD XIX, 5-13 on Zech 13:7; and CD VII, 14-19 on Amos 5:26-27 ("Qumran Sectarian Literature," 504-05).

⁵⁴ Devorah Dimant draws attention to 4QpIs^c which not only comments on its major text, Isaiah, but also cites and interprets other prophetic texts, like Zech 11:11 and Hos 6:9, in its interpretation of Isa 30:1-5 and 30:19-21 respectively. 4QpIs^c seems to be an exception to other known *peshtarim* on prophetic books, which comment on one prophet without drawing citations from other prophetic books ("Qumran Sectarian Literature," 504 n. 99).

⁵⁵ John M. Allegro published five fragments of the *peshtarim* on Psalms 127, 129, and 118. He identifies frag(s). 1-3 with Ps 127:2-3, frag. 4 with Ps 129:5, 7-9, and frag. 5 with Ps 118:29 (*Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)* [DJD V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968], 5:51-53). However, John Strugnell and Maurya P. Horgan think that frag. 5 does not belong with the other four fragments, because it does not show evidence for the literary genre of the *pesher* and is at least a half-century later than the other four fragments of 4Q173 (see John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan'," *RevQ* 7 [1969-70]: 219-20; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 226).

not comment on consecutive passages of the biblical psalms.⁵⁶ His observation is based on the fact that the commentator in 4QpPs^a moves from Psalm 37 to Psalm 45, not interpreting consecutive psalms. In Bernstein's opinion, 4QpPs^a should not even be considered a thematic *peshet*, for it does not comment on other biblical texts grouped around a central idea. But in my view, 4QpPs^a could still be regarded a continuous *peshet*, since it interprets a single psalm in a continuous manner.⁵⁷ In the other two manuscripts (4QpPs^b and 1QpPs), the commentator moves from Psalm 127 to Psalm 129 and from Psalm 57 to Psalm 68 respectively.⁵⁸ But the manuscripts are too fragmentary to know whether consecutive psalms were commented upon. Perhaps the Qumran community had *pesharim* on the entire book of Psalms, but, due to the poor preservation of the manuscripts, one can only find fragments of commentaries on various biblical psalms.

The second major category of the Qumran *peshet* is known as "thematic *peshet*." Thematic *pesharim* do not provide a continuous commentary on biblical

⁵⁶ Moshe J. Bernstein, "Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-Citation of Biblical Verses in the Qumran Pesharim: Observation on a Peshet Technique," *DSD* 1 (1994): 33 n. 9.

⁵⁷ A recent publication of a text containing a commentary on Genesis (4QpGen^a) faces the same problem of categorization as does 4QpPs^a. The work does not fit the continuous *peshet* pattern as it does not comment on consecutive parts of Genesis. It may not belong in the category of thematic *peshet* either since all the passages are taken from Genesis and in the order in which they come in Scripture. Although the text interprets Gen 49:3-4a, its interpretation does not predict a future event as in 4QpPs^a. See Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 54.

⁵⁸ Maurya P. Horgan observes that the document 1QpPs is too fragmentary in nature and so there is little evidence to identify the fragments with Psalms 57 and 68. However, J. T. Milik treats fragment 2 as a *peshet* on Ps 57:4 and fragments 3-18 as a *peshet* on Psalm 68 (cf. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 65-66; T. J. Milik, "Commentarie de Psaumes" in *Qumran Cave 1* (eds. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 1:81-82.

books; rather, they assemble various biblical texts and provide interpretations around certain themes. The manuscripts, 4QFlor, 4QCatena^a, and 11QMelch, are examples of thematic *pesharim*, for they provide interpretation of biblical texts grouped under a common eschatological theme.

c. Continuous *Pesher*

In this section, I will be dealing with some specific examples of psalm texts that are read as prophecy in the continuous *pesharim*. In the *pesher* on Psalm 37, the commentator quotes one or more verses and interprets them by using a special formula, פֶּשֶׁר (cf. 4QpPs^a II, 4). The use of this special *pesher* formula is found only in the continuous *pesharim*; its use is limited to the *pesharim* on the prophetic books and on the Psalms.⁵⁹ The commentator uses the *pesher* formula in both the commentaries on the prophetic books and on the Psalms to interpret the texts as prophecies about contemporary events. As I pointed out earlier, although 4QpGen^a IV, 5 does use the פֶּשֶׁר formula, the commentator does not interpret the text of Gen 49:3-4a as prophecy about contemporary events. The use of the same *pesher* formula in interpreting both the prophetic books and the biblical psalms seems to suggest that the

⁵⁹ For examples from the *pesharim* on the prophetic books, see *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab III, 12; IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 6); *Pesher Isaiah* (4QpIs^b II, 1); and *Pesher Nahum* (4QpNah II, 2, 8; IV, 1). However, the word פֶּשֶׁר is also used in 4QpGen^a IV, 5; 4QAgnesCreat A 1, 1, 7; and 4QExposition on the Patriarchs 3 ii 7.

biblical psalms were being read as prophecy in the Qumran community.⁶⁰

In the *pesharim*, the prophetic books and the Psalms are regarded as prophecies about contemporary events that take place in the life of the community. As Lawrence H. Schiffman puts it,

In *pesher* interpretation, on the one hand, the original historical context is nonexistent. Habakkuk or the Psalms are understood as applying in their original sense to the time of the sect and foretelling its history. Indeed, in that sense, *pesher* shares a common element with much of the quotation and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible found in the New Testament. Early Christians regarded the works of the ancient prophets as referring to the events of their own day.⁶¹

i. *Pesher* on Psalm 37 (4QpPs^a I, 1-IV, 1-21)

The manuscript containing the *pesher* on Psalm 37 includes fragments on the following verses of the psalm: col. I: Ps 37:7; col. II: Ps 37:8-19a; col. III: Ps 37:19b-26; and col. IV: Ps 37:28c-40. The psalm is interpreted to be prophetic, speaking about the conflict between "the congregation of the poor ones" and "the wicked ones of Israel." Horgan explains why the Qumran community chose Psalm 37 for their exegesis: "The context of Psalm 37 is especially well-suited to the Qumran community's world-view, since it is a psalm of personal tribulation offering

⁶⁰ Hartmut Stegemann was the first to point out that the Psalter was regarded in the Qumran community as "prophetische Schrift," i.e. a prophetic writing about the events to come to pass in the present and the future. In Stegemann's view, the Qumran community considered the Psalter a prophetic book and wrote commentaries on the Psalms, interpreting the texts as prophecies about their contemporary events ("Pešer Psalm 37," 241 n. 20).

⁶¹ Lawrence H. Schiffman, Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 223-24.

reassurance for the righteous in the face of the prosperity of the wicked."⁶²

Modern commentators understand Psalm 37 as a wisdom psalm which is disengaged from any historical situation in its own setting.⁶³ The use and interpretation of Psalm 37 in the Qumran community indicate that in their life the psalm had lost its primary didactic function. The Qumran commentator read the psalm as if it were foretelling the events of the community.

The plot of the wicked against the righteous in Ps 37:12-13 is interpreted as referring to the struggle of the community with the wicked ones:

'The wicked plots against the righteous and gnashes [his teeth at him. Yah]weh laughs at him for he sees that his day is coming' (Ps 37:12-13). Its interpretation concerns the ruthless ones of the covenant in the House of Judah who will plot to obliterate those in the Council of the Community who carry out the Law. But God will not leave them in their power (4QpPs^a II, 12-15).⁶⁴

The wicked and the righteous ones of Ps 37:12 are identified with the "ruthless ones of the covenant" and "those who carry out the Law" respectively.⁶⁵

The *peshar* on Psalm 37 also reveals something of the eschatological beliefs of

⁶² Horgan, *Pesharim*, 194; also see Dennis Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary of Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4," *RevQ* 8 (1973): 170.

⁶³ E.g., Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 37; Arnold A. Anderson, ed., *The Book of Psalms* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972), 1:292; Sigmund Mowinckel places Psalm 37 under the category of "non-cultic poems," because the psalm was composed for didactic purposes and not for use at a feast (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship* [trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas; 2 vols.; Nashville, Tenn.: The Abingdon Press, 1977], 2:110-12).

⁶⁴ Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4*, DJD 5:46.

⁶⁵ Maurya P. Horgan identifies "the ruthless ones of the covenant" with "members of the larger Qumran community" (the house of Judah) and "those who observe the Law" with a "small group within the whole congregation" (*Pesharim*, 210).

the community.⁶⁶ In interpreting Ps 37:10, the *peshar* foresees that, after forty years, all the wicked ones will be destroyed: "'And in a little while the wicked will be no more, and I shall look carefully for his place and it will be gone' (Ps 37:10). Its interpretation concerns all the wickedness at the end of the completion of forty years when they will be consumed and there will not be found on earth any [wi]cked man (4QpPs^a II, 6-8)."⁶⁷ The commentator saw Ps 37:10 as a prediction concerning the cessation of wickedness on earth in line with the community's belief that such wickedness would be eliminated after forty years. The War Scroll mentions that the war between the "sons of Light" and the "sons of Darkness" is expected to last for forty years (1QM II, 6-14). As the people of Israel fought against their enemies during their wandering in the wilderness for forty years and finally attained the promised land, so the members of the Qumran community saw themselves as the true Israel and anticipated the final victory over the wicked. It is evident that Psalm 37 is interpreted in light of the community's situation, on the one hand, and that the community's crisis is seen in light of Psalm 37, on the other. Lou H. Silberman emphasizes this two-way interaction between the biblical text and the community history:

The commentator made the biblical text say what he wanted to, but he did so systematically. He found his meaning of the text as he read the text in the light of that which he or his community had experienced in history. And contrariwise, he saw the experience and history of the community in the light of Scripture, so that in subtle ways the 'raw' events were refashioned by means of the belief that

⁶⁶ Cf. Horgan, Pesharim, 194.

⁶⁷ Allegro, Qumran Cave 4, DJD 5:46.

Scripture had predicted the events.⁶⁸

ii. *Pesher* on Psalm 45 (4QpPs^a IV, 23-27)

The *pesher* on Psalm 45 begins with the title of the psalm. Because of the poor preservation of the manuscript, only a portion of the *pesher* on Psalm 45 is extant. The restored text of the *pesher* on Psalm 45 reads,

To the choirmaster: according to [Lil]ies. [A maskil of the Sons of Korah; a song of *lots*.] They are the seven divisions of the penitents of Is[rael . . .] 'My hea[rt is asti]r with a good thing [I address my verses to the king.' *Its interpretation* . . .] holy [spir]it for [. . .] books of [. . .] 'and my tongue is the pen of [a ready scribe' (Ps 45:1). *Its interpretation*] concerns the Teacher of [Righteousness . . .] God [. . .] him with an eloquent tongue [. . .] (4QpPs^a IV, 23-27).⁶⁹

Given the fragmentary nature of the manuscript, I can only say that the commentator at Qumran was trying to read Psalm 45 as prophecy about the Teacher of Righteousness. The Qumran commentator seems to read Ps 45:1 as a description of the eloquent character of the Teacher of Righteousness, which was thus foretold in Ps 45:1.⁷⁰

iii. *Pesher* on Psalm 60 (4QpPs^a 13, 3-6)

John M. Allegro has restored the *pesher* text of Ps 60:8-9 (cf. Ps 108:8-9) and

⁶⁸ Lou H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk *Pesher* (1QpHab.)," *RevQ* 11 (1961): 334.

⁶⁹ Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4*, DJD 5:47.

⁷⁰ The Teacher of Righteousness is portrayed elsewhere in Qumran literature as a leader (CD I, 11), an instructor of the community (CD X, 32), a revealer of God's mysteries (1QpHab VIII, 4-5), an expounder of the law (1QpMic 10, 6-7), and a founder of the community (4QpPs^a III, 14-17).

identified it as a *peshet*.⁷¹ It reads, "God spoke [in his sanctuary: I will exult, I will divide up Shechem,] parcel out [the Valley of Suc]coth; mine is [Gilead and mine Manasseh, and Ephraim is the helmet of my head. (Ps 60:8-9) *Its Interpretation concerns Gilea*]d and half the tribe of [*Manasseh . . .*] and they shall be gathered together (4QpPs^a 13, 4-6)." Maurya P. Horgan points out that the Qumran commentator would have chosen Psalm 60 because it mentions Ephraim, Manasseh, and Judah, which could be identified with the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes respectively.⁷² Horgan further discusses the problem that it seems the Qumran commentator excluded the concluding phrase "Judah is my scepter" (Ps 60:9b). Again, because of the poor preservation of the manuscript, it is impossible to decide whether the commentator excluded some portion of Psalm 60. Psalm 60 is a lament psalm in which the psalmist pleads to God for national restoration after defeat.⁷³ The Qumran commentator seems to have read Ps 60:8-9a as a prediction concerning the restoration of the scattered community members.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Allegro, Qumran Cave 4, DJD 5:49.

⁷² Horgan, Pesharim, 226.

⁷³ Cf. Mowinckel, Psalms, 1:194.

⁷⁴ The *peshet* on Nahum (4QpNah) also foresees the union of the people of Ephraim with Judah: "And when the glory of Judah is revealed, the simple people of Ephraim will flee from among their assembly and desert the ones who misdirected them and will join the [whole of Is]rael" (4QpNah 3-4 III, 4-5) (English translation is from Martínez, Dead Sea Scrolls, 196). The prophetic reading of Psalm 60:8-9a in 4QpPs^a that predicts the restoration of the scattered community members is thus confirmed by the *peshet* on Nahum.

d. Thematic *Pesher*

In this section, I will be dealing with the documents 4QFlor, 4QCatena^a, and 11QMelch where the citations from the Psalms are interpreted as prophecy.

i. 4Q Florilegium (4Q174)

In his first publication of 4QFlor, John M. Allegro identified this document as "a collection of *midrāšim* on certain biblical texts compiled perhaps for their common eschatological interest."⁷⁵ According to the published text of 4QFlor by Allegro, frag(s). 1-2, col. I contain quotations from 2 Sam 7:10-14; 1 Chr 17:9-13; Exod 15:17-18; Amos 9:11; Ps 1:1; Isa 8:11; Ezek 37:23; and Ps 2:1; frag(s). 1-3, col. II have quotations from Dan 12:10; 11:32; frag(s). 6-10, col. II include quotations from Deut 22:8-11, 19-21.⁷⁶ Allegro's arrangement of the columns and lines of 4QFlor and his consideration of 4QCatena^a as a different manuscript have been revised by Annette Steudel.⁷⁷ Steudel argues that 4QFlor and 4QCatena^a are two different copies of the same literary work, although these two documents are not parts of the same manuscript.⁷⁸

With regard to the introductory formula used in 4QFlor(4Q174) and 4QCatena^a

⁷⁵ John M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological *Midrāšim*," IBL 77 (1958): 350.

⁷⁶ See Allegro, Qumran Cave 4, DJD 5:53-57.

⁷⁷ Annette Steudel, "4QMidrEschat: 'A Midrash on Eschatology' (4Q174 + 4Q177)," in The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March, 1991 (eds. Julio T. Barrera and Luis V. Montaner; 2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 2:531-33.

⁷⁸ Steudel, "4QMidrEschat," 2:534.

(4Q177), Steudel observes that the quotations from the Psalms are found after an introductory word **מדרש** in 4QFlor (4Q174 III, 14); the word *pesher* (**פֶּשֶׁר**) introduces the interpretation of the Psalms in 4Q174 III, 14, 19 and in 4Q177 X, 6, whereas quotations from the biblical prophets are introduced by **אשר כתוב** with the name of the book.⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that the word **מדרש** introduces Ps 1:1a in 4Q174 III, 14. It is possible that each segment in 4Q174 was introduced by the word **מדרש**: a *midrash* on the blessings of Moses (Deuteronomy 33) (4Q174 I, 1-11), followed by a *midrash* on the prophecy of Nathan (2 Sam 7:10-14) (4Q174 II-III, 13).⁸⁰ In that case, the introductory "*midrash*," introducing the other two biblical texts, Deuteronomy 33 and 2 Sam 7:10-14, would have been lost.

In 4Q174, the quotations from Pss 1:1a and 2:1, 2 are interpreted with the word **פֶּשֶׁר** and are treated as prophecy.⁸¹ Psalm 1:1a is interpreted as a prophecy about those who turn aside from the way of God.⁸² Psalm 2:1, 2 is also interpreted as a prophecy about the nations who turn against the Elect of Israel in the last days. The

⁷⁹ Annette Steudel, Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4Q MidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ('Florilegium') and 4Q177 ('Catena A') repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden (STDJ 13; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 130. In this section, I am using the columns and lines in Steudel's reconstruction, not the DJD columns and lines.

⁸⁰ Cf. Steudel, "4QMidrEschat," 2:534.

⁸¹ Cf. George J. Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context (JSOT Sup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 150.

⁸² Cf. CD I, 13; II, 6; VIII, 4.

commentator also made use of two other biblical texts (Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23a) to highlight further the interpretation of Psalms 1 and 2. These two texts from the biblical prophets are introduced by a different phrase, **אשר כתוב** with the name of the prophet. William R. Lane observes that because the quotations from the Psalms are not introduced by the phrase **אשר כתוב**, but with the word **פֶּשֶׁר** the texts from Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23a are merely used at a "secondary level to strengthen the author's exposition."⁸³ That seems to be why the quotations from the Psalms and the quotations from the prophetic books have different introductory words.

Annette Steudel rearranges the text of 4Q174 in the following order: Part A: Deuteronomy 33 (blessings) in col. I, 1-II; Part B: 2 Samuel 7 (an interpretation of promise) in col. II, ?-III, 13; and Part C: Ps 1:1a, 2:1-2 in col. III, 14 (the two ways and the plot against God and his anointed).⁸⁴ The arrangement of the texts in this order constitutes a structure that follows the tripartite division of the OT. As Steudel says, "Ihre Reihenfolge innerhalb des Werkes entspricht der Gliederung der alttestamentlichen Schriften in **תורה**, **נביאים** und **כתבים**, wie sich in Formel ' . . . τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς . . .' (Lk 24,44) umschrieben

⁸³ William R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," *JBL* 78 (1959): 345.

⁸⁴ Steudel, *Midrasch*, 130.

findet."⁸⁵

Stuedel further observes that what links 2 Samuel 7 and the psalm segments is the person of David, since David is considered as the prophetic author of psalms in Qumran.⁸⁶ The commentator at Qumran was trying to show the scriptural fulfillment in the community's present situation. As Stuedel points out,

Thus, the opening-part of 4QMidrEschat (col. I-II) interprets Moses' blessings of the tribes of Israel (Deut 33): the community regards itself exclusively as the true Israel at 'the end of the days.' A similar idea stands behind the second part (col. II fin-III,13): the interpretation of Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7) asserts that the Qumran community is the true temple at 'the end of the days.' In a third, most extensive part of 4QMidrEschat (col. III, 14-XVIII?), the community's present situation is described with the help of the biblical Psalter; at the same time, the positions of the community's opponents are disproved by Holy Scripture itself, and even the final success of the community's own position seen [*sic*] to be already recorded in the Bible.⁸⁷

ii. 4Q Catena^a (4Q177)

Quotations from the Psalms are found throughout 4QCatena^a. The quotations

⁸⁵ Stuedel, *Midrasch*, 133; cf. The Halakhic letter known as 4QMMT provides evidence for three scriptural groupings, namely, the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David (4Q397 frag(s). 14-21 C, lines 9-10: "[. . . And] we have written to you so that you may study (carefully) the book of Moses and the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David [and the]" [ראף כתבנו אליכה שתבין בספר מושה [ן] בספרני הנן ביאים וברוינן]) (see Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," *IMJ* 4 [1981]: 9-12; *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* [DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 10:58-59); cf. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*, 219; George J. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino G. Martínez, and John Kampen; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 67-88; Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," *RevQ* 19 (2000): 507-26.

⁸⁶ Stuedel, *Midrasch*, 133.

⁸⁷ Stuedel, "4QMidrEschat," 2:541.

from the Psalms are found in 4QCatena^a (4Q177) in the following: Ps 11:1a, 2 in col. VIII, 7, 8; Ps 12:1a, in col. VIII, 12; Ps 12:7, in col. IX, 1; Ps 5:10, in col. IX, 5 (?); Ps 13:2, 3, in col. IX, 8-9; Ps 13:5a, in col. IX, 11; Ps 16:3, in col. X, 2; Ps 17:1a, in col. X, 4; Ps 6:2-5, in col. XI, 7-8; and Ps 6:6, in col. XI, 10-11.⁸⁸ Steudel makes the following two observations with regard to the quotations from the Psalms in both 4Q177 and 4Q174: first, the sequence of the quotations in both manuscripts generally corresponds to their sequence in the biblical Psalter, although the sequence is interrupted in the case of Psalm 6 (after Psalm 17) in col. XI, and perhaps, in the case of Ps 5:10 (after Psalm 12) in col. IX, 5; second, neither of the manuscripts quoted all the biblical psalms. Rather, the commentator chose only those psalm texts which were appropriate for his ideas.⁸⁹ As in 4Q174, the quotations from the Psalms in 4Q177 are introduced by a **פֶּשֶׁר הַרְבֵּר** formula (4Q177 IX, 9; X, 6), whereas the quotations from biblical prophets are introduced by **כִּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב** formula with the name of the book (4Q177 IX, 1, 13). Steudel concludes,

The author's *comprehension of Scripture* is obvious: It is God's own word, once written by the prophets and by David, who is supposed to be the prophetic author of the psalms. Those old writings of the prophets concern the latter days, which are at the same time the days of the author and of the community he belongs to. The OT-quotations are interpreted eschatologically. They 'explain' directly the eschatologically comprehended time of the community, its past,

⁸⁸ See Steudel, "4QMidrEschat," 2:533.

⁸⁹ Steudel, "4QMidrEschat," 2:533.

presence [*sic*] and future.⁹⁰

Like the quotations from the Psalms in 4Q174, the quotations from the Psalms in 4Q177 are the focus of interpretation and the quotations from prophets are used to confirm the commentators' interpretation of the Psalms. That is why the quotations from psalms are never introduced by a **כִּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב** formula. The "how-long" (**עַד אַנְהוּ**) question taken from the biblical psalms cited dominates the text, as the community sees its own situations in the end of the days as being already predicted in the Psalms.

iii. 11Q Melchizedek (11Q13)

The document on Melchizedek was partially reconstructed from thirteen fragments recovered from Cave 11. The manuscript was first published by Marinus de Jonge and Adam S. Van Der Woude in 1965.⁹¹ 11Q Melchizedek is organized around certain biblical texts concerning the figure of Melchizedek, a heavenly judge.

Melchizedek is a heavenly figure who will appear in the tenth year of Jubilee and

⁹⁰ Annette Steudel, "Eschatological Interpretation of Scripture in 4Q177 (4Q Catena*)," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 477.

⁹¹ Marinus de Jonge and Adam S. Van Der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1965-66): 301-26. This is now republished by Florentino G. Martfnez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. Van Der Woude in *Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 23:221-41. See further Jean Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq," *RevQ* 7 (1969-70): 343-78; John T. Milik, "Milkî-şedeq et Milkî-reša² dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 95-144; Anders Aschim, "The Genre of 11QMelchizedek," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (eds. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 17-31.

execute judgment. It is interesting to note that 11QMelch makes no mention of Ps 110:4 which serves as a key text for the exposition of Melchizedek in the Letter to the Hebrews (chapter 7). 11Q Melchizedek contains biblical citations drawn from Lev 25:13; Deut 15:2; Isa 61:1; Pss 82:1; 7:7b, 8a; 82:2; Isa 52:7; 61:2-3; 52:7 and Lev 25:9. As in 4Q174, quotations from the books of Moses were probably included with the idea that Moses, being a prophet in Israel, predicted the course of history.

The quotations from the Psalms are interpreted to refer to the coming of Melchizedek and his mission as a judge in the last days. The passage reads:

. . . It is the time for the year of grace of Melchizedek and of [his] arm[ies, the nation] [of] the holy ones of God, of the administration of justice, as is written about him in the songs of David, who said: 'Elohim shall [st]and in the assembly of God; in the midst of the gods he shall judge' (Ps 82:1). And about him he sa[id: 'And] above [it,] to the heights, return: God shall judge the nations' (Ps 7:7b-8a). And as for what he s[aid: 'How long will you] judge unjustly, and be par[tial] to the wick[e]d. [Se]lah' (Ps 82:2), the interpretation of it concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot wh[o], in [the]ir tur[ning] away from God's commandments to [commit evil]. And Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d]'s judgments [and on that day he will f]r[ee them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the s[pirits of his lot.] (11QMelch 9-13).⁹²

In 11QMelch 9-10, the citation from Ps 82:1 is introduced with the words **כאשר כתוב עליו בשירי דויד אשר אמר**. These words clearly identify the source of the citation by name. Introductory words like these are elsewhere used to introduce quotations from the prophetic books.⁹³ In 11QMelch 10-11, Ps 82:1 is linked to two

⁹² Martínez, Tigchelaar, and Woude, Qumran Cave 11, DJD 23:229.

⁹³ Cf. 4QFlor III, 15-16.

other citations from Ps 7:7b-8a and Ps 82:2; the latter are introduced by the words [. . . ועליו אמר] and [. . . ואשר אמר] respectively. These citations are interpreted, following the word **בִּשְׂר**, (11QMelch 12), as an eschatological prophecy about Melchizedek, the "heavenly one" (**אלוהים**), and his function as judge against Belial and his spirit.⁹⁴ In the context of 11QMelch, the Qumran commentator reads Ps 82:1, 2 and Ps 7:7b-8a as prophecies about Melchizedek who will execute justice on behalf of God. The commentator on 11QMelch presents Melchizedek as the representative of God's righteous judgment whose arrival has already been foretold in Pss 82:1 and 7:7b-8a.

e. Conclusion

The following conclusions may be drawn concerning the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Qumran literature:

1. The *pesharim* were written on both the Prophetic books and the Psalms, which itself suggests that the Psalms, like the books of the Prophets, were considered to contain prophecies about future events relating to the community.
2. The Psalms that are either quoted or exegeted in the Qumran literature I have examined are: Psalms 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 37, 45, 57, 60, 68, 82, 118(?), 127, and 129. These psalms were read as prophecy by the Qumran commentator.

⁹⁴ Cf. Jonge and Woude, "11Q Melchizedek," 304.

4. Psalm Quotation in First Maccabees

a. Introduction

First Maccabees presents the events of the Maccabean revolt in the second century B.C.E. Written in the period between 103 and 63 B.C.E., First Maccabees is considered to be propaganda for the Hasmonaean dynasty.⁹⁵ Some scholars believe that First Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek.⁹⁶

Jonathan A. Goldstein observes that the author of First Maccabees does not explicitly present the events of the Hasmonaean period as fulfillment of the words of the prophets, but he clearly expresses those events in words drawn from the prophets in order to "lead his readers to think that the Hasmonaean indeed fulfilled them."⁹⁷ For instance, the author of First Maccabees chooses to describe the catastrophe of Jerusalem in 168 B.C.E. in the language of the prophet Jeremiah: "Jerusalem was uninhabited like a desert . . ." (1 Macc 3:45a; cf. Jer 34:22b). The author's description of events in the language of scripture is consistently seen throughout First Maccabees. For instance, 1 Macc 4:24 echoes Ps 134(135):1; 1 Macc 9:21 alludes to 2 Sam 1:25,

⁹⁵ Cf. Jonathan A. Goldstein, I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 41; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 63-64.

⁹⁶ See Goldstein, I Maccabees, 14-16; Elias J. Bickerman, The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and the Origin of the Maccabean Revolt (trans. Horst R. Moehring; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 17; but Daniel J. Harrington believes that the present text of 1 and 2 Maccabees was written in biblical Greek (The Maccabean Revolt: The Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution [Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier 1988], 58).

⁹⁷ Goldstein, I Maccabees, 13.

26; the biblical sections underlying the section of 1 Macc 14:8-15 are Lev 26:3-4; Zech 8:4; and Mic 4:4. The passage, 1 Macc 7:16b-17, is the only place where the author makes an explicit claim that a text from the Psalms predicted the historical event of his time.

b. Text

1 Macc 7:16b-17

κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν
Σάρκας ὀσίων σου
 καὶ
αἷμα αὐτῶν ἐξέχεαν
κύκλῳ Ἱερουσαλημ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν
αὐτοῖς ὁ θάπτων.

Ps 78(79):2b-3

τὰς σάρκας τῶν ὀσίων σου
 τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς·
ἐξέχεαν τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς ὕδωρ
κύκλῳ Ἱερουσαλημ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν
ὁ θάπτων.

Of the twenty-two words in the psalm parallel, thirteen appear in identical form in 1 Macc 7:16b-17.⁹⁸ The following divergence can also be noted: the LXX phrases τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς and ὡς ὕδωρ are omitted in 1 Macc 7:16b-17. The text of 1 Macc 7:16b-17 seems to be a free rendering of the LXX text. As Devorah Dimant remarks on the changes made in the text, "This shows that a precise reproduction of the text cited was not imperative; it was enough to quote the essentials, and some times it was deemed necessary to alter some details in accordance with the

⁹⁸ I will be using the following marking to indicate the verbal similarity between the LXX text and the quoted text: (1) solid underlining indicates verbal agreement; (2) dotted underlining represents partial agreement, i.e. different grammatical forms of the same root; (3) solid underlining between the words signify agreements in word order; and (4) words left without underlining are unique to one text and they are not shared between the texts. Such words in the dependent text may be the author's addition.

context."⁹⁹

The text of Ps 78(79):2b-3 in 1 Macc 7:16b-17 is introduced by the words, κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν. But the textual variant readings of the introductory words pose certain problems with regard to the assumed authorship of Psalm 79.¹⁰⁰ Goldstein believes that the introductory words, κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν, are original, but that later Christian scribes attempted to ascribe the citation either to David or to Asaph by supplying the word "prophet" or "David" or "Asaph" as the subject for the verb ἔγραψεν.¹⁰¹ Goldstein also believes that Psalm 79 originated during the Maccabean period. Even if Psalm 79 was composed during the time of the Maccabees, the author of First Maccabees interpreted Psalm 79 as prophetic and saw its fulfillment in a specific historical situation during the Maccabean era. But Hans-Joachim Kraus argues that Psalm 79 should be dated to the year 587 B.C.E. because of its striking reference to the events of that year (cf. Ps 79:1, 3, 9).¹⁰² He believes that Psalm 79 came to be used after the time of 587 B.C.E. in new

⁹⁹ Devorah Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (eds. Martin Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 391

¹⁰⁰ There are significant textual variant readings for this introductory formula: τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν S⁷: τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἐγρ. A q 62 46 58 106 340; τὸν λ. ον ἐγρ. V La^L; τὸν λ. ον ἐγρ. ο προφητῆς S^{ca} L-19-93 311 SyI; τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἐγρ. ο προφητῆς 542; τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἐγρ. ἀσαφ ο προφητῆς 55; τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἐγρ. Δαυὶδ 56; τὸν λόγον ἀσαφ ον ἐγράψεν Eus. dem. ev. X1₁₂.

¹⁰¹ Goldstein, I Maccabees, 333.

¹⁰² Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalms 60-150: A Commentary (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1989), 133-34.

situations, especially during the Maccabean period.¹⁰³ The title of Psalm 79 suggests that Psalm 79 has traditionally been attributed to Asaph, a singer in David's court (cf. 2 Chr 15:12; 35:15).¹⁰⁴

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 78(79):2b-3

Psalm 79 is considered a national lament psalm because it urges Yahweh to act against Israel's enemies in the face of national disaster (Ps 79:1-4, 5-7).¹⁰⁵ Psalm 79 is similar to Psalms 44 and 74, both of which attempt to urge Yahweh to take redemptive action in the light of Israel's shame before her taunting neighbors. The author of First Maccabees seems to be aware of the original setting of Psalm 79, since the citation, Ps 78(79):2b-3, is included in the context of disaster in 1 Macc 7:16b-17, namely, the killing of sixty Hasideans by Alcimus (1 Macc 7:12-16). Thus the author of First Maccabees sees the massacre of the sixty men as having taken place in accordance with what was predicted in Ps 78(79):2b-3. *The explicit use of Ps 78(79):2b-3 together with the introductory words shows that the author of First Maccabees reads Ps 78(79):2b-3 as prophesying the event of his day.*

d. Conclusion

The passage, 1 Macc 7:16b-17, provides strong evidence that the author of First Maccabees read Ps 78(79):2b-3 as prophesying an event of his day. Here is

¹⁰³ Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 133.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 18.

