

Piotr Herok

# Marked Quotations from Psalms in the Gospel of Matthew



# Lublin Theological Studies

in connection with  
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Volume 9

Piotr Herok

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VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT

The project is funded by the University of Opole.

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Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2024 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Robert-Bosch-Breite 10, 37079 Göttingen, Germany,  
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Proofreading: Thomas Lane  
Indexes: Dawid Mielnik, Lublin  
Typesetting: le-tex publishing services, Leipzig  
Cover design: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen

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ISBN 978-3-647-50052-2

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## Acknowledgements

This book is a revision of my doctoral dissertation defended at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome on 18 January 2023.

A number of individuals and institutions deserve my thanks whose support helped me achieve this goal. I am grateful to Professor Henry Pattarumadathil, S.J. of Pontifical Biblical Institute, who supervised this work, for his experience and support shared with me over the past few years of collaboration. I am also grateful to Professor Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto of Pontifical Biblical Institute, my second reader, for his valuable suggestions and observations, which allowed me to significantly enrich this study, and which at the same time contributed to expanding my ability to conduct scientific research. I am grateful to the community of professors and students at the Pontifical Biblical Institute as well as to the Campo Santo Teutonico community in Vatican City for creating a balanced space for studying and living.

Special thanks go to Most Reverend Andrzej Czaja, the bishop of Opole, for his constant encouragement and financial support. I am deeply thankful to the German Office of the *Renovabis* Foundation for providing a seven-year long scholarship (2016–2023).

I am grateful to Thomas Lane who proof-read the final form of the text, and to publishing house of Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and editors of the series “Lublin Theological Studies” for accepting the study for publication. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Institute of Theology at the University of Opole for providing the necessary funds for this project.

I dedicate this book to all those who are willing to sacrifice everything they have in search of hidden treasure.

Piotr Herok

Opole, Poland  
June 2023



## Foreword

It is a pleasure for me to present Piotr Herok's work to the scholarly world. This volume is the revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation defended at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, in January of 2023.

The examination of the quotations of the OT in the NT faces a difficult task: how to deal properly with the textual evidence from both Testaments, a task that demands scholarly competence in both. This is even more evident when the quotations are taken from the Psalms, given the incredibly complex transmission history of this book. Herok shows through his study to be highly skilled in both OT and NT studies, skills that, combined with his attention to detail and acuity, brewed a convincing and valuable contribution to the academy.

In his study of how the text of the Psalms was received in the Gospel of Matthew, Herok dives deep into ancient sources often absent from such treatments, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, the ancient versions, and rabbinic literature. This investigation has two goals: the first is textual, the attempt to ascertain the form of the text that was used by the NT writer; the second is more in the lines of reception history, the quest for understanding the evolving interpretation of the Psalms in antiquity and how these developments relate to the Gospel of Matthew.

Herok engages with the pertinent and extensive bibliography on the subject, displaying a balanced and sensible approach. The reader will discover in Herok's book an organized and well-written work. The argumentation is always clear and reasoned – truly a pleasure to read.

This study of marked quotations of the Psalms in Matthew will be of interest to both NT scholars and experts in Septuagint studies. The contrast between the uses of these quotations in the Gospel of Matthew and the other ancient sources highlights even more effectively the novelty in the NT text. Furthermore, this analysis of the impact of the Septuagint of the Psalms on the NT is most relevant in view of the scholarly attention that the Septuagint currently enjoys.

I first met Piotr Herok in 2017 in a seminar offered by the late prof. Stephen Pisano precisely on the subject of citations of the OT in the Gospel of Matthew; I was then a young doctoral candidate, while Herok was a student of the Licentiate program of the PBI. It is a great joy to have been, years later, part of his doctoral committee, and now to celebrate the publication of his contribution on that same topic, hopefully the first of many.

Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto

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# Prolegomena

## 1. Introduction

The text of the Gospel of Matthew is full of references to the Old Testament (OT).<sup>1</sup> The author directs his work to an audience familiar with the Scriptures. For this reason, he inserts many OT quotations and allusions to confirm his editorial purposes. This procedure is to convince the reader that the announcements and promises addressed to Israel are fulfilled in Jesus.

