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A Study of the Hermeneutical Principles Involved in the Interpretation and Use of Psalm 22 in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Sources

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A STUDY OF THE HERMENEUTICAL PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE INTERPRETATION AND USE OF PSALM 22 IN BIBLICAL AND EXTRA-BIBLICAL SOURCES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation seeks to identify the hermeneutical principles involved in the interpretation and use of Psalm 22 in biblical and selected extra-biblical writings from the period of intertestamental Judaism to second century Christianity. This research involves answering questions such as: to what extent do the hermeneutical principles of rabbinic Judaism remain the principles for other biblical interpreters? What is the role of philological and/or historical factors over against theological presupposition? If philological, historical, and/or theological factors are involved, are they constant?

This research also examines the interpretation of Psalm 22 as messianic prophecy. If Psalm 22 is messianic, what is the content of its messianic significance with respect to rabbinic Judaism, apocalyptic Judaism, and Christian writers? Is a messianic interpretation based upon a literal or figurative interpretation of Psalm 22? Psalm 22 is treated as a messianic psalm by Christian writers. Is this tradition constant and uniform?

There is also an historical interest, namely, the description of the expository tradition which developed around the interpretation and use of Psalm 22 over three

to four centuries from intertestamental Judaism to Justin Martyr. To what extent is this interpretation determined by the historical situation of the interpreter? If the historical situation of the expositor and his readers plays a significant role in interpretation, what is the implication for any attempt to recover the original Sitz im Leben of an ancient writing? Can an exegete ever recover the original Sitz im Leben of the biblical material or will his interpretation inevitably be formed in part by the questions and concerns of his own age?

Research into such questions is relevant today for several reasons. First of all, the question of hermeneutics has stirred much interest in current biblical studies. Scholars such as Claus Westermann,[1] Hans Walter Wolff,[2] William H. Brownlee,[3] Addison Wright,[4] Raymond Brown,[5]

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[1]Claus Westermann, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament," in Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, translated by Dietrich Ritschl (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1964), pp. 40-49.

[2]Hans Walter Wolff, "The Hermeneutics of the Old Testament," in Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, translated by Keith Crim (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1964), pp. 160-199.

[3]William H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," The Biblical Archeologist, XIV (1951), 54-76.

[4]Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (New York: Alba House, 1967).

[5]Raymond Brown, The Sensus Plenior of Sacred Scripture (Baltimore, Md.: St. Mary's University, 1955).

Krister Stendahl,[6] and Willis Shotwell[7] have expended much effort in trying to arrive at a deeper understanding of the principles of interpretation which are used by the writers of biblical and extra-biblical materials. Second, the relationship between Old and New Testament becomes an exciting question as one works with the studies of Gerhard von Rad,[8] Martin Noth,[9] William F. Albright,[10] and John Bright.[11] Third, the question of rectilinear prophecy over against typological interpretation receives renewed attention with the concern for sensus plenior.[12] Fourth, current studies have given new emphasis to the role of Palestinian Judaism in the development of the Christian

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[6]Krister Stendahl, The School of Saint Matthew (Lund: Uppsala, 1954).

[7]Willis A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London: SPCK, 1965).

[8]Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, translated from the German by D. M. C. Stalker (New York: Harper, 1962).

[9]Martin Noth, The History of Israel, translated from the 2nd edition of Geschichte Israels by Stanley Godman (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958).

[10]William F. Albright, From Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd edition with new introduction by the author (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957).

[11]John Bright, The Kingdom of God (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953.

[12]Brown, passim.

tradition. Works by Robert Grant,[13] E. Earle Ellis,[14] Jan W. Doeve,[15] William D. Davies,[16] L. W. Barnard,[17] and Willis Shotwell[18] have highlighted this influence.

This study seeks to answer the specific question: what principle or principles of interpretation--philological, historical, theological--guide ancient interpreters as they used Psalm 22? The writer does not propose to discuss in depth the theology of any particular writing except to indicate its significance for the question of hermeneutics. There will be no extensive exegesis of every passage which either quotes or alludes to Psalm 22. A complete exegesis of Psalm 22 will not even be undertaken except on those points which seem most pertinent to the objective of this dissertation. This study will consider the nature of midrash and its fundamental characteristics, relying primarily on the

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[13]Robert M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (New York: Macmillan, 1957).

[14]E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957).

[15]Jan W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Co., N. V., 1954).

[16]William D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (2nd edition; London: SPCK, 1955).

[17]Leslie W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background (New York: Schocken Books, 1966).

[18]Shotwell, passim.

work of Addison Wright,[19] William H. Brownlee,[20] Jan W. Doeve,[21] Richard Reid,[22] and Willis Shotwell.[23]

The study begins with a review of Psalm 22 itself in order to identify its Sitz im Leben and general content. The writer seeks to determine whether there is any characteristic of the psalm which anticipates its later use by Christian writers. Chapter III considers the use of Psalm 22 in rabbinic Judaism, apocalyptic Judaism (Qumran, especially the Hodayot), and Hellenistic Judaism (Philo). The use of Psalm 22 in the New Testament, most prominent in the accounts of the crucifixion, is examined in chapter IV. Chapter V turns to the noncanonical writings of three early fathers, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, and Justin Martyr.

In general the writer has followed a chronological order beginning with a study of Psalm 22. There is some historical overlapping. For example, it is difficult to date rabbinic midrash. Some of these traditions may be contemporary with

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[19]Wright, passim.

[20]Brownlee, passim.

[21]Doeve, passim.

[22]Richard Reid, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1964; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, Inc., 1964).

[23]Shotwell, passim.

the New Testament writings. The writer used an inductive method when working with the primary sources. Form criticism and redaction criticism were considered in the study of the biblical materials.

The writer found no previous study which had treated Psalm 22 in the terms of this study. There have been numerous studies on such subjects as rabbinic hermeneutics, the hermeneutics of Qumran, and the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament. Various interpretations of Psalm 22 are found in commentaries. However this dissertation will make its unique contribution by pulling together the data on the early use of Psalm 22 from the particular perspective of hermeneutics.

The major conclusion of this study is that Psalm 22 fits into the general category of the individual lament psalms. Psalm 22 reflects no particular characteristic which alerts the interpreter to its later unique role in the Christian tradition. The psalm has the same form as other lament psalms in biblical and non-biblical Near-Eastern literature. The language and theological content is parallel to other Old Testament writings.

Rabbinic Judaism interprets this psalm in typical midrashic fashion. No messianic interpretation in terms of a suffering redeemer stands out in the early rabbinic tradition. Some aspects of the praise section of Psalm 22

(Ps. 22:22-31) are linked with the world-to-come. The future tense of the verbs in these verses alerts to this interpretation. The figure of Esther comes to be the most prominent Old Testament person whose experiences are read into the imagery of Psalm 22.

The Hodayot present the clearest evidence of the influence of Psalm 22 in the Qumran literature. The Qumran psalmist does not quote Psalm 22 directly with an introductory formula. However the language and thought of Psalm 22 become evident in these Qumran hymns. The metaphorical expressions of humility and suffering found in Psalm 22 become expressive of the Qumran psalmist's trial and affliction. At times the expressions of dejection are sometimes found in contexts of personal guilt. Such passages reflect the mood of the Qumran psalmist rather than the content of Psalm 22. Since the Hodayot are a mosaic of biblical language, the Qumran psalmist draws freely from the Psalter.

In the New Testament Psalm 22 plays a formative role in the account of the crucifixion. The key to this influence is Jesus' cry from the cross, "my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" (Ps. 22:1). Jesus' use of Psalm 22 drew attention to this psalm in connection with the retelling of his passion. The imagery of Psalm 22 influenced the evangelists in their particular testimony to the events surrounding Jesus' death. The auctor of the epistle to the Hebrews

likewise utilizes material from Psalm 22, but in his own way and for his own purpose. The New Testament writers' literal interpretation of Psalm 22 is comparable to the rabbinic peshat. John's discussion of the lottery for the garments suggests derash. While a comparison can be made between the New Testament authors and the rabbis in their respective use of peshat and derash, commitment to Jesus Christ is the fundamental characteristic of the New Testament witness. Jesus Christ is the fulfillment of God's promise of old and now confronts man with the crucial revelation from God.

The early fathers reveal how the understanding and use of Psalm 22 expands in the century after Jesus' death. Psalm 22 is used not only in the retelling of the events of the crucifixion, but also in exhortatory preaching to the church. 1 Clement cites Psalm 22 as an admonition to humility. The concept of direct prophecy becomes prominent in Barnabas and Justin Martyr. These Christian authors quote Psalm 22 as fulfilled prediction and therefore as proof for the messianic claim of Christ. The argument of proof from prophecy is part of the Christian apologetic over against both the Judaic and the Graeco-Roman world. Principles of medrashic interpretation play an obvious role in a writing like the Epistle of Barnabas and the Dialogue with Trypho. The philosophical interest and vocabulary

of Philo and hellenistic Judaism remain a secondary influence.

A relationship between a Judaic and Christian interpretation and use of Psalm 22 is obvious. The influence of rabbinic Judaism can be seen in peshat and derash. The apocalyptic emphasis of Qumran anticipates the eschatology of the New Testament. Each tradition--rabbinic Judaism, the author of the Hodayot, the evangelists, the Apostolic Fathers--treat Psalm 22 as inspired Scripture and the revelation of God. They utilize the same philological and historical tools. These similarities do not reflect the basic theological difference which is also evident in the Judaic and Christian interpretation of Psalm 22. The Christian tradition interprets Psalm 22 as ultimately fulfilled in Jesus Christ and as a messianic psalm. Traditional Christian interpretation has even viewed Psalm 22 as direct prophecy. This study makes clear that factors of language and history, while important in the interpretation of Psalm 22, ultimately find their role in relationship to the theological commitment of the interpreter and the objective of his biblical study. The Christian interpreter uses Psalm 22 ultimately as a testimony to the redemptive purpose of God fulfilled in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and therefore as a living word by which God still addresses his people.

The biblical quotations in English are taken from the Revised Standard Version[24] unless otherwise indicated.

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[24]The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952).

CHAPTER II

THE FORM AND CONTENT OF PSALM 22

Biblical scholars readily acknowledge the vital relationship between the Old and the New Testament. An ancient couplet expressed this relationship:

> The new is in the old concealed;
> The old is in the new revealed.

This saying has particular relevance for Psalm 22. This psalm, a classic example of the Hebraic lament, is prominent in the passion narrative of all four New Testament Gospels. It furnishes early Christian writers with proofs from prophecy for the messianic claim of Christ. But does Psalm 22 hint at this later use? This question underlies the examination of Psalm 22 in this chapter.

Psalm 22 is an individual lament. The identification of this genre is established by Gunkel's[1] form-critical approach to the study of the Psalms. This approach emphasizes the Sitz im Leben of the psalm categories. Virtually all post-Gunkel psalm research utilizes this methodology. Any modern study of the Psalter must deal with the questions and hypotheses raised by form-critical studies.

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[1]Herman Gunkel and J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1933), pp. 172-264.

While scholars[2] continue to refine Gunkel's definition and characterization of the different Psalm categories, they agree with his basic analysis of the lament form: invocation, lament, expression of confidence, petition, vow of thanksgiving and/or praise. This structure of the individual lament is evident in Psalm 22.

The Invocation: My God, my God (Ps. 22:1a).

The Lament:

> Why hast thou forsaken me?
> Why art thou so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning?
> O my God, I cry by day, but thou dost not answer; and by night, but find no rest (Ps. 22:1b-2).
>
> But I am a worm, and no man; scorned by men, and despised by the people.
> All who see me mock at me, they make mouths at me, they wag their heads;
> "He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver him, let him rescue him, for he delights in him!" (Ps. 22:6-8).
>
> trouble is near and there is none to help.
> Many bulls encompass me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me;
> they open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion (Ps. 22:11b-13).

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[2]Examples of further psalmic research and hypotheses include: Hans-Joachim Kraus, Die Psalmen in Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchener Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1960), XV; Sigmund Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, translated by D. R. Ap-Thomas (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1962) I and II; Artur Weiser, The Psalms, translated by Herbert Hartwell (5th revised edition; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962); Claus Westermann, The Praise of God in the Psalms, translated by Keith R. Crim (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1965); John Wm. Wevers, "A Study in the Form Criticism of Individual Complaint Psalms," Vetus Testamentum, VI (1956).

I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint;
my heart is like wax, it is melted within my breast;
my strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaves to my jaws; thou dost lay me in the dust of death (Ps. 22:14-15).

Yea, dogs are round about me; a company of evil-doers encircle me; they have pierced my hands and feet--I can count all my bones--they stare and gloat over me; they divide my garments among them and for my raiment they cast lots (Ps. 22:16-18).

Expression of Confidence:

Yet thou art holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel.
In thee our fathers trust; they trusted, and thou didst deliver them.
To thee they cried, and were saved; in thee they trusted, and were not disappointed (Ps. 22:3-5).

Yet thou art he who took me from the womb;
thou didst keep me safe upon my mother's breasts.
Upon thee was I cast from my birth, and since my mother bore me thou hast been my God (Ps. 22:9-10).

The Petition:

Be not far from me (Ps. 22:11a).

But thou, O Lord, be not far off!
O thou my help, hasten to my aid!
Deliver my soul from the sword, my life from the power of the dog!
Save me from the mouth of the lion, my afflicted soul from the horns of the wild oxen! (Ps. 22:19-21).

The Vow of Praise:

I will tell of thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee;
You who fear the Lord, praise him!
All you sons of Jacob, glorify him, and stand in awe of him, all you sons of Israel!
For he has not despised or abhorred the affliction of the afflicted;
and he has not hid his face from him, but has heard, when he cried to him (Ps. 22:22-24).

> From thee comes my praise in the great congregation;
> my vows I will pay before those who fear him.
> The afflicted shall eat and be satisfied;
> those who seek him shall praise the Lord! May your hearts live for ever! (Ps. 22:25-26).
>
> All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord; and all the families of the nations shall worship before him.
> For dominion belongs to the Lord, and he rules over the nations.
> Yea, to him shall all the proud of the earth bow down;
> before him shall bow all who go down to the dust, and he who cannot keep himself alive.
> Posterity shall serve him; men shall tell of the Lord to the coming generation,
> and proclaim his deliverance to a people yet unborn, that he has wrought it (Ps. 22:27-31).

The same structure is found in other individual laments in the Old Testament. Claus Westermann[3] diagrams Psalm 22 along with Psalms 6, 13, 27B, 102, and 142 to demonstrate this form within the Psalter. For material outside of the Psalter Westermann utilizes the laments of Moses, Samson, Elijah, Jeremiah, Job, and the Apocalypse of Ezra.[4] In particular he underscores three common subjects: a reference to threatening enemies, a cry of need, and the prayer to God.

Proto-types of the biblical psalms have been found in ancient Near-Eastern literature. The lament is one of the identifiable forms among these extra-biblical writings.

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[3]Westermann, pp. 64-81.

[4]Claus Westermann, "Struktur und Geschichte der Klage im Altern Testament," Zeitscrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, LXVI (1954), 47.

While Driver[5] acknowledged little influence of Babylonian hymns and psalms upon the Hebrew psalmists outside of the common Semitic heritage as found in the "parallelismus membrorum," most scholars, such as Herman Gunkel,[6] Sigmund Mowinckel,[7] Harris Birkeland,[8] Geo Widengren,[9] Claus Westermann,[10] and William F. Albright,[11] assume that Near-Eastern literary structure and language exercised considerable influence over Israelite literature. The psalms of Israel did not develop in a cultural vacuum, but reflect the ethnic and cultural ties between Israel and her Near-Eastern neighbors.

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[5]G. R. Driver, The Psalmists, edited by D. C. Simpson (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 172.

[6]Herman Gunkel, The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History, translated by W. H. Carruth (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 90.

[7]Mowinckel, II, 176-192.

[8]Harris Birkeland, The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms (Oslo: I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1955), pp. 16-24.

[9]Geo Widengren, The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents (Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule, 1937), pp. 1-19.

[10]Westermann, The Praise of God, pp. 36-51.

[11]Wm. F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, Penguin Books (revised; Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay and Co. Limited, 1956; and Wm. Albright, History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), pp. 103-156.

This comparative study indicates that poetry arose early in Israel's history. The discoveries at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) suggest a date no later than the fourteenth century before Christ for the Mosaic and early post-Mosaic peoms of the Bible.[12] Matitiahu Tsevat[13] has observed, "There was an uninterrupted tradition of psalm composition and psalm singing in Israel 'since it became a nation.'" The view commonly held by Wellhausen and his followers that most, if not all, of the Psalter was post-exilic and even Maccabean is no longer tenable. The probable time of origin for most of the Psalms falls within the time span between the Exodus of Israel and the tragedy of the exile.[14] A pre-exilic date for Psalm 22 is probable. The ancient tradition which ascribed to David a key role in the writing and collecting of the psalms must be taken seriously.[15]

The historical questions concerning Psalm 22 are many. Guided by the superscription, biblical scholars traditionally had understood that the psalms ascribed to David were written by him. They frequently interpreted these psalms as

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[12]Albright, History, p. 62.

[13]Matitiahu Tsevat, A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms, Journal of Biblical Literature, Monograph Series (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1955), IX, 60.

[14]Helmer Ringgren, The Faith of the Psalmists (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), p. x.

[15]Albright, Archaeology of Palestine, p. 227.

descriptive of some particular experience in David's life. For instance, Delitzsch[16] interpreted Psalm 22 against the background of Saul's persecution of David.

Current psalm studies have questioned this approach. A study of the psalm superscriptions indicates considerable variation in the text traditions. Thirty-four psalms stand without a heading in the Hebrew text. The Septuagint provides headings for all the psalms except Psalms 1 and 2. This difference at least raises a question concerning the origin of the superscriptions and their significance for identifying the Sitz im Leben of any particular psalm. With respect to Psalm 22 the superscription is basically the same in both the Hebrew and version traditions. This suggests that the superscription expresses an ancient view of the interpretation of this psalm.

The phrase לְדָוִד, "of David," which uses the so-called "lamed auctoris," may but need not indicate authorship. Mowinckel[17] contends that the natural translation is "for David." Drawing upon his hypothesis that the "I" psalms are royal psalms linked to an enthronement festival, Mowinckel suggests that the psalms "were composed for the use of" rather than by David. Weiser[18] likewise rejects

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[16]Franz Delitsch, Biblical Commentary on the Psalms in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, translated by Francis Bolton (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1889), XXIX, 303.

[17]Mowinckel, I, 77.

[18]Weiser, p. 96.

the interpretation of the phrase, "of David," as a description of authorship. He understands it as an instruction for worship.

> During the earliest phase of the collection of the psalms the superscription le dawid therefore probably served the purpose of marking those psalms which the king was authorized to recite in the festival cult of the Temple.

Much has been written about the cultic setting of the Psalms. Kraus'[19] comment on "the typological tendency" of Psalm 22 supports a cultic understanding of this psalm. According to Kraus the suffering is described so broadly and diversely that no one single event can be meant. "In dieses Klage und Bittgebet sind zu verschiedenen Zeiten verschiedene Beter eingetreten." The cultic interpretation does not seek to identify the psalm with any particular historical event in David's life. The emphasis is placed upon the later use of the psalm within the worship life of Israel.

However, the Davidic tradition still must be taken seriously. The Old Testament attributes musical ability to the youngest son of Jesse (1 Sam. 16:14-23). David's lament upon the death of Saul demonstrates considerable poetic talent (2 Sam. 1:19-27). The tradition of the chronicler describes David as the founder of temple worship (1 Chron. 23:28).

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[19]Kraus, XV, 177.

The biblical portrayal of David supports the tradition of psalm authorship.

Second, the prayer and praise of Israel often arose out of God's historical intervention in Israel's life. Miriam's song of praise (Ex. 15:21), Deborah's song of victory (Judges 5:2-31), and Hannah's prayer of thanksgiving (1 Sam. 2:1-10) are examples of such worship. An historical experience prompted these expressions of prayer and praise. Therefore an historical experience in David's life could have been the setting for Psalm 22. Westermann[20] criticizes the tendency to belittle the personal and individual in identifying all the psalms with a specific festival or cultic act.

> in the Old Testament there is no absolute, timeless entity called "cult," but that worship in Israel, in its indissolvable connection with the history of God's dealings with his people, developed gradually in all its various relationships, those of place, of time, of personnel, and of instrumentality, and that therefore the categories of the Psalms can be seen only in connection with this history.

Westermann stresses how praise of God, the original significance of the hymn, arose in Israel as a response to God's intervention in history. In criticizing Gunkel's view that references to personal anxiety would not be used in the cult, Widengren[21] comments:

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[20]Westermann, Praise of God, p. 21.

[21]Widengren, p. 34.

> I can see no real grounds for looking at the matter in this way, nor for making any distinction between cult lyrics and personal lyrics. . . . even prosaic cultic formulas were once personal compositions, derived from individuals. I can see no reason against their having a background of personal experience.

While recognizing the vagueness of the superscription's phrase "of David" and acknowledging the generalized description of suffering in Psalm 22, the writer still sees no reason to reject the tradition of Davidic authorship. A form analysis does allow for such a dating. However the emphasis upon later cultic use is more satisfying than the search for identifying some particular experience in David's life which might be described in the psalm. Regardless of one's view on authorship, Davidic authorship in itself does not make Psalm 22 unique, for there are other Davidic psalms, such as Psalms 3 to 41 and 2 Sam. 1:17-27.

The next question to be answered is, does Psalm 22 have any unique language and thought which sets it apart from other individual laments and possibly anticipates its later importance in the Christian tradition?

The relationship between the two distinct parts, the lament and the hymn of thanks and praise, is difficult. Some scholars[22] have noted this sharp change in mood and have divided the psalm into two parts. The first part expresses

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[22]This view was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was accepted by Duhm, H. Schmidt, Briggs, and others.

the distress of godforsakenness (verses 1 to 21), while the second part expresses praise and thanks to God (verses 22 to 31). Those who divide the psalm into two distinct parts, often suggest two different situations as the original setting for these two parts.

Such a separation is unwarranted in the light of what we know today about the individual lament. Not only does the textual tradition present Psalm 22 as a whole, but the lament form makes its unity clear. The nature of the lament was not simply to voice one's distress, but to express confidence in God's deliverance and to glorify His saving action. So Westermann[23] has observed:

> In the investigation of all the LI [Individual Lament] of the Old Testament I found to my astonishment that there are no psalms which do not progress beyond petition and lament! Ps. 143, which contains only lament and petition in its structure, still expresses clearly a confession of trust in the second half of each verse from vss. 8-10. There is a whole group of Psalms which contain neither the assurance of being heard, nor the vow of praise, nor a word of praise at the end, but not one of these Psalms, which consist essentially of only lament and petition, is entirely without a glance beyond the present situation, even if only a half verse, which expresses a confession of trust. Between this type and, for instance, Ps. 22, which ends with a full, broad Psalm of praise, there are all the transitional steps imaginable.

Investigation of the structure of the Babylonian psalms has revealed the same movement from petition to

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[23]Westermann, Praise of God, pp. 74-75.

praise. Westermann[24] has not found a single Babylonian psalm which does not include some praise. Regardless of the extent of lament and petition, the Babylonian psalms also move on to a vow of praise. This sharp change in mood from lament to praise is characteristic of the individual lament and is not a unique feature in Psalm 22.

This movement from lament to trust and praise is significant for one's insight into the opening cry of god-forsakenness. It suggests that the confession of faith implicit in the phrase "my God, my God" (verse 1) deserves emphasis, for the lament seeks to move on to trust and praise. In fact this transition from lament to praise can be viewed as the dominant accent in such psalms. These laments "are no longer mere petition, but petition that has been heard. They are no longer mere lament, but lament that has been turned to praise."[25] The movement then from lament to praise is not unique to Psalm 22, but is characteristic of the individual lament psalm.

Is the language of Psalm 22 distinct? Perhaps some unique characteristic can be found in the metaphor or sentence structure by which the psalmist expresses either his trial or his confidence and praise.

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[24] Ibid., p. 36.

[25] Ibid., p. 80.

We turn first to the lament. The lament begins with a cry of godforsakenness. Kraus[26] observes that such spiritual agony is the primary affliction which determines all the other individual expressions of distress in this psalm. Though the psalmist has called upon God, the cry seems to be of no avail. Though the psalmist has cried by day and by night, God has remained distant.

Such cries of deep agony of spirit are found in other Old Testament lament psalms.

> How long, O Lord? Wilt thou forget me forever?
> How long wilt thou hide thy face from me? (Ps. 13:1)
>
> I say to God, my rock: "Why hast thou forgotten me?"
> (Ps. 42:9)
>
> O God, why dost thou cast us off for ever? Why
> does thy anger smoke against the sheep of thy
> pasture? . . .
> Why dost thou hold back thy hand, why dost thou
> keep thy right hand in thy bosom? (Ps. 74:1,11)
>
> I cry aloud to God, aloud to God, that he may hear me.
> In the day of my trouble I seek the Lord; in the night
> my hand is stretched out without wearying; my soul
> refuses to be comforted. . . .
> "Will the Lord spurn for ever, and ever again be
> favorable?
> Has his steadfast love for ever ceased? Are his
> promises at an end for all time?
> Has God forgotten to be gracious? Has he in anger
> shut up his compassion? And I say, "It is my grief
> that the right hand of the Most High has changed"
> (Ps. 77:1,2,7-10).
>
> How long, O Lord? Wilt thou be angry for ever?
> Will thy jealous wrath burn like fire? (Ps. 78:5)
>
> But I, O Lord, cry to thee; in the morning my prayer
> comes before thee. O Lord, why dost thou cast me off?
> Why dost thou hide thy face from me? (Ps. 88:14)

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[26]Kraus, XV, 177.

Such passages reflect the same agony of spirit. God is distant. Repeated prayer goes unanswered. Under the press of such suffering the worshipper asks "why?" Could the love of God have stopped? Has the wrath of God flamed so fiercely that one can expect no help?

Similar expressions of woe are found in the Old Testament outside of the Psalms. Jeremiah cries out in his anguish of heart (Jer. 15:18). He has an incurable wound. In his desperate need God has failed him, like a brook that runs dry (Jer. 15:18). Job laments his desperate plight in terms just as dramatic and poignant as those of Jeremiah. Job's afflictions are like poisoned arrows which God Himself has shot (Job 13:24). God has worn out Job, tearing this distressed man in wrath, yes, even hating Job (Job 16:7,9). When in his bitter agony Job cried out to God, he found no answer. God had walled up Job's way, surrounding him with black darkness (Job 19:7-8). Under this duress Job felt cut off from God. God Himself had become Job's main antagonist.

This lament language is not limited to the biblical material. Similar expressions are found among the Babylonian cries of affliction. Widengren[27] lists numerous parallels:

> Speaking without being heard hath thrown me into trouble (Böllenrücher, J. 14, 14).

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[27]Widengren, pp. 94-95.

The wrath of god and goddess is placed upon me (Böllenrücher, J., 14, 12).

My god, his face is turned elsewhere (Jensen, 132, 77).

How long, O "My Lady," wilt thou be angry
and therefore thy face be turned away.
How long, O "My Lady," wilt thou rage
and therefore thy spirit be full of wrath (Jensen, 132, 93).

In all these biblical and extra-biblical laments the language is general description applicable to any number of circumstances. Efforts to identify a specific historical situation often lead to no satisfactory conclusion as to the particular form of affliction. The terminology and phrasing of these laments are so general that Kraus[28] rightly comments, "Eine typisierende Tendenz ist unverkennbar."

While the description in the individual lament is general, the imagery usually points to two types of threat, the assault of enemies and the distress of sickness. In Psalm 22 these two types of danger are quite distinct. The psalmist's initial complaint is that he is mocked and scorned by others. The mockers jeer him particularly because of his trust and confidence in God (Ps. 22:6-8). He is so distressed that he calls himself "a worm and no man" (verse 6). He pictures his enemies as fierce bulls of Bashan, as ravening and roaring lions, as vicious dogs which circle about him in anticipation of a kill (verses 12-16).

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[28]Kraus, XV, 177.

In addition to the threat of enemies the psalmist laments his physical distress. He seems racked with fever, for his heart melts like wax (verse 14). His strength dries up like a potsherd (verse 15). He considers himself at the point of death (verse 15). His enemies are already dividing his garments in anticipation of his demise (verse 18). Sickness may well lie behind such imagery, although Weiser[29] prefers to interpret such trouble as that caused by the enemies.

> Fear of enemies arouses in him once more violent emotions . . . we can interpret all these phenomena as manifestations of the physical reaction which takes effect in his body at the movement of extreme distress, making him shake with fear--we are not compelled to think in this connection of an illness.