¹⁰⁵ Sigmund Mowinckel classifies Psalm 79 as a "public lament psalm" (Psalms, 1:28).

evidence in the Second Temple period that a text in the Psalter was thought to be in the process of being fulfilled. Thus it was not only the sectarian authors of the Qumran scrolls who read the Psalms as prophecy, but also a mainstream Jewish author, like the author of First Maccabees.

5. Conclusions

This examination of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in some Second Temple literature has demonstrated that the Psalms were read as prophecies about future events. Two important points have emerged from the study made in this chapter. First, in the writings of Philo and Josephus, David came to be called a prophet; in the biblical tradition, David was elevated to the level of a prophet, though he was not explicitly given the prophetic title; in the Qumran Psalms Scrolls, David was associated with "prophecy" (11QPs^a XXVII, 11); and in Josephus, David was credited with the ability to foresee events beyond his own time. The Christian understanding of David as a prophet (cf. Acts 2:30) seems to be an expansion of an interpretative tradition which began among some Jews in the Second Temple period. Second, in the specific examples taken from the Qumran literature and First Maccabees, the Psalms are cited and read as prophecies about contemporary events. The example from First Maccabees indicate that the Psalms were thought to be prophetic, not only by sectarian groups like the Qumran community, but also by a non-sectarian Jewish tradition in the Second Temple period.

CHAPTER 3

PSALM CITATIONS IN MARK'S GOSPEL

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has provided examples of how the Psalms were read, in some Second Temple literature, as predictions of contemporary events and how David, the putative author of Psalms, began to be considered as a foreteller of events in the future. In the next three chapters, I will discuss the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels in the order of Mark-Matthew-Luke, though no hypothesis about literary relationships between the Synoptic gospels is presupposed in the discussion of each passage.

Mark's gospel, after the title in Mark 1:1 ("The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God") cites Mal 3:1 and Isa 40:3 in Mark 1:2, 3 with an introductory statement in Mark 1:2, "as it is written in the prophet Isaiah." Then Mark introduces John the Baptist in Mark 1:4. The intention of Mark, in prefacing the appearance of John the Baptist with two scriptural texts, is to show that the Scripture has been fulfilled in the story that he is about to narrate. Mark's use of the citations from the Psalms also reflect his conviction that the events of Jesus' Galilean ministry fulfill the past prophetic Scriptures.¹ The present chapter will examine the following

¹ For a brief summary of Mark's use of the Old Testament, see D. Moody Smith Jr., "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays (ed. James M. Eifird; Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), 40-43.

psalm citations: Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10; Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11; Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:36; and Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34. The examination of these passages in Mark will provide important clues concerning the Markan way of reading the Psalms as prophecy.

2. Mark 11:9b-10

Mark 11:9b-10

ὡσαννά·

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος

ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· εὐλογημένη

ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς

ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ· ὡσαννά ἐν τοῖς

ὕψιστοις.

Ps 117(118):26a

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος

ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·

a. Text

The primary question to be considered is whether the verbal parallel is extensive and notable enough to suggest dependence. Of the six words which make up Ps 117(118):26a, all six are found in identical form and order in Mark 11:9b-10. Although there is no explicit indication that Ps 117(118):26a is being quoted, the close verbal correspondence clearly shows some form of dependence. In keeping with the definition of a "citation" given above, I consider Mark 11:9b-10 as a citation from Ps 117(118):26a, because the Markan text reproduces all six words in the same word order and the actual language of Ps 117(118):26a. The citation from Ps 117(118):26a is found in all four gospels with a number of variations from the LXX text (Mark 11:9b-10; Matt 21:9; Luke 19:38; John 12:13).² Regardless of how one explains these divergences, the close verbal correspondence indicates that the author is consciously quoting from Ps 117(118):26a.

² Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 64; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 40-41; Deborah Krause points out that Mark quotes a portion of Ps 118:25-26 in Mark 11:7-10 as a framework for interpreting Jesus' entry into Jerusalem ("The One who comes Unbinding the Blessing of Judah: Mark 11.1-10 as a Midrash on Genesis 49.11, Zechariah 9.9, and Psalm 118:25-26" in Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals [eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997] 144).

The Markan form of the quotation shows a number of additions to the LXX text. Mark begins with ὠσαννά, an abbreviated form of Hebrew **נְשִׁינָה** (Ps 118:25). The second line, εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ (Mark 11:10), appears to be a Markan formulation which Mark uses to comment upon Ps 117(118):26a; the Markan formulation seems to presuppose the messianic Davidic sonship of Jesus.³ Mark repeats the word ὠσαννά at the end of the quotation together with the phrase ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.⁴

b. Context

The citation from Ps 117(118):26a occurs in Mark in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mark 11:1-11).⁵ The account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem begins with Jesus' command to his disciples to bring a colt (Mark 11:2-3). They obey his word and find a colt in the precise circumstances as foretold by Jesus (vv. 4-6). The colt is brought to Jesus to ride (v. 7), and the crowd welcomes Jesus by spreading cloaks and branches on the road (v. 8). The events preceding the crowd's welcome seem to underline features of Mark's presentation of Jesus. First, Mark emphasizes

³ See Joachim Gnllka, Das Evangelium nach Markus (EKKNT; 2 vols.; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1978-1979), 2:118. Mark has not here openly affirmed Jesus as "Son of David" as Matthew does (21:9), but he nonetheless anticipates the arrival of Jesus as the establisher of the kingdom of David.

⁴ Mark's use of the phrase ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις seems to come from Ps 148:1a where the angels sing praises to God. Cf. Gustaf Dalman, The Words of Jesus considered in the light of post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic language (trans. David M. Kay; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1902), 221; Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 65.

⁵ David B. Peabody draws attention to verbal parallels between the accounts of preparation for the Triumphal Entry and preparation for Passover (Mark as Composer, 106-07, Tables 229 and 230).

Jesus' prophetic knowledge: (i) the disciples find a colt; (ii) the colt is tied near the door; (iii) the colt is untied; (iv) the disciples respond to the bystanders' question why they are untying the colt. All these details correspond to what Jesus predicted in v. 2. Second, Mark also highlights the lordship of Jesus. Jesus' demand of the colt (v. 3), the disciples' obedience to Jesus' command (v. 4) and the villagers' willingness to allow the disciples to take the colt point to Jesus' lordship over the colt, the disciples, and the villagers.⁶ Third, Mark seems to stress a royal enthronement motif. Jesus' coming on a colt echoes the prophecy of Zechariah where the king, God's ruler, comes riding on a donkey (Zech 9:9). Although Mark does not explicitly cite Zech 9:9, as does Matt 21:5, he seems to presuppose knowledge of the prophecy of Zechariah in his account. Another OT passage associated with a king riding on a donkey is 1 Kgs 1:38-40. There Solomon rides on David's mule to Gihon, where he is anointed by the priest Zadok and declared king. Although Jesus is not openly declared king in the Markan triumphal entry, Jesus' riding on a colt seems to presuppose the idea of kingship.⁷

As Jesus enters Jerusalem riding on a colt, a large crowd that accompanies Jesus spreads their garments not only on the colt, but also on the road. They also

⁶ Cf. Robert H. Gundry, Mark: A Commentary on his Apology of the Cross (Grand Rapids: Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993), 624-25.

⁷ Cf. Frank J. Matera, The Kingship of Jesus: Composition and Theology in Mark 15 (SBLDS 66; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982), 70.

spread leafy branches (σπιβάδας) on the road (Mark 11:8).⁸ The spreading of garments and covering of the road with leafy branches secure royal dignity for Jesus (cf. 2 Kgs 9:12-13).⁹ The people who accompany Jesus call ὠσαννά to him and greet him with words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a.

c. Psalm 118

Psalm 118 calls upon the house of Israel (v. 1) and the house of Aaron (v. 2) and all persons who fear the Lord to praise and glorify the goodness and steadfast love of Yahweh.¹⁰ The psalm is believed to have been used at the entrance to the Temple because of its reference to the "gates" (Ps 118:19-20).¹¹ The individual in the psalm acknowledges the goodness of Yahweh because Yahweh delivered him from death (Ps 118:13, 18). Therefore, he enters the gate of the Lord (Ps 118:20) to give thanks. The proverbial stone passage of Ps 118:22-23 probably refers to the individual who had been in great danger (vv. 10-13) and had been saved by Yahweh.¹² Just as the

⁸ Among the four gospels, John alone mentions the use of palm branches (τὰ βῆλα τῶν φοινίκων) in the account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (John 12:13) (see William R. Farmer, "The Palm Branches in John 12,13," *JTS* 3 [1952]: 62-66).

⁹ Cf. Gundry, *Mark*, 626; Matera, *Kingship of Jesus*, 70.

¹⁰ Psalm 118 belongs to the category of Hallel Psalms (113-118). This psalm occupied a special place at the Feast of Tabernacles (*m. Sukk.* 4:5). Sigmund Mowinckel points out that Psalm 118 is a thanksgiving psalm which was regularly repeated at congregational festivals (*Psalms*, 2:28).

¹¹ The plural שַׁעֲרֵי צְדָקָה ("gates of righteousness") probably refers to the gates of Jerusalem (Ps 118:19; cf. Ps 24:7-10) and the singular שַׁעַר לַיהוָה ("gate of Yahweh") may refer to the Temple door (cf. Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms 101-150* [AB 17A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970], 159).

¹² Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 400.

builders rejected a stone which to their mind is of no value, but which is ultimately found to be the cornerstone, so the enemies of the psalmist, "the builders," maltreated him (Ps 118:13), but he had been delivered by Yahweh and was now honored.

Mark quotes the blessings of Ps 118:26a in Mark 11:9b. These blessings are called out by priests to those who enter the temple (cf. Ps 24:5).¹³ The individual who had been saved by Yahweh was now received with the blessings (Ps 118:26). The psalm ends with a direction for the procession (Ps 118:27), with the individual acknowledging and praising Yahweh. The psalm concludes with the same words as it began (v. 29; cf. v. 1).

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):26a

Psalm 118 is taken from the temple gate liturgy, as are Psalms 15 and 24.¹⁴ At festival seasons a group of pilgrims entering the temple is greeted with a "liturgy of antiphonal statements and songs" by the priests from inside the temple.¹⁵ In the Markan context, it is not the priests, but the crowds who greet Jesus with ὠσαννὰ followed by a quotation from Ps 117(118):26a. The Hebrew **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא** is rendered by the LXX **σῶσον δὴ**, which interprets it as a cry for help. The Hebrew imperative **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא** is used in 2 Sam 14:4; 2 Kgs 6:26; Pss 12:2; 60:7; 86:16; 108:7, meaning

¹³ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 400.

¹⁴ See Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 395.

¹⁵ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 395.

"a cry for help," and it is translated σωσον in the LXX. Though Mark and other NT writers largely use the LXX in quoting texts from the OT, only here in Mark, Matthew, and John is the transliteration of the semitic original into the Greek ὠσαννά reproduced rather than a Greek translation familiar from the LXX. Elsewhere, when an original semitic expression is viewed as significant, Mark not only quotes it in a transliteration but immediately gives its Greek translation (e.g., Mark 5:41: ταλιθα κουμ which is translated into Greek as τὸ κοράσιον . . . ἔγειρε; Mark 15:34: ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι which is translated into Greek as ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με).¹⁶ In the case of ὠσαννά, there is no Greek translation, and it is plausible that the word ὠσαννά is used as a joyous acclamation with no specific connotation of prayer for salvation.¹⁷

Eric Werner and Edward Lohse argue that the ὠσαννά cry in Matthew and Mark is employed in the traditional manner: the cry was understood as a "messianic supplication" in pre-Christian Judaism.¹⁸ First, they appeal to the NT sources where Psalm 118 is cited as a direct prophecy about the coming of Christ (1 Pet 2:4-7; Matt 21:42 par.; Acts 4:11; Eph 2:21). Second, they cite Jewish sources, including *b. Pesah*.

¹⁶ David B. Peabody observes that Mark uses the phrase, ὃ ἐστίν, as a formula for introducing a translation of an original semitic expressions into Greek (e.g., Mark 3:17; 5:41; 7:11, 34; 15:22, 34 (cf. Mark as Composer, 68, Table 103)).

¹⁷ Cf. Eugene LaVerdiere, "Hosanna in the Highest! Mark Chapter 11:1-11," Emmanuel 99 (1993): 333.

¹⁸ Eric Werner, "'Hosanna' in the Gospels," JBL 65 (1946): 97-122; Edward Lohse, "HOSIANNA," NovT 6 (1963): 113-19.

117; *Meg.* 2:1; and *Midr. Ps* 118:22, where Psalm 118 is messianically interpreted. They claim that the messianic hope was echoed in the hosanna cry which the Jewish community raised in the pre-Christian era.¹⁹ Both Werner and Lohse think that, in Christian times, the synagogue must have suppressed the messianic connotations once associated with the word ὡσαννά.²⁰ On the other hand, Joseph A. Fitzmyer argues for an Aramaic root behind the ὡσαννά in the gospels, meaning "greeting" without any messianic connotation.²¹ He cites two sources where the root *ytʿyšʿ* of **הושע נא** is found in Aramaic texts: the first is an Old Aramaic inscription from Tell Fachariyah containing the name of the king **הדיסעי**, derived from the proto-semitic root *ytʿ* meaning "save" in Aramaic; the second is 4QpsDan^aar 16, 2, where the Aramaic root *yšʿ* appears as in Hebrew **ישע**, meaning "save."²² Although **הושע נא** has not been found in Aramaic, the two sources mentioned above reveal that the root *ytʿ/yšʿ* was not totally unknown in Aramaic. Fitzmyer also notes that there is no long form of the imperative in Aramaic and that **הושע** would be the usually

¹⁹ Werner, "Hosanna," 114-15; Lohse, "HOSIANNA," 116; cf. Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (trans. Norman Perrin; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 256-62.

²⁰ Cf. Lohse, "HOSIANNA," 116.

²¹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Evidence Affecting the Interpretation of Hosanna in the New Testament," chap. in Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 119-29; repr. from Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E. Earle Ellis for his 60th Birthday (eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1987).

²² Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Evidence," 124-25.

expected form. He concludes,

Such, then, is the Aramaic evidence that affects the interpretation of ὠσαννά in the Greek accounts of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. It makes it plausible that **הוֹשַׁע נָא**, and not **הוֹשִׁיעָה נָא**, was the current Aramaic form of the acclamation shouted to Jesus, as a greeting, the first evidence of which is, strikingly enough, preserved in the Greek texts of the Gospels.²³

It is plausible that ὠσαννά had lost its original meaning of a cry for help (Ps 118:25) and had become a cry of greeting in first century Palestine. Werner's and Lohse's interpretations of ὠσαννά as a "messianic supplication" do not show plausible evidence for the association of the cry ὠσαννά with a messianic expectation in pre-Christian Judaism, since the Jewish documents they cite as evidence do not antedate the fifth century C.E. What can be said is that the cry of ὠσαννά is a cry of greeting that is now extended to Jesus as the Messiah in the Christian interpretation found in Mark 11:10 and, even more clearly, in Matt 21:9. Mark probably omitted the petition of Ps 118:25 in Mark 11:9b because the hosanna cry in the Markan context is directed not to God as in Ps 118:25 but to Jesus who is perceived to be bringing the kingdom of David (Mark 11:10).

The hosanna cry is followed by a blessing formula taken from Ps 117(118):26a, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου (Mark 11:10a). The blessing which was reserved for the temple pilgrims coming to Jerusalem is now invoked on Jesus.²⁴

²³ Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Evidence," 126.

²⁴ Cf. Rudolf Pesch, Das Markusevangelium (HTKNT; 2 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1976-1977), 2:184.

Jesus is greeted as "one who comes in the name of the Lord." The phrase "one who comes" (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) appears to be used in reference to the Messiah.²⁵ In Mark's account of John the Baptist, the Messiah is referred to as "the stronger one" (ὁ ἰσχυρότερός) who "is coming" (ἔρχεται) (Mark 1:7; cf. Matt 11:3; Luke 7:19).

Although Elijah is also spoken of as the one who is to come (Mark 9:9-13 par; cf. Matt 11:7-15; Luke 7:24-35), Mark reports that Elijah has come (Ἡλίας ἐλήλυθεν) (Mark 9:13; cf. Matt 17:12). *Mark applies the blessings of Ps 118:26a exclusively to Jesus who comes as the one spoken of prophetically in this psalm. In other words, the blessing of pilgrims in Ps 118:26a is applied to Jesus by Mark to show that the Scripture is fulfilled by Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem.*

Mark further intensifies the prophetic utterance of Ps 117(118):26a by adding a line to the quotation: εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεια τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ (Mark 11:10a).²⁶ As Joachim Gnilka says, "Vollends Klarheit über die Bedeutung des Einzugs bringt die Erwähnung der mit Jesus ankommenden Königsherrschaft unseres Vaters David."²⁷ With the addition of εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεια τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυὶδ, the psalm quotation is given an explicitly messianic

²⁵ Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:184; David Daube points out that in the opinion of some Rabbis, the verse "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" was composed when David was made king, and it will be chanted when the Messiah appears (The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism [London: The Athlone Press, 1956], 20).

²⁶ John Bowman thinks that Mark added the line to the psalm quotation in order to show that the multitude expected that Jesus would reestablish the Davidic kingdom (The Gospel of Mark: The Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965], 223); also Krause, "One who comes," 150.

²⁷ Gnilka, Markus, 2:118.

interpretation in Mark.²⁸ When the expectation of the Messiah as the Son of David (cf. Mark 10:47) and the arrival of the Davidic kingdom (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:21) are associated with the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem, the messianic Davidic sonship of Jesus is presupposed in Mark.²⁹ As Robert H. Gundry observes, "By associating a coming Jesus with a coming kingdom of David they [the crowd] seem to think that they are about to install Jesus as a Davidic king (though they may not have Zech 9:9 in mind, as does Jesus; for otherwise they would probably hail him as already their king, as in that OT text)."³⁰ In the antiphonal choir of those leading the procession and those coming after, Mark presents Jesus as the one who is worthy of praise and as the one who comes in the fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a to realize the messianic promises in establishing the dominion of David in Mark 11:9b-10.

The reference to "the kingdom of our father David" (Mark 11:10a) is not

²⁸ Marie-Joseph Lagrange thinks that Mark 11:10 is clearly a messianic expression as it conforms with the hope of the Jews that the house of David would be re-established by the Messiah, the Son of David (Évangile selon Saint Marc [6th ed.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1966], 161).

²⁹ Alfred Suhl argues that Mark has let the old traditional cry stand, even though it does not reveal Jesus' true identity as "Son of God" - a title seen to go beyond Davidic sonship in Mark 12:35-37. The entrance exultation Suhl sees as a misunderstanding of Jesus' identity: the scene does not reveal the messianic secret (Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen im Markusevangelium [Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1965], 53); on the other hand, Dieter Lührman comments that the crowd's expectation of the "kingdom of David" in the arrival of Jesus shows only a partial understanding of who Jesus is: the Messiah, the Son of David, as he had revealed himself to his disciples in Mark 8:27-30 and will disclose himself before the Sanhedrin (Das Markusevangelium [HNT 3; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987], 189). In my opinion, Mark uses Ps 118:26a to show the arrival of Jesus in fulfillment of the prophetic word and adds the crowd's expectation that Jesus has come to reestablish the Davidic kingdom without further elaboration. Cf. John D. Crossan, "Redaction and Citation in Mark 11:9-10 and 11:17," BR 17 (1972): 40.

³⁰ Gundry, Mark, 632.

known in Judaism, where the term "father" is commonly used of the patriarchs.³¹ Apart from Mark 11:10a, the only reference in the NT where David is called "our father" is found in Acts 4:25, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν . . . Δαυίδ. The reference to "the coming kingdom . . . of David" is also an unusual expression in Mark, because, in Mark, the kingdom is "God's" (Mark 1:15), and not "of David" as in Mark 11:10a. The lack of these Markan words in Matthew and Luke in the parallel passages is in keeping with a focus on the Davidic king rather than on his kingdom. Mark seems to show that the crowd understood Jesus as the one who comes to reestablish the kingdom of David.³² On the one hand, Mark sees the prophetic fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a in the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem. On the other hand, Mark seems to leave the crowd's expectation unfulfilled in the sense that Mark does not further elaborate the idea of Jesus as the bringer of a Davidic kingdom.

C. Conclusion

Mark reads the citation from Ps 117(118):26a as a prophecy about Jesus. In the original context of Psalm 118, Ps 118:26 is used to welcome the pilgrims entering the Temple. But in the Markan context, Jesus is welcomed as "the coming one" of Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b. Mark also attributes to the crowd an expectation of Jesus

³¹ Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called "fathers" in Judaism (*b. Ber.* 1:6; cf. George F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tanniam [3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930], 1:542).

³² The ancient Jewish prayer known as the Eighteen Benedictions (*Tefillah*) contains a petition to restore David's kingdom to Israel (*m. Ber.* 4:3).

as the bringer of the Davidic kingdom (Mark 11:10). However, Mark does not provide further evidence in his gospel to suggest that Jesus fulfilled the crowd's expectation in reestablishing the kingdom of David. Therefore, the "prophecy" of the psalm is fulfilled, but the crowd's expectation of Jesus as the reestablisher of the dominion of David seems to remain unfulfilled in Mark's gospel.

3. Mark 12:10-11

Mark 12:10-11

οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε·
λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ
οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ
κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν
θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;

Ps 117(118):22-23

λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ
οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ
κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν
θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

a. Text

What is remarkable here is that the entire text of Ps 117(118):22-23 is reproduced in Mark 12:10-11: all twenty words are found in identical form and order in Mark 12:10-11. That Mark is quoting the psalm is apparent.³³ The quotation from Ps 117(118):22-23 is also found in two other gospels (Matt 21:42; Luke 20:17), as well as in Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:7, where it is explicitly related to Jesus' death and resurrection. It is also cited along with the parable of the vineyard in *Gos. Thom.* 66.

The quotation from Ps 117(118):22-23 is explicitly introduced by the words, οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε (Mark 12:10a), thus marking what follows as a quotation. The use of the word οὐδέ in the introductory statement implies that Ps 118:22-23 was well known as a prophecy in early Christian usage.³⁴

c. Context

The citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 occurs at the end of the parable of the

³³ Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 67-68; New, Old Testament Quotations, 48; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 20.

³⁴ Cf. Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 476.

wicked tenants (Mark 12:1-11). The parable is part of a section relating Jesus' controversies with his opponents, running from Mark 11:27 through 12:37.³⁵ After Jesus had debated with the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders about his authority (Mark 11:27-33), Jesus addressed them with a parable (12:1-11). The citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 follows the question arising from the parable ("What then will the owner of the vineyard do?") and the answer given to the question ("He will come and destroy the tenants and give the vineyard to others") (Mark 12:9).

The question whether the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 is an integral part of the parable or has been secondarily added has drawn scholarly attention. Charles E. Carlston claims that there is "universal consent" that the psalm text is a secondary addition to the parable.³⁶ For him, the change of emphasis from the killing of the "Son" in the parable to the vindication of the "stone" in the psalm text reflects early Christian interpretations of the "stone" (Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:4-8); hence the scriptural text is a later addition to the parable.³⁷ On the other hand, Matthew Black argues for the psalm text as an original part of the parable because of the word-play, in Hebrew,

³⁵ Cf. Charles E. Carlston, The Parables of the Triple Tradition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 178.

³⁶ Carlston, Parables of the Triple Tradition, 180; also Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition (trans. John Marsh; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 177; Suhl, Funktion der alttestamentlichen, 144. For a list of scholars who argue for the secondary insertion of the psalm text into the parable, see Carlston, Parables of the Triple Tradition, 180 n. 14.

³⁷ Carlston, Parables of the Triple Tradition, 181; also Barnabas Lindars distinguishes an early stage (Acts 4:11) where Ps 118:22 is part of the passion apologetic from a later stage (1 Pet 2:6; Barn. 6:2-4) where Christ is the rejected stone (New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961], 169-74).

בן-אבן, a word-play well known in the OT (e.g. Josh 4:6, 7, 8, 20 and 21; 1 Kgs 18:31; Isa 54:11-13; Lam 4:1-2).³⁸ Black suggests that Psalm 118 entered the Synoptic tradition because of the word-play at the Hebrew level. He concludes, "The 'parable' (or allegory) may be regarded as itself a *peshet* of the testimonia: it is a parable, that is to say, not of the Wicked Husbandmen but of the rejected 'Stone' = 'Son'."³⁹ Following Black's argument, Klyne Snodgrass and Hans F. Bayer also see the citation from Psalm 118 as an integral part of the parable.⁴⁰ Snodgrass concludes that "whoever composed the parable also concluded it with the quotation from Psalm 118."⁴¹

Like Carlston, Joel Marcus rejects the idea that the psalm text was joined to the parable because of the Hebrew word-play.⁴² Although Marcus finds both linguistic and thematic relationships between the parable and the citation from Psalm 118, he argues that the parable is "pessimistic" in outlook, whereas the psalm text is

³⁸ Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971): 12.

³⁹ Black, "Christological Use," 13.

⁴⁰ Klyne Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants* (WUNT 22; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983) 63, 65; Hans F. Bayer, *Jesus' Predictions of Vindication and Resurrection* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986), 105; also see Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:222; Gundry, *Mark*, 689-90; A. W. Martens, "Produce Fruit Worthy of Repentance: Parables of Judgment Against the Jewish Religious Leaders and the Nation (Matt 21:28-22:14, par.; Luke 13:6-9)" in *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 160.

⁴¹ Snodgrass, *Parable of the Wicked Tenants*, 65.

⁴² Marcus, *Way of the Lord*, 111-14

"optimistic."⁴³ For him, the parable focuses on the rejection of the servants and of the son by the tenants; there is no evidence in the parable that would suggest the restoration of the servants or the son to the vineyard.⁴⁴ But in the psalm citation, Marcus argues, we have a theme of divine vindication placed in tension with the parable; and he concludes that the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 did not originally belong to the parable, but was added, possibly in the pre-Markan tradition.⁴⁵

In my opinion, the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 and the parable existed as one unit from the beginning. The following reasons may be cited in support. (1) The semitic word-play **בן-אבן** ties the psalm text with the parable and vice-versa. Whoever composed the parable must also have integrated the psalm text into the parable for the word-play to function. (2) The citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 gives needed significance to the parable. The psalm text constitutes the victorious conclusion of the parable, as the death of the son in the parable is changed into triumph. As John D. Crossan says,

The citation from Psalm 118 was an obvious necessity of the allegorical situation. The end could not be the death of the son even when this murder had been amply punished. The end would have to be the triumph of the son. The well-known apologetic of the rejected/chosen stone is added to effect this

⁴³ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 111; John R. Donahue also claims that Mark 12:1-9 belongs to the theme of rejection, whereas v(v). 10-11 belong to the theme of vindication (Are You the Christ? The Trail Narrative in the Gospel of Mark [SBLDS 10; Missoula, Mont.: SBL, 1973], 123-24).

⁴⁴ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 112.

⁴⁵ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 112-13.

victorious conclusion.⁴⁶

It would seem unlikely that any allegorization of the story was possible until the death of the son was changed into triumph, and hence the citation from Psalm 118 was joined to the parable. (3) Although there exists a tension between the theme of rejection in the parable and the theme of vindication in the Psalm text, the rejection-vindication motif is presented in Mark as part of Jesus' self-understanding of his death and resurrection. For instance, in Mark 8:31; 9:30-31; and 10:32-34, Jesus predicts not only his own rejection and death, but also his resurrection. The parable and the citation from Psalm 118 conform to what Jesus predicted of his own rejection, death, and resurrection. Therefore, the citation from Psalm 118 forms an integral part of the parable.

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):22-23

As was pointed out earlier, Psalm 118 belongs to the Temple gate liturgy. The petitioner entering the temple with thanksgiving has been rescued by Yahweh from death (Ps 118:17). Like the "stone" rejected by the builders (v. 22a), the petitioner was thrown into the "realm of death."⁴⁷ As the rejected stone became the corner stone (v. 22b), the petitioner was allowed to see life by an act of Yahweh (v. 23). For Hans-Joachim Kraus, Ps 118:22-23 has a proverbial character that "emphatically bears

⁴⁶ John D. Crossan, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," JBL 90 (1971): 454-55.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 399.

witness to the wondrous change wrought by Yahweh (v. 23)."⁴⁸ *Based on the application of the text to someone who seemed to be destined for death but was brought back to life by Yahweh, the early Church read Ps 118:22 as a prophecy about Jesus' death and resurrection* (Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:8).⁴⁹

The prophetic reading of Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11 has to be understood in relation to both the parable of the wicked tenants and the sayings about Jesus' death and resurrection in Mark. In conjunction with the parable, the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 refers to the fortune of the son who was murdered by the tenants. Marcus points out that Mark's addition of the word "beloved" (ἀγαπητόν) for the son in the parable (Mark 12:6) corresponds to the identification of Jesus as the "beloved" son in his baptism (1:11) and in his transfiguration (9:7).⁵⁰ This identification suggests that the "beloved" son in the parable represents Jesus, who, in his suffering and death, will share the fate of the "beloved" son in the parable. The first part of the psalm text dwells on the idea of "rejection": "the stone that the builders rejected . . ." (Mark 12:10; cf. Ps 117(118):22a). Marcus further observes that the verb ἀποδοκιμάζειν (to reject) used in the psalm text is also used in Mark 8:31

⁴⁸ Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 400.

⁴⁹ In post-biblical Judaism, the "stone" of Ps 118:22 was identified with the Messiah. In the Targum on Ps 118:22, the "stone" is identified with Abraham, David, and also the Messiah (see also *Pirqe R. El.* 24). The "stone" text of Isa 28:16 is also messianically interpreted in the Targum (see Joachim Jeremias, "ἄθος," TDNT 4:272).

⁵⁰ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 114; cf. Gnlika, Markus, 2:149.

(cf. Mark 9:30-31; 10:32-34) where Jesus predicts his own rejection by the elders, the chief priests, and the scribes.⁵¹ Therefore, the "rejected stone" in the psalm text resembles the "rejection of the son" in the parable, which fits Jesus' own prediction of his rejection. The second part of the psalm text deals with the idea of "vindication": "the stone . . . has become the corner stone; this was the Lord's doing, and is amazing in our eyes" (Mark 12:10-11; cf. Ps 117(118):22b-23). Elsewhere in Mark's gospel Jesus speaks of his resurrection as the reversal of his suffering and death (Mark 8:31; 9:30-31; 10:34). After his rejection and death, the resurrection of Jesus would be a miraculous accomplishment of God, just as it is the work of God that the rejected stone has become the cornerstone.⁵² Although there is no mention of resurrection in the parable it is implied in the psalm text as quoted in Mark. *Since the rejection and vindication of the "stone" in Ps 117(118):22-23 parallel the rejection, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the psalm citation placed in the context of the parable (Mark 12:1-11) is understood as a prophecy about Jesus' rejection, death, and resurrection.*⁵³

⁵¹ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 114.

⁵² Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:222.

⁵³ Cf. Marcus, Way of the Lord, 114; Snodgrass, Parable of the Wicked Tenants, 103. Joachim Jeremias relates the exaltation of the "cornerstone" to Jesus' parousia (Jeremias, TDNT 4:274); Jeremias also thinks that Jesus understood Ps 118:22-23 as a messianic prophecy about his suffering and glory (cf. Mark 8:31; 12:10-11; Luke 17:25) (Eucharistic Words, 256-62).

d. Conclusion

Psalm 117(118):22-23 quoted in Mark 12:10-11 is understood to be a prophecy about Jesus' death and resurrection. In the original context of Psalm 118, the rejection and exaltation of the "stone" refer to the petitioner who was rejected and thrown to death, and was rescued by Yahweh (cf. Ps 118:22-23). But in the Markan context, the psalm is used to predict Jesus' death and resurrection. Unlike Acts 4:11 and 1 Pet 2:7, where the rejection and the exaltation of the "stone" in Ps 117(118):22 are directly related to Jesus, the Markan tradition relates them to Jesus via the parable of the wicked tenants. Jesus' predictions of his own death and resurrection found elsewhere in Mark's gospel conform to the prophecy of Ps 117(118):22-23 and are echoed in Mark 12:10-11.

4. Mark 12:36

Mark 12:36

αὐτοῦς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ·
εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ
μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς
σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν
σου.

