

Chapter 8

The General Epistles

8.1. Hebrews

8.1.1. Introduction

There are a lot of Exodus traditions in Hebrews. According to Howard (1968:212), this letter contains the most Pentateuch references. Earlier, Toy's statistics (1884:300-310) also showed the same result: Pentateuch (11 times) and Psalms (also 11 times) are the most quoted in Hebrews.

But there is almost total absence of quotations from Isaiah in Hebrews. Hebrews cites Isaiah only once (Is 8:17-18 in 2:13) although there are some allusions to it elsewhere (e.g., Is 45:17 in 5:9; Is 53:12 in 9:28; Is 1:11 in Hb 9:13, 10:4; Is 35:3 in Hb 12:12; and Is 26:20 in 10:37) (McCullough, 2005:160-173). Reid (1980:41-42) convincingly explains the reason for this failure to use Isaiah extensively in Hebrews:

The reason seems to lie in the nature of the theological questions which the early Church found answered in Isaiah. The themes generally stressed were the remnant and the hardening of Israel, the inclusion of the Gentiles, the suffering servant as a type or prediction of the suffering messiah, and various Apocalyptic and eschatological speculations. None of these themes were of vital concern to the author of Hebrews, and so there is no need for him to draw on the quotations from Isaiah. The author's real interest is in the Psalms and in the exposition of their meaning with regard to the person and office of Christ.

Accordingly, as far as Hebrews is concerned, the Exodus Motif alone will be discussed.

8.1.2. The General Context of Hebrews

There are a lot of Exodus parallels in Hebrews. For example, in Hb 2:2-3 the author contrasts two revelations. Jesus is greater than the angels who gave the Law. In Hb 3:1-18, Jesus, the Son, is greater than Moses who served as God's servant (Nixon, 1963:25).²⁰⁶ Hb 4:1-2 refers indirectly to Israel's rebellion at Meribah (Ex 17:1-10), warning the Christian readers against the temptation to react in the same way to oppression or persecution suffered for the gospel's sake. The Christian life in Hebrews is depicted in terms of Exodus as the migration of God's people towards its home country (Hb 4:1-10; 13:14) (Piper, 1957:15). In Hb 7, the high priest and Jesus are compared. Jesus' high priesthood is superior to the high priesthood of the OT; in fact, it abolishes that high priesthood. Jesus is a high priest in the order of Melchizedek (Ps 110:4), not in the order of Aaron (Hb 7:1-10). Melchizedek's priesthood is superior to the Levitical priesthood (cf. Gn 14) (Goppelt, 1982:164). In Hb 8-9, the tabernacle and the heavenly temple are compared. The Tabernacle (Ex 25-26) was, in spite of its beauty and dignity, only the type of coming things (Hb 8:5, 9:1-8) and a copy of the heavenly temple (Hb 9:23), because the sacrifices offered therein cannot completely remove man's sin (Piper, 1957:14). Hb 12:18-24 suggests a move from Mt. Sinai to Mt. Zion (similar to what the prophet

²⁰⁶ In Hebrews, the Moses-Christ typology is noticeable, especially in these four passages: 3:1-6; 11:23-29; 12:18-24; and 13:20-21 (Casey, 1982:126-28).

Isaiah is doing with his transformation of the Exodus Motif and his focus on Zion).

8.1.3. The Ps 118 quotation in Hebrews

8.1.3.1. The OT in Hebrews²⁰⁷

Of all the NT writings no document refers to the OT passages more extensively than Hebrews (Goppelt, 1982:161).²⁰⁸ By its direct and indirect use of the OT, the author highlights the continuity and discontinuity between the old and new covenant eras.²⁰⁹

The way in which the epistle quotes the OT is different from other NT writings. Instead of the precise source of a quotation being given, the quote is introduced in a somewhat vague way (e.g., Hb 2:6: “It has been testified somewhere”) (Combrink, 1971:22).

According to Bruce (1990:xlix) and many other scholars, the author cites according to the LXX (and not the MT), partly LXX^A, and again partly LXX^B

²⁰⁷ Over the past few decades, a considerable number of studies have been conducted on the OT in Hebrews. Cf. (Kistemaker, 1961); (Barth, 1962); (Thomas, 1965:303-25); (Howard, 1968:208-16); (Combrink, 1971:22-36); (Hughes, 1979); (McCullough, 1980:363-79); (Reid, 1980); (Dalglish, 1984:25-39); (Clements, 1985:36-45); (Guthrie, 1998; 2003); (Davidson, 2002); (Steyn, 2002:207-23; 2003:262-82); (Young, 2002); (Gheorghita, 2003); (Wallace, 2003); (McCullough, 2005:159-73); (Guthrie and Quinn, 2006:235-46).

²⁰⁸ It is not easy to determine the number of OT citations in Hebrews. Howard (1968:211) argues 35 quotations while Thomas (1965:303) notes 29.

²⁰⁹ The issue of continuity and discontinuity exist in all of the NT books but is at its starkest in Hebrews (Moyise, 2001:107).

(Barth, 1962:55). Hebrews often follows the LXX, even where the LXX differs from the MT (Combrink, 1971:23). Moyise notes three characteristics of Hebrews in connection with its quotations as follows (2001:107): 1) Hebrews is the only NT book to employ Melchizedek traditions; 2) Hebrews has the longest citation in the NT (Jr 31:31-34); and Hebrews has the longest catena of the quotations (1:5-13).

