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AN EXAMINATION OF THE HYPOTHESIS OF C. H. DODD
CONCERNING OLD TESTAMENT TESTIMONIA AS IT
PERTAINS TO THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Asbury Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Master of Divinity

by
Frank Anthony Spina

May 1968

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF THIS THESIS

Anyone who has read the New Testament with any degree of seriousness has seen that its authors have quoted or alluded to the Old Testament often, though some books tend to use the Old Testament scriptures more than others. New Testament readers also note that the scriptures (OT) are used for different reasons by the authors of the New Testament--and that occasionally the same Old Testament passage may be used for different reasons. Although the layman does not usually ascertain this, the more perceptive student soon observes that, on the surface at least, the way the New Testament authors use the Old Testament is vastly different from the way the modern Bible student uses it (and the New Testament). Moreover, the modern student is even told that New Testament methods of exegesis are inappropriate, inadequate and maybe erroneous. The latter statement is made because the most accepted single hermeneutical principle today is the grammatical-historical method. But the New Testament generally does not employ such a method. Rather, it appears to take passages out of context, to violate their original meaning and the intent of the original author, to pay no attention to the history and culture of events and people, and even to distort the plain meaning of the text for theological ends. These latter are all in disharmony with the hermeneutical principles used today.

Therefore, the problem that this thesis confronts generally is more than how the New Testament authors use the Old Testament. It is a problem which has to do with principles of interpretation and the perspective from which one views the Old Testament and the New Testament. It is a problem which has as its task to discover if New Testament methods of exegesis and interpretation are adequate for today; and if New Testament methods are not adequate then what does that say to those who believe the Holy Scriptures are authoritative? The problem is sufficiently complex to belie easy solution.

Obviously, no one study could begin to give answers to these weighty questions. This is even more true at the level on which this paper has been composed. Therefore, at the outset it was necessary and desirable to narrow the broad subject which is involved in these thorny issues so as to facilitate more adequate coverage. So this researcher narrowed the subject of the Old Testament in the New to the author of the Hebrew Epistle's use of the Old Testament.

Yet, even this more limited area, when subjected to wide reading and study, yielded two painful observations. One, even the quotes in the Epistle to the Hebrews appeared too formidable to be dealt with in anything more than a cursory fashion. Second, such a great mass of scholars have devoted their academic lives to this, and have concluded everything imaginable, that it would seem the height of arrogance and folly to assume a mere theological student and tyro scholar could add anything significant to what has been said. At this juncture it was deemed wise to further limit the topic.

This second limitation took form after the perusal of C. H. Dodd's 1950 Princeton Stone Lectures, which have to do with the problem of the Old Testament quotes in the New Testament and which were later published in a book entitled According to the Scriptures. The position Dodd outlined in these lectures was relatively recent, unique, apparently significant and small enough to be adequately treated in a paper of this size. Of course, since only those scriptures of Dodd's found in Hebrews were to be treated, the subject was properly and nicely limited. Dodd's hypothesis as outlined in According to the Scriptures and as it pertains to the book of Hebrews, then, is the subject of this thesis. That is, it is the purpose of this study to determine if Dodd's hypothesis is a tenable one in the Epistle to the Hebrews. By implication, whether the author of Hebrews' use of the Old Testament tends to support or refute Dodd would reflect on the tenability of his hypothesis in general.

III. THE METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Since C. H. Dodd's point of departure in According to the Scriptures was the Testimony Book hypothesis of J. Rendel Harris, it was deemed valid to include in the paper a historical survey of the evolution of and reaction to Harris' point of view. This serves the purpose of placing Dodd in his historical scholarly context and demonstrating more than half a century's thinking on the problem. Section I of Chapter II contains this survey.

In sections II and III of Chapter II Dodd's position per se is presented. It is shown how he in a sense is indebted to Harris' views

and subsequently how he deviates radically from that view.

The fifteen testimonia and the theological testimonia which are used to support his view are given in a skeletal form though they are both fully given in Appendices I-II, to which the reader is urged to refer often.

In Chapter 3 those testimonia found in Dodd's book and the Epistle to the Hebrews are individually studied in order to determine if what he says about them can be sustained. They are dealt with from three angles: (1) do they appear to be oral testimonia? (2) are they messianically or kerygmatically used? (3) do they allude to the whole Old Testament context of which they are a part? The second section of Chapter 3 contains material which sheds light on the first of these questions. Chapter 4 is the conclusion of this thesis.

The Greek text used in this paper is that of E. Nestle and G. D. Kilpatrick, second edition, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Biblica Hebraica, Rudolph Kittel's seventh edition, was the version used for the Masoretic Hebrew. Rahlfs' Septuaginta, seventh edition, was used for the Greek Old Testament. Finally, both the Revised and American Standard Versions were used for English Bible sources.

CHAPTER II

C. H. DODD'S THESIS

When C. H. Dodd gave the Princeton Stone Lectures in 1950, later published in the book According to the Scriptures, he began by outlining the major tenets of what is commonly called the Testimony Book hypothesis. Then he pointed out those aspects of the hypothesis to which his own views were indebted, and those aspects with which he disagreed. Finally, he stated his own solution to the problem of the Old Testament quotes in the New.

Therefore, in order to convey accurately the view of C. H. Dodd in this matter, this chapter will contain a brief historical survey of the Testimony Book hypothesis; it will then include those elements of this theory with which Dodd concurs, and those elements with which he disagrees; finally, Dodd's position and the evidence which led him to it will be shown.

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE TESTIMONY

BOOK HYPOTHESIS

As early as 1889 Edwin Hatch had provided the groundwork which would form the basis of a theory which was "virtually unanimously approved"¹ by 1920. He averred that it was improbable that

¹E. E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), p. 98.

Greek-speaking Jews should not have had a literature of their own and that it was even more improbable that this literature consisted of only Apocalyptic books and other fragments which we now have.² Hatch went on to say that it may be naturally supposed that a people which stressed moral progress, whose religious services contained variable elements of both prayer and praise, and which carried on an active propaganda, would have, among other "books," manuals of morals, devotion and controversy. Furthermore, it may also be supposed, if the Jew's contemporary habit of making collections of excerpta and the special authority which they attached to their sacred books be taken into consideration, that some of these manuals would consist of extracts from the Old Testament.³

When Adolph Harnack, some years later (1901), cited Hatch's work, Essays in Biblical Greek, he asserted that the Greek scholar had merely "taken up again" the hypothesis of earlier men; namely, that there were quite possibly in the first and second centuries systematized written extracts from the Old Testament in circulation. Though Harnack was reluctant to give the hypothesis "established" status, he hardly rejected it, as is evidenced in the following statement: "The Jewish catechetical and missionary instruction in the Diaspora needed such collections, and their existence seem to be proved by the Christian Apologies and the Sybilline books."⁴

²Edwin Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), p. 203.

³Hatch, loc. cit.

⁴Adolph Harnack, A History of Dogmas, Trans. N. Buchanan, Vol. I

Writing in 1911, James Moffatt declared himself an exponent of the Testimony Book theory. He maintained that the earliest theoretic interest in the primitive Christians was the demonstration from Old Testament prophecies that Jesus was the true Messiah.⁵ Thus the use of the Old Testament became most important. Yet the early church did not employ the Old Testament scriptures which lie before the modern reader. Instead, they often used their "Bible" in the light of the ". . . luxuriant midrashic interpretation which gathered round it during the later Judaism."⁶ (Moffatt noted, at this juncture, that many times in the New Testament even the Septuagint is not used literally). When Moffatt coupled this observation with the observation that specific Old Testament citations are used in the New Testament and early Christian literature he was led to conclude that it was "highly probable" that florilegia and catenae of Old Testament passages were in circulation quite early. He even went so far as to say that pre-Christian excerpts were not impossible, but he did insist that the Testimony Book was "Christian" in character.⁷

There were other reasons also which caused Moffatt to adopt this position, two of which are external in nature and four of which are

(Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1901), p. 175.

⁵James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 22.

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

internal. The first of the former involves a physical factor, size. The size of the Old Testament would have made it rather inconvenient for quoting; therefore, it is logical that short teaching and propaganda manuals might have been drawn up. A second external reason involves the Jewish-Christian controversy, especially when this argument hinged largely on the Old Testament proof that Jesus was the true Messiah.⁸

Moffatt's internal evidences were: (1) the sequence of certain texts (e.g. Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16 in Romans 9:32-33 and I Peter 2:6-8); (2) special textual forms (e.g. I Corinthians 2:9);⁹ (3) editorial comments; (4) and occasional errors in the attribution of authorship (e.g. Mark 1:2-3; Matthew 27:9-10).¹⁰

So men of the caliber of Hatch, Harnack and Moffatt had espoused the Testimony Book hypothesis, at least in its general form, by 1911. But it was in 1920 that this hypothesis gained truly wide acceptance. And that was due to the work of J. Rendel Harris.¹¹

Building on Burkitt,¹² who felt the logia of Papias¹³ should be

⁸Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁹Compare α οφθαλμος ουκ ειδεν και ους ουκ ηκουσεν και επι καρδιαν ανθρωπου ουκ ανεβη with the Hebrew of Isaiah 64:3
 ΠΑΥ' ΠΙΝΙΝ ΙΠ'ΙΛΑ ΠΑΚΓ-ΑΛ' Ε'Υ' Ν' ΙΚΑΗ ΑΛ' ΑΛ' ΜΕΥ-ΑΛ' ΕΛ' ΕΛ' ΕΛ'
 ΑΛ'-ΠΚΠΛ

¹⁰Moffatt, op. cit., p. 24.

¹¹It is most unfortunate that Harris' Testimonies (1916, 1920) were not available to me at the time of writing. Of necessity, secondary sources were used.

¹²F. C. Burkitt, The Gospel History and Its Transmission, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), p. 127.

¹³The logia of Papias is based on the following: ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΝ

understood as a collection of Old Testament proof texts, he also called attention to the following statement recorded by Eusebius:

Melito to his brother Onesimus, greeting: Since thou has often, in thy zeal for the word, expressed a wish to have extracts made from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour, and concerning our entire faith, . . . I have endeavored to perform the task.¹⁴

Harris thought the "extracts" mentioned in Melito's letter could be pushed to a relatively early date. In fact, like Moffatt, he proposed that such a "book" may have existed during the first century A.D. and influenced the canonical writers.¹⁵

Harris amassed additional evidence to support his hypothesis by showing that in the New Testament there are recurrent quotations which agree with each other and patristic writings in contrast to any known Greek or Hebrew Old Testament text; that some of these were combined quotations that suggested a common source in which the combination already existed; and that assorted Old Testament passages tend to be used to support a particular argument (these latter often appear under a specific concept or key-word like, for example, "stone"). On the

οὐκ ἱστορεῖται, τῷ Παπῆα περι Μαρκοῦ. περι δε του
 Ματθαίου ταυτ' εἰρηται. Ματθαίος μεν οὐκ Εβραϊδι δια-
 λεκτῷ τα λογια συνεταξατο, ηρμηνευσεν δ' αὐτα ως ην
 δυνατός εκαστος. Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical
History, Vol. I of The Loeb Classical Library, Trans. Kirsopp Lake
 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 296.

¹⁴Eusebius, Church History, IV. 26, The Nicene and Post-Nicene
Fathers, Ed. Schaff and Wace, 14 Vols., second series (New York:
 Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 206.

¹⁵D. H. McGaughey, "The Hermeneutic Method of the Epistle to the
 Hebrews," Unpublished Doctor of Theology thesis, Boston University
 School of Theology, Boston, 1963, p. 11.

weight of this accumulated data Harris stated firmly that the document behind some New Testament parallels was not a Vollsbibel, not a variant text, not a Targum, but, as men before him suggested, a Testimony Book.¹⁶

Thus the Testimony Book hypothesis was well attested and widely accepted in the early twenties of this century. Soon, however, Harris was challenged. E. E. Ellis notes that in 1929 Michel (Bibel), though granting the probability of a Testimony Book for polemic and missionary purposes in the sub-apostolic church, considered that Harris' theory underrated Paul's originality, and Paul's importance for later writers who may have used the Apostle, though varying their texts for their own purposes. Moreover, Michel thought the possibility of a Stichwort rather than "testimonies" as the occasion for text combinations was not given ample consideration by Harris and others.¹⁷

In its unexpurgated form, the Testimony Book hypothesis is not widely held today.¹⁸ But there are competent scholars who, after making various modifications, insist that the view has some merit. Henshaw believes there is some evidence that the quotations in Matthew introduced with the formula, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet . . .," or its equivalent, point to an Aramaic Testimony Book behind the first Gospel.¹⁹ Yet, the same author does not think

¹⁶Ellis, op. cit., p. 99.

¹⁷Ellis, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁸However, cf. F. C. Synge, Hebrews and the Scriptures, (London: S.P.C.K., 1959).

¹⁹T. Henshaw, New Testament Literature, (New York: MacMillan

Eusebius' quotation of Papias concerning the logia can be used as a basis for holding such a theory, simply because there is no current agreement on what Papias meant.²⁰ Furthermore, there are not enough proof texts which pass the test of Harris' hypothesis to make up a Testimony Book.²¹

Rowlingson, who speculates that the Testimony Book appeared sometime between the resurrection events and A.D. 50, agrees with Henshaw that the evidence for these excerpta is most clearly seen in Matthew's "fulfillment" passages. "On the premise that God had promised the coming of messiah in the scriptures, efforts were made to find and collect relevant passages so that the fact of Jesus as Lord in their experience might be defended according to the intellectual methods of the rabbis."²²

There have also been general emphases in the area of New Testament studies which have tended to dilute Harris' original propositions. One of these is form criticism. Among other things, form criticism has led men to think that Papias' logia referred to the sayings of Jesus rather than testimony collections.²³ A second emphasis which has had a modifying effect on the Testimony Book hypothesis is the study of early Christian liturgics.²⁴ The "liturgists" certainly recognize an early

Company, 1952), p. 119.

