THE FORMULAS INTRODUCING QUOTATIONS OF SCRIPTURE IN THE NT AND THE MISHNAH

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A COMPARISON of the formulas introducing quotations of Scripture in the NT and in the Mishnah is both practicable and desirable. It is practicable because much of both the NT and of the Mishnah reflects the methods of argumentation employed by those who had been reared and trained in orthodox Judaism of the first century.1 Such an investigation is also desirable in so far as it may afford an additional means of comparing and contrasting the habits of thought and religious presuppositions entertained by the authors of both corpora of literature. To the extent that such an investigation appears to be both practicable and desirable, to that degree it is surprising that no satisfactory treatment of the subject is available. True enough, there is no lack of articles and books on the subject of the quotations from the OT in the NT,2 several of which deal with the formulas of quotation.3 There is, furthermore, at least one definitive treatment of the terminology employed by the Tannaim in their Scriptural exegesis, the well-known work by Wilhelm Bacher.4 But apparently no scholar, interested in both the NT and the

1 Although the sixty-three tractates of the Mishnah were not finally reduced to writing until about the close of the second century, by the Patriarch Judah (died c. 219), it is commonly allowed that their contents faithfully reproduce the oral teaching of the generations of the Tannaim, who date from about the beginning of the Christian era; cf. George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim, I (Cambridge, 1932), 3-4.
4 Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Schriftauslegung, ein Wörterbuch der bibel-exegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten (=Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen
Mishnah, has heretofore undertaken a comprehensive and scientific comparison of the formulas of Scriptural quotations in both the NT and the Mishnah. By way of making a beginning of such a study, it is the purpose of the present article (1) to list all of the separate formulas which introduce quotations of Scripture in the NT and in the Mishnah, and (2) to discuss the significance of similarities and differences between the usages of the two corpora.

I

For convenience of listing, the formulas of quotation of Scripture will be grouped according as they are quite general, more precise, or specific as to author or section cited.

By far the majority of quotations in the Mishnah are introduced by the verb רכז. It appears in the gam participle active, רכז קרא, with the

Traditionsliteratur, I. Teil (Leipzig, 1899). A brief treatment of several of the formulas of citation may be found in Georg Aicher, Das Alte Testament in der Mischna (Biblische Studien, ed. Otto Bardenhewer, XI. Band, 4. Heft; Freiburg im B., 1906), pp. 41-44. Unfortunately Samuel Rosenblatt touches upon this subject very little in his Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 24 and 35. None of these (or any other, so far as the present writer is aware) includes a comprehensive list of the formulas of quotation in the Mishnah.

There is, of course, a multitude of scattered comments on individual formulas in every scientific commentary on the NT and on the Mishnah, notably in Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (Munich, 1922-28) and in C. Beer and O. Holtzmann, Die Mischna; Text, Übersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung (Giesen, 1912). Schrenk and Kittel touch upon the subject in their respective articles on γέγονεν and מימיו in Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch, I, 747 f. and IV, 110 f. The statement in the text above is not contradicted by the existence of the volume entitled ויבואו כבשאלה ונאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבום ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד בסעבüm דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דחי קינאא ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORATE נאגד basseum דحياء ותלמוד של כלGORAT...
The perfect passive participle appears in such combinations as ἐγεραμένον (Luke 4:17), τὸ γέγειμένον τούτῳ (Luke 20:17), κατὰ τὸ γεγειμένον (II Cor 4:13), and ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγειμένος (I Cor 15:8a).

Likewise the noun γραφῆ is used in the following combinations not hitherto listed: κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν (I Pet 2:6), οὐκ ἔχει τὴν γραφή (I Pet 2:6), ἂν ἔχει τὴν γραφή πληροφορία (John 13:17, 18), ἣν τελειώθη τῇ γραφῇ (John 19:38), and, as questions, οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ξυπνήσας ἄνεγνωτε (Mark 12:10), οὐδεποτέ ἄνεγνωτε ἐν τοῖς γραμματείς (Matt 21:42), and οὐκ ἀνέγνωστε (Matt 19:4; 21:18).

Very rarely the πεταλοὶ of the verb ἕπται, "to establish, fulfill," introduces a quotation, as ἐπεταλοῖς οὕτῳ ("both Scriptures are fulfilled," Sheqalim 6:6) and ἀνέγνωστε ("thou hast fulfilled," Baba Qamma 3:9 bid).

