

## The Form and Function of the Psalms in *Barnabas* 6<sup>1)</sup>

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### Introduction

Recent years have seen a resurgence in interest in studies related to the textual state of early Christian documents. Although Eldon Epp wrote a requiem for the discipline of New Testament textual criticism in 1979,<sup>2)</sup> Daniel Wallace wrote in 2019 that the discipline has experienced a “sea change” in recent years.<sup>3)</sup> A new collection of essays on translation of late-antique Christian texts evinces a similar interest in the various forms in which early Christian texts were known.<sup>4)</sup> Recent Septuagint studies have likewise brought increasing clarity to the variety of ways in which translators worked while demonstrating a continued focus on the state of the text in the early centuries CE.<sup>5)</sup> These

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- 1) This work has been supported by the research fund of the Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, 2020.
- 2) E.J. Epp, “New Testament Textual Criticism in America: Requiem for a Discipline,” *JBL* 98 (1979), 94–98.
- 3) D. Wallace, “Foreword,” in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism*, eds. E. Hixson and P.J. Gurry (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2019), xvii.
- 4) M. Toca and D. Batovici, eds., *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late-Antique Christian Literature*, Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).
- 5) E.g. J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); J. Hong, “In Search of the

studies have recognized the textual pluriformity of Greek Jewish scriptures, and this observation has led some to explore the way in which early Christian literature may attest not only the creativity of early Christian exegesis but also the variety of text forms that were available in the first and second centuries CE.<sup>6)</sup> This focus on the form of the text has not resulted in reduced interest on the function of Greek Jewish scriptures within early Christian texts. Indeed, the question of how particular authors employ Greek Jewish scriptures continues to be a point of scholarly interest.<sup>7)</sup>

This paper locates itself within these broad streams of interest in contemporary scholarship by bringing these scholarly trends

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‘Old Greek’ in the Septuagint Psalter: A Case Study of LXX Psalms 49 and 103,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 23 (2018), 1–12; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015); idem, *Textual Developments*, VTSup 181 (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

- 6) J.d. Vries and M. Karrer, eds., *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity: Textgeschichte und Schriftrezeption im frühen Christentum*, SCS 60 (Atlanta: SBL, 2013); S. Docherty, “The Text-Form of the OT Citations in Hebrews Chapter 1 and the Implications for the Study of the New Testament,” *NTS* 55 (2009), 355–365; idem, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation*, WUNT 2.238 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); M. Karrer and J.d. Vries, “Die Schriftzitate im ersten Christentum und die Textgeschichte der Septuaginta: Ein Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies*, eds. J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, VTSup157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 311–357; M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen*, ANF 43 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010); G.J. Steyn, *A Quest for the Assumed LXX Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews*, FRLANT 235 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).
- 7) The literature on this topic is voluminous, particularly if one includes commentaries and monographs that explore an author’s use of the Old Testament alongside other topics. To cite just two examples, see G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); G.K. Beale, *Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament: Exegesis and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012).

to bear on a more limited topic of study, namely, the form and function of the Psalms in the Epistle of Barnabas (Barn.) 6. *Barnabas* is either an anonymous or pseudonymous letter from the second century.<sup>8)</sup> It was attributed to Barnabas at least by the end of the second century.<sup>9)</sup> The letter refers to the fall of the Jerusalem temple and must thus have been written after 70 CE (Barn. 16.3–5). Although various dates have been suggested for this enigmatic letter, it was most likely written during Hadrian’s reign (118–138 CE). Since the letter does not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem at the end of the Second Jewish War, it is possible that *Barnabas* dates from the years prior to the outbreak of conflict (*circa* 130–132 CE).<sup>10)</sup> The author regularly employs figurative interpretations of scripture and strongly argues against physical or literal interpretations of sacrifices, fasts, circumcision, the food laws, Sabbath, or temple service (Barn. 2.4–3.6; 9.1–10.12; 15.1–16.10). The argument insists that there was only one covenant, that Jews refused the covenant at Sinai or when they rejected Jesus, and that the author and his audience have rightly understood and duly inherited God’s covenant (Barn. 4.6–8; 14.1–5). The means by which the author argues these points consists of a sustained series of exegetical arguments with a wealth of scriptural quotations.

Robert Kraft completed the most sustained study of the

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- 8) In this paper, the italicized “*Barnabas*” refers to the Epistle of Barnabas, that is, the text. On the other hand, the unitalicized “Barnabas” is used to denote the pseudepigraphical author of the letter.
- 9) Clement of Alexandria cites the Epistle of Barnabas at the end of the second century (e.g. *Strom.* 2.31.3 [6]; 2.116.3 [20]). The letter must thus have been written prior to the end of the second century.
- 10) For concise discussions, see further J. Carleton Paget, “The Epistle of Barnabas,” in *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Paul Foster (London: T&T Clark Continuum, 2007), 73–75; K. Wengst, “Barnabasbrief,” in TRE, eds. Gerhard Müller et al., vol. 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), 238–239.

quotations in the Epistle of Barnabas in 1961.<sup>11)</sup> Studies after Kraft have rightly shown that the author of the letter was a more active agent in the writing process than mid-twentieth century scholarship allowed.<sup>12)</sup> Although recent studies remain interested in *Barnabas's* sources and the role that they play in his letter, more can be done to bring discussions of the scriptural quotations in *Barnabas* into conversation with scholarship on the Greek Jewish scriptures. This paper thus seeks to use the Psalms in Barn. 6 as a platform from which to ask two questions. First, how do the quotations of the Psalms citations in Barn. 6 compare to the form of the Psalms in other manuscripts and quotations of the Greek Psalter?<sup>13)</sup> Second, how do the Psalms in Barn. 6 function within the author's argument? The remainder of the paper works from these results to show that the narrow focus on Barn. 6 has implications for the rest of *Barnabas* and for the reception-historical study of Greek Jewish scriptures in early Christian texts.

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11) R.A. Kraft, "The Epistle of Barnabas: Its Quotations and Their Sources," Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 1961).

12) J. Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background*, WUNT 2.64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994); R. Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant: The Purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas and Jewish-Christian Competition in the Second Century*, WUNT 2.82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

13) There is a potential ambiguity in the use of the word form in this essay. The word form can be used in studies of the Hebrew Bible with reference to form criticism. This essay employs the word form differently. Rather than denoting a generic or formulaic designation, form is used here to describe the textual form, that is, the words in a particular manuscript. To take an example from New Testament studies, the form of Isa 40:6 that is quoted in 1 Pet 1:24 differs in the Old Greek of Isa 40:6 because 1 Pet 1:24 contains the word ὤς, which is omitted in the Old Greek.