²⁰Especially cf. C. F. D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), p. 215f.

²¹Henshaw, op. cit., p. 66.

²²Donald T. Rowlingson, Introduction to New Testament Study, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 62.

²³Ellis, op. cit., p. 102.

²⁴cf. O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, Trans.

"Testimony Book" but in a much broader fashion than the anti-Jewish polemical works stressed by Harris.²⁵ Oscar Cullmann, for example, acknowledges that early anthologies were used polemically, though he is careful to point out that polemics were not their only or even primary content. Rather, they were often liturgical or catechetical, and they included apostolic and Old Testament writings.²⁶

Of course, since the Testimony Book has never been found, whatever one says about its existence is difficult to state in anything more than tentative terms. However, J. M. Allegro published in 1956 a fragment from the Qumran library which he entitled 4Q Testimonia. This fragment, as its name suggests, he regarded as an Old Testament testimonia of the type that Harris, Burkitt and others postulated in the early decades of this century. In succession, the fragment contains Deuteronomy 5:28-29; Deuteronomy 18:18-19 (which is found in Acts 3:22);

J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949); D. G. Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, (Glasgow: The University Press, 1945); B. P. W. S. Hunt, Primitive Gospel Sources, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951); A. Z. Idelsohn, The Ceremonies of Judaism, (Cincinnati: National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, 1930); _____, Jewish Liturgy and Its Development, (New York: Schocken, 1960); K. Kohler, The Origins of the Synagogue and the Church, Ed. H. G. Enelow (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929); _____, "Didache," The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IV (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903); G. W. H. Lampe, "The Evidence in the New Testament for Early Creeds," The Expository Times, LXXI (September, 1960); C. F. D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament, (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), p. 11f; W. O. E. Besterley, The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy, (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1963); Eric Werner, The Sacred Bridge, (London: Dennis Dobson, 1959).

²⁵Ellis, op. cit., p. 103.

²⁶Cited by Ellis, op. cit., p. 103.

Numbers 24:15-17 (which is found in Revelation 22:16); Deuteronomy 33: 8-11; Joshua 6:26; and a section not based entirely on the Scriptures.²⁷ Thus 4Q Testimonia, which is dated in the first quarter of the first century B.C.,²⁸ provided the evidence which caused Allegro to say that it must now be considered as more than a possibility that the earliest Christians were able to take over and employ collections of Hebrew testimonia already current in a closely related religious community like the one at Qumran.²⁹

How much weight Allegro's publication will be given remains to be seen (this researcher's judgment on the fragment will be given in the third chapter). Though it is interesting that C. F. D. Moule³⁰ and Donald Guthrie,³¹ writing in 1962 and 1965 respectively, say with only a modicum of reservation that it is prima facie difficult to see any reason why early written collections are intrinsically improbable, yet they do not mention Allegro's work.³² The significance of this is

²⁷J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," The Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXV (September, 1956), pp. 182-187.

²⁸Frank M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1958), p. 84.

²⁹Allegro, op. cit., p. 186.

³⁰Moule's work has already been cited, cf. The Birth of the New Testament.

³¹cf. Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction: Gospels and Acts, (London: The Tyndale Press, 1965).

³²cf. p. 83 of Moule's Birth of the New Testament and p. 156 of Guthrie's Introduction.

difficult to ascertain.

II. DODD'S RELIANCE ON AND DEPARTURE FROM THE TESTIMONY BOOK HYPOTHESIS

There are several items of the Testimony Book hypothesis with which Dodd agrees. He certainly acquiesces in one of the emphases of the hypothesis, namely that New Testament writers were not left entirely to individual choice when they quoted.³³ Rather, they were generally governed by principles observed by most of the New Testament authors.³⁴ For example, he notes that when a New Testament author quotes a given Old Testament passage he sometimes argues that the quoted portion referred to Jesus Christ. This phenomenon may be observed in Hebrews 3-4, where the theme is the "rest" of God's people and the author is ". . . clearly arguing to show that a psalm not hitherto related to the themes of the Gospel has a real bearing on them."³⁵ But Dodd also calls attention to the fact that sometimes the New Testament author assumes, with his readers, that the quoted scripture does, in fact, refer to the themes of the Gospel. An example of this is found in Hebrews 2, where the author is discussing Jesus as the "Son-of-Man"

³³However, Dodd does concede that an author may conceivably quote a certain scripture simply because it "comes into his head." cf. C. H. Dodd, "Thirty Years of New Testament Study," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, V (May, 1950), p. 10.

³⁴Dodd, loc. cit.

³⁵C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 22.

and advances no argument that Psalm 110 has to do with Jesus Christ. Therefore, the fact that some quotes needed to have their interpretation defended while others had their interpretations taken for granted lends support to the notion that the latter type were among those whose meanings were commonly understood by all and would constitute testimonia, whether written or oral.³⁶

Other facts which both Dodd and the Testimony Book exponents hold in common and allow them to posit some kind of pattern behind New Testament quoting are: (1) partial sentences in the Old Testament are quoted in the New by more than one author where interdependence seems unlikely; (2) adjacent or contingent sentences from the same context are quoted by more than one New Testament author, and again where dependence appears implausible (e.g. Psalm 69:9 in John 2:17 and Romans 15:3); (3) in the same chapter of an Old Testament passage there are sometimes several detached sentences quoted by two different writers (e.g. Psalm 69: verse 4 is in John 15:25; verse 21 is in Matthew 27:34; verse 25 is in Acts 1:20)³⁷; (4) and certain passages tend to be quoted by more than one writer.³⁸

But there is much in the Testimony Book hypothesis about which Dodd is hesitant, and which he ultimately rejects. He thinks that the

³⁶Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 22.

³⁷C. H. Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 9-11.

³⁸Dodd, op. cit., According to the Scriptures, p. 24.

cases where two or more New Testament writers agree against the Septuagint are not numerous, at least no more numerous than cases where one quotation agrees with the Septuagint and the other differs, or where both differ from the Septuagint and each other. Those passages which tend to appear in combination in more than one New Testament book are "exceptional" examples according to Dodd. And although he deems the key-word concept commendable he shows that only those references which have the word "stone" as their key-word are widely used in this manner.³⁹

When Dodd further observed that the proposed Testimony Book was never made canonical (he thinks such an important work would have been) and remained obscure until the third century, he came to suspect that Harris' theory "outruns" the evidence, which is not compelling enough to prove the main tenet of the hypothesis; namely, that such a formidable literary enterprise was in circulation at a sufficiently early date to influence and even guide New Testament authors when they desired to quote from their sacred Scriptures.⁴⁰

Generally, then, Dodd agrees with those who say that there is some pattern to New Testament quoting and that some passages had their meaning taken for granted by both writer and reader. But he does not think that the accessible evidence is sufficient to prove that this pattern is the result of written testimonia. Therefore, the burden of proof is on Professor Dodd to postulate a reason to explain why

³⁹Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 26.

⁴⁰Ibid.

New Testament writers did, in fact, often quote according to common principle. This he does, and to that aspect of his work the remainder of this chapter will be devoted.

III. DODD'S SOLUTION

The preceding section indicated that while C. H. Dodd believes there are "governing" factors behind some of the quotations of the New Testament those factors are comprised of oral phenomena. But, in fact, Dodd believes that there are governing factors behind the entire New Testament which are also comprised mainly of oral phenomena. In a 1950 lecture published in the Union Seminary Quarterly Review Dodd listed what he considered to have been the four main elements of New Testament studies up to that time which had to do with the attempts to recognize and describe the "contents" of oral tradition which were looked upon as the function of the life of an active and growing Christian community.⁴¹

The first element involved the task of attempting to "fix" the content of the Christian gospel as it was proclaimed at the earliest date accessible to the scholars. Dodd feels this task was accomplished with general agreement and that most scholars admit that a common and primitive kerygma lies behind almost every New Testament writing.⁴² A second

⁴¹Dodd, "Thirty Years of New Testament Study," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, v (May, 1950), p. 9.

⁴²For Dodd's definitive work in this area cf. The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962), first published in 1936 by Hodder & Stoughton. Though Dodd's work received initial and widespread support there has been some reaction to

element had to do with the demonstration that there is material within The New Testament which appears to be associated with the Church's system of instruction for converts. On this also there was relative agreement. The third phase of studies resulted in the recognition of the use of the Old Testament by New Testament authors as part of the content of the oral tradition. Though it might be expected that the Old Testament in the New would constitute a written tradition, Dodd avers that the quotations in the New Testament ". . . only in a minority of passages . . . suggest a bookish process of reference and verification."⁴³ He rather insists that the authors used the Old Testament's language freely and spontaneously. Finally, Dodd indicated that scholars had come to see the liturgical traditions⁴⁴ of the earliest church as the embodiment of a significant portion of the contents of the oral tradition.⁴⁵

Therefore, as Dodd's solution is elucidated his entire approach to the "sources" behind the New Testament documents must be kept in mind. For he does his work on the assumption that these sources were primarily oral, and he feels the weight of a generation of scholarship generally supports him in this assumption. So he rejects the idea of a written anthology, a Testimony Book, to explain various New Testament quotations

his sharp distinctions between the kyrena and didache, the most recent being by R. C. Worley, cf. Preaching and Teaching in the Earliest Church, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967).

⁴³Dodd, "Thirty Years of New Testament Study," p. 10.

⁴⁴See the bibliography in footnote 24 on pages 11 and 12.

⁴⁵Dodd, "Thirty Years of New Testament Study," pp. 9-11.

and proposes the concept of oral testimonia. He states, "I am not thinking of a book at all, but rather of something belonging to the body of instructions imparted, orally in the main, no doubt, to those whose duties in the church led them to Old Testament research" ⁴⁶

Now Dodd undertook this study in an attempt to discover what scriptures the New Testament was referring to when it announced that any given event happened "according to the Scriptures." He surmised that the soundest method of determining this was to isolate those elements which are so widely common to the New Testament that they may be regarded as forming part of a central tradition. ⁴⁷ This would result in the possibility of arriving at a probable estimate of the extent to which this common tradition was primitive.

Therefore, Dodd lists fifteen testimonia which are quoted or alluded to in the New Testament. ⁴⁸ These are the result of his efforts to collect Old Testament passages which are cited by two or more authors in prima facie independence ⁴⁹ of one another, so that they may be

⁴⁶Dodd, The Old Testament in the New, p. 12.

⁴⁷Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 11.

⁴⁸A quotation Dodd defines as that which has an introductory formula or where the intention to quote is evident without the formula. A direct allusion must bear sufficient similarity of language to the Old Testament text to suggest some dependence.

⁴⁹On independence of New Testament authors cf. Dodd, op. cit., According to the Scriptures, p. 31. The Pauline corpus represents the work or influence of one author. Luke and Acts represent a single author. Where the synoptics agree there is no evidence because at least some literary dependence seems possible. The Fourth Gospel stands alone, as does the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of Peter. The

presumed to have been current as testimonia before they wrote.⁵⁰ The following constitutes Dodd's list:

- (1) Psalm 2:7 is quoted, in whole or part, in Acts 13:33b, Hebrews 1:5b and Hebrews 5:5b. It is alluded to in Matthew 3:17, Mark 1:11, Mark 9:7 and Luke 3:22.
- (2) Psalm 8:46 is quoted, in whole or part, in I Corinthians 15:27, Ephesians 1:22 and Hebrews 2:6-8. It is alluded to in Philipians 3:21, I Peter 3:22 and Revelation 5:12.
- (3) Psalm 110:1 is quoted, in whole or part, in Mark 12:36, Acts 2:34-35 and Hebrews 1:13. It is alluded to in Mark 14:62, Acts 7:55, Romans 8:34, Ephesians 1:20, Hebrews 1:3c, Hebrews 8:1, Hebrews 10:12-13, Hebrews 12:2c and I Peter 3:22.
- (4) Psalm 118:22-23 is quoted, in whole or part, in Mark 12:10-11 and I Peter 2:7. It is alluded to in Acts 4:11.
- (5) Isaiah 6:9-10 is quoted, in whole or part, in Matthew 13:14-15, Mark 4:12, John 12:40 and Acts 28:26-27. It is alluded to in Mark 3:5b, Mark 6:52b, Mark 8:17c, Romans 11:7-8, II Corinthians 3:14a, II Corinthians 4:4 and Ephesians 4:18d.
- (6) Isaiah 53:1 is quoted, in whole or part, in John 12:38 and Romans 10:16c.
- (7) Isaiah 40:3-5 is quoted, in whole or part, in Matthew 3:3, Mark 1:3, Luke 3:4-6 and John 1:23. It is alluded to in Luke 2:30, John 1:14b and John 11:40.
- (8) Isaiah 28:16; 8:14 is quoted, in whole or part, in Romans 9:33 and I Peter 2:6-8a.
- (9) Genesis 12:3, 18 is quoted in Acts 3:25 and Galatians 3:8.
- (10) Jeremiah 31:31-34 is quoted, in whole or part, in Hebrews 8:8-12. It is alluded to in Matthew 26:28, I Corinthians 11:25b, II Corinthians 3:2a, II Corinthians 3:6a, II Corinthians 3:14b, II Corinthians 6:17-18, John 4:42 and perhaps John 2:12-14.

