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THE
SEMITIC BACKGROUND
OF THE
SYNOPTICS

Frederick Bussby

A thesis submitted for the degree of B.D. in the
University of Durham

July 1947

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Latine MDCCCLXXXIX....
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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.N.C.L. Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
Translations of the Writings of the
Fathers down to 325.A.D.
- A.P.O.T. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
of the Old Testament 2 Vols. R.H.Charles.
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Old Testament by Brown Driver Briggs.
- D.C.G. A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels
Edited by J Hastings 2 Vols.
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- M.M.J. The Mission and Message of Jesus. Edited
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אָרבע לשונות נאָה לעולם שיטתמטו בהם
 לעז לזמר רומי לקרב סורסי לאיליא עברי לדיבור

There are four languages good for the world to
 make use of: the Foreign (i.e. Greek) for song,
 the Roman for War, Syriac for Lamentation, and
 Hebrew for (ordinary) speech.

Rabbi Jonathan of Beit Jibrin. j.Meg.IV.4.

INTRODUCTION

Semitic Languages

It was Schlözer (1781) who first ascribed to a number of cognate languages used in the Near East, the term 'semitic' (1). The description is based on the genealogy given in Genesis ch.X.v.21.f.: "And unto Shem, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, to him also were children born. The children of Shem; Elam and Asshur and Arphachshad and Lud and Aram". The epithet is not strictly accurate for it comprises the sons of Lud who are now known to belong to another branch of the human family. It is too late however to change the description, and for our present purpose it serves accurately enough to describe the sons of Eber and Aram with whom we are primarily concerned, and in whose midst the Synoptic Gospels first arose.

The ramifications of the main semitic languages are most easily seen in the genealogical tree drawn up by Professor G.R.Driver (2). It must not be thought however that any of these languages necessarily went unchallenged in any part of the world where it was used. This is especially the case in Palestine in the centuries immediately before and after the birth of Christ. For long, the semitic languages had prevailed, but in the fourth century B.C. Alexander the Great brought Hellenic culture into the countries bordering the Eastern Mediterranean. Three centuries later Latin followed in the train of Pompey's army. Thus, by the time of the birth of our Lord, there was a confusion of languages which compelled men frequently to be able to speak and write in more than one language. Inevitably it often happened that the two or more languages learned were from the semitic as well as the non-semitic families.

Hebrew and Aramaic

Before Alexander the Great, Hebrew and Aramaic (and derived languages) were predominant. As early as the eighth century Aramaic was known to the Hebrews as a diplomatic if not popular language: "Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebnah and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not with us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall". (2 Kings XVIII.26.) The original text of 'the Syrian language' reads אַרַמִּית i.e. in Aramaic. This word is found several times in the Old Testament: Ezra IV.7; Isaiah XXXVI.11; Daniel 11.4. And within the Old Testament itself not only do we find Hebrew but also portions in Aramaic: Daniel 11.4 - VIII.28; Ezra IV.8 - VI.18; and VII.12-26; Jeremiah X.11 and two words in Genesis XXXI.47. Archaeology has further confirmed the

INTRODUCTION

co-existence of both languages. Potsherds discovered in Samaria are inscribed in both Hebrew and Aramaic (Sukenik P.E.Q. July 1933.p.152.) In Pirke Aboth 1.2. a saying of Simon the Just (c.270.B.C.) is preserved in Aramaic. And the obscure history of the Targums points not simply to the existence of Aramaic side by side with Hebrew, but also to its absolute necessity. Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, ordered the Targum of Job to be buried with him (3.) And by 200.A.D. the practice of using Aramaic translations in the synagogues is firmly established (4.) Burkitt (5.) even suggests that the reverse process was in existence and that Ecclesiastes, originally written in Aramaic, was translated into Hebrew.

Semitic and Non-Semitic: Hebrew and Greek.†

In the third century B.C. we find the Jews in Egypt, especially in Alexandria, experiencing difficulty in understanding their scriptures in their original Hebrew. They therefore made arrangements for them to be translated into Greek (6.) This translation was not accomplished all at once, but was spread over many years. From now on we have the spectacle of the official language of the reigning monarch, be he Ptolemy, Seleucid or Roman, existing side by side with the native language of the people, be it Hebrew or Aramaic. The coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.) and Antigonus (40-37 B.C.) have Hebrew on the obverse and Greek on the reverse (7.). We thus have four languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. Three of these were used in the titulus of the cross (John XIX.20.). But in times of strong nationalism, such as during the two revolts of 66-70 A.D. and 132-135 A.D., the non-Semitic languages were suppressed (8.). Usually however two or more languages are used as we can see from the ossuaries. In the first century A.D. the Greek inscription on the ossuary of Nicanor of Alexandria is followed by the two words קִיּוֹר אֶלְכָּס (Dickson P.E.Q. October 1903.p.331.)^o And again, if the conjectures of scholars are correct, we can detect the knowledge both of Hebrew and Greek. Bishop Hunkin has suggested that 1 Maccabees was first written in Hebrew and only later translated into Greek (9.). He instances 1 Macc 111.48 as a case where the original Hebrew has been misunderstood.

^oSee also Klausner From Jesus to Paul p.290. n.13. An ossuary is inscribed קַיִוֹר אֶלְכָּס . Klausner suggests it may refer to the wife of Ananias.

†A recently discovered Fouad papyrus of the 2nd. cent. B.C. is documentary proof that Semitic and Greek existed in the same narrative. The Greek version of Deuteronomy, in the fragment preserved, twice gives the Hebrew וְהָיָה (J.T.S. Vol. XLV.p.158.f.)

Professor Marshall earlier propounded a similar theory to explain some of the facts in Baruch 1-111.8 (IO.) This view has been corroborated by Thackeray (11.). Attention is drawn to a note in the Syro-Hexaplar, 'not in the Hebrew', which suggests an original Hebrew for the remainder. Further confirmation of the original Hebrew is seen in the mistranslations of that original which protrude through the remaining Greek. It is suggested that the Hebrew version was written c. 80 A.D., and that the Greek translation was made about thirty years later.

Aramaic and Greek

As early as the third century B.C. we find Phoenician influence in the Fayyum (C.C. Edgar. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Vol. XVIII. p. 111. f.) And in the earlier parts of the LXX translated about the same period it is clear that Aramaic was known to the translators. (Swete Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek p. 319; Thackeray, Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek p. 28.) The evidence from these sources is set out below when we come to examine in detail the origin of the words 'sabbath' and 'passover'. (Vid. inf. p. 33. f.)

In Syria too Bevan (House of Seleucus Vol. 1. p. 225. f.) thinks that the people of Antioch became biligual in the time of the Seleucids, using both Aramaic and Greek. He notes that Aramaic nicknames were given to some members of the reigning dynasty. Balas he considers to be from the Aramaic or Phoenician Ba'la: Sabinas is the Aramaic proper name which occurs in our Old Testament as Zebina (Ezra X. 47.)

Meleagar, in the first century B.C., asked the passer-by to salute his grave in his native tongue, be it Aramaic, Phoenician or Greek (12.). The inhabitants of Alexandria hailed Agrippa as Maris i.e. מריס: Then from the multitude of those who were standing around there arose a wonderful shout of men calling out Maris; and this is the name by which it is said that they call the kings among the Syrians; for they knew that Agrippa was by birth a Syrian, and also that he was possessed of a great district of Syria of which he was the sovereign (Philo c. Flacc. c. VI.).

Early in the Christian era Josephus tells us that he first wrote his work in Aramaic and then translated it into Greek: 'I propose to provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the account which I previously composed in my vernacular tongue and sent to the barbarians in the interior' (B. J. 1. 3). His preface to the Antiquities records a similar process: 'I have undertaken this present work in the belief that the whole Greek speaking world will find it worthy of attention; for it will embrace our entire ancient history and political constitution, translated from the Hebrew records' (Ant. 1. 5.) And despite the great efforts to eradicate all traces of its semitic origin, his work still bears traces of indebtedness to Aramaic. In Ant. 11. 1. 1 and 111. IO. 6 we find *Σωμει* and *Σωμει*. Commenting on *Σωμει* Thackeray writes

"Azartha is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *Shavuoth*, the post-Biblical name for the Feast of Pentecost, and probably means the "closing (festival)" as occurring at the end of the seven weeks". In Ant.1.1.3., he transliterates the Aramaic *ܐܘܫܪܬܐ*.

With the aid of other versions, attempts have been made to recover the original Aramaic of Josephus. Kottek (13) believed that the sixth century Syriac version of Book VI. of the Jewish War preserved the original Aramaic: Berendts and Eisler, that it might be recovered from the Old Russian and Slavonic versions (14).

Archaeology too shews that the two languages existed side by side. Ossuaries inscribed in Greek and Aramaic have come down to us in bilingual inscriptions from Palmyra dating from the second century still survive (G.A. Cooke North Semitic Inscriptions p.265.) A brief description of Aramaic and Greek inscriptions on 1st Century ossuaries recently discovered by Professor Sukenik appeared in the P.E.Q. July-October 1946. p.96. The occurrence of the name *Γεωργιος* is to be noted.

In the realm of literature it is suggested that many existing Greek texts come from Aramaic originals. Marshall detects Aramaic behind Baruch 111.9 -IV.4., Bel and the Dragon, and Tobit (15). Torrey (Apocryphal Literature p.7.n.5.) affirms that the following were originally written in Aramaic: The two letters prefixed to Second Maccabees, the Story of the Three Youths, First Esdras, Tobit, The Greek Esther, Apocalypse of Baruch, Assumption of Moses, Testament of Job, Apocalypse of Moses.

Nor did the Palestinian Christian Church radically alter the customs of its Jewish contemporaries. For while Greek soon became the lingua franca of the expanding Church (this was especially true after the Fall of Jerusalem), Aramaic did not immediately disappear from use. Joseph, the Cypriot Christian, was given the Aramaic name of Barnabas (Acts IV.36.): St. Paul addressed the people in 'Hebrew' (always taken to be Aramaic) in Acts XXI.40. Even two hundred years later the first Christian martyr in Palestine was a Church official whose duty it had been to translate the Church services from Greek into Syriac (16). The pilgrim Etheria tells us that even in her day the scriptures were translated in Church from Greek into Syriac (17).

In conclusion therefore we can hardly do better than borrow some words of W.C. Allen written over thirty years ago (Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem p.291.f.): "It seems to be probable that in the last century B.C. and the first century A.D. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek might be and were, all alike used for literary purposes. Further, that for the purposes of social intercourse Hebrew was dead ~~among~~ except among the learned in the Jewish Rabbinical Schools. Aramaic was the language proper of Palestine and the lower classes, especially in the villages,

may have spoken it alone. But in view of the wide diffusion of Greek culture and religion since Alexander the Great, and the presence of large numbers of Greek and Hellenistic Jews in the larger cities, it would have been easy for any intelligent Jew to acquire a smattering of Greek sufficient for purposes of conversation with Greeks whom he met in the Greek speaking cities, or with Hellenistic Jews who had settled in Palestine.

11

Historical attempts to trace a Semitic origin of the Gospels, from Papias to Torrey.

As early as Papias it was thought that the first Gospel was written in Hebrew: "So then Matthew compiled the oracles in the Hebrew language but everyone interpreted them as he was able" (Eusebius H.E.111.39.) A little later Irenaeus wrote: "Matthew published a Gospel in writing among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel and founding the Church in Rome" (Ibid. V.8.) At the end of the second century Pantænus, we are told, was in India where he found "in the hands of some persons who had come to know Christ in that land, the Gospel according to Matthew". Apparently Bartholomew had left it there (Ibid. v.10.)

Eusebius gives his own opinion as follows: "Matthew first of all preached to Hebrews and when he was about to go also to others, he committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue (Ibid.111.24.) The same belief is echoed by Cyril of Jerusalem (Catech.XIV.), Epiphanius (Haer.11.1.51.), and Jerome (De Vir.Illust. 111., Prol. in Matt., Comm.in.Is. VI.9., and Comm. in Oseam XI.2.)

This Hebrew connection of the first Gospel appears again in Alfric Abbot of Cerne who died in 1006. He wrote: "There are four books ~~concerning~~ written concerning Christ himself, one of them wrote that Matthew that followed our Saviour, and was one of his disciples, while here he lived, and saw his miracles, and after his passion wrote them, such as came to his mind in this book, and in ye Hebrew tongue" (Westcott On the Canon.p.456.)

FROM PAPIAS TO TORREY

And although semitic learning never quite died out, (Smalley. Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in XIIIth. Century England.) it was not until the sixteenth century that the possibility of a connection between the semitic languages and the Gospels was seriously envisaged. In 1559 Widmanstadt (18) published a Syriac translation of the Bible from an old MS. left him by Ambrosius of Bologna. He and his contemporaries thought that here were to be found the Gospels in the mother tongue of Jesus. A little later on an English Scholar, Sheringham (1602-1678), published an edition of the tractate YOMA (1648) in which he suggested that the parables in the first Gospel, Chs. XXI., XXIV., and Luke c. XVI. were derived from Talmudic sources. (19). Later still, Walton, renowned for his Polyglot, supposed that the language of the Targums was the language of Jesus. In 1665 Vorstius (21) published a commentary on the Hebraisms of the New Testament.

A century later, much erudition, mainly German, was devoted to seeking a Hebrew or Aramaic connection with the Gospel records. Until the time of Michaelis, Aramaic was described as Chaldee. Thus De Rossi held that Christ spoke Syro-Chaldee (22). Lessing (22a) held that there existed in Palestine, prior to the composition of the present Gospels, an account written in Aramaic, known as the "Gospel of the Nazarene", or "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles". Pfannkuche ~~6230-r~~ (23) in 1798 re-iterated the view of De Rossi. Eichhorn, Pfannkuche's editor, himself explained the differences in the Synoptics by referring them to a primitive Aramaic source. It was his belief that this consisted of 44 sections common to the Synoptics (23a), all written in Aramaic, and circulated about the time of the stoning of Stephen. Later on they were expanded in three different districts by the three evangelists. (24). Herder's theory was similar: a primitive Aramaic Gospel narrated by the Apostles lay behind the Gospels.

Paulus and Hug (25) were of opinion that Aramaic was the language of Jesus but that he could use Greek as well. And right down to the present day there has been an impressive list of scholars (26) who have maintained some semitic connection with the Gospels, Meyer, Wellhausen, Burney and Torrey. And even as the present thesis is being attempted a new book is announced by Matthew Black: An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (now published, November 1946.)

SEMITIC AND NON-SEMITIC

In the Palestine of our Lord's day, where Semitic and non-Semitic languages both existed, it is natural that the Gospels should contain suggestions of both. Though surviving to us in Greek, they contain Semitic words and phrases untranslated: they contain Semitic expressions, barely concealed by their Greek dress.

It is the purpose of the present thesis to disentangle as far as possible the Semitic elements in the sources of the Synoptics. For present purposes we shall consider first of all St. Mark and then parallels in St. Luke and St. Matthew; *then we shall consider the material common to the first and third gospels;* then we shall consider the material peculiar to St. Luke (L.) and St. Matthew (M.) It is not assumed that these four blocks of material are each the work of one writer. Indeed it is more probable that each represents the work of two or more. (cf. Luke ~~III~~.1.1)

Behind each of these main sources lies Semitic thought and possibly written Semitic sources. Sometimes the Hebrew or Aramaic is immediately behind our present record: sometimes it is two or more removes behind our present sources.