Ps 109(110):1

Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ
μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς
σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν
σου.

a. Text

The verbal agreement between Mark 12:36 and Ps 109(110):1 is extensive. Out of the twenty words which make up Ps 109(110):1, eighteen are found in identical form and order in Mark 12:36. Further, Ps 109(110):1 is introduced in Mark 12:36a with the words αὐτοῦς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, thus clearly marking it as a citation. The following divergences can be noted: Mark omits the definite article before κύριος and substitutes ὑποκάτω for the LXX's ὑποπόδιον. The omission of the definite article before κύριος by Mark perhaps places more emphasis on τῷ κυρίῳ μου (cf. Matt 22:44; Luke 12:36).⁵⁴ In some of the manuscripts, the use of the LXX's ὑποπόδιον in the Markan text is attested (cf. Luke 20:43).⁵⁵ Bruce M. Metzger assigns a "c" rating to the Markan's ὑποκάτω: it is difficult to decide whether "the text or the apparatus contains the superior reading."⁵⁶ Since the LXX's

⁵⁴ Cf. Gundry, Mark, 718.

⁵⁵ ὑποπόδιον in A K L Δ Θ Π Ψ 092b f₁ f¹³.

⁵⁶ Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (2nd ed.; New York: The United Bible Societies, 1975), 111 n. xxviii.

ὑποπόδιον occurs in the psalm citation quoted in Luke 20:43 and Acts 2:35, "copyists," Metzger says, "would have tended to replace Mark's modification with the 'correct' reading."⁵⁷ Krister Stendahl and Robert H. Gundry assert that Mark's ὑποκάτω shows septuagintal influence from Ps 8:7 where in the LXX text ὑποκάτω occurs.⁵⁸ But neither of them suggests why Mark would borrow ὑποκάτω from Ps 8:7. On the other hand, David S. New draws attention to the author of Hebrews who at least follows a consistent pattern in using the words ὑποκάτω and ὑποπόδιον: wherever the word ἐχθρός (Heb 1:13) or ἐχθροί (10:13) occurs, which is an indication that the reference is to Ps 109(110):1, ὑποπόδιον is used; where there is no mention of "enemies," suggesting that the reference is to Ps 8:7, ὑποκάτω is used (Heb 2:8).⁵⁹

Rudolf Pesch attributes Mark's use of ὑποκάτω to the influence of the Son of Man christology implied in Ps 8:7.⁶⁰ He claims that a mixture of these two citations (Ps 110:1 and Ps 8:7) does not occur elsewhere in early Christian writings. Psalms 110 and 8 are elsewhere cited distinctively: 1 Cor 15:25 (Ps 110:1); 1 Cor 15:27 (Ps 8:7), which both have ὑπο τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ; similarly Eph 1:22 (Ps 8:7); Heb 2:8 (Ps

⁵⁷ Metzger, Textual Commentary, 111.

⁵⁸ Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 78; Robert H. Gundry claims that the citations from Psalms 110 and 8 in 1 Cor 15:25, 27 and Heb 1:3, 13; 8:1, 10, 12 exemplify the "freedom with which the similar expressions in Psalms 110 and 8 are changed" (Use of the Old Testament, 25); Cf. Hay, Glory at the Right Hand, 35-36.

⁵⁹ New, Old Testament Quotations, 41 n. 3.

⁶⁰ Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:254.

8:7): ὑποκάτω; Heb 10:13 (Ps 110:1): ὑποπόδιον; Acts 2:35 (Ps 110:1): ὑποπόδιον; *Barn.* 12:10 (Ps 110:1): ὑποπόδιον. Based on his observations concerning the citations from Psalms 110 and 8 in early Christian writings, Pesch concludes that Mark's use of ὑποκάτω does not follow a traditional citing of the Scripture in the early Church and that Mark intends to relate the Davidic sonship of the Messiah whom David calls "Lord" to "Son of Man" Christology by using ὑποκάτω taken from Ps 8:7.⁶¹

In my opinion, ὑποκάτω instead of the LXX's ὑποπόδιον seems to suggest that Mark (or the pre-Markan tradition) introduced the word from Ps 8:7 by mistake, probably quoting from memory, without meaning anything significant by the change. Although Mark's use of ὑποκάτω is found in Ps 8:4, it is not clear that Mark intends to introduce the Son of Man Christology into the discussion of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah in Mark 12:35-37. The narrative text of Mark 12:35-37 is based not on Son of Man Christology but on the Davidic sonship of the Messiah. However, Mark does reflect Son of Man Christology in a different context, namely, Jesus' reply to the high priest's question, where Jesus alludes to Dan 7:13 and Ps 109(110):1 (Mark 14:62).

In Mark 12:36a, the citation from Ps 109(110):1 is introduced by αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, which clearly mark Ps 109(110):1 as a quotation. The introductory statement in Mark 12:36a not only suggests David as the author of Psalm

⁶¹ Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:254.

110 as do Matt 22:43 and Luke 20:42, but also refers to David as an inspired prophet (cf. Acts 2:20-31) with the expression ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ. For Fritz Neugebauer and Pesch, the expression ἐν πνεύματι is an "apocalyptische Formel": in Rev 1:10; 4:2; 21:10; cf. Ezek 11:24; 37:1, the expression ἐν πνεύματι is used of a revelatory experience and it designates something like "ecstasy"; its usage in Mark 12:36a and Matt 22:43 suggests that the ecstatic David repeats "in the Spirit" a heavenly happening in which he hears what the Lord says to "his Lord."⁶² Thus, the expression ἐν πνεύματι emphasizes not only the validity of Scripture in general as being inspired by the Spirit, but refers to a special revelation received by David and expressed in the text.⁶³ On the other hand, Gerhard Schneider claims that the expression "in the Spirit" in the introductory statement in Mark 12:36a would simply suggest the citation from Ps 109(110):1 as a prophetic word. He says, "Der Psalm wird als von David gesprochen verstanden. David hat 'im heiligen Geist,' d. h. prophetisch und gültig, den künftigen Heilskönig als den 'Herrn' Davids bezeichnet."⁶⁴ Psalm 110 itself begins with the prophetic formula נאם יהוה, a formula usually found at the end of a prophetic speech (Amos 2:11; 4:6; Joel 2:32; Isa 16:13; Jer 31:34), denoting divine

⁶² Fritz Neugebauer, "Die Davidssohnfrage (Mark xii.35-7 Parr.) und der Menschensohn," *NTS* 21 (1974-75): 89; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:253; Jack D. Kingsbury rejects the idea that the expression "in the Holy Spirit" indicates an ecstatic visionary experience of David in heaven, because Mark does not elsewhere present any event that takes place in heaven (*The Christology of Mark's Gospel* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 109-10 n. 185).

⁶³ Cf. Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:253.

⁶⁴ Gerhard Schneider, "Der Davidssohnfrage (Mk 12,35-37)," *Bib* 53 (1972): 83.

inspiration.⁶⁵ However, the prophetic formula is lacking in the LXX psalm text.

b. Context

The debate over the Davidic sonship of the Messiah (Mark 12:35-37) begins after Jesus has silenced all who questioned him (the question about tax, Mark 12:13-17; the question about the resurrection, 12:18-27; the question about the law, 12:28-34). Jesus now poses a question himself. The immediate context suggests that the question is addressed to the scribes mentioned in Mark 12:28 (cf. Luke 20:39), whereas in Matt 22:41-46, it is addressed to the Pharisees and concerns their teaching. In Mark, Jesus' question is presented as part of his teaching to the crowds as well (cf. Mark 12:12). In Mark 8:27, Jesus asked his disciples how he was viewed by others and then how they viewed him (8:29). They replied to the latter question that they believed him to be the Messiah (8:29b). Now the question Jesus asks in Mark 12:35-37 also pertains to contemporary notions about the nature of messiahship.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 348.

⁶⁶ Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:251. The pericope (Mark 12:35-37) seems to reflect a typical form in Jewish *Haggada* in which one scriptural passage is contrasted with another; e.g., in *b. Nid.* 69-71, certain rabbis put three questions of *haggada*, with no bearing on the law. These questions are about apparent contradictions between different verses from Scripture. For instance, Ezek 18:32, where the Lord says, "For I have no pleasure in the death of anyone," seems to conflict with the will of the Lord in 1 Sam 2:25, "for it was the will of the Lord to kill them [the sons of Eli]"; or Ps 132:13, "For the Lord has chosen Zion," contradicts Jer 32:31, "This city [Zion] has aroused my anger and wrath, from the day it was built until this day." Cf. Daube, New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, 159-60. But in Mark 12:35-37 a scriptural passage (Ps 110:1) is cited in opposition to an opinion that could be derived from the influence of various scriptural passages (e.g., Isa 11:1, 10; Jer 23:5) where the Messiah is expected to come from the line of David. Hence, the pericope in question is like haggadic disputation. It is a monologue which begins with a question, "how (πῶς) can the scribes say the Messiah is the Son of David?" (Mark 12:35b) and ends with a question, "so how (πῶθεν) can he [the Messiah] be his [David's] Son?" (v. 37). The citation from Ps 110:1 is placed between these two questions to ask whether the Messiah can indeed be the "Son of David" (Mark 12:36). Cf. Gnilka, Markus, 2:169.

c. Psalm 110

Psalm 110 bears the superscription "David" in both the MT (לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר) and the LXX (Τῷ Δαυιδ ψαλμὸς) and is considered to be a royal psalm in which the king is the center of attraction.⁶⁷ The psalm begins with a prophetic oracle introduced by a well-known formula, **נאם יְהוָה**.⁶⁸ However, the prophetic formula is lacking in the LXX text. The psalm may be divided into two sections: (i) Psalm 110:1 deals with Yahweh's utterances to the king; and (ii) verses 2-7 expand on the notion that the king is Yahweh's representative among his people.

The psalmist, in the prophetic mode, utters a divine oracle, in which the king is assured of victory over his enemies (Ps 110:1).⁶⁹ Then, the psalmist addresses the king and exhorts him to act in accordance with the divine oracle in which Yahweh has already assured him of victory (Ps 110:2-3). The psalmist talks about the priestly office of the king, which was derived from Melchizedek (Ps 110:4; cf. Gen 14:18). Finally, the psalmist ends with the assurance that Yahweh will fight the battles of his

⁶⁷ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 346.

⁶⁸ Scott R. A. Starbuck views Psalm 110 as "a collection of seven short oracles" which are introduced by the words, **נאם יְהוָה** (Ps 110:1) (Court Oracles in the Psalms: The So-Called Royal Psalms in their Ancient Near Eastern Context [SBLDS 172; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1999], 142-43); Raymond J. Tournay views Psalm 110 as an oracular and messianic psalm (Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms: The Prophetic Liturgy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem [trans. Edward Crowley; JSOTSup 118; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 209).

⁶⁹ David C. Mitchell says that the tone of Psalm 110 is "martial" and assures the king of dominion from Zion over all nations, secured by Yahweh's power (The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms [JSOTSup 252; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 259).

king (Ps 110:5-7).

The text quoted in the Synoptic gospels is taken from Ps 110:1, the prophetic utterance of the exaltation of the king to Yahweh's right hand.⁷⁰ The oracle implies that the king is to do nothing himself; it is the divine power that makes the king's enemies a footstool, a symbol of their subjection to him (cf. Josh 10:24, where Israel's various chiefs put their feet on the necks of the defeated kings). Yahweh will fight battles on behalf of the king and make the king triumphant (Ps 110:6-7).

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 109(110):1

The messianic interpretation of Psalm 110 is not found in Rabbinic literature until the second half of the third century C.E.⁷¹ For instance, in the interpretation of R. Eleazer ben Pedat (ca 270) "the one who sits at the right hand of God" (Ps 110:1a) is identified with the Messiah: "The Holy One, blessed be He, declared: The Messiah will sit, and I will fight the battles."⁷² The manuscript, 11QMelch, describes Melchizedek as God's agent exalted to God's right hand. Joel Marcus claims that the eschatological interpretation of Psalm 110 could probably come from the influence of traditions like that preserved in 11QMelch.⁷³ He points out that 11QMelch describes

⁷⁰ Nowhere is a ruler seated at the right hand of Yahweh, except in Ps 110:1; there are references to the ruler sitting on the throne of Yahweh (1 Chr 29:23; Ps 45:7) (cf. Mitchell, Message of the Psalter, 259; Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 347-48).

⁷¹ Hay, Glory at the Right Hand, 28.

⁷² William G. Braude, The Midrash on Psalms (2 vols.; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959), 2:206.

⁷³ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 133.

the themes of Psalm 110 such as Melchizedek's exaltation to God's right hand, divine kingship, victory over enemies, and judgment; hence the Qumran document is influenced by Psalm 110.⁷⁴ However, the scriptural passages quoted in 11QMelch are not from Psalm 110, but from Pss 82:1-2; 7:8-9. Joseph A. Fitzmyer argues that 11QMelch does not show any connection either with Gen 14:18-20 or Psalm 110 where Melchizedek is explicitly mentioned; rather 11QMelch is a *midrash* developed as an independent tradition apart from the OT references to Melchizedek.⁷⁵ Psalms 82 and 7 are quoted in 11QMelch 9-13, where there is no reference to Melchizedek. The author of Hebrews is the one who makes use of Gen 14:18-20 for his exposition on Melchizedek in Heb 7:15-17. Therefore, we are left to conclude that there is no extant evidence for the messianic interpretation of Psalm 110 in the pre-Christian era.

In the Synoptic gospels, the messianic reading of Ps 109(110):1 becomes evident. *Psalm 109(110):1 is placed in the context of a discussion concerning the Messiah (Mark 12:35b) and is used to answer the question whether the Messiah is David's son (Mark 12:37); in this context Ps 110:1 is perceived to have predicted the status of the Messiah.* The opinion of the scribes, i.e., the Messiah is a son of David, is contrasted with the declaration of David in Ps 109(110):1 which asserts that David addressed the Messiah as his Lord. The opinion of the scribes represents a prevalent

⁷⁴ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 133.

⁷⁵ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," in Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (ed. Joseph A. Fitzmyer; London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), 254.

idea that the Messiah is a Son of David, derived from the OT (2 Sam 7:12-16; 22:50, 51; Isa 11:10; Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12) in which Yahweh is said to have chosen the descendants of David to rule over Israel.⁷⁶ In the Psalms of Solomon, a work written in the middle of the first century B.C.E., the title "Son of David" is applied to the Messiah (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21). God would raise up for Israel the King, the Son of David, who would not only rule over Israel, but would also cleanse Jerusalem and destroy foreign powers (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21-25); the Messiah would be the King of Israel who is called *χριστὸς κυρίου* (v. 32).⁷⁷ In the Qumran documents, we find further attestation of belief in a Messiah who would be from the line of David.⁷⁸ In 4QpGen^a V, 1-7, the author, commenting on Gen 49:10, speaks of a king from the line of David who would rule over Israel.⁷⁹ In 4QFlor I, 10-13, the commentator speaks about the re-establishment of the throne of the Davidic kingdom: the promise given to David that God would raise up a descendant of David (cf. 2 Sam 7:12-14) is interpreted to refer to the branch of David who would arise as the interpreter of the law and restore the fallen kingdom of David. The scribes in Mark thus hold a popular Jewish view that the Messiah would be the son of David.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:252.

⁷⁷ The Gr. manuscripts, supported by the Syraic, read *χριστὸς κύριος*; Edward Lohse regards the reading *χριστὸς κύριος* as a Christian rendition ("υἱὸς Δαυὶδ," *TDNT* 8:480 n. 12).

⁷⁸ See John M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956): 174-87; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Concept of the Messiah in Second Temple and Rabbinic Literature," *RevExp* 84 (1987): 239.

⁷⁹ Cf. Allegro, "Messianic References," 175.

Unlike Matthew and Luke, Mark begins his gospel not with the genealogy of Jesus, but with an announcement of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God: ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ (Mark 1:1).⁸⁰ On two occasions, Mark does appear to acknowledge the Davidic descent of the Messiah. First, in the story of Jesus' healing of the blind Bartimaeus, Jesus is twice addressed as υἱὲ Δαυὶδ by Bartimaeus (Mark 10:47, 48). Although there is no indication whether Jesus accepted the title "Son of David," Mark seems to retain the Davidic sonship of the Messiah without attributing any special significance to it.⁸¹ Second, at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, the crowd hails Jesus as the one who comes with the "kingdom of David" (Mark 11:10), signifying Jesus as the re-establisher of the Davidic kingdom. In both instances, Mark seems to retain the traditional understanding of the Messiah as coming in the line of David, identifying Jesus with that role. If this is so, then the question of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah in Mark 12:35-37 is not meant to deny the Davidic origin of the Messiah, but to suggest a much higher view of his status as foretold by David in Ps 110:1.⁸² Mark reads Ps 109(110):1 as a scriptural prophecy about the

⁸⁰ The phrase υἱοῦ θεοῦ is missing in some manuscripts, such as $\aleph^* \Theta$ 28; however, the inclusion of the phrase is supported by the manuscripts, B D L W 2427. Robert H. Gundry points out that Mark 1:1 reflects Mark's habitual way of putting parallel expressions side by side without a connecting καί (e.g., Mark 1:32, 35; 4:28; 10:14; 12:23; 13:33; 14:3; 16:2), and the pairing of ὁ χριστὸς and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ in a titular sense at Mark 14:61 favors a titular use of χριστὸς in Mark 1:1 (Mark, 34).

⁸¹ Cf. Lohse, TDNT 8:485.

⁸² Cilliers Breytenbach thinks that Mark uses the psalm of David (Ps 110:1) to show the prediction of Christ's ascension to God's right hand: "Markus kontrastiert nicht vordergründig die Gottessohnschaft Jesu mit seiner behaupteten Davidsohnschaft. Er kontrastiert mittels des Psalmzitates die Behauptung, der Christus sei Davidssohn, mit der in dem Psalm von David mit prophetischer Vollmacht vorausgesagten

higher status of the Messiah, contrasting with the traditional Jewish expectation of the Messiah as the "Son of David." As Evald Lövestam says,

In der Frage Jesu wird vielmehr mit den Worten der Schrift der wirkliche Inhalt der messianischen Erfüllung der Davidsverheissung angedeutet. Ps. 110, 1, auf den Jesus verweist und den er in messianischer Ausdeutung anführt, enthält eine Hoheitsaussage, in der David selbst den Messias seinen Herrn nennt, eine Hoheitsaussage, in der Messias auf eine höhere Ebene gestellt wird als David mit seiner irdisch politischen Herrschaft.⁸³

In the prophetic speech of David in Ps 110:1, the Messiah is understood to be more than the "Son of David" as the scribes held, namely, David's Lord.⁸⁴

The prophetic speech of David in Ps 110:1, indicating that the Messiah will be David's Lord, has also to be understood in light of Jesus' appearance before the Sanhedrin in Mark 14 where Jesus is asked by the high priest whether he is ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ (14:61). Fritz Neugebauer observes that the unanswered question concerning the Davidic descent of the Messiah in Mark 12:37 ("David himself calls him Lord; so how (πῶθεν) can be his son?") is answered in Mark

Machtausübung des zur Rechten Gottes sitzenden Christus" ("Das Markusevangelium, Psalm 110,1 und 118,22f. Folgetext und Prätext," in The Scriptures in the Gospels [ed. C. M. Tuckett; Leuven: University Press, 1997], 208).

⁸³ Evald Lövestam, "Die Davidssohnfrage," SEÅ 27 (1962) 80.

⁸⁴ Donald Juel observes that in Acts 2:33-36, Ps 110:1 becomes part of an argument according to which God's promises to the Messiah to allow him to sit on his throne forever are fulfilled only with the installation of the risen Jesus as both Lord and Messiah in heaven (Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 144); Ben Witherington, III also points out that Jesus, in Mark 12:35-37, is not identified either as David's son or his Lord. Jesus is challenging the inadequacy of viewing the Messiah as a descendant of David (The Christology of Jesus [Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1990], 191).

14:62.⁸⁵ Jesus answers the question posed by the high priest by saying that he is the Messiah, the Son of God; and he goes on to predict his glorious coming in the future as the Son of Man in words drawn from Dan 7:13 and Ps 109(110):1 (Mark 14:62). Jesus' acceptance of his identity as the Messiah, the Son of God, before the Sanhedrin and his prediction of his glorious enthronement on God's right hand at his parousia seem to underline the prediction of David in Psalm 110 quoted in Mark 12:36 that the Messiah will be seated at God's right hand as David's Lord. Therefore, the citation from Psalm 110 in its Markan context (Mark 12:36) is viewed as a prophecy of eschatological events when Jesus will be declared God's Son at his death (15:39) and at his resurrection (cf. Rom 1:4) and will be seen as seated at God's right hand at his parousia (Mark 14:62).

e. Conclusion

The citation from Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:36 is understood as a prophecy about the Messiah's status as David's Lord, a rank that surpasses the opinion of the scribes who conceive the Messiah as the Son of David. In the original context of Psalm 110, the psalmist utters a divine oracle in which the king is assured of victory over his enemies (cf. Ps 110:1). The Markan presentation of Jesus as the Messiah and the Son of God who will be enthroned on God's right hand as David's Lord in his parousia shows that David's prophetic speech in Ps 110:1 is beginning to be fulfilled in Jesus' death (Mark 15:39) and will be completely realized at his parousia (14:62).

⁸⁵ Neugebauer, "Davidssonfrage," 84.

5. Mark 15:34

Mark 15:34

ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθاني;
 ὁ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον·
ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου,
 εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;

Ps 21(22):2a

Ὁ θεός ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι·
 ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;

a. Text

If the extent of verbal correspondence is a valid criterion for determining a quotation, then this conclusion regarding Mark 15:34 and Ps 21(22):2a is called for.

Out of the eleven words found in the psalm parallel, eight appear in identical form and order in Mark 15:34. Therefore, I consider Mark 15:34 as a citation from Ps 21(22):2a.

The cry of Jesus from the cross in the words of Ps 21(22):2a is presented in Mark and Matthew in a transliteration of the Aramaic and in Greek translation (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46). Mark's use of ελωι represents the Aramaic **ܐܠܘܝ** as opposed to Matthew's use of ηλι (MT: **אלי**), which is found in both MT and Targum Onkelos.⁸⁶ It has been repeatedly argued for the originality of the Matthean version against the Markan that Matthew's use of ηλι would have provided the occasion for confusing the cry to God with an appeal to Elijah (**אליה**).⁸⁷ Robert H. Gundry and

⁸⁶ Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 84; Raymond E. Brown, The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1051 n. 55.

⁸⁷ So, e.g. Dalman, Words of Jesus, 53; Max Wilcox, "Semiticisms in the New Testament," ANRW 25.2:1004-1005; Joachim Gnilka, "Mein Gott, mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen? (Mk 15,34 par.)," BZ 3 (1959): 294-95; Joachim Jeremias, "Ηλ(ε)ιας," TDNT 2:935 n. 62.

Douglas J. Moo argue that Matthew's use of $\eta\lambda\iota$ does not rule out an Aramaic original of the source as a whole, because the use of אלהים in Targum Onkelos on Ps 22:2a shows that the Hebrew word for God was used among Aramaic-speaking Jews of that time.⁸⁸ Moo proposes that the misunderstanding of Jesus' cry by the bystanders could be due to the noisy circumstances at the crucifixion; and Mark's use of $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$ could as easily be mistaken for Ἐλειος as $\eta\lambda\iota$.⁸⁹ The misunderstanding of Jesus' cry does not depend exclusively on the semitic form of the divine name: other factors, including the expectation of Elijah in the end-time, the belief in Elijah as helper in need, and the mockery of the bystanders, might have contributed to the apparent misunderstanding.⁹⁰

In comparing the LXX text of Ps 21(22):2a with its use in Mark 15:34, the following divergences can be noted. The LXX text uses the single possessive pronoun ($\mu\omicron\upsilon$), whereas Mark uses the word twice ($\delta\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$). The LXX words $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\chi\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ are missing in Mark's version. The LXX phrase ἵνα τί is replaced by $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}$ in Mark. Both Mark and Matthew omit the LXX words $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\chi\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\iota$, which have no corresponding parallel in the MT.⁹¹ The only major textual variant in Mark's

⁸⁸ Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 64; Moo, Old Testament, 267.

⁸⁹ Moo, Old Testament, 268; For a summary of various solutions proposed for the problem of identification of $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota/\eta\lambda\iota$ with Ἐλειος , see Moo, Old Testament, 268 n. 1.

⁹⁰ Cf. Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1062-1063.

⁹¹ Cf. Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1054.

text is that some of the Western manuscripts, particularly codex D, use ὠνειδισῶς ("reproached me") instead of the LXX's ἐγκατέλιπές ("abandoned me").⁹² Many scholars argue that the use of ὠνειδισῶς in the D text and its allies would have been motivated by a desire to soften the suggestion that God abandoned Jesus on the cross.⁹³ Raymond E. Brown attributes the use of ὠνειδισῶς in the Western text to the Bezae scribe's preference for the word, which is used in the NT writings (Rom 15:3; Heb 13:13; Mark 15:32b; cf. Heb 10:13; 11:26) to narrate the suffering of Christ.⁹⁴

b. Context

The loud cry of Jesus in the words of Ps 21(22):2a occurs at three o'clock in the afternoon after darkness has fallen (Mark 15:33-34). The darkness is not natural, but supernatural. The darkness which surrounds Jesus' death can be explained against the OT background. In the creation account, before God brought light, darkness prevailed over the earth (Gen 1:1-3). In his confrontation with the Egyptians, Moses brought darkness against them as a punishment of God (Exod 10:21-23). In the prophetic tradition, darkness is cited as a sign of God's judgment over his people (Amos 8:9; Joel 2:10; Jer 15:9). Although Mark does not explicitly connect "darkness"

⁹² Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 85-86; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 64-66; Moo, Old Testament, 269-70; Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1055.

⁹³ E.g. Metzger, Textual Commentary, 120; Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 85-86; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 64-66; Moo, Old Testament, 269-70.

⁹⁴ Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1055.

with judgment, he implicitly interprets the crucifixion with his reference to "darkness" as a sign of God's judgment on the world.⁹⁵ Brown thinks that "darkness" in Mark is given by God as a sign of judgment in response to the mockers' demand of a sign that Jesus come down from the cross (Mark 15:32).⁹⁶

The mention of three o'clock in Mark 15:33 may allude to the hour of the afternoon prayer as a customary Jewish practice (cf. Acts 3:1).⁹⁷ The verb βοάω used in Mark 15:34 represents a cry for help (cf. Matt 27:46; Luke 18:7).⁹⁸ The "loud voice" (φωνῆ μεγάλῃ) of Jesus with the words of Ps 21(22):2a also signifies the "loud and urgent cry of prayer."⁹⁹

c. Psalm 22

Psalm 22 is a Davidic psalm as it is attested in the superscription in both the MT (מזמור לדוד) and the LXX (ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ). The psalm also bears the superscription אֱלִית הַשַּׁחַר ("the hind of the dawn"), which the LXX renders as ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως τῆς ἑωθινῆς ("concerning the help of the early morning"). It is a

⁹⁵ Cf. Gnllka, Markus, 2:321; Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1035.

⁹⁶ Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1035-1036.

⁹⁷ Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:494; Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1044 n. 34.

⁹⁸ Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:494; Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1044.

⁹⁹ Cf. Pesch, Markusevangelium, 2:494; Raymond E. Brown not only understands Jesus' loud cry as a sign of desperation, but also as an "apocalyptic sign" concerned with the end-time events in John 5:28; 11:43; 1 Thess 4:16; Rev 10:3; cf. 4 Ezra 13:12-13; Amos 1:2; Joel 4:16; Jer 25:30; Ps 46:7 (Death of the Messiah, 2:1044-1045).

common theme in the OT that God's help comes in the morning (1 Sam 11:9; 2 Chr 20:17; Pss 5:3; 17:15; 45:5; 90:14; 143:8). The superscription implies that God's help is already presupposed for the petitioner of the psalm in his distress.

Psalm 22 may be divided into two major sections: (i) Psalm 22:1-21a consists of lament and petition; and (ii) verses 21b-31 express praise and thanksgiving to Yahweh for his deliverance.¹⁰⁰ The psalm describes the sufferings which the petitioner had experienced, and from which he has been delivered. Although the petitioner begins with his experience of being forsaken by Yahweh (Ps 22:2), he concludes his prayer with praise and thanksgiving to Yahweh for his deliverance (vv. 21b-30), which needs to be told to future generations (v. 31). In the Markan context, Jesus' use of Ps 22:2a in Mark 15:34 reflects his identification with the suffering of the pious individual of Psalm 22.¹⁰¹

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 21(22):2a

Hartmut Gese has argued, on form-critical grounds, that Mark has patterned Jesus' suffering and death after the model of the pious sufferer of Psalm 22: Jesus' citation of Ps 22:2a in Mark 15:34 and his "loud cry" in 15:37 seem to reflect the suffering of the pious individual in Ps 22:1-22; the confession of the centurion in

¹⁰⁰ Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 293.

¹⁰¹ Rudolf Pesch notes that Ps 22:2a is only the "incipit" of Psalm 22, and suggests that Jesus begins to recite the entire psalm (Markusevangelium, 2:494); John H. Reumann thinks that the whole of Psalm 22 was probably in the minds of those who put the psalm words into Jesus' mouth ("Psalm 22 at the Cross: Lament and Thanksgiving for Jesus Christ," Int 28 [1974]: 54).

Mark 15:39 seems to recall the conversion of the Gentiles in Ps 22:28; and the event of the resurrection of the saints in Matt 27:52-53 (the idea of the resurrection of the saints associated with Jesus' death is not found in Mark) echoes the worship offered by the dead in Ps 22:29.¹⁰² Following the lead of Gese, Joel Marcus also understands Jesus' suffering and death in Mark against the background of Psalm 22.¹⁰³ Taking his cue from the Qumran literature, where passages such as 1QH^a V 31 and 4QPs^f 1-2 understand the sufferings described in Psalm 22 as the prelude to the eschatological consummation, Marcus sees in the Markan passion narrative both the suffering of the righteous and the eschatological victory as described in Psalm 22.¹⁰⁴ Like Gese, Marcus notes that Mark follows the pattern of Psalm 22 in structuring the events that follow the passion of Jesus.¹⁰⁵

Gese's form-critical approach and his apocalyptic interpretation of Psalm 22 have been challenged by John H. Reumann and Donald Juel.¹⁰⁶ Reumann does not find any evidence to suggest that the early church composed the passion story of Jesus in the light of its reflection on Psalm 22. For him, Jesus himself thought and expressed

¹⁰² Gese, "Psalm 22," 16-17.

¹⁰³ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 180-82.

¹⁰⁴ Marcus, Way of the Lord, 178-81.

¹⁰⁵ Joel Marcus sees the connection between Psalm 22 and Mark 15-16 in the following ways: Suffering (Ps 22:1-21a; cf. Mark 15:20b-37); Worship of Gentiles (Ps 22:27; cf. Mark 15:39); Kingdom of God (Ps 22:28; cf. Mark 15:39, 43); Resurrection (Ps 22:29; cf. Mark 16:6); and Proclamation to God's People (Ps 22:30-31; cf. Mark 16:7) (Way of the Lord, 182).

¹⁰⁶ Reumann, "Psalm 22 at the Cross," 58; Juel, Messianic Exegesis, 100-01.

himself in the words of Psalm 22 in "typical *klagelied* piety."¹⁰⁷ Reumann finds apocalyptic elements in Jesus' death as proposed by Gese; these fit Matthew's interpretation of Jesus' death (Matt 27:51-54) rather than that in Mark because Matthew more clearly demonstrates an apocalyptic outlook on Jesus' death.¹⁰⁸ Juel, on the other hand, criticizes Gese's theory on two grounds. First, Donald Juel argues that Jewish exegesis of the psalms does not follow the form-critical approach proposed by Gese. For instance, in the Midrash on Psalm 22, Psalm 22 is applied line by line to Esther's story.¹⁰⁹ For Juel, early Christian interpretation, like Jewish exegesis, was based on the actual wording of the Scripture, rather than on a modern biblical approach such as that proposed by Gese.¹¹⁰ Second, Gese's interpretation of Jesus' suffering as paradigmatic of the suffering of the righteous does not fit Mark's story of Jesus as a righteous sufferer; rather Jesus in Mark is viewed as "the King of the Jews" (Mark 15:26). As Donald Juel says,

In all four Gospels, at least one allusion to Psalm 22 is part of the story of the crucifixion of the King of the Jews. The irreducible historicity of the title renders unsatisfactory any explanations of the history of tradition that view the royal imagery as somehow derivative from earlier conceptions. It is difficult to understand how the story of a paradigmatic 'righteous sufferer' could have been transformed into an account of the death of the King of the Jews and Christ, the King of Israel. It is conceivable, however, that material from the psalms could

¹⁰⁷ Reumann, "Psalm 22 at the Cross," 58

¹⁰⁸ Reumann, "Psalm 22 at the Cross," 58.