## 1. The Form of the Psalms in *Barnabas* 6

The psalm citations in Barn. 6 occur in a portion of the letter that considers the role of the Son in salvation with a view to how the Son revealed himself through the prophets (Barn. 5.1–8.7). The author begins by looking at the Son's endurance of suffering (Barn. 5.1–14). The argument next considers the misplaced nature of resistance to the Son because the Son is like a strong stone (Barn. 6.1–4), while the following section summarizes the multifaceted argument to that point (Barn. 6.5–7). One quotation from the Psalms is found in each section (Barn. 6.4, 6).<sup>14</sup> In Barn. 6.8–19, the author turns to an extended allegory of the land flowing with milk and honey that christologically interprets the land in terms of new creation. The author again appeals to the Psalter (Barn. 6.16). While the discussion of the Lord's salvific actions and their prior revelation in scripture continues in Barn. 7–8 to include figurative interpretations of the Day of Atonement and the red heifer, the various references to the Psalter within the multifaceted arguments in Barn. 6 provide a useful platform from which to take note of the form of the Psalms within the letter. The Psalms in Barn. 6 are quoted in forms that often differ from critical editions of the Septuagint, combine phrases from different Psalms, but maintain connections with some part of the manuscript tradition of the Old Greek Psalter.

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14) Although this essay focuses on Psalms in Barn. 6, it is also worth noting the psalmic citation in Barn. 5.13. One could—and at some point should—extend this study to explore the use of scripture within the exegetical argument of Barn. 5.1–8.7 and throughout the rest of the letter. However, this will unfortunately remain a project for another time.

1.1. Psalm 117 in *Barnabas* 6.4<sup>15)</sup>

The references to Ps 117 are part of a series of quotations that refer to Jesus's strength in terms of the stone figure. These two verses from the Psalter are cited side-by-side, but the author separates them with different quotation formulae. The first is introduced as the saying of a prophet: "and again the prophet says" (λέγει δὲ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης; Barn. 6.4). The second is introduced without direct reference to the speaker: "and again he says" (καὶ πάλιν λέγει; Barn. 6.4). The adverb πάλιν is repeated because these verses are part of a larger series of quotations that are linked by references to the stone. Although Ps 117:22, 24 come from the same Psalm, the author distinguishes them as two separate words.

The form of the citations from Ps 117 are very near to the verses as they are printed in Rahlfs's critical edition.<sup>16)</sup> After the introduction of the prophetic word, Barn. 6.4 reads, "The stone which the builders rejected, this became the head of the corner" (λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας). The Psalmist's words are identical in printed editions of the Greek Psalter. Barnabas's second quotation is likewise close to the Psalmist's words, but there are modest variations from Rahlfs's edition. The second quotation in Barn. 6.4 says, "This is the great and marvelous day that the Lord has made" (αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος). The Psalmist says, "This is the day that the Lord has made" (αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος; Ps

15) Since *Barnabas* employs the Psalter in a Greek form, all Psalms are numbered according to the Septuagint throughout this paper. Psalm 117 is a translation of Ps 118 in the Masoretic Text and modern translations. This paper will limit its focus to comparisons with the Greek Psalter.

16) All references to the Greek Psalter come from A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 3rd ed., SVTG 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

117:24). Whereas Barnabas includes the word *ἐστίν*, the critical edition of the Greek Psalter regards the verb as implicit.<sup>17)</sup> More significantly, two adjectives are included in Barn. 6.4 to further describe the day as great and marvelous.<sup>18)</sup> The quotations in Barn. 6.4 are recognizably from Ps 117:22, 24. The citation of Ps 117:22 comes from a form that matches Rahlfs's edition, but Ps 117:24 is quoted in a longer form that magnifies the day that the Lord made.

## 1.2. Psalms 21 and 117 in *Barnabas* 6.6

Barnabas offers two quotations to summarize the arguments of Barn. 5.1–6.7. The first quotation that he cites comes from the Psalter and is introduced as coming from “the prophet” (ὁ προφήτης; Barn. 6.6). Barnabas quotes three clauses from the prophet's words: “A synagogue of evildoers surrounded me. They surrounded me like bees around honeycomb, and they cast lots for my clothing” (περιέσχευεν με συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων, ἐκύκλωσάν με ὡσεὶ μέλισσαι κηρίον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον; Barn. 6.6). Although Barnabas employs this psalmic quotation to recapitulate Jesus's sufferings, the form of the quotation in Barn. 6.6 is striking because it combines phrases from Pss 21 and 117 without any indication that such

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17) The quotation in Barn. 6.4 joins the portion of the manuscript tradition of Ps 117:24 that includes the definite articles in this verse. This is notable because Codex Sinaiticus, which includes both the Psalter and *Barnabas*, does not include the definite articles in Ps 117:24 but does include the articles in the quotation of Barn. 6.4.

18) Although these adjectives are missing in the Latin translation of the Epistle of Barnabas, they are found in all of the major Greek witnesses. The *καὶ* that joins the Barnabean descriptions is omitted in P. Prigent and R.A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, SC 172 (Paris: Cerf, 1971). However, *καὶ* is found in the major Greek witnesses and is likely to be the earlier reading.

combination has occurred. The first clause comes from Ps 21:17, while the reference to the bees around a honeycomb is drawn from imagery in Ps 117:12. The language of casting lots for the speaker's garment comes, in turn, from Ps 21:19. Although this precise quotation is not attested in manuscripts of the Psalms, the individual clauses can nevertheless be usefully compared to Greek manuscripts of the Psalter.

When one compares the Barnabean phrase “a synagogue of evildoers surrounded me” to Ps 21:17, Barnabas's text employs the four words that are also found at this point in Greek translations of the Psalter. The most notable difference between the two texts is the word order. Whereas Barnabas reads *περιέσχεν με συναγωγή πονηρευομένων*, Rahlfs's edition of Ps 21:17 contains a different word order: *συναγωγή πονηρευομένων περιέσχον με*. The variation in the verb is likewise evident in a close textual comparison of these texts. The earliest text of Barn. 6.6 most likely contained a singular verb, *περιέσχεν*,<sup>19)</sup> but Rahlfs's edition of Greek Psalms has a plural verb *περιέσχον*. The plural verb is probably the correct verb to include in an edition of the Greek Psalter. It does not match the singular subject and thus could be regarded as the more difficult reading for textual critics. Nevertheless, one should not assume that Barnabas or his source have simply altered the text to suit their own purposes. The singular verb *περιέσχεν* is attested in the textual tradition of the Greek Psalter in Papyrus Bodmer XXIV.<sup>20)</sup> Although

19) A textual variant occurs at this point in the manuscripts of *Barnabas*. Both Codex Sinaiticus (S) and another family of Greek manuscripts (G) descended from Codex Vaticanus graecus 859 (V) offer evidence for the singular verb *περιέσχε ν*. However, Codex Hierosolymitanus 54 (H) and the Latin translation (L) contain plural verbs: *περιέσχον; circumuenerunt*. I have followed the reading of S and G because these represents two different families of the Greek text of *Barnabas*. In addition, the singular verb may provide the more difficult reading for later scribes who may have had direct access to the Psalter.