The causes of confusion are threefold: mishearing, misunderstanding and misreading. Existing records show the prevalence of all three forms of confusion.

Mishearing

When Jesus cried on the Cross, 'My God my God, why hast Thou forsaken me...some of them that stood by said 'Behold he calleth Elijah'(Mark XV.34.f.)

And at the Siege of Jerusalem when the watchmen saw the Roman besiegers hurling stones from their artillery they cried: $\delta \sigma \iota \delta \varsigma \epsilon \rho \chi \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ (B.J. V.272). The original בן אבן (stone) was taken to be בן אבן (son).

Semitic words with their gutturals are easy to misreport.

Misunderstanding

Owing to the absence of pointing in the consonantal text of the Hebrew Old Testament at the time of the translation of the Septuagint there are frequent occasions on which the Hebrew is misunderstood: בן אבן

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אֶדָם (Amos IX.12) is read as Edom in the M.T. and man in the LXX. The same consonantal text אֶדָם is translated as bed in Genesis XLVII.31 in the R.V., but as staff in the LXX. אֶדָם in Psalm 11.9 and אֶדָם in Proverbs 111.12. are further examples of the same word being differently rendered. A study of the LXX reveals this misunderstanding in almost every chapter.

Misreading

The occasions on which the Hebrew words in the Old Testament were mis-read, are very numerous indeed. Driver (Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel Edn.2. p.lxv.ff) gives long lists of instances where ך and ך, ך and ך, are confused. There is similar confusion between ך and ך. The difficulties of reading inscriptions (e.g. from Lachish or Palmyra) are well known.

There is no reason to think that the difficulties experienced either by the translators or by modern scholars are peculiar to themselves. It is almost certain that the original writers of the Gospels shared the same difficulties. If at any stage of the development of the Gospel sources a semitic record had existed, then quite clearly the occasions for error would be the same as those that confronted the translators of the Old Testament.

In trying to probe behind our present sources for their semitic connection, we shall begin with those words and phrases which are admittedly semitic in origin. We shall then consider those acknowledged transliterations of semitic words and phrases which we find so frequently in the Gospels. These consist of a list of words covering a variety of subjects and also the names of people and places in the semitic world. So far, semitic indebtedness would be acknowledged by all.

We then come to a consideration of the translations and mis-translations from a conjectured semitic original. We shall try to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis on which this form of enquiry has so often foundered. In their enthusiasm for the Κοινή some have resolutely refused to see any semitic connection in the Greek of the Gospels. The present writer fully acknowledges the indebtedness of New Testament Greek to the papyri, but believes that it is not fully explained by them. It is worth observing that Moulton in his Prolegomena to his Grammar of New Testament Greek does not refer in his index to a single one of the unexplained transliterations from St. Mark which are here considered. On the other hand, while acknowledging a great debt to Torrey, we do realise the danger of postulating a Semitic original every time a difficulty arises in the Greek text. We shall therefore limit our examination to those words and phrases

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in which difficulty is felt for one of the three following reasons:-

- a. There is a textual difficulty
- b. There is a variation in the preservation of a tradition, e.g. in St. Mark or Q.
- c. There is an absence of information about a particular word in Classical or Hellenistic Greek, e.g. Pharisee, Gehenna.

Finally, we shall consider the poetry of our Lord and note its Semitic characteristics, mainly parallelism. Occasionally it is possible that poetical considerations may help us to restore the text. It is possible too that we may be able to detect in the words of Jesus certain word play which would add point to His original utterances.

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ST MARK

TRANSLITERATIONS EXPLAINED BY MARK

Direct translations of Semitic words and phrases are after all a sort of historical luxury beyond what one has a right to expect.

Burkitt. Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus. p.23.

Alone among the sources of the Synoptics do we find Mark giving a Semitic word or phrase and then offering a translation of it for his readers. The practice however is to be found in the LXX (1) and St Paul (2).

ABBA 'Aββ (3)

Manson(4) believes that the use of this word is decisive proof that Jesus used Aramaic. The word אבא was a particularly intimate one used only by a son to his father. When referring to the father of another person he would use אבא, and when referring to God as Father we would use either אבא, my Father, or אבא, our Father. Thus while Jesus taught His disciples to comply with the accepted conventions and to pray ; Our Father; He Himself used that mode of approach which signified the existence of the most intimate relationship between Himself and the Father.

BARTIMAEUS Βαρτιμαίος (5)

This transliteration is unique in the Gospel records because it succeeds rather than precedes the explanation. Instead of finding 'Bartimaeus, the son of Timaeus', we find 'the son of Timaeus, Bartimaeus'.

The first element of the name is clearly the Aramaic בר . It is worthy of note that in the Gospels where so many men are mentioned, we have several compounds with the Aramaic בר, e.g. Barabbas, Bartholomew, Bar-Jonah, but we have none with the Hebrew בן. (Zahn. Introduction to the New Testament Vol.1.p.30.)

The second element of the word is not so easily explained. Jerome explained it as 'caecus'. This explanation for long held the field. It is found in the Syriac lexicographers Bar Ali(885) and Elias of Anbar (922). Bar Hebraeus found a similar rendering in two Greek MSS of the XIIIth century. The whole tradition is dismissed by Rawlinson as deserving of no serious attention.(7)

Another suggestion is that made by Volkmar that it comes from the word אבא 'unclean'(8).

Yet another suggestion is that the word is not Semitic at all but the Greek name 'Timaeus'.

BOANERGES Βοανεργής (9)

We have already seen that nicknames existed in the time of the Seleucids (10). There is no a priori reason therefore why Jesus should not follow the practice of those days. Josephus

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also bears witness to the same practice in his Jewish War (B.J.V.474) of a "certain Nabataeus from Adiabene (who was) called from his misfortune by the name $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$, signifying lame". This is clearly a reference to the Aramaic $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$ which is used in the Targum of Lev. XXXI.18 for the Hebrew $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$.

The difficulty arises when an attempt is made to give a detailed and accurate explanation of the nickname which is thought to underlie Boanerges. Dalman thinks the transliteration is due to Mark's unfamiliarity with Aramaic(11): this is also the point of view of Allen who adds to unfamiliarity with the language the possibility of mishearing or misreading the Aramaic original (12).

There is general agreement that the first part of the name represents the Aramaic 'sons of-'. The only dissentient would appear to be Allen who suggests that we have here two Aramaic nicknames compounded into one word (13). The nickname of the first was either Banni, Bannai, or Bunnai. There is some justification for this in the tradition recorded by the Talmud that Banni was one of the disciples(14). The name $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$ also occurs in Ezra 11.10. (LXX $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$)

Explanations of the transliteration of the first part of the word are as follows : Lagrange thinks that the 'o' and the 'a' were originally alternative readings noted in the margin and finally incorporated into the text (15). That this is not impossible is apparent when it is recalled that the LXX uses both vowels to render 'shewa'(16). Lightfoot quotes Broughton as saying : "The Jews to this day pronounce scheva by 'oa', as Noabhyim ~~an~~ for Nebhyim, so Boanerges".(17) Hogg considers this statement indefensible (18). Bretschneider has suggested that it might be a provincial pronunciation of shewa peculiar to the inhabitants of Galilee (19). Jerome takes the easy course and suggests an emendation of the text to Bene-reem (20).

The second part of the word is even more difficult to interpret clearly and accurately. If Jerome's emendation is correct we must suppose an underlying root $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$, the Hebrew word for thunder. But as the text now stands we would seem to be indebted rather to a root $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$ or $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$. The former occurs in Job XXXV.2 and refers to the rumbling of a storm : $\beta\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha$ on the other hand means tumult. This is the derivation adopted by Klausner (From Jesus to Paul p.347.)

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ELJI, ELJI, LAMA SABACHTHANI 'Ελωί, Ελωί, Λορδ σαβαχθανσι' (21)

Epiphanius believed that Jesus spoke the first two words in Hebrew and the remaining ones in Syriac (22). We may notice that there are textual variations for these words, the chief of which is found in the Western and Caesarean texts ἰλι. This variation is found in both the Matthaean and Markan traditions. A further variation is found in the second century Gospel of Peter, which has δύναμις (23).

If Epiphanius is correct (and here we confine ourselves to the first two words) we may well believe that Jesus referred to the original of Psalm XXII which opens 'לֹא לֹא. The Septuagint variously renders the word לֹא as θεός (24) or δύναμις (25). By the second century the meaning of Power seems to predominate. Aquila translated the word as it occurs in Psalm XXII as ἰσχυρί (26). Justin Martyr in the same century tells us that 'El is Power' (27).

We believe therefore that at this supreme hour our Lord would go back to the actual words of scripture and speak Hebrew. How much of the Psalm he quoted cannot possibly be determined. The words given here might have been his only utterance or they might refer to part or all of the psalm. Our preference is therefore as in the Western and Caesarean texts which read ἰλι. ἰλι. This is supported by a third century papyrus (28). The meaning of the text is correctly handed down by both traditions either as Power or as God.

Very naturally at an early stage in the preservation of the Church's tradition, the Aramaic version appeared between the original Hebrew as uttered by our Lord and the Greek version which became current in the Christian Church. Allen writes : "The source of Mark, whether an original Aramaic Mark or St Peter speaking in Greek, has Aramaicised the words for the benefit of a circle to whom Aramaic would be familiar rather than Hebrew "(29). In this way we explain the present reading of B.

The remaining part of the saying is part of this same explanatory and Aramaicising process.

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EPHPHATHA Ἐφφάθα (30)

Marshall considers that this word represents either the Aramaic ܐܦܦܗܐ or ܐܦܦܗܐ (31) In either case the word comes from ܐܦܗ, to open. Dr Sukenik has found the word on an Aramaic inscription dating from the time of our Lord. The inscription is on a grave with the warning: Not to be opened ܐܦܗܐ ܠܘܢܐ (Biblical Archaeologist Vol.1.p.8.)

There are certain features about the word worthy of notice:

1. The transliteration suggests the possibility of failure to pronounce the final ܐ. This causes no surprise when we learn of the extreme carelessness of the Galileans about their gutturals (32).

11. The assimilation of ܦܐܦܐ is fully in accord with Aramaic uses. Dalman shews that the ܦ of the prefix ܦܐ is frequently assimilated (see inscription) to a following labial ܦܐܦܐ (33)

GOLGOTHA Γολγοθά (34)

The Semitic nature of this word is patent and its explanation given by all the Synoptics. The word is akin to the Hebrew גִּלְגָּל translated by the LXX as κολυβόν. We may note that it is never transliterated in this version. Its more immediate origin therefore is likely to be the Aramaic ܘܦܐܘܠܐܘܠܐ which we find in the Targums (34a). Zahn suggests that the second ܐ was omitted in the Greek to facilitate pronunciation (35).

This generally accepted explanation has not gone unchallenged and there are those who suggest that the word means the 'hill of Goah' mentioned in Jeremiah XXXI.39. This view is mentioned by Dalman (36) and Klausner (37) only to be rejected.

KORBAN Κορβαν (38)

Buchanan Gray affirms that the root is probably ܐܦܦ which occurs in a wide range of Semitic languages, Assyrian, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. The meaning is 'something brought near' (39)

In the Old Testament, while the word occurs on some eighty occasions it is never once transliterated but usually rendered ܘܦܐܘܠܐ . Mark's rendering therefore is possibly the first instance

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of its transliteration. A little later we find Josephus using the same transliteration (40), to which he adds an explanatory note. As he is avowedly translating from the Aramaic it is not unreasonable to suggest that Mark likewise was dependent upon an Aramaic word at this point.

Derived from this word is Korbanas, found in M (41).

TALITHA CUMI $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\mu$ (42)

The word $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}$ is undoubtedly the Aramaic ܛܠܝܬܐ , a girl. Had it been Hebrew some such word as עלית or עליתך would have been used. Marshall (43) affirms that the Palestinian Aramaic ܠܝܬ (lamb) had passed into a term of endearment. For the transliteration of shewa as 'a' we have the example of ܘܫܝܐ transliterated as $\beta\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ (44). To this we may add the rendering of ܟܘܒܢܐ as $\beta\alpha\upsilon\alpha$ (45).

Besides the reading $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\mu$ we have also an alternative $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha$ (46). The latter presupposes the falling off of the unaccented feminine ending. This would represent the spoken word, while the former would represent the written word (47).

Wellhausen's interpretation is quite different. He thinks the Western reading $\delta\epsilon\ \theta\alpha\beta\iota\tau\alpha$ is a misunderstanding of ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ and that we should render, young girl (48). This is born out by Aphraates (49): "And our Lord who at his first coming revived three dead persons and by two words he raised each of them". He instances first the raising of the Widow's son at Nain and continues, "and again the daughter of the Ruler of the Syngogue He called twice, since He said to her, 'Maiden, maiden, arise'".

The present context is given added interest by the reading of the Old Latin MS 'e' which reads: "Et dixit ei Tabea acultha quod est interpretatum puella, tibi dico, exsurge".

This appears to be a remote echo of the further words of Jesus: "And He commanded that something should be given to eat". Chase suggests that the Syriac ܐܘܠܬܐ (food) may lie behind the Latin acultha, (50), a word not otherwise known in Latin.

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Besides giving a number of Semitic words and phrases which are accompanied by a Greek explanation, Mark has an even larger number of words of undoubted Semitic origin which have no accompanying explanation. Moultou (1) in his Prolegomena has no mention of any one of them in his index, and Thackeray (2) when giving a selection of words in the LXX with Semitic connections only records three which occur in Mark: nard, Passover and Sabbath. In other words Mark's indebtedness to the Koine or to the Greek of the LXX for these words is very slight indeed. In many cases he is very close to the original Semitic.

It is proposed to consider briefly each of the following words: Amen, Beelzebub, Cananean, Gehenna, Hosanna, Kollubostes, Nard, Passover, Pharisee, Rabbi, Rabboni, Sabbath (Prosabbath) Sadducee and Satan.

AMEN Ἀμήν (3)

The original Hebrew of this word is usually translated by the Greek $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ in the early books of the LXX (4). It is only when we come to the later books that it is transliterated. In the version of Aquila it is rendered by $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (5).

But although the word might appear to be the same as that found in the Old Testament, its use is radically different. In the Old Testament the word always comes at the end of a statement: in later inscriptions the word is similarly used (6). The use therefore of the word by our Lord ~~at~~ at the beginning of a statement (singly in the Synoptics, doubled in the Fourth Gospel) is unique. This use has proved so incredible to some that it has been suggested that we should read $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ (7)

Its interpretation is given in the other Synoptics when they substitute $\alpha\eta\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ for $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ (8). Delitzsch maintains that it is a rendering of the Aramaic ܐܡܝܢ variously contracted into ܐܡܢ or ܐܡܝܢܐ (9).

BEELEZEBUB (R.V.) Βεελζεβούλ (W.H.) (10)

The first element of this word is undoubtedly the Aramaic ܒܠܝܝܘܬ , a form of the Hebrew בליעל (11).

The second element varies between 'zebub' and 'zebul'. Jerome wrote: *In fine ergo nominis b litera legenda est, non l; musca enim zebub vocatur* (12). If this reading be followed then the word is to be translated, God of Flies.