8.1.3.2. The Psalms in Hebrews

Hebrews is replete with the Psalms.²¹⁰ As a single book, Hebrews has the most Psalm quotations in the NT.²¹¹ Accordingly, it may be said that the author's focal point is on the Psalter, and that Hebrews is a sort of midrash on Psalms, or at least on chosen passages from it, trying to elicit what the writer thinks to be the real meaning of the Psalter. It seems fitting to indicate that the Psalter was the portion of the OT most closely related to the cult in the Temple, a topic which the writer is concerned about (Reid, 1980:40).

8.1.3.3. The interpretation of Ps 118 in Hebrews

A. The communal obligations in Hb 13:1-6

²¹⁰ According to Kistemaker (1961:17-56), the direct quotations of the Psalms in Hebrews are: Ps 2:7 in Hb 1:5a and 5:5; Ps 104:4 in Hb 1:7; Ps 45:6-7 in Hb 1:8-9; Ps 102:25, 27 in Hb 1:10-12; Ps 110:1 in Hb 1:13; Ps 8:4-6 in Hb 2:6-8a; Ps 22:23 in Hb 2:12; Ps 95:7-11 in Hb 3:7-11; Ps 110:4 in Hb 5:6 and 7:17, 21; Ps 40:6-8 in Hb 10:5-7; Ps 118:6 in Hb 13:6.

²¹¹ According to UBS³, distribution of Psalms in the NT is: Mt (8); Mk (5); Lk (7); Ac (10); Rm (13); 1 Cor (3); 2 Cor (2); Eph (2); Hb (16); 1 Pt (2).

A comparison of the reading of the texts of Ps 118:6 (117:6 LXX) with Hb 13:6

Ps 118:6 (MT)	Ps 117:6 (LXX)	Hb 13:6
יהוה לי לא אירא מזה יעשה לי אדם:	κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος	ὥστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν· κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, [καὶ] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος;

① *The structure of Hb 13:1-6*

The quotation from Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 in Hb 13:6 is in the communal obligations. This section (13:1-6) is made of “a series of four brief hortatory couplets, asyndetically coordinated and interspersed with comments, which offer grounds for the exhortations.” The couplets are seen in 13:1-2a (brotherly love and hospitality), 13:3 (care for prisoners and the ill-treated), 13:4a (respect for marriage), and 13:5a (avoidance of covetousness, contentment with what one has), respectively and the comments are in 13:2b, 4b, and 5b-6 (Attridge, 1989:385).

② *The introductory formula in Hb 13:6*

The last citation in Hebrews, Ps 118 (117 LXX):6, is separated from the previous saying by the phrase, ὥστε θαρροῦντας ἡμᾶς λέγειν (So that with good courage we say) (Kistemaker, 1961:56). According to Bruce (1990:369), here P⁶⁶ Y 1739

omit ἡμᾶς. Zuntz (1953:42) explains the reason as a scribal slip. Λέγειν in Hb 13:6 does not serve as an introductory formula, and it is probable to understand the wording as “an expression of human confidence in God.” This is the sole place in Hebrews where the OT is cited without any mention of God as the source of its authority (Ellingworth, 2000:700).

③ *Text comparison of the versions of Ps 118 (117 LXX):6*

a. *Textual differences between the MT and the LXX*

As already mentioned, through the comparison between the two versions, one major difference can be found. In the MT, the opening words read simply “the LORD [is] for me.” βοηθός is added in the LXX. The term βοηθός takes place only here in the NT while in the LXX it is used of God in Ex 18:4; Dt 33:29; Jdg 5:23; Job 22:25; and frequently throughout the Psalter (Attridge, 1989:389). Clement of Rome discloses in his literature that “the word was firmly rooted in the liturgy of the Early Church as descriptive of Jesus or God in the role of protector” (Steyn, 2006:122; Lane, 1991:520; Kistemaker, 1961:56; Michel, 1935:333).

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The quotation from Ps 118:6 (117:6 LXX) in Hb 13:6 is almost the same as the Septuagint version.²¹² Accordingly, most scholars think of the LXX version as the *Vorlage* of the Hebrews citation (Steyn, 2006:130; Ellingworth, 2000:701; Attridge, 1989:389, etc.).

④ *The connection between the two quotations (Dt 31:6 in Hb 13:5²¹³ and Ps 118 [117 LXX]:6 in Hb 13:6)*

Several scholars (Steyn, 2006:126-31; Ellingworth, 2000:701; Attridge, 1989:389; Kistemaker, 1961:56) note that Hb 13:6 is closely associated with the preceding verse. Firstly, there is a structural connection between the two quotes. According to Steyn (2006:130), “structurally both quotations are being presented by a single sentence and with a single introductory formula.”²¹² Ὡστε in Hb 13:6 marks the link between the two citations. Furthermore, λέγειν does not play as an introductory formula, as noted above. The use of ἐγκαταλείπω in Ps

²¹² As Attridge notes (1989:389), the presence or absence of the conjunction καί, between βοηθός and οὐ is problematic in both textual traditions. Cf. Steyn (2006:121-122) concerning the detailed debate over the matter.