Revelation is considered independent in the main, though it has some problematic relations with other Johannine writings. The remaining writings are not of great importance for this immediate purpose.

⁵⁰Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 28-29.

- (11) Josiah 2:23-32 is quoted, in whole or in part, in Acts 2:17-21. It is alluded to in Mark 13:24b, Luke 21:25a, Acts 2:39, Romans 10:13 and Revelation 9:2b.
- (12) Zechariah 9:9 is quoted, in whole or part, in Matthew 21:5 and John 12:15.
- (13) Habakkuk 2:3-4 is quoted, in whole or part, in Romans 1:17, Galatians 3:11 and Hebrews 10:37-38.
- (14) Isaiah 61:1-2 is quoted, in whole or part, in Luke 4:18-19. It is alluded to in Matthew 5:4, Matthew 11:5, Luke 7:22 and Acts 10:33b.
- (15) Deuteronomy 18:15, 19 is quoted, in whole or part, in Acts 3:22-23 and Acts 7:37b. It is alluded to in Luke 9:35 and John 6:14.⁵¹

These references, then, provide the grounds, says Dodd, for believing that New Testament writers were working upon a tradition in which certain passages of the Old Testament were treated as "testimonies" to the Gospel facts (kerygma).⁵² But it is important to note another observation which Dodd makes concerning them, that is, where two or more writers agree in citing some particular text of the Old Testament, as they do above, they do not necessarily agree in the precise extent of the matter quoted. One author may quote in extenso, another only a single clause and perhaps a third another clause and so forth.⁵³

Moreover, there are other passages, not in the above list, where adjacent or contingent clauses are cited by different writers, but it happens that no one quotes the complete passage (so they do not qualify

⁵¹Appendix I of this paper gives the same list in the original languages.

⁵²Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 57.

⁵³Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 57.

for the above list). Psalm 69:9 provides a striking example. The first part of the distich is quoted in John 2:17, just as it stands in the Septuagint, and with the rubric "It is written." The second part, again following the Septuagint, is quoted in Romans 15:3, this time with the formula, "As it is written." Both times there is no argument presented; it is merely assumed that the passage refers to Christ. Dodd's interpretation of this feature is instructive enough to quote in full:

Are we to believe that each of these writers, neither acquainted with the others work, selected by accident the two halves of a single verse for use as a "testimony"---and that from a psalm which is not, in any obvious sense, "messianic?" Surely it is more probable that both writers were guided by a tradition in which this psalm was already referred to Christ.⁵⁴

Dodd considers his interpretation strengthened when it is seen how the other verses of Psalm 69 are cited elsewhere in the New Testament. John 15:25, Matthew 27:34, Mark 15:36, John 19:28 and Acts 2:20 all contain different segments of the psalm either by way of quotation or allusion.⁵⁵

So Dodd concludes that evidence such as Psalm 69 gives shows that sometimes the New Testament writer was referring not just to a verse or a segment of a verse, but to the whole context in which the verse or segment is found. He develops this concept in his chapter entitled "The Bible of the Early Church" found in According to the Scriptures. In this section Dodd examines, first of all, the contexts from which his fifteen testimonia are drawn and, secondly, the similar contexts from which

⁵⁴Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 58.

⁵⁵Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 58.

adjacent or contiguous extracts were taken (by more than one writer, of course). His aim is to define the probable extent of the context which for this purpose was treated as a unit of scripture.

Instead of examining each context Dodd gives four major headings which represent the theological emphases of the contexts. Under these headings the major portions used widely by the New Testament are listed:

APOCALYPTIC-ESCHATOLOGICAL SCRIPTURES

(primary sources of
testimony)

(subordinate and supplementary
sources)

Joel 2-3; Zechariah 9-14;
Daniel 7.

Malachi 3:1-6; Daniel 12.

SCRIPTURES OF THE NEW ISRAEL

Hosea; Isaiah 6:1-9:7,
11:1-10, 28:16, 40:1-11;
Jeremiah 31:10-34.

Isaiah 29:9-14;
Jeremiah 7:1-15;
Habakkuk 1-2.

SCRIPTURES OF THE SERVANT OF THE LORD AND THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER

Isaiah 42:1-44:5, 44:1-13,
50:4-11, 52:13-53:12, 61;
Psalm 69, 22, 31, 38, 88, 34,
118, 41, 42-43, 80.

Isaiah 58:6-10.

UNCLASSIFIED SCRIPTURES

Psalm 8, 110, 2; Genesis 12:3,
22:18; Deuteronomy 18:15, 19.

Psalm 132, 16;
II Samuel 7:13-14;
Isaiah 55:3;
Amos 9:11-12.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 107-108.

Dodd does not say that the above list is exhaustive, but he does think that the scriptures contained therein should be included in any such list. He also cautions that one cannot take all of them to have been primitive, since both late and early writers cite them. However, he maintains that the cumulative weight of evidence is the convincing factor. Moreover, Dodd believes that the selection and presentation of testimonia was not a static achievement, but a process which continued well through and beyond the New Testament period.⁵⁷

In summary, Dodd acquiesces in the view that much New Testament citation was done according to generally accepted principles. He believes that the "sources" behind these principles were, in the main, oral. He also proposes that quite often more than an isolated verse was being cited by a New Testament author; rather, attention was called to the entire context of the passage. Finally, Dodd considers that the testimonia which he lists above may in a very real sense be regarded as the "Bible" of the earliest church, so that it is safe to say that these scriptures were being referred to when a New Testament author wrote that any event happened, "According to the Scriptures." It is the purpose of Chapter III to ascertain whether or not C. H. Dodd's hypothesis can be maintained as it relates to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

⁵⁷Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 108.

CHAPTER III

DODD'S HYPOTHESIS TESTED IN THE BOOK OF HEBREWS

Nine of the several references considered by Dodd to be oral testimonia are found in one form or another in the Epistle to the Hebrews. They are Psalms 2, 8, 22, 110; Jeremiah 31:31-34; Habakkuk; Zechariah 9-14; and two portions of Isaiah, 8:17-18 and 53:12. Except for Psalm 22, which will be treated after Isaiah 8:17-18, the testimonia will be discussed in the order given.

Before the discussion can commence, however, guidelines must be laid as to how these scriptures will be "tested" in order to determine if Dodd's hypothesis is a tenable one, at least as it pertains to the Hebrew letter. It appears that three elements need to be present in each testimonia before Dodd's position can find strong support. They should be the result of oral rather than written transmission; they should be kerygmatic, that is, either messianic in purport or in some other way supportive of the Gospel as outlined by Dodd in The Apostolic Preaching and its Development; and finally, they should be references which call attention to the entire context of the Old Testament passage and not just an isolated verse or so. An effort to determine these three phenomena, then, will be the purpose of this chapter.

It also seems that one more matter ought to be included in this chapter, that is, a discussion of two articles which are decidedly crucial regarding the oral character of testimonia. The first article has

already been mentioned in chapter one, J. M. Allegro's "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," in the September 1956 issue of The Journal of Biblical Literature. The second article, by Barnabas Lindars, is entitled "Books of Testimonies" and is in the March 1964 issue of The Expository Times. An evaluation of these two articles will comprise section II of this chapter.

I. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS¹

TESTIMONIA TESTED

Psalm 2

The author to the Hebrews quotes verse 7 of this psalm in 1:5 and 5:5. His citations are in exact agreement with the Septuagint, and the other New Testament citations of this verse also agree with the Septuagint. This evidence tends to rule out a Testimony Book source since one of the criteria of this hypothesis is that two or more quotes must agree with itself against the Septuagint.¹ But does it ipso facto lead one to posit an oral source? Dogmatism is to be avoided, but there is at least a possibility that where such similarity of language exists a literary source cannot safely be ruled out.

Little light is shed on this matter by a consideration of the introductory formulae.² The ones used by the author of Hebrews employ

¹Don Hugh McGaughey, "The Hermeneutic Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews," Unpublished Doctor of Theology thesis, Boston School of Theology, Boston, 1963, p. 16.

²For an exhaustive study of the formulae introducing quotes in

words having to do with diction (ειπεν; λαλησας), whereas the formula used by Luke in Acts 13:33b uses a word having to do with writing (γεγραπται). Thus one may legitimately ask whether the perfect of γραφω would be used when an author was quoting a passage which had been passed to him, in the main, orally. On the other hand, one would beg the question if he pushed this line of argument too far, for it could easily be maintained that γεγραπται may have been used to cite an oral source merely because the author knew that it had its ultimate source in Holy Scripture. The problem is further compounded when it is realized that in the Epistle to the Hebrews none of the introductory formulae use words which connote writing,³ and it would be difficult to argue that this author never used a written testimonium. Rather, it more probably reflects a certain view which he exercised toward the Old Testament. Therefore, no certain evidence is ascertainable from these formulae.

However, from another perspective a word about the introductory formulae is instructive. The formulae in Hebrews reflect no explicit knowledge of the quotations' original source, rather they are general and make God the speaker. This is to be compared with the Acts'

the New Testament cf. B. M. Metzger, "The formulas introducing quotations of scripture in the NT and the Mishnah," The Journal of Biblical Literature, LXX (December, 1951), pp. 297-307.

³For an interesting evaluation of this fact cf. Marius Barth, "The Old Testament in Hebrews, an essay in Biblical Hermeneutics," in Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation; essays in honor of O. A. Piper, ed. Klassen & Snyder, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 53-78.

citation where the quotation is attributed to τῷ φάλαγγ . . .

τῷ δευτέρῳ though it is certainly implied that God is the speaker.

But again, it is not easy to make strong conclusions from this evidence since the entire Epistle to the Hebrews constantly employs general introductory formulae in a manner which is at considerable variance from the rest of the New Testament. And it seems unlikely that this variation has anything to do with the characteristics of the source of a given quotation.

Therefore, due to the fact that there is exact linguistical affinity between the Hebrews' quotation and the Septuagint, and that other evidence forbids dogmatism one way or another as to the kind of source, at the very least one is most fair with the evidence when he says that a certain tentative posture must be maintained, but that the possibility of a written source can in no wise be discounted.

The author of Hebrews assuredly uses Psalm 2 messianically, and he has good precedent to do so as virtually every use of the psalm in the New Testament is messianic with the possible exception of Revelation 2:17 and 12:5. Of course, the psalm was early understood messianically. Both Kistemaker⁴ and Bruce⁵ point out that by 50 BC the "Psalm of Solomon" used in the local synagogues testifies that the second Psalm was so taken. Moreover, the fact that a case can be made

⁴S. Kistemaker, The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Amsterdam: Wod. G. Van Soest N.V., 1961), p. 17.

⁵F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), p. 12.

to show Psalm 2:7 was early associated with Jesus' baptism is another reason the psalm was believed to refer to the Christ. For one thing, the language of Matthew 3:17, Mark 1:11 and 9:7, and Luke 3:22 bear at least a superficial resemblance to Psalm 2:7. For another thing, in the "Western" text of Luke 3:22 the very words of Psalm 2:7 occur.⁶ Finally, in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts there is a striking parallel to Psalm 2:7 and these synoptic allusions: "This is my son, my firstborn. . . . This is my beloved with whom I have been satisfied."⁷

The letter's two citations probably call attention to Psalm 2 en toto and not just to verse 7. This is more true of the quotation in Chapter one than the one in Chapter five. The scriptures culled from the Old Testament in the first chapter of Hebrews serve the purpose of contrasting the majestic superiority of the Son with the angels. The Son is begotten of God, is the son of God, is worshipped by angels, is sitting on an everlasting throne, is a lover of righteousness, is the founder of the earth, is the same one whose years will never end, and is one who eventually will use his enemies as a footstool. The angels are but "ministering spirits sent forth to serve. . . ." A like emphasis is found in Psalm 2. The Lord and His anointed laugh at the plotting of their enemies and speak to them in their wrath. Then the Lord puts His "king" on Zion's holy hill, says He has begotten His son, gives him the

⁶ υιός μου εις σου, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε is the reading of Codex Bezae, most of the Old Latin, Justinus II, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origenes.

⁷Bruce, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

nations for an inheritance, and says the anointed one will break his enemies with a rod of iron. Finally, God warns the earthly kings to "be wise" lest the Son be angry and they consequently perish. Thus those are blessed who take refuge in him. It is a psalm of Christ's superiority.

The emphasis in Chapter five of Hebrews is on the fact that Christ was anointed to be High Priest and did not "exalt himself" to be made High Priest. Therefore, it appears that here the author of Hebrews may be calling attention to only the single isolated verse, 1:7, rather than to the entire context of the psalm. On the other hand, note the emphasis in the psalm on the anointed one's appointment by God: 2:2c, 2:6, and 2:7. Thus this citation also points to the context of the entire passage but the evidence to ascertain this is not as clear as in the former citation.

This researcher, then, would agree with Dodd concerning this testimonium except at one point, that is, there is not ample evidence to postulate that this testimonium was orally transmitted. Of course, neither is there sufficient evidence to prove the contrary, but the linguistic exactitude with the Septuagint favors a more tentative posture.

Psalm 8

Hebrews 2:6-8 quotes Psalm 8:4-6 and varies from the Septuagint only in that it inserts γαρ after παντα and deletes verse 7a. The quotation is introduced (only the citation in Hebrews has an introductory formula) with the indefinite phrase, διεμαρτυρατο δε που τις λεγων.