If however zebul is read we have a variation due either to malicious intent, accident, or dialectical variation, meaning God of dung.

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Others have seen in it a variation of the Aramaic \times בעל דבר enemy, i.e. Satan. Still others have seen its explanation in the Hebrew לִיטָה , dwelling, i.e. the abode of the dead (13).

CANANAEAN Καναανίος (14)

The earliest known interpreter of the word gives us the right translation (15). When Luke met the word he translated it by the Greek word ζηλωτής or zealot. Jerome commenting on the Matthaean parallel to this verse wrote: "Cananaeus, de vico Cana Galilaeae." The Authorised Version has given rise to a similar popular misunderstanding by translating the word as Canaanite.

It is not until the siege of Jerusalem that we hear of the Zealots, when Josephus calls them the 'fourth sect of Jewish philosophy' (16). The New Testament accurately reflects their original designation. Neither Liddell and Scott in the new edition, nor Hatch and Redpath give any use of the word.

The word itself comes from the Aramaic קנא (17): the adjective derived from it appears in later Hebrew as קנאי (18).

GEHENNA Γέεννα (19)

The precise New Testament form of this name appears nowhere else in Greek Literature before the writing of the Gospels. In the LXX it appears variously as $\text{φύραξ Διδόμ' Ευνόμ' Γαί' Ουνόμ' etc.}$ (20). These renderings are obviously a close following of the original Hebrew גֵּי הִינּוֹם . On one occasion however we ~~find~~ find the form Γαίεννα (21) which is akin to the form in the New Testament. Deissmann (22) believes that this solitary passage in the Old Testament explains the form before us.

HOSANNA Ὡσαννά (24)

This transliteration is peculiar to Mark (and ~~in~~ the parallel passages in Matthew) It occurs in no other Synoptic source.

Neither Classical nor Hellenistic Greek know the word. In the time of Origen it appears as Ὠσαννά (25). The form before us claims to transliterate חַסְנָנָה which the Greek versions (LXX, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion) all render as Ὠσαν Ὡσά . Whence then the reading before us?

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Commenting on the Mattaeian rendering Jerome writes :
 Deique Matthaëus qui evangelium Hebraëæ sermone conscripsit
 ita posuit, osanna barrama, id est Osanna in excelsis (26).

Thackeray (27) connects the Psalm from which the transliteration ultimately derives, with the Feast of Succoth. He envisages the worshippers reaching the Temple and crying:

We beseech Thee, O JHWH, save now;
 We beseech Thee, JHWH, send us now prosperity.

The Levites within the Temple then reply. And as the procession cries 'save now', the branches are shaken. In course of time the branches are so closely associated with the cries of the worshippers that they came to be known as Hosannas. Payne Smith(28) shows that a similar practice was followed by the Syriac Christians on Palm Sunday. The Mishnah(29) likewise shews that the verse was used liturgically.

Burkitt goes further and suggest that we should read
 חֲבֵלֵינוּ אֶל־עֲנַן הַשָּׁמַיִם i.e. Hosannas upward, 'Up with your wands'.

It is certain that the root is Hebrew, there being no root חב in Aramaic(31)

KOLLUBISTES κολλυβιστής (32)

Here is a Semitic word from a root which had become acclimatised in classical literature (33) before the writing of the New Testament. It is doubtful therefore if the present word argues any real knowledge of a semitic nature on the part of the writer. It is probable that Phoenician traders had spread the word throughout the Mediterranean world.

There is one point however worthy of notice. While words relating to coinage are taken from the language of the ruling power (e.g. denarius, stater etc), the present word is the only one of Semitic origin relating to coinage that survives in the Gospels.

Conder has suggested (34) that originally it comes from the Aramaic כּוּלְבִי which may mean both pitch and 'redemptionis pretium', like the Hebrew כּוּלְבִי (35).

NARD Νάρδος (36)

This is another Semitic word which had become current in a wider world. We know that it was current in the ancient world among both Indians and Celts (37). Its occurrence therefore in the Gospels argues no more knowledge of Semitics than the current use of Taboo argues a knowledge of Polynesian.

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PASSOVER Πάσχα (38)

The Greek form of this word is indebted to Aramaic rather than Hebrew. In the LXX the translators followed both forms. In 11. Chronicles (39) the form is always *Πάσχα* or *Πάσχι* which is manifestly a transliteration of the Hebrew *פסח*. Aquila and Symmachus (40) make use of the same transliteration. But in the transliteration found in the early parts of the Old Testament, it is the Aramaic word which is always transliterated, i. e. *פסח* (41).

Now as early as 500 B.C. we know that the Jews of Elephantine spoke Aramaic. The Aramaic papyri there discovered prove this. (42) Other papyri and inscriptions from other parts of Egypt (Abydos, Memphis and Sakkara) prove that Aramaic and Phoenician were known during the two following centuries (43). It is remarkable therefore that Cowley should suggest that even in these few documents the Aramaic word *פסח* originally existed as early as 419 B.C. (44).

That this Aramaic influence continued is obvious when we come to the earliest parts of the LXX. Instead of transliterating the Hebrew *פסח* as *Πάσχα* or translating it by the Greek *πάσχιος* which we find in the later books of the LXX, we notice that the translators avail themselves of the Aramaic *פסח* which they transliterated as *Πάσχα*. (45). Burkitt (46) has detected further examples of this tendency in the Greek transliterations of Isaiah where the Aramaic *פסח* is transliterated as *Πάσχα* or *Πάσχι*. Nestle (47) goes still further and adds seven illustrations of the indebtedness of the LXX to Aramaic. It looks therefore as though the contention of Zahn is eminently reasonable: "The Jews of Alexandria who translated the Old Testament in Greek still retained a respectable knowledge of the original; but their native tongue was not the Hebrew of the Old Testament...but Aramaic" (48). Their use of *Πάσχα* was natural: they were transliterating from the Aramaic of common use.

The Synoptics and Josephus are likewise indebted to the Aramaic. Josephus is explicit about his Aramaic original (49). In like manner the Synoptics (for the word occurs also in *Ε* (50)) preserve recollections of their indebtedness to Aramaic when they record *Πάσχα*.

(The substance of this article has been accepted by the
PHARISEE *Φαρισαῖος* (51) Expository Times)

There is no known occurrence of this word in pre-Christian Greek. Dalman thinks its origin *פסח* (52). In like manner

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Zahn^{also} holds that the form is $\alpha\omega\tau$ (53). Both are agreed on its Aramaic origin. Zahn further insists that the name arose among the Jews of Palestine c.150-130 B.C (54), and that from the beginning the name was Aramaic.

The original meaning of that name is still a matter of debate but is not immediately relevant to our present enquiry.

RABBI $\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\iota$ (55)

Once again we are confronted with a word which occurs neither in the LXX nor in any pre-Christian classical author. It would appear to be a transliteration first made by the writer of the second Gospel. The word does not occur either in Q or L. It ~~occurs-enee-only-in-M~~ does occur however in M.

The word is derived either from the Hebrew or the Aramaic רַבִּי . In the LXX it is often translated as $\text{-}\tau\alpha\chi\text{-}$ (56): it is never transliterated. In inscriptions too the same translation is found (57).

Mark therefore appears to be the first to use the transliteration. Manson writes: "It is the most intimate and tender form of address that the Jews could furnish" (58).

RABBONI $\rho\alpha\beta\beta\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$ (59)

Dalman says that the form Rabboni cannot have ^{been} materially distinguished from the form רַבִּי (60).

SABBATH $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha$ (61)

It is noticeable that the forms $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ and $\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha$ fluctuate without any apparent reason in the synoptic sources. It is not possible to confine the use of the singular to one day, and the use of the plural to more than one day.

The explanation of the confusion is a forgetfulness of the Aramaic origin of the word. In the LXX the earliest examples of the word are in the plural even when reference is made to a single day. In Exodus XVI.25 we read $\text{\textit{\sigma\iota\gamma\tau\iota\nu\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma}}$. And every example of the word in the Greek version of the Torah is in the plural (62). This version was made in Alexandria in the third century B.C. and was subject to Aramaic influence. When discussing the word Passover we saw the extent of that influence. Here is yet another illustration of it. Instead of transliterating the Hebrew פֶּסַח the translators used the familiar $\text{\textit{\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha}}$. Striking confirmation of this suggestion comes from the

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Zenon papyri. These papyri emanate from the Fayyum and cover approximately the same period as the Greek version of the Torah. They too record the reading $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\alpha$ (64). Nor is this Semitic influence surprising. The Jews were settled in the Fayyum (65) at an early date and Phoenician traders reached there not later than 258 B.C. (66)

There can be no doubt therefore that $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ is the original and correct reading of the word. But as time went on its origin was forgotten and attempts were made to Hellenise it. The later books of the LXX and the later translators like Aquila preserve an unhappy confusion of the two forms. So do the authors of the Synoptics. But Josephus who translated his original into Greek obviously aimed at exactitude for the benefit of his cosmopolitan readers. When writing of more than one sabbath he uses $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ (e.g. Life 279.) (67): but when referring to one sabbath he employs $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ (e.g. Life 159.) (68). This is the logical confusion of the Hellenisation of an Aramaic transliteration, a result at which Josephus would naturally aim if he was to commend his work to the educated world of his day.

This conclusion fits admirably a hint of Fuller recorded for us by Schleusner: Fullerus...et alii suspicantur, plurale formatum esse ex eo, quod sono conveniat cum Syr. $\alpha\beta\beta$ quod speciem neutrius pluralis apud Graecos habet (69)

(The substance of the above note appeared in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Oct. 1946.)

PROSABBATH $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ (70)

Given the form $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$, $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ is an obvious creation. It occurs in two Psalm titles and in Judith VIII.6. The last book is dated by Cowley as 1st Cen. A.D. (71), while the dates of the Psalm titles are too vague to fix.

If however the text of A or B2 (72) be followed, which reads $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ then the word does not arise for consideration.

SADDUCEE $\Sigma\alpha\delta\delta\upsilon\sigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (73)

There seems little doubt that this word represents the Aramaic plural definite $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$. (74) Josephus has the same transliteration (75). The precise significance of the word (76) as in the case also of Pharisee, does not affect its Semitic nature.

We may note that the word does not occur in Q which we shall see probably came from Galilee where the Sadducees were not in evidence.

SATAN $\Sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ (77)

Although at first sight this might appear to be a transliteration of the Hebrew שׂטן and to be dependent upon the LXX, it is surprising to find that the word is almost invariably trans-

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lated as $\Sigma\psi\sigma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or transliterated as $\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\nu$ (78).

x It is not until 132 B.C. when Ecclesiasticus is being translated into Greek that we find the form $\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\nu\delta\epsilon$. Already we have seen that Aramaic work was at work in Alexandria and was affecting the translation of the scriptures. Here again it is making its impression felt. When the word is used in the New Testament it is always the transliteration from the New Aramaic which is used. By the time Aquila translates the scriptures he too uses the Aramaic form which had come to prevail (79). Its triumphal career is visible at a still later date in the Paris magical papyrus of c.300 A.D. (80).

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When we find in words ascribed to Jesus references to towns not mentioned in the Old Testament, though they existed in the Talmud, we may infer that we are dealing with a Palestinian tradition.

Burkitt: Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus. p.191.

Burkitt limits his Palestinian tradition to the words of Jesus. It could be extended to ^{all} our sources. Further, he instances only Chorazin (which we shall meet in Q) and Capernaum. But the list of towns mentioned in our sources which come from a Palestinian tradition is considerably longer.

When we examine the places mentioned by Mark we find a number which have already been mentioned in the Old Testament. Mention of these need imply no more than a knowledge of the Old Testament tradition, either orally, or by means of the Greek or Hebrew versions, or possibly by means of a Targum. Such places are Arimathaea (1), Galilee (2), Gennesaret (2a), Idumaea (3), Israel (4), Jericho (5), Jerusalem (6), Jordan (7), Judaea (8), Sidon (9), and Tyre (10).

There seems little trace of any indebtedness to Pagan sources or indeed any knowledge of the Diaspora or the heathen world. The only possible exception might be Cyrene (11). If however Torrey's suggestion is correct even Cyrene vanishes from the text (12).

Mark's Palestinian tradition of place names is extensive, and we shall consider each of them in turn. They are Bethany, Bethphage, Bethsaida, Capernaum, Dalmanutha, Decapolis, Gerasa, Gethsemane, Magdala, Nazareth. The tradition, it will be noted, is confined to the immediate surroundings of Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee.

Lastly, we shall consider Cyrene, the dialect of Galilee, the phrase 'a Grek a Syrophœnician', and the spelling of Jerusalem.

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BETHANY Βηθανιά (13)

The village of Bethany is mentioned neither in the Old Testament, nor the Apocrypha, nor Josephus. It makes its first appearance in the Gospels. And while there may be some doubt as to its precise location, there can be no doubt about its existence on the eastside of Jerusalem. Evidence for this comes from Jewish and Christian sources (15). In the Talmud (16) Bethany is explained to mean 'the place of Dates'. This suggests an Aramaic original. Jerome gives its meaning as 'domus afflictionis' (17). There is no unanimity among modern scholars (18).

BETHPHAGE Βηθφαγή (19)

Once again the place is unknown to the Old Testament, the Apocrypha or Josephus, although it appears in Jewish tradition in the time of the Mishnah (20). It appears also at an early date in Christian tradition.

Jerome (22) translates it as 'Domus oris vallium² vel domus bucae'. Jewish tradition offers no explanation.

Its location has given rise to much speculation. In the light of the Mishnah it is possible to explain satisfactorily the existence both of Bethany and Bethphage. We read that the shewbread may be made either in the Temple court or in Bethphage. Not unjustifiably therefore Lightfoot writes; "He went out of Jerusalem through Bethphage within the walls, and Bethphage without the walls, and measuring a sabbath day's journey or thereabouts, arrived at that place and tract of Olivet where the name of Bethphage ceased and the name of Bethany began.. I doubt therefore, whether there was any town in Olivet called Bethphage, but rather a great tract of the mountain was so called and the outermost street of Jerusalem within the walls was called by the same name by reason of its nearness to the tract" (23).

If this surmise is correct, then the passages dealing with Bethany and Bethphage are patient of an intelligible interpretation. The omission of the name in Mark XI.1, following certain Western MSS is not necessary (24).

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BETHSAIDA $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$ (25)

The meaning of the name is quite clear: G.A. Smith (26) renders it Fisher-Home; or the place where fish are taken (27).

Josephus tells us (28) that up to the time of Herod Philip, Bethsaida had been a small village, but that he had supplied it with a suitable number of inhabitants and made it into a powerful city, giving it the name of Julias in honour of the Emperor's daughter.

The location of Bethsaida has caused some difficulty. From Mark VI.45., it would appear that it is on the east side of the Lake of Galilee, while in John XII.21 we read that Philip came from Bethsaida in Galilee.

This supposed discrepancy Klausner (29) attributes to an error on the part of the writer of the Fourth Gospel. Others (30) suggest that there were two places of the same name. But if we follow Josephus it would appear entirely reasonable to believe that Galilee included territory east of Jordan. Speaking of the eastern border of Galilee he says that it includes "the territory of Hippos, Gadara, and Gaulanitis, the frontier of Agrippa's kingdom" (31). There is no difficulty therefore in holding that at the time when the Gospels were written, Bethsaida, although on the east side of the Jordan, was nevertheless reckoned to be in Galilee.