¹⁰⁹ Juel, Messianic Exegesis, 100.

¹¹⁰ Juel, Messianic Exegesis, 100-01.

have been employed to tell the story of the King.¹¹¹

For Juel, Mark applied Psalm 22 to Jesus' suffering not to tell the story of the "righteous sufferer" as set forth by Gese, but to narrate the story of the King, the Messiah.

The presentation of Jesus as the suffering Messiah clearly occurs in Mark's gospel. Throughout his gospel, Mark is bent on defining a right understanding of Jesus as the Christ, as the opening statement of his gospel suggests (Mark 1:1). Following Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah, Mark reports Jesus' prediction of his suffering, death, and resurrection (8:29, 31-32), which implies that Mark is trying to relate Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah to the suffering and resurrection of Jesus. In the parable of the wicked tenants, Jesus hinted at his own rejection and exaltation in words drawn from Ps 117(118):22-23 (cf. Mark 12:10-11). The question of Pilate, "Are you the King of the Jews?" (Mark 15:2), the mocking of Jesus as a king by the Roman soldiers, saluting him, "Hail, King of the Jews" (15:16-20), and the statement that "the inscription of the charge against him was posted: the King of the Jews" (15:26): these three elements are aimed at making sense of Jesus' death as the predetermined suffering of the Messiah.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Juel, Messianic Exegesis, 103; like Donald Juel, Martin Hengel rejects the idea of the "righteous sufferer" to interpret the suffering of Jesus on the basis of Psalm 22. For Hengel, Psalm 22 is a messianic psalm and Mark uses it to speak of the suffering Messiah (The Atonement: A Study of the Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament [trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 1981], 40-41).

¹¹² Cf. Adela Y. Collins, "The Appropriation of the Psalms of Individual Lament by Mark," in The Scriptures in the Gospels (ed. C. M. Tuckett; Leuven: University Press, 1997), 231-32.

It is supremely in the context of the passion narrative that Mark presents Jesus as the suffering Messiah. *Because the words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34 are used by the suffering Jesus, they are seen as a messianic cry. And Mark seems to understand the cry of Jesus in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a as a messianic cry foretold in the Scripture (Mark 15:34).*

Mark seems to present Jesus' cry of abandonment as a culmination of Jesus' experience of the absence of God as disclosed in the Scripture.¹¹³ Throughout his passion, Jesus experiences loneliness and rejection. During the agony in the garden of Gethsemane, Jesus prays alone while his disciples sleep (Mark 14:35-37). Then, at the time of Jesus' arrest, his disciples abandon him (14:50). Peter denies Jesus publicly (14:66-72). The crowd rejects Jesus and wants him to be crucified (15:13-14). On the cross Jesus is derided by the crowd and by those crucified with him (15:29-32). At the hour of his death, Jesus cries in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34). *Thus, the cry of abandonment, which is drawn from Ps 22:2a, in its Markan context expresses Jesus' ultimate experience of the absence of God, in accordance with the Scripture.*

e. Conclusion

Mark presents Jesus' cry on the cross, in Mark 15:34, as a messianic cry, expressing Jesus' experience of the absence of God as prophetically spoken by David

¹¹³ Cf. Gérard Rossé, The Cry of Jesus on the Cross: A Biblical and Theological Study (trans. Stephen W. Arndt; New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 60-71.

in Ps 21(22):2a. In the original context of Psalm 22, the petitioner experiences God's abandonment (cf. Ps 22:2a). But the use of Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34 shows that Jesus, who is presented as uttering the prophetic words of David, suffers as the Messiah, the King of the Jews.

6. Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn from the study of psalm citations in Mark's gospel:

1. Mark uses four psalm citations in his gospel: Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10; Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11; Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:36; and Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34. Mark uses these psalm citations to present elements of the story of Jesus as foretold in the Scripture.
2. Mark's use of Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10, in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, shows that Jesus arrives in Jerusalem in accordance with the prophetic word of Ps 117(118):26a. Psalm 118:26a, in its original context, is applied to the pilgrims who enter the Temple. But in the Markan context, the psalm has been used to welcome Jesus on his entrance into Jerusalem, an arrival that is shown to be in fulfillment of the Scripture. However, Mark leaves the crowd's expectation of Jesus as the bringer of the kingdom of David unfulfilled, because Mark does not develop the Davidic kingdom motif in his gospel.
3. Psalm 117(118):22-23, quoted in Mark 12:10-11, is read by Mark as an implicit prophecy about Jesus' death and his subsequent vindication. Through the parable of the wicked tenants (Mark 12:1-9), the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23, which, in its original context, is applied to the petitioner who has been thrown to death and rescued by an act of Yahweh, is understood to have predicted Jesus' death and resurrection (cf. Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:7).

4. The citation from Ps 109(110):1 is understood by Mark in Mark 12:36 as a prophecy about the status of the Messiah as David's Lord. In its original context, Psalm 110 is considered to be a divine oracle in which the king is seen to be seated at the right hand of Yahweh and is assured of victory over his enemies (cf. Ps 110:1). But in the Markan context (Mark 12:35-37), Ps 109(110):1 is interpreted as a prediction of the status of the Messiah who will be enthroned on God's right hand as David's Lord. Mark presents David as a spirit-filled person who was able to foresee the exaltation of the Messiah. Mark shows that the prophetic speech of David in Ps 109(110):1 is beginning to be fulfilled in Jesus who will be confessed as "the Son of God" at his death (Mark 15:39); and it will be fully realized at his parousia (14:62).
5. Mark presents Jesus' experience of God's abandonment on the cross (Mark 15:34) as being in accordance with Ps 21(22):2a. Psalm 22:2a, in its original context, represents the suffering of the innocent who experiences Yahweh's abandonment. But in the Markan context, it is applied to Jesus who experiences God's abandonment as the suffering Messiah, the King. Thus Jesus' experience of God's abandonment is thought to be in accordance with the prophetic word (Ps 21(22):2a; cf. Mark 15:34).

CHAPTER 4

PSALM CITATIONS IN MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I presented how Mark read the Psalms as prophecy. In this chapter I turn to Matthew. "Quotations and allusions to Old Testament passages are even more prominent in Matthew than they are in the other three gospels," says Graham N. Stanton.¹ Moreover, the formula used to introduce the OT quotations contains phraseology not found elsewhere in the other three gospels.² The citations from the Psalms in Matthew are usually shared either with Mark (Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34 and Matt 27:46), or Luke (Ps 90(91):11 in Luke 4:10 and Matt 4:6; Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 13:35b and Matt 23:3b), or both (Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10, Matt 21:9, and Luke 19:38; Ps 117(118):22-23 in Mark 12:10-11, Matt 21:42, and Luke 20:17; Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:36, Matt 22:43-44, and Luke 20:42-43). Three citations are found only in Matthew (Matt 7:23b, 13:35, and 21:6, citing

¹ Graham N. Stanton, A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 342.

² The designation "formula quotation" is usually applied to those Matthean OT quotations that (1) include the introductory formula (ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λεγοντος); (2) are statements of the narrator; and (3) include explicit quotation from the OT. The texts that fit these criteria are: Matt 1:22-23; 2:15; 2:17-18; 2:23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:35; 21:4-5; and 27:9-10. The citation in Matt 2:5-6 is tantalizingly close but does not include a statement of the narrator nor does it have the standard introductory fulfillment formula. Matt 26:54, 56 emphasize fulfillment but do not meet the other two criteria. For a summary of scholarly discussion of Matthew's formula quotations, see Donald P. Senior, "The Lure of the Formula Quotations: Re-Assessing Matthew's Use of the Old Testament within the Passion Narrative as a Test Case," in The Scriptures in the Gospels (ed. C. M. Tuckett; Leuven: University Press, 1997), 89-115, esp. p(p). 90-103.

Pss 6:9a, 77(78):2, and 8:3a respectively). In the discussion that follows, direct citations from the Psalms used in Matthew will be dealt with in the order in which they occur in the gospel.

2. Matthew 4:6

Matt 4:6

γέγραπται γάρ
ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ
ἐντελείται περὶ σοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν
ἀροῦσίν σε, μήποτε προσκώψης
πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

Ps 90(91):11-12

ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ
ἐντελείται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε
ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου· ἐπὶ χειρῶν
ἀροῦσίν σε, μήποτε προσκώψης
πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

a. Text

The passage in Matt 4:6 is introduced by the words γέγραπται γάρ, which clearly suggest that Matthew is quoting from the Scripture. Matthew uses the word γέγραπται to introduce citations from the Law (Deut 8:3 in Matt 4:4; Deut 6:16 in Matt 4:7; Deut 6:13 in Matt 4:10); the Prophets (Isa 56:7 in Matt 21:13; Zech 13:7 in Matt 26:31); and the Psalms (Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6). It is commonly used to introduce quotations from Scripture in the other parts of the NT (e.g., Ps 68(69):29 in Acts 1:20; Exod 22:27 in Acts 23:5; Lev 19:18 in Rom 12:19; Isa 29:14 in 1 Cor 1:19; Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10).

What is remarkable is the extent to which the passage in Matt 4:6 is identical to the LXX wording found in Ps 90(91):11-12.³ Of the twenty-six words which make up Ps 90(91):11-12, eighteen are found in identical form and order in Matt 4:6. However, Matthew has omitted part of the psalm text: τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν

³ Cf. New, Old Testament Quotations, 56; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 68.

πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου.⁴ His omission of this part of the text requires the addition of καί, linking the first verse of the citation to the second. His omission may be explained in light of his focus in the context. As David S. New says,

Here the devil challenges Jesus to leap from the pinnacle of the temple. The second verse cited, ἐπὶ χειρῶν . . . τὸν πῶδα σου, specifically covers protection from an incident such as that specified in the challenge. Therefore, it is only necessary to cite that part of the OT which mentions God commanding his angels to offer protection.⁵

In Ps 90(91):11b, the divine protection is given to the righteous in all their ways, whereas in Matthew the devil wants Jesus to test divine protection in a specific situation: would the angels bear him up if he leaped from the pinnacle of the temple?

b. Context

The citation from Ps 90(91):11-12 occurs in the context of the second temptation in Matt 4:5-6, whereas in Luke 4:9-11 it is part of the third and final temptation. After the devil has failed in his first attempt to make Jesus perform a miracle which would satisfy his hunger (Matt 4:3-4), he takes him to the "holy city" (Isa 48:2; 52:1; Neh 11:1; 2 Macc 3:1; *Pss. Sol.* 6:4). The temple in the "holy city" is considered to be the place where God resides (Deut 12:18, 21; 16:2; cf. 11QT^a XLVII, 10-17) and where divine protection is given to his people (cf. *Pss* 17:8; 57:2; 61:5;

⁴ Luke quotes, in agreement with the LXX, τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε (Luke 4:10); cf. William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1988-1997), 1:366.

⁵ New, Old Testament Quotations, 56; Cf. Joachim Gnilka, Das Matthäusevangelium (HTKNT; 2 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1986-1988), 1:88.

91:1-4).⁶ The choice of the place seems to be most appropriate for putting Jesus to the test. The devil not only takes Jesus to the temple in the "holy city" but to the "pinnacle" (περῦγιον) of the temple (Matt 4:5b). The Greek word περῦγιον is used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew כנף, and here means "wing" or "balcony" of the temple. Davies and Allison think that περῦγιον is the pinnacle of the στοᾶ βασιλική which lies south of the outer court or a balcony in the temple wall.⁷ Gerhardsson also claims that περῦγιον is the "wing" of the temple, which is alluded to in Ps 90(91):4 (πτέρυγας).⁸ The holy city was located in the highlands of Israel, with Mount Zion and the temple as its most imposing location. Jerusalem was considered the "center of the nations, with lands around her," the "center of the world" whose inhabitants "dwell at the center of the earth" (Ezek 5:4; 38:12; *Jub.* 8:12, 19; *I En.* 26:1; *Sib. Or.* 5:250). Thus when Jesus stood on the pinnacle of the temple, he was standing at the center of the world.⁹

⁶ Cf. Birger Gerhardsson, The Testing of God's Son (Matt 4:1-11 & Par): An Analysis of an Early Christian Midrash (trans. J. Toy; Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 56-58.

⁷ Davies and Allison, Matthew, 1:365.

⁸ Gerhardsson, Testing of God's Son, 59. Josephus speaks of the "Royal Portico" as the highest point: "the height of the portico standing over it was so very great that if anyone looked down from its rooftop, combining the two elevations, he would become dizzy and his vision would be unable to reach the end of so measureless a depth" (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.412).

⁹ Cf. Davies and Allison relate a rabbinic tradition (*b. Qidd.* 69a) that the temple was the highest point on earth (Matthew, 1:365). Also see Terence L. Donaldson, Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology (JSNTSup 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985), 56-61; Gerhardsson, Testing of God's Son, 59.

c. Psalm 91

Psalm 91 has no superscription in the MT, but the LXX supplies a heading referring to David: Αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ ("Praise of a song, by David").¹⁰ The LXX text has recognized Psalm 91 as a Davidic psalm. Psalm 91 may be divided into two sections: (i) Psalm 91:1-13 deals with Yahweh's protection from different forms of peril and threats to life; and (ii) verses 14-16 consist of a divine promise, with Yahweh as the speaker. Psalm 91 both informs of and promises Yahweh's protection.¹¹ In Psalm 91, the pious are assured of protection from "the snare of the fowler," "the deadly pestilence," "the terror of the night," and "the arrow that flies by day" (vv. 3, 5). Yahweh sends his angels to guard the pious in all their ways (vv. 11-12) so that they overcome all dangers that await them (Ps 91:14-16; cf. Ps 34:7; Isa 63:9).¹² The quoted text in Matt 4:6 and Luke 4:10-11 comes from Ps 90(91):11-12,

¹⁰ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations (The Forms of the Old Testament Literature Vol. XV; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 164.

¹¹ In Rabbinical literature, Psalm 91 is called "A Song against evil occurrences" (*b. Sebu*. 1:5) and its use is intended for the purpose of driving away evil spirits. Some fragmentary texts of apocryphal psalms (11QPsAp^a) found at Qumran also contain Psalm 91. Émile Puech points out that these texts were used for the purpose of preventing demon possession and for exorcisms ("11QPsAp^a: Un rituel d'exorcismes: Essai de Reconstruction," RevQ 14 [1990]: 377-408, esp(p). 378-81, 403; "Les deux derniers Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme, 11QPsAp^a IV 4-V 14," in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years of Research [eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992], 64-89, esp(p). 75-78). Mowinckel understands Psalm 91 as part of an entrance liturgy (cf. Psalms 15 and 24) and sees the psalm as addressed to those admitted into the temple: "In Psalm 91 the priest promises the protection of Yahweh to a person, which by means of a great many concrete features pictures the security of being sheltered by Yahweh and all the good things enjoyed by such a blessed man" (Psalms, 2:50-51). Scott R. A. Starbuck argues that Psalm 91 is an oracular psalm, which utilizes court-styled language that can be compared to Egyptian oracular texts (Court Oracles in the Psalms, 204).

¹² Cf. Kraus, Psalms 60-150, 224.

which promise angelic protection to those who have trusted in Yahweh.

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 90(91):11-12

In the original context of Psalm 91, Yahweh's protection is assured to a righteous person, whereas in the temptation narrative in Matt 4:6, Ps 90(91):11-12 is applied to Jesus in order to test whether Jesus is the "Son of God." In the first two temptations, the devil poses tests to prove whether or not Jesus is the "Son of God" (Matt 4:3, 6). As Birger Gerhardsson says, "That which is to be put to the test is precisely Jesus' sonship: the term *Son of God* is the key term in the narrative."¹³

In the Old Testament, the anointed king (הַמְשִׁיחַ) is designated as God's Son (2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7; 89:26-27). In the Qumran literature, especially in 4QFlor I, 10-13, the prophecy of Nathan in 2 Sam 7:14 may have been applied to the Davidic Messiah. However, Joseph A. Fitzmyer argues that Psalm 2 refers to the historic king as God's Son, but not necessarily the "messianic king" who would rule in the future; and the text in 4QFlor II, 18-19 does not use the word *māšīaḥ* of the king, though the text includes a *midrash* on the opening verses of Psalms 1 and 2. Further, Fitzmyer shows that the titles "Son of God" and "Son of Most High" occur together in an Aramaic text (4Q246 II, 1: "He shall be called (as) son of God, and they shall call him son of the Most High").¹⁴ But they are not predicated of anyone explicitly called "Messiah." The

¹³ Gerhardsson, Testing of God's Son, 20.

¹⁴ The English translation of 4Q246 II, 1 is from Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "4Q246: The 'Son of God' Document from Qumran," Bib 74 (1993): 157.

text might refer to the son of some Jewish king or ruler.¹⁵ On the other hand, John J. Collins argues that, although in the context of the OT, 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 refer to the historical Davidic kings, the title "Messiah" is applicable to any anointed king, including a Davidic Messiah in an eschatological or apocalyptic context. Further, Collins points out that the Qumran text (4QFlor I, 10-12), commenting on 2 Sam 7:14, clearly identifies the Branch of David as the Son of God.¹⁶ Perhaps, then, there were Jews who expected a descendant of David to rule in the future as God's anointed (Messiah), and who would also be known as God's Son (cf. 2(4) Esdr 7:28-29; 2(5) Esdr 2:47). Although Jesus is not openly referred to as the Messiah in the temptation narrative, there seems to be an underlying implication in Matthew that the Messiah is also known as the "Son of God." Matthew identifies the Messiah with the "Son of God" in several places, such as Peter's confession in Caesarea Philippi and the high priest's question at Jesus' trial (Matt 16:16; 26:63; cf. Luke 4:41; John 1:49; 11:27; 20:31). Thus, it is implicit in the first two temptations in Matthew that Jesus is tempted as the Messiah, the Son of God.¹⁷ It is in the light of this possible identification of the Messiah as "Son of God" that we have to look at the temptation

¹⁵ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX) (AB 28; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), 206-07; "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," NTS 20 (1973-74): 382-404, esp. p(p). 393-94; "4Q246: The 'Son of God' Document," 153-74.

¹⁶ John J. Collins, The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 163-64.

¹⁷ John T. Fitzgerald suggests that by the time Matthew writes, the terms the "Messiah" and the "Son of God" have become equivalent in Christian interpretation ("The Temptation of Jesus: The Testing of the Messiah in Matthew," ResQ 15 [1972]: 155).

narrative.

In the first temptation (Matt 4:3-4), the devil tempts Jesus to perform a messianic sign by providing food; the messianic age was to be marked by the miraculous abundance of material food.¹⁸ In the second temptation (Matt 4:5-7), the devil asks Jesus to put God to the test because divine protection, promised in Psalm 91, will be available to Jesus if he is indeed the "Son of God." As Evald Lövestam says,

It is clear that the introductory 'If you are the Son of God' refers here to the extraordinary power and divine possibilities belonging to Jesus as the Son of God. The position is the same with regard to the address in question in the temptation on the pinnacle of the temple (Matt. 4:5-7; Luke 4:9-11), when Jesus is being reminded of Ps. 91:11f., which is here clearly messianically conceived.¹⁹

The devil is demanding a spectacular miracle which would prove Jesus' messiahship: "If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down" (Matt 4:6). The devil then quotes Ps 90(91):11-12 as a messianic prophecy about divine protection available to Jesus as *the Son of God*.²⁰ As we have seen earlier, Psalm 91, in its original

¹⁸ Cf. Thomas W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke arranged with Introduction and Commentary (repr.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1957), 43. Note that John suggests that the crowd intended to make Jesus king after he performed the miracle of feeding the five thousand (John 6:15).

¹⁹ Evald Lövestam, Son and Saviour: A Study of Acts 13,32-37. With an Appendix: 'Son of God' in the Synoptic Gospels (trans. Micahel J. Petry; ConBNT XVIII; Lund: Gleerup, 1961), 99.

²⁰ William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., reject any messianic interpretation of Psalm 91 because it was not interpreted messianically in Judaism (Matthew, 1:367); also Joachim Gnilka does not attribute any messianic quality to the temptation in the temple because Jesus is not expected to reveal himself as Messiah in the "holy city" in a spectacular way nor would such a revelation identify him as the priestly Messiah (Matthäusevangelium, 1:89). Note that just because Psalm 91 was not read messianically in Judaism, it does not mean that it cannot be read messianically in Christian tradition. What is at issue in the

context, speaks of divine protection given to the pious one. *But the application of Ps 90(91):11-12 in the context of the temptation narrative in Matt 4:6 to Jesus as "Son of God" indicates that the devil does not see Jesus merely as a pious individual, but as the Son of God (the Messiah in an implicit way) about whom the psalmist is presumed to be speaking prophetically.*²¹

Jesus' refusal to yield to the demands of the devil and, more particularly, to put to the test the divine assurance given in Ps 90(91):11-12 does not, for Matthew, nullify the validity of the "prophetic" reading of the verses. According to Matthew, Jesus did enjoy the angelic protection promised in Psalm 91 throughout his ministry: after the temptation, the angels came and ministered to him (Matt 4:11; cf. Mark 1:13); at the time of his arrest, Jesus tells his disciples that he has power to command more than twelve legions of angels to save him (Matt 26:53). Thus, Matthew indirectly shows the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12, understood prophetically, in the life of Jesus. His refusal to tempt God thus does not mean that he does not enjoy God's promised protection.

Jesus meets the temptation of the devil with a quotation from Deut 6:16, a text that insists that God should not be put to the test in the way that Israel tested God at

temptation narrative is divine protection as prophesied in Psalm 91. The devil demands whether Jesus could fulfill the promise of Psalm 91 in a spectacular way *as the Son of God*.

²¹ William R. Stegner notes that the devil quotes Psalm 91 with an inference that the psalmist was indeed speaking of Jesus ("The Use of Scripture in Two Narratives of Early Jewish Christianity (Matthew 4:1-11; Mark 9:2-8)," in Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals [eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 103).

Massah (Exod 17:7). Jesus' rejection of the demand of the devil that he fall from the pinnacle of the temple shows that Jesus would not force God to act as Israel had done at Massah; rather he would act in complete obedience to God.²² As Birger Gerhardsson says, "The Son of God has not set his mind on 'preserving his soul' at all cost. He is ready to love God 'even if God takes his soul.' He does not regard the privileges of sonship as a thing to be grasped and held on to at all costs, but is ready to empty himself in the service of God."²³ Jesus would exercise his power in obedience to God.

Matthew thus uses Ps 90(91):11-12 in the temptation narrative to show that divine protection is available to Jesus as *the Son of God* whose divine protection had already been foretold in Psalm 91. The fulfillment of the prediction is indirectly hinted at in Matt 4:11 and 26:53. But the promise is not to be exploited in an act of disobedience to God.

e. Conclusion

In the original context of Psalm 91, the pious are assured of Yahweh's protection (cf. Ps 91:11-21). But Matthew understands Ps 90(91):11-12 as a messianic prophecy of divine protection for Jesus as *the Son of God* (Matt 4:6). Although

²² The mockery scene at Jesus' crucifixion provides a further clue to Jesus' refusal to yield to the temptation of the devil. The mockers twice demand that Jesus save himself from the cross if he is the Son of God: "Save yourself! If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross" (Matt 27:40); "he trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he wants to; for he said, 'I am God's Son'" (v. 43; cf. Ps 34:8). Jesus did not meet the demands of the mockers; rather he sacrificed his life and died on the cross as God's obedient Son (Matt 27:54); cf. Wilhelm Wilkens, "Die Versuchung Jesus nach Matthäus," *NTS* 28 (1982): 484-85.

²³ Gerhardsson, *Testing of God's Son*, 77; cf. Lövestam, *Son and Saviour*, 101.

Matthew presents Jesus as not yielding to the demands of the devil, he does show in Matt 4:11 that Jesus experiences the promised divine protection. Jesus would not, however, force the hand of God to protect him at the demands of the devil.

3. Matthew 7:23b

Matt 7:23b

ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

Ps 6:9a

ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, πάντες
οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν,

a. Text

The primary question to be asked is whether the verbal parallel is sufficiently extensive and notable to suggest dependence. Of the eight words that make up Ps 6:9a, six are found in identical form and order in Matt 7:23b. Therefore, I consider Matt 7:23b to be a quotation from Ps 6:9a.²⁴ The following divergences can be noted: Matthew omits πάντες from the LXX text, because he has already used πᾶς in Matt 7:21.²⁵ The command ἀποχωρεῖτε in Matt 7:23b does not follow the LXX text. What seems to be important to Matthew is the LXX phrase οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.²⁶ The word ἀνομίαν appears four times in Matthew (Matt 7:23; 13:41; 23:28; 24:12) and is never used in other gospels. In Matt 7:23b, "false prophets" (cf. 7:22) are said to be rejected at the final judgment because of their "lawlessness" (cf.

²⁴ In the Lukan parallel to Matt 7:23b (cf. Luke 13:27b), only four words are identical to those in the psalm text. Since in this study the criterion for a citation is five words showing verbal agreement, I do not treat Luke 13:27b as a quotation.

²⁵ See Robert H. Gundry, Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 132; L Θ f¹³, 1424 al b vg⁸ add πάντες in Matt 7:23.

²⁶ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 132.

13:41).²⁷

b. Context

Matthew 7:21-23, which is part of the sermon on the mount, is addressed to Matthew's community. They are warned of "false prophets" who come as wolves in sheep's clothing (7:15-20).²⁸ They call on the name of the Lord and appear to prophesy and perform many mighty deeds (v. 22). Matthew is not criticizing either their mighty acts or their invocation of the name of the Lord, but he does insist that those who call Jesus "Lord" must do the will of his heavenly Father (v. 21).²⁹ Still, as Robert A. Guelich says, "Matthew offers no encouragement for the community to expose or judge the false prophets, a task that belonged to the Lord when he comes in judgment."³⁰

c. Psalm 6

The superscription of Psalm 6 bears the Davidic title, מזמור לדוד in the MT

²⁷ Cf. Herman Hendrickx, The Sermon on the Mount (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979), 170; Davies and Allison point out that the use of ἀνομία in Matt 7:23 and 13:41 suggests "an exclusion formula" uttered at the last judgment (cf. *Jub.* 23:19; *T. Iss.* 6:1) (Matthew, 1:719).

²⁸ For the identification of "false prophets" in Matthew, see David Hill, "False Prophets and Charismatics: Structure and Interpretation in Matthew 7,15-23," Bib 57 (1976): 327-48; Michael Krämer, "Hütet euch von den falschen Propheten: Eine überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Mt 7,15-23 / Lk 6,43-46 / Mt 12,33-37," Bib 57 (1976): 349-77; Dale C. Allison Jr., The Sermon on the Mount: Inspiring the Moral Imagination (New York: Crossroad, 1999), 168-69.

²⁹ Cf. Hendrickx, Sermon on the Mount, 170; Hill, "False Prophets and Charismatics," 334.

³⁰ Robert A. Guelich, The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1982), 410.

and ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ in the LXX respectively. Psalm 6 may be classified as an individual lament expressing a prayer for healing (cf. Psalms 30, 39, 69, 102, 103).³¹ The psalm may be divided into four sections: (i) Psalm 6:1-3 expresses the supplication of the psalmist; (ii) verses 4-5 call on Yahweh to turn to the sufferer for restoration from his death-like experience; (iii) verses 6-7 describe the sufferer's penitence and anguish; and (iv) verses 8-10 announce the sufferer's trust in Yahweh who has responded favorably to the sufferer's petition. The quoted text in Matt 7:23b is taken from Ps 6:9a, where the petitioner challenges his enemies to depart from him because Yahweh has heard his petition and the enemies no longer pose a threat to him.³² In the context of Matt 7:23b, it is Jesus who utters the words of Ps 6:9a (cf. Luke 13:27b; John 12:27) and confronts the false prophets as their judge.

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 6:9a

The concluding section of the sermon on the mount, Matt 7:13-27, deals with the difference between "true" and "false" discipleship. After warning about false prophets in Matt 7:15-20, Jesus turns to those who do not do the will of the Father

³¹ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 160-61.

³² Sigmund Mowinckel sees two parts in a lament psalm (e.g., Psalm 6, 28, 31, 62), namely, first, the lament and prayer, and second, thanksgiving and expression of confidence: "As a result of this liturgical pattern it has become usual for the psalm of lamentation to end with an expression of confidence as to being heard, more or less in the style of the anticipatory thanksgiving psalm. The final note of the psalm is one of confidence and thanksgiving, as if the help had already been received" (Psalms, 1:219).

and pronounces condemnation on them (Matt 7:21-23).³³ Psalm 6:9a, in its original context, expresses the hope of the petitioner that Yahweh has heard his prayer and that the evil-doers will be put to shame. But in the context of Matt 7:23b, the banishment pronounced in Ps 6:9a becomes an eschatological condemnation pronounced by Jesus against false prophets on the day of judgment.³⁴ In other words, Matthew seems to read Ps 6:9a as a prophecy looking ahead to the day of judgment, and to the condemnation that Jesus will then pronounce on false prophets.³⁵

e. Conclusion

By placing Ps 6:9a in the context of judgment in the future, Matthew seems to read Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b as a prophecy pertaining to the judgment of false prophets who will be confronted by Jesus as the judge. Like the evil-doers in Psalm 6, the false prophets will be put to shame by Jesus on the day of judgment (Matt 7:23b).

³³ For Matthew, miracles do accompany the proclamation of Jesus' disciples (Matt 10:1, 7-8); the attack on the false prophets of Matt 7:22-23 is thus not directed against their doing of miracles. Ulrich Luz points out that Matthew's criterion for judging prophets is whether they do the truth (cf. Matt 7:21), a criterion also found in the *Didache* (cf. *Did.* 11:5, 10) (Matthew 1-7: A Commentary [trans. Wilhelm C. Linss; Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1989], 447).

³⁴ Cf. Hans D. Betz, The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3-7:27 and Luke 6:20-49) (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1995), 554; cf. Edward Lohse, "Christus als Weltenrichter," in Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Neutestamentliche Festschrift für Hans Conzelmann zum 60. Geburtstag (ed. Georg Strecker; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 475-86.

³⁵ "On that Day" (ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ) in Matt 7:22 refers to the judgment "day of the Lord" (e.g., Matt 10:15; 24:36; cf. Isa 2:11, 17, 20; 11:10-11; Joel 1:15; 3:18; 2 Thess 1:10).

4. Matthew 13:35

Matt 13:35

ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ
προφήτου λέγοντος·
ἀνοιξὼ ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα
μου, ἐρεῦξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ
καταβολῆς [κόσμου].

Ps 77(78):2

ἀνοιξὼ ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα
μου, φθέγξομαι προβλήματα ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς.

a. Text

The text of Matt 13:35 stands in close verbal parallel to Ps 77(78):2. Out of the ten words which make up Ps 77(78):2, six are found in identical form and order in Matt 13:35. The text of Matt 13:35 is clearly marked by an introductory statement ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, which indicates the presence of a quotation. The verbal parallel between Matt 13:35 and Ps 77(78):2, combined with an explicit marking of quotation, can be viewed as indicating a quotation. The citation from Ps 77(78):2 is found only in Matthew; it belongs to a group of Matthean formula quotations.³⁶ The first half of the citation in Matt 13:35 corresponds word for word to the LXX text. This part of his text also faithfully follows the MT except that the collective singular **לשׁן** is replaced by the plural παραβολαῖς in Matthew.

³⁶ Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 116; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 118; Wilhelm Rothfuchs, Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969), 78; Jack D. Kingsbury, The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13 (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1969), 89; F. Van Segbroeck, "Les citations d'accomplissement dans l'Évangile selon Matthieu d'après trois ouvrages récents," in L'Évangile selon Matthieu: Rédaction et théologie (ed. M. Didier; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1972), 122; Georg Strecker, Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 70; Gnllka, Matthäusevangelium, 1:496; Ulrich Luz, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (EKKNT; 3 vols.; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1985-1997), 2:336; New, Old Testament Quotations, 98.

Georg Strecker suggest that Matthew's use of the plural παραβολαῖς in 13:34 was drawn from the LXX text that has the plural.³⁷ However, David S. New suggests that Matthew does not simply follow the LXX text, but chooses the plural παραβολαῖς to suit his context, where Jesus speaks a number of parables (Matt 13:34).³⁸ It is indeed possible that παραβολαῖς in Matt 13:35 might have been chosen to correspond to Matthew's use of the plural παραβολαῖς in 13:34.