20) In Rahlfs's reference system used in Septuagint studies, P. Bodmer XXIV is

Barn. 6.6 differs from critical Greek editions of Ps 21:17, it still bears witness to a known textual tradition in the transmission of the Greek Psalter.

The remaining two clauses in Barn. 6.6 can be compared to the Greek Psalter more concisely. First, the citation of Ps 117:12 matches Rahlfs's edition of the text exactly.<sup>21)</sup> Although Barn. 6.6 offers a composite citation from the Psalter, it is worth noting that Ps 21:17 also contains the words "they surrounded me" (ἐκύκλωσάν με). Since these words appear in both Ps 21:17 and Ps 117:12, Barnabas's citation of multiple phrases from the Psalter may be due to verbal links between these verses.<sup>22)</sup> Second, the reference to dividing the Lord's garments comes from Ps 21:19 where the Psalmist reports, "They cast lots for my clothing."<sup>23)</sup> In quoting this portion of the Psalm, Barnabas quotes a passage known from passion narratives,<sup>24)</sup> but he skips four clauses in the Greek text of Ps 21.<sup>25)</sup> This composite citation

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numbered as manuscript 2110. For the text of P.Bodmer XXIV, see R. Kasser and M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psaumes XVII-CXVII* (Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1967).

- 21) The Greek text of the relevant portion of Ps 117:12 is ἐκύκλωσάν με ὡσεὶ μέλισσαι κηρίον.
- 22) The Psalmist reports that many dogs "surrounded me" (ἐκύκλωσάν με) in Ps 21:17, while the report is of the nations who "surrounded me" (ἐκύκλωσάν με) like bees surround a hive in Ps 117:12.
- 23) The Greek text of the relevant portion of Ps 21:19 is ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.
- 24) E.g. Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:24. See further M.J.J. Menken, "Old Testament Quotations in the *Epistle of Barnabas* with Parallels in the New Testament," in *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity: Textgeschichte und Schriftrezeption im frühen Christentum*, eds. J.d. Vries and M. Karrer, SCS 60 (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 302.
- 25) Between the portions that Barnabas cites, Ps 21:17-19 reads as follows: "They dug into my hands and feet. <sup>18)</sup>I numbered all my bones; they numbered and gazed upon me. <sup>19)</sup>They divided my garments among themselves" (ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας. <sup>18)</sup>ἐξηρίθμησα πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπέιδόν με. <sup>19)</sup>διμερίσαντα τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς).

raises important questions about the way in which early Christians knew and transmitted the Psalter in the first two centuries CE that will be taken up in section 4.

### 1.3. Psalm 41, 21, and 107 in *Barnabas* 6.16

Barnabas returns a few verses later to the riches of the Psalter in order to further his argument. The allusions to the Psalms in Barn. 6.16 occur as a question and response placed on Jesus's lips. The Lord (κύριος) is said to have asked a question: "And how will I appear to the Lord my God and glorify him?" (καὶ ἐν τίνι ὀφθήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι; Barn. 6.16).<sup>26</sup> Barnabas borrows words that loosely resemble Ps 41:3. There the Psalmist asks, when will I come and "appear before the face of God?" (ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ). No reference to being glorified is found in Ps 41, while both the introductory question and language about God are different between Ps 41:3 and Barn. 6.16.<sup>27</sup>

Barnabas continues to quote the Psalter in Barn. 6.16 and provides Ps 21:23 as Jesus's response to his own psalmic question. Jesus is purported to have responded, "I will confess you in the congregation of my brothers and sisters, and I will psalm you in the midst of the congregation of the saints" (Barn. 6.16).<sup>28</sup> In light of the use of Ps 21 earlier in the chapter, Jesus's answer in Barn. 6.16 is best understood with reference to Ps 21:23,

26) The words of Ps 21:23 are also put on Jesus's lips in Heb 2:12. For comparison, see Menken, "Old Testament Quotations," 303.

27) Barn. 6.16 may draw the glorification language from Isa 49:5. See further F. Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 277.

28) The Greek text of the relevant portion of Barn. 6.16 is ἐξομολογήσομαι σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου, καὶ ψαλω σοι ἀναμέσον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων.

which reads, “I will proclaim your name among my brothers; in the midst of the congregation I will sing to you.”<sup>29)</sup> However, Barnabas’s citation differs markedly from Rahlfs’s edition of Ps 21:23. More specifically, the opening verbs of Jesus’s words in Barn. 6.16 vary from their counterparts in the Psalter. Yet they match Ps 107:4 exactly: “I will confess you among the peoples, O Lord, and I will psalm you among the nations.”<sup>30)</sup> Although the function of these psalms has yet to be examined in this essay, the form of Pss 41:3; 21:23; 107:4 in Barn. 6.16 diverge from critical editions of the Greek Psalms today.

## 2. The Function of the Psalms in *Barnabas* 6

The form of the Psalms in Barn. 6.4, 6, 16 raise questions about how Barnabas knew the Psalter. While Barn. 6.4 quotes the Psalter in a form that is recognizable in critical editions of the Psalter and the clauses in Barn. 6.6 resemble the relevant clauses within the Psalter, Barn. 6.6 and Barn. 6.16 amalgamate words and clauses from the Psalter in surprising ways. Section IV of this paper will further clarify the issues regarding the way that the Psalms are treated in Barn. 6. However, before raising further textual issues, it is important to consider the function of the Psalms within their respective arguments in Barn. 6.1–19. The repetition of verses from the Psalter form a vital part of the argument in Barn. 6. Citations from Psalms provide support for larger arguments, summarize earlier findings, and illustrate how the Son inhabits the people of God who comprise God’s metaphorical temple and land.

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29) The Greek text of the relevant portion of Ps 21:23 is διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε.

30) The Greek text of the relevant portion of Ps 107:4 is ἐξομολογήσομαι σοι ἐν λαοῖς, κύριε, καὶ ψαλῶ σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν.

2.1. Psalm 117 in *Barnabas* 6.4

The quotations from Ps 117 in Barn. 6.4 describe the Lord's actions in the resurrection and aid the author in outlining the benefits of suffering and enduring for God. Barnabas links the quotations in Barn. 6.1–4 to the preceding two verses by employing stone imagery (Barn. 5.14; 6.2–4) and the ἴστημι-lexeme (Barn. 5.13; 6.1). The quotations placed in Jesus's mouth in Barn. 6.1–4 should thus be understood as a continuation of the series of arguments in the previous chapter.<sup>31)</sup> Whereas Barn. 5.1–14 answers the question of why Jesus endured suffering in the flesh, Barn. 6.1–4 turns to his resurrection and the hope that comes through the entire passion event.<sup>32)</sup> By setting his face like a solid rock (στερεὰν πέτραν) to endure the blows that he received during the events of the crucifixion (Barn. 5.14), Jesus's flesh became like a mighty stone (λίθος ἰσχυρός) in the resurrection (Barn. 6.2). The author clarifies that believers' hope is not in a stone but in Jesus's flesh that has been established by the Lord (Barn. 6.3).