SIDON (Mark VII.31)

Since Wellhausen's time (32) it has been generally supposed that the reference to Sidon in Mark VII.31 is really a mistake for Bethsaida. From Josephus (33) we know that the prefix 'beth' may be omitted at will. Bethsaida could appear either as $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$ or $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\alpha\iota\delta$. For Jesus to go from Tyre to the Sea of Galilee via Sidon as "as though a man should travel from Cornwall to London via Manchester" (34). This is unlikely and the close association of Tyre and Sidon in the mind of the writer would easily and naturally account for the mistake. Much more likely is it that Jesus went from Tyre to the Sea of Galilee via Bethsaida. This slight detour would enable Him to avoid going through the territory of the hostile Herod Antipas.

CAPERNAUM $\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu$ (35)

Once again we are dealing with a place name that occurs in no pre-Christian literature. It is variously spelled as $\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu$ or $\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu$. The former reading always occurs in B. Josephus spells it as $\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu$ (36)

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The first part of the name is clearly the Semitic root רש meaning a village. It could be transliterated either as Καφαρ or Καπερ . We know that 'a' could be transliterated both by ϕ and π (37).

The second part of the name is apparently the proper name Nahum. It is noticeable that Josephus' transliteration brings out the guttural 'n' much more clearly than the less sophisticated writer of the Gospel. (cf. Nah.1.1 LXX.)

The Semitic ~~mean~~ origin of the word therefore appears to be quite firm.

The existence of the place is testified to in the Midrash where Christians, or Minim as they are called, are described as 'sons of Capernaum' (38)

DALMANUTHA $\Delta\lambda\mu\alpha\nu\theta\alpha$ (39)

By the fifth century, variants of both Dalmanutha and Magada had become numerous (40). Augustine wrote: Non est dubitandum eundem locum esse sub utroque nomine. (41).

The earliest reading, judging by the evidence of the Sinaitic Syriac and a third century papyrus (P.45), appears to have been Magadan.

Sickenberger explains the two readings as follows: *Mc avait aussi a l'origine MAGADA(N), mais une glose marginale voulant corriger Magada en Magdal, dal ou da, i.e. dal et non da aura pénétré dans le texte, et forme avec le début du mot maga, lu ou transformé en MAN, le bizarre Dalmanutha ramené à une forme araméenne (44).*

DECAPOLIS $\Delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (45)

The first references in literature to the Decapolis are to be found in the Gospels (46). Available evidence indicates that the league of ten cities was formed in the time of Pompey (47). The name appears in Pliny (48), and Josephus (49) before the end of the first century.

The name is clearly of Greek origin and describes a league "against the various Semitic influences east and west of Jordan" (50). There was need "for Greeks to support each other against the Semites" (51). If this conjecture of G.A. Smith is correct, the Gospels witness negatively to the strong Semitic background against which they arose.

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GERASENES Γερασηνος (52)

The reading in Mark V.1 is uncertain: a choice has to be made between the three possible readings, Gerasenes (Aleph B.D.), Gadarenes (A.C.Fam.13 Pesh.) and Gergesenes (Koridethi MS Fam.1. Origen). Textual evidence is read by many, including Westcott and Hort, to support the first of these.

Gerasa and Gadara were both places in the Decapolis. Gerasa was attributed to Alexander the Great (53); Gadara was also given a Macedonian origin (54). Both places are mentioned in the campaigns of Alexander Jannaeus (55). But owing to their distance from the lake they both seem unlikely scenes for the miracle of the Gadarene swine.

Origen suggested that the real name of the scene of the miracle was Gergesa. We suggest that this is still a possible solution. "Under Aramaic influence" writes Kautzsch "the harder and rougher sounds especially were changed into the softer" (56). The palatal 'g' undergoes frequent changes of pronunciation in all Semitic languages. In modern Arabic, it has a hard sound in Egypt, but a soft sound in Syria (57). In ancient Assyrian the sound is merged into 'ayin, and both may become 'aleph or 'h'. (58). In this general tendency Gergesa could easily have become Ger'asa which is but a short step to Gerasa, especially when we recall the tendency of 'ayin to disappear.

Early Christian scribes thought Gerasa too far from the lake and substituted Gadara, still some distance from the Lake, but a good deal nearer than Gerasa and therefore more likely as a scene of the miracle.

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GETHSEMANE Γεθσημανη

This place is only mentioned in Mark XIV.32 and the parallel passage in Matthew XXVI.36.

The text in each instance shews considerable uncertainty, ranging round the inclusion or omission of 'th' (in Syriac 'dā') (59)

The word itself is clearly no ordinary Greek word. The uncertainty remains as to whether it is a Hebrew or an Aramaic word. If the reading with 'th' is the more accurate then we must postulate an original $\Gamma\theta\sigma$ as the first syllable of the word. The second element in the word appears to be the Semitic root $\theta\sigma$, oil. The whole word might then refer to an oil press. This is the interpretation of the majority of scholars. Zahn (60) affirms that the constituent words are Aramaic: Dalman (61) that they are Hebrew.

There is no difficulty, philologically, in the Syriac variations. Wright (62) shews that in Hebrew and Aramaic θ preceded by a vowel has a sound approximating to 'th' in that.

If we take the reading without 'th' or 'd' we are reminded of the phrase in Isaiah XXVIII.1 & 4 $\theta\sigma\sigma\theta\sigma\theta\sigma$. There is no transliteration of this in the LXX nor in the later Greek versions. The Vulgate renders Vallis pinguissimae or Vallis pinguium. Jerome follows this translation (63) when he explains Gesemane as Vallis pinguedinum. The first syllable of the word in this case would be $\theta\sigma$, a valley: the remaining part of the word would have the same interpretation as above.

As it is more easy for 'th' or 'd' to be omitted rather than to be added, and as the Old Testament would introduce factors making for agreement with itself, we may take it that Gethsemane was the original word. And as adjacent places like Bethany and Bethphage were Aramaic, it is probable that Gethsemane too was Aramaic.

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MAGDALENE Μαγδαληνῆ

We have already seen that Magdala occurs as a variant reading in the involved history of the enigmatic Dalmanutha(64). We saw there that the original Magada was early confused with Magdal, just as we can see in the LXX (Joshua XV.37) Μαγδαλα (B.) or Μαγδαλ (A.) for an original מגדל. In view of the frequency of names compounded with with Migdol or Magdal (65), this further instance implied by the Gospel records is but an accommodation to an already existing pattern.

It is the adjective we may note that survives(66). Its constant association with a figure so well known in the tradition of the early Church would give a fictitious authority to Magdala even if it did usurp an original Magadan.

NAZARETH Ναζαρέθ

Neither the Old Testament, Josephus nor the Talmud have any record of Nazareth (67). It appears for the first time, with slight variations of reading, in the Gospel records. After an examination of these variants Burkitt (68) concludes that the form in Mark was always Ναζαρέθ, but that the form in Q was always Ναζαρέθ.

The fulfilment of the scriptures rather than topographical exactitude was the aim of the early Christians. In a passage in Isaiah XI.1 the reference to the shoot (נצר) was early applied to Jesus. Saint Paula wrote c.382.: Ibimus ad Nazareth, et iuxta interpretationem nominis eius, florem videbimus Galilaeae(69).

Swete likewise concludes that it is derived from the root נצר, but he would give it the meaning to watch. The place therefore was originally a watch tower (70). Lidsbarski agrees that נצר is the original root but offers a further explanation. Jesus was a member of a sect which kept certain observances (71). Zimmern declares that he was a member of sect observing certain mysteries (72).

From all these Burkitt dissents on purely philological grounds (73). The 'צ' in the original Hebrew is not normally equated with the Greek 'ς'. The original root is נצר not נצר. Jesus, he goes on, was early given a nickname. He was thought to be a strange kind of Nazirite...one who calls for repentance and yet comes eating and drinking.

In some such way as this the place where Jesus lived, originally unknown by name among the 204 towns (73a) of Galilee, received its name in retrospect. The use of nicknames in the Semitic world is firmly established.

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APPENDIX

Before leaving Mark's, strongly Palestinian and frequently original tradition about the places associated with the life of Christ, we have four points of interest to note.

CYRENE (74) *Kupynios*

This is the only place alluded to in the second Gospel which is not situated in Palestine or in immediately adjacent territory. This may raise a doubt, though not an insuperable one. There are several references to Cyrene in the New Testament (75) and from the Acts of the Apostles it is possible to deduce that there was a colony of Jews from Cyrene having its own synagogue in Jerusalem

Torrey's suggestion (76), and it is independently supported by Professor Stummer, is that we have in Mark not a reference to Simon from Cyrene, but to Simoḡ who came in from the country. In Aramaic the words for Cyrenian and farm labourer are very alike.

DIALECT OF GALILEE

Frequent reference is made in the present thesis to the confusion between the gutturals, which was characteristic of Galilee. The Talmud (77) gives illustrations of this: A certain Galilean said אמר למאן אסר למאן אמר למאן. They answered him, O foolish Galilean: אמר למירכב: למילבש: חמר למשע: אמר למאן לאתכסא: The sense is, When the Galilean asked אמר למאן, whose is אמר Immar, 'this lamb?', he pronounced the first letter in the word Immar, so confusedly and uncertainly, that the hearers knew not whether he meant חמר Chamar, that is an ass; or חמר Chamar wine; or אמר Amar wool; or אמר Immar, a lamb.

When therefore Peter's speech revealed his provincial origin, it may have been because of failures in pronunciation like those just given. It is worthy of notice that there are no suggestions of any provincialism in the speech of Jesus. Lightfoot offers further illustrations of the dialectical peculiarities of Galilee. A Galilean woman when she should have said to her neighbour תאי דאכליך חלבא, said Come and I will feed you with milk (or some fat thing), said תכליך לבא. My neighbour, a lion shall eat you. The Gloss is: She distinguished not, but confounded the letter: for when she should say תכליך Shelubti, with (beth), which signifies a neighbour, she said תכליך Shelucti with (caph) (a barbarous word). For תכליך לבא Come, and I will feed you with milk, she said תכליך לבא Tocli labe, words that imply a curse; as much as to say, Let a lion devour you thee.

After a further illustration Lightfoot concludes: Among other things, you see, that in this Galilean dialect the pronunciation of the gutturals is very much confounded".

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A GREEK A SYROPHOENICIAN (78) Ἑλληνὺς Συροφονικισσῶν

There is only this reference in the Synoptics to a Greek person. The Syriac here records an interesting variant, ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. Torrey(79) suggests that the original reading was 'heathen' and that the phrases recorded side by side in our present text were originally legitimate variations of the same ~~origi~~ word. The Aramaic for this would be ܐܘܪܝܬܐ

This reading disappeared because of the intense Jewish dislike (probably shared by Jewish Christians in the first generations, cf. the suggestion of dislike for Samaritans in M., Mt.X.5) of any association in their scriptures with the Aramaeans. In Deut. XXVI.5 the M.T. reads: ַרְבֵּךְ יִצְרָח ַרְבֵּךְ, An Aramaean ready to perish was my Father. The LXX altered this to Συριανὸς ἐπέλαβεν ὁ πατήρ μου completely changing the meaning of the original. Thus did Israel seek to save itself from the reproach of heathen ancestry.

JERUSALEM Ἱεροσόλυμα

There are two spelling of Jerusalem in the Synoptics; Ἱεροουσαλήμ and Ἱεροσόλυμα. The same two spellings occur in the LXX. Ἱεροουσαλήμ occurs in the books from Joshua to Daniel; Ἱεροσόλυμα in the Apocryphal books. And when we come to Pagan authors(80) it is this second spelling which we find. Masterman believes that the evidence proves that this secondary spelling came into existence c. 100 B.C. (81):

In the Synoptics Mark (writing perhaps for readers in Rome) uses the late form of the word which had become current in the non-Jewish world. Q on the other hand reverts to the more archaic form which had survived in the more restricted circles (possibly Galilee) from which it came.

The personal names preserved in the Synoptics reflect accurately the syncretistic civilisation of first century Palestine.

The invading civilisations of Greece and Rome are evident in the names of those mentioned: Alexander, Andrew, Caesar, Herod, Legion (1a). Pilate, Rufus, Thaddaeus. These are echoes of the invasions of Alexander and Pompey and the hated overlordship of the Edomite Herods (1b).

But the indigenous civilisation is never overwhelmed (2). Echoes of the Old Testament are frequent in the names of the disciples and others: Abiathar, Abraham, Bartholomew (3), David, Elias, Isaiah, Jacob, Jairus, Jesus (Joshua), John, Joseph, Judas, Levi, Mary, Matthew, Moses, Salome, Simon, Thomas, and Zebedee (4).

The first set of names is wholly congruous with a Greco-Roman civilisation: the second with a wholly Semitic background. But there remain a few names, not hitherto mentioned in the Old Testament and which shew only too clearly their Semitic origin: Alphaeus, Barabbas, Joses, Judas Iscariot, Peter.

ALPHAEUUS $\text{A}\lambda\phi\omega\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (5)

Legg (6), although professedly dependent upon Westcott and Hort, nevertheless places a smooth breathing over the initial letter of this name. Westcott and Hort (7) however prefer a rough breathing. This preference is justified.

Schmiedel suggested that the name derives from a place name Heleph (8). But an inscription discovered at Capernaum (9) offers us the right solution. There we find the name ܝܪܗܘܒܝܢ , a name which also occurs in the Talmud (10). It has been suggested that while the careless Galileans slurred over the initial -h- the more accurate Judaeans preserved it and that John and Luke are referring to the same name when they write of Cleopas and Cleopas.

BARABBAS $\text{B}\alpha\rho\rho\beta\beta\alpha\varsigma$ (12)

The first part of the name is clearly the Aramaic bar, which has already been discussed (13).

PERSONAL NAMES IN MARK

The second part of the name is patient of several interpretations. First, there is considerable textual uncertainty: secondly, even with the establishment of the text, the interpretation is by no means beyond doubt.

There are three main readings in Mark(14): Bar abbas; Bar rabbas; and Bar nabas. In Matthew XXVII.17 there are some MSS which read Jesus (the son of Barabbas (15)). Streeter(16) considers that this has the look of originality and follows Burkitt (17) in declaring that it is the true reading. The omission of the name Jesus before Barabbas might easily be accidental. In the handing down of the Greek MS YMINHZOYN would be abbreviated into YMININ. Then the second -IN- could easily be omitted through the common error of haplography. Once omitted, motives of reverence would easily preclude its re-insertion. If the original reading is as suggested then the point of Pilate's question is very much emphasised: Which of these two Jews with very similar names do you want me to let go? Jesus Barabbas or Jesus called Christ?

Burkitt (18) adds that Jesus Bar Abba (ישוע בר אבא) is a perfectly appropriate name for a Jew living in the first century A.D. Several persons mentioned in the Talmud have this name (e.g. Tal.B. Berachoth IV.3)

Even if Abba became Rabba the Semitic nature of the name is unchanged. Rabba might mean Teacher. This indeed is the interpretation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (19).

(20)

The Washington MS gives a third possibility, the son of consolation (21) or son of a prophet (22) which is considered by some to be an intentional alteration from an original son of Nebo(23)

Amidst all the textual and interpretative uncertainty, the Semitic nature of the name is beyond dispute.