Other biblical psalms portray these two types of threat, the attacking enemy and agonizing illness. For descriptions of the enemy one might note such passages:

> O Lord, how many are my foes! Many are rising against me; many are saying of me, there is no help for him in God (Ps. 3:1-2).
>
> Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of my enemies; . . . For there is no truth in their mouth; their heart is destruction, their throat is an open sepulchre, they flatter with their tongue (Ps. 5:8,9).
>
> deliver me, lest like a lion they rend me, dragging me away, with none to rescue (Ps. 7:1b-2).
>
> How long shall my enemy be exalted over me? (Ps. 13:2).

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[29]Weiser, p. 223.

> Keep me . . . from the wicked who despoil me,
> my deadly enemies who surround me.
> They close their hearts to pity; with their mouths
> they speak arrogantly.
> They track me down; now they surround me; they
> set their eyes to cast me to the ground.
> They are like a lion eager to tear, as a young
> lion lurking in ambush (Ps. 17:8-12).
>
> I am the scorn of all my adversaries, a horror
> to my neighbors, an object of dread to my
> acquaintances; those who see me in the street flee
> from me.
> I have passed out of mind like one who is dead;
> I have become like a broken vessel.
> Yea, I hear the whispering of many--terror on
> every side!--as they scheme together against me,
> as they plot to take my life (Ps. 31:11-13).
>
> But at my stumbling they gathered in glee, they
> gathered together against me; cripples whom I
> knew not slandered me without ceasing;
> they impiously mocked more and more, gnashing
> at me with their teeth (Ps. 35:15-16).
>
> I lie in the midst of lions that greedily devour
> the sons of men; their teeth are spears and
> arrows, their tongues sharp swords (Ps. 57:4).
>
> Deliver me from my enemies, O my God . . .
> Each evening they come back, howling like
> dogs and prowling about the city. There they
> are, bellowing with their mouths, and snarling
> with their lips--for "Who," they think, "will
> hear us?" (Ps. 59:1,6-7).
>
> (Compare Psalms 55:2-15; 56:1-2; 64:3-6; 71:10-11;
> 74:4-11; 88:3-18; 140:5; 142:3b-6; 143:3-4)

There is considerable debate over the identification of the enemies. Harris Birkeland[30] regards them as gentiles who work their evil in actual historic situations. Hans

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[30]Birkeland, pp. 93-94.

Schmidt[31] looks to the judicial custom in Israel in which the accused went to the temple, swore his innocence before the altar, and then left the matter in the hands of Jahweh (1 Kings 8:30-32). Surely the holy, just God would vindicate the innocent, but bring some illness or disaster upon the guilty. Enemies taunted the Israelites in their several afflictions, regarding misfortune as evidence of God's disfavor. In the personal psalms of lamentation Mowinckel[32] interprets the enemy as one who utilizes potent curses, magic, witchcraft to bring evil upon the Israelite. He also observes that figures of roaring lions, vicious dogs, and wild bulls are typical animal forms used in Babylonian writings to describe demons which instigate sickness and woe.[33] Widengren[34] lists parallels from the Babylonian sources and concludes:

> the 'enemy' problem in the individual psalms of Lamentation cannot be solved by a simple formula. . . . Finally, as regards the terms denoting 'enemies,' I believe I have succeeded in showing that the same terms may denote the most varying phenomena.

As one reads other lament psalms and notes the threat of enemies, he realizes that the description in Psalm 22

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[31]Hans Schmidt, Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1927), pp. 3-8.

[32]Mowinckel, II, 5-8.

[33]Ibid., II, 7. Cf. Kraus, XV, 180.

[34]Widengren, pp. 245-246.

presents no unique language or thought. Mocking enemies who taunt faith and who stalk about like wild, ferocious animals ready for the kill afflict many Old Testament believers. The Babylonian material reenforces the view that the description is general and stereotyped. Therefore, on this ground alone, it is questionable to interpret Psalm 22 exclusively as a direct portrayal of the mocking enemy at Jesus' crucifixion.

The same conclusion can be drawn with respect to the description of possible illness. Other individual lament psalms use language similar to Psalm 22 in order to describe physical distress.

> Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am languishing;
> O Lord, heal me, for my bones are troubled.
> My soul also is sorely troubled. But thou, O
> Lord--how long? (Ps. 6:2-3).
>
> There is no soundness in my flesh because of
> thy indignation; there is no health in my bones
> because of my sin. . . . My wounds grow foul and
> fester because of my foolishness, I am utterly
> bowed down and prostrate; all the day I go about
> mourning.
> For my loins are filled with burning, and there
> is no soundness in my flesh (Ps. 38:3-7).
>
> For my days pass away like smoke, and my bones
> burn like a furnace.
> My heart is smitten like grass, and withered;
> I forgot to eat my bread. Because of my loud
> groaning my bones cleave to my flesh (Ps. 102:3-5).

Similar descriptions occur in the Babylonian laments.

> my woeful body, which is full of confusion
> and troubles;
> my afflicted heart, which is full of weeping

and sighing,
my spirit, which aboundeth in weeping
and sighing (Jensen, 128, 46-47, 50).[35]

If I seek then no one taketh me by the hand,
If I wept then my side they not came nigh,
If I utter a lament no one will hear me.
I am distressed, I am overwhelmed,
I look not (O E C T. VI, 41, 58).[36]

Disease, misery without rest haved filled me,
Illness of heart, flabbiness of flesh are
prepared (Scholl. 96, 14 f.).[37]

The description of illness found in Psalm 22 fits into the phraseology of its time and place. Broad, figurative expressions provide appropriate expression for a wide variety of specific ailments of body and spirit. Such general, metaphorical expression was especially appropriate language for the cultic role of the psalms.

We have looked at several facets of the lament section of Psalm 22. Its content and phraseology belong to the wider context of lament psalms of Israel and Babylon. Other aspects of the cry of distress might be singled out such as the ancient's view of sickness as punishment and religious trial (Ps. 7:3-5; 17:3-5; 38:1-4; 41:4; 94:12-15; 112; 125:4-5) or the ancient's understanding of the role of the physical as related to the spiritual in affliction (Ps. 13:1-2; 31:9,10; 119:22,92). Such study would further

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[35]Ibid., p. 101.

[36]Ibid., p. 103.

[37]Ibid., p. 116.

support the view that Psalm 22 shares the understanding of sickness found in laments contemporary with it. Psalm 22 does not of itself indicate its later New Testament significance for the Passion narrative. This psalm is part and parcel of the religious faith and life of ancient Israel whose spiritual vitality finds expression throughout the Psalter.

If the lament portion of Psalm 22 reveals no unique content, what about the expression of trust or the hymn of praise?

The expression of trust in Psalm 22 openly confesses that God is holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel (Ps. 22:3). Such a confession of faith is shared with the entire Psalter, to say nothing of the wider historical and prophetic portions of the Old Testament. Many psalms extol the majestic God who is enthroned from of old (Ps. 29:10; 55:19; 71:22; 102:12; 123:1). The Lord God of heaven and earth sits enthroned as king for ever, and the psalms urge that all praise and glory be given to Jahweh alone (Ps. 29:10; 44:4; 47:2,6-8; 96:7-10; Psalms 95-100 and 145-150).

Another aspect of the expression of assurance is the look to God's past actions on Israel's behalf. God's past deliverance confirms his promise to help in the future. The history of Israel told the story of God's covenant plan for His chosen people. This Heilsgeschichte centered in the

Exodus, the wilderness wandering, the conquest of the land, and the election of David as king (compare Psalms 105, 106, 135, 136). As the worshipper recalled these events and remembered God's promise to the fathers, he shared in the redemptive hope experienced in the past. Time and again the psalmists urged God to be mindful of those mercies which had been from of old (Ps. 25:6). In such meditation upon God's past mighty deeds the Israelite praised God and found strength and reassurance to face his own trial (Ps. 18:30; 44:1; 77:11-20; 51:15; 126:1-2; 135; 136; 143:5). In worship he participated in God's salvation plan. He relived those events which were basic to the faith of Israel. Psalm 22 draws upon this spiritual heritage as it too looks to God's past deliverance of the fathers.

Turning to the hymn of praise in Psalm 22, we find then that both its content and phraseology can be found elsewhere in the Psalter as well as in the Old Testament as a whole. The ancient stress that one praise God in the midst of the congregation reoccurs frequently (Ps. 26:12; 35:17-18; 40:9-10; 66:13,16; 68:26; 71:14-16; 111:1). The emphasis upon the "name" of Jahweh belong to the Old Testament faith (Ps. 22:22). Praising the name of the Lord was equal to praise to God (Ps. 30:4-5; 33:21; 44:8; 48:1-10; 52:9; 54:6-7; 68:4; 76:1; 86:12; 102:12; 113:2,13; 135:1-3). The reference to God's rescue of the poor and lowly finds

expression in numerous psalms (Ps. 22:24,26; compare Ps. 34:6; 68:5-6; 69:32-33; 107:41; 113:7; 132:15; 140:12; 146:7-9; 147:3,6). Exaltation in the kingly reign of Jahweh who rules over the nations (Ps. 22:28) is found already in the first eleven chapters of Genesis. God not only created the heavens and the earth, but He charted the destiny of the nations (Gen. 1-2; 10). Even the eschatological vision of the concluding verses of Psalm 22 is found elsewhere in the Psalter and in the Old Testament (Ps. 49:1,15; 57:9-11; 67:1-4; 96:7,10; 145:11-13; Zech. 14:9; Isaiah 24-26 and 42-43). The conclusion is that the hymn of praise in Psalm 22 reveals no unique language or thought which hints at this psalm's later role in the New Testament.

The purpose of this chapter has been to ascertain whether one can single out any particular feature of Psalm 22 which in itself might suggest its later use, particularly its use in the passion narratives of the evangelists. This individual lament psalm stands in continuity with similar biblical and extra-biblical laments. Psalm 22 reflects a common pre-exilic Israelite tradition as is evident in the lament form. It shares the Davidic tradition with other psalms in which the superscription contains the phrase, "of David." The evident cultic role of the psalm is shared with the entire Psalter. Finally the content and terminology of Psalm 22 in the lament,

the expression of trust, and the hymn of praise are similar to other psalmic and prophetic material.

Therefore Psalm 22 is to be understood as a powerful testimony to the dynamic of Old Testament faith. The psalmist boldly claims God to be his God even though afflictions and distress press down so severely that God seems to have closed his ears to prayer. In such agony of body and spirit the psalmist sings praise to God in the sure and certain hope of deliverance. This praise moves into the future as the reign of God rules over the nations and future generations bow in worship before the wondrous works of God. Such faith belongs to the Psalter as a whole. If one is to speak of prophecy in this psalm itself, it is to be found in the hymn of praise. This hymn expresses a vision of the rule of God which moves beyond any single moment in the Old Testament and carries one forward into the time of ultimate fulfillment, the triumphant return of our Lord.

Postscript

An interpretation which treats Psalm 22 as direct prophecy of the crucifixion of Christ has dominated much Christian exegesis of Psalm 22. Delitzsch[38] comments that "the ancient church regarded Christ, not David, as the speaker in this Psalm; and condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia who expounded it as contemporary history." The older Lutheran theologians supported the view of the ancient church. This view has remained an interpretation held by some conservative scholars. August Pieper,[39] writing in the Theologische Quartalscrift, commented on Psalm 22:

> Wir stehen hier vor dem grossartigsten Stück der alttestamentlichen Offenbarung über das Leiden Christi, das nur an Iesaias 53 ein ebenbürtiges Seitenstück hat.
>
> Wir kommen somit notwendig auf die Stellung Luthers und der alten lutherischen Ausleger, die Bakus so widergibt: "Asserimus, hunc psalm ad literam primo, proprie et absque ulla allegoria, tropologia et anagogia integrum et per omnia de solo Christo exponendum esse."

The Herder's Commentary on the Psalms[40] reflects this same perspective:

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[38]Franz Delitzsch, XXIX, 306.

[39]August Pieper, "Der 22 Psalm für Passionspredigt bearbeitet," Theologische Quartalschrift, II (January 1905), 9,16.

[40]Edmund Kalt, editor, Herder's Commentary on the Psalms, translated by Bernard Fritz (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1961), pp. 70-71.

> We know of no historical person who had experienced things similar to those of the petitioner. . . . The Church, therefore, has from the beginning interpreted this psalm as Messianic. . . . Yet David was not a mere instrument of the Holy Spirit used to prophesy the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. The prayer also flowed from his own soul filled with sorrow. But his own suffering is submerged vicariously in the sea of suffering of his great descendant. . . . The description of the suffering is the description of the Passion of the Lord. The fruits of the suffering are exclusively the Messianic blessings of the Redemption. David is only an interpreter of the man of suffering whom he saw on the cross in his vision; he is the herald of another's sufferings.

The New Testament use of Psalm 22 in the passion narrative unquestionably shapes this interpretation more than a study of the historical context of Psalm 22. Contemporary biblical studies challenge the traditional interpretation with a new look at the content and context of Psalm 22 itself. The present writer, who speaks out of a conservative background and with conviction about the ultimate messianic thrust of Psalm 22, is persuaded that an historical-critical study of Psalm 22 helps one understand the historical movement in God's plan of salvation. One can regard Psalm 22 as an ancient prayer of faith and still confess that the person and work of Jesus Christ provide the ultimate messianic thrust to Psalm 22. The death and resurrection of Jesus Christ finally give substance and certainty to that ancient faith expressed in this lament psalm.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERPRETATION OF PSALM 22 IN THE INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD

This chapter examines the interpretation and use of Psalm 22 during the intertestamental period. The objective is to isolate and identify the hermeneutical principles utilized in the interpretation of this psalm. The chapter considers the intertestamental material under four headings: the Septuagint, Rabbinic Judaism, Apocalyptic Judaism, and Hellenistic Judaism.

The Septuagint

The Septuagint[1] provides some indication of the understanding of Psalm 22 in the first centuries before Christ.[2] The variants from the Hebrew text are the key to the developing interpretation of this psalm.

The Septuagint version of the superscription suggests that the translators may have had difficulty with understanding the significance of the various phrases. Most contemporary scholars understand the words, "To the choirmaster, according

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[1]Alfred Rahlfs, editor, Septuagint (1st edition; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1962), II. The translation of Septuagint phrases will be the writer's translation.

[2]Henry Barclay Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament Greek (2nd edition; Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. 24-27.

to the Hind of the Dawn" (superscription of Psalm 22) as instruction to the professional musicians about a particular liturgical melody.[3] The Septuagint reads, "To the end; because of the help of the dawn" (LXX/Ps. 21:1). "It seems most probable that G (Septuagint Version) and T (the Targum or Aramaic Version) agree in thinking of these psalms [with the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος in the superscription] as selected for perpetual use unto the end, in the liturgy. . . . it misses the exact sense of the term which is given by the Chronicler."[4]

The Septuagint translation of "hind" as "help" or "strength" may suggest that the translator does not understand the phrase, "hind of the dawn," as the title of a liturgical melody, but as a directive to the worshipper. In this case the translator seems to direct the worshipper to find "strength in the dawn" for was it not true that the mercies of the Lord were new every morning? (Lam. 3:23; Ps. 30:5). Dahood[5] suggests that the Septuagint reading

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[3]Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalmen in Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament (Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen Kreis Moers, 1960), I, xxvii.

[4]C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms in the International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906), I, lxxiii-lxxiv.

[5]Mitchell Dahood, Psalms I in The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966), p. 41.

may well be the correct one and cites verse 20 in Psalm 22 as a parallel. The later midrash on the psalms indicates that the rabbis did not interpret the superscription as liturgical direction.[6]

The Septuagint contains an extra phrase in verse 1, "you give heed to me." This insertion softens the cry of godforsakenness and underscores the entreaty and supplication implied in the invocation, "my God, my God" (Ps. 22:1).

Another interesting variant in verse 1 is the translation of "words of my groaning" as οἱ λόγοι τῶν παραπτωμάτων μου (LXX/Ps. 21:2b), "the words of my transgressions." The Septuagint also punctuates this second phrase as a statement rather than a question. The Hebrew text is a question. Such a change indicates that the translator understands that transgression is somehow involved in the sufferer's affliction. This reflects the ancient view that sin caused suffering. It also demonstrates that the translator would not have titled Psalm 22 as the prayer of an innocent sufferer. The Septuagint parallels the interpretation of the author of the Hodayot. Some allusions to Psalm 22 in the Hodayot, particularly the expressions of personal lowliness, are in contexts of personal guilt.[7]

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[6]Infra., pp. 62-63.

[7]Infra., pp. 78-79.

The imagery of hope comes through in verses 8 and 9. The Hebrew has a difficult word in verse 8, גָּל, "roll," which is translated by Dahood,[8] "he lives for." The Septuagint translator repeats the hope emphasis in the next verse. The phrase, "(You are) my hope from my mother's breasts" (LXX/Ps. 21:10b), is substituted for "you kept me safe upon my mother's breasts" (Ps. 22:9).

Perhaps the most significant textual change is in verse 16, at least as far as the Christian tradition is concerned. The Septuagint reads, "they pierced my hands and feet" (LXX/Ps. 21:17c) for a difficult Hebrew phrase, "like a lion, my hands and my feet." Some current scholars[9] translate the verb form, "they bind." Early Christian interpreters see in this verse a direct prophecy of the crucifixion.[10]

In verse 21 the Septuagint translates, "save me from the mouth of the lion and my humble self from the horns of the unicorn" (LXX/Ps. 21:22). The reference to unicorn is striking, since the Hebrew word is better translated "wild oxen." The Septuagint translation reflects an idea current during the first centuries before Christ about the

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[8]Dahood, p. 136.

[9]W. O. E. Oesterley, The Psalms (London: SPCK, 1939), p. 180; Krause, XV, 176.

[10]Infra., pp. 144-148, 159-161.

role of unicorns in causing affliction. The unicorn sounds mythological to our ears, but may have been conceived realistically in the ancient world. In the second century after Christ Justin Martyr interprets this reference to the unicorn as a direct prophecy of the cross of Christ.[11]

These examples of variation in meaning from the Hebrew text to the Septuagint suggest that textual transmission involved an historical process. The translator's circumstance and theological position together with the need of his reader influenced the understanding of the Hebrew text and the choice of words for translation. With respect to Psalm 22 the Septuagint indicates that the psalm was prayed as a prayer of hope and trust. Current form-critical studies underscore this emphasis.[12] The suppliant recognizes that his personal transgression is involved in his trial. Yet he places complete confidence in that God who has delivered the fathers, who has safeguarded his own life from birth, and whose kingship shall be proclaimed by his posterity.

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[11] Infra., p. 177.

[12] Supra., pp. 21-22.

Rabbinic Judaism

Introductory comments on rabbinic hermeneutics

The Midrash on the Psalms[13] provides the most extensive body of rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 22. In Braude's translation thirty pages are devoted to the exposition of Psalm 22. Only Psalms 1, 18, and 119 receive a more lengthy exposition in the Midrash on the Psalms. Psalm 22 is also cited in the Mekilta,[14] the Sifre,[15] the Midrash Rabbah,[16] the Babylonian Talmud,[17] and the Minor Tractates of the Talmud.[18]

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[13]Midrash on Psalms, 2 vols., translated by William Braude (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959). This translation is used as the source for the midrashim on the Psalm 22.

[14]Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, 3 vols., translated by Jacob Z. Lauterbach (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949).

[15]Der Tannaitische Midrash Sifre Zu Numeri, translated into German by Karl Georg Kuhn (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1959).

[16]The Midrash Rabbah, 10 vols., translated and edited under H. Freedman and M. Simon (London: Soncino Press, 1961).

[17]Babylonian Talmud, 34 vols., edited by I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1952).

[18]The Minor Tractates of the Talmud, 2 vols., edited by A. Cohen (London: Soncino Press, 1965).

The nature of the Midrash on Psalms is haggadic.[19] This haggadic characteristic reflects the inspirational and homiletical purpose of these midrashim. The Midrash on Psalms consists of a series of homilies on various words and verses from the psalms and other parts of Scripture.

These homilies are usually introduced under the name of a specific rabbi. At times the homily will indicate that this rabbi is repeating the teaching of an earlier rabbi. At other times no particular name is given to the interpretation. Instead some general phrase may introduce the midrash, such as "our masters said" or "the rabbis said." Most of the rabbis named come from the periods of the Tannaim[20] and the Amoraim.[21]

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[19]The term haggadah, refers to the narrative, inspirational, non-legal interpretation of Scripture. Halakah means the rule or direction drawn from the Torah. These are the two broad categories of all rabbinic exegesis. Cf. Herman L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945), pp. 6-7; Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1967).

[20]Rabbis of the Tannaim (scholars who lived in the period from about 10 A.D. to 220 A.D. who compiled the Mishnah): (R. refers to "Rabbi") R. Samuel, R. Eleazar, R. Eliezer, R. Joshua (90-130); R. Nehemiah (130-160); R. Judah bar R. Simon (160-190); R. Isaac, R. Judah, R. Hiyya, R. Simeon ben Halafta (190-220).

[21]Rabbis of the Amoraim (scholars who lived between 200 and 500 A.D. who compiled the Talmud: R. Hanina, R. Joshua ben Levi, R. Samuel (1st gen.); R. Hoshaia, R. Isaac, R. Johanan, R. Simeon ben Lakish, R. Tahalifa (2nd gen.); R. Levi, R. Abbahu (3rd gen.); R. Haggai, R. Hezekiah, R. Juna, R. Judah ben R. Simon, R. Yudan (4th gen.); R. Berechiah, R. Phinehas (5th gen.).

While one might refer to the period between 100 and 500 after Christ as the creative haggadic period,[22] recent studies suggest that the midrashim of the Tannaim and the Amoraim often draw upon midrashic elements which pre-date the Christian era. Wright[23] has noted that "a great number of haggadic interpretations figure in works such as the QL (Q[umran] L[iteratur]), Pseudo-Philo and Josephus and are therefore of pre-tannaitic origin." The studies by Renee Bloch,[24] Andre Robert,[25] and Geza Vermes[26] suggest that we reassess the dating of much of this midrashic material. While the extant midrashic materials undoubtedly reflect views and events of the period 100 to 500 after Christ, the origin of a great number of haggadic interpretations is earlier. The compilation of tradition by the Tannaim and the Amoraim draw upon these earlier midrashim.

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[22]Cf. W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten, 2 vols. (Strassburg: Karl Trübner, 1884-90); Die älteste Terminologies der jüdischen Schriftauslegung (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899); Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899-1905).

[23]Wright, p. 23.

[24]Renee Bloch, "Midrash," Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1957), V, cols. 1263-1281.

[25]Andre Robert, "Litteraires," Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement, V. cols. 405-421.

[26]Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961).

Geza Vermes[27] concludes:

> In general, the period of great creative activity began in the fourth or third century BC and relaxed only towards the end of the second century AD. The first task was one of literary harmonization; harmony had first to be established within the Torah itself. Haggadah achieved this by combining and interweaving parallel accounts, eliminating discrepancies, and completing bare patches of the narrative. It carried the process still further. On the principle that the whole of Scripture is informed by the same Word of the same God, Torah, Prophets, and later even Hagiographa were considered and treated synoptically. The bulk of the work was completed in the peaceful age of the Ptolemaic rule, as may be seen from the fact that in exegetical writings of the second century BC the main haggadic themes are already fully developed.

Thus, while the compilation of the Midrash on the Psalms is later than the New Testament era, the midrashic method of interpreting Scripture is old. In addition to the pre-Christian date of the midrashic method of interpretation, talmudic midrashim reflect haggadic motifs which at times are earlier than the Tannaim (10 A.D. to 220 A.D.). It appears as though a collection of homilies on the psalms existed already at the time of Rabbi Judah in the early third century after Christ.[28] Such a collection presupposes earlier psalmic exposition. The general content of the Midrash on the Psalms may be regarded as a guide to the interpretation of Psalm 22 in pre-Christian rabbinic Judaism. The Midrash on the Psalms therefore is sufficient to determine

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[27] Ibid., p. 228.

[28] Midrash on the Psalms, I, xxv-xxvi.

whether there is any methodological or conceptual relationship between the rabbinic exposition and the New Testament interpretation of Psalm 22.

Two fundamental presuppositions about the text of Scripture are basic to rabbinic interpretation:[29]

1. One must interpret all the minute details in Scripture.
2. Each part or detail can be interpreted as an autonomous unit without reference to its context.

These two presuppositions reflect the attitude of Judaism toward the Torah as the inspired Word of God. The Torah contains all that God wants man to know.

As the revelation of God, the Torah contained all kinds of meanings. The rabbis believed that every word in Scripture had "seventy aspects," the seventy being a symbol for an infinite number.[30] Since the Torah is the sacred language of God in which each detail can be filled with meaning, there is no limit to the truth contained in the Torah. God can unveil his will in a single letter if one properly interprets it. Wright[31] comments on the development of rabbinic interpretation:

> Thus we find the letters of words being scrutinized for meaning through their numerical values, being made into acrostics, rearranged to form other words, etc.

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[29]Wright, pp. 62-63.

[30]Midrash on the Psalms, I, xvi.

[31]Wright, p. 63.

> We find the words of sentences being rearranged, revocalized, assigned alternate meanings; and we find sections being interpreted allegorically, being connected with unrelated sections in other parts of the Bible, etc.

Awesome respect for the Torah as the all-complete, inspired Word of God motivated the rabbis to take the text of Scripture with radical seriousness.[32] In the Torah "God is teaching religion and that the whole of religion is contained in this revelation is the first principle of Jewish hermeneutics."[33]

The rabbis used two methods of exposition in their exegesis of the text, peshat and derash. Peshat refers to the literal meaning of the text. It is the simple, ordinary thought which the words immediately suggest.

Darash, the Hebrew word for "search," underlies the term midrash[34] and midrashic interpretation. The rabbis

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[32] Midrash on the Psalms, I, xix-xxii.

[33] George Foot Moore, Judaism (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), I, 247.

[34] The term midrash is variously interpreted as "narrative," "interpretation," "juridical investigation," "study." These definitions arise out of biblical and extra-biblical usage. In rabbinic usage the term midrash might refer to the procedure of interpretation as well as the interpretation itself. The term is also used to designate a branch of Jewish oral tradition. Midrash is contrasted with the Mishnah. The chief characteristic of midrash is its direct link with the biblical text. The Mishnah is the collected interpretations of earlier rabbinic exposition and tradition. Cf. Wright, pp. 33-75; Block, V, cols. 1263-1267; Solomon Zeitlin, "Midrash: A Historical Study," The Jewish Quarterly Review, XL (1953-1954), 21-36.

were not content with peshat. The Torah held deeper and richer meaning for that person who searches earnestly and desires fervently to find the fuller will of God. A saying attributed to Hillel or one of his students reflects this search: "turn it [Torah] this way and turn it that way, for all is therein."[35] Midrashic exegetical technique therefore moves beyond the simple, surface meaning of the text in order to search and penetrate more deeply into the revelation of God.

The ultimate purpose of both peshat and derash is to expound the text for the hearer. The peshat or plain meaning shows evidence of sound linguistic skill and sober insight into the biblical text. Derash may move far from the actual meaning of the text when judged by the ordinarily accepted standards of interpretation. "Many things are drawn out of the Bible which the original author clearly never intended; the biblical text is even altered in many daring ways and apparently without hesitation."[36] Still the rabbis believed that they were not violating the spirit or meaning of the Torah whether they used peshat or derash. Since every word in Torah had an infinite number of implications and the human situation was constantly changing, the search for ascertaining more fully the will of God was an on-going process.[37]

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[35]Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksells, 1961), p. 19.

[36]Wright, p. 59.

[37]Midrash on the Psalms, I, xvi.

This search always remained within the boundary of accepted Judaic teaching. The exponents of midrash never wished "to falsify Scripture nor to deprive it of its natural meaning."[38] Both peshat and derash were legitimate tools of interpretation, but the exposition was always judged by the fundamental tenets of the creed of Judaism.[39]

Peshat is guided by the natural, accepted meaning of words in context. The practised rules of grammar are applied to interpreting the text. This methodology is synonymous with what is termed the grammatical-historical approach to interpretation. Language and history direct the exposition.

Derash is an expanded methodology. It seeks to derive meaning which is not immediately apparent. Derash involves the use of comparison, inference, analogy, parallelism, and even allegory. The text of Scripture was always the

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[38] Ibid.