²¹³ Although various alternatives (Gn 28:25; Dt 31:8; Js 1:5; 1 Chr 28:29 [LXX]) are suggested, most scholars accept Dt 31:6 as the most probable option (Steyn, 2006:126; Koester, 2001:559; Stedman, 1992:152; Long, 1989:143; Attridge, 1989:389; Buchanan, 1972:232; Kistemaker, 1961:55).

118 (117 LXX):8 reinforces this connection (Ellingworth, 2000:700-7001).

Secondly, there is a liturgical connection between the two quotations. According to Kistemaker (1961:56), the two are made up of a pair liturgically. In Hb 13:5 God is the speaker (*pars dei*) and the testimony of faith in the lines from Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 is the response of the people (*pars populi*). Steyn also notes “a deeply rooted Jewish festival tradition that combines the two citations.” “The Sabbatical Year and Tabernacles which were attested in Dt 31, provides a liturgical link for the author with Ps 118 (117 LXX) which was sung at these occasions” (2006:130).

⑤ *Applying Ps 118 (117 LXX) to the new context of Hb 13:1-6*

Hebrews applies the wording quoted from Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 to its reader’s context. Like Dt 31:6, Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 expresses the Lord’s faithfulness in defeating Israel’s enemies in war, but the writer of Hebrews employs it to urge trust in God’s financial and material providence (Buchanan, 1972:232).

8.2. 1 Peter

8.2.1. The General Context of 1 Peter

8.2.1.1. The Exodus Motif in 1 Peter

From the beginning of 1 Peter, one can find the Exodus parallel. Goppelt

(1982:155) sharply point out it:

As once Israel was chosen at Sinai to be “my treasured possession out of all nations” (λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν, Ex 19:5), so the Christians are the elect strangers in the world (ἐκλεκτοὶ παρεπίδημοι, 1 Pt 1:1) who have been selected out of all the nations. Like their forefathers, who were taken from their natural family ties (Hb 11:9, 13; cf. Gn 17:8; Ex 6:4; Ps 105:11) through God’s call, and like Israel in Egypt and in the wilderness (Ac 7:6; 13:17; cf. Ex 22:21; Dt 26:5; Ps 105:23; Is 52:4). The same is true of the admonition “Gird up your loins” (1 Pt 1:13). ... It reminds us of the command ordering the strangers in Egypt to be ready to depart suddenly (Ex 12:11).

In addition, these can be noted: Christians obtain an inheritance (1:4; cf. Dt 4:21, 38 etc.) and “they are being proved on their way to it” (1:7; cf. Dt 8:2, 16); they are redeemed with the blood of the Lamb without blemish and without spot (1:19; cf. Ex 12:5); they are a chosen people (cf. 2:9; Dt 10:15), royal priests, a holy nation (cf. 2:9; Ex 19:5-6) (Nixon, 1963:28).

The Passover theme is also present in 1 Pt 1:18-19: “Christ is present not as the sacrificial lamb offered for atonement of sins, but in terms of the Passover lamb who symbolized the Exodus deliverance (cf. 1:2)” (Casey, 1982:133).

8.2.1.2. The New Exodus Motif in 1 Peter

1 Peter concentrates on Jesus Christ as the typical righteous sufferer who is both the Christians’ savior and example (Woan, 2004:229). The fact is well demonstrated in numerous references from Is 53 in 1 Peter. In 1 Pt 2, Peter

echoes Is 53 at least six times: Is 53:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12 in 2:22-25 (Moyise, 2005:182). Especially, the mention to Jesus' death in 2:24 is founded on Is 53:4-5 and the Suffering Servant theme, which has been considered to be associated with both Exodus and New Exodus traditions (Casey, 1982:133). Accordingly, Jesus in 1 Peter is viewed as the Isaianic suffering servant whose main task is the Restoration from Exile (Rapinchuk, 1996:227). Nixon (1963:28) supports this argument, saying that "the main theme of the Epistle is that of suffering and persecution. They [Church] are undergoing a 'fiery ordeal' (4:12). ... they are clearly suffering as the people of the New Exodus."

8.2.2. The Ps 118 quotation in 1 Peter

8.2.2.1. The OT in 1 Peter²¹⁴

As with Hebrews, 1 Peter also employs a lot of OT quotations and allusions. For its size, 1 Peter surpasses Romans and Hebrews for its density of OT citations (eighteen in five chapters) (Moyise, 2005:175).²¹⁵ According to Bauckham (1988:309), the OT references in 1 Peter fall into two chief categories: "prophetic interpretation and paraenetic application" although the two are not always distinct from one another.

²¹⁴ Cf. (Elliott, 1966); (Best, 1969:270-93); (Black, 1971-72:1-14); (Snodgrass, 1977-78:97-106); (Michaels, 1988); (Bauckham, 1988:303-17); (Schutter, 1989); (Green, 1990:277-89); (France, 1998:24-48); (Jobes, 2002:1-14); (Moyise, 2005:175-188).

²¹⁵ According to the list of quotes in UBS³, the average number of verses per quotation is Matthew, 19.8; 1 Corinthians, 17.8; Galatians, 12.5; 1 Peter, 8.7; Hebrews, 8.1; Romans, 7.2.

1 Peter generally cites according to the LXX, though variants in the stone texts (that is also found in Pauline literature) have been “one of the strongest arguments for a testimony source” (Moyise, 2001:109).