JOSES ^{ישוע} (24)

The Semitic form of the name is יֵשׁוּעַ. Jastrow (25) holds that it is an abbreviation of יְהוֹשֻׁעַ. Its Galilean nature is affirmed by Dalman (26). We may note that in Abodah Zarah 111.5 we have: Rabbi Jose the Galilean (27). In Pirke Aboth the name occurs several times (28).

JUDAS ISCARIOT ^{ישוע} (29)

Iscaiot alone calls for comment. Judas is found in the LXX quite frequently. Once again textual uncertainties make more difficult the problem of achieving a right interpretation.

PERSONAL NAMES IN MARK

In the Synoptics the main differences in the readings, is the presence or absence of an initial aleph-^h (31) When we turn to the Syriac versions we find that the Sinaitic Syriac always reads *Yerico* (32): on the other hand the Curetonian always reads *Yerico* (33). This is a legitimate variation in both Syriac (34) and Aramaic (35). Nöldeke shows that both *Yerico* and *Yerico* are possible. Greek words too beginning with 's' may be transliterated with or without an initial -^h.

The vagaries of this initial aleph are recorded by Payne Smith as follows: in vetustioribus codicibus passim vocibus ponitur, ubi omittunt recentiores. Applying these principles to the name Iscariot we see that either Scariot or Iscariot are possible. Indeed Payne Smith informs us that the Syriac lexicographers derive the word ex urbe Scariot (38).

No place of this name has yet come to light, ^{Uncertainty because surrounds} ~~any more than~~ the more popular suggestion that Judas came from Kerioth. (39). We have noted that the personal names tend to be compounds of Aramaic rather than Hebrew elements and Ish is but rarely compounded with a name even outside the Gospels (40). For the present therefore we prefer the harder course and attribute Judas to the unknown Scariot.

PETER Πέτρος (xθ'c)

Mark's tradition (41) unanimously gives Peter as the name of the Apostle. Yet it is fairly certain that his original name was Cephas. St Paul refers to Cephas (42). The mention of his name in 1 Cor XVI.5 is almost certainly from some form of creed within the primitive Church (43). This suggests indebtedness and reference to the early Aramaic speaking Christian community. The play upon word preserved for us in M (Mt. XVI.18) was probably first in Aramaic and not in Greek. The Fourth Gospel too recalls his name as originally Cephas (Jn.1.42).

In Rome where Peter was so well known Mark realised that the name Cephas would be strange. ~~so~~

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It has however been shewn by the students of the papyri—particularly A Deissmann and Moulton—that the great majority of the so called semitisms in the N.T. can be paralleled from documents written in the vernacular Greek of the time. A residuum of cases remain where a construction or an idiom, to which no true parallel from Greek sources has been found, finds a ready explanation by reference to Hebrew or Aramaic.

Creed. The Gospel according
to St Luke. p.lxxvi.f.

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What is needed to substantiate the theory of an Aramaic original for Mark is some cogent evidence of mistranslation.

Burney. The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel p.19.

By following the principles already laid down we shall not attempt to derive any proof of the Semitic nature of the Gospels or of their ultimate sources from syntactical considerations, nor from words or phrases which might be direct translations from Hebrew or Aramaic but which can be paralleled, even remotely, in occasional passages in the Classics or in more recently discovered papyri.

Dr Black (1) has recently completed a further study of the possibly semitic connection of the various phenomena of our Gospel records; casus pendens, asyndeton, and parataxis. An earlier investigation may be seen in Moulton's Grammar of New Testament Greek Vol.11, p.413.f. Dr Black also considers at some length possible translations of semitic words or phrases which appear in the Greek version as ἰνα and ὅτι; the article; the proleptic, relative and reflexive pronouns. He examines carefully the use of certain prepositions

In order to avoid excess, no undue confidence is placed on this evidence and attempts to discover a Semitic connection will be limited to examining texts where some quite real difficulty justifies our looking for a Semitic explanation.

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Mark 11.3

Borne of four

ἀιρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων

Luke V.18

on a bed

ἐπὶ κλίνης

Matthew IX.2

on a bed

ἐπὶ κλίνης (βιβλημεσίον)

These two translations could well come from the same consonantal outline in Aramaic: כן נר כ (See Jastrow, lexicon s.v.)

It may be noted further that the alternative readings in Mark and Matthew ἀιρόμενον and βιβλημεσίον could also come from the same Semitic root. In Psalm 125(126) v.6 the M.T. reads כן whereas the Greek versions vary between βάλλουτες and ἄροντες (2) We are an original Aramaic to underlie the Gospels records at this point an original כן or כן could well give rise to the same variants.

Mark 11.4

They uncovered the roof

ἀπεστέρωσαν τὴν στέγην

Luke V.19

they went up to the housetop

ἀναβαίντες ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα

Matthew

omits.

Jerome (3) tells us : δῶμα in orientalibus provinciis id ipsum dicitur quod apud nos tectum. This is substantiated in the papyri (4) and borne out by the Latin versions of the Old Testament. Where the M.T. reads כן in Ps. 102 v.8 the LXX reads δῶμα and the Latin versions vary between tecto and aedificio. (5).

If the original text had > the Markan rendering which took it to be the sign of the accusative, is as understandable as the other interpretation which took it to be the preposition 'to'. (6)

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There remain to be explained the two readings ἀναστρέψαν and ἀναβλέψαν. If the Aramaic ܩܒܝܣ is postulated, the variations are quite normal. In the Palmyrene inscriptions the root is used for 'to bring up' (7): and in the parallel Greek version of the same inscription we find ἀνακομίσω and ἀναβλέψω. ἀναστρέψαν is a possible translation of the same root if we point it ܩܒܝܣܐ , 'to clear of stones' (8).

MARK II.10

Son of Man.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

LUKE V.24

Son of Man.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Matthew IX.6

Son of Man.

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

The Semitic nature of this phrase has long been almost universally accepted. It does not refer to an exclusively filial relationship. When Amos (9) said that he was no prophet's son, he was not denying that his natural father was a prophet but that he belonged to a guild of prophets.

The Gospels have several expressions, 'the son of..'. Writing of the phrase the 'son of man' Professor Manson (10) says: "It may now be regarded as extremely probably, if not absolutely certain, that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is... a slavish rendering of an original Aramaic ܩܒܝܣܐ ." The right translation would have been ὁ ἀνθρώπου. The phrase in Daniel, Enoch, and IV Esdras had come to be used symbolically, first for the people of the saints of the Most High, and later for the Messiah.

In Mark 11.28 where the phrase occurs again, Manson believes that it should be translated quite simply as man. Elsewhere the phrase has a messianic connotation. (11)

MARK 11.19

Sons of the bridechamber

οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος

Luke V.34

Sons of the bridechamber

οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος

Matthew IX.15

Sons of the bridechamber

οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος

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This phrase corresponds to the Hebrew בְּנֵי אָדָם (12). So far, according to Lagrange, the phrase is not known in Aramaic though it would not be impossible (12a). ~~But~~ if we had here a Greek expression we should have either *υἱοφύλακ*, or in later Greek, *παρδούλοφοι* (13)

MARK III.28

Sons of men

תוֹרֵי אֲדָמָה אֲנִי אֶבְרָאָה

Luke omits

Matthew XII.31

~~Sons of~~ men

תוֹרֵי אֲדָמָה אֲנִי

Another clearly Aramaic phrase, *אֲנִי בְנֵי אָדָם* (14). Lagrange writes: Le texte araméen portait nécessairement "les fils des hommes" dans Mc., mais le traducteur devait normalement écrire en grec "les hommes" (15). The same phrase therefore could easily account for the two renderings in Mark and Matthew.

MARK IV.4

came

הָלַךְ

LUKE VIII.5

it was trodden under foot

καὶ πατήσθη

MATTHEW XIII.4

came

הָלַךְ

If the conjectures of Torrey (16) and Black (17) are correct these variants fall in a nest of semitisms. Matthew follows Mark closely but Luke is much freer. The present variation is explicable if there is an underlying *הָלַךְ*. Buxtorf renders this root: Calcare, conculcare, proculcare, ingredi, incedere (18). There is nothing strained therefore in these variants, ~~if they go back to an original~~. The explanation is further strengthened if 'by the way side' is a mistaken rendering of *עַל הַדֶּגַח* 'on the highway' (19)

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK

MARK IV.12 Unto them that are without all things are done... that seeing they may see and not perceive.

τοὺς ἔξω... πᾶντα γίνονται ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν.

LUKE VIII.10 That seeing they may not see..

ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν.

MATTHEW XIII.13 Because seeing they see not.

ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπωσιν.

Manson's explanation of the difficulties raised by ἵνα is so well known that it is needless to repeat it. Instead of translating τ by ἵνα we should translate it by the equally legitimate οἱ. The Greek text would then run as follows :

τοὺς ἔξω... πᾶντα γίνονται, οἱ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Burney gives several similar examples of the confusion caused by τ. (21)

Black(22) however has recently indicated that this takes liberties with the text. He affirms that though Mark is dependent upon Aramaic sources (as is clear from the Targum reading at this point) we have here a Greek word, the author's own interpretation of a saying in Aramaic.

MARK IV.29

When the fruit is ripe ὅταν δὲ παραδοῖ δ ἰκαροπός.

LUKE and MATTHEW both omit.

Manson (23) suggests that behind παραδοῖ is an Aramaic root אֲבָע. In Hebrew it occurs in Joshua XI.19 wherethe LXX(A) translates it παραδωκεν. In Syriac the root is used to describe a full grown man (ܐܒܘܐܝܢܐ).

If therefore the same root is suggested here, the meaning would then be 'when the fruit is fully mature'. We should then have four logical stages in the growth of the crops: the blade, the ear, the full corn in the ear, and the fruit fully mature.

MARK V.16-17 And they that saw it declared unto them how it befell him that was possessed with devils and concerning the swine. And they began to beseech him....

LUKE-VIII. και δι' ἡγήσατο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἴδοντες πῶς ἐγένετο τῷ δαιμονισθέντι καὶ περὶ τῶν χοίρων. v.17. καὶ ἤρξατο ἀρροκαλεῖν αὐτόν.

LUKE VIII.36-37 And they that saw it told them how he that was possessed with devils was made whole. And all the people of the country round about asked him....

ἀπ' ἡγγισθεν δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἴδοντες πῶς ἐσώθη δ δαιμονισθείς. v.37. καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτόν ἀπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς περιχώρου.

MATTHEW omits

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There are at least five words and phrases in this passage which call for comment:

a. Declared (Mk): told (Lk) $\delta\iota\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\tau\omicron$: $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$

The Epistle to the Hebrews (24) quotes Ps. XXI.23 but with an interesting variant. Instead of following the LXX and reading $\delta\iota\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$, it reads $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$. This is exactly the variation noted here.

It is true they could be Greek variations of the same idea. On the other hand it is not impossible that they are variant renderings of the same Aramaic word. In the Targum of Gen. XXVII.42 וַיִּדְבַּר is the equivalent for אֲרָאָה : but the same Aramaic in the Targum of Psalm LXXXVII.12 ~~is~~ corresponds to the Greek $\delta\iota\gamma\gamma\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$.

b. Befell (Mk): made whole (Lk) $\xi\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron$: $\xi\sigma\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$

Originally we suspect that there was confusion here between הָיָה and הָיָה . Inscriptions of our Lord's day shew how difficult it is always to distinguish with certainty between הָ and הָ , between הָ and הָ (25). This confusion continued down to Talmudic times (26).

c. Swine (Mk): country round about (Lk) περὶ τῶν χοίρων : περὶ χωρίου

Internal corruption of the Greek text could explain the variants here, if we may assume that the Greek writers paid no attention to meaning. On the other hand the Aramaic root רָחַק could easily be explained in both these ways. Rendering Isaiah LXVI.17 $\text{בְּרִשְׁתָּהּ חִירָה}$; Symmachus translates περὶ τῶν χοίρων (LXX περὶ τῶν χοίρων) (27) It can also stand for the Hebrew רָחַק (28), which means 'the parts round about' (29)

d. Began (Mk): people (Lk) ἤρξατο : πληθὸς

ἤρξατο is the clearly recognisable root רָחַק . In the LXX of Ezekiel XXVII.25 a similar root is translated by πληθὸς . Commenting on this passage G.A.Cooke (30) shews that the root is common to a wide range of Semitic languages both before and after the Christian era (31) If therefore there were an underlying Aramaic root here the confusion at once becomes explicable.

e. Beseech (Mk): asked (Lk) παρηκαλῆσεν : ἤρωτησεν

Once again the LXX shews how one Hebrew word can be translated in at least two ways in Greek. In Exodus 111.13 the Hebrew text

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK

ἄξ is translated by the Greek ἑρῶταῖω; in Isaiah XXXV.4 the same word is translated by ἑρῶταῖω.

We would suggest therefore that the Aramaic אָמַר might cover these variations. In Daniel 11.18 we have this root. Symmachus renders it by ἑρῶταῖω (32). And in Matthew VIII.5 where the Greek reads ἑρῶταῖω the Curetonian Syriac reads אָמַר (33)

MARK VI.8

save a staff only

εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον.

LUKE IX.3

neither ~~staff~~ staff

μηδὲ ῥάβδον.

MATTHEW X.10

nor staff

μηδὲ ῥάβδον.

There has been a long list of persistent advocates of an underlying Semitic original at this point: Marshall(34), Allen (35), Burney(36), Streeter(37) and Torrey (38). They all hold that ἑρῶταῖω are capable of being rendered either by εἰ μὴ or μηδὲ.

A NOTE ON MARK AND Q

Professor Dodd(39) has suggested that sometimes the differences between Mark and Q may be explained by reference to an Aramaic original. He points out that it is possible in the passage just considered. It would follow naturally if the variations in the threefold Markan tradition and the twofold tradition of Q are explicable in this way

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Mark VII.3 Diligently

πυγμαῖ

Lk. and Mt. omit.

After Black's sharp attack (40) on Torrey (41) for an attempted explanation of the difficult word before us, it may appear rash to offer a further suggestion.

Πυγμαῖ in Greek could most certainly stand for טבא in Hebrew, if a Hebrew original were behind our present text. G.F. Moore (42) affirms that the two 'correspond exactly'. In the LXX this correspondence may be seen in the Greek and Hebrew versions of Judges 11.16 and Ezekiel XXVII.11. Moore (43) explains the word as a 'short cubit', a cubit minus the fingers.

But, following Jastrow, the root טבא may also be used in Aramaic and with the same meaning. We believe that this offers us a clue to the solution of the difficult word. The explanation of the wa^{sh}ing πυγμαῖ, has never been satisfactory. It is doubtful if Lightfoot's explanation (44) revived by Black (45) will prove satisfying. In any case the adduced evidence from the Talmud is of such uncertain date that it must give rise to misgivings.

Our suggestion is that we have once more a confusion between τ and τ (46) In this particular passage it is noteworthy that there is an unusual insistence upon τ or tradition. In Aramaic this root would be τ , a word very close to τ which gave rise to the faithful but unimaginative translation over which we have stumbled for so long. In other words we may well believe Jesus to have said: The Pharisees and all the Jews, unless, according to tradition (τ) they wash their hands, eat not, thereby confirming the traditions of the elders.