Henry Alford⁸ and Marcus Dods⁹ do not believe the indefinite manner of citation has anything to do with the source of the quotation, but maintain it is a rhetorical mode of suggesting that his speakers knew the passage well enough to refrain from specific citation. At the same time, he does not appear to be quoting from memory because of the linguistic agreement with the Septuagint and because in both the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament there is a superscription which makes David the author.¹⁰ Spicq, however, proposes that the citation points to the author's rigid view of inspiration ("c'est Dieu qui parle").¹¹ There are probably elements of truth in both positions, but it is curious to see that the author of this epistle argues about the meaning of Psalm 8, a fact which may militate against saying the formula was simply pointing to a well-known and received scripture portion. At any rate, reservation is necessary.

Paul's usage of this psalm is somewhat instructive at this juncture. Twice the Apostle quotes Psalm 8:7b (I Corinthians 15:27 and Ephesians 1:22) and the two quotations are identical though they diverge from the Septuagintal reading of Psalm 2:7b. This means that Paul's

⁸Henry Alford, The Greek Testament, Vol. IV, Revised by E. F. Harrison (Chicago: Moody Press, 1958), p. 33.

⁹Marcus Dods, The Epistle to the Hebrews, Vol. IV of The Expositor's Greek Testament, ed. Nicoll, 5 vols. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1897-1910), p. 262.

¹⁰Alford, loc. cit.

¹¹C. Spicq, L'Épître aux Hébreux, Vol. II (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1952), p. 31.

usage fits one of the criteria for having been taken from a Testimony Book, namely, two or more quotations agreeing with each other against the Septuagint. Though this evidence may not be considered decisive, it does prevent one from asserting that, at least in the case of Paul, a written source is impossible. And it must also be said that in the case of the Hebrew epistle there is no convincing evidence one way or the other to warrant definite conclusions.

This psalm is used messianically in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the rest of the New Testament. In some ways this is curious because the psalm was not so understood by the Jews in the synagogues.¹² This may explain why the author of Hebrews offers an exposition of the passage (as does Paul in I Corinthians 15:27ff.). For why would a defense of the psalm's messianic import be undertaken if the author could assume his readers were familiar with the interpretation? It is more plausible to aver that the author was conscious of being an innovator on this score. Perhaps the fact that Jesus applied the psalm to Himself in Matthew 21:16 provided the impetus for the eventual messianic understanding of the passage.

The tenor of the entire psalm is certainly alluded to in this citation. Of course, the reader must first acquiesce in the argument that the "man--son of man" in the psalm is Jesus, not man. For the passage has to do with the excellence of God's creation and then the

¹²Franz Delitzsch, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Vol. I, Trans. T. L. Kingsbury (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952), p. 104.

fact that the Christ will have dominion over all these "works." This is exactly what the Hebrews' author is attempting to get across. The world was not subjected to angels but to Christ, and for this reason Psalm 8 is quoted. So the whole context was in the author's mind.

Jesus also alluded to the entire context when he quoted verse 2a in Matthew 21:16. He does so to silence his critics, who were disturbed because some children were lauding Him by shouting, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" But a particular phrase of the psalm which Jesus does not quote is crucial, Psalm 8:2c. For verse 2c gives the reason that praise has come from the mouths of babes--to still the enemy and avenger. So it is quite possible that Jesus, like the author to the Hebrews, was calling the attention of his readers to the context of the words he had just uttered.¹³

Dodd's position, therefore, finds support from this testimonium except at the point of the character of the source. There is good evidence to say the psalm was used to support a major theme of the Gospel and that its entire context was the point of reference, but Dodd goes beyond the evidence when he maintains the source of this scripture could only be oral.

Psalm 110

Hebrews 1:13 quotes Psalm 110:1. It appears to allude to that

¹³Cf. S. L. Edgar who believes that Jesus had greater respect for Old Testament context than the NT writers, "Respect for context in quotations from the Old Testament," New Testament Studies, IX (October, 1962), pp. 55-62.

same verse in 1:3c, 8:1, 10:12-13 and 12:2c. Except for the citation of Psalm 110:4 in several places in Hebrews, verse 1 of Psalm 110 is the only one used in the New Testament. Since, however, it is cited only by one author it falls outside Dodd's area of consideration except in an ancillary way.

The quotation in 1:13 agrees with the Septuagint except that it omits *ειπεν κυριος τω κυριω μου* which is probably due to the introductory formula because it makes God, not David, the speaker. And God obviously could not say, "The Lord said to my Lord." For the author to have put the words into David's mouth would have defeated his purpose. This is to be compared with the fact that Jesus used Davidic authorship to support His argument (cf. Mark 12:36 and Matthew 22:41). Acts 2:34-35 also attributes authorship to David. Yet it has been mentioned before that this probably has more to do with the way the author of this epistle regards scripture than that he was demonstrating his ignorance of the true source of the passage. Therefore, due primarily to the linguistic affinity one must avoid the conclusion that the source could be nothing but an oral one.

In every instance the psalm is messianically used. This is no surprise in the light of the fact that even in the pre-Christian era the psalm was so used. Kistemaker calls attention to the fact that it was messianically understood in the book of Enoch,¹⁴ and Bruce thinks that Jesus' use of the psalm indicates that its messianic implications were

¹⁴Kistemaker, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

common ground for both him and his listeners.¹⁵ Spicq concurs with Bruce.¹⁶

Psalm 110 is a passage having to do with Yahweh's putting "His Lord" at His right hand until He makes his enemies a footstool for his feet. The passage goes on to talk of this "Lord's" rod of strength, day of power, dew of youth, priestly character and ultimate triumph. This triumph will be so complete that a refreshing drink can be taken without worry and a lack of hindrance at the end of the battle (verse 7). Hebrews 1:13 appears to reflect the total content of this psalm. It may be significant that it is the last quotation employed in the catena of passages in chapter one which emphasize Jesus' authority and superiority over the angels. Moreover, verse 1 of Psalm 110 neatly summarizes the entire context of what follows and may be considered a theme verse.

On the use of this passage too, then, there is evidence for agreement with Dodd on every point except his insistence that the quotation's source was oral.

Jeremiah 31:31-34

This important section from Jeremiah is quoted but once in the New Testament, Hebrews 8:8-12. Yet allusions to it are many (cf. Appendix II). In Hebrews the quotation is introduced by a formula ($\mu\epsilon\mu\phi\omicron\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \gamma\alpha\rho \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$) that indicates God is the speaker.

¹⁵Bruce, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁶Spicq, op. cit., p. 21.

But this presents no problem as Yahweh is the speaker in the prophetic passage. The text of the quotation is similar, but not identical, to the Septuagintal text. The variations are perhaps significant in that they may mean that the author had the Hebrew text in mind, he quoted from memory, he quoted what had been handed down orally, or he had an unknown text of the Septuagint before him. It is impossible to be sure which of these alternatives are most desirable, but in this case Dodd's contention that this represents an orally transmitted source cannot be fairly dismissed.

Now Jeremiah 31 is certainly a pivotal passage. It would be difficult to disagree with Professor Dodd that the New Testament uses it primarily to support the Gospel. Perhaps the only citations not directly or indirectly kerygmatic are Matthew 2:18 and the various allusions to Jeremiah 31:12 (cf. Appendix II). The quotation in Hebrews is obviously kerygmatic. Aeschmann's judgment on verses 31-34 is that it is upon them that the whole New Testament doctrine of "la nouvelle alliance" is based.¹⁷ But Westcott's opinion is on the entire passage and his comments are sufficiently appropriate to be quoted in full:

The whole situation is Messianic no less than the special words. The time of national humiliation is the time of ardent hope. The fall of the kingdom, which was of man's will, is the occasion of a greater promise. And nowhere else in the O.T. is the contrast between the Law and the Gospel traced back to its essential principle.¹⁸

¹⁷A. Aeschmann, Le Prophete Jeremie, (Neuchatel: Editions Delachaux & Niestle, 1959), p. 177.

¹⁸p. B. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews, (New York: The

John Bright contends that chapters 30-33 of Jeremiah constitute a "book" and that 31:31-34 represents the highlight of the prophet's theology.¹⁹ If Bright's contention is granted, and it would be hard to refute, then it could easily be seen why an author might quote 31:31-34 in order to allude to the total theological emphasis of this section of scripture. There is no good reason to say the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not done just that.

Therefore, of the passages studied so far, this one best meets Dodd's criteria. It has at least fair evidence for stating that it was orally transmitted, and good evidence that it was kerygmatically and contextually used.

Habakkuk 2:3-4

This passage is cited rather freely in Hebrews 10:37-38, and it is introduced with words that appear to come from Isaiah 26:20, "For yet a little while." These two facts could possibly lend support to the notion that this scripture portion is an oral testimonium. On the other hand, it might be that the author had the Septuagintal text before him but wanted to alter the emphasis of the passage while still using its basic language. Moses Stuart feels that either this was the case or else the writer had the Hebrew version in mind.²⁰

Macmillan Company, 1906), p. 222.

¹⁹John Bright, Jeremiah, Vol. XXI of The Anchor Bible, ed. W. F. Albright & D. N. Freedman (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 284, 287.

²⁰Moses Stuart, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Andover:

Paul's partial use of this text in Romans 1:17 and Galatians 3:11 gives little help on this front, since he does not quote as extensively. The Pauline citations are identical with the Septuagint except that, unlike the reference in Hebrews, they omit the $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ("my righteous one"). However, since these references in Romans and Galatians are such pithy and easily remembered statements it may be they were transmitted primarily orally. If so, it would be somewhat easier to suppose the Epistle to the Hebrews' citation was transmitted in a like manner. It is impossible to say definitely, but Dodd's contention that the source is oral must be given room to stand in this case. Also, it is interesting that when Acts 13:41 quotes Habakkuk 1:5 it does not fully agree with the Septuagint.

There can be little doubt that the author to the Hebrews uses the text messianically. But this may be expected since he is dealing with a text that has long been understood as such. For one thing, the Septuagint itself so interprets the passage and consequently attaches different connotations to some of its words (compare the Hebrew and Septuagint versions).²¹ For another thing, Spicq maintains that the text was well-known, familiar not only to Saint Paul but found also in many Rabbinic writings, and in these instances it was taken as being messianic.²²

Regarding context, a brief comparison of Paul's use of the phrase

Flogg, Gould, and Newman, 1833), pp. 481-482.

²¹ Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

²² Spicq, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

with that of Hebrews is instructive. The Apostle can hardly be alluding to the context of Habakkuk. Now Paul's use does indicate that the segment of the prophet that he quotes is the principle testimonium for the doctrine of justification by faith,²³ but the contexts in which the quotes are found are doctrinal, not historical. But Hebrews 10:32ff. portrays a contemporary situation which is closely analogous to the situation outlined in Habakkuk, that God's people are going to suffer persecution. So the emphasis of Hebrews is not on righteousness, as is Paul's, but on the ability to withstand persecution. Spicq aptly conveys the contrast, "Negligeant la notion de justice, il insiste au contraire sur l'importance des oeuvres, la patience courageuse et perseverante."²⁴

However, care must be taken to point out the differences between the epistle's passage and the one in Habakkuk. In the latter the $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ refers to the vision of 2:3, but the author of Hebrews adds the definite article, thus making the passage read "the Coming One," who is, of course, a person not a vision, and that person is the Christ (compare with Matthew 11:3 and Luke 7:19). Furthermore, in Habakkuk the warning of divine displeasure is directed to $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (LXX) who is the Christ-figure if the passage is indeed messianic, but in Hebrews the warning is given to "Christians" who capitulate during persecution.²⁵ Consequently, it may be said that the author of the letter of Hebrews

²³Bruce, op. cit., p. 274.

²⁴Spicq, op. cit., p. 332.

²⁵Bruce, op. cit., p. 274.

alludes to Habakkuk's total context though he does "rearrange" the language and emphasis somewhat for his own ends.

Dodd's hypothesis receives support from this testimonium. For its divergence of language may indicate oral transmission, it is used messianically, and not just the isolated verse, but the whole context is used.

Zechariah 9:11

Though this "block" of scripture finds prodigious use throughout the New Testament it is questionable whether the author of Hebrews uses it at all. Dodd suggests that Hebrews 9:20, 10:29 and 13:20 may allude to Zechariah 9:11 because of the words "the blood of the covenant." But Hebrews 9:20 is obviously referring to Exodus 24:8 and, since it is in the same general context, so is Hebrews 10:29. The reference in Hebrews 13:20 is in the context of a benediction. The words "blood of an eternal covenant" are used though this may also be a reference to the Exodus passage. In any case, there is not sufficient reason for connecting it with Zechariah 9:11 as the contexts are totally dissimilar.

Therefore, it is the opinion of this researcher that the Zechariah testimonia do not appear without ambiguity in Hebrews so that a study of this passage is thereby deemed unjustifiable.

Isaiah 8:17-18

This portion of scripture is cited only by the author of the Hebrew letter. Nevertheless, since it is found in that part of Isaiah which Dodd considers a testimonium of the "New Israel" it is relevant to

this study. The quotation is found in Hebrews 2:13.

With only minor variation the quote follows the Septuagint. It inserts εγω for emphasis in the first line and inverts πεποιθως εσομαι to εσομαι πεποιθως. The second line is quoted exactly as it stands in the Septuagint,²⁶ but it is separated from the first line by και παλιν. However, the latter phrase should be taken in the sense of "moreover" rather than postulating different sources for the quotations. These internal observations do not indicate one way or another whether the source was oral or written.

This Old Testament text serves the purpose of setting forth the solidarity of God's people with Christ (2:11).²⁷ So the passage is used messianically, just as the rest of the New Testament employs it. But the question is, In what way is Isaiah 8:17-18 messianic? Psalm 22, the first of these three quotations in Hebrews 2:12-13 used to prove the same point, is easily defended as messianic. But it is not quite so easy to say this about the Isaiah passage. Bruce is worth paying attention to on this matter, for he believes that this is one of the best examples in support of Dodd's thesis that the principal Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are not isolated proof-texts, but carry their contexts with them by implication.²⁸ If, then, the entire context

²⁶In the Massoretic Text the sentence continues; thus it is obvious the writer is relying on the Septuagint.