8.2.2.2. The Psalms in 1 Peter

As far as the use of the Psalms and Isaiah are concerned, 1 Peter forms a striking contrast to Hebrews. The former quotes the Psalter only twice²¹⁶ and Isaiah at least six times (Moyise, 2005:175). The latter, however, cites Isaiah only once and the Psalms as much as sixteen times (cf. the quotation list of UBS³).

The following two points underscore the importance of the Psalter in 1 Peter. Firstly, in addition to the two quotations, there are eleven possible allusions from the Psalter in 1 Peter (Woan, 2004:228). Secondly, the quotation from Ps 34 in 1 Pt 3:10-12 is the most extensive OT citation in 1 Peter (Woan, 2004:219).

8.2.2.3. The interpretation of Ps 118 in 1 Peter

The Living Stone and a Chosen People (1 Pt 2:4-10)

A comparison of the reading of the Greek texts of Ps 117:22 (LXX) with 1Pt 2:6-8

LXX	1 Pt 2:6-8
	ὁτι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ· ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν

²¹⁶ Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 in 1 Pt 2:7 and Ps 34:13-17 in 1 Pt 3:10-12.

<p>²²λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας</p> <p>²³παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν</p>	<p>ἔντιμον καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυθη.</p> <p>⁷ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἀπιστοῦσιν δὲ λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας</p> <p>⁸καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου· οἱ προσκόπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν.</p>
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① *The structure of 1 Pt 2:1-10*

The Ps 118 (117 LXX) quotation in 1 Peter is found in the context of the Living Stone and a Chosen People (1 Pt 2:4-10).²¹⁷ The stone passages of 1 Pt 2:4-10 can be outlined (Bauckham, 1988:310):

- 4-5 Introductory statement of theme
- 4 A Jesus the elect stone
- 5 B The church the elect people of God
- 6-10 Midrash

²¹⁷ According to Jobes (2005:142), 1 Peter refers to six LXX passages in 1 Pt 2:4-10: Ps 117:22; Ex 19:5-6; Is 8:14; 28:16; 43:20-21; and Hs 2:25.

6a	Introductory formula
6-8	A' The elect stone
6b + 7a	Text 1 (Is 28:16) + interpretation
7b+ 7c	Interpretation + Text 2 (Ps 118:22)
8a + 8b	Text 3 (Is 8:14) + interpretation
9-10	B' The elect people
9	Text 4 (Is 43:20-21) + Text 5 (Ex 19:5-6)
10	Text 6 (Hs 2:23)

② *The introductory formula in 1 Pt 2:6*

To introduce the quotations, 1 Peter employs the phrase διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ.²¹⁸ Compared with the Synoptic introductory formulae, it is unique. 1 Peter's γραφή lacks the definite article, while each of the Synoptics has it. In spite of the absence of the definite article, Elliott (2000:423) comments that "it is best taken as a reference to Sacred Scripture rather than to a less definite 'writing' or, more specifically a written collection of OT 'testimonies.'"²¹⁹

③ *The Chiastic structure of 1 Pt 2:4-8*

According to Michaels (1988:105), the placement of ἀπιστοῦσιν, just before the citation of Ps 118 (117 LXX):22, has the effect of making this text primarily a

²¹⁸ According to Davids (1990:89), the formula is not found elsewhere in the NT, but it does take place in the LXX (1 Macc 15:2; 2 Macc 11:16, 22) and other Jewish literature (Josephus, Ant 11:104; T. Levi 10:5). This introduction shows the quality of 1 Peter's Greek.

²¹⁹ Against Selwyn (1947:273-77).

preface to Is 8:14 in 2:8. The quote from Ps 118 (117 LXX) in 1 Pt 2:7 is almost in agreement with the LXX except for one small alteration (λίθος instead of the accusative) (Woan, 2004:217). The verb ἀπεδοκίμασαν in the citation is already mentioned in 2:4 (ἀποδοκιμασμένον) and so Davids (1990:89) sees a chiasm in this chain of quotations:

He [Peter] cites the texts in the reverse order of the topics in v 4. There he alluded to Ps 118:22 (rejection) before mentioning God's election of "the stone" (Is 28:18). Now he produces a chiasm (in this case an *A B C B A* pattern, with C being Christians as stones) by referring to Is 28 first and then extending the Ps 118 passage by means of Is 8. The result shows conscious homiletic artistry.

④ *The connection between the Ps 118 (117 LXX) citation and the two Isaiah texts*

The quotation from Ps 118 (117 LXX):22, which is the second quotation in this chain, is linked to the first, not only by the repetition of λίθος, but by the similarity in thought between ἀκρογωνιαῖον and εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. According to Michaels (1988:105), it is perhaps this similarity that provoked Peter to interpolate the psalm citation between two texts from Isaiah (28:16 and 8:14) that were closely connected not only in Paul (i.e., Rm 9:33) but in the Book of Isaiah itself.

⑤ *The role of the Ps 118(117 LXX) quotation in 1 Pt 2:7*

As Bauckham notes (1988:310), 1 Pt 2:6-10 functions as a midrash on 2:1-5. In 2:4, Christ is introduced as the "living stone," which is developed in 2:5 to

feature the saints as themselves also being “living stones” (Snodgrass, 1978:97). In 2:5-6 the stone motifs support and expand the previous section by means of the OT quotation and its interpretation. Here Ps 118 (117 LXX) also plays “a supportive and collective role” between the two Isaianic citations (Woan, 2004:219).