The second half of the citation differs from the LXX text in every word except the preposition ἀπὸ.³⁹ Krister Stendahl argues that Matthew's ἐρεῶξομαι κεκρυμμένα is an intended interpretation of the Hebrew text אַבְיֵעָה הַיְדוּת, by which Matthew emphasizes Jesus' parables as signs of both the hiddenness and the revealed character of the Messiah.⁴⁰ For him, the participle κεκρυμμένα and the phrase ἀπὸ καταβολῆς (κόσμου) underline not only the eternal mysteries that are proclaimed, but also that the Messiah has come to reveal what has been hidden since the foundation of the world, as attested in early Christian writings (note πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου in 1 Pet 1:20; τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν

³⁷ Strecker, Weg der Gerechtigkeit, 71.

³⁸ New, Quotations of the Old Testament, 99; also Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 117.

³⁹ Cf. New, Old Testament Quotations, 99.

⁴⁰ Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 116-17.

αίωνων in Col 1:26).⁴¹ Strecker also suggests that Matthew's use of κεκρυμμένα emphasizes the revelation of the Messiah, but he believes that Matthew's use of ἐρεύξομαι (against LXX: φθέγγξομαι) is a pre-Christian literal rendering of the MT text.⁴² New suggests that Matthew has altered the second half of the citation in light of his context in Matt 13:11, 13-17 which talks about both the revelation and the hidden secrets of Jesus' parables.⁴³

For Matthew, then, Jesus comes to reveal the hidden mysteries of the kingdom of heaven as evident in Matt 13:11, 13-17. Matthew's alteration of the second half of the LXX text represents an adaptation of the text to the context in which Jesus unveils the hidden secrets of the kingdom of heaven.

The citation from Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35 is introduced by ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, a fulfillment formula used to introduce certain OT texts in Matthew (e.g., Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:22; Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15; Jer 31:15 in Matt 2:17; Isa 53:4 in Matt 8:17).⁴⁴ The introductory formula clearly

⁴¹ Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 117.

⁴² Strecker, Weg der Gerechtigkeit, 71.

⁴³ New, Old Testament Quotations, 99.

⁴⁴ For discussions of the fulfillment formula quotations in Matthew, see Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 97-127; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 86-126; Strecker, Weg der Gerechtigkeit, 49-87; Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 57-109; Segbroeck, "Les Citations d'accomplissement," 107-30; Raymond E. Brown, The Birth of the Messiah (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 96-121; George M. Soares Prabhu, The Formula Quotations in the Infancy Narrative of Matthew: An Enquiry into the Tradition History of Mt 1-2 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 45-58; Richard S. McConnell, Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel: The Authority and Use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of St. Matthew (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissionsverlag, 1969), 101-41; Luz, Matthew 1-7, 156-64.

indicates that the citation from Ps 77(78):2 is a prophecy which finds its fulfillment in the act of Jesus' teaching in parables.⁴⁵ Stendahl thinks that the reference to a prophet in the introductory formula could be based on the psalm's subscription "of understanding to Asaph," to whom Psalm 78 is attributed, as a prophet in David's court (1 Chr 25:2; 2 Chr 29:30).⁴⁶ Rudolf Pesch suggests that the evangelist's omission of the prophet's name in the introductory formula is intentional because the evangelist chose not to place Asaph beside Isaiah and Jeremiah, the major prophets of the OT.⁴⁷ Even though Matthew does not use the prophet's name in Matt 13:35a, Asaph remains in the background of the citation from Ps 77(78):2. For the Chronicler, the language of prophecy is used for temple singers (1 Chr 25:2) like Asaph, prophesying with lyres, harps, and symbols. *However, the fulfillment formula in Matt 13:35a gives expression to the fact that the prophet (Asaph) spoke prophetically about Jesus' use of parables in his teaching.*

⁴⁵ William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., note that the use of the introductory formula suggests that Matthew probably understood the psalms to be largely prophetic (Matthew, 2:425).

⁴⁶ Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 117-18; Some of the manuscripts include διὰ Ἡσαΐου, thus attributing the text of Ps 77(78):2 to the prophet Isaiah (e.g. Ησαΐου Ν* θ f^{1,13}); Bruce M. Metzger explains that copyists would have attempted to supply the prophet's name as in Matt 1:22; 2:5; 21:4; Acts 7:48; note also the discussion of Jerome, who suggests that the original text carrying the name of "Asaph" had been changed to "Isaiah" by later scribes who did not know "Asaph" (Textual Commentary, 33); also see Luz, Matthäus, 2:336 n. 1.

⁴⁷ Rudolf Pesch indicates that the skipping of the prophet's name in Matt 1:22 and 2:15 is not by mistake. In those two citations from Isa 7:14 and Hos 11:1, the evangelist uses the words ὑπὸ κυρίου and eliminates the prophet's name. It may be that the evangelist wants not the prophet but God to announce Jesus as God's Son ("Der Gottessohn im mattsäischen Evangelienprolog (Mt 1-2): Beobachtungen zu den Zitationsformeln der Reflexionizitate," Bib 48 [1967]: 405-07); however, G. Friedrich thinks that the passive τὸ ῥηθὲν itself gives an indication that God is the speaker, while the phrase διὰ τοῦ προφήτου signifies the prophet as God's spokesman (TDNT 6:831-32).

b. Context

The citation from Ps 77(78):2 occurs within a pericope explaining Jesus' use of parables (Matt 13:34-35; cf. Mark 4:33-34) at the end of the first half of the parable chapter (Matt 13:1-33).⁴⁸ The editorial work of Matthew in 13:34, where Jesus is said to speak to the crowd in parables, led Matthew to insert the citation from Ps 77(78):2. However, Matthew records Jesus' explanation of the parable of the weeds and three other parables (Matt 13:36-50) after he has concluded the first half of the parable chapter (13:1-35). Why did Matthew not place this conclusion (Matt 13:34-35) after the parables in vv. 36-50? Wilhelm Rothfuchs explains: first, Matthew already found the word *παροβολή* as a method of Jesus' teaching in Matt 13:34, and so he concluded the section with the citation from Ps 77(78):2; second, Jesus has spoken to the crowds (*ὄχλοι*) (Matt 13:2, 3, 10, 13, 34), whereas the explanation of the parable of the weeds (vv. 24-30) is directed to the disciples in the second section (vv. 36-43); here Jesus reveals to the disciples what has been hidden from the foundation of the world.⁴⁹ It is probable that Matthew has placed the citation from Ps 77(78):2 between the first and second sections of the parables in order to show that Jesus speaks in parables (Matt 13:1-33) to fulfill what has been prophesied in Ps 77(78):2a as well as to reveal the hidden mysteries of the kingdom (Ps 77(78):2b) grasped only by his disciples (Matt 13:36-53).

⁴⁸ Cf. Kingsbury, Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13, 88.

⁴⁹ Rothfuchs, Erfüllungszitate, 78.

c. Psalm 78

Psalm 78 bears the subscription **משכיל לאסף** in the MT and in the LXX **Συνέσεως τῷ Ασαφ**, "of understanding to Asaph." Psalm 78 begins like a didactic poem (esp. vv. 1-4), but according to its content it narrates Yahweh's activity in Israel's history.⁵⁰ The psalm may be divided into two major parts: (i) Psalm 78:1-8 consists of the psalmist's purpose; and (ii) verses 9-72 deal with Israel's disobedience and Yahweh's deeds.

Psalm 78 records the story of Israel from Moses to David. Although the poet considers his song "my torah" (Ps 78:1) which involves "warning" and "exhortation" in poetic language (cf. Prov 3:1; 4:2), he speaks in a hidden language (**משל**) (Ps 78:2) which requires special insight to understand.⁵¹ As Hans-Joachim Kraus comments,

According to Prov. 3:1 and 4:2, **תורה** in the language of the wisdom poetry points to the meaning 'exhortation,' 'warning,' 'directive.' And yet, while the poet of Psalm 78 wants to exhort and warn, he sings a 'riddle song' - presents a poem that conceals secret facts within itself. The hearer is to get to the bottom of the mysteries, riddles, and hidden didactic intentions; he should listen attentively.⁵²

The past tradition of Israel is now presented in a "riddle" that people should heed, so

⁵⁰ Sigmund Mowinckel describes Psalm 78 as "a synopsis of sacred history in the style of a hymn" (cf. Psalm 105) (*Psalms*, 2:112); cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 122.

⁵¹ In another context, the Hebrew word **משל** is translated as *παραβολήν* in the LXX (Ps 48(49):5). For a discussion of the meaning of **משל**, see A. R. Johnson, "**משל**," *VTSup* 2 (1955): 162-69.

⁵² Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 125.

that they may not repeat the past mistakes of their fathers (Ps 78:8). *Matthew picks up the suggestion of a communication "in parables" (έν παραβολαίς) (Ps 77(78):2a) and understands it as a prophecy about Jesus' teaching in parables.*⁵³

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 77(78):2

The quoted text in Matt 13:35 is taken from Ps 77(78):2, which refers to the body of teaching in "parables" and "riddles." In the parable chapter, Matthew 13, there is a sharp distinction between the crowds (οἱ ὄχλοι) who do not listen and understand the parables of Jesus (Matt 13:13; cf. Isa 6:9-10) and the disciples (οἱ μαθηταί) who do (Matt 13:51) and who receive the secrets of the kingdom (v. 11; cf. vv. 36-43).

Therefore, the idea that Jesus speaks in parables produces a dual consequence. As

Birger Gerhardsson says,

In the Matthean parable chapter a sharp distinction is drawn between the crowds (οἱ ὄχλοι) and the disciple (οἱ μαθηταί); cf. especially in vv. 10-17. The former are regarded with some bitterness as hardened and blind; they see without seeing, hear without hearing or understanding (συνιέναι). Their heart is hardened. The disciples, on the other hand, have eyes to see and ears to hear and hearts which understand. And since (ὅτι) this is so, Jesus speaks in parables. These have a double effect: they add and they take away. They *enrich* 'those who have' and they *impoverish* 'those who have not.'⁵⁴

Matthew's citation from Ps 77(78):2 underlines this dual purpose of Jesus' speaking in parables. In Matt 13:35, the second half of the citation from Ps 77(78):2, which

⁵³ Ulrich Luz thinks that the crowds' failure to understand Jesus' parables is a serious matter; Matthew wants to show with a fulfillment formula, how Jesus' speaking in parables corresponds to the will of God (Matthäus, 2:336); English translation: Ulrich Luz, Matthew 8-20: A Commentary (trans. J. E. Crouch; Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2001), 265.

⁵⁴ Birger Gerhardsson, "The Seven Parables in Matthew XIII," NTS 19 (1972-73): 17.

departs freely from the LXX text, speaks of the mysteries which Jesus discloses in his parables. The word κερυμμένω means 'hidden things' and is associated with the 'hiddenness' of the kingdom in Matt 13:44 (κερυμμένω) (cf. Matt 11:25).⁵⁵ The seven parables in Matthew 13, according to Gerhardsson, are composed to provide an understanding of the "mysteries of the kingdom."⁵⁶ He summarizes the message of the kingdom that Jesus proclaims in those parables:

One point can be made directly: the seven parables do not present the kingdom as a pure, fresh novelty now introduced for the first time. They do not claim to give the first intimations of something that had never before been named in Israel. They treat the kingdom as already existing and already in operation. They exist to clarify strange elements in the way this kingdom is functioning.⁵⁷

As Psalm 78 offers a summary of the salvation history of Israel from the exodus to the election of David, a summary which has been revealed for the coming generation, Matthew presents Jesus as disclosing the mysteries of the kingdom which have been hidden and are now being revealed through his teaching in parables.⁵⁸ *As the poet in Psalm 78 narrates the story of Israel with the help of mysteries and riddles, Jesus'*

⁵⁵ Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 2:426.

⁵⁶ Gerhardsson, "Seven Parables," 25-31.

⁵⁷ Gerhardsson, "Seven Parables," 36.

⁵⁸ For Matthew, the kingdom is a pre-existing entity (Matt 25:34) which was entrusted to Israel; through Jesus it becomes an eschatological reality and in the end, it will reveal itself in unveiled splendor. It is in and through Jesus that the kingdom is revealed. The revelation of the kingdom which the prophets and righteous people longed to see (Matt 13:16-17) is now made possible through Jesus. It is Jesus who proclaims "that which has been hidden from the beginning" which is the kingdom of heaven, and thereby fulfills what has been predicted in Ps 78:2 (cf. Gnllka, Matthäusevangelium 1:497; Luz, Matthäus, 2:337; Kingsbury, Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13, 89).

teaching in parables is seen as a fulfillment of Ps 77(78):2 because it possesses the qualities of both 'hiddenness' and 'revelation.'

f. Conclusion

In the original context of Psalm 78, the poet narrates Yahweh's activity in Israel's history, in the form of a "riddle" (cf. Ps 78:2). But in the Matthean context, the citation from Ps 77(78):2 is seen as a prophecy fulfilled in Jesus' use of the parables in Matthew 13 (Matt 13:35). Matthew intends to show that Jesus is acting according to the prophecy when he speaks in parables which both hide and reveal the kingdom of heaven.

5. Matthew 21:9

Matt 21:9

ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ·
εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν
ὀνόματι κυρίου·
 ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Ps 117(118):26a

εὐλογημενος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν
ὀνόματι κυρίου.

a. Text

Like the text in Mark 11:9b, the verbal parallel between Matt 21:9 and Ps 117(118):26a suggests dependence. The six words which make up Ps 117(118):26a are all found in identical form and order in Matt 21:9.⁵⁹ Like Mark, Matthew keeps the semitic term ὡσαννὰ with the additional words τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ (cf. *Did.* 10:6).⁶⁰ The final clause ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, which is added to the citation in Matt 21:9, stands in agreement with Mark (Mark 11:10b).

b. Context

Matthew places the citation from Ps 117(118):26a in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:1-9). Preceding the psalm citation, Matthew has explicitly introduced the citation from Zech 9:9 as fulfilled with Jesus' instructions to his disciples to bring the donkey and her colt (Matt 21:2-5). The explicit quotation from Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:5 seems to underline the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem as a royal entry: Matthew presents Jesus as the king of Zech 9:9. As Paul W. Meyer says, "To

⁵⁹ Cf. Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 40.

⁶⁰ William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., observe that Mark's "hosanna" is independent and Jesus is not plainly made out to be the Son of David or Messiah at this point (cf. Mark 11:10), whereas Matthew has "hosanna" directed to Jesus as the Son of David (Matthew, 3:124).

be sure, the Zechariah quotation makes it clear that the one riding into Jerusalem to die is to be proclaimed to Jerusalem as her king, but the quotation itself qualifies this king as 'meek, gentle, humble'.⁶¹ Matthew emphasizes the kingly role of Jesus by appealing to Zech 9:9 and so defines the kingship of Jesus as one of "meekness" (cf. Matt 5:5; 11:29). Matthew presents Jesus entering Jerusalem as the Son of David with the shouts of the crowd in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a.

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):26a

Matthew has added the phrase the "Son of David" to the citation from Ps 118:26a in order to identify Jesus as the "Son of David." Among the gospel writers, Matthew alone indicates that Jesus is explicitly welcomed with this title.⁶² As Robert H. Gundry comments, "The insertion links this passage [Ps 118:25-26] with [Matt] 20:30-31 and changes the Jewish expectation of a Davidic kingdom to a Christian and typically Matthean confession of Jesus himself as the messianic Son of David (υἱὸς Δαυὶδ)."⁶³ *The insertion of the title "Son of David" into the psalm citation indicates that Matthew presents Jesus as the "Son of David" whose coming was prophetically*

⁶¹ Paul W. Meyer, "Matthew 21:1-11," *Int* 40 (1986): 184.

⁶² Joachim Gnllka observes that, as in Mark the hosanna cry has been changed from a prayer to a call of "hail," so the "hail" is intended in the Matthean account for the messianic Son of David, the king, who is visiting his city (*Matthäusevangelium*, 2:203); for a summary of the process by which the hosanna cry has been changed from a prayer to a call of praise, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:124-25.

⁶³ Gundry, *Matthew*, 411.

*foretold in Ps 117(118):26a.*⁶⁴

Throughout his gospel, Matthew emphasizes Jesus as the Son of David more strongly than do the other gospel writers.⁶⁵ He begins his gospel with the words: βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Αβραάμ (Matt 1:1) and he uses the genealogy to show that Jesus was the "Son of David."⁶⁶ Besides the genealogy, Jesus is repeatedly addressed as the "Son of David" in the healing stories (Matt 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30-31). In the healing stories, the address to Jesus as the "Son of David" implies his messianic power to show mercy as well as the recognition and acceptance of Jesus' messianic Davidic sonship.⁶⁷ As Paul W. Meyer says,

In the New Testament, David is remembered not only as a prophet who, inspired by God's spirit, spoke about the Christ (Acts 2:25-30) but as a king himself; and as an ancestor of the messianic king, he was inevitably in his person also a representation of the Messiah. It is as this Son of David, as Israel's eschatological king coming into Jerusalem, that Jesus is

⁶⁴ Psalm 118 is a processional psalm used in the "liturgy of entry" into the temple; the priests welcome those who come in the name of Yahweh with a blessing (cf. Mowinckel, Psalms, 1:180-81). In Matthew, the blessing drawn from Ps 118:25-26 is uttered by the crowd (Matt 21:9) and is directed to Jesus as the "Son of David" (see Wim Weren, "Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem: Mt 21,1-17 in the Light of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint," in The Scriptures in the Gospels [ed. C. M. Tuckett; Leuven: University Press, 1997], 133-35).

⁶⁵ For a discussion of Matthew's use of the title "Son of David," see J. M. Gibbs, "Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David'," NTS 10 (1963-64): 446-64; Jack D. Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," JBL 95 (1976): 591-602; Terence Y. Mullins, "Jesus, the 'Son of David,'" AUSS 29 (1991): 117-26; Donald J. Verseput, "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity," in SBL Seminar Papers, 1995 (ed. E. H. Lovering; SBLSP 34; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1995), 102-16.

⁶⁶ Cf. Lohse, TDNT 8:485; also Brown, Birth of the Messiah, 59.

⁶⁷ Cf. Heinz J. Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories," in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew (eds. Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz J. Held; trans. Percy Scott; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), 263; Gibbs, "Son of David," 460; Luz, Matthäus, 3:183.

hailed in the scene of our text.⁶⁸

Thus, Matthew reads Ps 117(118):26a as a messianic prophecy about the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem as the "Son of David."

d. Conclusion

Matthew reads Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9 as a messianic prophecy about Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. Matthew has added the phrase τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ to the psalm citation in order to make the prophetic text more explicit, i.e., that "the one who comes in the name of the Lord" is none other than Jesus, the "Son of David."

⁶⁸ Meyer, "Matthew 21:1-11," 181.

6. Matthew 21:16

Matt 21:16

οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι
ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ
θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον;

Ps 8:3a

ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ
θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

a. Text

The verbal parallel between Matt 21:16 and Ps 8:3a is significant. The seven words which make up Ps 8:3a are all found in identical form and order in Matt 21:16. The text of Matt 21:16 is explicitly marked by the words οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι, which can be viewed as indicating a quotation. The only quotation of Ps 8:3a in the NT is found in Matt 21:16.⁶⁹ The text of Ps 8:3a which Matthew quotes is identical to the LXX.⁷⁰ The LXX text has αἶνον, "praise," whereas the MT has יָעַץ, which usually means "strength". Robert H. Gundry suggests that the Hebrew word יָעַץ could also mean "praise" in light of OT passages such as Ps 29:7 where יָעַץ is associated with כְּבוֹד (cf. Exod 15:2).⁷¹ According to David S. New, Matthew has followed the LXX and avoided the ambiguous meaning of יָעַץ.⁷²

⁶⁹ Psalm 8 is quoted as well as alluded to elsewhere in the NT: 1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:22; Phil 3:21; Heb 2:6-9; 1 Pet 3:22.

⁷⁰ Cf. Marie-Joseph Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu* (5th ed.; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1941), 404; Stendahl, *School of St. Matthew*, 134; Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, 121; New, *Old Testament Quotations*, 100.

⁷¹ Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, 121.

⁷² New, *Old Testament Quotations*, 100.

The citation from Ps 8:3a is introduced by a question, οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι (Matt 21:16a). In other contexts, Matthew uses the same introductory words in Matt 21:42 (οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε is used in 12:3, 5); 19:4; 22:31 to introduce a group of citations from the OT.⁷³ This type of introductory statement is always found on the lips of Jesus; on each occasion he quotes from the OT to counter Jewish leaders. In the context of Jesus' controversy with the chief priests and scribes over the praise of the children (Matt 21:15-16), the words οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε introduce a response to their question ἀκούεις τὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν (v. 16a) and indicates that the Jewish leaders were already familiar with the psalm about to be cited.⁷⁴

b. Context

The citation from Ps 8:3a is placed in the general context of Jesus' cleansing of the temple (Matt 21:12-16). In Matthew, the chief priests and scribes are silent about Jesus' act in the temple, but they object to the praise of the children in the temple (Matt 21:15). In citing again the acclamation of Jesus, "Hosanna to the Son of David" (Matt 21:15), Matthew reaffirms the messianic Son of David Christology with which he began the gospel (Matt 1:1) and with which he had the crowd welcome Jesus in the triumphal entry (Matt 21:9).⁷⁵ The closest parallel in Luke to the leaders' objection in Matthew concerns not the children's, but the disciples' songs of the "hosanna" (Luke

⁷³ Cf. Soares Prabhu, Formula Quotations, 29; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:141.

⁷⁴ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 414.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 413-14.

19:39), which is a Lukan supplement to Matt 21:9 and Mark 11:9-10. In the Lukan context, the Pharisees' rebuke was answered by Jesus that the stones would cry out if his followers were silent (Luke 19:40).⁷⁶ In Matthean context, Jesus quotes Ps 8:3a in order to affirm that the praise of the children has indeed been ordained by God (Matt 21:16).

c. Psalm 8

Psalm 8 bears the title **מזמור לדוד** in the MT and **ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ** in the LXX. Because the psalm emphasizes the motif of creation, it may be described as a "psalm of creation" (cf. Psalms 29, 104, and 139).⁷⁷ The psalm consists of five parts: (i) Introduction (Ps 8:1a); (ii) Yahweh's glory (8:1b-3); (iii) humankind's sense of insignificance (8:4-5); (iv) Yahweh's role for humankind and the responsibility Yahweh has given to humankind (8:6-9); and (v) concluding praise (8:10), which echoes the introduction in Ps 8:1. The psalmist praises Yahweh's work of creation (Ps 8:1a); the psalmist also draws attention to children who witness to the glory of Yahweh (v. 2), and thereby silence Yahweh's enemies (v. 3). As Hans-Joachim Kraus comments, "It is characteristic that in Psalm 8 the termination of all enmity in God's

⁷⁶ Robert H. Gundry believes that Matthew revised some traditional material also referred to in Luke 19:39-44 and transformed it into the praise of the children coupled with the quotation of Ps 8:3 (Matthew, 414).

⁷⁷ Sigmund Mowinckel points out that Psalm 8 describes one of Yahweh's great works, namely the creation (cf. Psalms 29, 104, and 139) (Psalms, 1:85); also Brevard S. Childs notes that Psalm 8 is "a praise to God the Creator who in his infinite wisdom and power has placed man at the head of his creation" ("Psalm 8 in the Context of the Christian Canon," Int 23 [1969]: 24).

creation is by way of the mouth of children. By this path Yahweh erects **יְצ**.⁷⁸ The quoted text in Matt 21:16 comes from Ps 8:3a which asserts that the praise of the children is established by Yahweh himself as the means by which Yahweh's enemies would be finally silenced (cf. Ps 86:16-17).

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 8:3a

The use that Matthew makes of the quotation from Ps 8:3a in Matt 21:16 makes it clear that Matthew applied the text to the children mentioned in his context. Although the "children" (παῖδες) in Matt 21:15 do not correspond exactly to "babes" (νηπίων) and "infants" (θηλαζόοντων) in Ps 8:2, Matthew seems to disregard the discrepancy: it is enough that youthful praise is the focus of attention in Matt 21:15 and Ps 8:3a.⁷⁹ First, Matthew records in 21:9 the acclamation of the crowd that attests the messiahship of Jesus as the Son of David in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a. Second, he refers back to the "hosanna cry" first made in Matt 21:9, but this time it is children who affirm the Davidic Christology, i.e., the children cry out and say, ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ (Matt 21:15b). Third, he places the citation from Ps 8:3a in Matt 21:16 to point out how the praise of children fulfills what has been prophetically foretold in Ps 8:3a. *By relating Ps 8:3a to the messianic cry of children (cf. Matt 21:15), Matthew seems to read Ps 8:3a as a prophecy about the praise of children who disclose the messianic identity of Jesus as the Son of David. As Paul*

⁷⁸ Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 182.

⁷⁹ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 414.

Gaechter says,

Wie alles in der Schrift hat auch der zitierte Psalmvers messianische Bedeutung. Gott hatte Jesus durch seine Wundertaten beglaubigt und damit auch seinen Anspruch auf die Messiaswürde. Wenn nun die Kinder Jesus als den Messias proklamierten, gereiche dies Gott zum Lob und seinen Feinden zur Beschämung. Das alles hätten sich die geistlichen Führer Israels sagen müssen. Daß sich so wiederum an Jesus die Schrift erfüllte, war eine weitere, indirekte Bezeugung Jesu als Messias.⁸⁰

e. Conclusion

In the original context of Psalm 8, the psalmist draws attention to children who witness to the glory of Yahweh (cf. Ps 8:2). But Matthew understands the text of Ps 8:3a quoted in Matt 21:16 as a prophecy about the praise of children that God had prepared to welcome Jesus as the "Son of David." The citation from Ps 8:3a in Matt 21:16 further enhances the messianic identity of Jesus as the Son of David - the identity which was made plain in Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9).

⁸⁰ Paul Gaechter, Das Matthäus Evangelium (München: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1963), 666.

7. Matthew 21:42

Matt 21:42

οὐδέποτε ἀνέγωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς·
λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ
οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ
κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν
θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;

Ps 117(118):22-23

λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ
οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας· παρὰ
κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν
θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.

a. Text

Psalm 117(118):22-23 is reproduced in its entirety in Matt 21:42. All twenty words of Ps 117(118):22-23 are found in identical form and order in Matt 21:42.⁸¹ In addition to the verbal parallel between Matt 21:42 and Ps 117(118):22-23, the text of Matt 21:42 is explicitly introduced by the words οὐδέποτε ἀνέγωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, which indicate a quotation. Matthew uses οὐδέποτε (as opposed to Mark's οὐδέ (Mark 12:10a)), further emphasizing the religious leaders' failure to note the relevance of the scriptural text. Matthew also uses a prepositional phrase with a plural ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς (as opposed to Mark's direct object τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην), which highlights the failure of the chief priests and elders of Israel to heed the scriptures as a whole.⁸²

b. Context

In Matthew, the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 occurs after the parable of the

⁸¹ Cf. Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 20; New, Old Testament Quotations, 48; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:185.

⁸² Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 429; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:185.

wicked tenants as a part of Jesus' appeal to the scriptures (Matt 21:42). After the controversy with the religious leaders of Israel on the question of authority (Matt 21:23-27), Jesus goes on to narrate three parables: the parable of the two sons (vv. 28-32); the parable of the wicked tenants (vv. 33-43); and the parable of the wedding banquet (22:1-14). Each of these parables, in the Matthean context, refers to the rejection of Jesus by Jewish leaders.⁸³ In the parable of the wicked tenants, Matthew intensifies the motif of rejection and of Jesus' subsequent exaltation by introducing the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23. Matthew uses a response from the crowd (Matt 21:41) as a transition to the scriptural quotation.⁸⁴

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):22-23

The use of Ps 117(118):22-23 in early Christian literature (e.g., Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:8) shows clearly that Psalm 118 came to be read as a messianic prophecy about Jesus' death and resurrection. As Barnabas Lindars says, "The idea of the rejected stone is specially appropriate. In fact it has the appeal of *literal fulfillment*. The fact that the resurrection followed rejection by the Jews is proof of his messiahship, for he literally fulfills this striking element of this messianic psalm."⁸⁵ In line with the pre-gospel tradition, the Synoptic evangelists (Matt 21:42 par.) follow

⁸³ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 421.

⁸⁴ Cf. Carlston, Parables of the Triple Tradition, 79; Luke also records the crowd's response to the parable (Luke 20:16).

⁸⁵ Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, 170.

the messianic interpretation of Ps 117(118):22-23 in order to draw from the parable of the wicked tenants prophetic implications for the rejection and exaltation of Jesus.

According to the Matthean version of the parable, the third messenger coming to the vineyard is the son of the land owner (Matt 21:37). The son in Matthew (though not in Mark) is thrown out and killed outside the vineyard: a clear allusion to the tradition that Jesus died "outside the gate" (ἔξω τῆς πόλης) (cf. Heb 13:12; John 19:17). In response to Jesus' question "What will the owner do to the tenants?" Matthew provides two responses, one by the hearers (Matt 21:41) and the other by Jesus himself (vv. 42-44). The response by the hearers pronounces both judgment on the tenants and the leasing out of the vineyard to other tenants who will give fruit in due season. Jesus' response is twofold: he cites Ps 117(118):22-23 and concludes with remarks about the consequence of the tenants' action. *In Matt 21:42, Jesus is portrayed as seeing his own fate in light of Ps 117(118):22-23: he would be rejected by the leaders of Israel and killed, yet exalted as the keystone, the king and ruler (cf. Matt 17:21).*⁸⁶

The conclusion Jesus draws from the parable in Matt 21:43-44 (cf. Luke 20:18) expands the prophetic implication of the psalm citation in question. Jesus concludes that the kingdom of God will be taken away from the "chief priests and the Pharisees"

⁸⁶ Cf. Jeremias, TDNT 4:274; cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:185).

(Matt 21:43a; cf. 21:45) and given to a people that produces fruits (21:43b).⁸⁷

Matthew has emphasized the theme of judgment as a consequence of the stone being rejected by Jewish leaders. Jesus' additional remark in Matt 21:44 notes further links to the "stone" text of Ps 117(118):22-23 (cf. Luke 20:18).⁸⁸ The first part of Matt 21:44 ("The one who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces") comes from Isa 8:14-15, where the Lord is said to be the stone of stumbling upon which people will stumble and be broken. The second part of Matt 21:44 ("and it will crush anyone on whom it falls") alludes to Dan 2:44-45, where the stone of God's heavenly kingdom crushes the image representing the kingdoms of the world.⁸⁹ *By alluding to other "stone" passages in the scriptures (Isa 8:14-15; Dan 2:44-45) in Matt 21:44, Matthew has highlighted the point of the prophetic text of Ps 117(118):22-23 that the rejected one will not only be exalted, but will also bring judgment on those who rejected him (cf. Matt 23:37; 24:2).*⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Charles E. Carlston observes that since the religious leaders rejected the stone, the rejected stone in turn rejects his enemies and transfers the vineyard, i.e., the kingdom of God, to a nation that produces fruits (Parables of the Triple Tradition, 44-45).

⁸⁸ Matt 21:44 is not attested by D33 it Sy^a; Eus^{sy}. The omission of v. 44 in those manuscripts led scholars to assume that Matt 21:44 is an interpolation taken from Luke 20:18 (see Metzger, Textual Commentary, 58); however, Robert H. Gundry argues that the occurrence of Matt 21:44 after v. 43 instead of after v. 42 would probably have led to the omission of Matt 21:44 in the Western text (Matthew, 432; Use of the Old Testament, 84-85).

⁸⁹ Dan 2:31-45 came to be understood messianically in Judaism (see Jeremias, TDNT 4:272-73).

⁹⁰ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 431.

d. Conclusion

Matthew reads the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42 as a prophecy about Jesus' rejection by Jewish leaders and his subsequent exaltation through the resurrection. By expanding the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants (Matt 21:43-44), Matthew has highlighted the "stone" prophecy of Ps 117(118):21-23 that the rejected and exalted stone will eventually destroy everyone who opposes it.