²⁷Bruce, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁸Bruce, op. cit., p. 46.

of Isaiah 8 is the point of reference, one can assert that the author to the Hebrews did not think verses 17-18 only were messianic, but the whole chapter. Spicq aptly shows how the entire context was utilised to exploit the full messianic meaning:

Devant la menace de l'invasion assyrienne, le prophete constat qu'Israel est sans defense et apparemment abandonne de Dieu. Mais lui-meme gard toute sa confiance en Iahve. Puisque ces sentiments sont attribues par Hebr. au Christ en personne, c'est qu'il envisage le prophete comme un type du Messie.²⁹

Another interesting point of contact is the fact that in Isaiah 8:17 God hides His face, which is an act similar in emphasis to Psalm 22 (i.e. "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"). Thus the messianic Psalm 22 is linked with Isaiah 8 when one views not just isolated quotations but the contexts to which they point.³⁰

Dodd's hypothesis appears to be substantiated by this testimonium, except that there are not ample data to maintain that the testimonium could not have been copied from a written source. Such a position can be held only on a priori grounds.

Psalm 22

Virtually every portion of this psalm is widely employed in the New Testament, though the author of the Hebrews' letter quotes it but once. Dodd also thinks there is an allusion to Psalm 22:24 in Hebrews 5:7, but it is such a faint allusion the following discussion

²⁹Spicq, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

³⁰Bruce, op. cit., p. 46.

will be confined primarily to the quotation, which is the citation of Psalm 22:22 in Hebrews 2:12.

The author follows the Septuagint exactly except that he substitutes ἀπαγγελω for διηγησομαι. This fact leads Delitzsch to say that the author was quoting from memory.³¹ It seems that Delitzsch has a point as there is no reason to explain why a substitution of words would occur if there were a text lying before the author. Especially is this so in the light of the fact that there are no variants from which to postulate another manuscript source. Thus this verse may have been culled from oral sources and would support Dodd.

However, another word needs to be mentioned on this score. In the discussion of Isaiah 8:17-18 it was concluded that there was insufficient evidence to postulate oral transmission. On the contrary, due to the similarity of the quotations with the text of the Septuagint it may be fair to suppose literary dependence. The quote from Psalm 22 lacks complete literary dependence at a crucial enough point so that an oral source is not impossible. Yet, Psalm 22:22 and Isaiah 8:17-18 are used together. And it is difficult to imagine that the author to the Hebrews would quote Psalm 22:4 from memory and copy Isaiah 8:17-18 from a text, though it is not impossible. It appears, therefore, that a great measure of caution and tentativeness is needed on this question since there does not seem to be enough evidence in this matter to safely make a decision. It is here that Dodd leaves himself most open to criticism.

³¹Delitzsch, op. cit., p. 124.

There is no doubt that first century Christians understood Psalm 22 messianically.³² This is probably best explained by Jesus' application of 22:1 to Himself while on the gallows. For in early Rabbinic literature there is no indication that the psalm was thought to have pertained to the messiah.³³ The author of Hebrews certainly uses 22:22 with messianic import. Indeed, some commentators say that the quotation of Isaiah 8:17-18 is to be understood messianically not only because of context but because of its connection with the verse from Psalm 22. Furthermore, the author of Hebrews makes Jesus the speaker of the psalm ("he who sanctifies").

It may also be said that there is in this passage a calling of attention to the total context of Psalm 22. The Old Testament poem begins with the suffering of the speaker and ends with the triumph of the same. The context of Hebrews 2 is similar. Note the reference to suffering in verse 9 and then a more triumphant emphasis in 10ff.

Westcott draws the two contexts together nicely:

The typical king and the true King attain their sovereignty under the same conditions, and both alike in their triumph recognise their kingship with the people whom they raise, τοις αδελφοις.³⁴

Taking into consideration the above evidence the employment of Psalm 22 in the letter of Hebrews supports C. H. Dodd's hypothesis.

³²Bruce, op. cit., p. 45.

³³Mistakenly, op. cit., p. 31.

³⁴Westcott, op. cit., p. 51.

Isaiah 53:12

Isaiah 53 comes under Dodd's heading, Scriptures of the Servant of the Lord and the Righteous Sufferer. The fact that this chapter was messianic in the minds of the New Testament authors is so obvious that attempted "proofs" are superfluous. Moreover, a quick glance at Appendix III will show that the entire context of the passage was often employed.

However, the author of the Hebrew epistle only utilises this rich chapter by alluding to verse 12 in 10:29. Because it is only an allusion an undue amount of time need not be spent on it.

Since it is an allusion, of course, literary dependence cannot be maintained, especially where such a well-known passage is being cited (though it is curious that Hebrews' author only quotes or alludes to Isaiah twice).

The passage in Hebrews in which the allusion is found is definitely messianic. The author is discussing the fact that Christ came "to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." He goes on to say that after men die judgement comes, but after Christ is "offered" salvation comes. The phrase, "having been offered once to bear the sins of many," is a direct allusion to Isaiah 53:12.

Having decided rather easily that the author uses the Isaiah passage messianically, it remains to be seen whether or not the entire context was being called to the reader's attention. This is a much more difficult task. But suffice it to say that if conclusive "proof" cannot be garnered, at least one would have to say that the probability that the

whole context is being alluded to tends to support Dodd. Hebrews 9:28 implicitly reflects Isaiah 53:10, "he makes himself an offering for sin," and 53:11, "by the knowledge of himself shall my righteous servant justify many, and he shall bear their iniquities." Besides, there is a real sense in which Hebrews 9:11--10:25 parallels the thought of Isaiah 53. Therefore, it would not be too much to suppose that any early Christian who was at least somewhat familiar with the Scriptures would recall the majesty and richness of Isaiah 53 when he read Hebrews 9:29.

In conclusion, then, there is no reason to challenge Dodd's thesis on the evidence which this testimonium affords.

II. DODD'S HYPOTHESIS IN THE LIGHT OF SOME DEAD SEA SCROLL DISCOVERIES

Though some of the testimonia presented in section I of this chapter support Dodd's position more than others, the overall result of the study was that one would be justified in giving assent to the essentials of his hypothesis. Yet it will be remembered that on one point disagreement was rather consistent. That was on the point of Dodd's insistence that these testimonia were quoted from oral sources. But the disagreement was not sufficient to cause one to go to another extreme and demand that they be taken as written sources. Rather, it seems the evidence is by and large not conclusive, so that the character of the source ought not be posited either way.

Besides the internal evidence which seemed to warrant a more tentative posture on this front, there are certain discoveries which

have been made in the community of Qumran that have caused scholars to exercise a little more caution along these lines. Reference is made specifically to what J. M. Allegro has entitled "4Q Testimonia." Only this fragment will be considered here as the other one which has usually been included in discussions of this kind has engendered controversy as to its actual function and, moreover, the scriptures it contains are not cited as specifically in the New Testament.³⁵

4Q Testimonia contains a list of five Old Testament scriptures in succession: Deuteronomy 5:28-29; Deuteronomy 18:18-19; Numbers 24:15-17; Deuteronomy 33:8-11; Joshua 6:26. Two of these references are explicitly cited in the New Testament. Acts 3:22 cites Deuteronomy 18:18-19 and Revelation 22:16 cites Numbers 24:15-17. Allegro makes the further observation that this fragment was not part of a scroll.

With some diffidence Allegro concludes from this that 4Q Testimonia could possibly be a group of Burkitt-Narris like testimonia. Therefore, in a footnote he declares that ". . . it must now be regarded as more than a possibility that the first Christians were able to take over and use collections of Hebrew testimonia already current in a closely related religious community like this of Qumran." (p. 186n)³⁶

³⁵I refer to 4Q Florilegium, also cited in Allegro's 1956 publication. The one who challenges Allegro most forcefully, and perhaps most convincingly, on this is W. R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," The Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVIII (1959), pp. 343-346.

³⁶But keep in mind that Dead Sea Scroll testimonia are written in Hebrew, not Greek. This is why one must be careful in his evaluation of the Qumran material.

Thus it can readily be seen that if Allegro is correct a Testimony Book idea is possible, even if Harris' theory is too unqualified. That is, contrary to Dodd, it could be that written sources were used by New Testament authors when they needed to cite kerygmatic testimonia. Barnabas Lindars concurs in this, but he adds a qualified word. Having noted that there have been three main theories concerning the Old Testament in the New, the Testimony Book Hypothesis, Dodd's thesis and Stendahl's (School of St. Matthew), Lindars' says that these theories all "fail" because they do not do justice to all the quotation phenomena.³⁷

Of course, the above gives another facet to the problem. Testimonia like that of 4Q Testimonia are obviously not alluding to the contents of a passage. Where quotations are strung in a series it is a safe assumption that they constitute proof-texts and are to be taken in isolation. Those who would espouse Dodd's position without reservation must keep this in mind.

On the other hand, care must be taken not to give undue weight to one mere Qumran fragment. There is no real evidence that the New Testament quoted from this kind of a source just because two references from 4Q Testimonia are found in the New Testament. For conclusive proof one would need to find an author who cited at least two of these references in succession. Such proof is lacking.

But Allegro's work does appear to allow one to conclude that the

³⁷Barnabas Lindars, "Books of Testimonies," The Expositor Times, LXXV (March, 1964), p. 174.

existence of some kind of a pre-New Testament Testimony Book is not impossible. At least the evidence afforded by the Dead Sea Scrolls does not permit rejection on a priori grounds of the presence of such a document or documents.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 2 began with a historical survey of the Testimony Book hypothesis as held by J. Rendel Harris and others. This hypothesis maintained that there were anthologies of Old Testament proof-texts available to the Church and New Testament authors early in the first century (30 A.D. and on). These anthologies were considered to be in written form. Thus New Testament authors did not usually quote from random, but cited texts which were well-known and whose meaning was taken for granted by their readers.

Section two of that same chapter indicated that C. E. Dodd agreed with Harris that quotations in the New Testament were not taken at random. But he proposed an alternate method for their selection. He first of all denied that there could have been in existence, in written form, anthologies of texts in the pre-New Testament era which were never subsequently canonized or found. Then he suggested that not proof-texts, but whole portions of scripture were early considered as appropriate places from which to draw testimonia in support of the Christian Gospel. Finally, Dodd contended that certain New Testament citations were not calling attention merely to the isolated text quoted, but to the entire context in which the verse or verses was found.

The study undertaken in Chapter 3 resulted in the conclusion that, in the book of Hebrews, Dodd's position could not be substantiated on the question of whether or not the testimonia were oral or written. His

position could be maintained only on a priori grounds, not on any ascertainable objective evidence. This rejection of a portion of Dodd's thesis was based on the fact that often there was too great a similarity between a given quotation and its Septuagintal source, and by certain discoveries made in the Dead Sea Scrolls material at Qumran, like 4Q Testimonia.

However, except on the question discussed in the above paragraph, most of the testimonia in Hebrews appeared to support Dodd's hypothesis. It was observed that they were used to support the claims of the Gospel and that most of them at least were in fact calling attention to the Old Testament context in which they were found.

This latter fact has important implications for hermeneutical studies in general and the relationship between the testaments in particular. For if it can be demonstrated that quotations other than the ones treated in Hebrews (and if Dodd's hypothesis is found to be tenable in the other New Testament books) do in fact allude to the context from which the quotation is drawn, then it can no longer be argued that the New Testament treats the Old in merely an allegorical or typological manner, paying no attention to historical, grammatical considerations. Certainly there are instances where this is done (e.g. Matthew), but it could be that further study would show that this was an exception among New Testament authors and not the rule.

At the same time it should be mentioned that in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls scholars have become hesitant to say, with Dodd, that a Testimony Book idea is impossible. It is known that they existed in

partial form at Qumran, and in full form later in the second century. At the very least, then, the phenomenon of the New Testament is "sandwiched" by Testimony Books of one kind or another.

This is why a final cautionary word is in order. Great care must be exercised not to relegate all Old Testament quotations to one theory. There is ample diversity in the New Testament to indicate that no one theory can cover all citations. It is significant that Dodd's hypothesis is supported by only fifteen main testimonia. Therefore, it is probably to be taken for granted that the authors of the New Testament, in accordance with their training, background and purpose, used several methods in dealing with their Scriptures. For example, the use of the Old Testament in Hebrews is singularly different from Matthew's use, and the Fourth Gospel is different from both of them. Thus each book must be studied individually in order to determine what method or methods of exegesis and citation it used. This latter task was partially performed by examining the tenableness of C. H. Dodd's position as it pertained to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The following scriptures are the fifteen testimonia upon which Dodd based his theory as presented in Chapter II. For each testimonia the Massoretic Hebrew is given, alongside which is the Septuagintal reading. The quotations of the verse as found in the New Testament are then listed, after which are found the allusions to the Old Testament passage.

(1) Psalm 2:7

Septuagint

διαγγελων το προσταγμα κυριου κυριος ειπεν προς με υιος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε.