According to Moyise (2005:181), in the catena of citations the writer is not so much repeating the Christological point, but making an ecclesiological point for believers. For believers, Is 28:6 (“they will receive honor”) is relevant, and for unbelievers, Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 and Is 8:14 (“they will be put to shame”) are applicable. This implies that the chief purpose of citing Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 was mainly “to evoke the builders’ shame over their mistake and only secondarily to refer to Christ’s exaltation.”

8.3. Summary

The Exodus and New Exodus Motifs in the General Epistles (especially in Hebrews and 1 Peter) were examined. Hebrews has many Exodus typologies. For instance, the comparison between Jesus and Moses in Hb 3; between the high priest and Jesus in Hb 7; between the tabernacle and the heavenly temple in Hb 8-9 is noticeable. Compared with Hebrews, 1 Peter has numerous Isaiah references. Especially Is 53 is noticeable. By using Isaiah 53 frequently, Peter describes Jesus as Isaiah’s righteous servant who brings the New Exodus to his people [the believers] through his suffering and death.

There are two quotations from Ps 118 (117 LXX) in the General Epistles, i.e. Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 in Hb 13:6 and Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 in 1 Pt 2:7. Each of them functions in their contexts:

- In Hb 13:6 the Ps 118 (117 LXX) quotation is liturgically and structurally linked with the citation from Dt 31:6 in Hb 13:5. Both quotes are connected with the Feast of Tents (Sukkoth). Structurally both quotations are being presented by a single sentence and with a single introduction. Hb 13:6 cannot be detached from Hb 13:5. It is part of the same sentence with the protasis and Dt 31:6 in 13:5, and the apodosis with Ps 118 (117 LXX) in 13:6.
- The Ps 118 (117 LXX) quotation in 1 Pt 2:7 is found in the catena of stone quotations (Pt 2:4-10). The psalm citation, which is being put between two Isaiah quotations, is connected to the first not only by the recurrence of λίθος but by the similarity in thought between ἀκρογωνιαῖον and εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. Here the primary function of Ps 118 (117 LXX) is not to present a new idea but to support the previous section (2:1-5).

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This concluding chapter will attempt to summarize the arguments and compile the conclusions of the previous chapters.

9.1. The Tradition-historical Aspect of the Study

In Chapter 2, the tradition-historical approach was tried in order to trace the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Ps 118. The background of Ps 118 was dealt with. Since Ps 118 was traditionally sung at the Jewish feasts, its relation to the Jewish feasts, especially Passover and Tabernacles was discussed. Finally, the use of Ps 118 in the early Jewish and Christian literature was examined.

Ps 118 represents a “Dankfestliturgie” and is the last psalm in the so-called “Egyptian Hallel” (Pss 113-118). The Hallel was initially chanted at the Feast of Lights and later taken up in three great feasts, i.e. Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.

As demonstrated in the Mishnah, the singing of the Hallel was an essential part of the Passover. It was sung at the sacrifice and preparation for the evening feast on the afternoon of the 14th of Abib. It was also recited as part of the

Passover celebration commemorating the Exodus from Egypt on the night of the 15th of Abib started at sunset of the 14th. According to the Mishnah, Israelites sang Pss 113-114 before the Seder meal and 115-118 after drinking the last cup.

The Hallel as a whole is strongly linked to Passover, thematically as well as functionally. It includes the Passover themes (e.g., election, deliverance from bondage) and images (e.g., cup of salvation, Exodus) which make it appropriate for use at the feast.

The climax of the Hallel, Ps 118, contains numerous parallels to the Song of the Red Sea, sung by Moses in Ex 15:1-18. Firstly, several verbal similarities between the two are striking (e.g., Ps 118:14 with Ex 15:2; Ps 118:15-16 with Ex 15:6; and Ps 118:28 with Ex 15:2). Secondly, there are strong verbal links, e.g., Ex 15:2a is quoted in Ps 118:14 and alluded to in Ps 118:21, and the psalm concludes with an allusion to Ex 15:2b in Ps 118:28.

As shown in the Mishnah, the singing of the Hallel was also an indispensable element in the Feast of the Tents. Firstly, it is related with the willow ritual which occurred every day during the Feast of Tabernacles. The entire Hallel was probably recited as the willow procession made its way from Mosa to the temple courtyards. The ritual reached its climax when they arrived at the altar to the final verses of Ps 118, perhaps repeating 118:25 over and over. Secondly, Ps 118 is connected to the waving of the lulab which is one of the Tabernacle

Symbols. According to the Mishnah, the lulab was shaken at some point or points during the recitation of Ps 118.

Although the Hallel as a group contains several Passover themes so that these psalms are especially appropriate for the feast, Ps 118 itself is better suited to Tabernacles than to any other feasts because it is a procession psalm, and alludes to the day of the feast (v 24), to the Hosanna-cry of the procession and to the light of the torches in the torch dance on the first night of the feast (v 27) (Mowinckel, 2004:1.120).

In the Jewish tradition, Ps 118 was used liturgically and eschatologically. The liturgical use of Ps 118 is noticeable in the scroll 11QPs^a of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which arranges the Psalters oddly probably to fit their liturgy. Striking examples of eschatological-messianical interpretation of Ps 118 are: the strong Davidic emphasis of the Dead Sea Scrolls, exegesis of “stone” into “a youth” of the Targum on Ps 118 and the antiphonal song of Midrash on Ps 118.