8. Matthew 22:43-44

Matt 22:43-44

πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ
αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων·
εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου·
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου;

Ps 109(110):1

Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου
Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

a. Text

The extensive verbal parallel found between Matt 22:44 and Ps 109(110):1 suggests dependence. Out of the twenty words which make up Ps 109(110):1, eighteen are found in identical form and order in Matt 22:43-44. As in Mark 12:36, the omission of the definite article before κύριος suggests that Matthew perhaps places more emphasis on τῷ κυρίῳ μου.⁹¹ As we have already seen in our discussion of Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:36, the use of ὑποκάτω instead of the LXX's ὑποπόδιον is either a secondary textual variant, or due to the evangelist's allusion to Ps 8:7, or an unconscious mixing of the texts.⁹²

The explicit marking in Matt 22:43 that introduces the citation from Ps 109(110):1 reads: πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων. The Matthean phrase Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι (as against the Markan Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ

⁹¹ It is also possible that all three Synoptic evangelists omitted the definite article before κύριος (Mark 12:36; Matt 22:43; Luke 20:42) because of the influence of Aramaic where proper names are found without the definite article (cf. Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts [2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1954], 68, 70; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 25; Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 78 n. 3).

⁹² Cf. Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:253.

πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ) perhaps suggests the state of David "in the Spirit" as opposed to his speaking by "the Holy Spirit" as in Mark 12:36. As Robert H. Gundry comments,

Its advancing from a position right after 'said' (so Mark) to a position right after 'David' suggests a shift in meaning from David's *speaking* by the Holy Spirit to David's *being* in the Spirit - i.e., in a visionary state - at the time of speaking. In this way Matthew accentuates the prophetic character of the following quotation from Ps 110:1.⁹³

The introductory statement in Matthew not only suggests the prophetic character of Ps 110:1, but also contains a problem addressed to the Pharisees: "How can David call the Messiah the Lord?"⁹⁴ Matthew's introductory formula seems to be formulated on the basis of the answer given by the Pharisees ("they said to him, 'The Son of David'") (Matt 21:43; cf. 21:45).

b. Context

After Jesus has answered the question of the Pharisees with regard to the greatest commandment (Matt 22:34-40), he introduces the question of the sonship of the Messiah (vv. 41-45). The question in Matthew is directed to the Pharisees, in whom Matthew shows particular interest (cf. Matt 21:45; 22:15, 34). Instead of stating the opinion of the scribes that the Messiah is the Son of David (as in Mark 12:35), Jesus rather begins with a question in Matthew: "What do you think of the Messiah?"

⁹³ Gundry, *Matthew*, 451.

⁹⁴ Alfred Suhl observes that Matthew softens the polemical character of the dispute by formulating the question on the basis of the answer of the opponents: "Im betonten Gegensatz zu seiner Mk-Vorlage beginnt Matthäus nicht mit einem Vorwurf 'Mit welchem Recht behaupten die Schriftgelehrten eigentlich, der Christus sei Davids Sohn?,' sondern mit der Frage 'Was scheint euch in betreff des Messias, wessen Sohn ist er?'" ("Der Davidsson im Matthäus-Evangelium," *ZNW* 59 [1968]: 61).

Whose son is he?" (Matt 22:42). These questions in Matthew suggest that there may be more than Davidic sonship of the Messiah at issue.⁹⁵ Jesus forces the Pharisees to answer the question as he did in Matt 22:15-21. The Pharisees answer that the Messiah is the Son of David (22:40), a phrase which never occurs on Jesus' lips in Matthew (20:30; 21:9, 15) (in contrast to Mark 12:34, where the title "Son of David" is found on Jesus' lips). As Robert H. Gundry comments, "That Davidic sonship no longer appears in Jesus' question but in a scripturally correct answer suggests that Matthew is protecting Jesus' later question from being misunderstood as a denial of Davidic sonship."⁹⁶ Matthew's statement in Matt 22:43, i.e., the words spoken by David while he was "in the Spirit," recorded in Ps 110:1, points to a higher order of the Messiah, namely David's Lord, whose exalted position has been attested by David himself.

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 109(110):1

The citation from Ps 109(110):1 in Matt 22:44 poses a problem for the Pharisees in that David calls the Messiah "Lord." How (πῶς) could the Messiah, on the one hand, be the physical offspring of David as the Pharisees conceived (Matt 22:42), and yet, on the other hand, be on God's right hand and be David's κύριος, as

⁹⁵ Cf. Suhl, "Davidssohn," 61; Donald J. Versept says that the specific wording υἱός υἱός ἐστιν in the Matthean context suggests an alternative, that more than one sonship of the Messiah comes into question; and indeed both Davidic sonship and divine sonship are displayed before the readers' eyes ("The Role and Meaning of the 'Son of David' Title in Matthew's Gospel," NTS 33 [1987]: 545.

⁹⁶ Gundry, Matthew, 451.

David said (v. 45)?⁹⁷

As the beginning of his gospel shows, Matthew explicitly presents Jesus as the "Son of David" (Matt 1:1), and he uses the title far more than any other gospel writer. He uses the title "Son of David" as a messianic designation for Jesus on a number of occasions: the beggars address Jesus with it (Matt 9:27; 20:30-31); the crowd responds to a miracle with it (12:23); the Canaanite woman pleads for Jesus' mercy with it (15:22); and the children at the temple acclaim Jesus with the title, "Son of David" (21:15). In light of the wide use of the title "Son of David" for Jesus, it is unlikely that Matthew intends to deny the title in light of Ps 110:1; rather he attempts to show that the Messiah is more than the Son of David, namely, David's Lord, as indicated by David himself in Ps 110:1.

In the Matthean setting, Jesus seems to recognize the reply of the Pharisees that the Messiah is the Son of David (Matt 22:42); yet he proves, on the basis of Ps 110:1, that the Messiah is David's Lord (Matt 22:43-45). Matthew also uses the designation κύριος for Jesus in Matt 9:28; 20:33 (along with the designation υἱὸς Δαυὶδ in the same context).⁹⁸ Matthew's use of the designation κύριος for the Messiah in Matt 22:43 before referring to Ps 109(110):1 suggests that Matthew wants

⁹⁷ William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., observe that the silence of the Pharisees shows that they have no solution to the riddle, although the reader may know the solution; the riddle seems to be resolved in Jesus who is both the Messiah and Lord (Matthew, 3:254).

⁹⁸ Cf. Frans Neirynck, The Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark with a Cumulative List (BETL XXXVII; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974), 142.

to emphasize the lordship of the Messiah, as affirmed in Ps 110:1.⁹⁹ As Jack D.

Kingsbury observes,

Taking the twofold statement 'David calls him [the Christ] Lord' (vss. 43, 45) as indicating how Matthew proposes that the words of the psalmist should be understood ('The Lord [God] said to my lord [the Christ], 'Sit at my right hand, etc.''), we see that Matthew employs *kyrios*, not after the fashion of an independent christological category as such, but in order to attribute to Jesus as the Christ a more exalted station (i.e., divine sonship; cf. 1:18, 20, 23) than the 'Pharisees' have a mind to accord the Christ in their understanding of his person (Davidic sonship).¹⁰⁰

Thus the Messiah cannot be imagined as the "Son of David" in the way the Pharisees understood. Only "in the Spirit," as Matthew indicated in Matt 22:43, was David able to speak of the coming exaltation of the Messiah in Ps 110:1.¹⁰¹ *In Matthew's context, the eschatological dominion of the Messiah as foretold by David in Ps 110:1 is placed alongside his Davidic descent as a way to emphasize the lordship of Jesus as the Messiah, without discounting his Davidic sonship.*¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Christoph Burger points out that the central issue in the discussion of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah is the *κύριος* designation for the Messiah, which Matthew uses already in Matt 22:43 before he refers to it in Ps 109(110):1 (Jesus als Davidsson: Eine traditions-geschichtliche Untersuchung [FRLANT 98; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970], 89); Matthew seems to use *κύριος* as an absolute Christological title (Matt 7:21-23; 8:25; 14:28, 30; 17:4; 25:37,44; 28:6); he also relates *κύριος* to "Son of David" (15:22; 20:30-31); and he also seems to apply *κύριος* to Jesus as the divine Son (14:22-23; 17:1-9) (cf. Strecker, Weg der Gerechtigkeit, 123-24; Burger, Jesus als Davidsson, 89; Jack D. Kingsbury, "The Title 'KYPIOS' in Matthew's Gospel," JBL 94 (1975): 251-53).

¹⁰⁰ Kingsbury, "'KYPIOS'," 250

¹⁰¹ Cf. Gaechter, Matthäus, 720.

¹⁰² The question of the divine sonship of the Messiah is again picked up by Matthew in Matt 26:63-64, where Jesus is confronted with the question of divine sonship by the high priest. In his reply to the high priest's question, Jesus acknowledges that he is the Son of God and affirms that he will come as the Son of Man. Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 545; see also Birger Gerhardsson, "Confession and Denial before Men: Observations on Matt. 26:57-27:2," JSNT 13 (1981): 46-66.

d. Conclusion

The citation from Ps 109(110):1 used in Matt 22:44 is read as a prophecy about the lordship of the Messiah. As the contextual setting in Matt 22:43 suggests, Matthew seems to be interested in emphasizing the lordship of the Messiah, that the Messiah is more than the Son of David, namely David's Lord. For Matthew, Jesus is Lord even before the resurrection (cf. Matt 9:28; 15:22; 20:33), and his lordship has also been proclaimed by David in Ps 110:1.

9. Matthew 23:39b

Matt 23:39b

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Ps 117(118):26a

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

a. Text

The text of Matt 23:39b, which also occurs in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in Matt 21:9, is considered as a citation, because the Matthean text agrees verbatim with a six word sequence in Ps 117(118):26a.¹⁰³ These words from Ps 117(118):26a, which appear on the lips of the crowd at Jesus' triumphal entry (Matt 21:9 par.), are again quoted, this time on the lips of Jesus (23:39b). These words are also found in Luke 13:35b in a text parallel to Matt 23:39b and also in the exact wording of the LXX text.

b. Context

After Jesus has ended his debate with the Pharisees on the question of the sonship of the Messiah (Matt 22:41-46), he addresses the crowd and his disciples. A denunciation of the Pharisees and scribes follows. Jesus' teaching ends with a lament over Jerusalem (23:37-39; cf. Luke 13:34-35). He first speaks of what the inhabitants have done to their prophets, then of his compassion for Jerusalem. Next, Jesus stresses the judgment that will fall upon the city, alluding to the prophecy of Jer 22:5 (Matt 23:38).¹⁰⁴ Jesus himself indicates that he will be absent until the day when

¹⁰³ Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 93.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 473.

Jerusalem's inhabitants utter the words of Ps 117(118):26a in recognition of his glory.

The words ἀπ' ἄρτι in Matt 23:39a, which Matthew will insert again in 26:29, 64, suggest the time between Jesus' departure from the scene and his second coming.¹⁰⁵

The citation from Ps 117(118):26a is connected to a clause ἕως ἄν εἴπητε, which refers to the time of fulfillment of the prophetic word in question. In other words, the prophetic fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a remains in the distant future when Israel will receive Jesus with the call of greeting from Ps 117(118):26a.

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):26a

As we have seen earlier, the citation from Ps 117(118):26a has been prophetically applied to Jesus in the account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9 par.). At his first coming to Jerusalem, Jesus was welcomed as the Son of David by the Jerusalem crowd in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a (Matt 21:9; cf. 21:15).

Although Matthew seems to think that Jesus' entry into Jerusalem represents a fulfillment of Ps 118:26a, he foresees a further fulfillment of Ps 118:26a in the future.

The chief priests' and scribes' opposition to the praise of children at the temple (Matt 21:15-16) indicates their refusal to accept Jesus as the Messiah. Therefore, *Matthew's use of Ps 117(118):26a in the context of Jesus' lament over Jerusalem (Matt 23:37-39) suggests that the fulfillment of Ps 118:26a also lies in the future when Israel will*

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Joachim Gnilka suggests that the words ἀπ' ἄρτι in Matt 23:39a mark the end of Jesus' public ministry, the time of decision for Israel, and at the same time, point to his second coming (cf. Matt 26:29,64) (*Matthäusevangelium*, 2:304); David B. Peabody sees a literary relationship between Matt 23:39 and 26:29 marked by the use of ἀπ' ἄρτι, an expression peculiar to Matthew and John among the gospel writers (cf. Matt 26:64; John 13:19, 14:7; Rev. 14:13) ("A Pre-Markan Prophetic Sayings Tradition and the Synoptic Problem," *JBL* 97 [1978]: 395).

*fully accept Jesus as the Messiah.*¹⁰⁶

Taking his cue from Jewish sources of the second century C.E. and the use of ἕως ἄν in Matthew, Dale C. Allison Jr., argues that the use of Ps 118:26a in Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b represents a conditional prophecy whose fulfillment depends on Israel's acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah.¹⁰⁷ First, for Allison, the meaning of the phrase ἕως ἄν in Matt 23:39a is not temporal, but conditional in the sense that the Messiah will come only when his people praise him (e.g., ἕως ἄν in Matt 5:26; ἕως in Matt 18:30; cf. Acts 23:12; 2 Thess 2:7; *Did.* 14:2).¹⁰⁸ Second, Allison cites Jewish sources of the second century C.E. which express the belief that the coming of the final redemption depends on the fulfillment of certain conditions. For instance, "*b. Ab. Zar.* 5a: R. Jose (ca. 130 C.E.) said, 'The Son of David will not come until (עד) all the souls destined for bodies are exhausted.' *b. Sanh.* 98b: Rab (last half of the second century C.E.) said: 'The Son of David will not come until (עד) the [Roman] power enfolds Israel for nine months'."¹⁰⁹ Allison understands the preposition עד as conditional and the formulations as a way of expressing one's belief as to what

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Davies and Allison (Matthew, 3:322).

¹⁰⁷ Dale C. Allison Jr., "Matthew 23:39 = Luke 13:35b as a Conditional Prophecy," JSNT 18 (1983): 77-80.

¹⁰⁸ Allison, "Conditional Prophecy," 78-79.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Allison, "Conditional Prophecy," 79.

conditions must be met prior to the advent of the Messiah. Allison finds that Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b have the same structure as those sentences in Jewish sources: (a) statement about the coming of the Messiah with adverbial particle of negation; (b) conditional particle ($\delta\lambda\upsilon$); (c) condition to be met prior to the coming of the Messiah.¹¹⁰ The citation from Ps 117(118):26a adds an intimation of salvation to the pericope which is otherwise concerned with judgment (Matt 23:37-38). As Allison concludes,

The thought of judgement is present because, for now, Israel has not received the messenger of God; she has refused to accept the one who is sent to her, and therefore the redemption has not come. And yet, despite this element of judgement, the thought of salvation is also present. For Jesus affirms that, if she will, Jerusalem can, in the end, bless in the name of the Lord the one who will come, and her doing so, that is, her repentance, will lead to deliverance.¹¹¹

On the one hand, Matthew shows a partial fulfillment of Ps 118:26a at Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9), though not all of Israel welcome Jesus as the Messiah; on the other hand, Matthew implies that a further fulfillment of Ps 118:26a will take place at Jesus' parousia (cf. Matt 23:29).¹¹² At Jesus' parousia, Israel will recognize his glory (cf. Matt 19:28; 26:64). Matthew cites Ps 117(118):26a

¹¹⁰ Allison, "Conditional Prophecy," 79-80.

¹¹¹ Allison, "Conditional Prophecy," 80.

¹¹² Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 474; Gnilka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:305; Barnabas Lindars, however, thinks that Matthew sees the resurrection of Jesus as the fulfillment of Ps 118:26a (New Testament Apologetic, 172-73); Krister Stendahl suggests that the occurrence of Ps 117(118):26a (with the words $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$. . . and $\acute{\alpha}\pi' \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\iota$ preceding Ps 117(118):26a) in Matt 23:29 calls up thoughts of Jesus' parousia (cf. Matt 26:29, 64) (School of St. Matthew, 93); cf. Werner H. Kelber, "Kingdom and Parousia in the Gospel of Mark" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1970), 88-95.

in Matt 23:39b as a prophecy that Israel will welcome Jesus at his parousia (cf. Rom 11:25-27).¹¹³

e. Conclusion

Matthew reads Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b as a messianic prophecy which will be fulfilled at the parousia of Jesus when Israel acknowledges and welcomes him as the Messiah. At his first visitation, Jesus was indeed acknowledged by some as the Messiah, the Son of David, in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a at his entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9 par.), but he was ultimately rejected and crucified. At his second visitation, Jesus will come as the glorified representative of God; at that time, Israel will again welcome him and fully accept his authority in fulfillment of Ps 118:26a.

¹¹³ A comparable point is made in Peter's speech in Solomon's Portico in Acts 3. Peter exhorts the inhabitants of Jerusalem to repent and turn to God so that God will send the Messiah, that is, Jesus, who will remain in heaven until the final restoration of his people (Acts 3:19-21).

10. Matthew 27:46

Matt 27:46

ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι;
 τουτ' εστιν·
θεε μου θεε μου,
ινα τι εγκατελιπες με;

Ps 21(22):2a

ο θεος ο θεος μου, προσχες μοι·
ινα τι εγκατελιπες με;

a. Text

The text of Matt 27:46, which also occurs in Mark 15:34 in a parallel passage, reproduces a series of several words of Ps 21(22):2a. Out of the eleven words in the psalm parallel, five appear in identical form in Matt 27:46 and two come from the same root. The interpretive gloss τουτ' εστιν, which is preceded by a transliteration of the Aramaic of Ps 21(22):2a, introduces a Greek translation of the Aramaic words, which is in significant agreement with Ps 21(22):2a. Therefore, I consider Matt 27:46 to be a citation from Ps 21(22):2a.

The citation from Ps 21(22):2a is quoted in both a transliteration of the Aramaic and a Greek translation in Matt 27:46 (cf. Mark 15:34). Matthew's use of ηλι represents the Hebrew **יְהוָה** as opposed to Mark's ελωι which corresponds to Aramaic **יְהוָה**.¹¹⁴ However, ηλι is also found in the Targum to Ps 22:2a as an accepted Aramaic form.¹¹⁵ The use of ηλι instead of ελωι in Matthew's text

¹¹⁴ Cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, 70; Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 84.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Moo, Old Testament, 267; Gnllka, Matthäusevangelium, 2:475; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:624.

provides a better basis for confusion between the divine name and **ה'אליהו**, Elijah (Matt 27:47, 49).¹¹⁶ Matt 27:46 also has **λεμα σαβαχθανι** (as in Mark 15:34), representing the Aramaic **למא שבחני**.¹¹⁷

In the Greek translation, Matthew uses the vocative **θεε** with the possessive pronoun **μου** twice as against the repetition of **ο θεος** with a single use of **μου** in the LXX text; Matthean style may explain the variation which is closer to the Hebrew than is the LXX.¹¹⁸ Matthew (as does Mark) omits the LXX's **πρόσχεσ μοι**, which also brings Matthew's text closer to the MT. Matthew agrees with the LXX's interrogative particle **ἴνα τι**. He also reverses the LXX's order of **ἐγκατέλιπες με**, bringing forward the pronoun; the reversal may suggest that Matthew intends to intensify the suffering of Jesus.¹¹⁹

b. Context

In Matt 27:45-46 the loud cry of Jesus in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a occurs at three o'clock in the afternoon after the period of darkness has ended. The darkness which surrounded "all the earth (**πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν**)" was not a natural

¹¹⁶ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 573.

¹¹⁷ However, codex Bezae in Matt 27:46 as in Mark 15:34 reads **λαμα ζαφθανει**, representing the Hebrew **למה עזבחני**, which suggests that codex Bezae consistently gives a transliteration representing a Hebrew original in both Matthew and Mark (cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary, 70).

¹¹⁸ In Matt 26:39,42, Matthew uses the vocative **πάτερ** with the possessive pronoun **μου**.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Gundry, Matthew, 573.

phenomenon, but the result of divine intervention (cf. Exod 10:22; Amos 8:9).¹²⁰

Matthew uses ἀνεβόησεν for Jesus' cry (as against Mark's ἐβόησεν) (Matt 27:46a), perhaps to intensify the agony of Jesus.¹²¹

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 21(22):2a

As we have seen in our discussion of Mark's use of Psalm 22, Psalm 22 speaks both of the experience of God's abandonment and of God's deliverance. Matthew presents Jesus as being abandoned by his disciples (Matt 26:56 par.); denied by Peter (26:69-75 par.); mocked by the soldiers (27:27-31 par.); taunted by the bystanders (27:40-43) and by the bandits (27:44). All these events suggest that God is not acting on behalf of Jesus. Finally, Jesus expresses his despair, his sense of being forsaken by God, in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a (Matt 27:46). Jesus' address to God as ἡλι (θεέ μου) may itself suggest that Jesus feels estranged from God. Jesus' intimate way of addressing God as "my Father (πάτερ μου)" (cf. Matt 26:39, 42) elsewhere in the gospel stands in contrast with the way Jesus addresses God here in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a. As Raymond E. Brown comments, "Feeling forsaken as if he [Jesus] were not being heard, he no longer presumes to speak intimately to the all-powerful as 'Father' but employs the address common to all human beings, 'my God'."¹²² Jesus'

¹²⁰ Cf. Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1035; Gundry, Matthew, 572; Donald P. Senior, The Passion Narrative According to Matthew: A Redactional Study (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1975), 293-94.

¹²¹ The compound verb ἀναβοάω is used in the LXX in relation to a bitter cry or loud prayer (Gen 27:34; 1 Sam 28:12; Isa 36:13; Ezra 11:13) (cf. Senior, Passion Narrative, 294).

¹²² Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1046.

experience of God's abandonment is seen by Matthew as foretold in Ps 22:2a.

Matthew seems to emphasize the identity of Jesus as the Son of God, the very God who seems to abandon his Son to die on the cross. The mockers at the cross demand that Jesus should come down from the cross, if he is the Son of God (Matt 27:40b; cf. Matt 4:3, 6).¹²³ Matthew centers the issue of mockery on Jesus' claim to be God's Son: "He trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he wants to; for he said, 'I am God's Son'" (Matt 27:43). The statement *πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν* alludes to Ps 21(22):9 (cf. Matt 27:43a).¹²⁴ As the mockers in Ps 22:9 ridicule the notion that Yahweh is coming to save the sufferer who, the mockers claim, puts his trust in Yahweh, so the mockers in the Matthean context of Jesus' crucifixion ridicule the notion that God would deliver Jesus. The mockers, in the Matthean context, acknowledge the fact that Jesus put his trust in God and claimed a special relationship to God - "for he said, 'I am God's Son'" (Matt 27:43; cf. Matt 3:17; 17:5). The mockers discern that God has abandoned Jesus to die on the cross.

When Jesus cries on the cross in Matt 27:46 with words from Ps 21(22):2a, he is

¹²³ Davies and Allison see a parallel between the mockers' use of *εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ* in the crucifixion scene (Matt 27:40) and the devil's use of *εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ* in the temptation narrative (Matt 4:3, 6) (Matthew, 3:618).

¹²⁴ Psalm 21(22):9 reads: *ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν· σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν*. Matthew's *ῥυσάσθω* and *θέλει αὐτόν* agree with the LXX; his *πέποιθεν* and *εἰ* are similar to the MT (*יָדַעַתְּ, הֲיִשָּׁעֶה*) (cf. Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 145-46; Senior, Passion Narrative, 287-88; Brown, Death Of the Messiah, 2:994-96; Davies and Allison, Matthew, 3:620). Raymond E. Brown observes that Matthew probably had in mind another scriptural mockery of the righteous sufferer in Wis 2:17-18, where the persecutors wait to see if God is going to save the suffering righteous man who calls himself a son of God (Death of the Messiah, 2:995).

*crying as God's Son who experiences the absence of God and, thus, accomplishes the prophetic word.*¹²⁵ How could Jesus of Nazareth be God's Son when he proved helpless against the Romans? Matthew's crucifixion scene attempts to answer the question by showing that the abandonment Jesus suffered as God's Son was in accordance with the prophecy of Ps 22:2a.

Further, Matthew presents the apocalyptic signs of resurrection as a response of God to Jesus' cry and his death (Matt 27:51b-53).¹²⁶ The interpretation of Jesus' death by means of the apocalyptic tradition of resurrection and the confession of the soldiers (Matt 27:54) seem to recall the triumphant conclusion of Ps 21(22):30 that all those who sleep in the earth are drawn into the praise of Yahweh who has saved the sufferer from death.¹²⁷ Thus, Matthew presents Jesus as God's Son who fulfills the prophecy of Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46 by resorting to the word of God in the worst situation, his sense of loneliness brought on by the absence of God; and further shows how the resurrection of the saints (Matt 27:51b-53) alludes to the Lord's deliverance in Ps 22:30.

¹²⁵ Cf. Birger Gerhardsson, "Jésus livré et abandonné d'après la Passion selon saint Matthieu," RB 76 (1969): 222.

¹²⁶ Donald Senior observes that it is the death of Jesus that triggers the resurrection of the saints - the tradition only found in Matthew ("The Death of Jesus and the Resurrection of the Holy Ones," CBQ 38 [1976]: 325); Maria Riebel has drawn a parallel between the events surrounding the death of Jesus in Matt 27:51-66 and the events surrounding the resurrection of Jesus in Matt 28:1-10 (Auferstehung Jesu in der Stunde seines Tod?: zur Botschaft von Mt 27,51b-53 [Stuttgart: Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge, 1978], 63-67).

¹²⁷ The concluding portion of Psalm 22 refers to the homage to be paid to Yahweh by the "families of the nations" (v. 28) and by the dead (v. 30); cf. Senior, "Death of Jesus," 324; Reumann, "Psalm 22 at the Cross," 47.

d. Conclusion

Matthew reads Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46 as a prophecy about Jesus' experience of God's abandonment. Matthew presents Jesus as God's Son who cries out in the words of Ps 21(22):2a. Although Matthew emphasizes Jesus' experience of God's abandonment in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a, he concludes his account of Jesus' death with the resurrection of saints (Matt 27:51b-53), an event that foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus in Matt 28:1-10.

11. Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn from the study of psalm citations in Matthew's gospel:

1. Matthew has nine citations from the Psalms; five of these are not found in Mark: Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b; Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6; Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35; Ps 8:3a in Matt 21:16; and Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b; and four appear in Mark in the parallel passages: Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9 (Mark 11:9b-10); Ps 117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42 (Mark 12:10-11); Ps 109(110):1 in Matt 22:44 (Mark 12:36); and Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46 (Mark 15:34).

2. Matthew reads Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6 as a messianic prophecy about Jesus as *the Son of God* to whom divine protection was already promised in the scripture. In its original context, Ps 90(91):11-12 speaks of divine protection promised to the pious one who has taken shelter under the protective wings of Yahweh. In the Matthean context, Ps 90(91):11-12 is understood to be a prophecy about Jesus, and the divine protection is promised to Jesus as *the Son of God* (Matt 4:6). The fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12 seems to be shown in Matt 4:11 as Jesus experiences the protection of the angels. However, Jesus would not force the hand of God to protect him at the demand of the devil.

3. Matthew reads Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b as a prophecy concerning the judgment of false prophets who will be judged by Jesus in the day of judgment. Like the evil-doers in Psalm 6, the false prophets, in Matthew's context, will be put to shame by Jesus on

the day of judgment.

4. Matthew clearly reads Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35 as a prophecy fulfilled in Jesus' use of the parables. Psalm 78 is a didactic psalm which narrates Yahweh's activity in Israel's history. But in Matthew's context, Ps 77(78):2 is taken to be speaking about Jesus' teaching in parables (Matt 13:34-35). Matthew shows that Jesus is acting in accordance with the prophetic word when he speaks in parables.

5. Matthew seems to present the praise of children at the temple in Matt 21:16 as a fulfillment of Ps 8:3a. In its original context, Ps 8:3a speaks of the praise of children, which was ordained by Yahweh. But Matthew shows that the children praised Jesus in fulfillment of Ps 8:3a (Matt 21:15-16). The praise of children in Matt 21:15 further enhances the messianic identity of Jesus as the "Son of David."

6. Matthew reads Ps 117(118):26a as a messianic prophecy of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in Matt 21:9. Matthew has shown that only the crowds, not the religious leaders, acknowledge Jesus as the "Son of David" at Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:9). Matthew's attribution of ὁσωννά to the "Son of David" seems to make the psalm text (Ps 117(118):26a) more explicit that "the one who comes in the name of the Lord" is none other than Jesus, the "Son of David."

7. Matthew reads Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b as a messianic prophecy which will be fulfilled at the parousia of Jesus. Matthew does use Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 21:9 to welcome Jesus as the "Son of David," but not all of Israel acknowledges Jesus as the Messiah. Matthew anticipates a complete fulfillment of Ps 118:26a at the parousia

of Jesus when Israel as a whole will recognize his glory and welcome him as the Messiah.

8. Matthew reads Ps 117(118):22-23, quoted in Matt 21:42, as a prophecy about Jesus' rejection and his subsequent exaltation. Matthew also expands the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants in Matt 21:43-44 to highlight the "stone" prophecy of Ps 117(118):22-23 quoted in Matt 21:42: the rejected stone will not only be exalted, but also eventually destroy everyone who opposes it.

9. The citation from Ps 109(110):1 used in Matt 22:44 is read as a prophecy about the lordship of the Messiah. For Matthew, Jesus is "Lord" even before his resurrection (Matt 9:28; 15:22; 20:33); and therefore, Jesus' lordship prophesied in Ps 110:1 finds its fulfillment in Matt 9:28; 15:22; 20:33.

10. Matthew reads Ps 21(22):2a as a prophecy about Jesus' experience of God's abandonment in Matt 27:46. Matthew's employment of materials in Matt 27:51b-53 seems to bring to focus the concluding portion of Psalm 22; he concludes Jesus' death with the resurrection of the saints (Matt 27:53-54), an event that foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus in Matt 28:1-10.

11. Matthew's reading of the Psalms seems to differ from Mark's way of reading the Psalms in two ways:

a. First, Matthew seems to be more interested in showing the fulfillment of the Psalms in Jesus' life and ministry than Mark. For instance, Matthew reads Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6 as a messianic prophecy about divine protection promised to

Jesus as the "Son of God." Matthew shows the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:11 as Jesus experiences the protection of the angels. Matthew's use of Ps 77(78):2 in Matt 13:35 shows that Jesus fulfills the prophecy of Ps 77(78):2 when he speaks in parables. The citation from Ps 109(110):1 used in Matt 22:44 and Mark 12:36 is read by both Matthew and Mark as a prophecy about the lordship of the Messiah. For Matthew, Jesus is "Lord" even before his resurrection (Matt 9:28; 15:22; 20:33); and therefore Matthew indirectly points to the fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1 in Matt 22:44. But, for Mark, Jesus' enthronement to God's right hand as David's Lord seems to lie in the future (Mark 14:62); and hence for Mark the fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1 quoted in Mark 12:36 is beginning to be fulfilled in Jesus as the "Son of God" at his death (cf. Mark 15:39) and will be complete at his parousia (cf. Mark 14:62).

b. Second, Matthew seems to enlarge the prophetic understanding of the Psalms. For instance, Matthew has added the phrase τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ in Matt 21:9 to make the prophetic text of Ps 117(118):26a more explicit that "the coming one" is none other than Jesus, the "Son of David." But Mark has not yet let the crowd acknowledge Jesus as the "Son of David" in Mark 11:9b-10. However, Mark has drawn attention to the crowd's expectation of Jesus as the reestablisher of the Davidic kingdom, whose fulfillment seems to lie in the future. Both Matthew and Mark read Ps 117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42 and Mark 12:10-12 respectively as a prophecy about Jesus' death and resurrection. However, Matthew has expanded the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants in Matt 21:43-44 beyond the "stone" prophecy of Ps

117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42, showing that the rejected stone will not only be vindicated, but will also destroy everyone who opposes it, a judgment motif which is lacking in Mark. Matthew has included Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b to show that Jesus will come as a judge to pronounce condemnation on false prophets on the day of judgment. Psalm 6:9a is not quoted in Mark. Both Matthew and Mark read Ps 21(22):2a as a prophecy about Jesus' experience of God's abandonment in Matt 27:46 and Mark 15:34 respectively. However, Matthew concludes Jesus' death with the resurrection of the saints (Matt 27:51b-53), an event that foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus. With the employment of additional material in Matt 27:51b-53, Matthew seems to assert that Jesus' experience of God's abandonment as foretold in Ps 21(22):2a is to be seen as leading to the triumphant resurrection event, a resurrection account which is lacking in the parallel context in Mark and Luke.