The quotation from Ps 117:22 is introduced as the word of a prophet and is linked to Barnabas's earlier quotations of Isa 28:16; 50:8–9 by means of lithic terminology. The quotation of Isa 50:8–9 (Barn. 6.1–2) demonstrated that Jesus cannot be judged, while the quotation of Isa 28:16 (Barn. 6.3) illustrates that the stone has been placed in Zion by God.<sup>33)</sup> Although Jesus the stone was rejected by the builders, he has become the cornerstone (Barn. 6.4). The rejection by the builders implicitly supports the anti-Jewish rhetoric that occurs

31) R.A. Kraft, *The Didache and Barnabas*, The Apostolic Fathers 3 (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965), 95.

32) Prigent and Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, 115, n.2.

33) H. Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief*, HNT Ergänzungsband, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920), 333.

throughout the letter but which is located most closely in Barn. 5.2, 11–12. The cornerstone language depicts the outcome of Jesus’s resurrection in keeping with the other passages in Barn. 6.2–3. The quotation from Ps 117:24 further proclaims the astonishing nature of God’s work. The resurrection of Jesus is identified as the Psalmist’s day “that the Lord has made” (ἡν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος; Barn. 6.4).

The use of Ps 117:24 represents a development of early Christian stone traditions by adding a verse from the nearby context in the Psalm. The reference to a specific day may underline the historical reality of Jesus’s resurrection for Barnabas. Jesus was raised on a particular day. However, this psalmic fragment also provides continuity between Barn. 5.1–14 and the exegesis found in Barn. 6.8–9. More specifically, a line can be drawn from the author’s quotation of Gen 1:26 (Barn. 5.5) through the making of a day in Ps 117:24 (Barn. 6.4) to the second quotation of Gen 1:26 (Barn. 6.12). Whereas God’s first-person plural language is cited in Barn. 5.5 to demonstrate the preexistence of the Son and to ask further questions about the fittingness of his suffering, the second reference to Gen 1:26 quickly gives way to a discussion of new creation (Barn. 6.12). “The day that the Lord has made” (Barn. 6.4) bridges these references to Genesis and suggests the means by which new creation is made possible. God’s restoration of things at the end is only possible because of Jesus’s resurrection and place as the cornerstone.

## 2.2. Psalm 21 and 117 in *Barnabas* 6.6

Barnabas moves to summarize the arguments made in Barn. 5.1–6.4 in Barn. 6.5–7. He writes in the first-person and attempts to write “more simply” (ἀπλούστερον; Barn. 6.5).<sup>34</sup> The way

in which he summarizes his previous arguments is by means of quotations from scripture. The first quotation comes from the Psalter and highlights Jesus's suffering, while the second quotation is from Isaiah and provides a warning to Israel.

As in Barn. 6.4, the composite quotation in Barn. 6.6 is introduced as a quotation uttered by the prophet. Yet the words in this psalmic amalgam are placed on Jesus's lips. The Psalms describe what happened to Jesus in his passion from a first-person perspective. He was surrounded, and his garments were divided by lot. In citing these verses, Barnabas recapitulates many of the themes of suffering that are alluded to elsewhere in Barn. 5.1–6.4. He has made much of Jesus's suffering throughout this section (e.g. Barn. 5.1–2, 5), while giving particular attention to Jesus's suffering on the cross (Barn. 5.12–14). In addition, the “synagogue of evildoers” (συναγωγή πονηρευομένων) is used in Barn. 6.6 to identify Israel. Jesus endured suffering in order to make good on the promise to the ancestors and to complete the sins of Israel as they killed the prophets (Barn. 5.7, 11). It is possible that the “synagogue” language was taken over from Ps 21:17 in order to facilitate the warnings against behaving like Israel that are found elsewhere in the letter.<sup>35)</sup> Barnabas is clear in blaming Israel for the death of Jesus, but the word “synagogue” may make this assertion even more pointedly.<sup>36)</sup>

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34) On the rhetorical structure of Barn. 6.5–7, see E. Prinzivalli and M. Simonetti, *Seguendo Gesù: Testi cristiani delle origini*, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 2015), 520n.67.

35) E.g. Barn. 4.6–8; 13.1–14.9. See further Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 180.

36) On anti-Judaism in Barn. 6.6, see also J.-L. Vesco, “La lecture du Psautier selon l'Épître de Barnabé,” *RB* 93 (1986), 10.

### 2.3. Psalm 41, 21, and 107 in *Barnabas* 6.16

After focusing on Jesus's endurance and suffering in Barn. 5.1–6.7, Barn. 6.8–19 considers Jesus's role in new creation alongside an exegesis of the command to enter into the land flowing with milk and honey (Barn. 6.8; see Exod 33:1, 3).<sup>37</sup> Barnabas's reflections on this sentence interpret these pentateuchal words figuratively. After quoting the verse in Barn. 6.8, Barn. 6.9–16 offers a twofold interpretation of the land. Barnabas then considers what it means for the land to flow with milk and honey in Barn. 6.17–19. The command is consistently interpreted christologically, but its application shifts as Barn. 6.9–16 continues. The initial interpretation identifies Jesus as the land that should be entered. The rationale for this interpretation is that “a human being is suffering earth” (ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστὶν πάσχουσα; Barn. 6.9). Entry into the land is defined in terms of hope in Jesus's flesh. This interpretation has been specially revealed to the author and his audience (Barn. 6.9–10), but Barnabas's exegesis ultimately turns upon the new creation that comes via forgiveness of sins (Barn. 6.11).<sup>38</sup> God's words about the creation of human beings were spoken to the Son (Barn. 6.12), but they were not finally fulfilled in the first creation because God spoke of a recreation (Barn. 6.13).

The second definition thus also interprets the command to

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37) T. Hegedus, “Midrash and the Letter of Barnabas,” *BTB* 37 (2007), 22.