The OT book most quoted by Matthew is Psalms and its quotations can be divided into two groups: marked quotations – introduced by a direct reference to the OT (by means of an introductory formula)<sup>2</sup> – and unmarked quotations, without explicitly pointing to the OT. However, near-literal repetition of words reveals a direct borrowing from their *Vorlage*.

There are five marked quotations from Psalms in the Gospel of Matthew:

1. Ps 91:11–12 in Matt 4:6
2. Ps 78:2 in Matt 13:35
3. Ps 8:3 in Matt 21:16
4. Ps 118:22–23 in Matt 21:42
5. Ps 110:1 in Matt 22:44

The quotations are introduced by the following formulas:

1. γέγραπται γάρ ὅτι (Matt 4:6)
2. ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (Matt 13:35)
3. οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι (Matt 21:16)
4. οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς (Matt 21:42)
5. πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον λέγων (Matt 22:43)

This study shows that Matthew applies to Jesus five marked psalm quotations as a coherent whole, in his new specific interpretative contexts, to address the OT expectation of the Messiah as Son of David, while showing this title is insufficient because Jesus is firstly Son of God.

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1 Being aware of difficulties concerning the terminology (“Hebrew Bible,” “Jewish Bible,” “Tanak,” “Scripture,” etc.), we retain the traditional expression “Old Testament.”

2 E. g., τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (Matt 1:22), ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (Matt 8:17), οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται (Matt 11:10).



## 2. Status Questionis

To the best of our knowledge, no monograph has yet been devoted to the use of Psalms throughout the first gospel.<sup>3</sup> However, there are two articles that deal with this issue that deserve to be mentioned. The first is M.J.J. Menken's "The Psalms in Matthew's Gospel."<sup>4</sup> The author briefly discusses each text he considers to be a quotation from the book of Psalms. It covers a total of 15 citations, with a distinction between marked and unmarked quotations, focusing on their textual form and meaning in the Matthean context. The second article addressing the issue, "Das Matthäusevangelium im Lichte der Psalmen," was written by F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger.<sup>5</sup> They deal with 27 places in the gospel that they consider quotations, dividing them into those with a Christological and anthropological perspective, also taking into account two special cases. Each of the quotations is concisely discussed along with the context in which Matthew places it. Due to the form of the article, neither the work of Menken nor of Hossfeld and Zenger is exhaustive. At the same time, it should be noted that the gospel of John and the Pauline literature have already been comprehensively examined in terms of the use of Psalms.<sup>6</sup> Besides, it is also worth mentioning two monographs devoted to the OT citations (including Psalms) in the gospel of Matthew: K. Stendahl's *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*<sup>7</sup> and R. H. Gundry's *The Use of the Old Testament in St.*

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3 See an excellent study devoted to the reception of Psalms in the Matthean passion narrative: Alida C. Euler, *Psalmrezeption in der Passionsgeschichte des Matthäusevangeliums: Eine intertextuelle Studie zur Verwendung, theologischen Relevanz und strukturgebenden Funktion der Psalmen in Mt 26–27 im Lichte frühjüdischer Psalmreklure*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 571 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022).

4 Maarten J. J. Menken, "The Psalms in Matthew's Gospel," in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, (London, New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 61–82. The publication edited by Moyise and Menken is a concise presentation of the use of Psalms throughout the whole New Testament, constituting a collection of articles devoted to the individual NT writings.

5 Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, "Das Matthäusevangelium im Lichte der Psalmen," in *Neigt euer Ohr den Worten meines Mundes" (Ps 78,1): Studien zu Psalmen und Psalter*, ed. Christoph Dohmen and Thomas Hieke (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2015), 119–30.

6 For the gospel of John see Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 47 (Leiden, Boston, MA, Köln: Brill, 2000); for the Pauline literature see Marika Pulkkinen, "Paul's Use of Psalms: Quotations, Allusions, and Psalm Clusters in Romans and First Corinthians" (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2020). See Pulkkinen's presentation and evaluation of the previous studies on Paul's use of Psalms; *ibid.*, 10–3.

7 Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954).

*Matthew's Gospel*<sup>8</sup>. Both scholars focus on issues related to the textual form of the citations.

In conclusion, to date, the lack of a broader interest in Psalms in the first gospel encourages us to fill this gap in the scholarly literature. Thus, the nature of this work is exploratory.