CHAPTER 5

PSALM CITATIONS IN LUKE'S GOSPEL

1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I attempted to show how Mark and Matthew read the Psalms as prophecy. Now I would like to discuss how Luke does the same. Luke-Acts presents Jesus' life and the birth of the church as the fulfillment of God's purpose for salvation announced through his prophets (cf. Luke 24:44). Luke expresses his interest in the theme of fulfilled prophecy in the preface to the gospel, where he describes the content of his work as the events that have been "fulfilled among us (*περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων*)" (Luke 1:1), and at the end of the gospel, where the risen Jesus explains how "everything written about me in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms must be fulfilled (*δεῖ πληρωθῆναι πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ τοῖς προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ*)" (Luke 24:44).¹ Thus, the beginning and ending of his gospel display the importance of

¹ The opening chapters of Acts not only look forward to coming events, such as the promise of the Father in Acts 1:4 (cf. Luke 24:49), but also indicate the ongoing fulfillment of Scripture (Acts 1:16-20; 2:16-21). The end of Acts mentions Israel's refusal to believe by quoting a prophecy from Isa 6:9-10 which is now said to have been fulfilled (Acts 28:25-28). For a discussion of the function of Scripture in Luke-Acts, see Craig A. Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic: Jews in Luke's Scriptural Apologetic," in Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993), 171-211. David Flusser argues that Luke's tripartite division of the OT as the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms (Luke 24:44) seems to resemble the Qumran text 4QMMT, which also refers to the OT as the books of Moses, the prophets, and David's psalms ("Wie in den Psalmen über mich geschrieben steht (Lk 24,44)," Judaica 48 [1992]: 40-41).

fulfilled prophecies in Luke's theological purpose.²

Luke's use of the quotations from the Psalms underlines the Lukan theme of prophecy and fulfillment.³ Quotations from the Psalms appear in the Lukan accounts of Jesus' temptation (Ps 90(91):11-12 in Luke 4:10-11), his lament over Jerusalem (Ps 117(118):26:a in Luke 13:35b), his triumphal entry (Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38), his parable of the wicked tenants (Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17), his debate with the scribes (Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43), and his passion (Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b). Most of the citations from the Psalms found in Luke have parallels in Mark or Matthew. Ps 30(31):6a, however, is cited only in Luke 23:46b.

² See Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," in Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (ed. W. Eltester; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1957), 172-77; Eric Franklin, Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts (London: SPCK, 1975), 70-76; Bock, Proclamation, 27-37; Strauss, Davidic Messiah, 255-58; J. L. Houldon, "The Purpose of Luke," JSNT 21 (1984): 53-65; repr. in The Synoptic Gospels: A Sheffield Reader (eds. Craig A. Evans and Stanely E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffeld Academic Press, 1995); Jack T. Sanders, "The Prophetic Use of the Scriptures in Luke-Acts," in Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee (eds. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 191-98; John T. Squires, The Plan of God in Luke-Acts (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), 137-43; Brigid C. Frein, "Narrative Predictions, Old Testament Prophecies and Luke's Sense of Fulfillment," NTS 40 (1994): 22-34.

³ The theme of prophecy in the Psalms and its fulfillment continues in Acts. See, e.g., the death of Judas in Acts 1:16-20a as fulfillment of Ps 68(69):25; his replacement by Matthias in Acts 1:20b-26 as fulfillment of Ps 108(109):8b.

2. Luke 4:10-11

Luke 4:10-11

γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι
τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ
ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ
διαφυλάξαι σε
καὶ ὅτι
ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε,
μήποτε προσκόμενης πρὸς λίθον
τὸν πόδα σου.

Ps 90(91):11-12

ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ
ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ
διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πάσαις
ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου·
ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε,
μήποτε προσκόμενης πρὸς λίθον
τὸν πόδα σου·

a. Text

The text of the citation in Luke 4:10-11 shows extensive correspondence to the psalm text. Of the twenty-six words which make up Ps 90(91):11-12, twenty appear in identical form in Luke 4:10-11 (cf. Matt 4:6). Further, the text of Luke 4:10-11 is introduced by γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι, indicating a quotation.⁴ The citation from Ps 90(91):11-12 found in Luke 4:10-11 is identical to the LXX text and also to the current critical text of Matthew, except that Luke has the LXX's τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε after περὶ σοῦ at the end of v. 10 (omitted in Matt 4:6).⁵ As in Matthew, Luke has omitted the LXX's ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου. He has joined the two verses of the psalm quotation by the phrase καὶ ὅτι, whereas Matthew has used a single word

⁴ Cf. Fitzmyer, Luke I-IX, 515. The same introductory statement without ὅτι is used with the addition of ἐν βιβλῶν ψαλμῶν to point out the prophetic fulfillment of Pss 68(69):26; 108(109):8 in Acts 1:20.

⁵ Cf. New, Old Testament Quotations, 55; Charles A. Kimball, Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel (JSNTSup 94; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 87.

καὶ.⁶ The use of ὅτι suggests that Luke draws attention to the gap in the citation.⁷

b. Context

The citation from Ps 90(91):11-12 occurs in the context of the third temptation in Luke 4:9-11, whereas it is found in the second temptation in Matt 4:5-6. For Luke, the third temptation is the climax of the three, as it is placed in the holy city, Jerusalem.⁸ Luke begins and ends his gospel in Jerusalem (Luke 1:9; 24:53). Because of his interest in Jerusalem (cf. Luke 1:9; 2:22, 42; 24:47, 53; Acts 1:8), Luke presents the third and final temptation of Jesus as the climax of Jesus' encounter with the devil in Jerusalem.⁹

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 90(91):11-12

As we have seen in our discussion on Matthew's use of Psalm 91 in Matt 4:6, Psalm 91 talks of divine protection available to the godly ones who have taken shelter under the protection of God. Although the citation from Ps 90(91):11-12 does not explicitly state that divine protection is available to God's Son, the devil quotes

⁶ Cf. Kimball, Jesus' Exposition, 88.

⁷ See Traugott Holtz, Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas (TU 104; Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 57-58; Fitzmyer, Luke I-IX, 517; I. Howard Marshall, The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978), 173; Wayne D. Litke, "Luke's Knowledge of the Septuagint: A Study of the Citations in Luke-Acts (Old Testament, Acts of the Apostles)" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1993), 165.

⁸ Hamish Swanston sees a connection between the sequence of events in the Lukan temptation narrative and the sequence in Psalm 106: Ps 106:14-15 refers to the manna and quails story of Exodus 16 (cf. Luke 4:3-4); Ps 106:19-20 describes the making of the golden image episode of Exod 32:4-6 (cf. Luke 4:5-8); and Ps 106:32-33 talks about the story of Massah of Exod 17:1-17 (cf. Luke 4:9-12) ("The Lukan Temptation Narrative," JTS 17 [1966]: 71).

⁹ See Fitzmyer, Luke I-IX, 165.

Ps 90(91):11-12 in what is posed as a test of Jesus' status as God's Son (εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke 4:9). As Howard I. Marshall comments, "A promise addressed to the godly in general, however, applies a *fortiori* to the Son of God. The temptation is, therefore, to prove the truth of God's promise by putting it to the test - something which the godly man does not need to do because he has faith in God, and which is thus a sign of lack of faith."¹⁰ *When the citation from Psalm 91 is read along with the conditional statement "If you are the Son of God" in the context of the temptation narrative, Luke seems to read Ps 90(91):11-12 as a prophecy about divine protection promised to God's Son. Jesus does not deny the validity of God's promises as quoted by the devil; rather he denies the devil's attempt to force him to test God. Therefore, Jesus' response to the devil in Luke 4:12, a response drawn from Deut 6:16, does not question the validity of Scripture as quoted by the devil, but Jesus warns against testing God.*

Unlike Matt 4:11, Luke does not show the fulfillment of Ps (90)91:11-12 by having angels come and minister to Jesus immediately after the temptation (cf. also Mark 1:13). But such a fulfillment is shown elsewhere in his gospel. For instance, Luke reports that after Jesus' address to those in the synagogue in Nazareth, angry listeners drove Jesus out of the town and led him to the brow of the hill so that they might cast him off the cliff (Luke 4:29); but Jesus, Luke reports, passed through the midst of them and went on his way (v. 30). This detail is often considered an instance

¹⁰ Marshall, Luke, 173.

of miraculous or divine protection.¹¹ *In this account, Luke indirectly seems to show the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12: Jesus does experience divine protection and those who tried to cast him off the cliff could not hurt him.*¹² Further, Luke reports the presence of an angel on the mount of Olives (Luke 22:43). The angel appears to Jesus to strengthen him: the thought of angelic help recalls the scripture cited at Jesus' temptation (cf. Luke 4:10-11; Ps 90(91):11-12).¹³ Therefore, Luke implicitly expresses the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12 in Jesus' life in different contexts, though not at the end of the temptation narrative.

d. Conclusion

The citation from Ps 90(91):11-12 used to tempt Jesus seems to be read by Luke in Luke 4:10-11 as a prophecy about divine protection promised to Jesus as the Son of God. Although Luke does not place the fulfillment of the scriptural prophecy at the end of the temptation narrative, as does Matthew, he implicitly displays the fulfillment elsewhere in his gospel (cf. Luke 4:30; 22:43).

¹¹ Cf. Fitzmyer, Luke I-IX, 538; the Johannine parallels express the point that Jesus' "hour" had not yet come (John 7:30; 8:59; 10:39).

¹² Heinz Schürmann finds a fulfillment of Ps 91:11-13 in Luke 4:30 where Jesus is depicted as escaping unharmed (Das Lukasevangelium [HTKNT; 3 vols.; Freiburg: Herder, 1969-1994], 1:240).

¹³ The angels appear often in Luke-Acts to provide messages and divine protection for God's people (Luke 1:26; 2:9; 12:8-9, 11; 15:10; Acts 5:19; 8:26; 10:3; 12:7, 23; 27:23).

3. Luke 13:35b

Luke 13:35b

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Ps 117(118):26a

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

a. Text

The text of the citation in Luke 13:35b, which also occurs in Matt 23:39b in a parallel context, represents an extensive and notable verbal parallel to Ps 117(118):26a, sufficient to suggest dependence. Of the six words which make up Ps 117(118):26a, all six are found in identical form and order in Luke 13:35b. The text of Ps 117(118):26a is quoted in Luke 13:35b verbatim from the LXX, as in Matt 23:39b.¹⁴

b. Context

The citation from Ps 117(118):26a occurs in Luke 13:35b in the "travel narrative" of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, beginning at Luke 9:51. The same quotation in Matt 23:37-39 follows the lengthy series of words addressed to the scribes and Pharisees and is placed after Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. In Luke, the episode (Luke 13:31-33) preceding Luke 13:34-35 implicitly recognizes that Jesus himself might face a prophet's fate in Jerusalem, where he was heading.¹⁵ The citation from Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 13:35b occurs in the context of Jesus' response to the Pharisees' warning of Herod's threat. Jesus pronounces judgment on the city, which is to be

¹⁴ Cf. Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 166.

¹⁵ Cf. Stendahl, School of St. Matthew, 93; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV (AB 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 1033.

forsaken by God; the people of Jerusalem will no longer see him until (ἕως) they welcome him in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a.

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):26a

The fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a as cited in Luke 13:35b has been thought to be found in the triumphal entry of Jesus in Luke 19:38, when the disciples greeted him in words taken from Ps 117(118):26a.¹⁶ *However, in Luke 19:38 the wording of the citation is different, and Jesus is greeted only by the multitude of disciples (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν) (Luke 17:37), not by the inhabitants of Jerusalem as intended in Luke 13:35a.* As Robert C. Tannehill says,

Although these words are similar to those used by the rejoicing crowd at Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Luke 19:38), the author makes clear that it is not the people of Jerusalem who speak of Jesus in this way but the 'multitude of the disciples' who had accompanied Jesus during his ministry. Thus the expectation of a positive greeting from Jerusalem in 13:35 is not fulfilled at Jesus' arrival in the city.¹⁷

Therefore, it is more likely that the fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a quoted in Luke 13:35b is thought still to lie in the future, the time of Jesus' parousia when Jerusalem

¹⁶ Cf. Allan J. McNicol, David L. Dungan, and David B. Peabody, eds., Beyond the Q Impasse - Luke's Use of Matthew: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies (with preface by William R. Farmer; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 206-07.

¹⁷ Robert C. Tannehill, "Israel in Luke-Acts: A Tragic Story," JBL 104 (1985): 84-85. Peter, speaking with new insight in Acts 3:19-21, takes into account the delay of the coming of Jesus, the Messiah, due to persistent Jewish rejection. However, a hope for "salvation" is expressed in Luke 13:35 that Jews will finally accept Jesus as their messianic king. See also J. Ross Wagner, "Psalms 118 in Luke-Acts: Tracing a Narrative Thread," in Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals (eds. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 162-64.

will be ready to welcome him as the Messiah.¹⁸

Within the gospel of Luke, Jesus has already been identified as "the one who comes (ὁ ἐρχόμενος)," i.e., the Messiah (Luke 3:15-16; 7:18-19, 22).¹⁹ Luke uses the same phrase ὁ ἐρχόμενος, derived from Ps 117(118):26a, when Jesus is welcomed as ὁ βασιλεύς at his entry into Jerusalem (Luke 19:38).²⁰ Though Jesus sees himself more as a rejected prophet in Luke 13:31-35, the use of the phrase ὁ ἐρχόμενος used in a messianic sense elsewhere in Luke's gospel seems to suggest that Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 13:35b has messianic implications: *Jerusalem, who had rejected the prophets, including Jesus, will receive him as the Messiah in the future.*²¹

d. Conclusion

Luke reads Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 13:35b as a messianic prophecy which will be fulfilled at Jesus' parousia. Luke cites Ps 117(118):26a again in Luke 19:38 at the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, where the multitude of disciples, not the

¹⁸ See Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1035; J. Bradley Chance, Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age in Luke-Acts (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 130-31; Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic," in Evans and Sanders, Luke and Scripture, 178-79; Hans Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 110.

¹⁹ Mark L. Strauss argues that the use of the phrase ὁ ἐρχόμενος elsewhere in Luke's gospel suggests that the Davidic Messiah is at least partially in view here as well (Davidic Messiah, 246).

²⁰ Though denying that ὁ ἐρχόμενος originally referred to the kingly-Messiah, Heinz Schürmann suggests that, on the basis of Luke 19:38, Luke may have understood ὁ ἐρχόμενος in Luke 13:35 in a messianic sense (Lukasevangelium, 1:409 n. 5).

²¹ Darrell L. Bock also suggests that Jesus speaks in Luke 13:33 as a prophet; however, in view of Luke's use of ὁ ἐρχόμενος elsewhere in his gospel as a messianic title, Luke seems to present Jesus as God's coming one, the Messiah in Luke 13:35b (Proclamation, 120-21).

inhabitants of Jerusalem, welcome Jesus as the king. For Luke, the complete fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a quoted in the context of Jesus' lament over Jerusalem in Luke 13:35b still lies in the future when Jerusalem will welcome Jesus as God's coming one, the Messiah.

4. Luke 19:38

Luke 19:38

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος,
ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·
ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν
ὑψίστοις.

Ps 117(118):26a

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·

a. Text

The text of the citation in Luke 19:38, which also occurs in Mark 11:9b and Matt 21:9 in a parallel context, represents an extensive verbal parallel to Ps 117(118):26a, which is enough to suggest dependence. Of the six words that make up Ps 117(118):26a, all six are found in identical form and order in Luke 19:38. The Lukan form of the citation agrees with the LXX verbatim apart from the phrase ὁ βασιλεύς which Luke has inserted (cf. John 12:13).²² Luke has no parallel to the reference to the Davidic kingdom in Mark 11:9 or that to the Davidic sonship in Matt 21:9. The second part of the text in Luke 19:38, which is a Lukan addition, follows neither Mark nor Matthew; Luke does not have Mark's and Matthew's ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, but has ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, which echoes the angelic song at the nativity (Luke 2:14).²³

²² Cf. Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 150; Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1251.

²³ See Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 151; Gundry, Use of the Old Testament, 42-43; Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1251; Wagner, "Psalm 118 in Luke-Acts," 167. Luke has also omitted ὡσαννὰ at both the beginning and the end of the saying, presumably because it would not have been intelligible to a Gentile audience (cf. Marshall, Luke, 715).

b. Context

According to the Lukan account, after Jesus' long journey to Jerusalem, he finally reaches the city. In preparation for his entry into Jerusalem, Jesus sends out two of his disciples to bring a colt for him to ride on (Luke 19:30). Unlike Matthew, Luke does not explicitly quote Zech 9:9 to draw out the messianic significance of riding on a colt.²⁴ However, Jesus' riding on a colt may nonetheless be seen as a sign of kingship (cf. 2 Kgs 1:33).²⁵ In Luke, it is the multitude of disciples (πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν) who welcome Jesus in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a (Luke 19:37-38). Luke's inclusion of the phrase ὁ βασιλεύς in the quotation from Ps 117(118):26a in the welcome address suggests that Jesus is explicitly greeted as the king at his arrival in Jerusalem.²⁶

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):26a

In Luke's version of the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, no crowds are waving palm branches and shouting hosanna to greet Jesus. Instead, the whole crowd of disciples spread their own clothing (Luke 19:35-36); the multitude of the disciples (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν) - the large group that has been traveling with Jesus - utter the greeting in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a. Luke has shifted the emphasis

²⁴ Cf. Marshall, *Luke*, 710; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1244.

²⁵ J. Ross Wagner argues that although Luke does not explicitly cite Zech 9:9 in his account of the triumphal entry, he appears to allude to the latter passage (e.g. Luke 19:35: ἐπεβίβασαν - Zech 9:9: ἐπιβεβηκώς; Luke 19:37: χαίροντες - Zech 9:9: χαίρε) ("Psalm 118 in Luke-Acts," 165-66).

²⁶ John 12:13 has ὁ βασιλεύς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

from the dominion of David (as in Mark 11:10) or the Davidic sonship of Jesus (as in Matt 21:9) to the royal image of Jesus as "king."²⁷ As Joseph A. Fitzmyer says, "It is not the kingdom of David that is coming, but Jerusalem's 'king' himself. Salvation through this king brings peace."²⁸ Luke shows that Jesus enters Jerusalem as "king" and as the fulfillment of Ps 118:26a, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." The royal image of Jesus is already foreshadowed in Luke 1:32; 18:38, 40 and is repeated as the political charge brought against Jesus in Luke 23:3 (cf. Luke 23:32, 38).²⁹ The Lukan use of Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38 serves as a prophetic fulfillment in that the disciples acknowledge Jesus as ὁ ἐρχόμενος ὁ βασιλεύς.

The greeting of the disciples in words drawn from Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38 recalls Luke 13:35b, where Jesus predicts that the inhabitants of Jerusalem will never see him until they welcome him as "the coming one" of Ps 117(118):26a. In Luke 19:38, only the disciples recognize Jesus' arrival as the prophetic fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a; the religious leadership does not, but is rather annoyed by the

²⁷ Christoph Burger suggests that Luke has minimized the possibility of Jesus being understood as Davidic king by eliminating any reference to David in Luke 19:38 (Jesus als Davidsson, 112-114); Brent Kinman asserts that the acclamation of Jesus as king in Luke 19:38 may find a parallel in the cries which, on occasion, greeted Solomon and other kings in the OT (cf. 1 Kgs 1:34.39; 1 Sam 10:24; 2 Kgs 11:12) (Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem: In the Context of Lukan Theology and the Politics of His day [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995], 96).

²⁸ Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1251.

²⁹ Wayne D. Litke asserts that Luke probably has in mind the messianic implication of Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38 as Jesus is welcomed as "king;" but, for Luke, the interpretation of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem by the Sanhedrin and Pilate in Luke 23:2-3, making Jesus a political pretender to the literal throne of David, is mistaken ("Luke's Knowledge," 152-53); also Wagner, "Psalm 118 in Luke-Acts," 166 n. 39.

messianic acclamation of the disciples (Luke 19:39; cf. Matt 21:14-16).³⁰ *Luke seems to show a partial fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38 as "the whole company of the disciples" acknowledges Jesus' kingship, but not the residents of Jerusalem.*

d. Conclusion

Luke seems to read Ps 117(118):26a as a prophecy of Jesus' arrival in Jerusalem in Luke 19:38. However, Luke's earlier use of Ps 117(118):26a in the context of Jesus' lament over Jerusalem in Luke 13:35b looks forward to a future fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a when the inhabitants of Jerusalem will welcome Jesus as the king. Therefore, Luke's use of Ps 117(118):26a in the context of Jesus' triumphal entry to Jerusalem in Luke 19:38 represents only its partial fulfillment.

³⁰ William C. Robinson Jr., draws attention to the fact that the prophecy (Ps 118:26a) is not entirely fulfilled in Luke 19:38, in as much as it is the disciples, not Jerusalem, who utter the words from the psalm (Der Weg des Herrn: Studien zur Geschichte und Eschatologie im Lukas-Evangelium [TF 36; Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich · Evangelischer Verlag, 1964], 54.

5. Luke 20:17

Luke 20:17

τί οὖν ἐστὶν τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο·
λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν
οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας;

Ps 117(118):22

λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν
οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη
εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας·

b. Text

The verbal parallel found between Luke 20:17 and Ps 117(118):22 is extensive and notable enough to suggest dependence. Of the ten words which make up Ps 117(118):22, all ten are found in identical form and order in Luke 20:17. Further the text of the citation in Luke 20:17 is introduced with the words τί οὖν ἐστὶν τὸ γεγραμμένον τοῦτο, which indicate the presence of a quotation.³¹ The citation from Ps 117(118):22 which occurs in Luke 20:17 is identical to the text found in both Mark 12:10 and Matt 21:42. However, Luke omits v. 23 of Psalm 118, which Mark and Matthew retain in their texts.³² Luke's omission of Ps 118:23 is probably motivated by his desire to link the "stone" passage of Ps 118:23 directly with the second "stone" passage found in Luke 20:18 (cf. Matt 21:44).³³

³¹ The use of the perfect passive participle of γράφειν in introducing quotations from the OT is peculiar to Luke (cf. Luke 18:31; 21:22; 22:37; 22:44). Cf. Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1285.

³² New, Old Testament Quotations, 47.

³³ See Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1969), 171-73; Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 155; Marshall, Luke, 732; Charles E. Carlston thinks that Luke has omitted Ps 118:23 because Ps 118:23 ("This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvelous in our eyes") would be understood as an elaboration not of the individual judgment but of the resurrection, the Gentile mission, and the rise of Gentile Christianity - themes which Luke wishes to develop in the book of Acts (Parables of the Triple Tradition, 80); Luke T. Johnson observes that Luke focuses on the rejection of the stone and its consequences - vindication and judgment - by omitting v. 23 of Ps 118 (The Gospel of

b. Context

As in Mark 11:27-33 and Matt 21:23-27, the parable of the wicked tenants is preceded by the questioning of Jesus' authority by the chief priests and the scribes with the elders (Luke 20:1-8). Luke lacks the Matthean parable of the two sons (Matt 21:28-32), so that the parable of the wicked tenants immediately follows the discussion of authority with the Jerusalem leaders (Luke 20:1-8). The parable is directed against the religious leaders of Jerusalem (20:19), but told to the people (20:9).³⁴

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 117(118):22

As we have seen earlier in our discussion of Mark's use of Ps 117(118):22-23, the citation from Ps 117(118):22-23 existed as a conclusion to the parable and links directly to the rejected son in the parable. According to the Lukan version of the parable, the owner of the vineyard sent three servants whom the tenants rejected (Luke 20:10-12). At last, the owner sent his beloved son (cf. Mark 12:6), whom they cast out and killed (cf. Matt 21:39). The parable ends with a promise that the owner will come and destroy his tenants and give the vineyard to others (Luke 20:16). Following the crowd's response, Jesus quotes Ps 117(118):22, which serves as an indirect reference

Luke [Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991], 309). It appears to me that Luke does explicitly speak of the prophetic fulfillment of Ps 117(118):22 in Acts 4:10-11; however, in the context of Luke 20:17, Luke seems to focus his attention on vindication and judgment as he quotes only Ps 117(118):22 and links the passage to the idea of judgment in Luke 20:18.

³⁴ Cf. Carlston, Parables of the Triple Tradition, 76.

to his own death and resurrection.³⁵

As we have seen earlier, Ps 117(118):22 was widely applied to Christ's death and resurrection in the early church (cf. Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:7-8; *Barn.* 6:4).³⁶ Like Mark and Matthew, Luke sees Ps 117(118):22 as an indirect prophecy about Jesus' death and exaltation: the use of the phrase ὁ υἱὸς . . . ὁ ἀγαπητὸς in the parable (Luke 20:13) echoes the baptismal voice which attested Jesus as ὁ υἱὸς . . . ὁ ἀγαπητὸς (Luke 3:22; cf. Mark 1:11), a messianic declaration alluding to Ps 2:7; and thus, the "beloved Son" of the parable seems to correspond to Jesus as God's beloved Son. *In Luke 20:17, Luke reads Ps 117(118):22 as a scriptural prophecy to predict both Jesus' rejection and exaltation.* As Darrell L. Bock says,

In light of Luke's consistent use of this psalm (see Luke 13:35, esp. 19:38), Jesus is Son and heir in fulfilling the unique task of Messiah. In the original context, the rejected stone stood for the Israelite king and nation opposed by the nations. Just as the kings of the Israelite nation were rejected by God's enemies and yet held an esteemed position before God, so too Jesus, the Christ and the

³⁵ J. Ross Wagner remarks that the parable itself says nothing to forecast Jesus' resurrection; it merely promises judgment on the opponents. The quotation from Ps 117(118):22 prefigures the resurrection of Jesus and his vindication by God ("Psalm 118 in Luke-Acts," 170-71).

³⁶ In his second book, Luke explicitly applies Ps 117(118):22 as a prophecy to Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection (Acts 4:10-11). Although he does not openly claim the fulfillment of Scripture by an introductory formula, he does show that what happened to Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled God's eternal plan and the prediction of Ps 117(118):22. Luke's modifications of Ps 117(118):22 in Acts 4:11 are noteworthy to see how Luke explicitly shows the fulfillment of Ps 117(118):22: (a) Luke replaces the verb ἀπεδοκίμασαν ("rejected") of the LXX with the verb ἐξουθενήθεις ("scorned"), since, though a stone cannot be "scorned," a person can (cf. Luke 18:9; 23:11); (b) Luke explicitly adds the words ὑφ' ὑμῶν ("by you") before the words τῶν οἰκοδόμων ("the builders"), alluding to the authorities standing before Peter as "builders" (cf. Acts 4:5-8). However, Ernst Haenchen thinks that Luke is following another textual tradition in Acts 4:11 (*The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [trans. Bernard Noble and Gerald Shinn; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971], 217); also see Luke T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Sacra Pagina Series 5; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 77-78; Ben Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 194.

Son, though rejected, will be exalted by God.³⁷

Like Matt 21:44, Luke has expanded the prophetic implication of Ps 117(118):22 by adding an element of judgment on those who reject the stone: "Everyone who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces; and it will crush anyone on whom it falls" (Luke 20:18) - an allusion to Isa 8:14 and Dan 2:34.³⁸ As Darrell L. Bock comments, "What is in view here is an added warning of judgment because of who Jesus is. To reject God's honoured messianic king, the cornerstone, is to face the threat of being shattered or crushed by him in judgment."³⁹ The citation from Ps 117(118):22 quoted in Luke 20:17 together with the proverbial saying of Luke 20:18 is used to provide scriptural support for the rejection and vindication of Jesus as well as the impending judgment for those who oppose God's Son: the rejected Son, who has become the head of the corner, will eventually destroy everyone who opposes him.⁴⁰

d. Conclusion

Like Mark and Matthew, Luke presents Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17 as a

³⁷ Bock, Proclamation, 127.

³⁸ Cf. Evans, "Prophecy and Polemic," in Evans and Sanders, Luke and Scripture, 180.

³⁹ Bock, Proclamation, 127.

⁴⁰ J. Ross Wagner observes that Luke's use of Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17 demonstrates how the rejection of God's Messiah was spoken of beforehand in Scripture (cf. Luke 24:44); and the juxtaposition of Dan 2:44 and Isa 8:14 in the second "stone" saying (Luke 20:18) with the cornerstone passage from Ps 117(118):22 emphasizes the eternity of Messiah's rule and identifies the inauguration of the kingdom of God with the resurrection of Jesus (cf. Acts 4:11) ("Psalm 118 in Luke-Acts," 175-76).

prophecy about Jesus' rejection and exaltation via the parable of the wicked tenants.

Like Matthew, the proverbial saying that is connected to Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:18

(cf. Matt 21:44) further expands the prophetic meaning of Ps 117(118):22 that the

rejected stone will not only be exalted as cornerstone, but also will bring destruction

on those who reject it.

6. Luke 20:42-43

Luke 20:42-43

αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βιβλῷ ψαλμῶν·
εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου·
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Ps 109(110):1

εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου·
κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,
ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου
ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

a. Text

The verbal parallel between Luke 20:42-43 and Ps 109(110):1 is extensive and striking. Of the twenty words which make up Ps 109(110):1, nineteen are found in identical form and order in Luke 20:42-43. Further, the text of the citation of Luke 20:42-43 is explicitly marked by the words αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βιβλῷ ψαλμῶν, which indicate the presence of a quotation. The citation from Ps 109(110):1 found in Luke 20:42-43 agrees with the LXX text verbatim apart from the omission of the definite article before κύριος. Among the Synoptic writers, it is Luke who retains the LXX's ὑποπόδιον instead of the ὑποκάτω found in the parallel texts of Mark and Matthew (cf. Acts 2:35).⁴¹

The introductory statement found in Luke 20:42a reads: αὐτὸς γὰρ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν βιβλῷ ψαλμῶν. Although Luke emphasizes the inspiration of David by the Holy Spirit (ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπὼν) in Acts 4:25, he does not follow the introductory marking of Mark (αὐτὸς Δαυὶδ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ - Mark 12:36a) nor that of Matthew

⁴¹ Cf. New, *Old Testament Quotations*, 41; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 111; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1315; Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 156.

(πὼς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων - Matt 22:43).⁴²

However, Luke introduces the citation from Ps 109(110):1 as one spoken by David in the book of Psalms. For Luke, the book of Psalms is a prophetic book in which all things written about Christ should be fulfilled (Luke 24:44). The introductory marking placed in Luke 20:42a serves as an indirect statement that what is written in the book of Psalms, now more specifically in Ps 109(110):1, is a prophetic speech about the Messiah.

b. Context

According to the Lukan account, the question about the Davidic sonship of the Messiah immediately follows Jesus' debate with the Sadducees on the question about the resurrection (Luke 20:41-44), whereas both Mark (Mark 12:28-31) and Matthew (Matt 22:23-33) have intervening episodes.⁴³ After silencing the scribes, Jesus poses to them a question: "How can they say that the Messiah is David's Son?" (Luke 20:41). Before the scribes have a chance to answer his first question, Jesus cites Ps 109(110):1 and initiates a second question: "David thus calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?" (Luke 20:44). The citation from Ps 109(110):1 seems to present an exegetical problem in relation to the Davidic sonship of the Messiah.

⁴² Hans Conzelmann observes that Luke seems to reserve the phrase ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος ("in the power of the Spirit") exclusively for Jesus (Luke 4:14; 10:21) and avoids using it in connection with David in Luke 20:42 (St. Luke, 180 n. 1).

⁴³ Cf. Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1314.

c. Prophetic Reading of Ps 109(110):1

The citation from Ps 109(110):1, in the Lukan context, poses a problem: the Messiah must be more than the Son of David if he is indeed David's κύριος ("Lord"). Apart from Luke 18:38-39 and 20:41, Luke never uses the title "Son of David" in his gospel. However, he does emphasize Jesus' descent from David (Luke 1:27; 2:4; 2:31; cf. Acts 13:23), his ascension to the throne of his ancestor David (Luke 1:32; cf. Acts 15:16-17), and the fulfillment of David's prophecies in Jesus (Luke 24:44; cf. Acts 13:33-37). Therefore, it is unlikely that Luke would dispute the use of the title "Son of David" for the Messiah. *Like Mark and Matthew, Luke cites Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 as a prophetic indication that David himself spoke of the Messiah as his Lord.* As Darrell L. Bock says, "For Luke, this Psalm [Psalm 110] is a prophetic description by David of the coming Messiah since it applies totally only to one figure. Even though he is David's son, he is above all David's Lord. His Davidic sonship is of lesser importance than his Lordship over David."⁴⁴ Unlike Mark and Matthew, Luke has no editorial addition to the Davidic sonship pericope (Luke 20:41-44). Luke does not mention the large crowd listening to Jesus with delight as does Mark 12:37b; nor does he record the Pharisees' inability to answer Jesus' question and their reluctance to ask him any more questions as does Matt 22:46.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Bock, *Proclamation*, 132; cf. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand*, 115.