Two indefinite expressions which occur infrequently in the Mishnah are ἀναπαράγεται καὶ ἀλλάτισθαι ἐν οἴκῳ ("But was it not once said...?" Nazir 9:5) and ἡ ὁμοιώμενος ημῖν ("and elsewhere it says," Soṭah 6:3). The only book in the NT which contains examples of this quite indefinite type of formula is Hebrews. In this document the place of origin of quotations is twice indicated by the indefinite word "somewhere": διημαρτήσατο δὲ ποιῶν λέγων (Heb 2:6, where the subject is a human being) and ἐπιλείπησε γάρ πον (Heb 4:4, where the subject is God).8

The prepositions ἐν (Sukkah 13:9), ἐν (Pesaḥim 5:7), ἐν (Bikkurim 3:6), and ἐν (Pesaḥim 10:6), are used to introduce a quotation. The conjunction ἐν connects quotations. Somewhat similar in brevity of formula is the use of the definite article τοῦ (Matt 19:18; Rom 13:9) to introduce a quotation in the NT, and the use of τῶν ἐκ to link a subsequent quotation to an earlier one (Rom 15:10–12). The conjunction γάρ (Rom 2:4) or τὸ γάρ (Rom 13:9), as well as μενοῦν τε (Rom 10:18) and καθὼς (Gal 3:8), appear in Paul’s writings.


Several other conventionalized formulas, referring to an unnamed passage or division, appear in both the NT and the Mishnah. Thus καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ λέγει (where ἓνοψ is probably to be understood, Heb 5 s) finds a parallel in יִקְטָה אֶת מִיתָר הָאָרֶץ (“and another passage says,” Soṭah 5:3). The Mishnah also uses יִקְטָּה אוֹרָו (“its fellow-[verse] teaches,” ‘Abodah Zarah 2:5), וַיִּנֶּשֶׁר (“in the section,” Soṭah 5:1), וַיֵּרֶּשֶׁר (“a prohibitive law,” Bikkurim 4:2; Qiddushin 1:7), and וַיָּשֶׁר (“the parashah,” Bikkurim 3:6).

The expression מִלְתַּי מַמֵּדָן appears not infrequently (Soṭah 6:3; Aboth 3:8; Ḥullin 8:4; 9:5; 10:1; Temurah 6:4; etc.). This formula is interpreted quite variously. Marty and Beer in the Giessen edition of Aboth translate, “Aber die Schrift lehrt” (p. 73), dropping a footnote indicating that literally it is, “Belehrung ist zu sagen.” In his Wörterbuch Levy (s. v. מִלְתַּי מַמֵּדָן) gives the sense with “Daher steht in der Schrift.” Bacher interprets it, “Es liegt eine Lehre (eine Belehrung) der Schrift in dem, was sie sagt” (op. cit., p. 200). Jastrow explains it in his Dictionary (s. v. מִלְתַּי מַמֵּדָן), “There is a teaching in the Scriptural text to intimate, the text reads (may be read).” Danby usually translates the phrase by “Scripture says.” The NT has no verbal analogy to this formula. Perhaps the nearest in sense are леге γάρ καὶ γραφή (Rom 9:11) and ἀλλά τι λέγει καὶ γραφή (Gal 4:10).

Formulas which refer more precisely to some one part of the Scriptures are the following: Although the Mishnah refers to the Scriptures as a whole by the word הַרְשָׁי (Aboth 6:7, where all six quotations thus introduced are from Proverbs), usually the word is used in its more precise meaning, as הַרְשָׁי הַר (the Law has said), Ḥullin 12:5. The root רָבָד frequently appears with the word “Law,” as הַרְשָׁי רַבְדֶהוֹשְׁבָה (that which is written in the Law), Pesahim 6:2) and הַרְשָׁי הַרְשָׁי הַרְשָׁי (because of what is written in the Law,” Hallah 4:10; Bikkurim 1:3). Likewise in the NT the word νόμος refers occasionally to the Scriptures as a whole, as εν τῳ νόμῳ γέγραπται (I Cor 4:21, referring to Isaiah 28:11), οὐκ εστὶν γεγραμμένου εν τῳ νόμῳ ὄνοµα (John 10:34, quoting Isaiah 52:6, and ἵνα πληρωθῇ σῶς λόγος εν τῳ νόμῳ αὐτῶν (John 15:25, quoting Psalm 35:19).