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MARK VIII.33

Get thee behind me, Satan.

ܝܘܕܝܥ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ, ܫܬܢܐܢܐ.

LUKE omits

MATTHEW XVI.23

Get thee behind me, Satan.

ܝܘܕܝܥ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ, ܫܬܢܐܢܐ.

We have already seen (47) that the word *ܫܬܢܐܢܐ* is preserved for us in its Aramaic form. It is not unreasonable to enquire whether or not the remaining words are dependent upon an Aramaic original.

We believe that the evidence for this exists. In the Sinaitic Syriac of Matthew IV.10 where this phrase, Get thee behind me, occurs again (48), we notice that there is a slight change. The Syriac reads, Get thee behind thee.

Now this phrase *ܝܘܕܝܥ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ* is the normal Syriac idiom, found elsewhere in the Syriac (Mark XIII.16, Matthew XXIV.18 and John XVIII.6) meaning, to retire or withdraw (49). This is affirmed by Torrey (50) although he adduces no evidence in support of his statement. Manson (51) also holds this view and had kindly drawn my attention to a passage in Merx: Evangeliën nach ihren Ältesten Bekannten Texte on Matthew IV.10 where the same view is upheld. (52)

We should read therefore not *ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ* but *ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ* i.e. Get thee behind thee, Satan. Jesus was commanding the devil to withdraw, not to hide himself behind His back. Its literal translation into Greek was so unidiomatic that the pronoun was very naturally changed.

In Matthew IV.10 where the phrase occurs again, the Western text here has an inaccurate recollection of the original and *ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܡܘܨ* should be included in the text as in the Sinaitic (53) Syriac. It is another proof of Black's conviction that the Western text is nearer to the original than the Alexandrine text.

(An elaboration of this section has been accepted for publication by the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. May 1947.)

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MARK IX.18

pineth awaygrindeth his teeth: $\xi\gamma\mu\alpha\iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \dots \tau\gamma\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\iota$

LUKE IX.39

bruising him...departeth $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota \dots \delta\iota\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$

MATTHEW omits

The order is reversed to take the more likely variants first.

In the Massoretic text of the Old Testament the Hebrew root $\tau\eta\tau$ is translated by the Greek $\xi\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$ in Amos 11.9, but by $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ in Ezekiel XXXII.12.

It is possible therefore that in Aramaic a root might be found to explain the variations in the Markan tradition. As the Greek variations are not obvious parallels to one another, this attempt to go behind the Greek to the Semitic is justified. The root $\tau\eta\tau$ has been suggested. It is used in the Targum of Lam. IV.8 where the LXX reads $\xi\gamma\mu\alpha\iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ (54). It also means, break, smash, crumble (54).

Two other words which might also come from the same or some similar Semitic original are $\delta\iota\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\tau\gamma\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\iota$. $\delta\iota\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ might well derive from the root $\tau\eta\tau$ 'to flee, run' (55); and $\tau\gamma\acute{\iota}\beta\eta\iota$ might well derive from the root $\tau\eta\tau$ 'to set on edge (with β)'. to $g\ddot{a}nsh$, grind the teeth (56). The confusion of $\tau\eta\tau$ is vouchsafed for as early as Jerome (57).

MARK IX.20

They brought him $\eta\gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$

LUKE IX.42

As he was yet a coming $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota} \delta\epsilon \pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\phi\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$

MATTHEW omits

It is clear from early times that the words $\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\phi\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\eta\gamma\epsilon\gamma\alpha\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ may both render the same Semitic root. Consultation of the Concordance to the LXX by Hatch and Redpath indicates no less than four Hebrew verbs with these two renderings.

It is not unreasonable therefore to suggest that the variants here found found in Mark and Luke are due to the same cause. The Aramaic root was probably $\tau\eta\tau$. In the Targums it occurs in Num. XXVII.1 where the LXX reads $\epsilon\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$; and in Lev.1.3,14 where the LXX reads $\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$

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In Mt.VIII.5 where for the Greek $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\gamma\lambda\omicron\tau\upsilon$ we have the Syriac ܡܦܘ : but in VIII.16 the same Syriac is equivalent to the Greek $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\gamma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\upsilon$.

A modern illustration of the thesis here maintained may be found in the translations offered by Burkitt(58) and Mrs Lewis (59) of the same word (ܡܦܘ) in the Old Syriac version of Lk.IX.42. Mrs Lewis renders 'coming near': Burkitt renders 'bringing near'. If the same consonantal outline can be thus differently interpreted in modern times, there is no reason to doubt that it could be likewise translated in the early stages of the transmission of the Gospel records.

If this contention is true it may help to explain a variant reading in Mk.11.4. Already we have seen (60) that there are reasons for believing in the existence of a Semitic background to the text of this verse. It will be noted that while B. reads $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\iota$, D. reads $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\alpha\iota$. The same consonantal outline could well have resulted in the two translations that have come down to us through different textual traditions.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK

MARK XII.40

Make long prayers

μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι.

LUKE XX.47

Make long prayers

μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι.

MATTHEW XXIII.5

Make broad their phylacteries

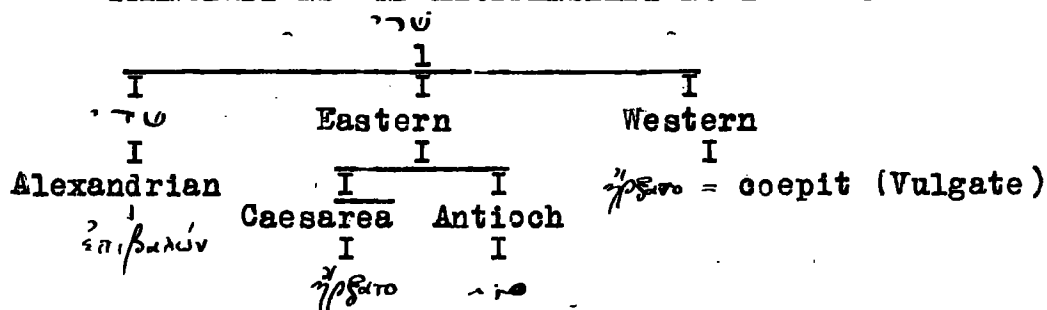
πλατύνουσιν γὰρ τὰ φυλακτηρία ἑαυτῶν.

Burney (61) draws attention to the suspicious resemblance between these two statements. In Syriac the root ܠܥ may mean both 'to make broad' and also 'to make verbose'. It is not impossible therefore that an underlying Aramaic ܠܥܢܐ would account for these variations.

The word for phylacteries (ܦܝܠܐܩܬܝܪܝܐ) is not the normal Aramaic word for prayers but it could be so interpreted by one one who was aware of the word as it occurs in New Hebrew.

Burney considers that Matthew has preserved the true rendering. Abrahams (62) thinks that the broadening was of the straps holding the phylacteries and not the phylacteries themselves. This would be parallel to the enlarging of the borders of their garments.

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The true reading therefore is $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$: the correct translation 'and he wept'.

The substance of this note appeared in an article by the writer published in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library in April 1937. It was not until November 1946 that he came across W.C.Allen's statement: Mark XIV.72 perhaps ⲓⲣⲱ (D has ⲓⲣⲱⲥⲁⲣⲁ) mis-read as ⲓⲣⲱ .(65)

Black ~~K&A~~ in his recent book on the Approach Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts refers to this suggestion but finds it unacceptable. He prefers to keep the difficult $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\nu$ and to translate, 'dashing out'. An earlier attempt has been to find its translation in a rare use from the papyri, 'to set to' (66); or, as Lagrange expresses it 'se mettre avec empressement' (67).

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Mark XVI.8 For they were afraid ἐφοβούτο γάρ -

Lk. and Mt. omit.

These words have been subjected to a prolonged study by Professor R.H.Lightfoot (68). He shews that it is now generally accepted that the Verses Mk.XVI.9-20 are by another hand from that responsible for the Gospel. The question then arises about the actual end of the Gospel. For long it has been maintained that the ending ... γάρ is quite impossible. Dr Hort championed this view and the vast majority of scholars have shared this conviction.

Further study however shews that such an ending is not impossible. Classical authors and the LXX both have sentences ending in γάρ (69). The Fathers and the Papyri have further examples of the same trait (70).

Lightfoot therefore believes that Wellhausen was correct when writing about the ending at XVI.8.: "nothing is wanting; it would be a pity if anything were added". And although on this occasion Wellhausen makes no reference to a Semitic original, Lightfoot concludes: "if we see in St Mark a writer translating at any rate occasionally from the Aramaic, it may be asked whether ἐφοβούτο γάρ would not seem to him a natural and literal rendering of the Aramaic equivalent of אָרְיָרָא .

The Sinaitic Syriac, we may add, ends at this point.

HEBREW POETRY

Ad plenum intellectum textus Dei, necessaria est scientia de metris et rhythmis. R. Bacon. (1)

All the customary devices of Hebrew poetic style are to be found in the discourses of Jesus.
T.W. Manson. (2)

As early as the time of Josephus, men had begun to see poetry in the Old Testament. Moses, he writes, composed in Hexameters a song to God to enshrine His praises (3). He also recited a poem in similar measures to his people and which he had bequeathed to the Temple (4). Nor are these the only references in Philo and Josephus to the subject (5).

The Fathers too repeated these assertions (6). Jerome affirmed that the main body of the Book of Job (111.6-XLII.6) was written in hexameters with dactyl and spondee. The Psalms on the other hand were written in such metres as those employed by Horace and Pindar (Preface to the Chronicle of Eusebius: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. St Jerome. p.484.)

But it was not until the sixteenth century that men began to approach an understanding of the true nature of Hebrew poetry. Rabbi Azariah di Rossi (7) (1514-1588) of Ferrara published a work in 1574 entitled the 'Light of the Eyes' (אור עינים) in which he put forward a theory of Hebrew rhythm claimed by Burney to be along the right lines. A little later a certain Father Gomar (8) published his 'Lyra Davidis seu N. Hebraeae S. Scripturae ars poetica'. The appearance of this book brought support and opposition from scholars like Buxtorf and Cappel. Jebb comments (9): By Gomar's rules any piece of writing could be reduced to every kind of metre. Later still Maibomius (10) declared that he would reveal the secrets of Hebrew metre if only he could find 'six millia curiosum hominum' who would subscribe five pounds each to his projected publication.

The honour of discovering the main characteristics of Hebrew poetry must go to Bishop Lowth (1710-1787) (11). In his Preliminary discourse to Isaiah he wrote: The correspondence of one verse, or line, with another I call Parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, in sense or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction, these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding lines parallel terms.

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He then went on to enumerate three main types of parallelism.

1. Parallela Synonyma (12)

When Israel came out of Egypt;
And the house of Jacob from among the strange people.
Psalm CXIV.1

2. PARALLELA ANTITHETA (13)

Faithful are the wounds of a friend,
But the kisses of an enemy are profuse.
Proverbs XXVII.6

3. PARALLELA SYNTHETICA (14)

The statutes of the Lord are right
and rejoice the heart:
The testimony of the Lord is sure
and giveth wisdom unto the simple.
Psalm XIX.7

Within each of these main groups of parallelism he allowed that variations existed.

The main propositions made by Lowth have held their ground. Bishop Jebb (1775-1833) was the next seriously to study the subject and the first to apply its principles to the New Testament (15). In particular he said the Sermon on the Mount was a poetical creation from beginning to end. In his main thesis he antedated Burns by at least a century, though Burney seems unaware of his predecessor. Jebb accepted the three main types of Parallelism suggested by Lowth but felt that Cognate parallelism (16) would be a more accurate description than Synonymous parallelism. He also added a fourth type which he called Introverted (17) parallelism. This he describes as follows: There are stanzas so constructed that whatever be the number of lines the first line shall be parallel with the last; the second with the penultimate, and so throughout, in an order that looks inward, or to borrow a military phrase, from flanks to centre. He quotes Psalm CXXIII:1,2.

Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes,
O thou that dwellest in the heavens;
Behold, as the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters,
As the eyes of a maiden to the hand of her mistress,
Even so look our eyes to Jehovah our God, until he have
mercy upon us.

In the last century further suggestions have been made on the

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~~last century further suggestions have been made on the nature of Hebrew poetry. Briggs (18) has suggested an Emblematic parallelism:~~

For they shall be cut down like the grass:
And be withered even as the green herb.
Ps. XXXVII.2

More convincing is the suggestion of Climactic, Step or Stair-like parallelism (19). This is particularly common in the more primitive verse such as the Song of Deborah.

Awake, awake, Deborah;
Awake, awake, after a song.
Jud.V.12.

Burney draws attention to various elaborations of these parallelisms (20).

QUATRAINS.

The Lord looketh down from heaven;
He beholdeth all the sons of men;
From the place of his habitation he looketh forth
Upon all the inhabitants of the earth.
Ps. XXXIII.13,14.

In such instances the parallelism is between the first and third lines, and between the second and fourth lines.

R H Y T H M (21)

Closely related to parallelism is the observance of rhythm. It will frequently be noted that the second line repeats term for term what appears in the first line:

Day	unto day	uttereth	speech,
Night	unto night	sheweth	knowledge.

Ps. XIX.2

Nor is this rhythmical structure confined to verses in synonymous parallelism. It appears also in antithetic parallelism:

They	are bowed down	and fallen,
But we	are risen	and stand upright.

Ps. XX.9

Not only does this rhythm appear in the Hebrew parts of the Old Testament, but also, in Burney's opinion, in the

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Aramaic parts of Daniel:

The Queen spake and said
 Let not thy thoughts trouble thee
 Nor let thy countenance be changed.
 Dan.V.10.

K I N A H

One very noticeable rhythm within the Old Testament is the Kinah rhythm. First discovered by Budde(22) it is used in verses of an elegaic nature, especially in Lamentations. In form it consists of a couplet in which the first line is marked by three accented syllables, and the second line by two.

A good example of this type of lament is found in Amos V.2 which Edghill renders as follows:

Fallen to rise no more, is
 The Virgin of Israel !
 Forsaken upon her own land,
 None to upraise her.

R H Y M E

Driver (24) considers that any occurrence of rhyme in the Hebrew of the Old Testament is purely accidental. Burney(25) holds quite a different view. In popular poetry the occurrence of rhyme, puns and other word play is extremely probable. An illustration of this is probably to be found in 1 Sam.XVIII.7

Saul has slain his thousands,
 And David his tens of thousands.

Hikka Sa'ul ba'alaphaw
 weDavid beribebitaw.

Further examples of this are visible in Jud.XVI.24, Gen. XXVII.29, and the Song of Songs.

A S S O N A N C E

Mrs Lewis long ago (26) drew attention to the fact that Semitic peoples delight in puns, in assonances and in jingles. The Koran derives much of its supposed sanctity from this phenomenon. Even ancient Babylonian royal decrees and more recent Arabic Law documents are characterised by it. The Old Testament is similarly affected.

For Gilgal shall have a galling exile
 And Bethel sink to be bethral (27)

So Moffatt tries to deal with a pun in Amos. Further instances adduced by Black (28) are Isaiah V.7, X.15, and LI.6. To these we would add Isaiah VII.9 noted by Wheeler Robinson in his last book, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament* p.105. n.6.