### 3. Methodology

This study adopts an intertextual approach. The term “intertextuality” itself may incorporate different meanings.<sup>9</sup> S. Moyise suggests that “in the light of current usage, it is best used as an ‘umbrella’ term for the complex interactions that exist between ‘texts’ (in the broadest sense).”<sup>10</sup> In turn, W. Weren aptly observes that “intertextual research resembles canonical exegesis in that separate texts are also interpreted in the light of texts from Scripture and the meaning of a text is perceived as a product of its reading in relation to other texts.”<sup>11</sup> Another important feature of the intertextual approach is the interpenetration of the contexts of the cited text and the citing text, such that a text from the OT, embedded in its original literary context (which determines its meaning), is reused by the author of a New Testament (NT) writing. The NT writer, adapting it to his editorial purposes, on one hand modifies its original meaning and on the other influences the course of the NT

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8 Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967).

9 For example, within this term S. Moyise coins three categories: (1) *Intertextual Echo* – quotations, allusions and echoes from the Old Testament found in the New Testament; (2) *Dialogical Intertextuality* – it pays special attention to the context of the texts and the changes in meaning, interaction between two texts in both directions; (3) *Postmodern Intertextuality* – it emphasizes the complexity of the text interpretation process and the conditions that affect it. This type of investigation tries to capture the results of the interaction of texts and the selectivity of the conclusions drawn due to the instability of this process; there are many ways of interpreting texts caused by the reader's subjectivity; cf. Steve Moyise, “Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament,” in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 17–8. For an overview of various scholarly approaches to the phenomenon of intertextuality, see Samuel Emadi, “Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship: Significance, Criteria, and the Art of Intertextual Reading,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 14, no. 1 (2015): 8–23.

10 Moyise, “Intertextuality,” 41.

11 Wim Weren, “Intertextuality: Theories and Practices,” in *Studies in Matthew's Gospel: Literary Design, Intertextuality, and Social Setting*, Biblical Interpretation Series 130 (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 105.

narration, giving a new context to the OT text at the same time.<sup>12</sup> In this study, the term “intertextuality” refers to the relationship between the quotations from Psalms and their NT usage. The intertextual approach should be understood here primarily in a synchronic sense because the final form of a quotation from the OT in the NT is studied, i. e., the form the OT text has in the NT. The possible change of form of the quotation is dictated by the theology and/or the redactional assumptions of the author of the NT.<sup>13</sup> The intertextual approach also contains a diachronic element, because the OT text is examined in its original context and then compared with other ancient translations (its reinterpretations over time).

The intertextual approach is associated with terms such as “quotation,” “allusion,” and “echo”. These concepts create some confusion due to the different meanings that individual scholars give them.<sup>14</sup> This study employs definitions proposed by M.J.J. Menken. Thus, the term “marked quotation” is understood as explained by the

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12 As K.-S. Kim puts it, “the intertextual approach proposes that the cited text transforms and is transformed by the citing text”; Kyoung-Shik Kim, *God Will Judge Each One According to Works: Judgment According to Works and Psalm 62 in Early Judaism and the New Testament*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 179 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2011), 31. It should be mentioned that the phenomenon of intertextuality occurs not only between the Old and the New Testament but also within the OT and the NT itself.

13 Sometimes the form is identical (a literal quote without changing the vocabulary, e. g., in relation to the Septuagint) – then the emphasis is also on synchrony, because one looks for an answer to the question about the sense of the text from the OT in the new NT context.

14 For example, G. T. Manning Jr distinguishes only between quotation and allusion; cf. Gary T. Manning Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period* Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 270 (London, New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 5. In turn, when dealing with the definitions, B. J. Abasciano points to “formal quotations,” “informal quotations,” “exact/direct quotation,” and “loose quotation” noticing at the same time that some categories may overlap. The author also acknowledges general terms “quotation” and “citation” as possibly referring to any of these specific designations. When it comes to “allusion,” Abasciano indicates two ways of investigation, in a broader (intentional reference) and narrower (informal, intentional reference) way. As he declares, in the first instance “allusion encompasses quotation, and can refer to it” whereas in the second it refers to a text other than quotation; Brian J. Abasciano, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1–9: An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis*, Library of New Testament Studies 301 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 16. The scholar deals also with “echo” denoting it “allusion without reference to conscious intention”; *ibid.*, 17. Another possible approach to the issue is presented by S. Smith. Dealing with so-called *relevance theory* (inference-based human communication theory) which “treats the allusion as a form of *echoic language*,” the author proposes four *criteria* for identifying allusions/echoes: (1) the presence of a *textual signal*, (2) *echoic strength*, (3) *accessibility* of the OT text, and (4) *interpretative benefit*; cf. Steve Smith, “The Use of Criteria: A Proposal from Relevance Theory,” in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith (London: T&T Clark, 2019) 146–50. See also Stanley E. Porter, “The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders,