Massoretic Text

אִסַּפְרָה אֶל כָּל יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי
כִּנְיֹן אֲתָה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדֶנִיךָ

Quotations

Acts 13:33b υιος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε

Hebrews 1:5b υιος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε

Hebrews 5:5b υιος μου ει συ, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε

Allusions

Matthew 3:17 ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν φ ευδοκησα

Mark 1:11 συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ευδοκησα

Mark 9:7 ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, ακουετε αυτου

John 3:22 συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ευδοκησα

(2) Psalm 8:4-6

Septuagint

τι εστιν ανθρωπος, οτι

Massoretic Text

מַה אֲנִי כִּי תִזְכְּרֶנִּי וְכִן אָמַר

μιμνησκη αυτου, η υιος αν-
θρωπου, οτι επισκεπη αυ-
τον; ηλαττωσας αυτον βρα-
χυ τι παρ' αγγελους, δοξη
και τιμη εστεφανωσας αυ-
τον. και κατεστησας αυ-
τον επι τα εργα των χει-
ρων σου, παντα υπεταξας
υποκατω των ποδων αυτου.

כי תפדנו ותקחנו מעמ
למחלתו ויהיה כבודו
במעשי ידך כל שנת רגליו

Quotations

I Corinthians 15:27 παντα γαρ υπεταξεν υπο τους ποδας αυτου

Ephesians 1:22 παντα υπεταξεν υπο τους ποδας αυτου

Hebrews 2:6-8 τι εστιν ανθρωπος οτι μιμνησκη αυτου; η υιος ανθρωπου οτι επισκεπη αυτον; ηλαττωσας αυτον βραχυ τι παρ' αγγελους, δοξη και τιμη εστεφανωσας αυτον, παντα γαρ υπεταξας υποκατω των ποδων αυτου.

Allusions

Philippians 3:21 κατα την ενεργειν του δυνασθαι αυτον και υποταξαι αυτω τα παντα

I Peter 3:22 ος εστιν εν δεξια θεου, πορευθεις εις ουρανον, υποταγεντων αυτω αγγελων και εξουσιων και δυναμεων.

Revelation 5:12 λεγοντες φωνη μεγαλη, αξιος εστιν το αρνιον το εσφαγμενον λαβειν την δυναμιν και πλουτον και σοφian και ισχυν και τιμην και δοξαν και ευλογian.

(3) Psalm 110:1

Septuagint

ειπεν ο κυριος τω κυριω
μου καθου εκ δεξιων μου,
εως αν θω τους εχθρους
σου υποποδιον των ποδων
σου.

Masoretic Text

נאם יהוה לאדני שב לימיני
אשית איביך תחת רגליך

Quotations

Matthew 22:41 ειπεν κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου, καθου εκ δεξιων μου εως αν θῶ τους εχθρους σου υποκατω των ποδων σου;

Mark 12:36 ειπεν κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου, καθου εκ δεξιων μου εως αν θῶ τους εχθρους σου υποποδιον των ποδων σου.

Acts 2:34-35 ειπεν κυριος τῷ κυριῷ μου, καθου εκ δεξιων μου, εως αν θῶ τους εχθρους σου υποποδιον των ποδων σου.

Hebrews 1:13 καθου εκ δεξιων μου εως αν θῶ τους εχθρους σου υποποδιον των ποδων σου;

Allusions

Mark 14:62 εγω ειμι, και οφεισθε τον υιον του ανθρωπου εκ δεξιων καθημενον της δυναμειως και ερχομενον μετα των νεφελων του ουρανου.

Acts 7:55 υπαρχων δε πληρης πνευματος αγιου ατενισας εις τον ουρονον ειδεν δοξαν θεου και Ιησουν εστωτα εκ δεξιων του θεου και ειπεν, ιδου θεωρω τους ουρανους διηωιγμενους και τον υιον του ανθρωπου εκ δεξιων εστωτα του θεου.

Romans 8:34 τις ο κατακρινων; Χριστος Ιησους ο αποθανων, μαλλον δε εγερθεις, ος εστιν εν δεξια του θεου, ος και εντυγχανει υπερ ημων.

Ephesians 1:20 ην ενηργηκεν εν τῷ Χριστῷ εχειρας αυτον εκ νεκρων, και καθισας εν δεξια αυτου εν τοις επουρανιοις.

Hebrews 1:3c καθαρισμον των αμαρτιων ποιησαμενος εκαθισεν εν δεξια της μεγαλωσυνης εν υψηλοις.

Hebrews 8:1 κεφαλαιον δε επι τοις λεγομενοις, τοιουτον εχομεν αρχιερσα, ος εκαθισεν εν δεξια του θρονου της μεγαλωσυνης εν τοις ουρανοις.

Hebrews 10:12-13 ουτος δε μιαν υπερ αμαρτιων προσενεγκας θυσιαν εις το διηνεκες εκαθισεν εν δεξια του θεου, το λοιπον εκδεχομενος εως τεθωσιν οι εχθροι αυτου υποποδιον των ποδων αυτου.

Hebrews 12:2c εν δεξια τε του θρονου του θεου κεκαθικεν

I Peter 3:22 ος εστιν εν δεξια θεου, πορευθεις εις ουρανον, υποταγευτων αυτω αγγελων και εξουσιων και δυναμεων.

(4) Psalm 118:22-23

Septuagint

λιθον, ον απεδοκιμασαν οι οικοδομουντες, ουτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας. παρα κυριου εγενετο αυτη και εστιν θαυμαστη εν οφθαλμοις ημων.

Massoretic Text

זאבן ליתת הברניסו מאסו כן
אבן תאזתה היתה מאסו
אבן תאזתה היתה מאסו
בפלא בעינינו

Quotations

Mark 12:10-11 λιθον ον απεδοκιμασαν οι οικοδομουντες, ουτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας. παρα κυριου εγενετο αυτη και εστιν θαυμαστη εν οφθαλμοις ημων.

I Peter 2:7 λιθος ον απεδοκιμασαν οι οικοδομουντες, ουτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας.

Allusions

Acts 4:11 ουτος εστιν ο λιθος ο εξουτενηθεις υφ' υμων των οικοδομων, ο γεγομενος εις κεφαλην γωνιας.

(5) Isaiah 6:9-10

Septuagint

και ειπεν πορευθητι και ειπον τω λαω τουτω ακοη ακουσετε και ου μη συνητε και βλεποντες βλεφετε και ου μη ιδητε επαχυνθη γαρ η καρδια του λαου τουτον, και τοις ωσιν αυτων βαρεως ηκουσαν και τους οφθαλμους αυτων εκαμμουσαν, μηποτε ιδωσιν

Massoretic Text

ויהי אמר לך ואמר על הזה
שמעו שמעו ואל תבינו וראו
ראו ואל תדעו השמן לב העם
הזה ואזניו הכבד ועיניו
השעפן יראה בעיניו ובאזניו
שמעו ולבבו יבין ושם וראו
ל

τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 ὠσίν ἀκουσῶσιν καὶ τῇ
 καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπι-
 στρεφῶσιν καὶ ἰασομαί
 αὐτούς.

Quotations

Matthew 13:14-15 ἀκοῇ ἀκουσέτε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνήτε, καὶ βλέπ-
 οντές βλέφετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχυνθῆ
 γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς
 ὠσίν βαρεῶς ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 αὐτῶν ἐκαμμύσαν. μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς
 ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκουσῶσιν καὶ τῇ
 καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρεφῶσιν, καὶ
 ἰασομαί αὐτούς.

Mark 4:12 ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ
 ἀκουόντες ἀκουσῶσιν καὶ μὴ συνίωσιν, μήποτε
 ἐπιστρεφῶσιν καὶ ἀφεθῆ αὐτοῖς.

John 12:40 τετυφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ ἐπώρρωσεν
 αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ
 ἰασομαί αὐτούς.

Acts 23:26-27 πορευθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τούτον καὶ εἶπον,
 ἀκοῇ ἀκουσέτε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνήτε, καὶ βλέπ-
 οντές βλέφετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε. ἐπαχυνθῆ
 γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς
 ὠσίν βαρεῶς ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 αὐτῶν ἐκαμμύσαν. μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς
 ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκουσῶσιν καὶ τῇ
 καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρεφῶσιν, καὶ
 ἰασομαί αὐτούς.

Allusions

Mark 3:5b συνλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πώρρωσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν

Mark 6:52b ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία πεπώρωμενη

Mark 8:17c πεπώρωμενην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν

Mark 8:18 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐ βλέπετε, καὶ ὠτὰ ἔχοντες
 οὐκ ἀκούετε

Romans 11:7-8 τι ουν, ο επιζητει Ισραηλ τουτο ουκ επε-
 τυχεν, η δε εκλογη επετυχεν. οι δι λοιποι
 επωρωθησαν, καθαπερ γεγραπται, εδωκεν αυτοις
 ο θεος πνευμα κατανουξεως, οφθαλμους του μη
 βλεπειν και ωτα του μη ακουειν, εως της
 σημερον ημερας.

II Corinthians 3:14a αλλα επωρωθη τα νοηματα

II Corinthians 4:4 εν οις ο θεος του αιωνος τουτου ετυφ-
 λωσεν τα νοηματα των απιστων εις το μη
 αυγασαι του ευαγγελιου της δοξης του Χρισ-
 του.

Ephesians 4:18d δια την πωρωσιν της καρδιας αυτων

(6) Isaiah 53:1

Septuagint

κυριε, τις επιστευσεν τη
 ακοη ημων; και ο βραχιων
 κυριου τινι απεκαλυφθη

Massoretic Text

מִי אָמַן לְשָׁמֵעַ בְּזִמְרוֹתַי
 יְהוָה עַל מִי נִגְלָה

Quotations

John 12:38 κυριε, τις επιστευσεν τη ακοη ημων; και ο
 βραχιων κυριου τινι απεκαλυφθη

Romans 10:16c κυριε, τις επιστευσεν τη ακοη ημων

(7) Isaiah 40:3-5

Septuagint

φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω
 ετοιμασατε την οδον κυρ-
 λου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας
 τριβους του θεου ημων.
 πασα φαραγξ πληρωθησεται
 και παν ορος και βουνος
 ταπεινωθησεται, και εσ-
 ται παντα τα σκολια εις
 ευθειαν και η τραχεια
 εις πεδια. και οφθησεται
 η δοξα κυριου, και οφεται
 πασα σαρξ το σωτηριον του

Massoretic Text

קוֹל קוֹרֵא בְּמִדְבַר פְּנוּ דֶרֶךְ
 יְהוָה יִשְׂרוּ בְעֵרְבָה מְסֻלָּה
 לְאַלְהֵינוּ כֹּל גִּיא יִנְשָׂא וְכָל
 הַר וְגִבְעָה יִשְׁפָּל וְהָיָה הָעֵקֶב
 לְמִישׁוֹר וְהָרִכְסִים לְבִקְעָה
 וְנִגְלָה כְבוֹד יְהוָה וְרָאוּ כָל
 בָּשָׂר יַחְדָּו כִּי פִי יְהוָה דָּבַר

θεου. οτι κυριος ελαλη-
σεν.

Quotations

Matthew 3:3 φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω, ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας παειτε τας τριβους αυτου.

Mark 1:3 φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω, ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας τριβους αυτου.

Luke 3:4-6 φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω, ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας τριβους αυτου. πασα φαραγξ πληρωθησεται και παν ορος και βουνος ταπεινωθησεται. και εσται τα σκολια εις ευθειας και αι τραχειαι εις οδους λειας. και οφεται πασα σαρξ το σωτηριον του θεου.

John 1:23 εγω φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημη, ευθανατε την οδον κυριου.

Allusions

Luke 2:30 οτι ειδον οι οφθαλμοι μου το σωτηριον σου

John 1:14b και εθεασαμεθα την δοξαν αυτου

John 11:40 λεγει αυτη ο Ιησους, ουκ ειπον σοι οτι εαν πιστευσης ορη την δοξαν του θεου;

(8) Isaiah 28:16; 8:14

Septuagint

δια τουτο ουτως λεγει κυριος ιδου εγω εμβαλω εις τα θεμελια Σιων λιθον πολυτελη εκλεκτον ακρογωνιαιον εντιμον εις τα θεμελια αυτης, και ο πιστευων επ' αυτη ου μη καταισχυνη.

Massoretic Text

לְכֹן כִּה אֶמַר אֲנִי יְהוָה הַנִּבִּי
וְנִפְּסָה בְּחַבְּרֹן אֲבִן אֲבִן בְּצִיּוֹן
אֲלֵי יִקְרָא מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד מִתְּקֵי
הַגִּבְעוֹת וְלֵאבֹן וְלִשְׂרָפִים יִשְׁחָקוּ
וְלִצְלוֹת מִכְּבוֹד שְׁמִי בְּתֵי
וְלִשְׂרָפִים לִפְּלֵל לְאֲדָמָה
מִלְּיָדָי

Quotations

Romans 9:33 ιδου τιθημι εν Σιων λιθον προσκοιματος και πετραν σκανδαλου, και ο πιστευων επ' αυτη ου κατα-

ισχυνησεται.

I Peter 2:6-8a ιδου τιθημι εν Σιων λιθον εκλεκτον ακρογωνιαιον εντιμον, και ο πιστευων επ' αυτω ου μη καταισχυνη. (υμιν ουν η τινη τοις πιστευουσιν. απιστουσιν δι λιθος ον απεδοκιμασαν οι οικοδομουντες, ουτος εγενηθη εις κεφαλην γωνιας) και λιθος προσκομματος και πετρα σκανδαλου.