Among the more precise formulas are those which involve the name of a Biblical character or section of Scripture. In the Mishnah Moses, Joshua, David, and Ezekiel are referred to in introductory formulas; thus, רֹאֶשׁ לְהַרְשָׁי רַבְדֶהוֹשְׁבָה ("as it is written in the Law of thy servant Moses, saying," Yoma 3:8; 6:2; see also 4:2), רֹאֶשׁ לְהַרְשָׂי הַר ("for Joshua said to him [Achan]," Sanhedrin 6:12), רֹאֶשׁ לְהַרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי ("and thus it is written in the book of Psalms by the hands of David, King of Israel," Abot 6:9, according to the textus receptus; MS Monacensis 95, ed. Strack, reads רֹאֶשׁ לְהַרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי, and אלוהים פַּרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי הַרְשָׂי ("whereof he speaks expressly through Ezekiel, where it is said," Tamid 3:7; see also Middoth 4:2). In the NT Μουσῆς appears with λέγει (Rom 10:19), εἶπεν (Matt 22:24; Acts 3:22), γράφει τῇ (Rom 10:6), οὗτος γραφήν (Mark 12:19; Luke 20:28). More precise is εν τῳ Μουσῆω νόμῳ γέγραπται (I Cor 9:9). Similarly Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Daniel, and Enoch are quoted by name in the following varieties of formulas: Ἰσαὰκ λέγει (Rom 10:19), Ἰσαὰκ άποστολικόν καὶ λέγει (Rom 10:20), Ἰσαὰκ λέγει (John 12:20), Ἰσαὰκ κατὰ ἑαυτόν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (Rom 9:37), καθὼς εἶπεν Ἰσαὰκ σύνθετος (Rom 9:30), καθὼς ἔκατο Ἰσαὰκ ὁ προφήτης (John 1:19). Similarly, Ἰσαὰκ . . γέγραπται (Mark 7:6), ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἰσαὰκ γίνεται (Mark 15:17), ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ διδάκτων Ἰσαὰκ λέγει (Matt 5:17), ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἰσαὰκ λέγει (Matt 5:17), ἐπροφήτευσεν καὶ προφητεύεται Ἰσαὰκ λέγει (Matt 13:14), δέργαται εν μισθῳ λέγον (Mark 15:24), καθὼς ἔγραπται εν τῳ βιβλίῳ λέγον (Mark 15:24), καθὼς γέγραπται εν τῳ βιβλίῳ λέγει (Mark 15:24).
written in [the Scripture concerning] David.” The reference is to the history of David in I Chron 29:14.

Two such examples are found in the NT. The question, οὐκ ἀνέγραψεν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ Μωϋσεως εἰπὼν τοῦ βατοῦ; (Mark 12:37), which Luke reproduces Μωϋσεις ἐχθροῦσεν εἰπών τῆς βατοῦς (20:37), refers to the narrative of the burning thorn bush in Exod 3:6. Similarly Paul asks the question οὐκ οἶδατε ἐν Ἰηρία τι λέγει ἡ γραφή;...; (Rom 11:4), referring to the narrative of Elijah in I Kings 19:10.

The most precise reference of all is that in Acts 13:38, which is probably the earliest known citation of a Psalm by number. The text is uncertain; B C 61 read ὡς ἐν τῷ παλαμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτερῷ, but ὡς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ παλαμῷ γέγραπται is read by D gig Origen, Hilary, and Latin mss. known to Bede. The passage quoted in Acts is from what is now called Psalm 2; the “Western” reading reflects a practice of uniting the first and the second Psalms.

II

Both the NT and the Mishnah, as one would expect in view of their origin, contain many similar or identical formulas introducing quotations of Scripture. When one compares the frequency of certain types of formulas, it is discovered that the Mishnah shows a great preference for those formulas involving a verb of saying, whereas in the NT the frequency of this type is more evenly balanced by the type containing a reference to the written record.

J. H. Ropes believes that the reading of the old uncial group “is probably to be adopted here.” He continues, “To assume, as the Antiochian revisers appear to have done, that both the patares ἔχων and ἔσχατος ἄγου were interpolated, imputes too great ineptitude to the supposed primitive interpolator, whose text was certainly widely adopted; and the hypothesis is intrinsically too easy to be safe,” The Text of Acts (=The Beginnings of Christianity; Part I, The Acts of the Apostles, edd. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. III) (London, 1964), p. 40.

12 Similarly Philo, De Agricultura § 24, λέγει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἄραξε, referring to Gen 3:16. The Homeric poems were likewise commonly quoted in antiquity by brief references to the contents of the several sections.


14 In certain cases the similarity is to be explained on the basis of a common dependence on formulas introducing literary references in the OT, as, e. g., 2 Sam 8:11, Μωυσῆς ἔγραψεν Προμηθεύς,...; LXX (9:23), καθα γέγραπται ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ Μωυσῆς; or with a verb of saying, Num 6:14, λέγει Μωυσῆς ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου; see also Deut 28:58, 61; Josh 8:34; 10:13; 23:4, II Sam 11:1, I Kings 11:41; 14:10; II Kings 13:12; 23:24, 31; I Chron 9:1; 29:29; II Chron 12:15; 20:34; 25:4; 35:15; Ezra 6:18; etc. As one would expect, certain of these NT formulas, particularly those involving the idea of writing, reappear in Josephus; see Adolf Schlatter, Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josephus (=Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 2, Reihe, 26, Band) (Gütersloh, 1932), p. 64 f. It may also be mentioned that in the fragments of the so-called Zadokite Work a quotation is usually introduced by the "as He said," more rarely "as God said," or with the name of the human author, "as Moses [Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah] said." See R. H. Charles in The Apocalypse and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II (Oxford, 1913), 789.
It is noticeable likewise that the NT makes use of a much greater variety of types of formulas than does the Mishnah. This is not surprising, for the writings of the NT include a much greater range of literary genres than does the Mishnah.