Traces of the use of Ps 118 among early Christian authors are:

- Ps 118 (117 LXX):5, 21 are not quoted in the NT, but a possible allusion is to be found in Jn 11:41-42 as part of the resurrection episode of Lazarus.
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 is found twice in the NT. Firstly, it is alluded to in Rm

8:31b. The question of Rm 8:31a (“what therefore shall we say in view of these things?”) introduces a conclusion to 8:18-30. Rm 8:31b (“if God is for us, who is against us?”) as a possible allusion to Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 echoes similar expressions of confidence in the Psalms (Pss 23:4; 56:9, 12; and 118:6-7) and strikes a basic chord in the theme of the suffering righteous (Dunn, 1988:500). Secondly, it is quoted in Hb 13:6 as the last quotation in Hebrews in connection with communal obligations.

- Ps 118 (117 LXX):10-12 is alluded to in Jn 10:24-25 in the context of the Feast of Dedication (10:22-39).
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):15 is alluded to in Lk 1:51 in the context of the *Magnificat* (Lk 1:46-56). There are parallels with Ps 118:15 in 1:51a; with Pr 3:34 in 1:51a-b; and with Ps 89:10 in 1:51b (Bovon, 2002:62).
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):16 is alluded to in Luke-Acts three times: in Lk 1:51 in the *Magnificat* (Lk 1:46-56); in Ac 2:33 in Peter’s Pentecost sermon (2:14-40); and in in Ac 5:31 in Peter’s defense before the Council (5:29-32).
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):17-18 are alluded to in 2 Cor 6:9 b-c in Paul’s appeal for a response to God and his apostle. 2 Cor 6:9 changed the tenses of the verbs in Ps 118 (117 LXX):17-18. In 2 Cor 6:9b, Paul alters the future tenses of Ps 117:17 (LXX) (οὐκ ἀποθανοῦμαι ἀλλὰ ζήσομαι) into present

- tenses (ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν) and “the text is thus accommodated to Paul’s conviction that the mortality of the apostles is itself a means for the disclosure of ‘the life of Jesus’” (Furnish, 1986:347). In 2 Cor 6:9c the aorist tenses of Ps 117 (LXX) (παιδεύων ἐπαίδευσέν με ὁ κύριος καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκέν με) are changed to present tenses (ὡς παιδευόμενοι καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι). Ps 118 (117 LXX):18 is also quoted in 1 Cle 56:3 with the introductory formula οὕτως φησιν ὁ ἅγιος λόγος.
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):20 seems to be alluded to in Rv 22:14 in the context of the last parenthesis (22:10-20), since “the rejected stone that became the chief cornerstone” of Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 is one of the most used messianic prophecies in the NT (Beale, 1999:1140). Ps 118 (117 LXX):19-20 are also quoted in 1 Cle 48:2. It is noticeable that the author of 1 Clement substitutes the subjunctive ἐξομολογήσωαμι for the indicative ἐξομολογήσομαι of Ps 118 (117 LXX).
 - Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 (or 22-23) is one of the most quoted testimonies in the NT and early Christian literature (Duling, 1983:985). It is quoted seven times in the early Christian literature, i.e. five times in the NT (Mark, Matthew, 1 Peter); once in the Gospel of Thomas and once in the writings of the Church Fathers (Barnabas which also includes v 23). In the Synoptics and Gospel of Thomas, it is quoted in Mk 12:10-11; Mt 21:42; Lk 20:17; GT 66 as part of the parable of the wicked tenants. In response to questions about Jesus’ authority, the Synoptic authors

punctuate the end of the parable with a quote from Ps 118 (117 LXX):22-23 (but Luke omits v 23). The Gospel of Thomas follows the Lukan tradition by only making use of the quotation of Ps 118 (117 LXX):22, but creates a new nuance: the way of life rejected by tradesmen, merchants, and lenders is the way to truth and knowledge. 1 Pt 2:6-8 and Barn 6:2-4 also quote Ps 118 (117 LXX):22-23. The quotation of Ps 118 (117 LXX) in 1 Pt is in the context of Christian apologetics among Judaism. To show Jesus' vindication as the Messiah, Peter uses a series of OT quotations (Is 28+ Ps 118 [117 LXX] + Is 8). The quotation of Ps 118 (117 LXX) by Barnabas is part of a series of proof texts related to the death of Christ (Barn 6:1-7). Especially, the quoted passages (Barn 6:2-4) are in the context of Christ's victory through the passion (centered around the stone testimony) (Paget, 1994:128). There are similarities between 1 Peter and Barnabas. Both have a catena of scriptural citations and the quoted books and numbers are the same: three citations in 1 Pt 2:4-8 (Is 28:16, Ps 118 [117 LXX]:22, Is 8:14) and three quotations in Barn 6:2-4 (Is 28:16, Is 50:7 and Ps 118 [117 LXX]:22). But the quoted orders and passages are different. While 1 Pt has the Ps 118 (117 LXX) quotation between two Isaiah quotations, Barnabas puts it in the last. 1 Pt 2 has Is 8:14 while Barn 6 contains Is 50:7. Ps 118:22 (117 LXX) is also alluded to at least five times in the NT. Firstly, it is alluded to in Mk 8:31 (= Lk 9:22) in the context of the first passion prediction. Between the two is verbal agreement as well as the recurrence of the rare verb in the quotation of Ps 118 (117 LXX):22-23 in Mk 12:10-11 (Brunson,