author: “Marked quotations are more or less verbatim and thus easily recognizable renderings of a clause or a series of clauses from scripture, which are introduced or concluded by a formula that makes clear that the words in question come from scripture.”<sup>15</sup> Consequently, the difference between marked and unmarked quotations is mainly due to the presence of an introductory and/or concluding formula that “makes clear that the words in question come from scripture,” but still, the unmarked citations are considered “verbatim derivations.”<sup>16</sup> Finally, an allusion, unlike marked and unmarked quotations, is defined as “all other vague ways of making use of the Old Testament, varying from an evident but not verbal reference to a biblical text to a faint echo.”<sup>17</sup> To sum up, this study adopts the following terms: “marked quotation,” “unmarked quotation,” and “allusion” at the same time omitting the category of “echo” as hard to grasp and, ultimately, unnecessary for the goals of our work.<sup>18</sup>

When it comes to examining the function of the quotations from Psalms in the whole Matthean work, the text of the first gospel will be investigated in its final form (synchronic analysis) with reference to the sources used by the author when needed (diachronic analysis). The terms “Matthew” and “the author of the first gospel” will be used interchangeably. Biblical references that do not have an abbreviation of

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Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79–96.

15 Menken, “The Psalms in Matthew’ Gospel,” 61. See Pulkkinen, “Paul’s Use of Psalms,” 43. The author distinguishes, among others, between “explicitly marked quotation” and “implicit quotation” – the difference results from the presence/lack of “a quotation formula or some other kind of explicit marker denoting quotation”; *ibid.* 29.

16 Menken, “The Psalms in Matthew’ Gospel,” 61.

17 Menken, “The Psalms in Matthew’ Gospel,” 61. Cf. further clarification of the definition of “allusion” in the *Excursus* on allusions to Ps 22 in Matt 27 in the first chapter of this study.

18 Dealing with the OT material in the second gospel, M. D. Hooker perceptively notes: “It is notoriously difficult to decide what is and what is not an allusion to another text: some echoes [...] may be accidental, and not the result of influence at all; other may be unconscious, and not due to any deliberate association with the OT on Mark’s part [...]”; Mornad D. Hooker, “Mark,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of B. Lindars*, ed. Donald A. Carson and Hugh G. M. Williamson (Cambridge U.K., New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 224. R. B. Hays introduces another category dealing with “allusive echo”; cf. Richard B Hays, *Echoes of Scriptures in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 20. In this work, he proposes seven criteria for identifying echoes in the letters of Paul: (1) availability, (2) volume, (3) recurrence, (4) thematic coherence, (5) historical plausibility, (6) history of interpretation, and (7) satisfaction; *ibid.*, 34–45. See by the same author: *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005) where he develops his hermeneutical observations, and *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016) where he applies them to the canonical gospels.

the book's name always refer only to the gospel of Matthew. As for the process of editing the first gospel, the two-document hypothesis is presupposed.

#### 4. Textual Situation of Psalms

The textual situation of Psalms is one of the most complex ones in the OT.<sup>19</sup> This is due to the widespread use of these texts not only for the liturgical purposes, but also, among others, because of the transmission of Psalms as self-standing compositions edited in a form of Psalters with only the book of Psalms alone, i. e., not included with other collections to form a copy of the Bible.<sup>20</sup> B. A. Strawn perceptively notes that “no other single book of the Bible is treated in this way as extensively as Psalms.”<sup>21</sup> This popularity is expressed in the number of preserved Greek textual witnesses being well over 1000.<sup>22</sup> The earliest available Hebrew manuscripts come from the discoveries at the Dead Sea (Qumran) consisting of forty-two possible such sources. As to the differences in their text type, one should point to the various psalm sequencing and infrequent existence of additional, non-(proto-)Masoretic Text (MT) content. For example, both characteristics are seen in 11Q5 – the great Psalms scroll.<sup>23</sup> Generally speaking, in the consonantal form, the MT may be deemed quite similar to the proto-MT while noting at the same time some text-critical divergences. In this context, one should refer again to the words of Strawn, who, considering the possible alternative Hebrew formulations, summarizes:

Whatever the case, the Hebrew textual tradition – at least in terms of sequencing of specific psalm content – must have been settled at some point *after* the evidence from Qumran,

19 See Brent A. Strawn, “Textual History of Psalms,” in *The Hebrew Bible. I/C Writings*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, Textual History of the Bible 1 (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 5–23. For the questions concerning the date of origin, the *Vorlage*, the characteristics of the various ancient versions used in our work, etc., see in the same publication the contributions of: Jannes Smith, “Septuagint,” 82–4; David M. Stec, “Targum,” 88–93; John. M. Meade, “Hexaplaric Greek Translations,” 98–103; Justin Rogers, “Vulgate,” 104–10.

20 Cf. Strawn, “Textual History of Psalms,” 5.

21 Strawn, “Textual History of Psalms,” 5.

22 Cf. Eberhard Bons and Ralph Bruckner, “Psalmoi/Das Buch der Psalmen,” in *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*, ed. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Siegfried Kreuzer, Handbuch zur Septuaginta/ Handbook of the Septuagint 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 338.

23 Cf. Strawn, “Textual History of Psalms,” 8. For a survey of the psalms scrolls and a detailed presentation of variants they represent, see Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 17 (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 27–116.

where pluriformity is the norm, but *before* the medieval manuscripts of the tenth to the fifteenth centuries C.E. that demonstrate that the (proto-)MT text type carried the day.<sup>24</sup>

Beyond the Qumran sources, two most important Hebrew textual witnesses are the Aleppo Codex (MT<sup>A</sup>, ca. 925 CE) and Codex Leningradensis (MT<sup>L</sup>, ca. 1008/1009 CE).<sup>25</sup> The latter is the base text of the critical edition *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (*BHS*) which constitutes the starting point for our study of Psalms in their Hebrew form.<sup>26</sup>

Given the importance of the Greek version of Psalms for the Greek NT authors, the presentation of the textual situation of Psalms should include their LXX version. The precise date of the translation of Psalms is unknown, however it is usually placed in the second century BCE. As to the *Vorlage*, it is quite close to the consonantal MT.<sup>27</sup> The most striking difference as manifested in the alternative numeration of the LXX Psalms (resulting from a different division and/or combination of several psalms) may be explained by the variations in the numeration within Masoretic tradition itself which is observed until the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The most important manuscripts preserving the Greek texts of Psalms are *Codex Vaticanus*, *Codex Sinaiticus* – both from the fourth century CE – and *Codex Alexandrinus* from the fifth century CE. A. Rahlfs' edition of the Greek Psalter, known as *Psalmi cum Odis*,

24 Strawn, "Textual History of Psalms," 9–10.

25 Cf. Brent A. Strawn, "(Proto-)Masoretic Texts and Ancient Texts Close to MT," in *The Hebrew Bible. I/C Writings*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, Textual History of the Bible 1 (Leiden, Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), 52.

26 MT<sup>L</sup> is the oldest manuscript containing the whole of the Hebrew Bible. In turn, MT<sup>A</sup> is at some points badly damaged and lacks some material (e. g., Pss 15:1–25:2). For this reason, although older, it does not form the basis for the *BHS*. Up to now, there are two critical editions of MT<sup>L</sup>-Pss available as represented in *BH3* (third edition of *Biblia Hebraica*) from 1930 (by F. Buhl) and *BHS* (fourth edition) from 1969 (by H. Bardtke). The fifth edition – known as *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*) – is still incomplete. This applies also to the book of Psalms which is being prepared by G. R. Norton.