All varieties of formulas indicate that the contributors to the NT and to the Mishnah had the very highest view of the inspiration of the Scriptures which they quote. Both corpora contain not a few examples where the subject of the verb of saying in the formula may be either the Scriptures or God. Indeed, so habitual was the identification of the divine Author with the words of Scripture that occasionally personality is attributed to the passage itself.

On the other hand, both the Mishnah and the NT recognize the instrumentality of human authors in the production of the Scriptures which each quotes. The former refers, rather infrequently, to Moses, Joshua, David, and Ezekiel; the latter refers, with relatively greater frequency than does the Mishnah, to Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, and Enoch.

It is not surprising also that the NT and the Mishnah, though agreeing in the use of many formulas, differ in the choice of certain other formulas. Thus, as was pointed out above, the Mishnah makes use of a phrase, רֶפֶת הַדָּבָר, which has no apparent parallel in the NT. This formula is particularly appropriate in a body of literature which became the basis of the Talmud (compare the first word of the formula).

Another characteristic difference is the relatively large number of occurrences in the NT (in Matthew and John) of formulas containing the verb περιέβθη, ἀναπεριέβθη, or τελειώθη. Whether the ἵνα with which these formulas are prefixed is to be interpreted as having a telic or an apocalyptic force, the significance of the formulas for the purposes of the present analysis is not greatly altered. In either case the occurrence of certain events was held to be involved in the predetermined plan of God revealed in the Scriptures. That the Mishnah makes no use of this formula cannot be accounted for in terms merely of the difference between the literary genre of the NT as a whole and of the Mishnah as a whole. The real reason is far more deep-seated than that and is to be traced ultimately to two differing interpretations of history. More precisely, the charismatically Christian view of the continuing activity of God in the historical events comprising the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, fulfilling and completing the divine revelation recorded in the OT, is reflected even in the choice of formulas introducing quotations of Scripture in the NT.

This statement is not contradicted by Sheqalim 6:6 and Baba Qamma 3:9 (quoted above) where the π'el of τελειώθη, though properly translated “fulfilled,” is used in a way quite unlike the πληροθή-formula in the NT. In these passages in the Mishnah, the Scripture which is quoted is said to be fulfilled by anyone whenever he complies with the Mosaic precept; there is no suggestion of a divine agent effectually fulfilling at one period in history his pre-disclosed plan, as is involved in the NT usage. Furthermore, even in later rabbinical writings the formula רֶפֶת הַדָּבָר (רֶפֶת הַדָּבָר) רֶפֶת bears only a superficial resemblance to ἵνα περιέβθη τὸ ἐπέβλεψ, et sim. It is significant that the three examples of this formula which H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck quote (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, I [1922], 74) from the Babylonian Talmud and the Siphre Deut. as parallels to Matt 12:20 are, in their contexts, general and lacking in any teleological import. Bacher cites (op. cit., p. 170) but one example (from Seder 'Olam, c. 27 fin.) where Jose b. Halafia refers to the fulfillment of a prophetic word (Jer 9:4) through a historical event.

18 This statement is not contradicted by Sheqalim 6:6 and Baba Qamma 3:9 (quoted above) where the π'el of πετεύθη, though properly translated “fulfilled,” is used in a way quite unlike the πληροθή-formula in the NT. In these passages in the Mishnah, the Scripture which is quoted is said to be fulfilled by anyone whenever he complies with the Mosaic precept; there is no suggestion of a divine agent effectually fulfilling at one period in history his pre-disclosed plan, as is involved in the NT usage. Furthermore, even in later rabbinical writings the formula רֶפֶת הַדָּבָר (רֶפֶת הַדָּבָר) רֶפֶת bears only a superficial resemblance to ἵνα περιέβθη τὸ ἐπέβλεψ, et sim. It is significant that the three examples of this formula which H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck quote (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, I [1922], 74) from the Babylonian Talmud and the Siphre Deut. as parallels to Matt 12:20 are, in their contexts, general and lacking in any teleological import. Bacher cites (op. cit., p. 170) but one example (from Seder 'Olam, c. 27 fin.) where Jose b. Halafia refers to the fulfillment of a prophetic word (Jer 9:4) through a historical event.