2003:103). Secondly, it is alluded to in Lk 17:25 as part of an additional Passion Prediction (Lk 17:20-37). Thirdly, it is echoed in Rm 9:32-33. This passage has two combined quotations of Isaiah: Is 28:16 and 8:14. It is interesting that the combination of two Isaiah citations is very similar to 1 Pt 2:6-8 which includes Ps 118 (117 LXX):22 (Is 28:16 + Ps 118 [117 LXX]:22 + Is 8:14). Lastly, it seems to be alluded to in Eph 2:20 in terms that Ps 117:22 (LXX) speaks of a stone that was rejected by the builders but was made, “the head of the corner.”

- Ps 118 (117 LXX) is alluded to twice in the Johannine literature: in Jn 8:56 in the priority of Jesus over Abraham and the prophets (8:48-59); and in Rv 19:7 in the heavenly throne-room audition (19:1-8).
- Ps 118 (117 LXX):25-26 (or v 26) are quoted several times in the Gospels: in the Triumphal Entry (Mk 11:9-10; Mt 21:9; Lk 13:35, 19:38; Jn 12:13); and in the lament over Jerusalem (Mt 23:39; Lk 13:35).

9.2. The Hermeneutical Aspect of the Study – A “New Exodus Motif”

Through the tradition-historical approach, it is known that Ps 118 is in particular associated with Passover, which evokes the Exodus. Accordingly, in Chs 3-7, which studied the interpretation and application of Ps 118 in its new contexts of early Christianity, the emphasis has been laid on examining the possibility of the “New Exodus Motif.”

9.2.1. The New Exodus Motif in the NT

9.2.1.1. In the Synoptics

Although there is a difference within their common structure, the Synoptics can be divided into three parts on the basis of the location of Jesus' ministry: "In and Beyond Galilee," "On the Way to Jerusalem," and "At Jerusalem." The three sections are replete with the New Exodus Motif.

Mark begins his narrative with the term εὐαγγέλιον (1:1), the combined editorial quotations from Ex 23:20, Mt 3:1 and Is 40:3 (1:2), and the wilderness motif (1:3) which are filled with Isaiah's New Exodus imagery.

In the subsequent sections, Mark's three-fold structure comprising Jesus' powerful ministry in Galilee and beyond, his leading his "blind" disciples along the "Way," and arrival in Jerusalem follows Isaiah's New Exodus schema where Yahweh as Warrior and Healer and Provider delivers his people from bondage, leads the "blind" along the New Exodus way of deliverance, and arrives at Jerusalem.

In Matthew, the prologue section, particularly Matthew's ancestry, provides potentially significant clues to understand Matthew's intention by underscoring

the Exile as an important period in the history of Israel. In the following narrative, Matthew employs the Exile and restoration expressions in order to intensify the implications found in Jesus' genealogy (e.g., "save his people," "from their sins," and "God with us" in 1:21-23; Out of Egypt have I called my son in 2:15; rest and yoke in 11:29).

Luke also shares the New Exodus Motif with the other Synoptic Gospels. Unique to Luke is the use of the term ἔξοδος. In the Transfiguration Narrative, only Luke mentions what Moses and Elijah spoke about with Jesus on the mountain (9:31). They spoke of the ἔξοδος which Jesus was to fulfill in Jerusalem. Accordingly, in Luke, the "way" of Jesus to Jerusalem is depicted as a new "Exodus" which is associated with Is 40-55.

Luke continues to advance the Isaianic New Exodus Motif in his second volume. The ideas controlling the story of Acts parallel the three strands of Is 40:1-11, i.e. the Restoration of the People of God, Universal Revelation of the Glory/Salvation of God, the Power of the Word of God.

9.2.1.2. In John

Peculiar to John is the emphasis that is put on the Festival of Passover. John presents Jesus' ministry in the framework of three Passovers. Consequently, The Jesus of John is depicted as the Passover sacrifice to bring the New Exodus to his people.

9.2.1.3. In the Pauline Epistles

Isaiah' expected New Exodus had powerful influence on the Pauline letters. The fact was demonstrated in emphasis laid on the book of Isaiah in the Pauline epistles, especially in Romans and Corinthians. The apostle indulged in the OT stream of the expectation of a New Exodus predicted by Isaiah and it had great influence on how he interpreted the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. (Holland, 2004:31).

9.2.1.4. In the General Epistles: Hebrews and 1 Peter

In Hebrews, by using numerous implicit and explicit Exodus references, the author compares and contrasts between the old and new covenant eras. In 1 Peter, by employing Isaiah 53 frequently, Peter depicts Jesus as Isaiah's righteous servant who brings a New Exodus to his church through his suffering and death.