[39] General works on Judaism include: Isaac Epstein, Judaism (Harmondsworth, 1959); L. Finkelstein, The Pharisees (2nd edition revised; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), 2 vols.; R. Travers Herford, Judaism in the New Testament Period (London: The Lindsey Press, 1928); Joseph Bonsirvin, Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ, translated from the French by William Wolf (New York: Holt, Rinehard, and Winston, 1964); Asher Finkel, The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964); Solomon Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (New York: Schocken Books, 1961); Roy A. Stewart, Rabbinic Theology (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961).

point of departure. The ultimate objective was religious edification, moral instruction, and spiritual inspiration.

An early articulation of the methodology of derash is found in the seven rules of Hillel.[40] This famous rabbi of the first century before Christ was the first to systematize the rules of interpretation. These principles remained fundamental to rabbinic hermeneutics. In brief Hillel's rules are the following:

1. Kal Wahomer: an a fortiori inference from a minor to a major.

2. Gezerah Shawah: an argument of assimilation. It builds on similarity of meaning, on the analogy of ideas. The meaning of a word in one passage passes to the same word in another passage.

3. Binyan Ab in a single verse: an analogy of ideas in which a particular becomes general.

4. Binyan Ab in two verses of Scripture: an analogy of ideas in which particulars in two passages possess a common characteristic and so establish a general principle.

5. Kelal Upherat: the general and particular. This is another type of inference in which one moves either from the general to the particular or vice versa.

6. Kayotzke Bo Bemakom Aher: an analogy based on two similar passages.

7. Dabar Halamed Meinyano: a connection based upon contexts in which passages occur.

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[40]The rules of Hillel are found in the Tosephta, Sanhedrin 7, 11. They seem to express the elementary logic of the scribes in the late intertestamental period. Cf. J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum & Co., 1954), pp. 61-78.

These rules express the logical thought process which the rabbis used in their search for the deeper meaning of Scripture.

Examples of Peshat interpretation of Psalm 22

The Midrash on the Psalms reflects both peshat and derash, although the great bulk of the midrashim are interpretations which move beyond the literal meaning of the text. The use of midrashic technique is linked to the homiletic purpose of psalmic exposition. Nonetheless the rabbis do occasionally use peshat in interpreting the psalms. The following are examples of peshat from the midrashim on Psalm 22.

The verse "In thee our fathers trusted; they trusted, and thou didst deliver them" (Ps. 22:4) is expounded literally.

> The passage beginning Our fathers trusted in Thee (Ps. 22:5) refers to the time our fathers were in Egypt. They trusted, and Thou didst deliver them (ibid.) from Pharaoh's hand. Unto Thee they cried (Ps. 22:6): "The children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried" (Ex. 2:23). And were saved (Ps. 22:6): "Thus the Lord saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians" (Ex. 14:30). And why did all these things come to pass? Because In Thee did they trust, and were not confounded (Ps. 22:6): all these things came to pass because of the merit of their trust in God.[41]

Another example is the interpretation of Ps. 22:7 "all who see me mock at me, they make mouths at me, they

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[41] Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 20.

wag their heads." Once Psalm 22 has been identified with Esther on the basis of the superscription, the rabbis literally interpret this verse as descriptive of Haman's scorn (Esther 5:9-13).

> Finally "All they that see me laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip, they shake the head" (Ps. 22:8) refers to Haman's sons who laughed Jews to scorn, shot out their lips at them and shook their heads at them, saying, "On the morrow these will be slain, or hanged." (Midrash on the Psalms I, 22. 21.)

The exposition of Ps. 22:9 is interesting because of the rabbis' use of it to fill out the Esther story itself.

> The end of the verse "Thou keptest me in safety, when I was upon my mother's breast" (Ps. 22:10) means that Esther said: "After my mother conceived me, my father died; and my mother died while giving birth to me. But Thou keptest me safe, for Thou gavest me breasts in place of my mother's breasts," "Mordecai . . . brought up Hadassah, that is Esther" (Esther 2:7) is to say that Mordecai's wife gave suck to Esther, and that Mordecai brought her up. (Midrash on the Psalms I, 22. 23.)

These examples indicate how the rabbis interpreted some verses from Psalm 22 in a literal manner. What is significant however is that an individual verse or phrase is interpreted literally, but in isolation from its context. There is no attempt to see Psalm 22 as a whole and interpret it as a unit in a literal manner.

Examples of Derash interpretation of Psalm 22

Examples of midrashic interpretation will be considered in five categories: connection, general and particular,

lesser to greater, analogy, and allegory.[42] The purpose of these examples is to demonstrate the manner in which the accepted principles of rabbinic hermeneutics directed the exposition of Psalm 22.

Connection refers to the chain of passages which the rabbis constructed on the basis of single word-parallels found in two or more passages. Hillel's sixth rule,[43] Kayotzke Bo Bemakom Aher, may be involved. This rule draws analogies between two verses which are similar. The second rule, Gezerah Shawah, is certainly an influence as rabbis built an exposition on the basis of assimilation. The meaning of a word in one passage passes over into another passage in which the same word occurs.

The midrashim on Psalm 22 give many examples of such chains of passages. The rabbi focuses upon some word or phrase in a psalm verse which suggests a similar word or idea in another passage. The rabbi quotes this second passage and may make an interpretative comment to indicate its significance. Next, the rabbi picks out another word, but from the second verse cited. This second verse usually is not even from the psalms. The newly chosen word from the second verse is the link to a third verse. So the

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[42]Willis A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 29-47.

[43]Supra., p. 50.

midrash on the initial verse expands. Judged by modern hermeneutical standards, such exposition appears to wander further and further from the original text under study. In fairness to the rabbis, however, it is necessary to keep their primary presuppositions in mind. They regard every detail of Scripture as important and filled with many meanings. They treat such details as autonomous units. The historical context does not exercise control over their interpretation.

One example of a chain of passages begins with the phrase from the superscription, "hind of the dawn" (Psalm 22 superscription).

> The phrase the hind of the morning is to be considered in the light of what Scripture says elsewhere: Who is this that cometh up as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? (Song 6:10). Who is the this the verse refers to? Israel, to whom God said: This thy stature is like to a palm-tree (Song 7:8). When the people of Israel were journeying in the wilderness the Ark went before them, as is said The Ark of the Lord went before them (Num. 10:33). R. Eleazar said in the name of R. Jose ben Zimra: From between the two poles by which the Ark was carried, something like flaming darts would fly out and consume (fiery) serpents thick as the beams of an olive-press, and scorpions big as the trunk of sorb-trees, as is said, The Lord thy God . . . led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions (Deut. 8:15); and would likewise consume thorns and briers before Israel. The nations of the earth saw the smoke, and asked: Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness like pillars of smoke? (Song 3:6). They saw how the Holy One, blessed by He, did miracles for Israel, causing manna to fall for them, making the well come up for them, bringing quail to them, and even giving them light with His own glory, as is said The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light (Ex. 13:21). And when the nations of the earth saw the cloud by day and the light of fire by

> night, they asked: Who is this that cometh up as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" (Song 6:10): who is this people, each of whose instruments is made of light? Israel's Law is made of light, for it is said, The commandment is a lamp, and the Law is light (Prov. 6:23). Israel's God is made of light, as is said Arise, shine for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee (Is. 60:1). Israel's joy is made of light, as is said The light of the righteous rejoiceth (Prov. 13:9). And of the time-to-come, it is written Light is sown for the righteous (Ps. 97:11). Surely, said the nations, they are gods, not men (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 11).

This midrash moves far afield from the initial phrase, "hind of the dawn." The rabbi moves to Song 6:10 on the basis of the analogy between dawn and the happenings of the dawn. This verse sets forth the question directly, "who is this?" Put in terms of the superscription of Psalm 22 it would be, "who is this hind of the dawn?" The answer which the rabbi gives in this particular midrash is to identify the "hind of the dawn" as Israel. The rabbi builds his argument for this interpretation on the basis of numerous passages. These passages need be connected by only a single word-parallel or thought-parallel. The rabbi inserts his interpretative comment between the passages.

A second example of a chain of passages is Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 5. In this midrash "hind of the dawn" (Psalm 22 superscription) is interpreted as a reference to "Him who leaps up like a hind in the midst of darkness to give light to the children of Israel." The rabbi begins

with a reference to darkness (Gen. 15:12), which is interpreted in terms of the Babylonian exile and the Medeo-Persian bondage (Dan. 7:7; Esther 8:16; Dan. 8:8). So "For the leader; upon the Hind of the dawn means 'For Him who shall leap up like a hind, and break forth like the dawn upon Israel, as it is said, Then shall thy light break forth as the morning' (Is. 58:8)" (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 5). The midrash continues with an elaboration of the Esther story (Esther 4:5-13). Jer. 30:7 and Is. 45:17 are cited as testimony to God's plan to deliver His people. Esther's summons to fasting is the next focus of attention. Here the rabbi picks out the phrase, Neither eat nor drink three days (Esther 4:16). He then cites numerous Old Testament incidents which involved either three days or the third day: Abraham sighted Moriah on the third day (Gen. 22:4); Joseph kept his brothers in prison three days (Gen. 42:17); Israel was in the wilderness three days without finding water (Ex. 15:22); God heard King Hezekiah's prayer and directed him to go to the house of the Lord on the third day (2 Kings 20:5); Rahab counselled the spies to hide out for three days (Joshua 2:16); Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights (Jonah 2:2); God promised deliverance to Israel through Hosea on the third day (Hos. 6:2). Therefore the rabbi concludes: "Accordingly Esther decreed a fast for three days. And so the hind of the dawn

refers to Esther who brought forth the morning out of darkness" (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 5).

General and particular is found in Hillel's fifth rule,[44] Kelal Upherat, the use of inference as one moves from the general to the particular and vice versa. Rules 3 and 4, Binyan Ab in a single verse and then in two verses, also operate on the basis of inference. The interpreter moves from the particular in a single verse to a general rule. The general and particular is found in the following midrashim on Psalm 22.

Ps. 22:3 states the general truth that God is "enthroned upon the praises of Israel." Rabbi Samuel now says in the name of Rabbi Hanina:

> At every praise and song of praise which the children of Israel offer to the Holy One, blessed be He, His glory is enthroned amidst them . . . (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 19).

In this example the general moves to the particular.

Another example of the general and particular is the exposition of Ps. 22:26, "the afflicted shall eat and be satisfied." The rabbi applies this to Mordecai and Esther "who were found worthy to eat at the table of kings" (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 32).

The lesser to greater is Hillel's first rule,[45] Kal Wahomer. This rule operates on the basis of inference

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

from a minor to a major. In the midrash on the superscription of Psalm 22, Is. 10:17 is frequently quoted, "The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and His holy one for a flame." The rabbi comments in his exposition:

> And so God says to the people of Israel: Even as I have done in this world, so will I do in the world-to-come, for it is said Behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; but upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee (Is. 60:2) (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 3).

Another example of the lesser to the greater is in the midrash on Ps. 22:20, "but be not Thou far from me, O Lord." The rabbis discuss how God speedily hastened to rescue Esther. In describing this rescue the rabbis refer to the golden sceptre of King Ahasuerus. In this context Rabbi Isaac says:

> If the sceptre of a mere mortal brings life to an entire people, how much more life does the sceptre of the Holy One, blessed be He, bring, for it is written Tend Thy people with Thy sceptre (Micah 7:4) (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 27).

The use of analogy is perhaps the most frequently used principle in the midrashim on Psalm 22. Hillel's[46] Gerzerah Shawah makes use of comparison as does the Kayotzke Bo Bemakom Aher. The use of analogy provides the link between passages of Scripture which the rabbi cites in exposition of Psalm 22. The rabbi may also use analogy

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[46] Ibid.

to draw upon common-place experience as part of the interpretation of the text.

The midrash on Ps. 22:6 is a good example of analogy. The psalmist confesses, "I am a worm" (Ps. 22:6). The rabbi interprets:

> Like a worm whose only resource is its mouth, so the children of Israel have no resource other than the prayers of their mouths. Like a worm which roots out a tree with its mouth, so the children of Israel with the prayers of their mouths root out the evil decrees which (hostile) nations of the earth devise against them (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 20).

The use of analogy is very important in the interpretation of the superscription of Psalm 22 with its phrase, "hind of the dawn." The rabbis draw analogies with the words "hind" and "dawn." "Hind" suggests the surety of female deer (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 1), the idea of leaping up like a deer (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 4), the God-fearing nature of the deer (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 14). "Dawn" suggests the idea of light (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 3), portrays light dispelling darkness (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 4-5), is the time for arousing to praise (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 9).

The use of allegory is not too frequent in the midrashim on Psalm 22. One reason is that what seems to be allegory may simply be the rabbi's extreme exposition based upon inference or analogy. For example, the midrash on Ps. 22:2, "My God, my God why hast Thou forsaken me?" sounds like a cry of desolation. The rabbi proceeds to comment:

> These words are to be considered in regard to the verse The light of Israel shall be for a fire, and His holy one for a flame; and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day (Is. 10:17): The light of Israel means Hezekiah; His holy one means Isaiah; and it shall burn means that Sennacherib shall burn; and devour his thorns and his briers means that Sennacherib's hosts shall be devoured. Thus when Sennacherib moved upon Jerusalem Isaiah and Hezekiah sat in the Temple, and from between the two of them came forth a fire which devoured Sennacherib and his hosts (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 2).

Another midrashic interpretation of this same passage interprets it in terms of Mordecai and Esther and the execution of Haman (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 2).

The play on words comes close to allegory as the rabbi draws out meanings which lie underneath the surface of the text. An example is the exposition of Ps. 22:1, "my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" The rabbi comments:

> On the first day of a fast, one says: My God; on the second day, one says: My God; only on the third may one say Why hast Thou forsaken me? So it was only after Esther cried in a loud voice, Why hast Thou forsaken me? that her cry was heard (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 6).

These examples from the midrashim on Psalm 22 demonstrate that the rabbis utilized those principles of rabbinic hermeneutics which were current in their time. The seven rules of Hillel are the earliest formal articulation of these principles, and they are reflected in the interpretation of Psalm 22. Underlying the use of these principles were the two basic presuppositions of all rabbinic

exegesis, namely, that every detail of the inspired Torah was important and that these details could be interpreted autonomously. These two presuppositions make clear that rabbinic exegesis, whether peshat or derash, sought to expound the text of Scripture. A primary consideration in determining whether an author is using the principles of rabbinic hermeneutics is to ask whether his fundamental objective is the exposition of the text of Scripture.

The content of the midrashim on Psalm 22

No single theme or subject runs through the interpretation of Psalm 22. Since the rabbis regarded every detail of the text as important and possessing the potential of an infinite number of meanings, the midrashim on Psalm 22 take up many subjects. These subjects include God's deliverance of Israel in the Exodus (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 1); the story of Esther and the Jews under Ahasuerus (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 15, 21, 23-28); God's creation of light (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 4); God's protection of the righteous (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 7); David's praise of God in psalms (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 8); Israel's privileged position (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 12); discussion of cultic and religious regulation (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 16-20); God's interest in the poor (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 30-32). Such a

listing of topics is a run-down of ideas suggested by individual details of the psalm.

The exposition of a specific passage varied from rabbi to rabbi. The rabbis give nine different interpretations of the phrase from the superscription of Psalm 22, "hind of the dawn." These meanings include "upon the rising of the sun, a song" (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 1); Esther (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 1, 5, 10, 14); God Who gives light (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 4); strength (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 7); David's occupation with Torah (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 8); Israel (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 11); a doe, the most God-fearing of animals (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 14); the generation of Mordecai (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 15).

The diversity of interpretation of a single phrase causes no problem for the rabbi. He realizes that the revelation of God contains all the mystery of God's will for man. There is no one, single meaning to a particular text of Scripture. All meanings have their ultimate unity in the oneness of God and His Torah.

The midrashim on Psalm 22 are largely haggadic. They are primarily narrative, homiletic. Derash therefore is the primary methodology rather than peshat. This methodology lends itself to the task of searching out the deeper, underlying lesson and thought of the text. As the rabbis probed into the message of the psalms, the superscriptions and

titles held special fascination. Their exposition of Psalm 22 bears out this interest.

The dominant theme in the midrashim on Psalm 22 is the exposition of the life and experience of Esther. Once the rabbi identified "hind of the dawn" (Psalm 22 superscription) as a reference to Esther, he interpreted the entire psalm in terms of her life. The rabbis discuss her birth and early childhood (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 23), her experience as wife of King Ahasuerus (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 16, 23, 25, 26), Haman's plot against the Jews (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 6, 18, 26), Esther's entreaty before Ahasuerus (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 24, 27), Haman's death, Mordecai's exaltation, the Jews' deliverance (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 32).

The rabbis' exposition of Psalm 22 in terms of Esther's life and experience fill in details which are not found in the canonical account of the Esther story. At times the midrashim on Psalm 22 even contradict the book of Esther. For example, in the midrash on Ps. 22:16b, "they have pierced my hands and feet," which Rabbi Nehemiah reads, "at my hands and at my feet he was favored with blessing," the interpreter refers to the rich blessing experienced by King Ahasuerus upon his marriage to Esther.

> Thus Esther meant: Because of the work of my hands, blessing came to Ahasuerus. Though at the beginning Ahasuerus reigned from one end of the earth to the other, as is said, From India even unto Ethiopia (Esther 1:1), after he slew Vashti all provinces

> of the earth rebelled against him. But as soon as he married me, a hundred and twenty-seven provinces--corresponding in number to the one hundred and twenty-seven years which our mother Sarah lived--returned to him because of me (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 26).

The Scriptures make no reference to the revolt of the provinces at the execution of Queen Vashti. When King Ahasuerus married Esther, not only did he give a great banquet for his princes and servants, but he also granted a remission of taxes to the provinces and gave gifts with royal liberality (Esther 2:18). Such gestures of magnanimity would hardly have been made in the face of revolt.

Another example of contradiction is the midrash on Ps. 22:13, "they open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion." The rabbi interprets this verse in terms of King Ahasuerus' treatment of Esther. The midrash reads: "As a lion crouches upon his prey and ravens it, so Ahasuerus crouches upon me and ravishes me" (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 25). The midrash on Ps. 22:1, "my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" suggests that Esther endured many years of harsh treatment at the hands of Ahasuerus (Midrash on the Psalms, I, 22. 16). The Scriptures give no indication of such mistreatment. The opposite impression is given. The king loved Esther more than all women (Esther 2:17). His favorable response to Esther's approach to the throne supports this affectionate relationship (Esther 5:1-3; 7:1-2). His promise to give Esther

up to half his kingdom confirms the great esteem and love King Ahasuerus had for Queen Esther. The rabbinic reference to mistreatment is therefore a contradiction of the canonical description of the marriage relationship. This mistelling of the Esther story is because the rabbi was interpreting only the material of Psalm 22. He felt no need to harmonize his interpretation with the book of Esther.

The rabbis find little messianic content in Psalm 22. The midrashim on Psalm 22 make an occasional reference to the world-to-come. However, this concept of the world-to-come receives no exposition. Such a reference does indicate that the idea of an after-life was at least present at the time that that particular midrash was written. The hope of the midrash on Psalm 22 lies primarily in God's present care in this world.

Exposition in terms of a suffering servant as later Christian expositors understood this psalm has no place in the rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 22. References to the trial and suffering of Esther and her people would be the closest that the rabbis came to see in Psalm 22 the depiction of suffering. There is no concept of atonement involved in the reference to the suffering of Esther and the Jews.

Prophecy is not a major emphasis in the rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 22. Even when it is applied to the experiences of Esther, the concept of the fulfillment of prophecy does not become part of the exposition.

In summary, the following observations on the rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 22 are made:

1. The rabbis seek to expound the text of Scripture with radical seriousness. The Torah is the inspired revelation of God and contains all that God wants man to know about his role in life and responsibility to God and the neighbor.

2. Since the text of Torah is the inspired Word of God, every detail is important.

3. The rabbi interprets the detail of the text as an autonomous unit. He is not bound by the context of the passage.

4. The rabbi uses two methodologies in his exposition of the text of Scripture. One is peshat, the literal interpretation of the text. The second is derash, which carries with it the idea of "search," "investigate." Hillel's seven rules are the earliest extant formulation of principles which guide derash. The exposition of a chain of passages, the use of inference and analogy, are major characteristics of derash.

5. The midrashim on Psalm 22 are primarily haggadic. This reflects the homiletic nature of the interpretation of the psalms. There are a few halakic midrashim which relate to cultic regulation and ethical behavior.

6. There is no single theme which runs through the midrash on Psalm 22. Description of the life and experience of Esther is the major topic, but many other subjects are considered as well. This diversity of topic reflects the rabbis' emphasis upon individual detail within the text and the interpretation of that detail as an autonomous unit. The midrashim on Psalm 22 also reflect the ultimate purpose of all Jewish exegesis: "to fuse Scripture with life."[47]

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[47]Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p. 229.

7. There is no messianic stress in the midrash on Psalm 22. The figure of a suffering servant whose trial is predicted receives no mention. The concept of prophecy and the fulfillment of prophecy does not play any role in the exposition of Psalm 22. The rabbinic interpretation of Psalm 22 does not anticipate the unique role of Psalm 22 in the New Testament passion narrative.

Apocalyptic Exegesis at Qumran

The principles of interpretation at Qumran

Eschatology dominated the Qumran Community.[48] The Covenanters pursued their scriptural study under the shadow of the end time. Filled with the conviction that they were the chosen of the Lord, they had withdrawn to the wilderness to "make straight in the desert a path for our God (Is. xl, 3)" (1 QS VIII. 14).[49] They shared the rabbis'

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[48]The bibliography on Qumran and apocalypticism is extensive. The names of Allegro, Barthelemy, Brownlee, Bruce, Burrows, Charles, Cross, Danielou, Dupont-Sommer, Gaster, Lohse, Grundmann, Gnilka, Jeremias, Benoit, Van Ploeg, Ringgren, Rowley, Stendahl, Vermes, Yadin, Russell come up frequently in this literature. In addition to the studies cited under these men in the Bibliography the reader may consult bibliographies in E. Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964); H. Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls, translated by Emilie R. Sander (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963); D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1964); and Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968).

[49]The writer is using Die Texte aus Qumran, prepared by Eduard Lohse, as his reference source. The English translation of the Dead Sea Scrolls is by Geza Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (reprint with revisions; Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968).

zeal for the Torah and the covenant way, but interpreted Scripture in terms of the final struggle between good and evil, between light and darkness. They expounded the Torah in terms of their apocalyptic understanding of history and the unique destiny of the Qumran community. The study of Scripture belonged to their spiritual preparation for the attainment of that destiny (1 QS VIII. 13-15).

In their interpretation of the Scripture the Covenanters gave special attention to prophecy. They "regarded themselves, and everything surrounding them, as the embodiment of the fulfillable Word of God."[50] Their destiny was spelled out in the earlier proclamation of inspired prophets.

The prophets had not fully understood their own prophecy. Their message had contained numerous secrets which had been hidden from their eyes. Now in the last days God had provided the gift for interpreting these secrets (razim). This gift belonged to the Teacher of Righteousness who led the Community in its search of the Book (1 QpHab VII. 1-14). Under the guidance of the Teacher of Righteousness the Community learned that "all the prophecies alluding to the final age referred to the Community of the Covenant and either had been, or were about to be, fulfilled."[51]

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[50]Bleddyn J. Roberts, "Bible Exegesis and Fulfillment in Qumran," Words and Meanings, edited by P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), p. 199.

[51]Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 37.

The interpretation of Qumran reflected the apocalyptic posture of the Community. This apocalyptic perspective included a dualistic view of life, a conviction about God's intervention in the end time, a strong sense of election, and an earnest commitment to the covenant way.

Scholars[52] have given particular attention to the principles of interpretation used by the Qumran Community. The discovery of such works as the Commentary on Habakkuk (1 QpHab), the Commentary on Nahum (4 QpNah), and Commentaries on Psalm 37 (4 QpPs 37) have stimulated this research. The term, "pesher,"[53] is now used to denote the particular methodology used at Qumran in the interpretation of Scripture.

Brownlee[54] has identified thirteen hermeneutical principles in his study of the Habakkuk Commentary:

1. Everything the ancient prophet wrote has a veiled, eschatological meaning.
2. Since the ancient prophet wrote cryptically, his meaning is often to be ascertained through a forced, or abnormal construction of the Biblical text.

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[52]W. H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," The Biblical Archaeologist, XIV (1951), 54-76; F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1959); Roberts; Stendahl; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," New Testament Studies, VII (1960-1961), 297-333; Wright.

[53]Stendahl, pp. 183-202.

[54]Brownlee, XIV, 60-62.

3. The prophet's meaning may be detected through the study of the textual or orthographic peculiarities in the transmitted text. Thus the interpretation frequently turns upon the special readings of the text cited.

4. A textual variant. i.e., a different reading from the one cited, may also assist interpretation.

5. The application of the features of a verse may be determined by analogous circumstances, or by

6. Allegorical propriety.

7. For the full meaning of the prophet, more than one meaning may be attached to his words.

8. In some cases the original prophet so completely veiled his meaning that he can be understood only by an equation of synonyms, attaching to the original word a secondary meaning of one of its synonyms.

9. Sometimes the prophet veiled his message by writing one word instead of another, the interpreter being able to recover the prophet's meaning by a rearrangement of the letters in a word, or by

10. The substitution of similar letters for one or more of the letters in the word of the Biblical text.

11. Sometimes the prophet's meaning is to be derived by the division of one word into two or more parts, and by expounding the parts.

12. At times the original prophet concealed his message beneath abbreviations, so that the cryptic meaning of a word is to be evolved through interpretation of words, or parts of words, as abbreviations.

13. Other passages of scripture may illumine the meaning of the original prophet.

These principles cited by Brownlee in his elaboration of the hermeneutics of Qumran are similar to the exegetical guidelines of the rabbis. Every detail of Scripture is important. These details can be interpreted autonomously

with little regard for the historical context of the text. Qumran interpretation is both halakic (1 QS V-VII, CD IX-XIII) and haggadic (1 QpHab I-XII).

There are, however, differences between the form and content of the Qumran exegesis and the midrashim of the rabbis. Interpretation in the form of a chain of passages linked by inference, analogy, or some parallel feature is not so prominent in the Qumran exegesis. The rabbis used this technique frequently.[55]

The Midrash on the Psalms quote various rabbis as authorities. Sometimes one rabbi will cite a second. Other times there may just be the phrase, "our masters said."[56] At Qumran the Teacher of Righteousness is the prime interpreter. The Commentary on Habakkuk sets forth this authoritative role:

> And as for that which He said, That he who reads may read it speedily, interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets (1 QpHab VII. 3-5).

The names of various interpreters are not cited in the Scrolls. The Qumran texts simply present an interpretation, and one assumes that it originated with or at least was sanctioned by the Teacher of Righteousness.

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[55] Supra., pp. 49-55.

[56] Supra., p. 43.

Another difference between Qumran and the rabbis concerns diversity of interpretation. Rabbinic exegesis allows for a variety of interpretations. The midrash on Psalm 22 cited nine different expositions of the superscription's phrase, "hind of the dawn."[57] Qumran recognizes an authoritative interpretation. This authority determines the propriety of an exposition (1 QS I. 1-18; 1 QS III. 13-17; 1 QpHab VIII. 1-2).

Finally, an apocalyptic presupposition dominates the interpretation of Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The exposition of the Teacher of Righteousness made clear that the end of time was at hand. With the vision of the end time before them, the Covenanters searched the prophets for information about the Community's final destiny. The rabbis do not reflect this particular understanding of the text. The rabbis did not live under this sense of the imminent end of all things. They gave attention to the ordinary, on-going affairs of life and sought to make the Torah relevant to experience in this world.

The interpretation of Psalm 22 at Qumran

The extant Dead Sea Scrolls do not quote Psalm 22 directly. There is no citation of this psalm with any

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[57] Supra., p. 62.

introductory formula. Therefore it is not possible to identify the principles of interpretation used at Qumran on the basis of their use of Psalm 22. The previous section provides a general comparison of the principles of interpretation used at Qumran and those practiced by the rabbis.[58]

While there is no explicit interpretation of Psalm 22, the Hodayot[59] (1 QH), contain implicit references to Psalm 22; in fact the Hodayot are saturated with biblical phraseology. While readers may disagree on the identification of a particular allusion with a specific passage, numerous allusions to the same Old Testament source reflects probable use of that source. Such is the case for the use of Psalm 22. The writer is convinced that the language and thought of the bulk of the examples to be cited as allusions to Psalm 22 demonstrate that the Qumran psalmist did in fact know and use Psalm 22.

The principle of interpretation used by the Qumran psalmist for interpreting Psalm 22 is peshat, that is, the literal interpretation of the biblical text. He applied the literal meaning of Psalm 22 directly to his own situation. The language of the psalm became his own.

The passages from the Hodayot which reflect Psalm 22 are the following:

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[58] Supra., 67-72.