(9) Genesis 12:3 (12:18)

Septuagint

και ευλογησω τους ευλογουντας σε, και τους καταρωμενους σε καταρασομαι. και ευελογηθησονται εν σοι πασαι αι φυλαι της γης

Massoretic Text

ואברכה מברכיך ומקללך ארך
ונברכו בן כל משפחה הארצה

Quotations

Acts 3:25 και εν τω σπερματι σου ευελογηθησονται πασαι αι πατριαι της γης

Galatians 3:3 ευελογηθησονται εν σοι παντα τα εθνη

(10) Jeremiah 31:31-34

Septuagint

ιδου ημεραι ερχονται, φησιν κυριος, και διαθησομαι τω οικω Ισραηλ και τω οικω Ιουδα διαθηκην καινην, ου κατα την διαθηκην, ην διεθεμην τοις πατρασιν αυτων εν ημερα επιλαβομενου μου της χειρος αυτων εξαγαγειν αυτους εκ γης Αιγυπτου, οτι αυτοι ουκ ενεμειναν εν τη διαθηκη μου, και εγω ημελησα αυτων, φησιν κυριος. οτι αυτη η διαθηκη, ην διαθησομαι τω οικω Ισραηλ μετα τας ημερας εκεινας, φησιν κυριος

Massoretic Text

הנה ימים כאים נאם יהוה
וכרתִי את בית ישראל ואת בית
יהודה ברית חדשה לא כברית אשר
כרתִי את אבותם ביום החזיקי
בידם להוציאם מארץ מצרים אשר
המה הפירו את בריתי ואנכי בעל
תי כם נאם יהוה כי זאת הברית
אשר אכרת את בת ישראל אחרי
הימים ההם נאם יהוה נתתי את
תורתִי בקרבם ועל לבם אכתובנה
והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו
לי לעם ולא ילמדו עוד איש את
רעהו ואיש את אחיו לאמר
דעו את יהוה כי כולם ידעו
אותִי למקטנם ועד גדולם נאם
יהוה כי אסלה לעונם ולחטאתם

διδους δωσω νομους μου
 εις την διανοιαν αυτων
 και επι καρδιας αυτων
 γραψω αυτους. και εσομαι
 αυτοις εις θεον,
 και αυτοι εσονται μοι
 εις λαον. αυτοι εσονται
 μοι εις λαον. και
 ου μη διδαξωσιν εκαστος
 τον πολιτην αυτου
 και εκαστος τον αδελφον
 αυτου λεγων γνωθι
 τον κυριον οτι παντες
 ειδησουσιν με απο μικρου
 αυτων και εως μεγαλου
 αυτων, οτι ιλεως
 εσομαι ταις αδικιαις
 αυτων και των αμαρτιων
 αυτων ου μη μνησθω ετι.

Quotations

Hebrews 8:8-12 ιδου ημεραι ερχονται, λεγει κυριος, και συνετελεσω επι τον οικον Ισραηλ και επι τον οικον Ιουδα διαθηκην καινην, ου κατα την διαθηκην ην εποιησα τοις πατρασιν αυτων εν ημερα επιλαβομενου μου της χειρος αυτων εξαγαγειν αυτους εκ της Αιγυπτου, οτι αυτοι ουκ ενεμειναν εν τη διαθηκη μου, κ'αγω ημελησα αυτων, λεγει κυριος. οτι αυτη η διαθηκη ην διαθησομαι τω οικω Ισραηλ μετα τας ημερας εκεινας, λεγει κυριος, διδους νομους μου εις την διανοιαν αυτων, και επι καρδιας αυτων επιγραψω αυτοις, και εσομαι αυτοις εις θεον και αυτοι εσονται μοι εις λαον. και ου μη διδαξωσιν εκαστος τον αδελφον αυτου, λεγων γνωθι τον κυριον, οτι παντες ειδησουσιν με απο μικρου εως μεγαλου αυτων, και των αμαρτιων αυτων ου μη μνησθω ετι.

Allusions

Matthew 26:28 τουτο γαρ εστιν το αιμα μου της διαθηκης το περι πολλων εκχυνομενον εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων.

I Corinthians 11:25b τουτο το ποτηριον η καινη διαθηκης το
περι πολλων εκχυννομενον εις αφεσιν
αμαρτιων

II Corinthians 3:2a ενγεγραμμενη εν ταις καρδιαις ημων

II Corinthians 3:6a ος και ικανωσεν ημας διακονους καινης
διαθηκης

II Corinthians 3:14b αχρι γαρ της σημερον ημερας το αυτο
καλυμμα επι τη αναγνωσει της παλαιας
διαθηκης μενει

II Corinthians 6:17-18 διο εξελθατε εκ μεσου αυτων και
αφορισθητε, λεγει κυριος, και ακα-
θαρτου μη απτεσθε. κ'γω εισδεξομαι
υμας. και εσομαι υμιν εις πατερα, και
υμεις εσεσθε μοι εις υιους και θυγατερ-
ας, λεγει κυριος παντοκρατωρ.

(11) Joel 2:28-32

Septuagint

και εσται μετα ταυτα και
εκχεω απο του πνευματος
μου επι πασαν σαρκα, και
προφητευσουσιν οι υιοι
υμων και αι θυγατερες
υμων, και οι πρεσβυτεροι
υμων ενυπνια ενυπνιασθη-
σονται, και οι ωεανισκοι
υμων ορασεις οφονται.
και επι τους δουλους και
επι τας δουλαις εν ταις
ημεραις εκειναις εκχεω
απο του πνευματος μου.
και δωσω τερατα εν τω
ουρανω και επι της γης,
αιμα και πυρ και ατμιδα
καπνου. ο ηλιος μετα-
στραφησεται εις σκοτος
και η σεληνη εις αιμα
πριν ελθειν ημεραν κυ-
ριου την μεγαλην και
επιφανη και εσται πας,
ος αν επικαλεσηται το
ονομα κυριου, σωθησε-
ται. οτι εν τω ορει

Massoretic Text

וְהָיָה אַחֲרָי כִּן אֲשַׁפּוּךְ אֶת רוּחִי
עַל כָּל בָּשָׂר וְנִכְאָו בְּנֵיכֶם
וּבְנוֹתֵיכֶם וְקִנְיֵיכֶם חִלְמוֹת
יִחְלְמוּן כַּחֲרוֹיכֶם וְזִינֹת יִרְאוּ
וְגַם עַל הָעֹבְדִים וְעַל הַנְּשֻׁפֹּת
כִּימִים הִחֲמָה אֶת רוּחִי
וְנָתַי מוֹפְתִים בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ
דָּם רָאשׁ וְתִימֹת עֵשֶׂן הִשְׁמַע
יִהְיֶה לְחֶשֶׁךְ וְהִירַח לְדָם לַיְּנִי
כִּי יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל
וְהַנּוֹרָא וְהָיָה כָּל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא
בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה יִמְלֹט כִּי כֹהֵר
צִוּן וּבִירֹן צִלִים תְּהִיָּה
עַל־יְטָה כֹּאשֶׁךְ אָמַר יְהוָה
וּבְשָׂרֵינִים אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה קָרָא

Σίων και εν Ιερουσαλημ
 εσται ανασφίζομενος, καθοτι
 ειπεν κυριος, και ευαγγελι-
 ζομενοι, ους κυριος προσ-
 κειληται.

Quotations

Acts 2:17-21 και εσται εν ταις εσχαταις ημεραις, λεγει ο
 θεος, εκχεω απο του πνευματος μου επι πασαν
 σαρκα, και προφητευσουσιν οι υιοι υμων και αι
 θυγατερες υμων, και οι νεανισκοι υμων ορασεις
 οφονται, και οι πρεσβυτεροι υμων ενυπνιοις εν-
 υπνιασθησονται. και γε επι τους δουλους μου και
 επι τας δουλαις μου εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις εκ-
 χεω απο του πνευματος μου, και προφητευσουσιν.
 και δωσω τερατα εν τω ουρανω και σημεια επε της
 γης κ̄αγω, αιμα και πυρ και ατμιδα καπνου. ο
 ηλιος μεταστραφησεται εις σκοτος και η σεληνη
 εις αιμα, πριν ελθειν ημεραν κυριου την μεγα-
 λην και επιφανη. και εσται πας ος εαν επικαλ-
 εσηται το ονομα κυριου σωθησεται.

Allusions

Mark 13:24b ο ηλιος σκοτισθησεται, και η σεληνη ου δωσει
 το φεγγος αυτης

Luke 21:25a και εσονται σημεια εν ηλιω και σεληνη και
 αστροις

Acts 2:39 υμιν γαρ εστιν η επαγγελια και τοις τεκνοις υμων
 και πασιν τοις εις μακραν, οσους αν προσκαλεσηται
 κυριος ο θεος ημων

Romans 10:13 πας γαρ ος αν επικαλεσηται το ονομα κυριου
 σωθησεται

Revelation 9:2b και ανεβη καπνος εκ του φρεατος ως καπνος
 καμινου μεγαλης, και εσκοτωθη ο ηλιος και
 ο ανηρ εκ του καπνου του φρεατος

(12) Zechariah 9:9

χαιρε σφοδρα, θυγατερ
Σιων. κηρυσσε, θυγατερ
Ιερουσαλημ. ιδου ο βασ-
ιλευς σου ερχεται σοι,
δικαιος και σωζων αυτος
πραυς και επιβεβηκως επι
υποζυγιον και πωλον νεον.

גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי
בת ירושלים הנה מלכך יבוא
לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני
ורכב על חמור ועל עיד כן
תאנת

Quotations

Matthew 21:5 ειπατε τη θυγατρι Σιων, ιδου ο βασιλευς σου
ερχεται σοι πραυς και επιβεβηκως επι ονον
και επι πωλον υιον υποζυγιον

John 12:15 μη φοβου, θυγατηρ Σιων. ιδου ο βασιλευς σου
ερχεται, καθημενος επι πωλον ονου

(13) Habakkuk 2:3-4

Septuagint

διοτι επι ορασις εις και-
ρον και ανατελει εις περ-
αυς και ουκ εις κενον.
εαν υστερηση υπομεινον
αυτον, οτι ερφομενος ηξει
και ου μη χρονιση. εαν
υποστειληται, ουκ ευδοκ-
ει η ψυχη μου εν αυτω. ο
δε δικαιος εκ πιστεως μου
ζησεται.

Massoretic Text

כי ענה חזון למועצ ויפיל לקל
ולא יכזב אם יתממה הכה לך
כי בא יבא לא יאחר הנה עפלה
לא ישרה נפשו כן וצדיק
כאמורתו יחיה

Quotations

Romans 1:17 οδε δικαιος εκ πιστεως ζησεται

Galatians 3:11 ο δικαιος εκ πιστεως ζησεται

Hebrews 10:37-38 επι γαρ μικρον οσον, ο ερχομενος ηξει και
ου χρονισει. ο δε δικαιος μου εκ πιστεως
ζησεται, και εαν υποστειληται, ουκ ευ-
δοκει η ψυχη μου εν αυτω

(14) Isaiah 61:1-2

SeptuagintMassoretic Text

πνευμα κυριου επ' εμε,
ου εινεκεν εχρισεν με.
ευαγγελισασθαι πτωχοις
απεσταληεν με, ιασασθαι
τους συντετριμμενους τη
καρδια κηρυξαι αιχμαλω-
τοις αφεσιν και τυφλοις
αναβλεψιν, καλεσαι ενιαυ-
τον κυριου δεκτον και η-
μεραν ανταποδοσεως, παρα-
καλεσαι παντας τους πενθουντας.

וְעַל יְהוָה אֲדַנִּי לֵבָרְכֵךְ
כִּשְׁמֵי יְהוָה אֲתִי לְבָשָׁר עֲנֻוִים
שְׁלַחְנִי לְנֹשְׁכֵי לֵב
לְקַרְא לְשִׁבּוּיִם תְּרוּר וְלֹא
תִּנְשׂוּם קָרָא לְקָרָא תִּנְשׂוּם
וְצִוֵּן לִי יְהוָה וְיִגְמֵם נְקָם
לְאַלְהֵינוּ כֹּל אֲבֵלִים

Quotations

Luke 4:18-19 πνευμα κυριου επ' εμε, ου εινεκεν εχρισεν με ευαγγελισασθαι πτωχοις, απεσταληεν με κηρυξαι αιχμαλωτοις αφεσιν και τυφλοις αναβλεψιν, αποστειλαι τεθραυσμενους εν αφεσει, κηρυξαι ενιαυτον κυριου δεκτον.

Allusions

Matthew 5:4 μακαριοι οι πενθουντες, οτι αυτοι παρακλησονται

Matthew 11:5 τυφλοι αναβλεμψουσιν και χωλοι περιπατουσιν, λεπροι καθαριζονται και κωφοι ακουουσιν, και νεκροι εγειρονται και πτωχοι ευαγγελιζονται

Luke 7:22 και αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις, πορευθεντες απαγγειλατε Ιωαννει α ειδετε και ηκουσατε. τυφλοι αναβλεμψουσιν, χωλοι περπατουσιν, λεπροι καθαριζονται, και κωφοι ακουουσιν, νεκροι εγειρονται, πτωχοι ευαγγελιζονται.

Acts 10:38:b ως εχρισεν αυτον ο θεος πνευματι αγιω και δυναμει.