9.2.2. The New Exodus Motif and Ps 118 references in the NT

9.2.2.1. In the Synoptics

The Synoptic Gospels tend to concentrate their attention on the same few verses of Ps 118 (117 LXX). Mark and Matthew refer to Ps 118 (117 LXX):22-23 and 25-26, and share a liturgical allusion to the Hallel. Luke limits his use to Ps

118 (117 LXX):22, 26. The New Exodus themes are found in the Ps 118 (117 LXX) references:

- Although citation from the Ps 118:22-23 in the Synoptics follows the LXX text of Ps 117 closely, they apply it to a different context and reinterpret it christologically. Οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, who referred to “the nations” in the LXX Ps 117:22 now turn to be “the leaders of Israel.” Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες in the original Psalm referred to the nation of Israel or Israel’s king. In the Synoptics it is applied to Jesus. Jesus is viewed as Isaiah’s Suffering Servant who brings the New Exodus to his people through his suffering and vindication. The cornerstone metaphor is also associated with Isaiah’s New Exodus expectation in two ways: its role in the New Exodus Temple’s hope of restoration (Is 56:7) and its role in the “resurrection” (Ezk 37:1-14).
- Unlike Ps 118 (117 LXX):22-23, the lines from Ps 118 (117 LXX):25-26 about the blessedness of the one who comes in the name of the Lord get various twists in the Synoptics. Matthew speaks of crowds giving praise to “the son of David” cites the psalm, and then notes the cries of hosanna in the highest. Mark speaks of those going before and behind crying hosanna, cites the psalm, notes another blessing for “the coming kingdom of our Father David”, and closes with cries of hosanna in the highest. Luke does not mention the hosanna, but “the king” and “peace in heaven, and glory in the highest heaven.” Ps 118 (117 LXX):25-26 is

christologically interpreted by the Synoptics. The phrase εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου which originally referred to the benediction pronounced upon “those coming or entering the gates of the temple” was changed into “the welcome for Jesus as the coming Messiah.” The Synoptic writers underscore Jesus’ identity as the Messianic king who comes in order to lead Isaiah’s expected New Exodus.

9.2.2.2. In John

While the Synoptics focus on a few verses of Ps 118 (117 LXX) (22-23, 25-26), the Fourth Gospel employs a wider range from Ps 118 (117 LXX) (5, 10-12, 19-20, 21, 24, 25-26), but does not use Ps 118 (117 LXX):22.

The New Exodus themes are also found in John’s Psalm quotation:

- Jn 12:13 has the only quotation from Ps 118 (117 LXX). Like the Synoptic parallels, the Ps 118 (117 LXX) quotation of John has no introductory formula and also wears his own theology clothes by adding the note of blessing on “the king of Israel.” Through the title which forms an inclusio with Nathanael’s confession at the introduction of the Gospel, the phrase “the coming one” and the quotation from Zch 9:9 in Jn 12:15, John describes Jesus as a messianic king who comes to bring the New Exodus to his people.

9.2.2.3. In the Pauline Epistles

Since the Pauline literature does not quote Ps 118 (117 LXX) directly, but alludes to the stone text of Ps 118:22 at least twice (Rm 9:32-32 and Eph 2:20), and applies “the stone” to “Christ,” it seems that there is an underlying possibility of the New Exodus Motif in Paul’s allusions to Ps 118 (117 LXX).

9.2.2.4. In the General Epistles: Hebrews and 1 Peter

Hebrews and 1 Peter quote Ps 118 once respectively. One can also find the Exodus and New Exodus Motifs in each of them.

- In Hb 13:6 Ps 118 (117 LXX) is quoted in relation with the Jewish feasts, i. e. the Sabbatical Year, the Tabernacles and the Passover which all are closely associated with Exodus themes. Firstly, the Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 quotation in Hb 13:6 is linked with the citation from Dt 31:6 in Hb 13:5 liturgically. Both of the two citations are related with the Sabbatical Year and the Feast of Tents. Secondly, the Psalm quotation in Hb 13:6 is also connected with the next section (13:7-19) which deals with the sacrifice of Christ and “seems to allude to the sacrament of the Eucharist” (Thomas, 1965:319). Since the Eucharist had its roots in the Jewish feast of the Passover and Ps 118 (117 LXX):6 was also sung during the festival, Ps 118 was quoted at the appropriate place.
- The author of Hebrews applies the words from Ps 118:6 to a new context.

Originally Ps 118:6 expressed Yahweh's faithfulness in defeating Israel's enemies in war, but Hb 13:6 uses it to urge trust in God's financial and material providence (Buchanan, 1972:232).

- As a lot of references from Is 53 in 1 Peter show, its focus is on Jesus Christ as the archetypal righteous sufferer who is both the Christians' saviour and example. Accordingly, by using the Ps 118:22 citation, which is sandwiched between two Isaianic quotations, 1 Peter seems to depict Jesus as Isaiah's righteous servant whose task was to bring the New Exodus to his church through his suffering and death.

9.3. Conclusion

In the introduction, the following question was asked: When the early Christian writers, especially NT authors, quoted from Ps 118, did they imply the New Exodus Motif? As the above study demonstrates, in the general context of the NT documents and in the application of quotations from Ps 118, NT writers indeed implied the New Exodus.

In the Synoptic Gospels, in the Pauline epistles (especially, in Romans and Ephesians) and 1 Peter, Jesus is viewed as Isaiah's righteous servant who brings the Exile to an end and as the cornerstone (or capstone) which restores the Isaianic eschatological New Temple through his suffering and death. In the Gospels, Jesus is also depicted as the Messianic king who enters Jerusalem to

lead Isaiah's expected New Exodus. Hebrews implies the New Exodus in relation with the Jewish feasts, i.e. the Sabbatical Year, the Tabernacles and the Passover.