[59] A major study on the Hodayot is Swend Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot (Aarhus: Universitelsforlaget, 1960).

Description of the mockery and threat of enemies.

> To traitors Thou has made of me a mockery and scorn, . . . the scoffers have gnashed their teeth.
> I have been a by-word to traitors, the assembly of the wicked has raged against me; (1 QH I. 9-12).
>
> Violent men have sought after my life because I have clung to Thy Covenant . . . (1 QH II. 21-22).
>
> They made me an object of shame and derision in the mouth of all the seekers of falsehood (1 QH II. 33-34).
>
> For I am despised by them and they have no esteem for me . . . (1 QH IV. 8).
>
> All who have eaten my bread have lifted their heel against me and all those joined to my Council have mocked me with wicked lips. The members of my Covenant have rebelled and have murmured round about me; (1 QH V. 23-25).

These passages describe the plight of the Qumran psalmist.[60] They remind one of the description of distress in Psalm 22:

> scorned by men, and despised by the people. All who see me mock at me (Ps. 22:6-7)
>
> many bulls encompass me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me (Ps. 22:12)
>
> dogs are round about me; a company of evildoers encircle me (Ps. 22:16).

The language of Psalm 22 has become part of the vocabulary and expression of the Qumran psalmist. The imagery of

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[60]Discussion continues on the question of the authorship of the Hodayot. "Several scholars tend to ascribe the authorship of these to the Teacher of Righteousness, and even consider that he may be responsible for all the Hymns." Vermes, p. 149.

Psalm 22 serves to describe the threatening enemies who surround and taunt him.

Description of physical distress.

> As for me, shaking and trembling seize me and all my bones are broken; my heart dissolves like wax before fire and my knees are like water pouring down a steep place (1 QH IV. 33-34).
>
> My strength has gone from my body and my heart runs out like water; my flesh is dissolved like wax and the strength of my loins is turned to fear (1 QH VIII. 32-33).
>
> I am clothed in blackness and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth; (1 QH V. 31).
>
> All the foundations of my edifice totter and my bones are pulled out of joint; my bowels heave like a ship in a violent tempest and my heart is utterly distress (1 QH VII. 4-5).
>
> But although my heart melted like water, my soul held fast to Thy Covenant (1 QH II. 28).

The imagery and metaphor of the above Hodayot passages reflect the language and thought of Psalm 22. The ancient psalmist used similar figurative expressions to describe his physical distress:

> I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint; my heart is like wax, it is melted within my breast; my strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaves to my jaws; thou dost lay me in the dust of death (Ps. 22:14-15).

Expressions of the Qumran psalmist's trust.

> but Thou hast saved my life from the Pit. Thou hast brought (Thy servant deliverance) in the

> midst of lions destined to the guilty, and of lionesses which crush the bones of the mighty and drink the blood of the brave (1 QH V. 6-7).
>
> For Thou hast not forsaken me in my soul's distress, and Thou hast heard my cry in the bitterness of my soul; and when I groaned, Thou didst consider my sorrowful complaint. Thou hast preserved the soul of the poor one in the den of lions which sharpened their tongue like a sword (1 QH V. 12-13).
>
> I am consoled for the roaring of the peoples, and for the tumult of k[ing]doms when they assemble; (1 QH VI. 7).
>
> For Thou hast known me from [the time of] my father, and hast chosen me from the womb. From the belly of my mother Thou hast dealt kindly with me, and from the breast of her who conceived me have Thy mercies been with me (1 QH IX. 29-31).

Such quotations from the Hodayot contain expressions reminiscent of Psalm 22:

> thou art he who took me from the womb; thou didst keep me safe upon my mother's breasts. Upon thee was I cast from my birth, and since my mother bore me thou hast been my God (Ps. 22:9-10).
>
> I will tell of thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee (Ps. 22:22).
>
> For he has not despised or abhorred the affliction of the afflicted; and he has not hid his face from him, but has heard, when he cried to him (Ps. 22:24).

Expressions of the Qumran psalmist's conviction about God's future purpose.

> Thou hast allotted to man an everlasting destiny amidst the spirits of knowledge, that he may praise Thy Name in a common rejoicing and recount Thy marvels before all Thy works (1 QH III. 22-23).

> for in a little while, I know, Thou wilt raise up survivors among Thy people and a remnant within Thine inheritance (1 QH VI. 8).
>
> Thou wilt do these things for Thy glory and for Thine own sake, to [magnify] the Law and [the truth and to enlighten] the members of Thy Council in the midst of the sons of men, that they may recount Thy marvels for everlasting generations and [meditate] unceasingly upon Thy mighty deeds. All the nations shall acknowledge Thy truth, and all the peoples Thy glory (1 QH VI. 7-8, 10-12).
>
> I will sing Thy mercies, and on Thy might I will mediate all day long. I will bless Thy Name evermore. I will declare Thy glory in the midst of the sons of men and my soul shall delight in Thy great goodness (1 QH XI. 5-6).

Such passages reflect language and thought found in the expressions of trust and praise of Psalm 22:

> The afflicted shall eat and be satisfied; those who seek him shall praise the Lord! May your hearts live for ever! All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord; and all the families of the nations shall worship before him. For dominion belongs to the Lord (Ps. 22:26-28a).
>
> Posterity shall serve him; men shall tell of the Lord to the coming generation (Ps. 22:30).

Psalmic phraseology has become part of the Qumran author's vocabulary.

Many of the metaphors and figurative expressions found in Psalm 22 are commonplace. Phrases such as "poured out like water" (Ps. 22:14), "bones out of joint" (Ps. 22:14), "dried up like a potsherd" (Ps. 22:15), "melted like wax" (Ps. 22:14) reflect ordinary experiences in life. The psalmist undoubtedly drew upon his own personal experiences for his figurative language. However the evidence that

Psalm 22 is the more likely source of these particular metaphors is twofold.

On the one hand the Psalter belonged to the religious literature and life of the Qumran Community. The Commentaries on Psalm 37 show not only the presence of the biblical psalms, but also their importance. The Covenanters studied and used Scripture.

Moreover, the language and thought of Psalm 22 express similar ideas in the Hodayot. The threat of enemies and the agony of physical distress are part of the suffering for both authors. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that the Qumran psalmist identified himself with the ancient sufferer and used the metaphorical language of Psalm 22 to describe his own suffering.

Whether the Qumran psalmist consciously used the phraseology of Psalm 22 remains an open question. The free manner in which the biblical language is woven into the Hodayot does not suggest direct copying from the text of Scripture. The Qumran psalmist appears to identify himself with the sufferer portrayed in Psalm 22. He finds the language of Psalm 22 appropriate for describing his own situation. There is no indication that the Qumran psalmist regarded Psalm 22 as a prediction of only his own affliction and suffering.

While the Hodayot use language from Psalm 22, the ideas are those of Qumran. The Qumran psalmist uses language

from Psalm 22 to describe his own experience and its spiritual significance. It is interesting to note those ideas expressed in the Hodayot but not found in Psalm 22. The present writer singles out five such ideas: the sinfulness of man, divine purification via chastisement, apocalyptic salvation involving condemnation for the wicked and rescue for the chosen, specific identification of threatening enemies, new emphases in the expression of praise.

The Hodayot make frequent reference to the inadequacy of man, to his fleshly nature and sinful condition.

> And yet I, a shape of clay kneaded in water,
> a ground of shame and a source of pollution,
> a melting-pot of wickedness and an edifice of sin,
> a straying and perverted spirit of no understanding . . .
> What shall a man say concerning his sin?
> And how shall he plead concerning his iniquities?
> (1 QH I. 21-23, 25-26).

> Through me Thou hast illumined the face of the
> Congregation and has shown Thine infinite power. . . .
> But what is flesh [to be worthy] of this?
> What is a creature of clay for such great marvels
> to be done,
> whereas he is in iniquity from the womb and in
> guilty unfaithfulness until his old age? . . .
> As for me, shaking and trembling seize me and all
> my bones are broken;
> My heart dissolves like wax before fire and my
> knees are like water pouring down a steep place.
> For I remember my sins and the unfaithfulness of
> my fathers.
> When the wicked rose against thy Covenant and the
> damned against Thy word, I said in my sinfulness,
> "I am forsaken by Thy Covenant" (1 QH IV. 27, 29-30,
> 33-35; compare 1 QH XII. 18-20; 1 QH XIII. 13-17;
> 1 QH XVIII. 18-30).

Such psalms express the idea of man's sinfulness and unworthy condition before God. Language from Psalm 22 is used to express this spiritual plight.

The Qumran psalmist also makes clear that he regards his affliction as the chastisement by which God purges and cleanses.

> By Thy mercies and by Thy great goodness, Thou hast strengthened the spirit of man in the face of the scourge, and has purified [the erring spirit] of a multitude of sins, that it may declare Thy marvels in the presence of all Thy creatures. [I will declare to the assembly of the simple] the judgments by which I was scourged, and to the sons of men, all Thy wonders by which Thou hast shown Thyself mighty [in me in the presence of the sons of Adam] (1 QH I. 31-34).

> I am consoled for the roaring of the peoples, and for the tumult of k[ing]doms when they assemble; [for] in a little while, I know, Thou wilt raise up survivors among Thy people and a remnant within Thine inheritance.
> Thou wilt purify and cleanse them of their sin for all their deeds are in Thy truth (1 QH VI. 8-9; compare 1 QH V. 15-18; 1 QH IX. 23-28; 1 QH XI. 8-14).

The Qumran psalmist not only acknowledges his own sin and unworthiness, but he regards some of his affliction as the judgment of God. God is using trial and suffering as a means of purifying and cleansing the Qumran psalmist.

In Psalm 22 the ancient sufferer does not mention his own failure or sin; in fact the opening cry, "my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Ps. 22:1) may express a feeling of innocence. The psalmist can find no reason why he should suffer. He has followed God's way. Therefore he asks the question "why?" (Ps. 7:3-7; 25:17-21; 26; 37:16-20; 44:9-22).

The question of why God had forsaken the ancient believer is not answered in Psalm 22. The opening cry may even be

somewhat of a rhetorical question since the major emphasis in the individual lament is the expression of trust and praise.[61]

Another emphasis of Qumran is the coming deliverance. This deliverance will take place as God destroys the evil doer and rescues the righteous ones.

> Thou wilt destroy in Judgment all men of lies, and there shall be no more seers of error; for in Thy works is no folly, no guilt in the design of Thy heart. But those who please Thee shall stand before Thee for ever; those who walk in the way of Thy heart shall be established for evermore (1 QH IV. 20-22; compare 1 QH VI. 29-33).

Psalm 22 says nothing about the coming judgment. The ancient psalmist does stress God's deliverance of the poor afflicted ones (Ps. 22:26). He does emphasize the worship and praise which all the families of the nations will give to the Lord (Ps. 22:27). "Dominion belongs to the Lord. . . . Posterity shall serve him" (Ps. 22:28,30). Psalm 22 does not speak of the destruction to befall the wicked.

The description of the enemies is another distinction between the Hodayot and Psalm 22. The identification of the enemies in Psalm 22 is a much debated question. The general nature of the description makes an absolute historical identification impossible.[62] The Qumran psalmist is

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[61] Supra., pp. 21-22.

[62] Supra., p. 25.

more specific in his description of the threatening enemies. He points to assailants from within his own group.

> [All who have ea]ten my bread have lifted their heel against me, and all those joined to my Council have mocked me with wicked lips. The members of my [Covenant] have rebelled and have murmured round about me; they have gone as talebearers before the children of mischief concerning the mystery which Thou hast hidden in me (1 QH V. 23-25).

The Qumran psalmist uses the imagery of Psalm 22 to describe those who are threatening him.

A final distinction between the Hodayot and Psalm 22 concerns the description of praise. In Psalm 22 the ancient psalmist vows: "I will tell of thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee" (Ps. 22:22). In the Hodayot the Qumran psalmist refers to his special role in the Community. He talks of his unique gift of the Spirit by which he leads others to the knowledge of the will of God (1 QH II. 13-15; 1 QH IV. 27-28; 1 QH XVIII. 6-12). Deliverance for the Qumran psalmist means more than just praise to God. Deliverance means that the Qumran psalmist will continue to lead the Community in its spiritual preparation for the end time.

The following observations then can be made about the hermeneutical principles involved in the interpretation and use of Psalm 22 within the Qumran Community. There are no direct quotations from Psalm 22 in the extant Scroll writings. There are only implicit references to Psalm 22 in the Hodayot.

These allusions indicate that the Qumran psalmist interpreted Psalm 22 in terms of peshat. He understood this psalm in a literal sense and used its language to describe his own situation. The Qumran psalmist identifies himself as one of the suffering followers of God.

His allusions to Psalm 22 are in contexts of meaning which belong to Qumran rather than to Psalm 22. The use of language from Psalm 22 to describe human sinfulness and frailty is of particular significance. This emphasis is not found in the midrash on Psalm 22. It is not an emphasis in the New Testament use of Psalm 22. The apocalyptic motif is evident in the Qumran psalmist's concept of deliverance which involves judgment upon the wicked and rescue for the chosen. The historical situation of Qumran with its particular theological stance is the determining factor for the interpretation and use of Psalm 22.

The Esther-theme, so prominant in the midrashim on Psalm 22, has no role in Qumran's use of this psalm.

While Qumran is interested in prophecy and places much emphasis upon the interpretation of the prophets, the Covenanters do not appear to regard Psalm 22 as prophetic. The allusions to Psalm 22 in the Hodayot are not in contexts in which fulfillment of prophecy has any role. There is no indication that the Qumran Community understood Psalm 22 as a description or prediction of a suffering Messiah.

Various studies have demonstrated that the hermeneutical principles used at Qumran are basically similar to the rabbinic. The Covenanters, however, interpreted the Scripture within the framework of their apocalyptic theology. The allusions to Psalm 22 in the Hodayot do reflect peshat. They also indicate how the historical situation and theological stance of the interpreter shape his understanding and use of the Scriptures.

Philonic Exegesis

There is no exposition or explicit use of Psalm 22 in Philo. This is understandable since Philo's major interest was the interpretation of the Pentateuch. However Philo does treat several passages from the Psalms. These expositions at least demonstrate his exegetical technique at work on psalmic material.

Philo's hermeneutical method is treated in many standard works[63] and goes far beyond this dissertation. The inclusion of Philonic exegesis in this chapter is merely to indicate another direction in the development of hermeneutical principles during the intertestamental period. It is commonplace

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[63]Cf. Sidney G. Sowers, The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews (Zürich: Evz-Verlag, 1965); E. Goodenough, By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1935); R. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (New York: Macmillan, 1957); S. Sandmel, Philo's Place in Judaism (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1956); E. Stein, Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandreia (ZAW Beih. 51, 1929).

that Philo is the primary surviving representative of the allegorical method in Hellenistic Judaism.

In his exposition of the psalms Philo uses both a literal (peshat) and an allegorical method of interpreting Scripture. Examples of his literal interpretation of psalmic material are the treatment of Ps. 37:4 and Ps. 101:1. In De Plantatione Philo[64] describes the sheer joy of one who has caught the vision of divine virtue and who regards the worship and service of the Only Wise One as sweetest pleasure.

> One, after taking a sheer draught of this bright joy, a member indeed of Moses' fellowship, not found among the indifferent, spake aloud in hymns of praise, and addressing his own mind cried, "Delight in the Lord" (Psalm xxxvi. 4), moved by the utterance to an ecstasy of the love that is heavenly and Divine, filled with loathing for those interminable bouts of softness and debauchery amid the seeming and so-called good things of mankind, while his whole mind is snatched up in holy frenzy by a Divine Possession, and he find his gladness in God alone.

It is clear that Ps. 37:4 is taken in a literal sense.

Another example of Philo's literal exposition of a Psalm passage is his use of Ps. 101:1 in Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit.[65] Philo is commenting upon God's mercy and judgment. While God's wrath fell upon mankind, God's mercy spared Noah.

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[64]De Plantatione II, ix. 38-39. The references are to Philo with an English Translation in The Loeb Classical Library, 10 vols., translated and edited by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949-1953).

[65]Philo, Quod Deus XVI, 74.

> And therefore it now says that when the other who had proved ungrateful were doomed to pay the penalty, Noah found grace with Him, that so He might mingle His saving mercy with the judgment pronounced on sinners. And so the Psalmist said somewhere (Ps. c.(ci.)1), "I will sing to thee of mercy and judgment." For if God should will to judge the race of mortals without mercy, His sentence will be one of condemnation, since there is no man who self-sustained has run the course of life from birth to death without stumbling, . . .

These two passages indicate that Philo did recognize and utilize the literal meaning of the text.

However, Philo placed more emphasis upon the allegorical or spiritual meaning of Scripture. Using such analogies as body-soul and shadow-reality to describe the distinction between the literal and spiritual meaning of words, Philo stressed the hidden, inner meaning of Scripture.[66] Quotations from Philo in which he allegorically interprets passages from the Psalms are the following.

In De Agricultura Philo interprets Ps. 23:1 in terms of God's care for the entire universe. It is a kind of a minore argument.

> "The Lord shepherds me and nothing shall be lacking to me" (Ps. xxiii.1). It well befits every lover of God to rehearse this Psalm. But for the Universe it is a still more fitting theme. For land and water and air and fire, and all plants and animals which are in these, whether mortal or divine, yea and the sky, and the circuits of sun and moon, and the revolutions and rhythmic movements of the other heavenly bodies are like some flock under the hand of God its King and Shepherd. This hallowed flock He leads in accordance with right and law . . . (De Agricultura XII, 51).

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[66] Sowers, p. 29.

Another example is Philo's exposition of Ps. 26:1, "The Lord is my light and my salvation."

> And He is not only light, but the archetype of every other light, nay, prior to and high above every archetype, holding the position of the model of a model (De Somniis I, xiii. 75).

This emphasis upon archetype reflects the influence of platonic philosophy on Philo and his exegetical method.

Philo expounds Ps. 65:9, "the river of God is full of water," in terms of his understanding of the Word.

> It is this Word which one of Moses' company compared to a river, when he said in the Psalms "the river of God is full of water" (Ps. lxv (lxiv.)10); where surely it were senseless to suppose that the words can properly refer to any of the rivers of earth. No, he is representing the Divine Word as full of the stream of wisdom, with no part of it empty or devoid of itself . . . (De Somniis II, xxxvii. 245).

While the psalmist is describing God's providential care of nature, God's watering the earth so that the pastures and hills are adorned with verdant meadows, Philo interprets the passage in terms of the divine word making known the wisdom of God. In this same paragraph Philo continues his discussion by quoting Ps. 46:4, "There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God." Then Philo comments:

> What city? For the existing holy city, where the sacred temple also is, does not stand in the neighbourhood of rivers any more than of the sea. Thus it is clear that he writes to shew us allegorically something different from the obvious. It is perfectly true that the impetuous rush of the divine word borne along (swiftly) and ceaselessly with its strong and ordered current does overflow and gladden the whole universe through and through. For God's city is the name in one sense for the world . . . In another sense he uses this name for the soul of the Sage, in which God is said to walk as in a city (De Somniis II, xxxvii. 245-248).

This brief examination of several passages from Philo indicates that although Philo sometimes uses a literal approach to Scripture his primary hermeneutical method is allegory. This methodology not only expounds the text of Scripture, but also serves Philo's own theological purpose. Allegory enables Philo to deal with the absurdities and impieties in the text of Scripture, such as anthropomorphisms and myths.[67] At the same time Philo seeks to prove how the best Greek philosophy harmonized with the veiled meaning of Scripture. In this way Philo sought to make the Torah live for his readers.[68]

What conclusions can we draw from this study of rabbinic, apocalyptic, and hellenistic materials from the intertestamental period?

1. No uniform set of hermeneutical principles shaped the interpretation of Psalm 22 in intertestamental and New Testament era Judaism.

2. The hermeneutical principles utilized are those common to this intertestamental period. Biblical scholars used a literal approach (peshat), a midrashic methodology (derash), pesher and allegory. The interpretation of Psalm 22 suggested no unique exegetical approach. If Philo had interpreted Psalm 22, the evidence suggests that one could have anticipated an allegorical exposition of the text.

3. Theological stance shapes interpretation as much as understanding of language; in fact theology is

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[67]Sowers, pp. 22-27.

[68]Ibid., pp. 27-34.

itself one of the principles by which an interpreter expounds Scripture. The respective theological perspectives of the rabbis, the Qumran psalmist and Philo are as significant in the interpretation of Scripture as factors of textual language and context.

4. Intertestament writings reflect theological ferment. There is no monolithic religious institution or faith which shaped spiritual thought and life. Instead, these intertestamental centuries see the history of God's salvation plan moving forward on various fronts as God set the stage for "the fulness of the time."

5. The intertestamental exposition of Psalm 22 gives no indication that intertestamental interpreters understood this psalm in terms of a prediction of a suffering messiah. In the light of intertestamental data one sees that the use of Psalm 22 in the Passion narrative is a unique New Testament development.

6. The intertestamental period reveals that Scripture played a normative role within Judaism. It was the inspired revelation of God. Judaic interpreters sought to make Scripture come alive for their hearers.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW TESTAMENT USE OF PSALM 22

In the New Testament Psalm 22 appears most prominently in the description of the crucifixion. The writer to the Hebrews also uses Psalm 22, but cites a different section of Psalm 22. The evangelists quote from the lament section (Ps. 22:1-21) while Hebrews quotes from the words of praise in this individual lament (Ps. 22:22). The other New Testament references to Psalm 22 turn out to be general scriptural allusions rather than specific quotations of the psalm.[1] This chapter will discuss the New Testament use of Psalm 22 under four headings: the use in the Gospels, in Hebrews, in the Pauline corpus, and in Revelation. The writer will attempt to identify hermeneutical principles

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[1]R. H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 2-5, points out that parallel words are not an adequate criterion for determining an Old Testament allusion in the New Testament. Charles H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 31, makes the same observation. Recognizable thought-connections between Old and New Testament passages can also indicate an allusion to a particular Old Testament reference. However to identify theological motifs in Psalm 22 and then to claim a connection with this psalm for every New Testament reference to such motifs proves to be a precarious methodology. There are no adequate criteria for distinguishing what is or is not a genuine allusion to Psalm 22. For this reason the Nestle index of Old Testament quotations is taken as a working base for this study (Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece (25th edition; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963), pp. 662-663).

wherever possible. While form criticism and redaction criticism play their respective roles in the research of the Gospel narratives, this chapter contains no critique of current studies.[2] In general the writer accepts the two-source hypothesis for the synoptic problem, since most current scholarship begins with this presupposition. Furthermore he shall not develop the individual theology of the various New Testament authors but will draw upon the conclusions of other studies.

The Gospels

Psalm 22 appears in the account of Christ's crucifixion. Three details of this scene reflect the striking influence of Psalm 22: Jesus' cry of desolation (Ps. 22:1), the description of the mockers and their jeers (Ps. 22:6-8),

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[2]Joachim Rohde, Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists, translated by Dorothea M. Barton (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968) gives an exposition of redaction criticism as applied to the synoptic gospels in recent German New Testament scholarship. His study traces the major developments in the study of the synoptic gospels during the last twenty years and reviews the major works on Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Rohde notes the shift from form criticism to redaction criticism. This chapter will use the methods of redaction criticism rather than form criticism since attention is directed to the text of each of the evangelists. The stress of redaction criticism upon the theological concerns of the individual author allows one to start with the Gospel accounts as we have them and to give attention to the evangelist's effort to address his witness to the situation. This study does not take up the questions involved in the new quest for the historical Jesus.

and the casting of lots for Jesus' clothing (Ps. 22:6-8). Some scholars regard the Lukan word, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46) as Luke's substitute for Jesus' cry of desolation. The Johannine word "I thirst" may be an allusion to the psalmist's description of his thirst (John 19:28; compare Ps. 22:15). The influence of Psalm 22 upon the passion narrative is an example for understanding how the evangelists used the Old Testament. Their use of Psalm 22 reflects both their principles of interpretation as well as their understanding of the psalm.

Jesus' cry of desolation
(Mark 15:34; Matt. 27:46; LXX/Ps. 21:2)

Mark 15:34	Matthew 27:46	LXX/Ps. 21:2
Καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ	περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην	
ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς	ὥραν ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς	
φωνῇ μεγάλῃ	φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων	
ἐλωὶ ἐλωὶ	ἠλὶ ἠλὶ	ὁ θεός,
λαμὰ σαβαχθάνι	λεμὰ σαβαχθάνι	ὁ θεός μου
ὅ ἐστιν	τοῦτ' ἔστιν	πρόσχες μοι,
μεθερμηνευόμενον	θεέ μου	ἵνα τί
ὁ θεός μου ὁ θεός μου	θεέ μου,	ἐγκατέλιπές
εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές	ἵνατί με	με;
με;	ἐγκατέλιπες	

MT: אלי אלי למה עזבתני

This cry from the cross is best regarded as an authentic word of Jesus;[3] in fact Jesus' use of Psalm 22 in his death is the key to the evangelists' extensive use of this psalm in their accounts of the crucifixion. First of all, the individual lament psalms within the Psalter and other Old Testament books provide numerous examples of similar outcries to God in moments of distress.[4] The Hodayot are further examples of the language of this psalm becoming part of personal prayer to God in a time of affliction.[5]

Second, the tradition of the passion narrative cannot be traced back to a particular reading of Psalm 22 as a

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[3]This view is held by the following: H. A. W. Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Gospel of Matthew, translated from the 6th edition by Peter Christie (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1884), p. 508; Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1955), p. 651; H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, and C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938), pp. 194-196; Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Matthäus, Kritischexegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament [KEKNT] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), pp. 393-394; Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus [KEKNT] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 344-345; Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament [ThHKNT] (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), I, 560-561; Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus [ThHKNT] (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), II, 315; Josef Blinzler, The Trial of Jesus, translated from the 2nd revised edition by Isabel and Florence McHugh (Cork: The Mercer Press, Ltd., 1959), pp. 42-43.

[4]Supra., pp. 23-27.

[5]Supra., pp. 73-81.

prediction of a suffering Messiah. There is no evidence that intertestamental Judaism ever understood or used Psalm 22 as messianic prophecy in the New Testament sense.[6] The use of Psalm 22 to describe Jesus' suffering takes place after the event of the crucifixion. The crucifixion itself followed by the resurrection and the outpouring of the Spirit then becomes decisive for the evangelists' understanding of the psalm. R. Gundry's[7] observation about Matthew's citations from the Old Testament to expound New Testament events is pertinent:

> The looseness with which many Matthaean citations from the OT are appended shows that the direction is from tradition to prophecy, not vice versa. Assimilation to OT language in allusive quotation likewise depends on an already existing correspondence. Even in Qumran literature, where the desire to find fulfillment is so strong that the OT text is tortuously treated, invention of "history" to fit prophecy is not seen.

"It is clear that the centre of the whole narrative is the outcry of Jesus himself, 'Eli, eli, lema sabachthani?'"[8]

Third, various studies have underscored the role of memorization within Judaism. One could expect many pious Jews to be able to pray numerous passages of Scripture by

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[6]Supra., pp. 88-89.

[7]Gundry, p. 194.

[8]Theodore H. Robinson, The Gospel of Matthew (New York: Harper and Brothers, n.d.), p. 231.

memory.[9] There is no doubt that Jesus could have quoted the psalm. His knowledge of Psalm 22 would have come from the use of the Psalter in private and public worship.

The genuineness of this first word from the cross is further supported by the confusion among the bystanders as to what Jesus had actually said. Some of the bystanders thought that Jesus was calling for Elijah. Matthew hebraizes the Markan Aramaic "eloi, eloi" (Mark 15:34) to "eli, eli" (Matt. 27:46) in order to make more understandable this confusion over the name which Jesus had spoken. The reference to calling upon Elijah in need reflects that tradition which regarded Elijah as a deliverer in time of trouble. It seems apparent that "the bystanders may have been serious in thinking that Jesus had invoked his aid."[10]

Finally, the scandalous character of Jesus' cry of desolation makes it unlikely that the evangelists' would have invented this happening. The scandal arises from Jesus' reference to being forsaken by God. "St. Luke and St. John appear to have found these words (Mark 15:34)

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[9]J. A. Fitzmyer, "Memory and Manuscript: the Origin and Transmission of the Gospel Tradition," Theological Studies XXIII (1962), 442-457; Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, translated by Eric J. Sharpe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961).

