

RADU GHEORGHITA

The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe
160*

Mohr Siebeck

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160



Radu Gheorghita

The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews

An Investigation of its Influence
with Special Consideration to the Use
of Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

Ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις,
πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων.

Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for,
the conviction of things not seen.

During four immensely enjoyable years, that which lies between these covers was hoped for though not yet seen. Now that the end of these days has come, it behoves me to mention with gratitude those people and institutions who contributed to its completion.

By unsurpassed scholarly example and guidance, Professor William Horbury of Cambridge University has supervised the development of this project from its infancy to maturity, all the while dealing gently with the ignorant and wayward. His expertise, encouragement, and patience created an atmosphere in which the research lost tediousness and became a treasured experience and an unexpected pleasure. It is beyond dispute that the inferior was blessed by the superior.

By valuable encouragement and priceless fellowship, the Tyndale House community under the wardenship of Dr. Bruce Winter, has shown that the stirring up of one another to love and good works is just as valuable today as it was in the days of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

By providing generous financial support and stimulating camaraderie, Corpus Christi College, a truly great college in the University, has clearly not neglected the doing of good and the sharing of what they have, sacrifices that are pleasing to God.

By indispensable prayer, seasoned advice, and substantial financial assistance, both my parents, Nick and Cornelia, and my parents-in-law, John, now a righteous man made perfect, and Betsey, have offered faithful support and joyfully accepted the plundering of their property. They have played a part in that great cloud of witnesses, and without their encouragement along the way this project would have been less enjoyable and meaningful.

By partaking in the same calling, two academic institutions have allowed me the time to complete this project: Universitatea Emanuel Oradea, Romania, during the dissertation phase, and Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, during the monograph preparation.

Their worthy presidents, Dr. Paul Negruț and Dr. Phil Roberts, are to be thanked, as well as my colleagues who stepped in and carried the teaching load in my absence.

Elizabeth, Nicholas, William, Edward, and most recently Margaret, though perhaps not as numerous as the stars of heaven or the sand of the sea, nevertheless have been a priceless help in keeping a healthy perspective on this dissertation and monograph. Hours away from the library, be they spent playing football, going punting, reading stories, or playing recorders, are not regretted.

In many and various ways, Liz, who by her name reminds me of God's oath, has been a sure and steadfast anchor in this earthly and spiritual sojourn. While her hope that I would not dedicate this work to her has been disappointed, her love, patience, and sacrifice are more deeply appreciated than can be expressed.

And what more shall I say? For time would fail me to tell of all those who have advised, encouraged, helped, and challenged me along the way, of Professor Robert Gordon, Rev. Dr. Arnold Browne, Mrs. Margaret Cathie, Dr. Andrew Turkanik, Dr. Emil Bartoș, and Dr. Iosif Țon, during the completion of the dissertation, and of Professor Dr. Jörg Frey, Dr. Georg Siebeck, Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, and the staff of Mohr Siebeck in Tübingen, during the revision process. To all of them and, supremely, to the One who is ὁ τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής, my deepest gratitude.

Kansas City, February 2003

Radu Gheorghiuță

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List of Abbreviations

ANE	Ancient Near East
BAGD	Bauer, Walter. <i>A Greek – English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>The New Brown – Driver – Briggs – Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon</i>
BDF	Blass, F., and A. Debrunner. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
BHK	Kittel, R., and P. Kahle. <i>Biblia Hebraica</i>
BHS	Elliger, K., and W. Rudolph. <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
DCH	Clines, D. J. A. <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
DT	Jastrow, Marcus. <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i>
EDNT	Balz, Horst, and Gerhard Schneider. <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
GEL	Louw, Johannes P., and Eugene A. Nida. <i>Greek – English Lexicon of the New Testament. Based on Semantic Domains</i>
GELSMP	Muraoka, Takamitsu. <i>A Greek – English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Twelve Prophets</i>
KB	Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
καὶ	καὶ τὰ λοιπά
LEH	Lust, J., E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. <i>A Greek – English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NIDOTTE	VanGemenen, Willem A. <i>The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
PLD	Patrologia Latina Database
TDNT	Kittel, G., and G. Friedrich. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, and Helmer Ringgren. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
Tg	Targum
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae

Chapter One

Introduction

1. Prolegomena

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, “in many and various ways”, the alliterative collocation describing God’s revelation in times past (1:1) suitably characterises the way the Author of Hebrews (the Author, henceforth) made use of the Scriptures. The Author’s scriptural repertoire includes numerous quotations from the Old Testament (OT, henceforth), extensive use of OT language and ideas, references to the OT’s important cultic institutions, events and persons, and a variety of OT summaries, parallels, allusions, and echoes of scriptural texts.¹ An assessment such as Paul Ellingworth’s, “the language and thought of the epistle are steeped in the OT”,² is frequently found in current scholarship which has reached an undeniable consensus regarding the importance of the Jewish Scriptures and their contribution to the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is widely acknowledged that a common characteristic of New Testament (NT, henceforth) writings is the blending of two important sources that have contributed to the formation of each author’s theology, one being the Jewish Scriptures, and the other, the Christ-event, which encompasses the teachings, ministry, life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. The part played by the Jewish Scriptures in the formation of the theology of the New Testament writers offers a complex field of inquiry. Although the majority of the authors were Jews, their writings were composed most probably in the Greek language, the indisputable *lingua franca* of the Graeco-Roman world in New Testament times. If Greek was the language of choice for their *theolegomena*, it can safely be

¹ The terminology employed here to refer to the Scriptures used by the Author to the Hebrews will be predominantly “the Old Testament”, especially from today’s reader’s point of view. At times, however, an alternative expression such as “the Jewish Scriptures” and its variations will prove to be a better label from the Author’s point of view. Similarly, the traditional B.C. and A.D. will be used throughout to reflect the theological standpoint of the present writer.

² Paul Ellingworth, “The Old Testament in Hebrews: Exegesis, Method and Hermeneutics” (Ph. D., University of Aberdeen, 1978) 307.

assumed that the most accessible and convenient Scriptures for them was the Greek translation of the Jewish sacred writings, the Septuagint.

While one must agree with Origen's assertion that τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδε,³ it can be said that the Author fits very well within the above description. First, he possessed a profound knowledge and understanding of the Jewish Scriptures, which even a casual reading of the epistle demonstrates. His knowledge and appropriation of the Scriptures as well as their crucial importance in the development of his theological argument are second to none among the NT writers. Second, when one considers the question of what constituted the Jewish Scriptures for the Author, the evidence points unambiguously toward the Septuagint.⁴ It was the Greek text of the Jewish Scriptures that he used for his quotations with much more uniformity and precision than most of the other NT writers. His remarkable command of the Jewish sacred writings was acquired as a result of the study of the Greek Scriptures, and it was from that vantage point that he reflected upon the Christ-event.

The background of the Author's thought has been admirably explored by L. D. Hurst in a new synthesis of alleged influences on the Author.⁵ The conveniently arranged and critically assessed proposals have put many of Hebrews' students in his debt. The monograph investigates both the non-Christian backgrounds, including Qumran, Pre-Christian Gnosticism, Samaritan and Merkabah mysticism, as well as the possible Christian influence from contemporary sources such as the Stephen tradition, Pauline theology, and Petrine influence. Hurst records among his presuppositions the role played by the Septuagint as the source of the epistle's quotations, which, for an author so dependent on the Scriptures, were clearly "one of the major influences upon the formation of his argument".⁶ While this assumption accompanies Hurst's study throughout, to this writer, the absence of a separate, explicit, and detailed discussion of the Septuagint among the factors that have directly influenced the Epistle to the Hebrews is the only drawback of an otherwise extremely insightful and helpful monograph.

These observations raise a number of pertinent questions that provide the springboard for the present investigation. If the argument of the epistle depends so heavily on the OT and if its author relies solely on the Greek

³ Origen in *Ex Homiliis in epistulam ad Hebraeos, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (6.01) (Chadwyck-Healey, Silver Mountain Software, 1997) 14.1309.4.

⁴ See *infra* (3.1) the discussion on textual issues.

⁵ Lincoln D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews. Its Background of Thought* (SNTS-MS 65; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁶ Hurst, *Background* 4.

text of the Jewish Scriptures, is it conceivable that the Greek Jewish Scriptures might have had a distinct and discernible influence on his theology? Has the Author formulated his argument on the basis of the Septuagint translation in a way that he would not have done had he been expounding the Hebrew text? Is it legitimate to affirm that the Septuagint had a determinant role in the shaping of the epistle? To what extent can the Septuagint be considered as having exerted a distinct influence on the Author and on the epistle's argument, and in what ways was that influence exercised? Is the use of the OT in Hebrews determined in any way by the use of the Greek Scriptures as opposed to the Hebrew Scriptures?