38) L.W. Barnard (“A Note on *Barnabas* 6,8–17,” *StPatr* 4 [1961], 263–267) connects 6.8–19 to baptism via the emphasis on forgiveness, new creation, milk and honey, as well as entering into the new land. See similarly N.A. Dahl, “La terre où coulent le lait et le miel selon Barnabé 6,8–19,” in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel*, eds. O. Cullmann and P.-H. Menoud, Bibliothèque théologique (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1950), 70; G. Schille, “Zur urchristlichen Tauflehre: Stilistische Beobachtungen am Barnabasbrief,” *ZNW* 49 (1958), 31–52. However, Kraft (*Didache*, 99) rightly notes that there is nothing in the text that demands such a baptismal interpretation.

enter the land with regard to Jesus, but the command is now read with a view to the Son's recreative work. Jesus promises to remove the stony hearts of the people and to replace them with fleshly hearts, that is, hearts that are characterized by Jesus's resurrected flesh (Barn. 6.14; see Ezek 11:19; 36:26). Jesus enters into the hearts of his people in order to make them a holy temple (Barn. 6.15). The author then quotes the Psalter as the words of Jesus to cement this interpretation.<sup>39)</sup> Jesus asks how he will appear and be glorified before God utilizing words that are drawn from Ps 41:3. He then answers his own question by saying that he will praise and he will sing psalms to God in the gathering of his brothers (Barn. 6.16). As noted already, Jesus's response comes from Ps 21:23 but borrows verbs from Ps 107:4. Jesus's psalmic proclamation of praise to God as he indwells the temple of believers thus provides a second meaning that the land of Exod 33:1, 3 can contain. "Therefore, we are those whom he led into the good land" (οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οὓς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν; Barn. 6.16). In other words, entry into the good land has been achieved by Jesus as he inhabits believers. The good land is thus both Jesus's flesh (Barn. 6.9) and the believers in whom Jesus lives as a temple (Barn. 6.14–16).

### 3. Broadening the Study

This study has thus far been narrowly focused on the form and function of the Psalms as they are quoted in Barn. 6. The textual form of the verses in the Psalter do not derive from one known manuscript family of the Old Greek Psalms but are instead cited in ways that can be compared to a variety

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39) Dahl, "La terre," 66.

of manuscripts and mixed citations. The Psalms are a key text in the three sections of Barn. 6.1–19 and allow the author to further the claim that Jesus’s flesh was raised like a rock, to summarize the argument from Barn. 5.1–6.7 and to define the land flowing with milk and honey in terms of Jesus’s restorative work among his people. Yet this narrow focus is significant for more than one’s understanding of the Psalter in a single section of a second-century text. The results of the study to this point can be broadened by considering how the Psalms are utilized elsewhere in the Epistle of Barnabas, by dialoguing with other examinations of the text of the Psalter in early Christian literature, and by further exploring how early Christians transmitted Israel’s scripture.

### 3.1. The Function of the Psalter in *Barnabas*

In addition to the quotations in Barn. 6.4, 6, 16, the author employs the Psalms in several arguments throughout Barn. 2.1–16.10. It is not easy to precisely number the references to Greek Jewish scriptures in *Barnabas* due to the various ways in which an ancient author could allow a text to influence their work, but a list of references to the Psalter should include Ps 1:1 (Barn. 10.10); 1:3 (Barn. 11.6–8); 21:17 (Barn. 6.7); 21:19 (Barn. 6.7); 21:21 (Barn. 5.13); 21:23 (Barn. 6.16); 41:3 (Barn. 6.16); 50:19 (Barn. 2.10); 89:4 (Barn. 15.4); 109:1 (Barn. 12.10); 117:12 (Barn. 6.7); 117:22 (Barn. 6.4); 117:24 (Barn. 6.4); 118:120 (Barn. 5.13).<sup>40</sup> Without counting combined citations or influence from multiple Psalms within a single citation, there

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40) This list includes influence and amalgamations from different Psalms (e.g. Ps 21:23; 107:4 in Barn. 6.16) but does not appeal to allusions to increase the numbers. For further lists of citations in the Epistle of Barnabas, see Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 333–341; Kraft, *Didache*, 179–187.

are at least nine distinct references to the Psalter in *Barnabas*: Barn. 2.10; 5.13; 6.4, 6, 16; 10.10; 11.6–8; 12.10; 15.4. Although there is a notable cluster of citations of the Psalter in Barn. 6, the spread of citations indicates the wide degree of usage within the letter.

Barnabas utilizes quotations from the Psalms to maintain continuity between arguments, as a focal point for his exegesis, and as an interpretive key in other scriptural arguments. An example of the way in which the Psalter can be employed to add continuity between arguments was already found in Barn. 6.4.<sup>41</sup> The day that the Lord has made (Barn. 6.4 [Ps 117:24]) links the discussion of the Son's presence at the first creation (Barn. 5.5 [Gen 1:26]) to the discussion of new creation (Barn. 6.12 [Gen 1:26]) by indicating the means by which the new creation is possible. Likewise, the reference to pleasing sacrifices in terms of a broken heart (Barn. 2.10 [Ps 50:19]) uses psalmic language as an answer to the prophetic revelation that the author begins to unfold in Barn. 2.4. The citation in Barn. 2.10 is the last in Barnabas's reflections on a correct understanding of sacrifice and enables him to transition into a discussion of fasting (Barn. 3.1–6) following an encouragement to the audience to take care concerning their salvation (Barn. 2.10).

Barnabas also employs the Psalter as the focal point of his exegesis. This is clearest in the citations of Ps 1:3–6; 109:1.<sup>42</sup> The quotation of Ps 1 occurs as Barnabas reflects on the significance of water (Barn. 11.1–11). The hydric imagery in Ps 1:3 provides the inspiration for including this verse in the

41) A similar phenomenon is found in Barn. 6.6 (Ps 21:17, 19; 117:12). The psalmic reference summarizes a key theme in the argument of Barn. 5.1–6.7 and thereby provides further continuity to this section of the letter.

42) This usage is also evident in Barn. 6.4, where the citation of Ps 117:22 contributes to the author's understanding of Jesus as stone (Barn. 6.1–4), and Barn. 6.16, where the psalmic references contribute to Barnabas's second definition of the land flowing with milk and honey.

discussion (Barn. 11.6). Yet Barnabas not only quotes extensively from Ps 1 (Barn. 11.6–7) but also comments on the meaning of the text (Barn. 11.8). The water in Ps 1:3 is interpreted in baptismal terms, while the arboreal language points toward the cross (Barn. 11.8 [Ps 1:3]).<sup>43</sup> Imagery from Ps 1 is thus a fertile ground for the theological imagination in *Barnabas*. The citation of Ps 109:1 functions similarly (Barn. 12.10). When considering Jesus’s name (Barn. 12.8–10), the author turns to Ps 109:1 in order to demonstrate why Jesus cannot be a merely human descendant of David. Even David refers to Jesus as “my Lord” (κύριος μου; Barn. 12.10 [Ps 109:1]). Thus, “David calls him ‘Lord,’ and he does not say ‘Son’” (Barn. 12.11). By devoting attention to close exegesis of the Psalter, Barnabas incorporates Psalms into his theological reflections for the audience.