[10]A. Plummer, An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1953), p. 399.

mysterious and liable to misinterpretation; both have omitted them and substituted, the one 'Father into thy hands I commit my spirit' (Luke 23:46), the other: 'It is finished' (John 19:30).'[11] Some of the textual variants undoubtedly reflect the harshness of Jesus' cry.[12]

Some scholars interpret Jesus' cry quite differently. They begin with the presupposition that the evangelists wrote in order to set forth the positive meaning of Jesus' death and thereby to edify their readers. Consequently these scholars search for some positive significance for retaining Jesus' cry of desolation. Nineham[13] suggests that one ought interpret Jesus' quotation of the opening verse of Psalm 22 as a reference to the entire psalm. If Jesus' cry is understood in terms of Psalm 22 in its entirety, his words do not express despair, but trust. The thrust of Psalm 22 and of the individual lament psalms as a group is their expression of praise to God.[14] Nineham therefore suggests that Mark sees "Jesus as taking on his lips the inspired utterance of Jewish

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[11]D. E. Nineham, The Gospel of St. Mark, in The Pelican Gospel Commentaries (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 427.

[12]Taylor, p. 593.

[13]Nineham, p. 427.

[14]Supra., pp. 20-22.

piety and making his own the Psalmist's expression of complete faith and confidence in God."[15] In either case, whether one understands Jesus' cry as an expression of desolation or as an ultimate word of praise, the authenticity of Jesus' word in underscored.

Jesus' own use of the opening words of Psalm 22 in his shout on the cross therefore is the key to the early church's association of this lament psalm with the crucifixion. His quotation of Psalm 22 drew attention to this lament psalm and prompted the evangelists to use other imagery from Psalm 22 in their description of the events of Golgatha. Jesus' use of this psalm is best understood as a spontaneous outcry in his need. There is no evidence that Jesus used Psalm 22 earlier in his ministry as prediction or that he quoted the psalm in his death to fulfill a prediction. In the hour of darkness he turns to the Psalter as he had on other occasions (Luke 4:16-30; compare Matt. 5:17; Mark 9:12; Luke 24:25-27). Words of an ancient sufferer which had been used by Jewish worshippers over the centuries become his own in time of need.

Much has been written on the original form of Jesus' word from the cross. The problem arises from the variation

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[15]Nineham, p. 428.

in the Markan and the Matthaean texts.[16] Matthew and Mark betray no desire to quote literally either the Massoretic text or the Septuagint. A literal reproduction of Ps. 22:1 does not appear to have been a major concern for either evangelist. If one assumes that Mark is the more authentic reproduction of Jesus' words, Matthew's hebraic form may be understood as an effort to make more intelligible the confusion over the understanding of Jesus' cry as a call to Elijah. "If Mark is using Palestinian tradition, it is natural that he should give the saying in an Aramaic form."[17]

There is no indication that either Mark or Matthew use this word of Jesus as a direct fulfillment passage. Neither of these evangelists introduces Jesus' quotation of Psalm 22 with an introductory formula such as "to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet" (Matt. 1:22; 2:15; 21:4) or "as it is written of him" (Mark 14:21). However their accounts express

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[16]Most authorities regard the Matthaean form as the more original (P. Dausch, E. Klostermann, J. Jeremias, Th. Zahn, F. Hauch, J. Huby, G. Dalman, V. Taylor, W. C. Allen *in loc.*). Those who support the Markan form as more original include M. J. Lagrange and H. Schmidt; cf. Joachim Gnilka, "Mein Gott, Mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen?," *Biblische Zeitscrift* (1959), III, 294-297. Gnilka himself believes that the whole was spoken in Hebrew and that the misunderstanding arose because of the bystanders' ignorance of Hebrew. A detailed discussion of the philological factors involved may be found in the commentaries by Meyer and Taylor. The studies by Gnilka and Gundry also consider this point.

[17]Taylor, p. 593.

their conviction that Jesus died "according to the Scriptures" (Luke 24:26-27, 44-48). E. Lohse[18] has a comment relative to the evangelists' use of Scripture:

> Only the language of Scripture allows for appropriate expression of what really takes place in the passion of Jesus, namely, that God's hidden purpose, his promise and covenant, are here fulfilled and that the crucified One is therefore God's anointed. The references to Scripture which are found all through the passion narrative are an expression of the theological interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death.

Wherever possible it appears that the evangelists used biblical language to describe events surrounding the crucifixion. In this way the evangelists stress that the primitive church understood Christ's death on the cross as an event in God's plan of salvation and that this death belonged to the fulfillment of divine promise.[19]

The mockery about the cross
(Mark 15:29-32; Matt. 27:39-43; Luke 23:35-36)

Each of the three Synoptic Gospels records the mockery about the cross. Mark and Matthew refer to three groups mocking Jesus, namely, those passing by (Mark 15:39; Matt. 27:29), the chief priests and scribes (Mark 15:31; Matt. 27:41), and the other malefactors crucified with Jesus (Mark 15:44;

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[18]Eduard Lohse, History of the Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ, translated from the German by Martin O. Dietrich (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 102-103.

[19]Blinzler, pp. 40-41.

Matt. 27:32). Luke has his own depiction of the scoffing at the cross. Luke mentions the mockery of the rulers and some soldiers (Luke 23:35). The people only stand by watching, but do not speak (Luke 23:35). While one thief mocks, the other thief defends Jesus and then intercedes for Jesus' remembrance (Luke 23:39-43). Each evangelist testifies to the mockery in his own way and utilizes it in terms of his purpose.[20]

Once Psalm 22 is linked with the crucifixion, the correspondence between the plight of Jesus and the ancient psalmist is clear. Both suffer at the hands of threatening enemies (Mark 15:39-44; Matt. 27:27-32; Luke 23:35-37; compare Ps. 22:7, 12-21). Both find themselves scoffed and ridiculed (Mark 15:39-42; Matt. 27:29-32; Luke 23:35,39). Both suffer physical anguish (Mark 15:24; Matt. 27:35; Luke 23:33; John 19:18,28; compare Ps. 22:14-16).

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[20]A. M. Ramsey, "The Narratives of the Passion," Studia Evangelica, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin: Akademie--Verlag, 1964), II, 126-133 describes the unique emphases of the evangelists: Mark highlights the utter loneliness of Jesus; Matthew follows Mark closely but adds several details to stress how Pilate testified to Jesus' innocence (message of Pilate's wife and the washing of hands, Matt. 27:19,24) and the Jewish leaders and people assumed responsibility for Jesus' death (Matt. 27:25); Luke emphasizes the innocence and graciousness of Jesus who is not alone in his hour of trial; John depicts Jesus as the Paschal Lamb whose triumph comes through the cross. The king and sacrificial victim are one Christ.

There are also verbal parallels between Psalm 22 and the passion narrative. All three evangelists include the mockery which calls upon Jesus to save himself (Mark 15:31-32; Matt. 27:42; Luke 23:35). Mark and Matthew refer to the "wagging of their heads" (Mark 15:32; Matt. 27:28; compare LXX/Ps. 21:8). Luke uses the word ἐξεμυκτήριζον for "scoffed," a term which is also found in the Septuagint (Ps. 21:8a). Matthew includes a second sarcastic word in addition to the taunt. Matthew's second taunt is unique to Matthew and is in part a direct quotation of Psalm 22, "He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver him, let him rescue him, for he delights in him!" (Ps. 22:8). Such parallels in thought and language demonstrate quite clearly that Psalm 22 provided material for the evangelists' description of the mockery.

Some scholars have suggested that the community or the evangelists looked to Psalm 22 for such detail. Bultmann[21] suggests that references to Psalm 22 were introduced into the text in order to provide "proof from prophecy." Fulfillment of the Old Testament would not only help the church solve the problem of a crucified Messiah, but also provide language and detail for retelling the event.

Such skepticism about the historicity of the mocking and scorn is unwarranted. The individual lament psalms

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[21]R. Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, translated by John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 280-281.

refer to threatening enemies who surround the sufferer (Ps. 109:25; Lam. 2:15; Eccl. 13:7; 2 Kings 19:21). Scornful words were spoken against Jesus during his trial before Caiphas and Pilate (Mark 14:55-58; Matt. 26:59-60; Luke 22:63-65; 23:11). The crucifixion took place outside the city so that the people going to and from the city might be reminded of the danger of opposing Rome. Mark's reference to the blasphemy from those who were passing by harmonizes with what one might expect from by-passers. The mockery about Jesus' power and ability to save could be expected in the light of the superscription (Mark 15:26,32). Blinzler's[22] comment is relevant:

> It is true that the gospel accounts of the passion are strongly influenced by the tendency to prove fulfillment of the prophecies. Tradition obviously exploits with eagerness every opportunity of pointing out that the Old Testament prophecies have been fulfilled in the passion of Jesus, the purpose being to prove that the scandel of the cross was in accordance with the will of God. . . . Also, here and there, it brought the description into line with the wording of the prophecies. . . . But it cannot be said of this part [crucifixion itself and allusions to the Old Testament] either that the quest for verification of the prophecies has proved a formative factor in the story; for the proceedings in question have either been proved by accounts or nonbiblical origin to be necessary or at least usually belonging to a crucifixion . . .

Therefore one can conclude that the language of Psalm 22 was used by the evangelists to describe the mockery and scorn which actually took place at Jesus' crucifixion.

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[22]Blinzler, p. 40.

Matthew's fuller use of Psalm 22 in his description of the mockery has several interesting features. First of all, the influence of Psalm 22 is apparent when one compares the text of Matt. 27:43 and the Septuagint of Ps. 21:9.

Matt. 27:43	LXX/Ps. 21:9
πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν,	Ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον,
ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει	ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν.
αὐτόν· εἶπεν γὰρ	σωσάτω αὐτόν
ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός.	ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.

The verbal parallels are obvious.

It is also clear that Matthew is not quoting precisely. He has changed the aorist ἤλπισεν to the perfect πέποιθεν. Κύριον has become τὸν θεόν. ῥυσάσθω takes on an immediacy with the addition of the adverbial νῦν. The final clause is made more sarcastic with the change of the conjunction from ὅτι to εἰ. Matthew uses Psalm 22 for his own purpose.[23]

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[23]Theodor Zahn, Das Evangelium des Matthäus in Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (4th edition; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchbandlung Dr. Werner School, 1922), I, 713. Th. Zahn regards Matthew's description as a free imitation of Ps. 22:8, p. 713; Benjamin W. Bacon, Studies in Matthew (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930), feels that Matthew blended Ps. 22:8 and Wisdom 2:13; R. Gundry's study on the varied text forms found in Matthew underscores the creative role of the writer in using the Old Testament to serve his kerygmatic purpose.

Matthew's second taunt is aimed at Jesus' trust in God and his claim to be the son of God.[24] The mockers demand an immediate proof to vindicate Jesus' trust. Had not this Jesus claimed the ability to destroy the temple of God and to rebuild it in three days (Matt. 26:61)? Matthew has heightened the taunt by his change in the citation of Psalm 22. The addition of the adverbial νῦν calls for some immediate action. The change of the conjunction ὅτι to εἰ changes the thrust of this clause. In Matthew's account this clause becomes a challenge to Christ's claim to be a son of God. The mockers question whether God will have this crucified Jesus as a son. Matthew's usage of υἱὸς θεοῦ in the mockery makes clear that the taunt is directed toward the personal claim of Jesus. His role as "Son of God" is called into question.

Another interesting feature in Matthew's account is the relationship between Jesus' cry of desolation and the second taunt. The cry of desolation might be regarded as a confirmation of the mockery aimed at Jesus' trust and personal claim to be the Son of God. Matthew's retention of Jesus' cry may be a clue that the evangelist did not regard this quotation from Psalm 22 as an expression of distress, but as a prayer of hope and confidence. Perhaps some of the contemporary scholars[25] who have seen the entire psalm involved

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[24]Walter Grundmann, Matthäus, p. 559.

[25]Supra., pp. 95-97.

in Jesus' prayer may have caught the deeper theological meaning of Matthew's account of Jesus' crucifixion. Matthew reminds the reader that the cross was no repudiation of Jesus' sonship. The cross was rather a confirmation of Jesus' claim, but always in terms of the salvation plan of God.

The apologetic emphasis of Matthew[26] may also be seen in the fact that Matthew puts this second taunt on the lips of the chief priests, scribes, and elders, those who claimed to be learned in the Scriptures. In this way Matthew signals their misuse of Scripture. They claim to be the teachers of Israel. Yet these blind leaders of the blind do not understand the Word of God. They even scorn one who trusts God as only the Son of God can trust.

Another question which might be raised here is that of prophecy and fulfillment. Does Matthew use the language of Psalm 22 because he understands this psalm as a direct prediction of Jesus' suffering and therefore feels obliged to include further reference to the psalm? Such a viewpoint goes beyond the evidence. First of all, there is no fulfillment formula attached to this citation of Psalm 22. Matthew does use a fulfillment formula with other Old Testament references (compare Matt. 1:22; 2:15,17; 3:3; 4:14; 8:17;

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[26]Cf. Douglas R. A. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

13:14,35; 15:7-9; 21:4,42; 22:43-44; 26:31; 27:9-10). Second, Matthew changes both the wording and the thrust of Ps. 22:8. Third, the fact that this use of Psalm 22 is unique to Matthew reflects his further meditation upon the lament psalm and its connection with Jesus' passion. The fulfillment emphasis, while in the background of Matthew's entire gospel, does not appear to serve Matthew's direct purpose at this point in his account. A direct fulfillment emphasis does serve John (compare John 19:24).

The significance of the mockery for an understanding of the synoptic use of Psalm 22 can be summarized as follows:

a. The synoptists testify to an historical event as they describe the mockery of the bystanders at the foot of the cross (Mark 15:39-43; Matt. 27:29-32; Luke 23:35,39). The evidence does not warrant a skeptical view which regards this description as legend or as an effort to relate Psalm 22 to the passion.

b. The synoptists utilize the language of Psalm 22 to describe the mockery (Mark 15:29-32; Matt. 27:39-43; Luke 23:35b; compare Ps. 22:7-8,12-13).

c. The description of the second taunt in Matt. 27:43 contains an additional allusion to Psalm 22; in fact the wording of the second taunt is similar to the taunt in Ps. 22:8. However Matthew uses Ps. 22:8 for his own purpose. He changes the text to heighten the sarcastic tone of the mockery and to direct the taunt toward Jesus' trust and claim to be the Son of God.

The language of Psalm 22 shows itself in the synoptists' account of the mockery.

The lottery for the garments
(Mark 15:24; Matt. 27:35; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24)

All four of the evangelists include the lottery for the garments in their crucifixion account. Yet each evangelist describes the lottery in his own way. Mark simply records, "they crucified him and divided his garments among them, casting lots for them, to decide what each should take" (Mark 15:24). Mark places the crucifixion and the dividing of the garments in two main clauses. Matthew's syntax differs. He reports the crucifixion as a subordinate clause describing the time for the dividing of the garments, "when they had crucified him, they divided his garments among them by casting lots" (Matt. 27:35). Matthew's sentence structure places more emphasis upon the dividing of the garments. Luke separates the dividing of the garments from the crucifixion. He places Jesus' intercession, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," in between these two events. John follows Ps. 22:18 literally and describes the dividing of the garments as two actions. John relates that the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, divided Jesus' garments into four parts, one part for each soldier. Then he reports that when the soldiers saw that the tunic was seamless, they agreed to cast lots for it. These actions, writes John, were done "that the Scripture be fulfilled" (John 19:24).

Such variation in description demonstrates the individuality of the evangelists. Each describes the lottery in his own way.

Yet why would all four evangelists record an event which seems so insignificant? The correspondence with Ps. 22:18 is undoubtedly the major factor. Jesus' use of Ps. 22:1 in his cry of desolation had drawn attention to this psalm. It is understandable that the evangelists would look for other parallels between the psalm and Jesus' experience. In this way the relationship between the Old Testament and Jesus would be expressed.

John explicitly cites the lottery as fulfillment of Scripture. The variant in the Matthaean textual tradition which inserts a similar reference to fulfillment indicates that the early tradition regarded this approach to the lottery as important.[27] In so far as the reference to the lottery could be regarded as the fulfillment of prophecy, it served an apologetic as well as a didactic purpose.[28]

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[27]Various textual witnesses have inserted the following words into the Matthaean text: "that the word by the prophet be fulfilled" (Matt. 27:35). This reading is found in several uncials Δ and Θ as well as in the minuscule families of Lake and Ferrar. The Old Latin as well as the Vulgate also have it. This insertion is obviously an effort to harmonize the text with John 19:24 and expresses the importance of fulfillment of prophecy in the Church's tradition.

[28]Bultmann, p. 281.

As already indicated, the Gospel of John cites the lottery over the garments as the fulfillment of Scripture. John quotes the Septuagint directly and shapes his description in accord with a literal understanding of the psalm text (John 19:23-24; compare Ps. 22:18). John separates the action into two parts. He first describes the dividing of the clothes into four parts to correspond with the psalm, "they divide my garments among them" (Ps. 22:18a). Then John continues with the casting of lots over the tunic to parallel Ps. 22:18b, "and for my raiment they cast lots." Whether John understands the Hebrew parallelism involved in this psalm verse or simply chooses to disregard it is an open question. His treatment of Zech. 9:9 in the account of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem indicates that he does recognize parallelism. At least he makes reference in that context to only one animal (John 12:14) and does not follow Matthew's literal approach (Matt. 21:5-7). What is important for John is the fulfillment of the Scripture.

The stress upon fulfillment of Scripture becomes apparent as one reads John's account of Jesus' crucifixion (John 19:23-37). John cites four formula quotations in connection with the crucifixion: "they parted my garments among them, and for my clothing they cast lots" (John 19:24; Ps. 22:18), "I thirst" (John 19:18; Ps. 69:21, Ps. 22:15), "Not a bone of him shall be broken" (John 19:36; Ps. 34:20), "they shall look on him whom they have pierced" (John 19:37;

Zech. 12:10). The difficulty in finding the exact Old Testament verse which John may be citing indicates that he is not quoting directly from the Septuagint text in each case.

This series of formula citations reflects the flexibility in scriptural quotation found in the early tradition. At times the Septuagint is quoted directly. In other contexts the author may use the Old Testament text very freely; in fact one may not be able to identify the exact Old Testament reference to which the evangelist refers (John 19:18; Matt. 2:23). Such use of the Old Testament suggests that fulfillment of Scripture was not understood in any mechanical fashion.[29] Fulfillment implied the carrying out of God's divine purpose rather than a mere correspondence between an Old Testament prediction and a New Testament event. John stresses therefore that the crucifixion brought to completion God's salvation plan set forth in Holy Scripture.

The question whether John expresses an early or late tradition in his formula quotations is debated.[30] What is clear however is the fact that Psalm 22 holds an important

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[29]Delling, Gerhard, "πληρόω" in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel, translated from the German and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968), VI, 286-298; Jungkunst, Richard, "An Approach to the Exegesis of John 10:34-36," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXXV (1964), pp. 556-565.

[30]C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 423; R. Bultmann, p. 275.

place in John's account of the crucifixion. The casting of lots supports a vital theological emphasis, fulfillment of Scripture.

John's use of Psalm 22 is also interesting because it reveals more than a literal interpretation of the text. In the main the four evangelists use a peshat interpretation of the detail of the lottery (Ps. 22:18). They apply the psalm's description of dividing the garments by casting lots directly to the corresponding event at Jesus' crucifixion. What is significant in John's gospel is that John gives a further exposition of the text. Like a good rabbi John notes the plural form in "clothes" ἱμάτια (LXX/Ps. 21:19a) and the singular in "tunic" ἱματισμόν (LXX/Ps. 21:19b). He interprets the plural form as a reference to the four parts which were divided among the four soldiers. The singular refers to the seamless tunic, which has been woven from top to bottom. This is good derash.[31] The interpreter seeks an underlying meaning which lies within the single word or detail. He interprets atomistically without regard for context.

However there is a significant difference in John's use of Psalm 22 and the exposition of Scripture in rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism. With John the emphasis is not upon the interpretation of a specific scriptural text, but

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[31]Supra., pp. 47-51.

upon the relating of a gospel. Rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism is intent upon searching the text of Torah. This search implies delving into the minutest detail of the words themselves without regard for context. The single word contained an infinite number of meanings. The New Testament writers in their use of Psalm 22 give evidence of no such interest in the text of Scripture as an end in itself. Their look is toward Christ and the fulfillment he brings. Scripture is not like a treasure box filled with individual jewels, but is like a river flowing toward its ultimate destination, the ocean. Various tributaries feed into the enlarging main stream. Finally there is the ocean, the fulfillment. God's crucial revelation had come in the person of the Word made flesh. In Jesus Christ men met the revelation of the Father (John 1:1-18).

Some scholars have questioned the historicity of the lottery. Bultmann[32] says flatly that "Mark derives the lottery for the garments from Ps. 21.19." The evidence supports the basic facticity of the lottery event and does not justify such scepticism. Erich Klostermann[33] points to Petronius, Satyricon III, as evidence for such a lottery. Many modern

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[32]Bultmann, p. 281.

[33]Erich Klostermann, Das Markusevangelium in Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (4th edition; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950), III, 164.

scholars follow him.[34] Though each synoptic writer records this event in his own way, they all attest to its happening. According to the custom of the day the executioners claimed the possessions on the person of the condemned.

Attention has been drawn to the Johannine emphasis upon the seamless robe. John indicates that the reason for the lottery was that the soldiers did not desire to divide a garment which had been woven from top to bottom in one piece. C. K. Barrett[35] and R. Bultmann[36] refer to the garment motif in Philo and rabbinic Judaism. In the late second century Irenaeus compares the seamless robe of Christ with the unity of the Church. Whether John intended such an application is not obvious in the context of the crucifixion.

The following observations about the use of Psalm 22 in the evangelists' description of the lottery over the garments seem justified:

a. All four evangelists testify to the dividing of the garments. This multiple witness testifies to the strong position which this event held in the tradition of Jesus' crucifixion.

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[34]Blinzler, p. 41; Taylor, p. 589; C. K. Barrett, The Gospel according to St. John (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 458.

[35]Barrett, pp. 457-458.

[36]R. Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes, in KEKNT (18th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 519-520.

b. Each evangelist records the lottery over the garments in his own way. This difference attests to the individuality of the respective authors. Each evangelist leaves his mark on the tradition.

c. The reason for recording what appears to be an insignificant detail is the parallelism with Ps. 22:18. At a minimum the synoptists' allusion to Psalm 22 reflects the relationship between the Old Testament and Jesus.

d. The fulfillment of prophecy is also involved in the citing of the lottery. John expressly states that the division of the clothes and the casting of lots for the tunic took place in fulfillment of the Scripture (John 19:23-24). The textual variants of Matt. 27:35 which insert a reference to fulfillment indicate how strong the emphasis on fulfillment became in the tradition.

e. The evangelists use both peshat and derash in their interpretation of Ps. 22:18. The synoptists interpret the lottery in a literal manner and apply it to the same event at Jesus' crucifixion. John's account reflects a midrashic interpretation of the plural, "clothes," and the singular, "tunic." It remains a question whether John intended the seamless robe to be a veiled reference to the unity of the Church. Such an analogy would also be good derash.

f. The evangelists use Psalm 22 as part of their gospel. While they utilize the same hermeneutical principles as rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism, namely, peshat and derash, their purpose is distinct. Rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism focused upon the text of Torah. The specific details of Scripture were important in themselves and could be interpreted atomistically. Torah was the inspired Word of God. The evangelists' interest is not exposition of a sacred text per se, but testimony to the crucifixion and death of Jesus. The fulfillment was to be found in the person and work of Jesus Christ rather than in a group of holy writings. "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:4; Luke 24:25-26,44-48).

There can be no doubt but that Ps. 22:18 played a significant role in the evangelists' account of the lottery over the garments.

Other allusions to Psalm 22 in the Gospels

Jesus' word from the cross, "I thirst," (John 19:28) is regarded by some as an allusion to Psalm 22. Nestle[37] lists Ps. 22:15 as a parallel passage:

> my strength is dried up like a potsherd,
> and my tongue cleaves to my jaws;
> thou dost lay me in the dust of death.

The reference to "vinegar" (ὄξος) in John 19:29 suggests that Psalm 69 may be the source of John's citation, "I thirst." Psalm 69 contains several passages which might be involved in John's fulfillment word:

> My throat is parched (Ps. 69:3).
>
> For my thirst they gave me vinegar [ὄξος] to drink (Ps. 69:21; LXX/Ps. 68:22).

The specific source of John's quotation must remain an open question. More important than any particular passage is the emphasis upon fulfillment of the Scripture.[38] In Jesus Christ the redemptive purpose of God is completed. Bultmann[39] rightly draws attention in this context to John 10:18, 15:10, and 14:31 as passages in which Jesus testifies to his desire to carry out the will of the Father.

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[37]Nestle and Aland, p. 290.

[38]Haenchen, "Historie und Geschichte in den johanneischen Passionsberichten," Zur Bedeutung des Todes Jesu (Güterloher: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1967), p. 77.

[39]Bultmann, KEKNT, p. 522.

Luke treats the material from Psalm 22 in his own manner. As already indicated, Luke places Jesus' intercession between the act of crucifixion and the dividing of the garments. He does not include Jesus' quotation of Ps. 22:1, "my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me."[40] He therefore does not include the confusion among the bystanders about Jesus' calling for Elijah.[41] One reason for Luke's omission of Jesus' cry of desolation is that it does not serve the theological emphasis of Luke's passion narrative. In Luke's account Jesus does not go to the cross alone. Jesus has others about him. This emphasis is evident in some of the material unique to Luke: the words of Jesus in the upper room which express the desire for table fellowship before suffering (Luke 22:15), the strengthening angel in the Garden of Gethsemane (Luke 22:43), the weeping women on the via dolorosa (Luke 23:27-32), the penitent thief (Luke 23:39-43), the prayer of commitment, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit!" (Luke 23:46), the crowd which does not mock but watches and then returns home beating the breast (Luke 23:35a,48).

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[40]Some have suggested that Luke's phrase, τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπόντος is a substitute for Jesus' quotation of Ps. 22:1. They see a play on words in ἥλιον "sun" (Luke 23:45) and ἠλί "my God" (Matt. 27:46). Cf., Major, Manson, and Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938) p. 194.

[41]Almost all references to Elijah disappear in Luke's gospel.

In his reference to the mockery Luke does not use the phrase "wagging their heads" (Ps. 22:7) as Mark and Matthew do (Mark 15:29; Matt. 27:39). The people stand watching the event of Jesus' crucifixion, but they do not join in the scorn and ridicule. Luke does use the verb, ἐξεμυκτήριζω, (LXX/Ps. 21:8) to describe the scoffing of the rulers, "the rulers scoffed at him" (Luke 23:35b). This verb may show the influence of Psalm 22 language (LXX/Ps. 21:8a), since it is rare in the Septuagint. It is found in only four passages, one of which is Ps. 22:7 (LXX/Ps. 21:8; Ps. 2:4; Ps. 34:16; 1 Esdras 1:51).

Luke's final word of Jesus, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46) has been interpreted as a substitution for the cry of desolation.[42] This view point seems unwarranted since Mark and Matthew both refer to a final great cry in distinction from Jesus' quotation from Psalm 22.[43]

Thus the influence of Psalm 22 is visible also in Luke's gospel, although the language and content of Psalm 22 do not play the same role as in the other gospels. Luke's use of Psalm 22 suggests little about the hermeneutical principles involved. Luke appears to treat the psalm's description of the lottery over the garments in a literal

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[42]Lohse, p. 98.

[43]Cf., Taylor, p. 650.

manner and relates a similar event which took place at Jesus' crucifixion. It is evident that Luke uses the Psalm 22 material to support his particular theological emphasis.