Doubtless there are other important factors that contributed to the crystallisation of the Author's theology, and the delimitation of his formative influences to just one factor, the Scriptures, could well be regarded as reductionistic. Yet the question surfaces over and over again especially at those junctures where the Author builds his argument on particular ideas or nuances present in the Greek Old Testament.

As will soon be evident, the scholarship on the use of the OT in the Epistle to the Hebrews is extensive, and this study could not have been undertaken if not for the outstanding work of those who have wrestled with the textual, exegetical, and hermeneutical aspects. The research undertaken in this thesis builds on several monumental studies in the field, primarily K. J. Thomas, F. Schröger, J. J. McCullough, and P. Ellingworth, and proposes an approach that could further the scholarly dialogue in the exploration of factors that contributed to the genesis of this epistle.⁷ It seeks to address more explicitly certain aspects pertaining to the relationship between the epistle and the Septuagint, the Bible of the Author. Its special interest is directed toward unfolding some of the major ways in which the Greek OT contributed to the content and the thought of this first century Christian document.

2. The Septuagint – Beyond Textual Criticism

The increasing attention given by NT scholars to the role of the Septuagint in the writing of the NT is a predictable outcome of the renewed interest in Septuagintal studies themselves, best seen in the two volumes of classified bibliography by S. P. Brock and C. Dogniez.⁸

⁷ Ellingworth, "Old Testament"; J. C. McCullough, "Hebrews and the Old Testament" (Ph. D., Queen's University, 1971); F. Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1968); Kenneth J. Thomas, "The Use of the Septuagint in the Epistle to the Hebrews" (Ph. D., University of Manchester, 1959).

⁸ S. P. Brock, C. T. Fritsch, and S. Jellicoe, eds., *A Classified Bibliography of the*

Prior to the discoveries in the Judaean Desert, the study of the Septuagint was conducted with the primary interest of recovering the original Hebrew text. This emphasis continues unabated to this day, even after the discoveries of other older textual witnesses, as eminent scholars advocate for keeping the focus on textual criticism as the major goal in LXX studies. After acknowledging the proliferation of interest in this field, Emanuel Tov affirms that “one should always try to integrate the results of these studies into the larger area of textual criticism or exegesis ... all other sub-areas of LXX research ... should always have the next stage in mind, that of the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX”.⁹ Albert Pietersma echoes a similar concern when he concludes his survey of Septuagintal research with the emphatic plea to return to “what must always remain the first priority of LXX research, viz. the systematic and methodical uncovering of the Old Greek text”.¹⁰

This perspective on the nature of LXX studies seems to be the dominant approach of the English-speaking schools, although not all Septuagintalists share it. John W. Wevers, through his comparative analyses of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the books of the Pentateuch,¹¹ or William Horbury, in the study of the theological nuances of several themes in the Septuagint,¹² deserve special mention in this respect. There is indeed, a growing consensus, especially in continental circles, that the Septuagint cannot be looked upon merely as a witness to the original Hebrew text or as an instrument for its reconstruction. No one disputes that the Septuagint is valuable in this respect. However, to limit the scope of Septuagintal

Septuagint (ALGHJ 6; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); Cécile Dogniez, *Bibliography of the Septuagint (1970-1993)* (SVT 60; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993). See also Robert A. Kraft, and E. Tov, eds., *Computer Tools for Septuagint Studies* (SBL-SCS 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

⁹ Emanuel Tov, “Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible 1947-1997”, in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, eds. Florentino Garcia Martinez and Ed Noort (Leiden / Boston / Köln: E. J. Brill, 1998) 62.

¹⁰ A. Pietersma, “Septuagint Research: A Plea to Return to Basic Issues”, *Vetus Testamentum* 35, no. 3 (1985) 311.

¹¹ John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBL-SCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), *idem*, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBL-SCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), *idem*, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBL-SCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), *idem*, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SBL-SCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), *idem*, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SBL-SCS 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

¹² William Horbury, “Septuagintal and New Testament Conceptions of the Church”, in *A Vision for the Church. Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology in Honour of J. P. M. Sweet*, eds. Markus Bockmuehl and Michael B. Thompson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1997).

studies to matters of textual criticism ignores one of the essential and unique roles that the Septuagint played in the Christian Church from its inception. The extent to which the NT writers and the Church Fathers depended on the Septuagint strongly suggests that the right approach is to consider the Greek Bible not only as a textual witness to the Jewish Scriptures but as a theological text in its own right. To disregard this function of the Septuagint is at best reductionistic and at worst misguided.¹³