Finally, Barnabas finds an interpretive key to other arguments from references that are found in the Psalter. For example, Ps 1:1 (Barn. 10.10) provides the key and further substantiation for Barnabas’s figurative understanding of the food laws. While Barnabas explains his figurative interpretation of the Levitical food laws in Barn. 10.1–9, he notes that David received knowledge of the same teachings and quotes Ps 1:1 (Barn. 10.10). The three types of people that the blessed man avoids are linked to the three food laws explained in Barn. 10.1–5. The quotation from the Psalms enables the audience to receive Barnabas’s teaching about food “perfectly” (τελείως; Barn. 10.10). Likewise, Ps 89:4 (Barn. 15.4) enables readers to understand what it meant for God to create the earth in seven days. Since each day is like one thousand years with the Lord (Ps 89:4 [Barn. 15.4]), Barnabas’s interpretation of Gen 2:2 not only describes God’s initial act of creation but also points forward to the end of the world after 6,000 years.<sup>44</sup> Close study of the Psalms in

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43) Prigent and Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, 164n.1; Vesco, “La lecture,” 14–15; Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 367–368.

Barn. 6 can give way to a larger study of the way in which the author employs the Psalms to add continuity to the argument, as an exegetical focal point, and as an interpretive key.

### 3.2. The Text(s) of the Psalter in Early Christianity

Although the textual form of the Psalms cited in Barn. 6 is not easy to classify, the exploration of these Psalms belongs in dialogue with other discussions of the textual versions of the Greek Jewish scriptures in early Christian texts. Despite Alfred Rahlfs's hypothesis that the writings of the New Testament influenced the transmission of the Septuagint, particularly in its transmission within early Christian institutions, later scholarship and new manuscript discoveries have challenged his supposition.<sup>45)</sup> Concerns about Rahlfs's methodology began to appear in Septuagint studies in the late 1970s,<sup>46)</sup> while attention has increasingly been paid to the textual form of Greek Jewish scriptures as they were received in New Testament texts in recent years. The text form of the Psalter in Hebrews provides a good example. Susan Docherty notes that the quotation of Ps 101:27

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44) O. Linton, "Interpretation of the Psalms in the Early Church," *SiPatr* 4 (1961), 146.

45) For a clear and concise description of this history of research, see J.d. Vries and M. Karrer, "Early Christian Quotations and the Textual History of the Septuagint," in *Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity: Textgeschichte und Schriftrezeption im frühen Christentum*, eds. J.d. Vries and M. Karrer, SCS 60 (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 4-6.

46) R. Hanhart, "Das Neue Testament und die griechische Überlieferung des Judentums," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. F. Paschke, TU 125 (Berlin: Akademie, 1981), 293-303; R.A. Kraft, "Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe," in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique*, ed. A. Bénoit et al. (Paris: De Boccard, 1978), 207-226.

in Heb 1:12 reads, “You will roll (ἐλίξεις) them (the heavens) up like a cloak,” while critical editions of the Greek Psalter read “you will change (ἀλλάξεις) them like a cloak” (Ps 101:27). However, the author of Hebrews quotes a form of the Greek Psalter that is attested in manuscripts from multiple families.<sup>47)</sup> The easiest way to account for the form of Psalm 101 in Heb 1:10–12 is to suppose that the author quotes a genuine Septuagint text form, even if this text form is no longer extant in its entirety in another manuscript.<sup>48)</sup> A similar thing can be said regarding the quotation of Ps 94:7–11 in Heb 3:7–11. For example, the critical edition of Ps 94:9 reads, “Your fathers tested (ἐπείρασαν), proved (ἐδοκίμασαν), and saw (εἶδον) my works,” while Heb 3:9 contains a different text: “your fathers tested (ἐπείρασαν) by proving (ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ) and saw (εἶδον) my works.” The author of Hebrews again quotes forms of Ps 94:9 that are known from other Septuagint variants. The word εἶδον appears in S, A, and the Lucianic recensions, while ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ is found in P. Bodmer XXIV.<sup>49)</sup> When these observations are placed alongside the pluriformity of the Greek Jewish scriptures in the first century,<sup>50)</sup> it is plausible that “the author of Hebrews generally cited his

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47) The word ἐλίξεις is attested in A, B, R, 55, 1219, and in the Lucianic recensions. On the other hand, ἀλλάξεις is found in S, the Old Latin translation, and the Gallican Psalter. It may also be worth noting that the Old Latin translations suggest that the different word order of Ps 101:26 in Heb 1:10 may not be due to an intentional change. For further discussion, see Docherty, “Text-Form,” 361; Steyn, *Quest*, 109.

48) Docherty, “Text-Form,” 361–362; J.C. McCullough, “The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews,” *NTS* 26 (1980), 372.

49) For further text-critical investigations into the Vorlage of Ps 94:7–11 in Heb 3:7–11 see G.J. Steyn, “The Reception of Psalm 95(94):7–11 in Hebrews 3–4,” in *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*, eds. D.J. Human, and G.J. Steyn, *LHBOTS* 527 (London: T&T Clark Continuum, 2010), 200–213.

50) E.g. R.T. McLay, “Biblical Texts and the Scriptures for the New Testament,” in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. S.E. Porter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 55.

scriptural source texts accurately.”<sup>51)</sup>

The explorations of the Psalter in Barn. 6 joins other such studies of the textual forms of Greek Jewish scriptures in early Christian documents by demonstrating the diversity of ways in which a scriptural text could be quoted and by connecting this diversity to the pluriform manuscript tradition of Greek Jewish scriptures. In doing this, a narrowly focused study of Barn. 6 also illustrates the value that comes when scholars pay attention to individual citations of scripture for texts written in the first and second centuries. Additional study of the forms of the Psalter may highlight further similarities between psalmic language in manuscripts of the Greek Psalms or other early Christian citations of the Psalter. For example, Justin quotes the same phrase from Ps 21:19 in his *First Apology* (*1 Apol.*) 35.5; 38.4 that appears in Barn. 6.6. However, Justin reverses the word order from Barn. 6.6 and manuscripts of Ps 21:19.<sup>52)</sup> In this instance, Barn. 6.6 appears to be closer to the Old Greek of Ps 21:19 than Justin. However, Justin cites this passage in the same form as Barn. 6.6 in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (*Dial.*) 97.3.<sup>53)</sup> Comparing Barn. 6.6 with citations of Ps 21:19 in Justin’s writings coincides well with findings in Septuagint studies that the Greek scriptures circulated in multiple textual forms. A variety of possibilities must be considered for why a particular early Christian citation may be quoted in a form different from critical editions of the Septuagint. Yet the comparison between Justin and the Epistle of Barnabas leads to a third consequence of this study—the forms of transmission of the Psalter evidenced by early Christian citations.

51) Docherty, “Text-Form,” 363.