27 Cf. Strawn, "Textual History of Psalms," 11–2.

28 Cf. Strawn, "Textual History of Psalms," 11. Another significant difference in the LXX Psalter is the presence of an additional Psalm 151 – it is not included in MT, but it is found in 11Q11 – and the considerable variations in the Psalm headings; these are further examples of the fluidity of the tradition. On the Ps 151 LXX, see James K. Aitken, ed., *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (London, New Delhi, New York: T&T Clark, 2015), 326–7. For the translation techniques in the Greek Psalter, see Anneli Aejmelaus, "Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Peter J. Gentry, and Claude E. Cox, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54–73; Eberhard Bons, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter. Übersetzung, Interpretation, Korrektur," *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 450–70.

from 1931 is so far the only work on this topic. The third edition from 1979 which, in comparison with the first one, has not undergone significant changes, forms a basis for our study of the Greek texts of Psalms. In his work, Rahlfs divides his sources into six groups; the text of (1) Lower and (2) Upper Egypt together with the (3) Western text deemed as the old form of the text, and the (4) Origenian and (5) Lucianic recension with the last, (6) mixed group of witnesses considered younger recensions.<sup>29</sup> Then, he formulates four guidelines which are to help in recovering the Old Greek (OG) text. First, the agreement of the three older groups is counted as OG. Second, in the case of disagreement among the three older groups, the reading matching the MT is deemed OG. Third, in the case of disagreement of the older groups with the MT and simultaneous agreement of the younger recensions with the MT, the former should be deemed OG while the latter Hebraizing correction and therefore not taken into account. Fourth, in the doubtful cases, Rahlfs follows *Codex Vaticanus*.<sup>30</sup>

These guidelines, as well as the above presented grouping of textual witnesses (also their poor number<sup>31</sup>), are problematic and raise questions concerning credibility of the final text proposed by Rahlfs as the OG.<sup>32</sup> The criticism focuses in particular on the assignment of the textual witnesses to the six text types in which gaps in the tradition are often ignored and the correspondences between the manuscripts are not differentiated according to whether they are due to the original text or a secondary variant. The treatment of the younger manuscripts as a monolithic block is also methodically questionable since some of these manuscripts can contain older readings. This is true, among others, of the Lucianic Recension whose value is underestimated by Rahlfs.<sup>33</sup> Besides, Rahlfs' edition does not contain very important textual witnesses unknown to its editor – these are papyri:

- Oxyrhynchus 5101 (Ra 2227; first/second century CE): Pss 26:9–14; 44:4–8; 47:13–15; 48:6–21; 49:2–16; 63:6–64:5
- Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110; third/fourth century CE): Pss 17:45–118:44
- Chester Beatty XIII (Ra 2149; fourth century CE): Pss 72:6–88:2
- Chester Beatty XIV (Ra 2150; fourth century CE): Pss 2; 8–14; 26; 31

29 For the full list of sources and their discussion, see Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931), 26–71.

30 Cf. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 71–2.

31 In this context, E. Bons and R. Bruckner state: “[...] ist die vollständige Kollationierung der über 900 Handschriften, die bei Rahlfs aus pragmatischen Gründen (Zeit und Kosten) unterblieben ist, ein Desiderat”; Bons and Bruckner, “Psalmoi,” 341.

32 See the detailed discussion and critique of Rahlfs' edition found in Albert Pietersma, “The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 12–32.

33 Bons and Bruckner, “Psalmoi,” 341.

Therefore, as A. Pietersma notes, “we should keep reminding ourselves that *Psalmicum Odis* is but a provisional critical edition and, in that sense, can scarcely be called the first published volume in the *editio maior* of the Göttingen Septuaginta. For the *editio maior*, the Psalter remains to be done.”<sup>34</sup> To sum up, the Greek text we cite in our work is the best we have, but still based on a flawed edition.<sup>35</sup>

## 5. Outline

This study consists of six chapters. The first chapter deals with the presentation of the Matthean use of Psalms in general, i. e., taking into account not only marked quotations, already indicated above, but also those that do not belong to this group. The variety of scholarly opinions as to the number of psalm citations and criteria on the basis of which a given text can be considered as such, provokes us to take our own position in this regard. After determining the precise number of quotations, which, following Menken, we call “unmarked quotations,” each will be analyzed in terms of both its textual form and the reasons for its application in the narrative. This will provide a broader view of the use of psalms in the first gospel, constituting a starting point for the investigation of five marked quotations. The chapter ends with an *excursus* on Matthean allusions to Psalm 22 in the passion narrative. All subsequent chapters, each dedicated to another marked quotation, have the same structure. First, the citation from a given psalm is considered within its original Hebrew context.<sup>36</sup> Then, the early witnesses of the text will be analyzed – Dead Sea

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34 Pietersma, “The Present State of the Critical Text,” 13.