J. Trebolle Barrera, while not denying the value of the LXX for textual criticism, emphasises the eclipsed exegetical value of the LXX. “The LXX version,” he writes, “had enormous influence on the formulation of the Christian faith and on the language and literature of the Fathers, an aspect generally ignored by biblical scholars”.¹⁴ A similar concern is voiced by the French Septuagint scholar Marguerite Harl, the director of the impressive project *La Bible d’Alexandrie*. Since the LXX reflects the maturing process of Jewish thought, she asserts that “la connaissance de la LXX ... est nécessaire pour mieux lire le NT, pour comprendre comment il recueille les croyances et la foi juives, et en donne une interprétation qui en ‘renouvelle’ le sens”.¹⁵ The Scandinavian school, while primarily known for their intense pursuit of the technique exhibited by the translators of the Septuagint, has not neglected to give proper attention to the theological motivation behind the translators’ choice of equivalents as well as to their implications.¹⁶ Likewise, Robert Hanhart, Martin Hengel, and Joachim Schaper, three German voices, have contributed immensely to the appreciation of the theological significance of the Septuagint for NT studies.¹⁷ One of the most vocal advocates of this approach is the Danish

¹³ John W. Wevers, “The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version”, in *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation. From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, eds. Magne Sæbo, Chris Brekelmans, and Menahem Haran (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 87.

¹⁴ Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible. An Introduction to the History of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden / Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill / Eerdmans, 1998) 439.

¹⁵ Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au Christianisme ancien* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988) 218.

¹⁶ S. Olofsson, *God is My Rock. A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (Stockholm: Almqvist, 1990).

¹⁷ Representative contributions include Robert Hanhart, “Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta in neutestamentlicher Zeit”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 81, no. 4 (1984); M. Hengel and R. Deines, “Die Septuaginta als ‘Christliche Schriftensammlung’, ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons”, in *Die Septuaginta: zwischen Judentum und Christentum*, eds. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer (WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994); Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*

scholar Mogens Müller, who in a recently published collection of essays entitled *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* undertakes to prove that “the Septuagint does in fact convey, more convincingly than Biblia Hebraica what the NT authors understood as their Holy Writ”.¹⁸

The present study seeks to evaluate this particular perspective on the alleged influence exerted by the Greek Scriptures on the writings of the New Testament and their authors by focusing on the Epistle to the Hebrews as one of the most suitable candidates for such an enquiry. As already mentioned, the Author of Hebrews recommends himself not only on account of his knowledge and interest in the Scriptures, which was, judging by his writings, unsurpassed among the other NT authors, but also because of his repeated and consistent use of the Greek textual tradition of the Scriptures, the Septuagint. Can the Septuagint stand on its own either as a distinct influence on the Author or as a discernible component of the Old Testament influence? Is it correct to affirm that the LXX had a determinant or unique role in the shaping of the epistle? Has the Author of Hebrews formulated the argument on the basis of the Septuagint translation in a way that he would not have done had he been expounding the Hebrew text? These questions delineate the parameters of the present study as a quest toward a thorough assessment of the role played by the Greek Scriptures, the Septuagint, in shaping the theological message of the writings of first-century Christianity.

The term “Septuagint” should be clarified at the outset.¹⁹ The term generally is used to designate either the Greek translation of the Hebrew Torah (etymologically, the Septuagint proper), or the translation of the entire Hebrew canon (the Old Greek Version), or, in its broadest sense, the Alexandrian canon, which includes the deuterocanonical writings alongside the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures.²⁰ This investigation uses

(WUNT II 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture. Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2002).

¹⁸ Mogens Müller, *The First Bible of the Church. A Plea for the Septuagint* (JSOT-SS 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 121. It is worth mentioning that the Orthodox Church considers the Septuagint as its primary textual witness of the Old Testament. H. Cunliffe-Jones writes, “so far as the text of the Bible is concerned it is natural that the Orthodox Church should hold that the *Greek text* of both the Old as well as the New Testament *is the authoritative one*” (author’s emphasis); “Scripture and Tradition in Orthodox Theology”, in *Holy Book and Holy Tradition*, eds. F. F. Bruce and E. G. Rupp (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968) 191.

¹⁹ Leonard Greenspoon, “The Use and Abuse of the Term ‘LXX’ and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship”, *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 20 (1987).