52) While Barn. 6.6 and Ps 21:19 read ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον, Justin (*1 Apol.* 35.5; 38.4) quotes this passage as ἔβαλον κλῆρον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου.

53) See further O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy—A Study in Justin Martyr’s Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 80–82.

### 3.3. Transmission of the Psalter

This narrow study of the Psalms in Barn. 6 has implications for two phenomena related to the transmission of the Psalter among early Christians during the first two centuries CE, namely, testimonia and composite quotations. Testimonia were collections of scriptural texts that could be linked thematically or by keywords. In light of the repetition of some scriptural texts in early Christianity, it is not unusual to find suppositions that an author made use of a testimony at points in their argument.<sup>54)</sup> 4Q175 may provide an example of the testimonial genre that predates Jesus, while longer Christian testimonia can be found in Pseudo-Cyprian's *Against the Jews (To Quirinius)* and Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's *Testimonies against the Jews*.<sup>55)</sup> Scholars of early Christianity have supposed that Barnabas had access to testimonia in some form.<sup>56)</sup> Although scholarship in

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54) One example of this is the so-called "stone testimony." The reason for hypothesizing some kind of traditional and widely disseminated collection is due to the prevalence of certain texts (e.g. Isa 8:14; 28:16; Ps 117:22) within discussions of Jesus as the stone. Such discussions can be found, e.g., in Matt 21:42-43; Mark 12:10-11; Luke 20:17-18; Acts 4:11; Rom 9:32-33; 1 Pet 2:6-8; Barn. 6.1-4; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 14.

55) For a concise introduction to testimonia along with the text and an English translation of Pseudo-Gregory's work, see M.C. Albl, *Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa: Testimonies against the Jews*, WGRW 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004). The classic version of this hypothesis traces its origins to J.R. Harris, *Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-1920). Harris postulates two organizing themes: christological testimonia and anti-cultic testimonia.

56) E.g. Kraft, "The Epistle of Barnabas," 154; P. Prigent, *Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: L'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources* (Paris: Gabalda, 1961); Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 313-316, 408-411. K. Wengst goes so far as to say that the theology of Barnabas cannot even be conceived as the author's own. Instead, the theology in the letter belongs to the "school" out of which the letter originated (Wengst, *Tradition und Theologie des Barnabasbriefes*, AKG

the 1990s rightly began to emphasize the creativity that the author utilized when engaging his traditions,<sup>57)</sup> it remains the case that Barnabas likely made use of earlier traditions.

One example from Barnabas's use of the Psalter illustrates this well. The author quotes Ps 50:19 in a version that is not otherwise known from manuscripts of the Greek Psalter (Barn. 2.10). By using this verse, Barnabas redefines sacrifice in terms of a broken heart and a heart that glorifies its maker.<sup>58)</sup> Although the reference to a "broken heart" (*καρδία συντετριμμένη*) is found in Ps 50:19, the precise origins of "a heart that glorifies the one who has formed it" (*καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακῶτα αὐτήν*) have proven elusive in manuscripts of the Greek Psalms.<sup>59)</sup> However, the form of the citation in Barn. 2.10 is known elsewhere in early Christianity. Both Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.17.1–4) and Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3.89.4–3.91.4 [12]) quote it at the end of the second century along with other scriptures found in Barn. 2.4–10. The form of Ps 50:19 in Barn. 2.10

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42 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971], 70)

- 57) Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas: Outlook and Background*, 175–185. J.A. Draper ("Barnabas and the Riddle of the Didache Revisited," *JSNT* 58 [1995], 90n.5) demonstrates awareness of this phenomenon during that time when he notes a 1993 seminar paper by P. Richardson that argues for a chiasmic structure to Barn. 1–16.
- 58) Earlier in the argument against sacrifices, Barnabas refers to "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*). On this, see further H. Cho, "ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Reconsidered: A Fresh Look at Galatians 6:2, Barnabas 2:6, and Magnesians 2," *Canon & Culture* 13.1 (2019), 270–277.
- 59) Indeed, a marginal note in a manuscript of the Epistle of Barnabas (Codex Hierosolymitanus 54, folio 39<sup>v</sup>) indicates that "a sweet fragrance before the Lord is a heart that glorifies the one who has formed it" (*ὄσμῃ εὐωδίας πρὸς κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακῶτα αὐτήν*) come from the Apocalypse of Adam. The note beside the citation of Ps 51:17 (50:19) in H reads, "Psalm 50 and in the Apocalypse of Adam" (*ψαλμ[ὸς] Ν' καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἀδάμ*). On marginal notes in H, see Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 179n.31.

may not be widely known in manuscripts of the Greek Psalter, but Barnabas quotes this Psalm in a form that was known to other believers.

The testimonia hypothesis provides one way to answer how this form of Ps 50:19 may have been transmitted between followers of the Jesus-movement. The oddity of the textual form in Barn. 20.10 and the combination of similar references to scripture in the writings of Irenaeus and Clement may provide additional evidence for use of testimonia.<sup>60)</sup> Yet the way in which this testimony may have existed in the first and second century cannot be formulated precisely. Moreover, the varied textual forms of the Psalms quotations in Barn. 6 raise further questions when considering the author's use of testimonia. In particular, if Barnabas employs one anti-cultic testimonium, how did the various textual forms of the Psalms that are quoted in *Barnabas* arise in that testimonium? On the other hand, if Barnabas made use of multiple testimonia, one may more easily account for the variation in textual forms, but this supposition increasingly locates the Epistle of Barnabas in a setting where varied traditions were allowed to percolate side-by-side.<sup>61)</sup> A school setting could fit this description well. However, the more one locates the Epistle of Barnabas in a school, the more it becomes conceivable that Barnabas also had access to fuller manuscripts of Greek Jewish scripture and thus may have had less need for testimonia. The interplay between oral and written transmission must also be considered.

It may be that none of these options alone is sufficient to describe the state of the scriptural quotations in the Epistle of Barnabas. The study of the Psalter in Barn. 6 problematizes

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60) Kraft, "The Epistle of Barnabas," 115-116; Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 313.

61) Skarsaune (*Proof*, 22n.29) helpfully leaves the definition of testimonia more open by defining a testimony source as a "source of OT quotations other than a Biblical MS [manuscript]."

any simplistic answers about the origins of the psalmic forms in the letter. Nevertheless, the close study of individual citations of scripture is a foundational step for answering any of these questions and potentially shedding light on how the Psalms were received in early Christianity.