(15) Deuteronomy 18:15, 19

SeptuagintMassoretic Text

προφητην εκ των αδελ-
φων σου ως εμε αναστη-
σει σοι κυριος ο θεος σου,
αυτου ακουσεσθε...και ο
ανθρωπος, ος εαν μη
ακουσι, οσα εαν λαληση

נָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ אֶחָד מֵאֶחָיו
יִקְרָא לְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
אֲלֵיךָ תִשְׁמָעוּן וְהָיָה אִישׁ
אֶחָד לֹא יִשְׁמַע אֶל דְּבָרֵי
אִישׁ יִדְבַּר בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָמָה
וְלֹא יִשְׁמָעוּ

ο προφητης επι τῷ ονοματι
μου, εγω εκδικησω εξ αυτου

Quotations

Acts 3:22-23 προφητην υμιν αναστησει κυριος ο θεος εκ των
αδελφων υμων ως εμε. αυτου ακουσεσθε κατα
παντα οσα αν λαληση προς υμας. εσται δε πασα
ψυχη ητις εαν μη ακουση του προφητου εκεινου
εξολεθρευθησεται εκ του λαου

Acts 7:37b προφητην υμιν αναστησει ο θεος εκ των αδελφων
υμων ως εμε

Allusions

Luke 9:35 ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο εκλελεγμενος, αυτου
ακουετε

John 6:14 οι ουν ανθρωποι ιδοντες ο εποιησεν σημειον
ελεγον οτε ουτος εστιν αληθως ο προφητης ο
ερψομενος εις τον κοσμον.

APPENDIX II

This appendix contains those Old Testament Scriptures which Dodd believed contributed most often to the theological understanding of New Testament authors. The major portions of scripture are arranged under three theological headings and one "unclassified" heading. Under these is Dodd's exhaustive list of where these testimonia occur in the New Testament. Standard abbreviations of all Bible books will be used throughout.

I. Apocalyptic-eschatological Scriptures: Main portions are Joel 2-3; Zechariah 9-14; and parts of Daniel. In addition there are two isolated passages of Malachi, 3:1-6 and the end of chapter 4.

Joel 2-3

Ac. 2 contains 2:28-32. I Cor. 15:52, I Thess. 4:16 and Rev. throughout recall the imagery of the trumpet call in 2:1. The verb κηρυσσεται and the phrase οτι εγγυς of Joel are echoes repeatedly in the NT. 2:15-16 was surely applied to the early church. 2:26 seems to be alluded to in Lk. 6:21 and in the Gospel accounts of the feeding of the crowds. Chapter 3's phraseology finds many vague echoes in the NT, e.g. Mt. 25:3-46/Joel 3:2, 11-12. Joel 3:9, 15, 16 are alluded to in the NT and 3:9 is almost quoted in Mk. 4:29.

Zechariah 9-14

Mt. 21:5 and Jh. 12:15 quote 9:9. Verse 11 of chapter 9 is probably seen underlying the "words of institution" in Lk. 14:24. 9:16 and 10:3 find echoes in the NT, and especially 10:8. 11:3 is explicitly found in Mt. 27:9 (combined with Jeremiah 32:6-9). Lk. 21:24 refers to 12:3 and Jh. 19:37 refers to 12:10. Mk. 14:27 quotes 13:7. Zech. 13:9 seems to appear in I Pet. 1:7 and possibly 4:12. And 13:9cd is similar to other testimonia, like Jeremiah 31:33 and Hosea 2:23. 14:5 may appear in I Thess. 3:13. The "living water of 14:8 may be noted in Jh. 7:38. And the prediction of 14:21 may underlie Jh. 2:16.

Daniel

7:13, with its reference to the Son of Man, is Dodd's starting point. Though there is no explicit quotation it is in view in Mt. 13:26 and 14:62. It is also found in Rev. 1:7. The phrase "with the clouds" in 7:13 may be implied in Ac. 1:9-11 and I Thess. 4:17. 7:22 may supply the scriptural authority for I Cor. 6:2. Also, 7:18 is echoed in the hymn of Rev. 5:9-10 and in I Cor. 4:8. Lk. 22:28-30 may be a concise reflection of Daniel 7:18 (cf. Mt. 19:28). Mk. 1:15 alludes to Daniel 7:22. The figure of the "abomination of desolation (ascribed to Daniel in Mt. 24:15) occurs in Daniel 9:27; 11:31 and 12:11. The latter occurs in a context which was used widely as a testimonium. Note these other uses of Daniel in the NT, or, more precisely, the use of Daniel 12: 12:1/Mk. 13:19; 12:2/Mt. 25:46 and Jh. 5:23-29; 12:5/Mt. 13:43; 12:9/Lk. 21:24/ 12:12/Jas. 1:12 and Mk. 13:13; 12:13 (closing words of the prophet)/Mt. 28:20 (closing words of the Gospel).

Malachi

3:1-6 is the first passage for consideration. Mt. 11:10 and Lk. 7:27 cite 3:1. In Mk. 1:2, Malachi 3:1 is associate with Is. 40:3. Malachi 3:3 may be echoed in the minds of the evangelists who recorded the cleansings of the temple. The other passage, Malachi 4, is alluded to in Mk. 11:12 and Lk. 1:17.

II. Scriptures of the New Israel: Major portions are certain prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah. These do not differ in purport from the above, but they are not coloured so deeply with apocalyptic imagery. A prophecy of Habakkuk is included.

Hosea

Ro. 9:25-26 conflates 2:23 and 1:10, in that order. I Pet. 2:10 reflects the same prophecy. Mt. 2:15 alludes to Hosea 11:1. I Cor. 15:55 conflates 13:14 and Is. 25:8. Mk. 13:8 uses $\omega\delta\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ to describe the terrible coming judgments just as Hosea 13 does. Lk. 21:22 alludes to 9:7. Mk. 13:17 reflects 13:16, as does Lk. 19:44. Dodd thinks 5:8--6:3 may be reflected in I Corinthians 15:4. 6:6 is cited in Mt. 9:13 and 12:7. Finally, note the references to covenant (2:18; 10:4), redemption (7:13; 13:14) and Israel as a vine (10:1). The NT echoes these important words.

Isaiah

6:9-10 is repeatedly echoed throughout the NT. 6:3 appears in Rev. 4:8. Chapter 8 is used widely; 8:12-13/I Pet. 3:14-15; 8:17/Heb. 2:13; 8:18/Heb. 2:13; 8:22/Ro. 2:9. This chapter also has the name Immanuel. Is. 9:1-2 is quoted in Mt. 4:15-16. Lk. 1:79 reflects 9:2. And Lk. 1:32-33 echoes 9:7. Mk. 11:10 may reflect the same passage. Dodd feels that Is. 6:1--9:7 constituted a whole testimonium. Other passages under this heading are Is. 11, 29 and 40. Is. 11:1-10 is reflected in the NT in three instances: 11:2/Jh. 1:33; 11:3/Jh. 7:24; 11:10/Ro. 15:12 and Rev. 5:5. Is. 29:9-14 is cited by Paul and the Synoptics. 29:10/Ro. 11:8; 29:13/Mk. 7:67 and Mt. 15:8-9; 29:14/I Cor. 1:19. Chapter 40 has the following citations in the NT: 40:1/Mk. 1:3; 40:5/Jh. 11:40; 40:6-8/I Pet. 1:25-25; 40:11/Jh. 10:1-16.

Jeremiah

Mt. 2:18 reflects Jeremiah 31:15. 31:10 may be seen in Jh. 11:52 and Mk. 13:27. 31:11 uses the term "redemption" which has prodigious use in the NT. Lk. 6:21, Jh. 6:35 and Rev. 6:16 echo 31:12. Besides Jeremiah 31, 7:1-15, a prophecy of the doom of the temple, should be considered as part of the Jeremiah testimonium. Mk. 11:17 and 13:2 cite this portion of scripture.

Habakkuk

Aside from the well-known passage in chapter 2 cited by Paul and the author to the Hebrews, Acts 13:41 quotes Habakkuk 1:5.

III. Scriptures of the Servant of the Lord and the Righteous Sufferer:

Most important here is the latter part of the book of Isaiah and some psalms.

Isaiah

42:1-4 ("Servant of the Lord") is cited in Mt. 12:18-21. Is. 42:1 is reflected in Mk. 1:11 and Mt. 3:17. It is also useful to note the following echoes from Is. 42--44:5 in the New Testament: 42:6 (δυναμει) /throughout the New Testament; 42:7/Mt. 11:5 and Lk. 1:79; 42:12/I Pet. 2:9 (but cf. Is. 43:21); 42:16 ("light for darkness")/throughout the NT; 42:18 ("blind see, deaf hear")/

throughout the Gospels; 43:1 (redemption)/throughout the NT; 43:2,5 ("I am with thee"; quasi Immanuel)/Mt. 28:20; 43:7 ("all who invoke my name")/Ro. 10:13 (but cf. Joel 2:32a); 43:10 ("be my witnesses")/Ac. 1:8, 5:32 and Jh. 15:26-27; 43:18/Rev. 21:5 and II Cor. 5:17-18; 43:21/I Pet. 2:9; 44:1-2/Mk. 1:2; 44:3/Jh. 4:12-14; 44:3 ("gift of the Spirit")/throughout the NT. Is. 49--61 represents another block of testimonia echoes in the NT: 49:3/Jh. 13:31, 17:1 and Phil 2:7, 11; 49:5/Jh. 6:52 and Mk. 13:27; 49:6/Ac. 13:47 (with 49:8; cf. Lk. 2:31); 49:9/Lk. 2:32; 49:10/Rev. 7:16; 50:6/Mk. 14:65, Mt. 26:67, Mk. 15:15, Mt. 27:26, Jh. 18:22 and 19:3; 50:7/Lk. 9:51; 50:8/Ro. 8:33; 50:10/Jh. 12:35. The Suffering Servant passages form the next testimonia, as found in Is. 52:13--53:12: 52:13/Ac. 3:13, Jh. 12:23 and Phil. 2:9; 52:15/Ro. 15:21; 53:1/Ro. 10:16 and Jh. 12:38; 53:3/Mk. 9:12; 53:4/Mt. 8:17; 53:5/I Pet. 2:24; 53:6/I Pet. 2:25; 53:7-8a/Ac. 8:32-33; 53:9/I Pet. 2:22; 53:10/Ro. 8:3; 53:11/I Pet. 2:24; 53:11-12/Mk. 10:45 and 14:24; 53:12/Lk. 11:21-22; 53:12/Lk. 22:37; 53:12/Ro. 14:25; 53:12/Phil. 2:7-8; 53:12/Heb. 9:28; 53:12/Ro. 8:34. Also with this group must be associated Is. 61:1-2. This passage is quoted in Lk. 4:18-19 and echoes in Ac. 10:38, Mt. 11:5, 5:4 and Lk. 7:22. Other parts of this chapter may underlie some New Testament citation: 61:6 (priestly people)/I Pet. 2:9 and Rev. 1:6; 61:8 (eternal covenant)/throughout the NT; 61:10 (people of God as a bride)/Rev. 21:2,9, II Cor. 11:2 and Eph. 5:25-27. Ac. 10:38 may also reflect Is. 61:1-2.

Psalms

69 (cf. page 15) is a noteworthy and well attested testimonium according to Dodd. One-half of Ps. 69:22 is quoted by Paul and the other half Jh., whereas other verses are quoted or recalled in Mk., Mt., Jh. and Ac. Ps. 22 is also significant: 22:1/Mk. 15:34 and Mt. 27:46; 22:6/Mk. 9:12 (but cf. Is. 53:3); 22:7/Lk. 23:35 and Mk. 15:29; 22:8/Mt. 27:43; 22:18/Jh. 19:24 and Mk. 15:24; 22:20 (μονογενης) /Jh. 1:18; 22:22/Heb. 2:12; 22:24/Heb. 5:7; 22:27/Lk. 6:20-21; 22:28/Rev. 11:15 and Mt. 6:13. Ps. 31:13 may be reflected in Mt. 26:3-4. Verse 5 of that psalm is adopted in Lk. 23:46. Ps. 34 is used rather widely as a testimonium: 34:8/I Pet. 2:3; 34:10/Lk. 1:53 and 6:24-25; 34:12-16/I Pet. 3:10-12; 34:20/Jh. 19:36 (but cf. Ex. 12:46); 34:22 (λυιρουν) /a key-word in the New Testament. Likewise Ps. 118 has wide use: 118:10/Jh. 10:24; 118:16/Acts 2:33; 118:22-23/Mk. 12:10, I Pet. 2:7 and Ac. 4:11; 118:25-26/Mk. 11:9, Mt. 23:39 and Lk. 13:35. Other psalms of lesser importance for testimonia are 41 (41:9/Jh. 13:18) and 42--43, a single psalm, which is reflected in Mk. 14:34 (Ps. 42:5 and 43:5) and Jh. 12:27 (Ps. 42:6).

IV. Unclassified Scriptures:

Psalm 8

On verses 4-6 see page 62. Verse 2 is cited in Matthew 21:16.

Psalm 110

On verse 1 as a testimonium see page 63. Hebrews 5:6, 6:20, 7:17 and 21 cite 110:4. (Dodd says that the author of the Hebrews is conscious here of being an innovator but realized his argument could rest on secure grounds if he could count on the entire psalm as being a testimony to Christ).

Some "messianic" scriptures

On Psalm 2:7 see page 67. Acts 4:25-26 quotes Psalm 2:1-2. Revelation 12:5, 19:15 and 2:27 reflect Psalm 2:9. Acts 2:30 cites Psalm 132:2 and Acts 2:25-28 employs Psalm 16:8-11. Note also that II Samuel 7:14 is associated with Psalm 2:7 in Hebrews 1:5. In Acts 13:33-37, Psalm 2:7, 16:10 and Isaiah 45:3 are associated. To these should be added the citation in Acts 15:16-17 of Amos 9:11-12.

Genesis 13:3, 22:18 and Deuteronomy 18:15, 19

Each of these are used in isolation without reference to their contexts.