In summary the evangelists' interpretation and use of Psalm 22 in their respective gospels suggest the following conclusions:

a. All four evangelists reflect the influence of Psalm 22 upon their account of Jesus' crucifixion.

b. The key to the influence of Psalm 22 is Jesus' own use of this psalm in his cry from the cross, "my God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34; Matt. 27:46). The meaning of Jesus' word is variously interpreted. Some regard it as a cry of desolation and as such a part of Mark's emphasis upon the loneliness of Jesus. Others find the emphasis to be upon trust and confidence. This idea is implicit in Jesus' quotation which really is meant to express the thrust of the entire psalm. This second emphasis is supported especially in the Matthaean account. Matthew adds the mockers' second taunt which ridicules the trust of this crucified one who claimed to be the Son of God.

c. The evangelists generally interpret Psalm 22 according to <u>peshat</u>, a literal understanding of the text. Like the Qumran psalmist, the evangelists use some of the language of Psalm 22 for their own purpose. In this case, they use it to describe the mockery about the cross and the lottery over the garments.

d. The rabbinic principle of <u>derash</u> is evident in John's interpretation of Ps. 22:18, the casting of lots. John describes the lottery over the garments as two distinct actions, a dividing of Jesus' clothes into four parts and a casting of lots for his seamless robe (John 19:23-24). In this exposition John interprets like a rabbi who notes the distinction between the plural form, "clothes," (LXX/Ps. 21:18a) and the singular form, "tunic," (LXX/Ps. 21:18b) and builds his exposition around this difference.

e. The evangelists' interpretation and use of Psalm 22 is distinct from that of rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism in the stress upon witness to an historical event. The evangelists testify to the event of Jesus' crucifixion and are not intent upon exposition of a sacred text. While Judaism would stress the search into the inspired Torah, the evangelists give no indication that the words of Psalm 22 per se are the point of interest. The evangelists are united in their intent to write gospels, the good news of God's completed salvation in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Their use of the Old Testament serves this purpose.

f. Each evangelist uses the material from Psalm 22 in his own way. This mark of individuality supports the viewpoint that the evangelists are not so much editor-collectors as authors who write out of a particular situation with a specific objective in mind.[44]

g. Fulfillment of Scripture is involved in the use of Psalm 22. John cites Ps. 22:18 as a Scripture which is fulfilled in the dividing of Jesus' garments and the lottery over his seamless robe. Textual variants reflect a similar tradition for Matt. 27:35. The diversity between the Johannine and the Matthaean use of the lottery over the garments indicates that the concept of fulfillment is not in terms of direct prophecy. The use of fulfilled prediction as an apologetic argument for the validity of Christ's messianic claim becomes prominent in the middle of the second century after Christ.[45]

h. The evangelists use the language of Psalm 22 to describe actual events accompanying Jesus' crucifixion, namely, the mockery and the lottery over the garments. The cry of desolation is an authentic word of Jesus in which he cites Ps. 22:1 from the cross.

i. The evangelists give no evidence of an allegorical use of Psalm 22 nor do they reflect any philosophical interest in their account of the crucifixion.

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[44]Cf., Rohde, passim.

[45]Infra., p. 165.

j. It is striking that some of the material which is so prominent in the gospels has no role in the Hodayot, even though the Qumran psalmist uses the language of Psalm 22 quite extensively. While the Qumran psalmist describes surrounding enemies in the language of Psalm 22, he makes no use of the cry of forsakenness or the lottery over the garments. The evangelists on the other hand make no reference to expressions of lowliness, such as, "I am a worm and not a man," (Ps. 22:6).

This review of the evangelists' interpretation and use of Psalm 22 demonstrates the significant influence of this psalm upon the account of Jesus' crucifixion. There is reason for calling Psalm 22 "the oldest book of the Passion."[46] This study also makes clear that philological and historical factors ultimately serve theological objective. In this case, the evangelists use Psalm 22 in terms of their theological commitment to write a gospel of Jesus Christ.

Hebrews

Within the last decade considerable attention has been given to the hermeneutical principles used by the auctor ad Hebraeos to interpret the Old Testament. Several studies have appeared in print.[47] At least two unpublished

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[46]Günther Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, translated by Irene and Fraswer McLuskey (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 165.

[47]G. B. Caird, "The Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews," Canadian Journal of Theology, V (1959), 44-51; Simon Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Amsterdam: Wed. G. Van Soest N. V., 1961); Sidney Sowers, The Hermeneutics of Philo and Hebrews (Zürich: Evz-Verlag, 1965); F. C. Synge, Hebrews and the Scriptures (London: SPCK, 1959).

doctoral dissertations have also been completed.[48] The writer has drawn upon these studies in his consideration of the hermeneutical principles involved in the interpretation of Psalm 22 in Hebrews.[49]

The auctor ad Hebraeos cites Psalm 22 in one passage, Heb. 2:12:

> For he who sanctifies and those who are sanctified have all one origin. That is why he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying, "I will proclaim thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee" (Heb. 2:11-12).

This quotation is one of nine citations from the Psalter which are found in the first five chapters of Hebrews. Following Kistemaker's suggestion that four psalms,

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[48]Don Hugh McGaughey, "The Hermeneutic Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University School of Theology, 1963; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, Inc., 63-7499); Richard Reid, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1964; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, Inc., 1964).

[49]The writer found Reid's dissertation of particular help. This study provides a fine starting point for anyone interested in the study of Hebrews. The author gathers and evaluates various contemporary views on authorship, date, general setting and purpose of Hebrews. His examination of the Old Testament data in Hebrews is most helpful because Reid integrates it directly into the theology of Hebrews with its lofty Christology and pastoral exhortation. The writer agrees with Reid's view that the auctor ad Hebraeos utilized the commonly accepted exegetical principles of his day, but always in terms of his eschatological and soteriological concerns. Reid's dissertation places a stronger emphasis upon the role of rabbinic hermeneutics over against those of Alexandrian-Philonic Judaism.

Psalms 8, 40, 95, and 110, play a crucial role in Hebrews. Reid[50] has observed that all the quotations from Psalms occur in the course of a theological discussion rather than in a hortatory section.[51] In fact Reid suggests that one might regard Hebrews as "a kind of midrash on that book [Psalms] or at least on selected passages from it."[52] Otto Michel[53] also has noted the special use of Psalms and the Prophets, commenting that this characterizes the Gospels and the early Church. Judaism had regarded the Torah as its major Scripture.

The auctor ad Hebraeos quotes Ps. 22:22 according to the Septuagint[54] with one variation. He substitutes ἀπαγγελῶ, a more frequently used word in the New Testament, for διηγήσομαι.

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[50]Reid, p. 38.

[51]The distinction between theological and hortatory becomes precarious in Hebrews, since the entire theological exposition of the superiority and finality of Jesus Christ is made not for its own sake, but for the purpose of edification. The summons to steadfastness and loyalty are interspersed through the entire epistle (Heb. 2:1-4; 3:1-2; 3:12-4:1; 2:11-16; 5:11-6:12; 6:19; 9:14; 10:19-39; 12:1-13:22).

[52]Reid, p. 40.

[53]Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Hebräer in Kritsch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (9th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), pp. 81-83.

[54]Both McGaughey and Reid feel that the auctor ad Hebraeos used a text of the Septuagint rather than a Testimony Book.

Reid makes a significant point when he stresses the dynamic, living character of the use of the Old Testament in Hebrews. The auctor ad Hebraeos does not utilize the introductory formulas found in other parts of the New Testament such as, "as it is written" (Matt. 2:5; Rom. 11:26) or "that what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled" (Matt. 4:14). "The most common formula in Hebrews is one which involves the use of the verb λέγω in one of its various forms."[55]

> Hebrews never uses any word denoting "fulfillment" in introducing his quotations. . . . The reason is certainly not that Hebrews does not think that the predictions of Scripture have been fulfilled, but rather that it seeks to place the emphasis on the fact that God is speaking to us directly through the Bible and that this address is a present one as well as a past one. Thus he frequently uses the verb λέγω in the present tense or in the perfect where the connotation of the lasting value of what has been said would be present, and only rarely in the aorist. God's words in Scripture are a living and vital force now.[56]

These comments on Hebrews' introductory formulas already indicate a theological emphasis reflected in the use of the Old Testament.

In Heb. 2:12 the auctor ad Hebraeos quotes Ps. 22:22 to emphasize the common humanity which binds Christ together with those whom he has come to save. Jewish belief had

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[55]Reid, p. 44.

[56]Ibid., p. 40.

stressed that priest and people must be of the same race. The idea of common paternity was important.[57] The auctor ad Hebraeos also sees the effectiveness of Jesus' redemptive suffering tied to a blood relationship with others (Heb. 2:14-15).[58]

The hermeneutical principle involved in the use of Ps. 22:22 is the second rule of Hillel, the gezerah shawah.[59] This midrashic principle builds on the analogy of expression. In this context the auctor ad Hebraeos builds his analogy on the word, "brethren." Otto Michel[60] calls such interpretation of the Old Testament the use of Stichworten. It may be more correct to recognize the rabbinic method of derash.[61] This method focused on details of a text and interpreted them autonomously. The auctor ad Hebraeos structures his interpretation of Ps. 22:22 on the single

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[57]Jean Hering, L' Epitre aux Hebreux (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestle, 1954), p. 34; Michel, p. 149.

[58]Michel, pp. 149-150; Marcus Dods, The Epistle to the Hebrews, in The Expositor's Greek Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), IV, 266.

[59]Supra., p. 50.

[60]Michel, p. 151.

[61]When commentators interpret Hebrews in terms of Alexandrian influences, they find the citation of Ps. 22:22 to be a puzzle. T. H. Robinson, The Epistle to the Hebrews in The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), p. 35, feels that this citation of Ps. 22:22 together with the following ones from Is. 8:17-18 "are not particularly apt." Such a comment shows little appreciation for derash.

term "brethren." He also interprets this detail "autonomously." A brief reading of Psalm 22 indicates that the stress in verse twenty-two is not upon the common humanity of Jesus with those whom he came to save. The thrust of Ps. 22:22 is the praise which the delivered sufferer gives to God for his rescue.

The use of Psalm 22 undoubtedly is linked to its role in the passion narrative. Jesus' quotation of Ps. 22:1 from the cross is the key to the use of this psalm in the New Testament. Psalm 22 belonged to those blocks of Old Testament material which were utilized in the earliest kerygmatic tradition (compare Psalm 2 in Acts 4:25-27; Psalm 110 in Acts 2:34-36).[62]

The auctor ad Hebraeos makes no apparent use of those verses from Psalm 22 which play a role in the crucifixion narrative. The cry of desolation (Mark 15:34; Matt. 27:46), the mockery of the Jewish leaders (Mark 15:31; Matt. 27:41-43; Luke 23:35), the lottery over the garments (Mark 15:24; Matt. 27:35; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24) are absent from Hebrews. Typology does not appear to be the emphasis in the use of Psalm 22. In the comparison between Old Testament type and New Testament anti-type the auctor ad Hebraeos makes much use of such terms as "superior" (Heb. 1:4) and "better"

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[62]Dodd, According to the Scriptures, passim.

(Heb. 6:9; 7:19; 7:22; 8:6; 9:23) to underscore the superiority and finality of God's redemptive action in Jesus Christ. Such terms are not involved in the quotation of Psalm 22. The use of Ps. 22:22 in Hebrews is another example of the individuality evident in the New Testament writers' use of the Old Testament. Ps. 22:22 serves a theological function in the second chapter of Hebrews. The auctor ad Hebraeos' desire to stress the common humanity of Jesus with others influences the interpretation of the psalm verse.[63]

The quotation of a verse from the section of praise in Psalm 22 may also support the pastoral concern of the auctor ad Hebraeos. The ancient sufferer praised the God Who had delivered him. Similarly the auctor ad Hebraeos invites his readers to remember that the pioneer of their salvation was made perfect through suffering (Heb. 2:10; 2:17-18) and therefore through him to "continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God" (Heb. 12:15).

The hermeneutical principles involved in the use of Psalm 22 in Hebrews may be summarized as follows:

a. The auctor ad Hebraeos utilizes the gezerah shawah, a rabbinic principle of derash, in the interpretation

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[63]One weakness in Reid's study is the distinction between "methods of exegesis" and "principles of interpretation." By "methods of exegesis" Reid refers to the literal interpretation of the Old Testament text. By "principles of interpretation" he focuses upon theological issues or presuppositions. The writer regards this as a dubious distinction. Theological factors are part of one's method of exegesis. The use of Ps. 22:22 is an example of this.

of Psalm 22:22. This principle builds an analogy between the common word, "brethren" in Heb. 2:11 and Ps. 22:22.

b. The auctor ad Hebraeos quotes Ps. 22:22 with one verb change according to the Septuagint.

c. There is no evidence of an allegorical use of Psalm 22; in fact when commentators are persuaded to interpret Hebrews in terms of Alexandrian influences alone, they find the citation of Ps. 22:22 to be a difficult passage.

d. There is no typology involved in the use of Psalm 22. The auctor ad Hebraeos supports the idea of common humanity between Jesus and his brethren on the basis of a word analogy between Heb. 2:11 and Ps. 22:22.

e. The introductory formula is common to Hebrews, for the auctor ad Hebraeos uses a form of the verb λέγω . Through this formula the auctor ad Hebraeos stresses that God is speaking in the present. The same God who spoke in many and various ways in times past through the prophets is now speaking by a Son (Heb. 1:1-2). The presupposition for the auctor ad Hebraeos' citation of the Old Testament is that these Scriptures are divine revelation and of lasting significance. The introductory formula also indicates that the auctor ad Hebraeos' use of the Old Testament is not to stress the fulfillment of prediction.

f. The individuality of the New Testament author is demonstrated in the choice of material from Psalm 22. The auctor ad Hebraeos uses none of the verses from Psalm 22 which play a vital role in the crucifixion narrative. These verses do not suit his theological-homiletical purpose. He uses that psalmic material which supports his objective.

New Testament Allusions to Psalm 22

Four additional passages are regarded as citations or allusions to Psalm 22: Rom. 5:5; 2 Tim. 4:17; Rev. 11:15;

19:5.[64] Since these passages are not clear citations of Psalm 22, their usefulness in this study is limited. Some commentators do not even cite Psalm 22 as a parallel Old Testament passage to be considered in the interpretation of the above-mentioned verses.[65] However a brief consideration of these passages in terms of the use of Psalm 22 in the Gospels and in Hebrews will supplement the survey of the New Testament data on Psalm 22.

First of all, allusions to Psalm 22 in the Pauline material and in Revelation support the vital role of the Old Testament in the early church. The Old Testament was

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[64]These four allusions are cited in the index of Nestle and Aland, pp. 662-663.

[65]The following commentators do not list any reference to Psalm 22.

In comment on Rom 5:5: Hans Wilhelm Schmidt, Der Briefe des Paulus an die Römer, in Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), VI, 91-92; Paul Althaus, Der Brief an die Römer, in Das Neue Testament Deutsch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), VI, 51; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in The International Critical Commentary (5th edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1964), XXXII, 125.

In comment on 2 Tim. 4:17: Bernard Weiss, Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (7th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), XI, 324-326.

In comment on Rev. 11:15 and 19:5: Wilhelm Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannes, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (6th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1906), XVI, in loc.; R. C. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), I and II, in loc.; M. Rist and L. H. Hough, The Revelation of St. John the Divine, in The Interpreter's Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), XII, in loc.

the Scripture for the followers of Christ. The use of Psalm 22 in the Gospels and in Hebrews provide an example of how the Old Testament served the New Testament community.

Therefore Paul echoes Old Testament words in his joyous exposition of the Christian's peace and hope in Jesus Christ. He expresses his conviction about the surety of that hope: "hope does not disappoint us" (Rom. 5:5, [does not put to shame]). One may question whether Paul is consciously quoting Psalm 22.[66] The invitation to rely upon God and to be assured of his steadfastness is found in other psalmic material (Ps. 25:10; Ps. 27:1; Ps. 119:16). In Romans 5 Paul may simply be reminding his readers of God's promises and acts of deliverance in times past, thereby encouraging them to see in Christ the continuation of this same steadfastness of God.

Paul's prayer in 2 Timothy reflects a similar use of Old Testament language. The imagery of an attacking lion together with Paul's prayer for strength to proclaim the word echoes thoughts from Psalm 22. Not only does the ancient psalmist describe his enemies in terms of an attacking lion (Ps. 22:13,21), but he also speaks of his proclamation of the name of the Lord (Ps. 22:22).

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[66]Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, in Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (13th edition; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966), in loc. cites Ps. 22:5.

The Revelation of John, the seer, is another example of the vital influence of the Old Testament. While the author does not quote the Old Testament directly, his book is a veritable mosaic of Old Testament imagery and concepts.

Studies of Paul's hermeneutical principles suggest that he used the methodology of rabbinic hermeneutics, peshat and derash. Both Doeve[67] and Ellis[68] conclude that Paul was schooled in the interpreting skills of the rabbis. John the seer works appropriate Old Testament language and thought directly into his message and thereby makes it his own. Such use of the Old Testament can be paralleled in the Qumran psalmist's use of Psalm 22 in the Hodayot. There is no allegorical use of Scripture reflected in these psalm allusions.

Third, Christology is the dominant hermeneutical principle in these allusions to Psalm 22. Robert Grant[69] has observed:

> Our understanding of Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament does not depend merely on the words which he uses in setting it forth. More important is the content which he is able to find in scripture. His exegesis is Christocentric. To him Jesus is the promised Messiah, and not only the passages which explicitly foretell his coming, but the scriptures as a whole, are full of references to him.

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[67] J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Co., N. V., 1954), p. 99.

[68] E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 53.

[69] Robert M. Grant, The Bible in the Church (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), pp. 20-21.

Ellis' study[70] presents a similar viewpoint:

> While rabbinic Judaism has influenced the mechanics of Pauline citation, one must look to the apostolic Church and to Christ Himself to find the primary source of the apostle's understanding and use of the O. T. The emphases, applications and hermeneutics of Paul's quotations mark him as one with the apostolic Church in contrast to his rabbinic background.

In Rom. 5:5 Paul rejoices in the peace and hope of God which belong to the justified believer (Rom. 5:1). Such hope, built upon the atoning work of Christ and sealed by the Holy Spirit, does not disgrace (Rom. 5:1-5; 3:21-26; Rom. 8:12-17; Eph. 1:11-14). In 2 Tim. 4:17 Paul testifies to the sustaining power of God who has stood by him and equipped him to proclaim the word fully, even in the face of threat from "the mouth of the lion" (2 Tim. 4:17). This gospel of the grace of God was that truth which had been entrusted to him and his readers by the Holy Spirit dwelling within them (2 Tim. 1:8-14).

The material in Revelation reflects a similar Christological center. In Rev. 11:15 loud voices in heaven extol the Lord and his Christ. Though evil threaten and deadly foes harass, the Lion of the tribe of Judah reigns (Rev. 5:5-14). The Lamb whose blood ransoms men for God has authority to open the seals and to triumph.

Running through all four allusions to Psalm 22 is the triumphant faith of the ancient psalmist. As the believer

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[70]Ellis, p. 1.

of old grasped the promise of God and found courage in God's past deliverance, so the New Testament believer found his surety in the crucified and risen Christ and used the Old Testament message and words to articulate his victorious faith and hope.

Fourth, these four allusions to Psalm 22, Ps. 22:5 (Rom. 5:5); Ps. 22:13,21 (2 Tim. 4:17); Ps. 22:27-28 (Rev. 11:15; 19:5), do not utilize those verses which wield so significant an influence in the passion narrative. With the exception of the use of the metaphor, "mouth of a lion," these allusions draw upon the praise section of Psalm 22. In this respect Paul and John the seer use Psalm 22 like the auctor ad Hebraeos rather than like the evangelists.

Fifth, these four allusions reflect a personal knowledge and familiarity with the Psalms which indicates that the Psalter had become part of the religious life and thinking of the worshipping community. Just as in the Qumran Hodayot and in Jesus' own prayer from the cross, the language and thought of the Psalms is manifest in the personal testimony of the New Testament writer.

Sixth, the concept of prophecy-fulfillment is not involved in these allusions. No introductory formula is used.

Seventh, the use of the Old Testament reflects the creative role of the New Testament writer as he strives to make the revelation of God in the Old Testament speak afresh

to his hearers. There is no stereotype. There is no static, wooden methodology. Instead the Spirit works freely as inspired men used the spiritual resources at their disposal in order to herald the good news of God in Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF PSALM 22 IN EARLY POST-APOSTOLIC WRITINGS

The theological interpretation of Psalm 22 does not stop with the New Testament. This psalm continues to appear in various post-apostolic writings along with other Old Testament citations. The appeal to the Old Testament as a witness to Jesus Christ and as a source of moral directive and example is commonplace in the early Christian community.

This chapter will consider passages from two Apostolic Fathers, Clement of Rome and Barnabas,[1] and one early

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[1]The translation of the Apostolic Fathers used in this study is Kirsopp Lake, The Apostolic Fathers in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), I. Other translations are Edgar J. Goodspeed, The Apostolic Fathers: An American Translation (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950); J. B. Lightfoot, translator, The Apostolic Fathers (reprint of The Apostolic Fathers, Macmillan and Co., London, 1891; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1965); J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe, editors, Ancient Christian Writers, The Works of the Fathers in Translation (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1949); Ludwig Schopp, editor, The Apostolic Fathers, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), I.

General studies in the Apostolic Fathers include: Leslie W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background (New York: Schocken Books, 1967); Frank L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1960); Jean Danielou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, translated by John A. Baker (Chicago: The Henry Regnery Co., 1964); John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers (New York: Macmillan Co., 1961); Robert R. Williams, A Guide to the Teachings of the Early Church Fathers (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960).

second-century Christian apologist, Justin Martyr.[2] Clement of Rome and Barnabas are the only two Apostolic Fathers who quote Psalm 22 directly in their letters. Justin Martyr not only quotes Psalm 22 in his First Apology, but he also interprets almost the entire psalm in the Dialogue with Trypho. Attention will focus upon the hermeneutical principles involved in the use of Psalm 22 in order to describe the continuity and development in exegetical technique with respect to the interpretation and use of this psalm.

1 Clement

1 Clement,[3] a letter from the congregation at Rome to the church at Corinth, seeks to encourage unity and understanding in the face of dissention and jealousy. This exhortation portrays the nature of the Christian life in order to rebuke disunity and rebellion and to inspire obedience and humility (1 Clement 4:1-39:9). After a general introduction the letter describes the evil consequences of jealousy (1 Clement 4:1-6:4) and summons the readers to repentance

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[2]The edition of Justin Martyr used in this study is Edgar J. Goodspeed, editor, Die ältesten Apologeten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1914); the English translation used is Thomas B. Falls, Saint Justin Martyr, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, c.1948).

[3]Studies on 1 Clement include W. K. L. Clarke, The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians in Translations of Early Documents (London: SPCK, 1937); Robert M. Grant and Holt H. Graham, First and Second Clement in The Apostolic Fathers (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), II.

(1 Clement 7:1-8:5). The letter then continues with a description of important Christian virtues, such as obedience, piety, faith, and hospitality (1 Clement 9:1-12:8). This leads up to a discussion of a most important virture, Christian humility (1 Clement 13:1-19:3).

In the exposition of Christian humility the letter cites numerous Old Testament passages (Jer. 9:23; Is. 66:2; Prov. 2:21-22; Ps. 36:9,35-37; Is. 29:13; Ps. 61:5; 77:36-37; 11:4-16). There are also allusions to New Testament words from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:7; 6:14; 7:1,2). In this context of Old Testament citation and New Testament allusion 1 Clement sets forth Christ's humility as an example to follow:

> For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. . . . You see, Beloved, what is the example which is given to us; for if the Lord was thus humble-minded, what shall we do, who through him have come under the yoke of his grace? (1 Clement 16:1,17).

In this context the letter cites two Old Testament passages as part of the portrayal of Christ's humility, Is. 53:1-12 and Ps. 22:6-8. These two Old Testament passages are usually cited in the New Testament in connection with passion sayings and passion narratives. 1 Clement cites them in the context of exhortation. After quoting Isaiah 53 and Psalm 22 in the description of Christ's humility 1 Clement points to various Old Testament men of God, such as Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Job, David, Moses. The letter

pleads that the Corinthians imitate the lowliness of such heroes of faith. Such ethical imitation will improve the strife-ridden situation within the Corinthian congregation and work toward peace (1 Clement 17:1-19:3).

In Chapter 16 1 Clement quotes Isaiah 53 and Ps. 22:6-8 according to the Septuagint. Use of the Septuagint is typical since the entire letter reveals a remarkable familiarity with the Greek version of the Jewish Bible. Clement of Rome quotes this Greek translation frequently.[4] He does not always quote directly from the Septuagint, but blends Old Testament passages when it suits his purpose.[5] While Clement of Rome may have made use of an anthology of Old Testament quotations, it is difficult to become dogmatic about the source of a particular Old Testament reference.[6]

As one studies 1 Clement's citation of Psalm 22 the following observations are made.

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[4]Goodspeed, The Apostolic Fathers, p. 8.

[5]Clarke, p. 31.

[6]Grant and Graham, II, 10. Compare the works of P. Prigent who is persuaded that Old Testament testimonia became grouped around certain topics. P. Prigent is currently engaged in the project of working up a table of Old Testament quotations and allusions as found in the Fathers. A. Benoit is associated with Prigent in this effort. The entire project is being carried out under the auspice of the Center for the Analysis and Documentation of the Fathers of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Strasbourg. Cf. A. Benoit and P. Prigent, "Les Citations de l' Écriture chez des Pères," Revue d' Historie et de Philosophie Religieuses, XLVI (1966), 161-168.

1 Clement treats the Old Testament as the authoritative Word of God. Whether the letter quotes directly or merely alludes to some Old Testament passage or figure, it is assumed that the reader will recognize Old Testament Scripture and acknowledge that God is speaking and instructing his people. The introductory formula of 1 Clement reflects this high esteem for the Old Testament: "as the Holy Spirit said" (1 Clement 16:2), "the Maker spoke thus" (1 Clement 3:6), "study the sacred scriptures, which are true and given by the Holy Spirit. Bear in mind that nothing wrong or falsified is written in them" (1 Clement 45:2), "Now you know the holy scripture, beloved, you know them well, and you have studied the oracles of God" (1 Clement 53:1), "written through the Holy Spirit" (1 Clement 63:2). Such formula makes clear the authoritative role of the Old Testament. These inspired Scriptures are the voice of God.

Clement of Rome quotes the Old Testament literally and applies it directly to the life of Christ and of Christians. There is no evidence of allegory after the manner of Philo. Neither is there any midrashic interpretation which constructs chains of texts on the basis of single word analogies. The author therefore works with the surface meaning of Ps. 22:6-8.

1 Clement uses Psalm 22 in a context different from that of the New Testament citations of this psalm. The evangelists quote Psalm 22 to describe events in the story

of the crucifixion. The auctor ad Hebraeos cites Psalm 22 to underscore Christ's identification with people and thereby stress how Christ's suffering and death benefits the readers. Clement of Rome uses Psalm 22 as part of his exhortation to humility. Such use reflects a free and open attitude toward the quotation of Psalm 22 in the church's life. The need in Corinth shaped the way in which Psalm 22 found its place in 1 Clement.

Clement of Rome understands Psalm 22 as directly descriptive of Christ and his experience. The author quotes the psalm as though the Holy Spirit had spoken of Christ. This is also true with respect to the quotation of Isaiah 53 which precedes the citation of Psalm 22. The formula for quoting Isaiah 53 is as follows:

> For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, not of those who exalt themselves over His block. The sceptre of the greatness of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, came not with the pomp of pride or of arrogance, for all his power, but was humble-minded, as the Holy Spirit spake concerning him. For it [the Holy Spirit] says . . . (1 Clement 16:1-2).

The quotation of Isaiah 53 follows. The author regards the words of Isaiah as spoken by the Spirit to describe the humility of Jesus.

After citing Isaiah 53, Clement of Rome continues:

> And he bore the sins of many, and for their sins was he delivered up." And again he says of himself, a better translation: and again the Holy Spirit says "But I am a worm and no man, a reproach of man, and despised of the people" (1 Clement 16:14-15).

Clement of Rome interprets the ancient psalm as the Spirit's testimony to the humility of Christ. He makes no mention of an Old Testament sufferer who may be speaking of his own affliction.

This use of Psalm 22 suggests a development in the interpretation and use of this psalm. Not only is Psalm 22 used to describe the suffering of Jesus, but 1 Clement testifies that the Spirit spoke of Jesus. Clement of Rome understands the psalm as direct-prophecy. There is no indication that this early Christian writer is using typology in his interpretation. He makes no reference to David, the traditional author of Psalm 22, in connection with his use of this psalm. When Clement of Rome does praise David for his example of humility, he cites Psalm 51 (1 Clement 18:1-17). Since Psalm 22 portrays the suffering of Jesus, 1 Clement cites a verse from the psalm which is not quoted in the New Testament.

The use of Psalm 22 in 1 Clement is similar to rabbinic haggadah.[7] The letter "belongs to the class of edifying Jewish literature with a moral purpose, such as is to be found in Palestinian Judaism and was continued in the midrashim."[8] In this case Clement of Rome uses the Old

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[7]Danielou, pp. 44-45.

[8]Ibid.

Testament in order to edify his Corinthian brethren. He makes clear that the focus of God's revelation is Jesus Christ in whom the Christian is called and sanctified (salutation of 1 Clement). This desire to make the Old Testament speak to the Corinthian situation reveals 1 Clement to be a distinctive letter arising out of the experience of the Church at the end of the first century.[9] This letter makes clear that the Christological interpretation of Psalm 22 expanded beyond the New Testament in terms of the Church's need.