²⁰ Wevers, “Significance” 86.

the term Septuagint as a common idiom, without any particular associations to either specific manuscript traditions (such as the Codices A or B) or to specific Septuagintal families (such as the ones grouped by the Göttingen Septuagint). Since the data on the history of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures and its history of transmission is far from being conclusive, the term Septuagint will be used with a less precise meaning denoting nothing more than the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures used by the Author in composing the epistle. While this usage does not offer any assistance in locating more precisely the Author's text in the transmission history of the LXX, it gives perhaps a more realistic picture of such matters as the Author's access to, use of, and ownership of the Greek Scriptures.²¹

3. Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: State of Research

Due to the wealth of material it supplies, the Epistle to the Hebrews is among the most well researched NT writings with respect to its use of the OT. Practical considerations require that the focus be limited only to those works that made a significant impact in this field, selected from the contributions of the past five decades, primarily by English-speaking authors. The present survey traces chronologically the developments in three major areas of interest with regard to the use of the OT in Hebrews, which have led to three distinct approaches: textual, exegetical-hermeneutical, and rhetorical.

3.1. Use of the OT in Hebrews: Textual Approach

Studies dealing primarily with textual matters have investigated questions pertaining to the text used by the Author in quotations in an attempt to

²¹ Many issues deserve to be addressed here. Foremost are the considerations of the status of the Greek Scriptures in the first century A.D., including the debate on the Alexandrian Canon and the status of the non-canonical writings. These matters will receive brief consideration at several junctures throughout this study. For several standard works on these matters, see Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985); E. Earle Ellis, "The Old Testament Canon in the Early Church", in *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jan Mulder (CRINT 2/I ; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 653-90; Hengel, *Scripture*; Albert C. Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969).

align it to the major textual witnesses. The following selection marks the more significant developments in this very intensely studied area.²²

3.1.1. K. J. Thomas

Thomas' dissertation, summarised in a subsequent article, was arguably the harbinger of the scholarly interest in the following decades in textual matters regarding the use of the OT in the epistle.²³ The research interest was to compare the text of the Author's quotations against two major textual witnesses, LXX^A and LXX^B. Thomas asserts that where the text of the epistle differs from that of the LXX^A or LXX^B, almost invariably the changes were intentional and interpretative. The major part of the study consists of an analysis of more than fifty variations in the quotations with no parallels in the LXX^A or LXX^B, with only non-uncial parallels, with parallels in uncials other than LXX^A or LXX^B, with parallels in LXX^A or LXX^B, and with parallels in LXX^A and LXX^B but in cases where other significant variants are present. The last chapter analyses the alleged Philonic influence on the Author, by presenting both the similarities and the differences between the two writers in handling certain OT texts. Thomas concludes that it is possible to reconstruct the Greek OT used by the Author, since the intentional variations from LXX^A and LXX^B can be safely determined. Thus where Codex A differed from B, the Author used the text he had, and where LXX^A was identical to LXX^B, but different from other witnesses, the Author used the common text. Taking the lead from Katz,²⁴ Thomas discusses the issue of primitive vs. edited text, and concludes that the text used by the Author uses almost all primitive readings, both when LXX^A is different from LXX^B, and when they are identical but different from other witnesses.²⁵ Thomas' analysis has bearing also on the history of the Septuagint. Indeed, Thomas contends that:

²² An important work on this topic often referred to is E. Ahlborn, "Die Septuaginta Vorlage des Hebräerbriefes" (Ph. D., Göttingen, 1966). Unfortunately, the attempts to secure a copy proved fruitless.

²³ Kenneth J. Thomas, "The Old Testament Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews", *New Testament Studies* 11 (1965); *idem*, "Septuagint".

²⁴ P. Katz, "The Quotations from Dt. in Heb.", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958). Katz discusses the five passages in Hebrews considered by most commentators to be quotations from Deuteronomy, Heb. 1:6, 10:30, 12:15, 21, and 13:5. He concludes that these texts display no common characteristics that can be grouped together and that they supply no evidence for a Greek text different from the LXX. Katz proposes that the old and mistaken quest for the LXX^A or LXX^B as the quotation-supplying texts be replaced by a more appropriate one, i.e., seeking to determine if the text of a given quotation follows a primitive text or an edited one.

²⁵ Thomas, "Septuagint" 324.