A final note about composite quotations may shed further light on the use of the Psalter in early Christianity. A composite citation (1) fuses together two or more texts, (2) does not include conjunctions that break the two texts, and (3) does not refer to a plurality of sources before or after the citation.<sup>62)</sup> The psalmic quotations in Barn. 6.6 is a composite citation, while Barn. 2.7–8 contains a composite quotation comprised of Jer 7:22–23; Zech 7:10; 8:17.<sup>63)</sup> The Psalter is cited in composite forms elsewhere in the Epistle of Barnabas. The use of verbs from Ps 107:4 in a quotation of Ps 21:23 may also be regarded as a composite text (Barn. 6.16).<sup>64)</sup> Similarly, it is possible that the combination in Barn. 5.13 of phrases drawn from Ps 21:21; 118:120 comprise a composite quotation.<sup>65)</sup> Edwin Hatch suggested that this freedom to compile fresh Psalms was a result of an existence that “breathed the spirit,” adopted phrases from existing Psalms, “but which were never incorporated into the

62) S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn “What is a Composite Citation? An Introduction,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, eds. S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 3–4.

63) Adams and Ehorn, “What is a Composite Citation?” 4–7; M.C. Albl, “The *Testimonia* Hypothesis and Composite Citations,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, eds. S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 189–202.

64) Albl, “*Testimonia* Hypothesis,” 194.

65) In this case, however, it is important how one interprets the intermediate *καί* that divides these phrases. If it is a conjunction that separates two different quotations, then Barn. 5.13 does not contain a composite quotation. However, if the conjunction links two parallel phrases into a single psalmic reference, then Barn. 5.13 can be defined as a composite quotation.

psalter and only exist in these fragments.”<sup>66)</sup> However, two observations force one to temper Hatch’s remarks. First, the presence of composite citations elsewhere in Greek literature from the first two centuries should caution readers against understanding the psalmic fragments in *Barnabas* solely in terms of spiritual exegesis. Composite forms of citation seem instead to be a more widespread phenomenon.<sup>67)</sup> Second, even if one identifies a composite citation, it is necessary to remember that one’s work is not finished. The fragments in each Psalm should be compared to other text forms of the Psalter found in manuscripts of Greek Jewish scriptures.

This article has added further clarification about the pluriform state of the Psalter in Barn. 6. It has also raised important questions about the way in which the author received, transmitted and quoted the Psalms, while problematizing accounts of how these text forms came to be incorporated in the letter through testimonia and composite quotations. Although this study points in promising directions for future research, further study of the Psalter in Barn. 6 and beyond is still needed.

## Conclusion

Beginning from the observation that recent scholarship remains interested both in the textual form of early Jewish and

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66) E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889), 180–181.

67) See, e.g., the following studies of composite citations in Philo and Plutarch: S.M. Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, eds. S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 35–56; J.R. Royle, “Composite Quotations in Philo of Alexandria,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, eds. S.A. Adams and S.M. Ehorn, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 74–91.

Christian texts as well as the function of scripture within early Christian argumentation, this article raised two questions and applied them to quotations of the Psalter in Barn. 6. It first enquired about the form of the Psalms quoted in Barn. 6 and found that even within this short passage, the texts to which Barnabas appeals vary in form but resonate with different strands of the Greek manuscript tradition of the Psalms. The paper then turned to the function of the Psalter within Barn. 6. Barnabas employs psalmic quotations as part of a larger christological argument (Barn. 6.4), utilizes a composite citation to summarize a significant theme in Barn. 5.1–6.7 (Barn. 6.6), and quotes the Psalter as the words of Jesus in order to develop his figurative understanding of what it means to enter into the land (Barn. 6.16). This narrow focus was expanded to explore the role of the Psalter within the rest of *Barnabas*, to contextualize this study alongside other studies of the textual form of Jewish scriptures in early Christian texts, and to raise additional questions regarding the transmission of scripture via testimonia and composite quotations. The focused study of the Psalms in Barn. 6 thus has implications for the reception-historical study of the Psalter and for early Christian studies. Although this article has only been able to gesture toward some ways in which careful study of the form and function of scriptural texts hold promise for students of Christian origins, the textual form of the Psalter remains a topic deserving of close study from those who are interested in the reception of the Greek Jewish scripture during the first two centuries CE as well as from scholars of early Christianity.

<주제어>

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<Abstract>

## The Form and Function of the Psalms in *Barnabas* 6

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This essay finds its starting point at the confluence of two scholarly streams in early Christian studies. Recent scholarship has taken an increased interest in the textual form of early Christian documents, while studies of the Greek Old Testament have found a state of textual pluriformity in the first and second centuries CE. The Epistle of Barnabas quotes regularly from Israel's scriptures, even while arguing that its audience should behave differently from Israel. This essay takes up the Psalter in Barn. 6 in order to explore the form and function of the Psalms within the letter. The textual form of the Psalms in *Barnabas* 6 varies with regard to how closely their wording mirrors both modern critical editions of the Greek Psalter as well as ancient Greek manuscripts of the Psalms. The Psalms function to support larger arguments, to summarize earlier findings, and to illustrate how the Son inhabits his people. Although this study is narrowly focused, the conclusion demonstrates how this small article may shed light on the role of the Psalter within *Barnabas's* logic, raises questions about the pluriform manner in which early Christians may have known the Psalms, and contributes to ongoing discussion about testimonia and composite quotations in second-century Christian scriptural interpretation.

<초록>

## 바나바서 6장에 나타난 시편의 형태 및 기능에 대한 연구

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본 연구는 초기 기독교 연구의 두 학문의 흐름의 합류점에서 시작한다. 최근 연구는 초기 기독교 문헌의 텍스트 형태에 점점 더 많은 관심을 기울여 왔고, 그리스어역 구약에 대한 연구는 주전 1, 2세기에 텍스트가 다형적인 방식으로 존재했음을 밝혀낸 바 있다. 바나바서는 그 수신자에게 이스라엘과 다르게 행해야 함을 피력하면서도 이스라엘 성경을 정기적으로 인용한다. 본 연구는 바나바서 6장 속 시편을 분석 대상으로 삼는데 이를 통해 서신 속 시편의 형태와 기능을 살피고자 한다. 바나바 6장의 시편 본문 형태는 현대의 그리스어역 시편 비평본 뿐 아니라 고대 그리스어 시편 사본들에 나오는 어휘들이 서로를 충실히 반영하고 있는 것과 비교해 볼 때 (상당한) 변화를 나타내고 있다. 시편은 거대 담론을 뒷받침하고, 앞선 발견들을 요약 하며, 어떻게 인자가 그의 백성 안에 거하시는지 묘사하는 데 사용된다. 본 연구는 초점이 제한적이라는 한계를 지닌다. 그러나 본 연구의 결과는 바나바의 논리 안에서의 시편의 역할을 밝히고, 초기 기독교인들이 시편을 알고 있었으리라 짐작하게 하는 텍스트의 다형적 존재에 대한 질문을 제기하며, 2세기 기독교 성경 해석에서 제기되는 주제별 성경 구절 목록 (testimonia) 과 복합 인용(composite quotations)에 대한 현재 진행 중인 논의에 기여할 수 있다.