35 The new critical edition of Psalms in the Göttingen Septuaginta series is being remade.

36 For the Hebrew text of Psalms: Karl Ellinger and Wilhelm Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–1977); Giovanni B. de Rossi, ed., *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, vol. 4 (Parmae 1788); Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, vol. 2 (Oxonii 1780).



Scrolls,<sup>37</sup> the LXX,<sup>38</sup> Origen's *Hexapla*,<sup>39</sup> Vulgate,<sup>40</sup> Targum,<sup>41</sup> rabbinic literature,<sup>42</sup> et al. – in order to trace the potential changes in the interpretation of the text over time.<sup>43</sup> The investigation of post-Matthean writings has a double justification. The first reason is text-critical; asking which form of Psalms the author of the first gospel consulted and cited, since there is a slight chance that the authors of these works knew the Hebrew form of Psalms that differed in some details from the MT.

37 For the text of 4Q83 & 4Q84: Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); of 11Q5: James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsa)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); of 11Q11: Florentino García Martínez et al., *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q2–31*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

38 Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, 3rd ed., Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

39 Frederick Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum*, vol. 2 (Oxonii: Clarendon, 1875).

40 Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007). As to their edition of the book of Psalms, the authors include Jerome's two translations – both *iuxta Hebraeos* and *iuxta LXX* – applying however to the translation from Hebrew the Psalms' numeration from the LXX. In our work, the numeration in Latin corresponds to their Hebrew and Greek counterparts, respectively. Cf. for *iuxta Hebraeos*: Henri de Sainte-Marie, ed., *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Collectanea Biblica Latina 11 (Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1954); for *iuxta LXX*: *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem... cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae s. Hieronymi in Urbe ordinis sancti Benedicti edita. Liber Psalmorum*, vol. 10 (Romae: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1953).

41 Luis Díez Merino, ed., *Targum de Salmos. Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora*, Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica 6 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1982).

42 The analysis is limited to Tosefta recording, together with Mishnah, laws attributed to sages from the Tannaitic Period (0–200 CE) and to Babylonian Talmud containing various writings compiled over the period of late antiquity (3<sup>rd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries). Unfortunately, Mishnah does not refer to the psalm verses studied in our work. This is also true of the Jerusalem Talmud (compiled between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries), but some works are mentioned in a wider context in our investigation. When it comes to the Midrash on Psalms, we refer to the work only occasionally, due to the extremely long period it comprises (ca. 400–1200 CE). Rabbinic works included in the present study are found in Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Tosefta Translated from Hebrew*, 2 vols. (New York: KTAV, 1977–86); Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud: A Translation and Commentary*, 22 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.2011); Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Jerusalem Talmud: A Translation and Commentary*, 28 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2008); *The Midrash on Psalms*, trans. William G. Braude, 2 vols., Yale Judaica Series 13 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959).

43 Such an arrangement of the investigated sources results from the fact that their presentation does not follow a chronological order since the MT itself – complete with all the vocalisation, accents, and masorah – is the latest of them all. Therefore, first we deal with the direct witnesses to the Hebrew text – MT and the Dead Sea Scrolls – and then with the indirect witnesses – ancient translations/versions together with citations and allusions found in other ancient literature (if this is the case for a given psalm). The Vulgate is examined before Targum because of the progression in the interpretation as represented in Targum and the rabbinic literature.

Second, from the point of view of reception history, in some cases one can trace the development of a given interpretation beginning with an older witness and continuing and expanding in more recent ones. In these cases, the younger witness shows how a certain line of interpretation “made a career.” In this perspective, in our research Matthew’s text constitutes an intermediate point in that “career.” Next, the NT use of the quotation (if any) outside of the first gospel will be examined.<sup>44</sup> Finally, emphasis will be put on the new Matthean context in which the quote is embedded to determine the specificity of its application by the author of the first gospel, i. e., what original function – against the background of the whole previously investigated OT and NT tradition – a given quotation performs in its text. At the end of the work final conclusion will be drawn.

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44 For the Greek text of the NT: Eberhard Nestle et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012); Barbara Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014); Constantin von Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum graece ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit, apparatus criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam praetexuit Constantinus Tischendorf*, 2 vols. (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869, 1872).