The Epistle of Barnabas

The Epistle of Barnabas[10] is a pastoral exhortation in which Barnabas, a converted rabbi,[11] seeks to share his

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[9]Various studies in the past have been unnecessarily critical of 1 Clement. Clarke comments that 1 Clement "starts with 'Natural Religion,' to which he adds Christianity" (Clarke, p. 21). Such a comment fails to hear out this significant first century letter on its own terms. R. Grant's evaluation of such studies is pertinent, "they were far too strongly influenced by various theories of what early Christianity ought to have been, and therefore they were not often able to see what 1 Clement was" (Grant and Graham, II, 9).

[10]Studies on the Epistle of Barnabas include Robert A. Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache, in The Apostolic Fathers (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965), III; James Muilenburg, The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Marburg, Germany: n.p., 1929); P. Prigent, Les Testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: L' Epitre de Barnabé (I à XVI) et ses sources (Paris: Gabalda et Ce., 1961).

[11]Barnard, p. 47.

unique, God-given knowledge of the doctrines of the Lord with his brethren (Barn. 1:2-8).[12] Composed in the period of A.D. 117-132[13] and written probably in Alexandria,[14] the epistle reflects a breach between rabbinic Judaism and Jewish Christianity which is absolute. This extreme polemic against Judaism may well be a reaction to Jewish aggressiveness which developed after the fall of Jerusalem. Pharisaic influence rejected any rapprochement between Christians and Jews and demanded that followers of Christ be expelled from the synagogue. The Epistle of Barnabas seeks to fortify Alexandrian Christians who were in danger of weakening under the assault of Judaism.[15]

Written as a fraternal exhortation, the Epistle of Barnabas serves as a catechetical manual with both a dogmatic and a moral emphasis.[16] Danielou and Prigent feel

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[12]Kraft, III, 20-21. Kraft's characterization of Barnabas as "an Author-Editor" fails to give ample credit to the originality of this letter. While Barnabas used traditional materials, including testimonia and the tradition of the Two Ways, the mark of his individuality and personal concern is written in large letters through the Epistle of Barnabas.

[13]Barnard, p. 53; compare A. L. Williams, "The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas," Journal of Theological Studies, XXXIV (1933), 344; Williams puts the date between A.D. 96-98.

[14]Lightfoot, p. 134.

[15]Leslie W. Barnard, "The Epistle of Barnabas and the Dead Sea Scrolls," Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII (1960), 45; Barnard, Studies, pp. 53-55.

[16]Danielou, p. 33.

that Barnabas utilizes a collection of testimonia.[17] These testimonia may have been accompanied by commentary and grouped around a topic.

The Epistle of Barnabas cites Psalm 22 four times: Barn. 5:13 (Ps. 22:21); Barn. 6:6-7 (Ps. 22:23); Barn. 6:15 (Ps. 22:17); and Barn. 6:16 (Ps. 22:19). These citations from Psalm 22 fit into the letter's general discussion of the passion of Christ and its benefit for the Christian (Barn. 5 and 6). This exposition of the passion and its benefits belongs to the larger message of the Epistle of Barnabas in which this Christian teacher strives to communicate his higher knowledge of the revelation of God. Barnabas desires that his reader's knowledge may be perfected along with faith.[18]

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[17] Ibid., p. 34; Prigent, passim.; Barnard, Studies, pp. 111-112, rejects the hypothesis of a primitive Testimony Book. He points to a certain method of quoting the Old Testament which, at a very early date, became part of the equipment of Christian teachers and evangelists. This method was largely employed orally, finding only a sporadic literary expression. This method involved singling out certain large sections of the Old Testament rather than individual verses for use as testimonia. Robert Kraft, "Barnabas' Isaiah Text and the 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (1960), 337, suggests "approximately 100 explicit quotations from the OT." He also indicates the great difficulty in counting citations because of composite quotations, unidentified references, repeated quotations, and similar difficulties.

[18] Barnard, Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII, 50-52.

Barnabas is interested in giving a Christian interpretation to the Old Testament and its institutions. Old Testament quotations and examples together with the practices of circumcision and fasting, food laws, and the temple are all interpreted in terms of Christ and the Christian faith. According to Barnabas the Church is the people of God, not the Jews. The Old Testament belongs to the New Testament people of God and not to Israel (Barn. 4:7-8).[19]

These remarks about the setting and general content of the Epistle of Barnabas provide the background for studying the individual passages which quote Psalm 22.

Barnabas 5:13

> And he was willing to suffer thus, for it was necessary that he should suffer on a tree, for the Prophet says of him [more correctly: for the one prophesying about him says], "Spare my soul from the sword" and "Nail my flesh, for the synagogues of the wicked have risen against me" (Barn. 5:13).

While Barn. 5:13 is not a precise quotation of Psalm 22, it is apparent that the psalm is in the background.

Barn. 5:13b	LXX/Ps. 21:21a (MT/Ps. 22:20)
Φεῖσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς	ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας
ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας	τὴν ψυχήν μου

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[19] Johannes Klevinghaus, Die theologische Stellung der Apostolischen Väter zur alttestamentlichen Offenbarung (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1948), p. 15.

Barn. 5:13c, ὅτι πονηρευομένων συναγωγὴ ἐπανέστησάν μοι

LXX/Ps. 21:17b (MT/Ps. 22:16b), συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων περιέσχον με

The verbal parallels are clear, even though Barnabas does not quote Psalm 22 directly.

The context of the quotation of Psalm 22 is a discussion of the passion of Christ. In this respect Barnabas follows the evangelists who draw upon Psalm 22 in their account of the crucifixion. Barnabas does not cite Psalm 22 to serve a hortatory purpose as Clement of Rome. This Christian author quotes Psalm 22 in order to underscore the necessity of Jesus' crucifixion.

Barnabas' citation of Psalm 22 is obviously based upon the Septuagint text. The phrase, "nail my flesh," is undoubtedly a Christian paraphrase of the Septuagint reading, "they pierced my hands and feet" (Barn. 5:13c; compare with LXX/Ps. 21:17c; MT/Ps. 22:16c).[20]

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[20]Danielou, p. 91, suggests that "nail my flesh" is taken from Ps. 118:120 (LXX; MT/119:120), "pierce my flesh with thy fears." Even though there may be an allusion to nails in καθήλωσον and even though Ps. 118:120 is quoted side by side with Ps. 21:7-10 in the Testimonies of Cyprian, the writer regards the reference to nailing flesh as a targumizing of Ps. 22:16c, "they have pierced my hands and feet." The context in the Epistle of Barnabas with its use of Psalm 22 in a passion reference suggests this understanding of the conflation of Old Testament texts.

The following observations summarize the use of Psalm 22 in Barn. 5:13:

1. Barnabas combines several verses from Psalm 22 as a testimony to Christ's suffering. There is a use of the Septuagint, but not in terms of a direct citation. Barnabas' free citation of Psalm 22 may indicate that he is citing the psalm from memory.

2. While Barnabas uses Psalm 22 to indicate the necessity of Jesus' crucifixion, Ps. 22:16a and Ps. 22:20 are not among the verses quoted by the evangelists in their account of the crucifixion.

3. Barnabas cites Psalm 22 as a direct prophecy of Jesus' suffering. Because the Old Testament writer prophesied about Jesus, it was necessary that Jesus suffer on a tree.

4. The phrase, "nail my flesh," (Barn. 5:13c) may be an example of a Christian targum. Barnabas seems to be interpreting the Septuagint phrase, "pierced my hands and feet" (LXX/Ps. 21:17c) in terms of nailing Christ to the cross.

5. Barnabas does not use Psalm 22 in either an allegorical or typological manner in Barn. 5:13.

6. Barnabas cites Psalm 22 for his own purpose. In this context Psalm 22 underscores the necessity of Christ's suffering. The citation of the Old Testament serves Barnabas' didactic and apologetic purposes.

Barnabas 6:6-7

> What then does the Prophet say again? "The synagogue of the sinners compassed me around, they surrounded me as bees round the honeycomb" and, "They cast lots for my clothing."
> Since therefore he was destined to be manifest and to suffer in the flesh his Passion was foretold. . . .

In these verses Barnabas quotes the Septuagint directly except for a slight change in word order in the first citation.

In chapter 6 Barnabas has continued citing Old Testament passages as proofs for various aspects of Christ's passion. Quotations from Isaiah, Exodus, Leviticus, and Genesis serve Barnabas' purpose as well as Psalm 22.

Barnabas' use of Psalm 22 in Barn. 6:6 suggest the following observations:

1. Barnabas cites the Septuagint directly (LXX/ Ps. 21:17b and 19b; compare MT/Ps. 22:16b and 18b).

2. Barnabas cites two references from Psalm 22 which play a role in the New Testament crucifixion accounts (Mark 15:24-32; Matt. 27:35-44; Luke 23:34-36; John 19:23:24).

3. Barnabas quotes Psalm 22 as prophetic prediction. This is indicated by the introductory formula, "what then does the prophet say again?".

4. Barnabas' rabbinic background is made evident by the insertion of the metaphor of bees surrounding the honeycomb in the citation of Ps. 22:16b (Barn. 6:6b). While Ps. 22:16a refers to "dogs" surrounding the sufferer, Barnabas uses the word "surrounded" as the link with Ps. 118:12, "they surrounded me as bees round the honeycomb." In good rabbinic fashion the single word-parallel is sufficient justification for quoting Psalm 118 in the context of Ps. 22:16.

5. The significance of inserting the metaphor of the bees around the honeycomb may be variously understood. On the one hand, Barnabas may have realized that dogs had not literally surrounded Christ at his crucifixion. Therefore the author inserts the metaphor, "as bees . . ." so that the scoffer might not quote Psalm 22 against the Christian with the charge, "The prophecy can not be true since no dogs encircled him." On the other hand, Barnabas may have already been looking ahead to the next idea in his presentation, the promise of the land. After speaking of the Old Testament proofs of Jesus' passion, he speaks of the blessing of Christ's suffering. Barnabas links the Old Testament promise of "a land flowing with milk

and honey" with the blessings of the passion. It may be that Barnabas uses the reference to bees about the honeycomb in order to provide a bridge to the word "honey" in the reference to the land of milk and honey.

Barnabas 6:16

> For the Lord says again, "And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?" He says, I will confess to thee in the assembly of my brethren, and will sing to thee in the midst of the assembly of saints." We then are they whom he brought into the good land.

A comparison of the Greek text of Barn. 6:16 with the LXX/Ps. 21:23 reflects both the verbal similarity and difference.

Barn. 6:16	LXX/Ps. 21:23
ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι	διηγήσομαι
ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου	τὸ ὄνομά σου
καὶ ψαλῶ σοι ἀνάμεσον	τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,
ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων.	ἐν μέσῳ
	ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

While no direct quotation Barnabas certainly draws upon Psalm 22 for imagery and vocabulary.

Barnabas also puts these words directly into the mouth of the Lord. The introductory formula indicates this, "for the Lord says again" (Barn. 6:16a).

The quotation of Ps. 22:22 fits into Barnabas' discussion of the indwelling Christ. Barnabas has just referred

to the idea of the new creation which has taken place within the Christian's heart and life. The reason for this new creation is that Christ desires to be manifest in the flesh and to live among his own. Barnabas describes the heart of the Christian as "a shrine holy to the Lord" (Barn. 6:15). He supports this concept of the indwelling Christ by quoting the Old Testament. Along with Ps. 43:4 Barnabas quotes Ps. 22:22. He interprets "in the midst of" (Ps. 22:22) as a reference to Christ's presence within his people. Christ's presence within the Christian allows Barnabas to bring his argument at this point to a conclusion: "we then are they whom he brought into the land" (Barn. 6:16). Christians are the true heirs of the land flowing with milk and honey because they are the dwelling place of Christ.

The ability to make such spiritual interpretations is due to the special wisdom and understanding of God's revelation which the Lord has given to Barnabas and his readers. Barnabas is convinced that his readers have already received the Spirit (Barn. 1:3). God has established his dwelling within the Christian and now opens the doors of the temple, that is, the mouth, to speak the wondrous things of God (Barn. 16:8-10). While one may refer to certain rabbinic hermeneutical techniques which Barnabas uses in his interpretation of the Old Testament, the key to Barnabas' exegesis is his unique God-given Christian understanding

of Jesus Christ as the center of Scripture. This spiritual interpretation more closely resembles pesher interpretation as found in the Qumran commentaries than the halakic aspects of rabbinic exposition.

This study of the quotation of Ps. 22:22 in Barn. 6:16 leads to the following observations:

1. Barnabas quotes Ps. 22:22 in a free manner. A comparison between the text of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Septuagint indicates that the author has used different verbs: ἐξομολογήσομαι instead of διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομα and ψαλῶ in place of ὑμνήσω .[21] The reference to the "brethren" and "congregation" in Psalm 22 becomes an expanded phrase in the Epistle of Barnabas: ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν instead of τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου and ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων instead of ἐκκλησίας .[22]

2. The words of Ps. 22:22 are interpreted figuratively rather than literally. In Barn. 6:16 Barnabas relates the words of Psalm 22 as the direct speech of the Lord and therefore a description of the Lord's intent to dwell in the midst of his people. In the context of the psalm itself these words are the personal testimony of the delivered sufferer who intends to praise the name of the Lord in the midst of his brethren for his deliverance. Heb. 2:12, which also cites Ps. 22:22,[23] understands the psalm in a more literal sense than Barnabas, stressing the idea of Christ speaking to his brethren.

3. Barnabas does not use Ps. 22:22 in either an allegorical or typological manner.

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[21] Supra., p. 148.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Supra., pp. 123-124.

4. The chain of Old Testament citations in chapter 6 reflects rabbinic midrashic technique in which verbal and conceptual parallels or analogies provide the link between texts of scripture. At times Barnabas works with autonomous words and phrases from the Old Testament with little regard for the Old Testament context.

5. Barnabas understands the Old Testament as a Christian book. Since he and his readers have been renewed by the forgiveness of sins, God has given them wisdom and understanding into things hidden (Barn. 6:10-11).

In summary, the following significant factors are to be noted in Barnabas' use of Psalm 22.

While Barnabas is familiar with the Septuagint and even quotes it literally, he also quotes the psalm freely and conflates texts to serve his purpose. Some of these passages may indicate that he is quoting from memory (Barn. 5:13). There is no particular emphasis placed upon the exact, word-for-word citation of the Old Testament.

Barnabas' use of Psalm 22 along with other Old Testament citations suggests the rabbinic technique of a chain of exposition. Individual details of a text are singled out and provide the point of contact with other passages. The interpreter makes much use of analogy and inference.[24]

While Barnabas does utilize some of the verses from Psalm 22 which are prominent in the New Testament crucifixion accounts, he uses these verses as well as other psalm phrases in his own way. Psalm 22 is used as a proof both for the

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[24]Barnard, Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII, 59.

necessity of Jesus' suffering and for an evidence of the Lord's dwelling within Christians. The indwelling Christ is proof that the Christians are the true heirs of the promised land flowing with milk and honey.

Barnabas' insight into the meaning of Psalm 22 reflects the special knowledge and understanding which the Lord has given him. At this point Barnabas stands in continuity with the Teacher of Righteousness who also claimed special knowledge of the revelation of God. Barnabas' search for religious rather than philosophical understanding is another similarity with the Qumran Covenanters. Barnabas therefore reflects more of an influence from Palestinian Judaism than from Alexandrian Judaism.[25]

Barnabas' use of Psalm 22 reflects his theological stance over against the Old Testament with its commandments,

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[25]Barnard, Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII, 46-59. A full discussion of Barnabas' relationship to various religious groups is beyond this study. However the writer does find that Kraft's use of the term "gnostic" with respect to Barnabas to be unfortunate (Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache, III). This term suggests heretical gnosticism of the second century. While Kraft does indicate that Barnabas' "gnosticism" is not that of certain second-century groups, the use of the term "gnostic" minimizes Barnabas' biblical roots and Christian heritage. As for the influence of Alexandrian Judaism, especially in Barnabas' use of allegory, one ought remember that Barnabas' primary concern is not to adapt the faith to a Greek world-view, but to interpret the Old Testament in terms of God's fulfillment in Jesus Christ. Barnard's comment is pertinent that Barnabas' use of allegory still served "the purposes of midrashic exposition" (Barnard, Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII, 49). For Barnabas this makes making the Scriptures relevant to the life of the church.

examples, and institutions. Barnabas interprets the Old Testament as a Christian book. In contrast to the epistle of Hebrews which takes seriously the historical movement within God's plan of salvation and notes the contrast between the old and new covenants, the Epistle of Barnabas applies the Old Testament directly to Christ and the Christian community. Robert Grant[26] writes:

> In the epistle of Barnabas, for example, the attempt is made to show that the Old Testament has meaning only when it is understood in terms of the Gospel. The author's theme is not new, but his exegetical method is characterized by a somewhat perverse typology. To him history is really meaningless. God's covenant has always been made with us Christians. There is here no analysis of the relation of the old covenant to the new; there is the simple assertion that the Old Testament has always been misunderstood by the Jews.

While special insight enables Barnabas to understand the doctrines of the Lord with respect to past, present, and future, his exegesis focuses upon the revelation of God in Christ for the present and the future. The Christological approach to the Scriptures therefore carries with it an eschatological dimension.[27]

The use of Psalm 22 in the Epistle of Barnabas reflects the concept of direct-prophecy. Barnabas understands the prophet to be describing the life and trials of Jesus in

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[26]Robert Grant, The Bible in the Church: A Short History of Interpretation (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 60.

[27]Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache, III, 27; compare Barnard, Scottish Journal of Theology, XIII, 52.

this psalm. Barnabas makes no reference to the Old Testament context of Psalm 22.

Justin Martyr

Justin Martyr,[28] a pioneer among the early Greek apologists,[29] reflects the on-going development of the Church's faith and life in the second century. A Gentile convert to Christianity,[30] Justin expresses the conviction that Christianity was the true philosophy. "The Prophets and Christ, in their perfect harmony, constitute the True Philosophy."[31] Though his writings[32] are "not systematic

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[28]Leslie W. Barnard, Justin Martyr (Cambridge: University Press, 1967); "The Old Testament and Judaism in the Writings of Justin Martyr," Vetus Testamentum, XIV (1964), 395-406; Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr (Jena: Verlag Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1923); R. P. C. Hanson, Selections from Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew (New York: Association Press, 1964); Willis A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London: SPCK, 1965); A. L. Williams, Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho (London: SPCK, 1930).

[29]Henry Chadwick, "Justin's Defence of Christianity," Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, XCVII (1965), 275-297.

[30]Dialogue 1 through 8.

[31]Goodenough, p. 293.

[32]Justin's primary extant works are the First Apology, the so-called Second Apology, and the Dialogue with Trypho. Several writings have not been preserved, namely, Syntagma against all the Heresies and Against Marcion. Eusebius also attributes to Justin: The Discourse to the Greeks, On the Divine Monarchy, The Psalmist, and On the Soul.

theological treatises,"[33] they reflect a genuine energetic effort to defend the faith against the assault of Graeco-Roman slander and false accusation as well as against the threat of Jewish propaganda and attack. While the Apostolic Fathers dealt with practical day-to-day problems of the Church, Justin Martyr marks the beginning of the use of Greek categories and philosophical terminology in an effort to reconcile faith with reason.[34] However this is only a beginning. In the final analysis philosophy remained an exposition of the prophets. "Justin is more an interpreter of the Bible than he is a philosopher."[35]

The use of the Old Testament in Justin's works presents a fascinating study in itself.[36] The Dialogue with Trypho is a catena of Old Testament material. Justin accepts the basic attitude of Christian and Jew toward the Old Testament,

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[33]Barnard, Justin Martyr, p. 26.

[34]Falls, p. 17.

[35]Shotwell, p. 47.

[36]Klevinghaus; O. Linton, "Interpretation of the Psalms in the Early Church," Studia Patristica, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), IV, 143-156; F. M. M. Sagnard, "Holy Scripture in the Early Fathers of the Church," Studia Evangelica, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), I, 706-713; J. S. Sibinga, The Old Testament Text of Justin Martyr. I: The Pentateuch (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963).

namely, that it is the revelation of God given by inspiration of the Spirit (Dial. 7.1-2). He quotes the Old Testament more extensively and at greater length than do either the New Testament writers or the Apostolic Fathers. Such extensive quotations show how the testimonies from the Old Testament grew in number and extent.

It seems evident that Justin did not know Hebrew.[37] Instead of working with the Hebrew text this author works exclusively with the Septuagint and at times even with a corrupt text of the Septuagint.[38] Occasionally Justin takes a stand against Jewish falsification of Scripture on the basis of readings which are in fact early Christian interpolations.[39] Sifting through the later interpolation and emendation of the biblical text, one finds much ancient and valuable text-critical material.[40]

Justin's method of interpreting the Old Testament reveals that Justin is a man of his times.[41] He reflects both the Jewish and Gentile world about him. Like the rabbis,

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[37]Barnard, "The Old Testament and Judaism," XIV, 399-400.

[38]P. Katz, "Justin's Old Testament Quotations and the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll," Studia Patristica, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), I, 343.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Sibinga, p. 149.

[41]Shotwell, pp. 29-47.

he uses both peshat and derash in his interpretation of Scripture. Some of his expositions can be compared to pesher as he draws upon his special insight into Scripture in order to expound the inspired words of the past in terms of a present or future event. The Dialogue with Trypho reveals an extensive knowledge of haggadah.[42] At the same time Justin manifests the influence of Platonic philosophy and Hellenistic Judaism as he addresses a Gentile world with some of its philosophical language.[43] The key to Justin's method of exegesis is finally his Christian commitment. For Justin the Old Testament "contained moral and ethical guides, but most of all it was a book full of predictions about the one whom God had sent into the world--Jesus Christ, the Son of God."[44]

The First Apology

The First Apology[45] is an appeal that truth and justice be applied equally to all. Justin is reacting to the slander

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[42] Ibid., pp. 71-90.

[43] Goodenough, pp. 292-294. Goodenough's view of the philonic influence upon Justin is rejected by the major studies of Shotwell and Barnard who both stress the role of rabbinic thought and methodology as the dominant influence.

[44] Shotwell, pp. 116-117.

[45] The defense of Christianity was addressed to Emperor Antoninus Pius and published between A.D. 150-154.

and injustice suffered by Christians. Addressing the highest Roman authority, he asks that accusations against Christians be examined without prejudice, especially when one considers the superior quality of Christian morality.

The range of argument moves from the problem of prejudice and injustice to Christian morality. In chapters 1 through 20 Justin describes the principals involved, the state officials on one side and the Christians on the other side. Justin argues that wise rulers apply the law justly without partiality. He exposes the baselessness of much accusation. In chapters 21 through 60 Justin highlights the superiority of Christianity over against paganism. The fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy plays a key role in this presentation (30-53). It is in this context that Psalm 22 is cited. Chapters 61 through 68 discuss various Christian practices, such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, fasting, and other church customs. Justin concludes his First Apology by attaching a copy of Hadrian's Rescript written in favor of the Christians.

With these general comments we turn to chapters 35 and 38 which cite Psalm 22.

> Again [the Prophetic Spirit] says, in other words, through another Prophet: "They have pierced My hands and My feet, and have cast lots for My clothing." David, however, the king and prophet who spoke these words, endured none of these sufferings, but Jesus Christ stretched out his hands when He was crucified by the Jews who contradicted Him and denied that He was the Messiah. And, as the Prophet said, they placed Him in mockery on the judgment seat, and said: "Judge

> us." And the words, "They have pierced My hands and My feet," refer to the nails which transfixed His hands and feet on the cross. And, after He was crucified, they cast lots for His clothing, and His crucifiers divided it among themselves. That these things really happened, you can ascertain from the Acts of Pontius Pilate (Apol. I, 35.5-9).

Justin quotes Psalm 22 as a prediction of events associated with the crucifixion of Christ. The citation of this psalm belongs to the larger context of Old Testament prophecy used in Justin's argument. Justin has posed the hypothetical question, what if one questions whether Christ is the Son of God? (Apol. I, 30). In answer to this proposed question he proceeds to present proof that Christ is the Son of God.

> We shall do so not by trusting in mere statements without proof, but by necessarily believing those who predicted these things before they happened, for we are actual eye-witnesses of events that have happened and are happening in the very manner in which they were foretold. This, we are sure, will appear even to you the greatest and truest proof (Apol. I, 30).

The fulfillment of prophecy is a fundamental argument used by Justin to demonstrate the reality of the deity of Christ and the validity of the Christian faith.

Justin has discussed Gen. 49:10, Num. 24:17, Is. 7:14, Micah 5:2, Is. 9:6; 65:2; and 58:2 before he cites Psalm 22. Wherever possible Justin seeks to make a direct application of the Old Testament text to some event associated with Jesus' life. Moses' prediction about the sceptre passing from Judah happened only after the coming of Christ (Gen. 49:10, compare Apol., I, 32.2). Isaiah foretold the virgin

birth (Is. 7:14; compare Apol. I, 33.1). Micah prophesied the place of Jesus' birth (Micah 5:2; compare Apol. I, 34.1). Even the cross was predicted.

At this point Justin cites Isaiah. "The government is upon His shoulders" (Is. 9:6) is interpreted as signifying the power of the cross which was placed on Christ's shoulders (Apol. I, 35.1). Two other Isaiah passages are then conflated, Is. 65:2 and Is. 58:2. The quotation of Psalm 22 follows.

The following observations can be made concerning Justin's use of Psalm 22 in Apol. I, 35.5-9:

1. Justin is using the Greek text of the Old Testament as is evident from the phrase, "they have pierced" (LXX/Ps. 21:17c; MT/Ps. 22:16c).

2. The running together of two phrases from Psalm 22, "they have pierced My hands and My feet, and have cast lots for My clothing," reflects the phrasing from testimonia rather than a direct quotation from the psalm. This citation may even be from memory as Justin picks out those psalm phrases which can be applied directly to the events of Christ's crucifixion.

3. Justin interprets these selected psalm phrases literally and understands them as a description of events from Christ's crucifixion.[46]

4. Justin understands these passages from Psalm 22 as direct prophecy. While acknowledging David as the author of the psalm, Justin points out that David never suffered such a trial. Jesus did. Therefore Jesus must be the person described in the psalm. Here is proof, according to Justin, that Christ is the Son of God. Prophecy has been fulfilled. This reference to David is similar to the argument in Acts 2:34-36 in which davidic

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[46]Shotwell, pp. 30-31.

words in Ps. 110:1 are viewed as inappropriate for David, but true when applied to Christ.

5. The citation of Ps. 22:16,18 as direct prophecy serves an apologetic function. It is part of Justin's extensive argument that the fulfillment of Old Testament prediction demonstrates the validity of Christ's messianic claim and the truthfulness of the Christian faith.

In chapter 36 Justin continues his presentation of Old Testament prophesies by pointing out the varied ways in which one ought understand the prophets. Sometimes the Word of God who prompts the inspired prophet to prophesy may speak in the name of the Lord God, Father of all. Sometimes he may speak in the name of Christ. Then he may refer to the response of the people who rely on the Lord. This exposition of the various persons portrayed in the Old Testament text sets the stage for Justin's second citation of Psalm 22. He uses Psalm 22 as an example of the Prophetic Spirit speaking in the name of Christ.

> When the Prophetic Spirit speaks in the name of Christ, these are His words: "I stretched forth My hands to a rebellious and contradicting people, who walk in a way that is not good: Is. 65:2 . . . . And again, when He says: "they have cast lots for My clothing, and they have pierced My feet and My hands" Ps. 22:18,16. "I have slept and have taken My rest, and I have risen up, because the Lord hath protected Me" Ps. 3:6. And yet again, when He says: "They have spoken with their lips and have wagged their heads, saying, 'Let Him deliver Himself'" Ps. 22:7-8. That all the above-mentioned things happened to Christ at the hands of the Jews you can easily learn, for, as He lay crucified on the cross, they wagged their heads and sneered as they exclaimed: "Let Him who raised the dead to life save Himself" compare Matt. 27:39 (Apol. I, 38.1-8).

The five observations[47] made with respect to Apol. I, 35.5 apply to these passages as well. In addition the following comments are in order:

1. The references to casting lots and piercing feet and hands are reversed from Apol. I, 35.5, reflecting a loose citation rather than any direct quotation of the Septuagint text itself. The change in order of phrases suggests that the reference to these two happenings, the casting of lots and the piercing of hands, circulated as independent testimonia. Knowing that they both are drawn from Psalm 22, Justin is not concerned about an actual word-for-word quotation. He is concerned only to indicate that these two events were predicted in the Old Testament and that their subsequent fulfillment in the crucifixion demonstrates the messianic claim of Christ.