⁴⁵ Christoph Burger observes that Luke does not make use of the editorial comments found in Mark 12:37b nor in Matt 22:46 and closes the pericope at Luke 20:44 with an open-ended question. The fact that Luke leaves the pericope with an open-ended question suggests that the correct answer, in the opinion of

Luke closes the pericope with a question: "David thus calls him Lord; so how can he be his son?" (Luke 20:44). In this way, Jesus' question πῶς ("how?") remains an open-ended question; David's prophecy in Ps 109(110):1 will be fully grasped only in relation to the exaltation of Jesus as both κύριος ("Lord") and χριστός ("Christ") in Luke's second volume.⁴⁶ As Joseph A. Fitzmyer comments,

His [Jesus'] Davidic sonship will be emphasized anew in Acts 2:25-36, where David will again be quoted (Ps 16:8-11) and called a prophet. Psalm 110:1 will be used again in proximity to a proclamation that God made Jesus both 'Lord and Messiah.' Thus Luke implies that the full understanding of Jesus' relation to David and of the nature of his lordship comes only with the resurrection-faith.⁴⁷

Although the solution to the *Davidssonfrage* is prophetically found in Ps 109(110):1,

Luke, to the question of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah is not even possible before the resurrection of Jesus (Jesus als Davidsson, 115).

⁴⁶ In Peter's pentecost sermon, Luke has Peter cite two psalms as prophecy about Jesus' resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand (Acts 2:29-36). First, Ps 15(16):8-11 is believed to be speaking of the resurrection of the Messiah. This text cannot apply to the historical David since David died and was buried, and his tomb was still among them (Acts 2:29). Therefore, Psalm 16 should apply to his messianic successor whom David as a prophet could foresee (Acts 2:30): the messianic successor is the resurrected Jesus. Second, Ps 109(110):1 speaks not of an earthly enthronement of a king, but of a heavenly enthronement at the "right hand of God." Peter states that nowhere in the tradition is David believed to have ascended to God's presence (Acts 2:34). Therefore, Psalm 110 is a prophecy of David concerning his messianic successor (Jesus) who ascended to the right hand of God (Acts 2:33). Peter asserts that David indeed predicted the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus as both "Lord" and "Messiah" in Psalms 16 and 110. David P. Moessner asserts that Luke uses Psalms 16 and 110 in Peter's Pentecost speech (Acts 2:14-36) to show that David, in his psalms, proclaimed in advance "the determined will and foreknowledge of God" ("*Two Lords 'at the Right Hand?': The Psalms and an Intertextual Reading of Peter's Pentecost Speech (Acts 2:14-36)*," in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* [eds. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998], 215-32). According to Luke, the question of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah can only be answered in relation to Jesus' resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand as both "Lord" and "Messiah." (However, Luke does use these titles for Jesus both before and after the resurrection accounts: for the use of "Messiah," see Luke 2:11, 26; 4:4; 9:20; 20:41; for the use of "Lord," see Luke 2:11; 10:1; 11:39; 12:42; 22:61). Cf. Burger, Jesus als Davidsson, 114-16; Strauss, Davidic Messiah, 316-17.

⁴⁷ Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1313.

the fulfillment of it, according to Luke, is seen in the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus when God made him both κύριος ("Lord") and χριστός ("Messiah") (Acts 2:36). In light of Acts 2:36, Jesus' quotation of Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 serves as an implicit prophecy about the Messiah who is more than David's son, namely, David's Lord.

d. Conclusion

The citation from Ps 109(110):1 found in Luke 20:42-43 is seen as a prophetic utterance about the exaltation of the Messiah as David's Lord - a prophecy whose fulfillment is explicitly stated in Acts 2:33-36. For Luke, the question of the Davidic sonship of the Messiah can be answered only in relation to Jesus' resurrection and exaltation (cf. Acts 2:33-36). Jesus' use of Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 only hints at or foreshadows what is to become so vivid in Acts.

7. Luke 23:46b

Luke 23:46b

πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι
τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

Ps 30(31):6a

εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι
τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

a. Text

The text of the citation in Luke 23:46b exhibits verbal dependence. Of the seven words which make up Ps 30(31):6a, six words are found in identical form and order in Luke 23:46b and one word comes from the same root. However, the following divergences can be noted: Luke adds *πάτερ* and changes the LXX's future tense *παραθήσομαι* to the present *παρατίθεμαι*.⁴⁸ Luke's use of the vocative *πάτερ* in Luke 23:46b reflects his way of recording the addressee of Jesus' prayers (Luke 10:21; 11:2; 22:42).⁴⁹ Raymond E. Brown suggests that Luke has personalized the psalm citation by an inclusion of *πάτερ*.⁵⁰ Unlike the Markan and Matthean accounts where Jesus cries "My God" in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2 (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46), the Lukan account exhibits evidence of intimacy in Jesus' address to God as "Father" in words drawn from Ps 30(31):6a (Luke 23:46; cf. 23:34).

In the text of the citation in Luke 23:46b, Luke prefers *παρατίθεμαι* to the

⁴⁸ Cf. Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 168-69; Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1519.

⁴⁹ See Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, 95; Moo, Old Testament, 281; Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 169-70.

⁵⁰ Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1068.

LXX's παραθήσομαι, since Jesus commits his spirit in the present.⁵¹ Although the Hebrew imperfect אִפְקִיךָ (Ps 31:6) could be translated into Greek either as future or present, the present tense form found in the LXX mss L^{pa} probably represents an assimilation of the LXX text to the reading in Luke 23:46b, and the future tense form found in a number of Lukan mss (L, f¹³, 0117, 0135) probably came through assimilation to the LXX.⁵² Luke's use of the plural εἰς χεῖράς against the MT singular בְּיָדֶיךָ suggests that Luke has followed the LXX.

b. Context

The citation from Ps 30(31):6a occurs on the lips of Jesus when he cries with a loud voice (φωνῆ μεγάλῃ) from the cross (Luke 23:46b). Unlike Mark and Matthew who record both a loud cry with words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46) and a loud cry without words (Mark 15:37; Matt 27:50), Luke mentions only one loud cry with words taken from Ps 30(31):6a. Luke does not record Jesus' cry in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a in order to avoid the suggestion that Jesus' death represented an abandonment by God.⁵³ Not only is Luke guided by a theological motif (Luke wants Jesus to die with hope and trust (cf. Ps 30(31):6a): he is also

⁵¹ Cf. Holtz, Untersuchungen, 58.

⁵² Cf. Litke, "Luke's Knowledge," 170.

⁵³ Darrell L. Bock thinks that Luke excluded Ps 22:2 because he would like to conclude Jesus' death with a word of trust, not a note of anguish and abandonment (Proclamation, 147); see also Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1067; J. Enoch Powell, "Into thy Hands . . .," JTS 40 (1989): 95.

avoiding Mark's and Matthew's Aramaic wording of Ps 22:2a, consistent with his editorial policies of eliminating all Aramaic words in his gospel.⁵⁴

c. Psalm 31

Psalm 31 bears the title לָלוּד in the MT and ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ in the LXX.

Psalm 31 is usually designated an "individual lament psalm" because the major portion of the psalm is a prayer (Ps 31:2-19), followed by thanksgiving and praise (vv. 20-25).⁵⁵ This psalm may be divided into three major sections: (i) Prayer and Trust in Yahweh (Ps 31:1-8); (ii) the Lamentation (vv. 9-18); and (iii) Praise and Thanksgiving (vv. 19-24). Psalm 31 describes the lament of an innocent person who expresses his trust and lament to Yahweh; he receives assurance of having been heard by Yahweh, which in turn prompts the concluding thanksgiving and praise. The quoted text in Luke 23:46b comes from Ps 30(31):6a with which the innocent sufferer commits his spirit into the hands of Yahweh in confidence that Yahweh has redeemed him. The word ἐλυτρώσω (MT: פָּדִיתָהּ) in Ps 30(31):6b recalls the Exodus motif that Yahweh redeemed his people from Egyptian slavery (cf. Deut 7:8); in the same way the innocent anticipates Yahweh's redemption.

⁵⁴ Cf. Brown, Death of the Messiah, 2:1067.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 361; Sigmund Mowinckel classifies Psalm 30(31) as a psalm of individual lamentation, belonging to a series of I-psalms, which appear to be personal, but in reality are national (congregational) psalms (e.g., Psalms 9-10; 13; 35; 42-43; 55; 56; 59; 69; 94; 102; 109; 142 (Psalms, 1:219)).

d. Prophetic Reading of Ps 30(31):6a

Psalm 31, a psalm of David, is a prayer of lamentation and thanksgiving on the part of an innocent one who expresses confidence and hope in God in the midst of sickness and persecution. The petitioner who is innocent surrenders to Yahweh his $\pi\iota\tau$ ("spirit"), a term which signifies his entire being (Ps 31:6a).⁵⁶ *Luke places the words of Ps 30(31):6a on the lips of Jesus in Luke 23:46b in the context of Jesus' crucifixion and thereby seems to conclude the death of Jesus on a note of trust, which is in accordance with the Scripture (Ps 30(31):6a).* Unlike the centurion's confession in Mark 15:36 and in Matt 27:54, where Jesus is recognized as the "Son of God," Luke has the centurion confess, "Certainly this man was innocent ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$)" (Luke 23:47).⁵⁷ Some of the sufferings of the innocent of Psalm 31 seem to parallel Jesus'

⁵⁶ Cf. Kraus, Psalms 1-59, 361.

⁵⁷ Luke emphasizes Jesus' innocence throughout his writings (Luke 23:4, 14-15, 41; cf. Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14); cf. Fitzmyer, Luke X-XXIV, 1520. John H. Reumann points out that the word $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is used in Luke 23:47 in the sense of "innocent" because the pagan woman's (Pilate's wife) statement in Matt 27:19 ("Have nothing to do with that innocent man ($\tau\omega\delta\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omega$)") has the same forensic sense of "not guilty" ("Righteousness" in the New Testament: "Justification" in the United States Lutheran - Roman Catholic Dialogue [New York: Paulist Press, 1983], 137. But Robert J. Karris argues that Luke uses the word " $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ " in Luke 23:47 in the sense not of "innocent," but of "righteous." Karris appeals to the "justice" motif in Luke-Acts: Jesus denounces the Pharisees because they neglect justice ($\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\tau\iota\nu$) and love of God (Luke 11:42); sinners and publicans justified God ($\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$) because of the call of John the Baptist and Jesus' invitation (Luke 7:29); Jesus talks about a tax collector who has been justified ($\delta\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) in the sight of God in the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18:9-14); and Luke demonstrates in Acts how Jesus is "the righteous one ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$)" (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14) and refers to future judgment concerning "righteousness ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$)" (Acts 24:25; 17:31). Karris concludes that in light of Luke's use of the justice motif in Luke-Acts the centurion asserts in Luke 23:47 that Jesus is indeed "the righteous one ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$)" ("Luke 23:47 and the Lucan View of Jesus' Death," JBL 105 [1986]: 65-74, esp. p(p). 70-74); also Mark L. Strauss argues that the centurion's response in Luke 23:47 carries the positive sense of "righteousness" because Luke is implicitly designating Jesus as the righteous servant of Yahweh (cf. Isa 53:11: $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$; Acts 3:13-16) (Davidic Messiah, 330-32). In my opinion, the centurion's response in Luke 23:47 seems to arise from the repentant criminal's claim that Jesus has done nothing wrong ($\delta\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, Luke 23:41) and from Jesus' words expressing his unshakable trust in God in the face of death

suffering. His life is encompassed by abuse (Ps 31:11): Jesus is mocked by the leaders (Luke 23:35), soldiers (v. 36), and one of the criminals (v. 39). Friends turned away (Ps 31:11): Jesus' acquaintances, including the women, stand at a distance (Luke 23:49). His murder was planned (Ps 31:4, 13): the chief priests and the scribes looked for a way to kill Jesus (Luke 22:21).

At the time of his death, the Lukan Jesus uses the words of Ps 30(31):6a to declare his unshakable trust in God as Father.⁵⁸ In Luke 23:46, Ps 31:6a is used to show how Jesus fulfills the role of an innocent sufferer who entrusts himself into the hands of the Father. Employing this psalm, Jesus manifests his own faith in God who, he believes, will rescue him from the hands of his enemies: Jesus' trust in God's deliverance is vindicated in his resurrection from the dead (Acts 2:32; cf. Ps 30(31):22; Ps 15(16):10).⁵⁹ Although Luke does not explicitly claim that Ps 30(31):6a

(Luke 23:34, 43, 46; cf. Ps 30(31):6a); the centurion's cry implies that God has vindicated Jesus who is *δίκαιος*. Moreover, the petitioner in Psalm 30(31) cries to Yahweh to deliver and rescue him in his (Yahweh's) righteousness (*ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥύσασαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με*, v. 2) and with his confidence in Yahweh's deliverance he commits his spirit to Yahweh (v. 6). Jesus's use of Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b expresses his trust in God and anticipates that God's righteousness will be vindicated. The centurion's response in Luke 23:47 implies that God's righteousness (cf. Ps 31:2) has vindicated Jesus who is *δίκαιος*.

⁵⁸ A similar cry is found in Acts 7:59 where Stephen, at his death, utters the words of resignation, addressed to Jesus: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Luke T. Johnson observes that the difference between Jesus' cry in Luke 23:46 and Stephen's cry in Acts 7:59 is that Stephen is literally "calling (*ἐπικαλέω*) on the name of the Lord," in fulfillment of the Joel prophecy in Acts 2:21: "everyone who calls (*ἐπικαλέσῃται*) on the name of the Lord will be saved." Jesus is now "Lord" (*κύριος*) who stands at God's right hand, whereas in Luke 23:46b Jesus submits his spirit to God (Acts, 140).

⁵⁹ In Acts 2:24-32, Luke has Peter prophetically interpret Psalm 16, a prayer psalm similar to Psalm 31. As in Psalm 31, the petitioner in Psalm 16 expresses trust in God in the midst of physical dangers. But Luke has Peter argue that David with his foreknowledge spoke of the resurrection of the Messiah in Psalm 16 (Acts 2:31; 13:35). This prayer psalm is interpreted as a prophetic speech in which the resurrection of Jesus is foretold (cf. Haenchen, Acts, 181-82). In light of Luke's exposition of Psalm 16 in Acts 2:24-32, it is probable that Psalm 31 is used in Luke 23:46 to show implicitly how Jesus fulfills the role of the

is a prophecy about the Messiah by way of a fulfillment formula, he makes it clear in another context (Luke 24:44) that everything that happened to the Messiah has been in fulfillment of the Scriptures, including the Psalms. *Hence the psalm is, for Luke, the prayer of the innocent sufferer, the Messiah Jesus.*⁶⁰

e. Conclusion

In the original context of Psalm 31, the petitioner expresses his trust and lament to Yahweh (cf. Ps 31:1-6). But Luke uses Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b to show how Jesus' self-surrender to God is in accordance with the prophecy of Ps 30(31):6a. In this way, Luke seems to draw attention to the claim of Luke 24:44 that everything written about the Messiah in the Scriptures, including the Psalms, is fulfilled.

suffering Messiah who entrusts himself to God's care.

⁶⁰ Darrell L. Bock regards Psalm 31 as a prophecy in light of Luke 24:44-47, where Luke emphasizes that all things that happened to Jesus were a fulfillment of Scripture. Jesus, in entrusting his spirit to the Father in words drawn from Ps 30(31):6a, fulfills the plan of God (Proclamation, 148).

8. Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn from the study of psalm citations in

Luke's gospel:

1. Luke has six psalm citations: three of these are found in Luke, Matthew, and Mark (Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38, Matt 21:9, and Mark 11:9b-10; Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17, Matt 21:42, and Mark 12:10-11; Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43, Matt 22:44, and Mark 12:36); two are found in Luke and Matthew alone (Ps 90(91):11-12 in Luke 4:10-11 and Matt 4:6; Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 13:35b and Matt 23:39b); and one is peculiar to Luke (Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b).
2. Luke attempts to show how Jesus' life and ministry represent the fulfillment of Scripture. Luke 24:44 summarizes Luke's emphasis on the theme of fulfillment of OT prophecy in the Jesus' events.
3. Luke reads Ps 90(91):11-12 in Luke 4:10-11 as a prophecy about divine protection available to Jesus as the "Son of God." Luke indirectly shows the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12 elsewhere in his gospel where Jesus experiences divine protection (Luke 4:30; 22:43).
4. Psalm 117(118):26a, used by Jesus in Luke 13:35b, is read as a messianic prophecy about Jesus as the coming one at his parousia. At his parousia all Israel, including its religious leaders, will welcome Jesus as the Messiah.
5. Luke uses Ps 117(118):26a in Luke 19:38 as a prophecy of Jesus' welcome as "king." The fulfillment is only partial, however. In the triumphal entry of Jesus into

Jerusalem, Luke has given a foreshadowing of what is to come in the future when Jesus will be acclaimed as king by the religious leaders of Jerusalem at his parousia (cf. Luke 13:35).

6. Luke reads Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17 as a prophecy about Jesus' rejection and exaltation. The fulfillment of the prophecy will be seen at Jesus' resurrection (cf. Acts 4:10-11). The proverbial saying that follows the psalm citation in Luke 20:18 further highlights the prophetic meaning of Ps 117(118):22 that the rejected stone will not only be exalted, but also will bring judgment on those who reject it.

7. Jesus' use of Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 looks forward to the exaltation of the Messiah as David's Lord. Luke explicitly shows the fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1 in Jesus' resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand in Acts 2:42-43.

8. Jesus' cry on the cross in words drawn from Ps 30(31):6a expresses his trust in God (Luke 23:46b). Psalm 31 is a prayer of a righteous sufferer. But in the Lukan context, the prayer of the righteous becomes the prayer of *the* righteous sufferer, Jesus Christ, in Luke 23:46b. Jesus faced opposition from his own people but entrusted his spirit to God and thereby fulfilled the prophecy of Ps 30(31):6a quoted in Luke 23:46b.

9. Luke's reading of the Psalms seems to differ from Mark's and Matthew's in the following ways.

a. First, Luke seems to be interested in the theme of fulfillment of Scripture in Jesus' life and ministry, but perhaps not quite as explicitly as Matthew. For instance, Luke reads Ps 90(91):11-12 in Luke 4:10-11 as a prophecy about divine protection

available to Jesus as the "Son of God." But Luke indirectly shows the fulfillment of Ps 90(91):11-12 not at the end of the temptation narrative as does Matthew (Matt 4:11), but in other contexts (Luke 4:29; 22:43). Luke's use of Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43 looks forward to the exaltation of the Messiah as David's Lord as does Mark (Mark 12:36). But, for Mark, Jesus' enthronement to God's right hand as David's Lord will be fully realized at his parousia (Mark 14:62), whereas Luke points to the fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1 in Jesus' resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand in Acts 2:42-43. For Matthew, Jesus is enthroned as Lord even before his resurrection; he places the fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1 within the context of Jesus' ministry (Matt 9:27-28; 15:22; 20:31-33).

b. Second, Luke seems to provide a distinctive reading of Ps 117(118):26a in the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Luke 19:38). Luke has included the phrase δ βασιλεύς in the quotation from Ps 117(118):26a. The inclusion of the δ βασιλεύς phrase seems to suggest that Luke has shifted the emphasis from the dominion of David as in Mark 11:10 or the Davidic sonship of Jesus as in Matt 21:9 to the royal image of Jesus as "King."

c. Third, Luke cites Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b as a prophecy about Jesus' trust in God. But Luke does not explicitly claim that the prophetic word is fulfilled in Jesus. Luke makes it clear in another context that everything that happened to the Messiah has been in fulfillment of the Scriptures which included the Psalms (Luke 24:44). Perhaps Luke leaves it to his reader to make the connection that Jesus acts in

accordance with the Scripture and fulfills the plan of God.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

1. Summary and Conclusions

This study has examined one topic within the broad subject of the use of the OT in the NT, that of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels, in the context of Second Temple Judaism. Chapter 1 provided an overview of the topic which included examples of the use of the Psalms in the NT, a survey of selected earlier studies done in related areas, and a working definition of a "citation" and "prophecy." To determine the background to this topic, in Chapter 2, the prophetic reading of the Psalms was examined in Second Temple Jewish literature. We found evidence of a growing tendency to credit David with the ability to predict the future. The Davidic title added to Psalm 136(137) in the LXX provides implicit evidence for a belief in the prophetic knowledge of David, who was able to foresee the events of the exiled community in Babylon centuries after his own time. In the Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a XVII, 11), David came to be credited with "prophecy" through which he composed psalms and songs. In the writings of Philo and Josephus, David is called a "prophet." The prophetic role of David as attested in some Second Temple literature seems to provide the background for the Synoptic evangelists to read his psalms as prophecy. In the Qumran *pesharim* and First Maccabees, some psalms are explicitly quoted and read as prophecy. Even psalms, like Psalm 37, which are far removed from

any specific historical context, are thought to be foretelling the events of the Qumran community. At the turn of the Christian era the Synoptic evangelists seem to expand an interpretive Jewish tradition which began to read the Psalms as prophecy in the Second Temple period. This probably reflected the need to see Jesus' coming as a fulfillment of Scripture.

From the study of the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Jewish literature, attention was turned to the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels. Psalms written with one context in mind have been creatively reinterpreted to apply to Jesus. In Chapter 3, Mark's use of the Psalms provided insight into the Markan portrayal of Jesus in fulfillment of Scripture. In the first direct quotation from the Psalms in the gospel, Mark, in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mark 11:1-10), applies Ps 117(118):26a to Jesus and presents Jesus' coming in accordance with the psalm. Mark cites Ps 117(118):22-23 and Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:10-11 and 12:36 respectively to demonstrate that Jesus' rejection and exaltation-enthronement were prophesied in Scripture and together represent the fulfillment of the "promise" God made to the Messiah who will be enthroned on the right hand of God. Mark also emphasized Jesus' suffering as being in accordance with the Scripture. Mark quotes Ps 21(22):2a in Mark 15:34 to show that Jesus' experience of God's abandonment was predicted in Scripture.

Chapter 4 turned to the psalm quotations in Matthew's gospel, where they are but one aspect of a strong OT fulfillment motif. Matthew cites Ps 77(78):2 in Matt

13:35 to demonstrate that Jesus' speaking in parables fulfilled the prophecy of Ps 77(78):2. Moreover, passages from the Psalms find fulfillment within the gospel narrative in the following ways:

- (a) Psalm 90(91):11-12 is read as a messianic prophecy in Matt 4:6 and is shown to be implicitly fulfilled in Matt 4:11;
- (b) Psalm 109(110):1 is read as a prophecy about the lordship of the Messiah in Matt 22:44 and is shown to be implicitly fulfilled in Matt 9:28; 15:22; 20:33; and
- (c) Psalm 8:3a is thought to be fulfilled in children's praise of Jesus in Matt 21:15-16.

In the narrative of Jesus' triumphal entry, Matthew cites Ps 117(118):26a to show that Jesus was welcomed as the coming Davidic Son (Matt 21:9). However, Matthew anticipates a complete fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a at the parousia of Jesus, when Israel as a whole will hail Jesus as the Messiah (Matt 23:39b). Matthew seems to read Ps 6:9a as an eschatological prophecy that Jesus will come as a judge to pronounce judgment on false prophets (Matt 7:23b). Matthew's use of Ps 117(118):22-23 in Matt 21:42 demonstrates that Jesus' rejection and vindication were predicted in Scripture. Further, Matthew's expansion of the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants in Matt 21:43-44 suggests that Matthew has added the judgment motif to the "stone" prophecy of Ps 117(118):22-23. Finally, Matthew presents Jesus' experience of God's abandonment in Matt 27:46 in accordance with Ps 21(22):2a. By linking the resurrection of the saints in Matt 27:53-54 to the death of Jesus, Matthew concludes

his account of the death of Jesus on a positive note, foreshadowing the resurrection of Jesus in Matt 28:1-10.

In Chapter 5, Luke's use of the Psalms was examined. Luke demonstrates that Jesus' words and deeds fulfill the scripturally ordained role of the Christ (cf. Luke 24:44). Luke's first psalm citation, which is also found in its parallel passage in Matt 4:6, is quoted from Ps 90(91):11-12 in Luke 4:10-11. Like Matthew, Luke not only reads Ps 90(91):11-12 as a prophecy about divine protection available to Jesus as the "Son of God," but also indirectly shows its fulfillment in Luke 4:30 and 22:43 where Jesus experiences divine protection. Unlike Matthew who quotes Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b after Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, Luke places Ps 117(118):26a before Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in Luke 13:35b and projects its future fulfillment in Jesus who will be acclaimed by the religious leaders of Jerusalem at his parousia. However, in the account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, Luke presents Jesus' arrival as the "king," in Luke 19:38, in fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a - though only partial fulfillment, since only Jesus' disciples welcome Jesus in Luke 19:39. Total fulfillment of the prophecy in the psalm will take place at the parousia, when Jesus will be welcomed by all Jerusalem. Luke expresses Jesus' rejection and exaltation as predicted in Scripture (Ps 117(118):22 in Luke 20:17; and Ps 109(110):1 in Luke 20:42-43). Luke has shown the fulfillment of those two prophecies in Acts 4:10-11 and 2:34-36 respectively. In the crucifixion scene, Luke presents Jesus as the righteous and innocent one, the Messiah who fulfills the Scripture, namely Ps 30(31):6a, by

entrusting his spirit to God in Luke 23:46a.

The Synoptic evangelists' reading of the Psalms, then, continues a trajectory begun in Jewish exegesis in some Second Temple Jewish literature. For the Synoptic evangelists, however, it is Jesus' messianic task that is foretold in the Psalms. They seek to show that Jesus is the Messiah, David's Lord, predicted in the Psalms, and that through his life, ministry, suffering, death, resurrection, and exaltation he has fulfilled the Scripture.

2. Distinctive Ways of Reading the Psalms by the Synoptic Evangelists

a. Mark

Mark has four psalm citations in his gospel, Matthew has nine, and Luke has six. All of Mark's psalm citations are found in Matthew and Luke in their parallel passages. Although Mark uses the Psalms to interpret the events of Jesus' life and ministry, he does not generally cite the Scripture as extensively as do Matthew and Luke.

Mark's use of Ps 117(118):22-23 and Ps 109(110):1 in Mark 12:10-11 and 12:36 respectively presents the prophecies of the Scripture and looks forward to their fulfillment in the future. Unlike Matthew and Luke who have one more occurrence of Ps 117(118):26a in Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b, Mark has only one occurrence of Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10, a citation which Mark shares with Matthew and Luke in the context of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. But Mark's interpretative

comment, εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυΐδ, added to Ps 117(118):26a in Mark 11:9b-10, seems to embrace the future fulfillment of Ps 117(118):26a in a way similar to the interpretation of Ps 117(118):26a found in Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b: the arrival of Jesus associated with the coming of the Davidic kingdom remains unfulfilled. Probably Mark sees the coming of the Davidic kingdom as a future reality when Jesus will be welcomed by all Jerusalem as their Messiah at his parousia, an idea found in Matt 23:39b and Luke 13:35b.

b. Matthew

Matthew deliberately intersperses his gospel narratives with extensive references to the Psalms. He cites Ps 90(91):11-12 in Matt 4:6 as a messianic prophecy and links its fulfillment to Jesus' experience of the ministry of the angels in Matt 4:11. Matthew uses a formula quotation in Matt 13:35 to establish Jesus' teaching in parables as the fulfillment of Ps 77(78):2. Matthew also seems to underline the fulfillment of the Psalms when he uses Ps 109(110):1 in Matt 22:44 as a prophecy about the lordship of the Messiah. By attributing the title "Lord" to Jesus in Matt 9:28; 14:22; 20:33, Matthew endorses the lordship of Jesus before his resurrection in fulfillment of Ps 109(110):1. Matthew also sees the fulfillment of Ps 8:3a in the praise of children in Matt 21:6.

Matthew, like Luke, has a tendency to add materials either to the psalm quotations or to their surrounding materials to elaborate further the prophetic reading of the Psalms in his gospel. For instance, he has added the phrase τῷ υἱῷ Δαυΐδ in

Matt 21:9 to make the prophetic text, Ps 117(118):26a, more explicit that the "coming one" is none other than Jesus, the "Son of David," an addition lacking in the Markan parallel. Matthew has also expanded the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants in Matt 21:43-44 to elaborate the "stone" prophecy of Ps 117(118):22-23: the rejected stone will not only be exalted, but will also destroy everyone who opposes it, a judgment motif which is lacking in the Markan parallel. Matthew has introduced the resurrection of the saints in Matt 27:51b-53 to provide an added conclusion to the cry of Jesus in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a in Matt 27:46; Matthew wants to conclude his account of the death of Jesus on a positive note with the resurrection of the saints, an event that foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus. Again, the idea of the resurrection of the saints is not found either in Mark or in Luke in their parallel passages. Matthew reads Ps 6:9a in Matt 7:23b as a prophecy about Jesus, who will come as a judge to confront false prophets, an eschatological event which is only alluded to in the Lukan parallel (cf. Luke 13:27b).

c. Luke

Luke is interested in portraying Jesus as fulfilling the Scriptures (cf. Luke 24:44). Luke's use of the Psalms, in many ways, reflects both Markan and Matthean ways of reading the Psalms. Like Matthew, Luke also reads Ps 90(91):11-12 as a messianic prophecy and shows its fulfillment in Luke 4:29 and 22:43 where Jesus experiences divine protection. Like Matthew, Luke has a tendency to add materials either to the psalm quotations or to their surrounding materials to expand the prophetic

reading of the Psalms. For instance, Luke has added the phrase ὁ βασιλεύς to the psalm citation, Ps 117(118):26a, to show that Jesus was welcomed as "king" in Luke 19:38. Luke has also extended the conclusion of the parable of the wicked tenants in Luke 20:18 to highlight further the prophetic reading of Ps 117(118):22: the rejected stone will not only be exalted, but will also bring judgment on those who reject it. Unlike Mark and Matthew, Luke does not retain Jesus' cry of God's abandonment in words drawn from Ps 21(22):2a quoted in Mark 15:34 and Matt 27:46; instead, Luke places a prayer of trust on Jesus' lips in words drawn from Ps 30(31):6a in Luke 23:46b, in fulfillment of Scripture.

3. Suggestions for Further Research

a. The Prophetic Reading of the Psalms in the other books of the NT

Because of the constraints of this dissertation, discussion has been limited exclusively to the prophetic reading of the *direct* psalm quotations in the Synoptic gospels. From the quotations discussed in this study, many psalms that, on the surface, seem anything but prophetic, were nonetheless read as prophecies (e.g., Psalms 6, 8, 22, 31, 78, 91, 110, and 118). As a result, it is clear that at least the attempt was made by the Synoptic evangelists to read the Psalms prophetically, to see allusions or references to Jesus in each one. Further research would indicate to what degree the other books of the NT confirm this result.

b. The Historical Question

The present study has focused on the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels without touching upon the historical question as to whether the prophetic reading of the Psalms led to the creation of gospel narratives or whether the narrative events were simply seen as fulfillments of prophecy. John D. Crossan's study on Jesus' passion narratives provides some insight into the question.¹ Crossan makes a distinction between scriptural prophecies as "confirmative" and prophecies as "constitutive" of historical events. He defines prophecy as "confirmative" and prophecy as "constitutive" thus: "Prophecy as confirmative of historical events means that the event happened and prophecy is used to understand it, defend it, or vindicate its necessity. Prophecy as constitutive of historical events means that the event did not happen, and prophecy has been used to imagine it, describe it, and create it."² Further work is needed to decide in which of these ways the psalm quotations were used.

c. The Source Question

The present study has presupposed no source hypothesis in discussing the prophetic reading of the Psalms in the Synoptic gospels. This study has noted the similarities and differences among the Synoptic evangelists in the use of the psalm quotations. However, no attempt has been made here to draw out the implications of

¹ John D. Crossan, Who Killed Jesus?: Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1996).

² Crossan, Who Killed Jesus?, 66.

these similarities and differences for the continuing discussion of the Synoptic problem. David S. New, who has analyzed the OT quotations in the Synoptic gospels from the Two-Document hypothesis point of view, concludes, "While the analysis of the synoptic relationship for the individual quotations may not be conclusive, evidence does favor the two-document hypothesis. *Our observation concerning the care with which Matthew handles his sources should form a basis for further research on the synoptic problem.*"³ Perhaps Matthew's distinctive way of handling his sources in introducing and reading the Psalms, seen in relation to Mark and Luke, may contribute toward a viable solution to the Synoptic problem.

³ New, Old Testament Quotations, 121. Italics added.

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