[LXX] A and [LXX] B represent two traditions from a single translation, which may be called the Septuagint. The author of Hebrews had a text of this translation still in its comparatively pure, 'primitive' form. It appears that this text was used by the Author before it had been subjected to any very extensive editing.²⁶

3.1.2. G. Howard

Developments in pre-Masoretic textual studies led Howard to defend the theory of the Author's dependence on a Hebrew text.²⁷ He challenges the popular view of the Author's dependence on the LXX and of his unfamiliarity with the Hebrew text or language. In the first part Howard presents a general inventory of the similarities between the quotations in the epistle and either the Hebrew or the Greek text. Although there is a predominance of LXX text influences as opposed to the Hebrew text, there are six cases in which the quotations in the epistle are identical to the Hebrew text as opposed to the LXX, and only two identical to the LXX as opposed to the Hebrew. The second part deals more closely with the quotations that show dependence on a Hebrew text.²⁸ In the concluding remarks, Howard suggests "it is incorrect to characterise the quotations in Hebrews as always Septuagintal. A great many of them do not correspond exactly to any Septuagint, and some agree with a known Hebrew text, either whole or in part, against the Septuagint."²⁹

Howard's conclusions, not always the result of a fair assessment of all possibilities,³⁰ have been accepted by several scholars,³¹ although subsequent scholarship has shown that the study overlooked the wealth of the Greek textual variants which supply a more reasonable explanation for the textual deviations in the quotations.³²

3.1.3. J. C. McCullough

McCullough's dissertation and the subsequent article are among the most comprehensive contributions to the discussion, and could easily feature in

²⁶ Thomas, "Septuagint" 337.

²⁷ George Howard, "Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations", *Novum Testamentum* 10 (1968).

²⁸ The quotations listed under this heading are: Dt. 32:35, Is. 35:3, Is. 8:7, 12:2, 2 Sam. 22:3, Pr. 3:11-12, Jos. 1:5, Dt. 32:43, Ps. 47:7, Ex. 24:8, Ps. 22:23, and Ps. 110:4.

²⁹ Howard, "Quotations" 215.

³⁰ J. H. Luther deals at length with this criticism, "The Use of the Old Testament by the Author of Hebrews" (Ph. D., Bob Jones University, 1977).

³¹ *Inter alios*, J. A. Fitzmyer, "Habakkuk 2:3-4 and the New Testament", in *De la Torah au Messie. Melanges Henri Cazelles*, eds. J. Dore, P. Grelot, and M. Carrez (Paris: Desclée, 1981) 447-57.

³² See especially McCullough, "Hebrews".

any of the three areas delineated by this survey.³³ He engages in a thorough analysis of the epistle's employment of OT quotations and allusions and conducts a comparative study of the Author's exegetical approach with those of his contemporaries.

The recent developments in Septuagint studies, especially the massive collection of variants in the Göttingen Septuagint, have convinced McCullough that one "can no longer think in terms of great manuscripts A or B as being LXX, and therefore it is no longer relevant to try to assimilate the text behind the quotations in Hebrews with these, explaining all differences by reference to the intentional changes of the Author".³⁴ The proposed alternative is the search for the text-types to which the quotations belong in order to assess whether the differences in the text are more likely to be due to LXX recensional activity or to the influence of the author. McCullough analyses all the quotations in their OT context and traces the textual variants to a particular family, when available. Each variation is labelled according to the degree of intentionality displayed by the change.

McCullough's main contribution is to focus on readings not reflected in most LXX manuscripts, but on those that are found in the main manuscripts representing the recension thought to be used by the Author. He considers in detail the instances where the text of the epistle differs from that of the main reading of the recension in order to determine whether or not the Author deliberately introduced a variant reading. In the cases where the textual modifications could be confidently traced to the Author's activity, a series of reasons, such as the effort to add either a particular emphasis or to achieve a better fit with the context or to avoid possible misunderstandings, are held responsible.³⁵

McCullough's work also engages in a comparative analysis of the Author's exegetical approach to the OT against the background of contemporary exegetical and hermeneutic practices. *Sensus plenior* and typology are the most suitable hermeneutic frameworks for understanding the Author's use of the OT, with due appreciation given to the role of the One who fulfilled the OT, Jesus Christ, as the hermeneutical key for opening the OT. Further consideration given to other types of OT material present in the epistle, i.e., figures, events, and institutions, conclude McCullough's assessment of the Author's theological contribution. His overall conclusion deserves to be quoted in full:

³³ McCullough, "Hebrews"; *idem*, "The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews", *New Testament Studies* 26 (1980).

³⁴ McCullough, "Hebrews" 46.

³⁵ McCullough, "Quotations" 378.

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