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Later Jewish writings preserve this characteristic. And in the Syriac versions it occurs in such a way as to lead to the belief that it is the product of the Originator and not of the translator.

These poetic devices, which are now generally accepted as existing in the Old Testament, have been briefly surveyed because they are the literary background to our Lord's own utterances. Most of the credit has gone to Burney for shewing that Jesus conformed to a well established practice. It is clear however that this credit should go rather to Bishop Jebb who, a hundred years earlier, ~~foresees these~~ anticipated Burney's main outline. Some of Jebb's friends shared his discoveries (29).

We pass now to a detailed consideration of the words of Jesus, examining them under the poetical forms already described.

Synonymous or Cognate Parallelism in Mark.

Is it lawful on the Sabbath day to do good, or to
do harm ?

To save a life, or to kill ?

Mk.111.4. Lk.VI.9.Mt.om.

Mark's use of *εὐφραίνω* (1) instead of *εὐφραίσω* which we find in Luke inclines us to take Mark's rendering.

Every kingdom divided against itself is brought
to desolation;

And a house divided against a house falleth.

Mk.111.24-25.Lk.XI.17.Mt.XII.25.

The Lukan version is here chosen because its very literalism betrays the underlying semitic poetry. Burney (2) considers the underlying Aramaic to be *כל ביתא על ביתא נפל*. Mark and Matthew give a more likely interpretation.(3)

All their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men,
And their blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme:
But whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit
hath never forgiveness,

But is guilty of an eternal sin.

Mark 111.28-29.

Sons of men. An Aramaic expression (vid. sup.p.50.) which is found only here in the Gospels.(4)

Matthew casts the saying into the Antithetic form. There is a similar saying in Q.(5)

For there is nothing hid save that it should be manifested,
Neither was anything made secret, but that it should
come to light(6)

Mk.IV.22.Lk.VIII.37.Mt.om.

This parallelism, which Lagrange (7) describes as 'presque synonymique' illustrates aptly the thesis of Bishop Jebb that some other term like cognate is required to describe this type of poetry (8).

Burney (9) following Wellhausen, considers that the Greek *τις μὴ ᾔδει* is a mistranslation of the Aramaic *τ*. Mark's mistranslation is kept because it preserves the hint of the semitic background. Luke rightly renders (10):

For nothing is hid that shall not be made manifest,
Nor anything secret, that shall not be known and come to
light.

.....

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

How shall we liken the Kingdom of God,
Or in what parable shall we set it forth?
Mk.IV.30:Lk.XIII.18: Mt.om.

This poetical formula is reminiscent of Deuteronomy-Isaiah XL.18:-

To whom then will ye liken God?
Or what likeness will ye compare unto Him?

.....

Do ye not perceive neither understand?
Have ye your heart hardened?
Having eyes see ye not?
And having ears hear ye not?
And do ye not remember?

Mk.VIII.17,18.

.....

If any man wisheth to come after me
let him deny himself
And let him take up his cross daily
and come after me.

Mk.VII.34:Lk.IX.23:Mt.XVI.24.

Burney's translation of the Lukan version is given here. It is felt that his preservation of 'daily' is more faithful to the original (II). The saying is couched in the Kinah rhythm. We shall meet this more extensively later (12). Dalman (13) translated the passage as follows (omitting daily):-

bar nasha deba'e mehallakha bateray
yehe khaphar begarmeh
weyitan selibeh ()
weyete bateray.

For selibeh (x 1.54) Torrey (14) would read x 2.11 and render it not with the normal translation of 'cross' but by 'yoke'. The suggestions seems somewhat subjective.

.....

How long shall I be with you?
How long shall I bear with you?

Mk.IX.19:Lk.IX.41:Mt.XVII.17.

It may be noted that Luke destroys the parallelism here by substituting 'and' for 'how long' in the second part of the verse.

.....

Suffer the little children
And forbid them not to come unto me.

Mk.X.14:Lk.XVIII.16:Mt.XIX.14.

The Matthaean version is followed for poetic reasons. Mark and Luke read: Suffer the little children to come unto me; forbid them not.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

So far the illustrations of synonymous or cognate parallelism have been short, consisting usually of a single couplet. We come now to what Burney (15) considers to be the most striking example of this type of parallelism:-

Mark X.

38. Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink ?
Or to be baptised with the baptism that I am
baptised with ?
39. The cup that I drink ye shall drink;
And the baptism that I am baptised withal shall
ye be baptised:
40. But to sit on my right hand or on my left is
not mine to give :
But it is for them for whom it hath been prepared.
42. They which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles
lord it over them;
And their great ones exercise authority over them.
43. ~~But whosoever would be first among you, shall
be servant of all~~
43. But whosoever would become great among you,
shall be your minister:
44. And whosoever would be first among you,
shall be servant of all.
45. For verily the son of man came not to be
ministered unto but to minister,
And to give his life a ransom for many.
Mk.X.38. ff; Lk.om; Mt.XX.22. ff.

Notes.

38. I drink (Εἶνόν τίνω): McNeille (16) thinks that this represents the Aramaic participle, which is rightly interpreted here by Matthew (17).

39. Dalman considers that the exalted style of these verses suggests an Aramaic original. ~~The style appears to have been suggested by passages like Psalm XI, 6 and Psalm XVI, 5.~~

40. Hatch (18) states that this is one of the few verses in the New Testament where the normal translation of a Greek word, in this case 'prepared', is not adequate. With this Dalman agrees (19) and suggest that it is a rendering of מָנָח. This word is used in passages with a messianic significance. Not dissimilar is its use in Pirke Aboth 111.1: Keep in view...before whom thou art (אָתָּה מָנָח) to give strict account. When the word appears in the Old Testament it is often rendered by *σπουδάζω* or *ἐτοιμάζω* (20).

42-44. Manson (The Teaching of Jesus p.313.) offers his own translation of these verses, bringing out more clearly their poetic nature:

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM IN MARK

Much of the gnomis poetry in the Old Testament is written in Antithetic form. In the Book of Proverbs there are large sections written wholly in this style (22).

The teaching of Jesus often uses the same form when giving expression to the more proverbial type of saying.

The Sabbath was made for man,
And not man for the Sabbath.

Mk.11.27.

This saying is peculiar to Mark and thoroughly in accord with the spirit of Rabbinic teaching (23).

.....

For he that hath, to him shall be given,
And he that hath not, from him shall be
taken away even that which he hath.

Mk.IV.25

Matthew's version is slightly different and comes in a different context. Dalman translates it into Aramaic as follows:

man de'it leh yehabin leh umittosaph leh,
uman delet leh uph nasebin ~~ma~~ minneh ma de'it leh (24)

Swete (25) comments on the proverbial nature of the saying, likewise Dalman (26) and Lagrange (27).

.....

Ye leave the commandment of God,
And hold fast the tradition of men.

Mk.VII.8

Ye reject the commandment of God,
That ye may keep your tradition.

Mk.VII.9

There is nothing from without the man,
that going into him can defile him:
But the things that proceed out of the man
are those that defile the man.

Mk.VII.15

Commenting on this last saying Manson (28) says: "Mk.VII.15 is a sentence of ethical wisdom similar to many of the sayings in the Book of Proverbs and, like them, cast in the form of a couplet whose two lines stand in antithetic parallelism".

.....

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM IN MARK

For whosoever would save his life shall lose it,
 And whosoever shall lose his life for my sake
 (and the Gospel's) shall save it.
Mk.VIII.35.

Burney thinks that the words 'and the Gospel's' overweight the line (29) and should be omitted. We would go further and suggest that if poetic considerations are to affect the text the phrase 'for my sake' should also be omitted, ~~as it is in Luke.~~ ~~There~~ we read:

Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it;
 But whosoever shall lose it shall preserve it.
Lk.IX.24

In Aramaic this would be:

man demhhe naphsheh mawbed lah
 uman demawbed naphsheh mahhe lah.

.....

What therefore God hath joined together,
 Let not man put asunder.

Mk. IX.9

.....

With man it is impossible,
 (But not with God)
 For all things are possible with God.

Mk.X.27.

In the saying preserved in Matthew and Luke, the phrase 'But not with God' is omitted. Poetic considerations support this omission (30).

.....

Many that are first shall be last
 And the last first.

Mk.X.31.

.....

My house shall be called a house of prayer for all
 nations,
 But ye have made it a den of thieves.

Mk.XI.17.

This is a good illustration of Jebb's anticipatory work (31) on the Poetry of our Lord. Writing about these lines (32) he says: 'Here is a parallel couplet of the antithetical kind'. He goes on to point out that the saying is compounded of two passages from the Old Testament and concludes: 'So to bring together such materials, and out of them to construct a sentence thus antithetically pointed, and, as all the

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM IN MARK

readers of the Gospel and Jewish history know, most applicable to the occasion, argues no ordinary familiarity with the characters of men, and with the style of Hebrew poetry.

.....

Heaven and earth shall pass away,
But my words shall not pass away.
Mk.XIII.31

.....

For ye have the power always with you
(And whosoever ye will ye can do them good)
But me ye have not always.
Mk.XIV.7.

The second line, absent in Matthew and Luke, would appear to break the parallelism.(33)

.....

The spirit indeed is willing,
But the flesh is weak.
Mk.XIV.38.

CLIMACTIS PARALLELISM IN MARK

Whosoever shall receive this little child in my name,
 receiveth me:
 And whosoever shall receive me,
 receiveth him that sent me.
 Mk.IX.37.

COMPOUND PARALLELISM IN MARK

Manson holds (34) that the principle of parallelism goes much further than Burney has shewn. It covers not only couplets and quatrians, but much larger aggregates, each containing several clauses. He adduces instances from all four sources but especially from Q. From Mark he takes 11.21-22, which (in the Matthaean version) is also considered to come from an Aramaic source by Lagrange (35).

New patch on old garment.

No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on an
 old garment:

Else that which should fill it up taketh from it,
 The new from the old,
 And a worse rent is made.

New wine in old wineskins

And no man putteth new wine into old wine skins,
 Else the wine will burst the skins,
 And the wine perisheth and the skins,
 But they put new wine into fresh wineskins.

FOUR BEAT RHYTHM IN MARK

For they shall deliver you up to councils;
 And in synagogues shall ye be beaten;
 And before governors and kings,
 Shall ye stand for my sake.
 And ~~they~~ when they lead you up to judgment
 And deliver you up,
 Be not anxious beforehand,
 What ye shall speak.
 But whatsoever shall be given you in that hour,
 That speak ye:
 For it is not ~~that~~ ye that speak,
 But the Holy Ghost.

FOUR BEAT RHYTHM IN MARK

And brother shall deliver up,
 Brother to death.
 And children shall rise up
 Against parents and cause them to be put to death.
 And ye shall be hated of all men,
 For my name's sake:
 But he that endureth to the end,
 The same shall be saved.
 Mk.XIII. 9-13.

KINAH IN MARK (36)

Can the sons of the bridechamber mourn,
 As long as the bridegroom is with them ?
 (As long as they have the bridegroom with them
 They cannot fast (37)
 But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken
 away from them,
 And then will they fast.

And no man putteth a piece of undressed cloth
 Upon an old garment.
 For that which should fill it up taketh from the garment,
 And a worse rent is made.

Neither do men puttew wine
 Into old wine skins:
 Else the skins burst,
 And the wine is spilled
 But they put new wine into fresh wine skins;
 And both are preserved.
 Mt. IX.15-17 (Mk.11.19-22.)

PROVERBS IN MARK

While considering the poetry of our Lord, it is not inappropriate to consider his use of proverbs, themselves a simple form of poetry. Some of them we shall find have already been mentioned in our consideration of the various forms which we have examined.

Among the reputed proverbs used by Jesus there are some which parallel closely those known in Hebrew or Aramaic literature. There are probably others with no such parallels.

PROVERBS IN MARK

With what measure ye mete it, it shall be measured unto you. Mark, IV.24

Dalman (38) gives a number of parallels to this proverb. Montefiore (39) indeed complains that "the words about measure and meting are much too Rabbinic". The suggested Aramaic is:

Bī'ekhileta deattun mekhilin bah yekhilun lekhn.(40)

.....

Salt is good

But if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith shall ye season it ?

Have salt in yourselves.(41)

Mk.IX.50.

The use of salt in proverbial expressions is frequent. Strack and Billerbeck are eloquent on the matter(42); and Wetstein (43) gives numerous ^{illustrations} from classical literature. In Aramaic we might have:

in milha seri bema malehin yateh (44).

.....

It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. Mk.X.25.

In Aramaic : Kallila legamla deye'ol benukba dimehatta wela le'attira deye'ol lemalkuta.(45)

Variations of this saying are common in Rabbinic literature. Lightfoot (46) and Dalman(47) both give examples.

.....

There is inevitably a good deal of speculation about proverbs which Jesus may have used but for which no parallels have yet been found. In this category Dalman includes Mk.IV.22:

There is nothing hid save that it should be manifested. Aramaic: Let temir dela yitgele (48).

.....

Another saying which has all the force of a proverbial use is Mark VI.46

A prophet is not without honour save in his own country.

Dalman(49) and Smith(50) extend this list considerably.

ASSONANCE IN MARK

It is probable that Black is too subtle (51) in detecting alliteration, assonance and spononomasia in the originals of the Synoptic Sources. In the parables of Ch.4. of Mark he gives twelve verses in which he detects this form of word play. But some of the examples would occur in a large number of languages: sower...sow (v.3); thorns...thorns(v.7); growth growth up...becometh greater (v.32).

The best example is probably from v.29 though even here Manson's suggestion (alluded to on p.51) would decrease the number of examples of word play from three to two.

But when the fruit is ripe,
Straightway he putteth forth the sickle,
Because the harvest is come.

This he renders in Aramaic as follows:

Kadh yehibha (Manson, sh.l.m) šibbah
shallah magla dēnasadha 'abbibh.

In reply to John's statement: Master we saw one casting out devils in thy name and we forbade him.....Jesus replied (Mk.IX.39.) in words, rendered into Aramaic, which give several illustrations of word play. Black instances:

quickly to speak evil of me..
beqalliluth le'aqqluthi

v.39

A further example of spononomasia is detected by Black in the incident of the cleansing of the Temple.

My house shall be called a house of prayer..
But ye have made it a den of robbers

XI.17

He renders 'house of prayer', beth selutha: and 'den of robbers', me'arta delestin.

THE POETRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST IN MARK

If Jesus makes use of a current practice when he employs the forms of Semitic poetry, then we are justified in searching the Gospels for poetic forms outside the words of Jesus.

So far, all our examples of parallelism and rhythm are taken from the sayings of our Lord. But when we turn to the recorded sayings of John the Baptist, we find that he too uses parallelism.

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM

I baptised you with water;
But he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost.
Mk.1.8

THE POETRY OF THE DISCIPLES

The disciples too were not unaware of this parallelism. Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately

Tell us,
When shall these things be ?
And what the sign when these things are all about
to be accomplished ?
Mk.XIII.4

POPULAR POETRY

The crowds that went before and followed Jesus into Jerusalem when he made his triumphal entry cried :

Hosanna
Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;
Blessed is the kingdom that cometh...of our father David
Hosanna in the highest.
Mk.XI.9-10.

Similarly when they mocked him on the cross:

Ha! Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three
days,
Save thyself and come down from the cross.
Mk.XV.29-30.