2. A further evidence of the use of testimonia is the separation of Ps. 22:16,18 from Ps. 22:7,8 with an intervening verse from Psalm 3. This also suggests that Justin is working with isolated texts rather than with the entire Septuagint version of Psalm 22.

3. The phrase, "let Him deliver Himself" (Apol. I, 38.6) is not an exact quotation from Psalm 22 or from the Synoptics who allude to the mockery (Mark 15:30; Matt. 27:40-44; Luke 23:35). Once again a variety in wording is evident.

4. The addition of "who raised the dead to life" (Apol. I, 38.8) to the allusion to Ps. 22:8 demonstrates how the tradition expanded. With this reference to Christ's miraculous power Justin is heightening the scorn and maliciousness of the Jewish slander. This serves Justin's apologetic purpose. The fluidity of the tradition is again demonstrated.

The Dialogue with Trypho

The Dialogue reflects an actual discussion between Justin and the Jew Trypho which probably took place shortly

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[47] Supra., pp. 160-161.

after the Second Jewish War of A.D. 132-135. The Dialogue itself was written about 160.[48] The conversation between Justin and the cosmopolitan Jew Trypho demonstrates a closer interchange between Christians and Jews than is sometimes supposed. "It would appear that the rabbis of Jamnia were not wholly successful in enforcing on the diaspora a pattern of Pharisaic orthodoxy which forbad contacts with the Minim, i.e. Christians."[49]

Hanson's[50] summary of the Dialogue is as follows:

> Justin's argument in the Dialogue with Trypho was not a new one. The main lines of his case are as follows: Christ was the embodiment in human form of a divine being who had existed from of old with God the Father; his activity can be discerned in innumerable passages in the Old Testament; every move and every word of his earthly career had been predicted in detail in the Old Testament; and these predictions, taken together with the effect which the Christian Church was having upon the minds and bodies of men and women throughout the contemporary Roman Empire, constituted irresistible evidence for the truth of Christianity.

Our interest lies particularly in the large middle section of the Dialogue which deals with the earthly life of Jesus. In chapters 66 through 116 Justin demonstrates how numerous aspects of Jesus' life have been directly prophesied in the Old Testament. These prophesies have now come true in Christ. Therefore Christ must be the promised Messiah.

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[48]Barnard, Justin Martyr, p. 39; compare Hanson, p. 8.

[49]Barnard, Justin Martyr, p. 40.

[50]Hanson, p. 9.

Psalm 22 figures in Justin's discussion of the prediction of the cross. In chapter 97 Justin cites Ps. 22:16c-18 along with several passages from Isaiah and one from Psalm 3. In chapter 98 Justin begins an extensive eight chapter exposition of almost the entire text of Psalm 22. Justin expounds Ps. 22:1-23. His basic argument remains the same: the Old Testament text is a direct prediction of aspects of Christ's earthly life and fulfillment proves the Christian's claim that Jesus Christ is the promised Messiah.

Dialogue 97.3-4

> And again David, in his twenty-first Psalm refers to His passion on the cross in mystical parable: "They have pierced My hands and feet. They have numbered all my bones. And they have looked and stared upon Me. They parted My garments amongst them, and upon My vesture they cast lots." For, when they nailed Him to the cross they did indeed pierce His hands and feet, and they who crucified Him divided His garments among themselves, each casting lots for the garment he chose. You are indeed blind when you deny that the above-quoted Psalm was spoken of Christ, for you fail to see that no one among your people who was ever called King ever had his hands and feet pierced while alive, and died by this mystery (that is, of the cross), except this Jesus only (Dial. 97.3-4).

This is the first use of the phrase "mystical parable" (ἐν παραβολῇ μυστηριώδει Dial. 97.3) in connection with a citation of Psalm 22. Usually Justin merely refers to the Prophetic Spirit or to David the Prophet. Justin uses a number of such terms to describe the predictive content of Scripture: "mystery, announcement, signs, parable,

symbol, and type."[51] Shotwell[52] researches all these terms and concludes that they are "more or less synonymous." "Essentially, however, all of these terms refer to the same thing--Scripture has in it a predictive element of a hidden nature."[53]

Some of the basic observations made with respect to Justin's use of Psalm 22 in the First Apology apply to this passage in the Dialogue.[54]

1. Justin uses the Septuagint version of Psalm 22.
2. Justin interprets the psalm text in a literal manner.
3. Justin understands the psalm as a direct prediction of Christ's crucifixion.
4. The fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy belongs to Justin's proof for the messianic claim of Christ.
5. Justin is quoting directly from the psalm text of the Septuagint rather than from testimonia. This is evident from the larger quotation involved. He quotes Ps. 22:16c-18 (LXX/Ps. 21:17c-19). This is the first occurrence of the phrase which refers to the counting of bones. However Justin's version changes the person of the verb from "I counted" to "they counted." This changed wording may reflect Justin's effort to harmonize the psalm with his own understanding of the crucifixion events.

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[51]Shotwell, p. 13.

[52]Ibid., pp. 13-20.

[53]Ibid., p. 20.

[54]Supra., pp. 160-162.

6. While Justin includes the reference to the counting of bones, he makes no comment on this detail. There is no reference in the passion history to this actually happening, so Justin does not cite this part of the text as a prediction. In the Dialogue chapter 104, which also takes up this verse, Justin again makes no comment on the predictive significance of this verse. This indicates that while Justin sees Psalm 22 as a prediction of events in Christ's life, he still is selective in his use of details from the psalm.

7. The piercing of the hands and feet is interpreted in terms of the nailing to the cross.

8. The casting of lots for the garments is interpreted more in terms of the Synoptic account than of John's (Mark 15:24; Matt. 27:35; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24). Justin makes nothing of the seamless garment, but simply alludes to the division of Christ's garments by lot.

9. Justin regards the fulfillment of such prophecy as obvious proof., "You are indeed blind" (κατὰ πάντα τυφλώττοντες Dial. 97.4) is Justin's judgment of anyone who would deny that Psalm 22 was not a description of Christ.

10. Justin explicitly rejects any typological understanding of Psalm 22. "You fail to see that no one among your people who was ever called King ever had his hands and feet pierced while alive, and died by this mystery (that is, of the cross), except this Jesus only" (Dial. 97.4). Therefore Justin would not grant that Psalm 22 described any Old Testament sufferer. The Psalm pointed only to Christ.

Dialogue 98-106.

While Justin says that he intends to quote the entire Psalm, he actually cites only the first twenty-three of the thirty-two verses.

Justin indicates a threefold reason for quoting the psalm:

> Permit me to quote that whole Psalm, that you may preceive how He reveres His Father and how He refers all things to Him, as when He prays to be freed by Him from this death; at the same time pointing out in the Psalm what sort of men His enemies were, and proving that He indeed became a man who was capable of suffering (Dial. 98.1).

While intending to highlight Jesus' reverence for the Father, to describe Jesus' enemies, and to make clear Jesus' full humanity with his capacity for suffering, Justin's primary reason for citing the psalm is to prove that Psalm 22 referred to Christ. After quoting Ps. 22:1-23 (LXX/ Ps. 21:2-24) Justin comments:

> Then I continued, "I will now show you that the whole Psalm referred to Christ, by repeating and expounding it" (Dial. 99.1).

The apologetic concern remains dominant, namely, to demonstrate by means of fulfilled prophecy that Christ is the Messiah.

Chapters 99 through 106 contain Justin's exposition of this psalm. A general chapter-by-chapter summary is as follows.

The cry of desolation (Dial. 99.1; Ps. 22:1) is a prediction of the cry from the cross (Mark 15:34; Matt. 27:44). The crying by day and night refers to the struggle in prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane (Dial. 99.2; Ps. 22:3; compare Mark 14:36; Matt. 26:39). The agony in the garden makes

clear that Jesus was truly a man capable of suffering. The psalm reference to "lack of understanding in me" (Dial. 99.3; LXX/Ps. 22:2)[55] is interpreted as no limitation in Jesus' foreknowledge, but in the unbelievers' plan that they could put Christ to death and thereby do away with him permanently. This exposition demonstrates Justin's ability to make the text say what he desires it to say.

Chapter 100 deals with the verse, "But Thou dwellest in the holy place, Thou praise of Israel" (Dial. 100.1; Ps. 22:3). This verse proclaims Jesus' worthiness to be praised. The reason for this worthiness is the resurrection. Justin continues his exposition by singling out the phrase, "of Israel," which he interprets as a name for Christ. Like a good rabbi Justin proceeds to discuss various names and titles, particularly the two names, Son of Man and Son of God (Dial. 100.3-4). Discussion of the title, Son of Man, leads to an extensive comment on the virgin birth. In his exposition on the significance of the Virgin Marty Justin sets forth this imaginative idea. Eve, "an undefiled virgin, conceived the word of the serpent, and brought forth disobedience and death" (Dial. 100.5). The Virgin Mary is the counterpart to Eve. Through Mary's conception and birth of Jesus God

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[55]This phrase reflects the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew text: LXX/Ps. 21:3b καὶ οὐκ ἄφρων ἐμοί
MT/Ps. 22:2 לְלֹא־דוּמִיָּה לָךְ

destroys the serpent as well as those angels and men who have become like the serpent. In this way God frees the repentent ones from death (Dial. 100.5-6).

The reference to the trust of the fathers and their past deliverance (Ps. 22:4-5) is expounded in an interesting fashion in chapter 101. First of all, Justin indicates that this passage, Ps. 22:4-5, proves Jesus' acknowledgement of the fathers to be his fathers as the progenitors of the Virgin. Next Justin takes the references to past deliverance of the fathers, "Thou didst deliver them" (Ps. 22:4), and expounds this in terms of Christ's dependence upon God for his own deliverance. Then the expression, "I am a worm and no man". (Dial. 101.2; Ps. 22:6), is considered and prompts Justin to comment on Jesus' humility and suffering. The references to the mockery in Ps. 22:7-8 are interpreted literally and understood as a description of the mockery at Jesus' crucifixion (Dial. 101.3; Mark 15:29-32; Matt. 27:39-44; Luke 23:35).

Three major applications occur in chapter 102. First of all, the verses which describe how God has cared for the sufferer from his mother's womb and breasts (Ps. 22:9-10) prompts comment about the enmity of Herod the Great and the flight to Egypt. Justin observes that though God could have put Herod to death, such was not His will. Comment on the will of God leads into a lengthier discussion of God's plan for man in which He permits the struggle between the serpent and men who possess freedom to choose good and evil (Dial. 102.1-4).

"My strength is dried up like a potsherd" (Ps. 22:15) is interpreted as a description of Jesus' silence during his trial. Though his words had confounded scribes and Pharisees often during his life, Christ kept silent before his accusers in accord with the will of God (Dial. 102.5).

Finally, "Thou art my God; be not far from me" (Ps. 22:19) is to teach us to trust God for our salvation. Just as Christ's salvation depended upon God, so the reader ought realize that he can not save himself but is dependent upon God (Dial. 102.6-7).

Chapter 103 expounds the figurative description of surrounding enemies (Ps. 22:12-13) in terms of the enemies of Christ. Justin includes various enemies in his exposition, such as the mob which came to arrest Jesus, the Pharisees and scribes, Herod the Great, and the devil (Dial. 103.1-6).

Justin concludes the chapter with a discussion of Jesus' torment in the Garden of Gethsemane. The figurative language of being poured out like water and of the heart melting like wax is interpreted in terms of the blood sweat (Luke 22:42,44). Justin desires that the reader perceive what suffering the Father willed that Christ should endure for man's salvation (Dial. 103.7-9).

The references to the "dust of death," the surrounding dogs, the piercing of the hands and feet, the casting of lots (Ps. 22:15c-18) are interpreted in terms of circumstances accompanying Christ's crucifixion (Dial. 104.1-2).

The prayer for deliverance in which the psalmist asks to be rescued from the sword, the dog, the lion, the unicorn (Ps. 22:19-21) is understood in terms of various events which were to befall Christ, particularly the crucifixion (Dial. 105.1-4). Then Justin applies the prayer to Christ's specific petition that the Father receive his spirit (Luke 23:46). The reader is to see here an earnest admonition that he pray in a similar way in the last hour least some shameless evil angel snatch away his soul (Dial. 105.5-6).

The praise portion of Psalm 22 is to teach that the Father granted Jesus what he asked and raised him from the death. Therefore Christ urges all who fear God to praise Him for His compassion on all. Through the mystery of the crucified one God has mercy on the faithful of every race (Dial. 106.1). The chapter concludes with the Old Testament prophecy of a star to rise out of Jacob (Num. 24:17). Justin interprets this as a prediction of the star which arose at Christ's birth and guided the magi (Dial. 106.4).

What principles of interpretation are reflected in Justin's extensive exegesis of Psalm 22? Shotwell[56] identifies six characteristics of Justin's methods of exegesis in general: literal fulfillment of prophecy, connection, general and particular, lesser to greater, analogy,

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[56]Shotwell, pp. 29-47.

and allegory. Each of these characteristics is found in Justin's interpretation of Psalm 22.

Literal fulfillment of prophecy

The literal fulfillment of prophecy stands out in Justin's understanding of those passages from Psalm 22 which refer to the crucifixion of Christ and are used in the passion narrative. The cry of desolation (Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34; compare Ps. 22:1; Dial. 99.1), the mockery of the bystanders (Matt. 27:39-43; Mark 15:29-32; Luke 23:35; compare Ps. 22:7-8; Dial. 101.3), the piercing of hands and feet (Matt. 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:33; compare Ps. 22:16c; Dial. 104.1), the casting of lots for the garments (Matt. 27:34; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:23-24; compare Ps. 22:18; Dial. 104.2) are interpreted as direct prediction of events surrounding the crucifixion of Christ. Justin takes the surface meaning of the psalm and interprets it in terms of Christ's experience.

Connection

"Connection"[57] refers to the use of a single word or phrase with no respect for the textual context. An example of the interpretation of an autonomous detail is found in Justin's exegesis of Ps. 22:3, "Thou praise of Israel."

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[57] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Justin first comments that this phrase describes the praise due Christ because of the resurrection (Dial. 100.1). In this setting he interprets "Israel" (Ps. 22:3) as the believers who praise Christ for his victory over the grave. After interpreting Ps. 22:3 in terms of Christ's worthiness to be praised and regarding "Israel" as Christians who do praise Christ, Justin applies the single word "Israel" to Christ. He understands "Israel" to be a name given Christ in the Old Testament. Justin points out that many things have been predicted of Christ under such names as Jacob and Israel (Dial. 100.2-6). This exposition of "Israel" in Dialogue 100 is a good example of interpreting single details or words with no respect for context and building an exposition on an autonomous detail.

General and particular

"General and particular"[58] refers to that exposition which defines a general statement by particular examples. The procedure can be reversed in which case the particular is defined in terms of the general.

An example of Justin's use of the "general and particular" is the exposition of Psalm 22 in terms of Christ's capacity for suffering. At several points in his exposition

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[58]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

Justin states his desire to show Christ's capacity for suffering. At the beginning of his consideration of Psalm 22 Justin writes: "Permit me to quote that whole Psalm [Psalm 22] that you may preceive . . . that He [Christ] indeed became a man who was capable of suffering" (Dial. 98.1). Again in chapter 100 Justin points out how the Son condescended to become a man "without comeliness or honor, and subject to suffering" (Dial. 100.2). This is the "general" statement. Christ has the capacity to suffer.

The content of this general capacity for suffering is now defined in terms of the particulars of Psalm 22. This would include such verses as:

> I am a worm, and no man (Ps. 22:6; Dial. 101.1),
>
> all they that saw me have laughed me to scorn (Ps. 22:6; Dial. 101.3),
>
> tribulation is very near . . . many calves have surrounded me; fat bulls have besieged me . . . (Ps. 22:11-13; Dial. 102.1),
>
> all my bones are poured out and scattered like water; my heart is become like wax . . . (Ps. 22:14; Dial. 103),
>
> Thou hast brought me down to the dust . . . pierced my hands and feet . . . deliver my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth and my lowness from the horns of the unicorn (Ps. 22:15-16,20-21; Dial. 103-105).

All these particulars which describe the affliction and trial of Christ become part of Justin's overall description of Christ's capacity to suffer.

Lesser to greater

The "lesser to greater"[59] is the argument by inference. The argument may proceed from the minor to the major, (a minore) or from the major to the minor (a majore). An example of a minore is in Dial. 105.3. Justin interprets Christ's prayer for deliverance from the sword, the lion's mouth, and from the dogs as a petition that no one has power over his soul. Behind this petition is the implication that enemies lie in wait for the souls of men. This impending danger is illustrated by an a minore argument. Justin refers to the incident of the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28:3-25). Since the witch had some control over the spirit of Samuel, Justin continues, God teaches us through His Son to pray for deliverance from such evil powers that we may not fall into their hands. The argument has proceeded by inference from the single incident of the witch at Endor to a general observation about people in the Old Testament and about Christians as a whole.

Analogy

The use of analogy is common in Justin.[60] In Dial. 103.1-2 Justin interprets the passage, "many calves have

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[59] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[60] Ibid., pp. 34-38.

surrounded me; fat bulls have besieged me" (Ps. 22:12). The terms "calves" and "bulls" occur in the same verse. This justifies the use of analogy to expound the text. Justin's analogy follows this line: just as bulls sire calves, so the teachers of Israel are the cause of their children going out to the Mount of Olives and capturing Jesus (Dial. 103.2).

Another analogy is found in Justin's discussion of the significance of the virgin birth for overcoming evil and death. Since Eve, "an undefiled virgin, conceived the word of the serpent and brought forth disobedience and death," so, argues Justin, the Virgin Mary conceived and gave birth to Him by whom God would destroy the serpent and free believers from death (Dial. 100.5).

Allegory

The final characteristic of Justin's method of exegesis according to Shotwell is allegory.[61] The use of allegory might reflect an influence of Palestinian as well as Hellenistic Judaism. However Palestianian Judaism uses allegory for a symbolical or typological purpose. Hellenistic Judaism tends toward the philosophical and mystical. Justin's use of allegory reflects a typological rather than a philosophical interest.

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[61] Ibid., pp. 38-47.

An example of Justin's use of allegory is in Dial. 105.2. Justin uses allegory to indicate that the crucifixion was predicted. One proof of this prediction is the phrase, "horns of the unicorns." Justin comments, "I explained above that the 'horns of the unicorn' have the shape of a cross only" (Dial. 105.2). The writer concurs in Shotwell's conclusion that "Justin's allegorical interpretations are entirely those of Palestinian Judaism. They are either predictive allegory or practical allegory."[62]

Justin's interpretation of Psalm 22 supports the basic position of Shotwell in his recent study, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr. Palestinian Judaism is the primary influence upon Justin's hermeneutical principles rather than Hellenistic Judaism. Justin reflects the principles used by the rabbis and expressed in the rules of Hillel. However the key to Justin's principles of interpretation does not actually lie in any rabbinic methodology. In the final analysis Justin's fundamental hermeneutical principle is Jesus Christ. As with the evangelists and the writer of Hebrews Justin is a confessing Christian and devoted to the apologetic task on behalf of Christ and his church. In making this defense Justin uses the biblical text to suit his needs. His quotation

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[62]Ibid., pp. 46-47.

of Scripture is not always an exact citation. There is evidence that he may have used testimonia.[63]

Psalm 22 is regarded as direct prophecy of Jesus Christ. In this respect Justin treats the psalm much like Barnabas. By the mid-second century proof from prophecy has become part of the church's defense of the faith both against the Graeco-Roman world as well as against Judaism.

Justin's exposition of Psalm 22 indicates that the entire psalm was put to apologetic and didactic use. Justin did not feel obligated to restrict his exposition to those passages cited in the "memoirs of the Apostles" (Dial. 100.4; 104.1; 105.5).[64] He quotes the whole psalm and applies all of it to the life of Christ. It is true that Justin is selective in the verses he chooses for exposition. His method of exegesis is both literal and figurative. Regardless of the linguistic technique utilized, a unifying motif moves through the entire exposition, namely, Justin's intent to testify to the messianic claim of Christ as Lord.

While Justin seeks to present the Christian faith as the true philosophy, his presentation is more a biblical exposition than a philosophical discourse. The Old Testament

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[63] P. Prigent, Justin et L' Ancien Testament (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1964), pp. 203-215.

[64] R. G. Heard, "The ἀπομνημονεύματα in Papias, Justinus and Irenaeus," New Testament Studies, I (1954), 130-134, has observed that Justin derives his quotations from the four canonical Gospels, from a gospel-harmony, and from an apocryphal gospel. However Justin usually does not identify his source, but simply refers to "memoirs of the Apostles," p. 123.

is his primary source of truth, for the ancient prophets foretold the great redemptive events concerning Christ and his mission.

To summarize this chapter the following conclusions can be set forth with respect to the use of Psalm 22 in the three post-apostolic non-canonical authors considered:

1. All three writers regard the Old Testament as the authoritative Word of God.

2. All three operate with the Septuagint rather than with a Hebrew text. Barnabas and Justin demonstrate the use of the Septuagint most clearly.

3. The use of the Septuagint is not always exact. There is evidence which suggests the use of testimonia rather than the entire text of the Septuagint psalter.

4. The hermeneutical principles utilized reflect Palestinian Judaism rather than Hellenistic Judaism. The use of allegory which is found in Barnabas and Justin can be traced to Palestinian sources just as well as to Philo and Alexandria.

5. The rabbinic technique of peshat is reflected in the literal interpretation of Psalm 22 as direct prophecy. Midrashic techniques, such as "the general to the particular," "the lesser to the greater," the use of analogy, the exposition of autonomous detail with no regard for context are also used in the exposition of Psalm 22, especially with respect to those details of the psalm which go beyond events of the crucifixion to which the evangelists refer.

6. The interpretation of the entire psalm as applicable to Christ becomes most prominent in Justin. Both Barnabas and Justin reject the application of Psalm 22 to David or any other Old Testament figure.

7. The Christological motif is fundamental to the exposition of Psalm 22. The redemptive mission of Christ along with the edification of the Church

are the primary standard by which the legitimacy of an interpretation is to be judged. No philological or historical factor per se shares this role. In the final analysis theological stance determines how the expositor interprets the text. His exposition will reflect his theological presuppositions.

8. There is no single purpose for which Psalm 22 is cited and interpreted. Clement of Rome indicates that the psalm can be used in a hortatory manner. Barnabas and Justin demonstrate an apologetic use. The needs of the Church and the challenge of the moment influence how the ancient writer utilized the content of Psalm 22.[65]

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[65]Linton, IV, 143-156. Linton identifies four different uses of the Psalms in 1 Clement: 1. historical use; 2. pedagogical use; 3. hymnic use; 4. Christological use; 5. other prophetical use, p. 146. Linton indicates that quotations in gnostic literature are generally rare with the exception of Pistis Sophia which makes much of passages which describe the deliverance of the soul. Irenaeus makes much use of the Psalms in his polemics to establish belief in God the Creator and to support a christological interpretation. Clement of Alexandria stresses the pedagogic importance of the Psalms. He makes much use of allegory. Origen was the first Christian author to write a commentary on the Psalms. Eusebius' use of the psalms reflects a typical exegesis of that period, although he does not always insist upon a christological interpretation. Theodore of Mopsuestia, the most original and critical exegete of the Early Church, can not accept the strictly christological interpretation of Psalm 22. He recognizes coincidences between the sufferings of Christ and those of the ancient believer. Prophecy does play a role, but not always in terms of New Testament events. Theodore recognizes the prophecy of Old Testament events. Jerome does not always interpret Davidic psalms as exclusive of Christ. Jerome will vacillate between David and Christ. Augustine wrote an extensive work on the Psalms. In his exposition of Psalm 22 Augustine acknowledges that Christ is not only speaking for himself, but at times he speaks for the sinner as well. Cf. Linton, IV, 147-155.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study has researched the hermeneutical principles involved in the interpretation and use of Psalm 22 in biblical and extra-biblical sources. Psalm 22 is a typical individual lament psalm with all the characteristic marks of this psalm classification. Investigation into its form, language, and content revealed no significant factor which anticipated its later role in the passion narrative.

Intertestamental Judaism interpreted and used Psalm 22 along with other biblical material. The principles of rabbinic hermeneutics, summarized in the two terms, peshat and derash, guided this exposition. The influence of Hillel's seven rules, which articulate the technique of derash, was evident in the midrash on Psalm 22. Two presuppositions conditioned all rabbinic interpretation, namely, that every detail of Scripture was important and that such details can be interpreted autonomously. These presuppositions reflected basic articles of Judaic faith with respect to the nature of Scripture as Torah, the inspired Word of God. The extant Dead Sea Scrolls did not quote Psalm 22 directly. The allusions to Psalm 22 in the Hodayot demonstrated that the language of this psalm was used in these hymns. Furthermore this language expressed certain Qumran emphases which are not

found in Psalm 22 itself. Philo provided no exposition of Psalm 22. His allegorical interpretation of other psalms demonstrated his exegetical technique. Thus intertestament Judaism provided evidence of a varied exposition of Psalm 22. While the similarity in hermeneutical technique was observed under the broad headings of peshat (literal interpretation) and derash (midrashic, pesher, allegorical interpretation), unique theological emphases and divergent historical situations proved to be additional formative hermeneutical factors. No intertestamental interpreter came to the text of Psalm 22 tabula rasa. No intertestamental interpreter anticipated the special role of Psalm 22 in the New Testament.

The exposition and use of Psalm 22 in the New Testament and later Christian authors was unique and bore the imprint of Jesus Christ. The direct quotation of Psalm 22 and the reflection of its language in the Gospels and in Hebrews were rooted in Jesus' own use of this psalm in his death and in the theological implications of that death. While Christian interpreters utilized the methods of peshat and derash, those factors which made Christian interpretation distinct from Judaic interpretation were the interpreter's confessional stance over against Christ and the ecclesiastical need in the Christian community. For the Christian interpreter Jesus Christ stood in the center of Scripture as Lord. In Christ all Scripture was fulfilled.

The New Testament writers showed no interest in the text of Psalm 22 per se, but only as a testimony to what God had effected in the person of His Son. The evangelists drew upon language from Psalm 22 to describe various events surrounding the crucifixion. John cited Psalm 22 in a fulfillment context. Hebrews demonstrated a broadened use of Psalm 22 as the auctor ad Hebraeos utilized verses from the section of praise to support his view of Christ.

The Apostolic Fathers, Clement of Rome and Barnabas, and the early apologist, Justin Martyr, revealed a more developed use of Psalm 22. Clement of Rome cited Psalm 22 to describe the humility of Christ which Christians were to follow. Barnabas used Psalm 22 as prediction of Jesus' passion in his apologetic against Judaism. Justin extended the Christological interpretation of Psalm 22 to the entire psalm, arguing that prophetic fulfillment validated the messianic claim of Christ. Justin used the proof from prophecy in his address to both the Jewish and Graeco-Roman world.

Several implications can be drawn from this research. First of all, development in hermeneutical technique becomes clear. This research has been a kind of miniature history of interpretation for the two centuries before and after Christ. Second, philological and contextual factors do not alone shape interpretation. The theological perspective and

immediate historical circumstance of the interpreter are just as significant and influential in interpretation. This raises the question whether one can ever fully recover the Sitz im Leben of the biblical documents in view of the fact that the later interpreter always brings to the text his own theological commitment and ecclesiastical concerns. Third, the role of Psalm 22 in the account of Jesus' passion is unique to the New Testament and is not anticipated by any obvious factor in the psalm itself or in any intertestamental interpretation and use of the psalm. Jesus' own quotation of Ps. 22:1 is the key to the New Testament use of this psalm. Fourth, the concept of prophecy is an important theological concept in the Christian community. While John cites Psalm 22 as fulfillment of prophecy, it rests with later Christian interpreters to develop the concept of direct prophecy with respect to Psalm 22. Barnabas and Justin Martyr are important figures in this development. In apologetic contexts of the second century after Christ these writers used extensively the argument of proof from fulfilled prediction to validate the messianic claim of Christ. Fifth, Psalm 22 can properly be called a messianic psalm. The New Testament use of Psalm 22 makes this clear. However those who use this description must remain cognizant of the vantage point from which this interpretation is made. This understanding comes after the crucifixion. It reflects a particular theological stance

over against Scripture and traditionally has been a confession of the fact that Christ is the center and fulfillment of all Scripture.

The rich variety and vitality of the early interpretation and use of Psalm 22 suggest an optimist, open-ended stance toward future study of Psalm 22. As past interpreters searched the Scriptures and found that they spoke meaningfully to their day, so the contemporary biblical exegete can pursue his task with studied discipline yet pneumatic freedom in the awareness that God has spoken His crucial word in Jesus Christ and through him continues to reveal His saving will and purpose through the Word for each new day.

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