5

THE POETRY OF THE CHIEF PRIETS SCRIBES AND ELDERS IN MARK

The authoritative teachers of the day would wish their teaching not to differ in form from that of this new authoritative teacher who had suddenly come into their midst. They couch their question to Him in poetic form:

By what authority doest thou these things ?
 Or who gave thee this authority to do these things ?
 Mk.XI.28

Likewise, the Pharisee and Herodians are equally measured in their question :

Master,

We know that thou art true,
 And carest not for any one :
 For thou regardest not the person of men,
 But of a truth teachest the way of God.
 Mk.XII.14

Hudson (E.T.LIII.p.265.) notes that in the Sinaitic Syriac these words appear in almost perfect tetrameters.

Q

The only case in which we can feel fairly confident that a written Aramaic source lies behind the Gospels is that of the document Q.

Manson T.W.

E.T. xlvii.p.10.

THE CONTENTS OF Q

In view of the various limits assigned to the source Q, the reconstruction given by Streeter is followed here.(1)

St. Luke	St Luke
III. 2-9 16-17 21-22	XII. 1a-12 22-59
IV. 1-16a	XIII. 18-35
VI. 20-49	XIV. 26-27 34-35
VII. 1-10 18-35	XVI. 13 16-18
IX. 57-60	XVII. 1-6 20-37
X. 2-16 21-24	XIX. 11-27
XI. 9-52	

TRANSLITERATIONS IN Q

There are no transliterations in Q which are accompanied by an explanation. We find a number of the same transliterations silently incorporated which we have already examined in Mark: Amen, Beelzebul, Gehenna, Pharisees and Satan (2).

Three transliterations not already considered remain: Mammon, saton and sukaminos.

MAMMON Μαμμωνας (3)

Before the writing of the Gospels there is no known surviving example of the word μαμμωνας . When the translator of Ecclesiasticus met it in Hebrew he rendered it by $\chiρουισω$. The Hebrew occurs also in the Zadokite fragments⁽⁴⁾ and in Pirke Aboth (5).

Jerome and Augustine both believed that the word had a Semitic origin. Jerome wrote: Nam gentili Syrorum lingua Mammon divitiae nuncupantur. (6). Augustine tells us that it is the Punic for 'lucrum'. (7)

This Semitic origin is supported by modern scholarship. Professor G.R. Driver (8) writes that the word is ultimately derived from the Accadian Mimma and Memmeni, 'anything', whence mimmu meaning 'property'. The Hebrew form of the word is מִמָּוָה ; the Greek form μαμμωνας . We are inclined to think that the word probably existed also in Aramaic and that the Greek is immediately dependent upon it. The ending - ας - is the same as we have already seen in Σατανας . Had the Greek transliterated straight from the Hebrew we should have had μαμμων just as the LXX rendered יוב by Γαταυ .

SATON Σατον (9)

Once again we have a word unknown to pre-Christian Greek. It occurs in the latest books of the LXX and in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus (10). In earlier times the underlying Hebrew is translated by מִסְרֹן (11). The transliteration is found also in Josephus.

The Greek is probably based immediately on the Aramaic form of the word סַטְוֹ rather than on the Hebrew form סַטָּן . Jerome's comment on the word is: Satum genus est mensurae iuxta morem Palaestinae provinciae (13)

Sukaminos : Συκᾶμινος (14)

The passage in which this occurs (Lk XVII.6) is the only place in the New Testament where the 'sycamine tree' is mentioned. Συκᾶμινος in Greek properly means the mulberry tree. In the LXX, it is used to translate the Hebrew שִׁטָּה. Manson believes that in the present instance Συκᾶμινος is a mistranslation in Q of the Aramaic שִׁטָּה due to Q's faithful copying of his source (15).

PLACE NAMES IN Q

The geographical horizon of Q is bounded by Galilee.

Harnack.

PLACE NAMES IN Q

Q mentions a number of places which we have already met in Mark: Bethsaida (Lk.X.13), Capernaum (Lk.VII.1.& X.15), Israel (Lk.VII.9), Jerusalem (Lk.IV.9 & XIII.34(2)) and Jordan (Lk IV.1) and Nazareth (Lk.IV.16). Of these, ~~only~~ Jerusalem calls for further comment. For while Q does not introduce us to the place for the first time, his spelling of the word is noticeable. Instead of giving the current form of the word as it was known in the Pagan world, he employs the more conservative and traditional form. Masterman thinks(16) this this archaic form reflects the usage of Jesus Himself. Plummer (17) and McNeile(18) share this point of view. Q's spelling of Nazareth (Ναζαρεθ) is different from that preserved in Mark (Ναζαρετ).

Of the remaining place names, four are such as a devout student of the scriptures would easily know: Nineveh (Lk.XI.31-32) Sidon (Lk X.13,14), Sodom (Lk.X.12) and Tyre (Lk.X.13,14).

One place alone remains, Chorazin (19). There is no known reference to it in either earlier or contemporary literature. Jerome tells us that it was two miles from Capernaum(20) and the Talmud (21) informs us that it was famous for its wheat. Recent archaeology however confirm the existence of the place about an hour's climb above Capernaum (22). An ancient synagogue built there in the third century has left its ruins and among them a 'Moses' seat', to which we shall refer when we come to consider its occurrence in Mt.XXIII.2 (23)

PERSONAL NAMES IN Q

Unlike Mark, Q, mentions very few people contemporaneous with his records. He only refers to John the Baptist and Jesus:-

Baptist	Luke VII.20, 33
John	Luke III.16, VII.18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 29, 33. XVI.18
Jesus	Luke IV.4, 12, IX.58.

All other personal names are borrowed from the Old Testament,

PERSONAL NAMES IN Q

~~WITH~~T

with the possible exception of Zachariah (Lk.XI.51):-

Abel	Lk.XI.51
Abraham	111.8(2),XIII.28
Isaac	XIII.28
Jacob	XIII.28
Noah	XVII.26,27
Solomon	XI.31(2),XII.27

ZACHARIAH

Luke XI.51 Zachariah
 Matthew XXIII.35 Zachariah son of Barachiah

The identity of Zachariah has long been uncertain. Chrysostom crystallises the possibilities as follows : Who is this Zacharias ? Some say he is the Father of John; others the prophet; others a ~~man~~ priest with a twofold name who is called Joda in the scriptures (24).

The first of these possibilities is the one put forward by the Protevangelium of James (25). The third is due to a mistaken recollection of 2 Chron.XXIV.20 where Zechariah is the son of Jehoiada. The remaining one corresponds to the author of the book of that name where we read (Zech.1.1) ~~that~~ that he was the son of Berechiah. This is what the Matthaean editor of Q obviously thought..

In more recent times a fourth possibility has been suggested from a passage in Josephus (26). During the Jewish War, he writes, "The Zealots instituted mock trials and courts of justice. They had determined to put to death Zacharias, son of Baris (or Barisocaeus), one of the most eminent of the citizens" (27).

Chapman (28) submits both these passages in Luke and Matthew to a most exhaustive examination. He concludes :X "We have no quotation in Q from a book of Wisdom written after the siege of Jerusalem nor from a Christian prophet of 69;...there is no interpolation in the two passages,...the Zachariah who is mentioned is the son of Jehoiada, who called upon God to look upon his blood and to require it". This satisfies 2 Chron. XXIV.22 and Jewish tradition which made much of the murder of this Zachariah.(29)

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN Q

When we come to examine the translations and mistranslations that may exist in Q, there is a body of authority behind the suggested emendations which is most impressive: Manson (1), Badcock (2), Burney (3), Torrey (4), and Nestle (5).

In the present enquiry we shall strive to understate the case. We shall leave out of account many passages which are identical in both versions of Q but which nevertheless have strong marks of dependence upon a Semitic background. Of such a passage as Luke XII.2.-9. Burney can say: "No scholar can study such a passage as this without arriving at a clear conviction that we have either in it the literal translation of an Aramaic original, or that the ipsissima verba of our Lord in Aramaic were branded in the hearts of His hearers and reproduced with reverential exactitude amounting to virtual translation". Equally emphatic is Dr. Badcock's judgement in a recent number of the Church Quarterly Review (7). He considers that an Aramaic original for Q is beyond dispute from the examples he gives.

Luke 11.16

I am not worthy to unloose οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς λύσαι

Matthew 11.11

I am not worthy to bear οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς βαστάσαι

Manson (8) has suggested that a single Aramaic word may underlie unloose and bear. Torrey (9) gives this as ܠܦܘ, which means not only 'to carry' but also to 'take off', e.g. a coat.

Luke VI.22

cast out your name as evil ἐκβάλλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν.

Matthew V.11

say all manner of evil εἰπώσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν.

In the opinion of Wellhausen (10) the same Aramaic could well be translated in the two ways offered by Luke and Matthew.

Luke VI.23

Their fathers οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν

Matthew V.12

which were before you τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN Q

An Aramaic original, with a ^{slight} single variation of reading, well explains these differences. Their fathers would be
 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ : (which) were before you would be יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

Luke VII.8

under authority

ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας

Matthew VIII.9

under authority

ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας

Although the words are the same in both records, the sentiment is so surprising that we may well ask if it is correct. We need a statement to the effect that the centurion too, in his sphere, is a man in authority and able to give orders.

Manson (12) has shewn recently that an underlying Aramaic מְיָרִיב means not only 'under' but also 'in place of' (13). What the centurion really said was: I am the representative of the Roman government and therefore well able to give orders.

Luke VII.34

Son of Man

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Matthew XI.19

Son of Man

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

We have already considered this phrase when it occurred in Mark. In Q. another shade of meaning is added. Manson (14) has pointed out that in certain cases in Galilean Aramaic the phrase אֲנִי אֲמַר was used as a substitute for 'I'. He suggests that the Aramaic אֲנִי אֲמַר was similarly used. This restores a perfect parallelism:

There came John neither eating nor drinking,
 Then came Myself both eating and drinking.

Manson goes on to suggest that this meaning is applicable to Luke XI.30 and Matthew XII.40. (15).

Luke X.5

Peace be unto this house

שְׁלָמָה לְבֵית הַזֶּה.

Matthew X.12

Salute it

אַסְלָמְאוּ אֹתָהּ.

Luke alone among New Testament writers uses שְׁלָמָה to signify absence from war. In the present instance however it is

clearly the oriental greeting. McLachlan (16) holds that it is the Aramaic form of that greeting, which is further proved by the following words: And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it.

Luke XI.41

Give for alms

δότε εἰς ἑλεησίνην

Matthew XXIII.26

cleanse

καθαρίσον

Dr. Black (17), usually very cautious, considers that Wellhausen's suggestion here has survived criticism. The suggestion is that the original Aramaic כֹּחַ was rightly taken by Matthew to mean cleanse, but misread by Luke as כֹּחַ and therefore translated, give alms. Burney is a little bolder and says that the original כֹּחַ could have both meanings and that our Lord originally said כֹּחַ אֲנִי: that which is within, purify.

Luke XI.42

mint and rue and every herb

τὸ ἕδυσμον καὶ τὸ ἀνηθάνον καὶ πᾶν ἄχρον.

Matthew XXIII.23

mint and anise and cummin

τὸ ἕδυσμον καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον.

This is the variant, according to Nestle (18), which proves conclusively that "one of the sources used by Luke was Semitic... without a possibility of contradiction". The Aramaic for rue is כֹּחַ: the Aramaic for anise is כֹּחַ. It is Matthew, says Nestle, who preserves the original reading.

Luke XII.46

cut him asunder

διχοτομήσει

Matthew XXIV.51

cut him asunder

διχοτομήσει

Once again we have a passage which, if taken literally, makes no sense. A slave so punished can receive no further punishment. So far as is known the word is not used of punishment, ~~and the English translators show their diffidence by adding brackets to the text to give some sort of meaning.~~ Bedcock (19) suggests that the normal translation of the underlying Aramaic gives the right meaning: "he shall divide to him his portion with.."

Luke XIV.26

Cannot be my disciple

οὐ δύναται εἶναι μετ' ἐμοῦ μαθητής

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN Q

Matthew X.37

is not worthy of me

οὐκ ἔσται μου ἄξιος

Jesus was so fundamentally opposed to the whole scribal system that Manson (20) believes He would refrain from using words associated with it. He would not use such a word as to describe His followers. Rather, as a carpenter, He used the word for apprentice, אָבִיב. It is this word which was misunderstood by Matthew and translated as though it were ~~from~~ אָבִיב, (is not) worthy of me.

Luke XVI.16

is preached

עֲבָדָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

Matthew XI.12

suffereth violence

בִּיבָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

Marshall(21) has suggested that these widely different words in similar contexts may best be explained by reference to the Aramaic source. The word עֲבָדָה means is preached. This was easily mis-read or mis-heard as בִּיבָה, suffereth violence. The change from ע to ב is readily explicable on philological grounds (cf. *עבד* Wright. Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. p.58.)

CONCLUSION

This is not an ^{exhaustive} exclusive list of possibilities. Burkitt (22) is quite convinced that we should add Matthew X.32. Abrahams (23) sees a definitely Semitic original to the well known 'O ye of little faith'. Nestle (24) sees an Aramaic confusion between cities כְּרִסְיָא (Lk.XIX.17) and talents כְּרִסְיָא (Matthew XXV.20).

For parts at least of Q it is becoming clear that there is an Aramaic original. ~~Stanton long ago affirmed that the original Aramaic of Q was for the Samaritan community, one for Greeks and one for Jews. (25)~~

THE POETRY OF Q

Jesus was entirely a Palestinian Jew, who had no acquaintance beyond the Hebrew and Aramaic literature created in Palestine.

Klausner. From Jesus to Paul.p.583.

THE POETRY OF Q

A large part of Q consists of the teaching of Jesus. It is not surprising therefore to find that every form of poetic diction is present in His recorded words. We shall find each type of parallelism: synonymous or cognate, antithetic, a minori ad maius, synthetic, climactic, compound. We shall find passages of an elegaic nature in Kinah rhythm; we shall find illustrations of three and four beat rhythm. Assonance and proverbial sayings will also be detected.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

Love your enemies,
Do good to them that hate you,
Bless them that curse you,
Pray for them that despitefully use you.(1)
Lk.VI.27-28: Mt.V.44.

.....

To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek,
Offer also the other;
And from him that taketh away thy cloke,
Withold not thy coat also.
Lk. VI.29: Mt.V.39.

Manson thinks that the Luken rendering here is the more accurate because it preserves the parallelism, the rhythm and the rhyme.(2).

.....

For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good,
And sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.
Lk. VI.35.b: Mt.V.45.

The Matthaean version is followed here for poetic reasons. It is difficult to see why Luke, with his universal sympathies, destroyed this beautiful expression which could hardly not be original (3).

.....

A disciple is not above his master,
Nor a servant above his lord,
It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master,
And the servant as his lord.
Lk.VI.40: Mt.X.24-25.

The Matthaean version is followed here because Luke omits the parallel stichos in each couplet.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM IN Q

Ask and it shall be given you;
 Seek and ye shall find;
 Knock and it shall be opened unto you.

For every one that asked receiveth;
 And he that seeketh findeth;
 And to him that knocketh it shall be opened.(4)
 Lk. XI. 9-10: Mt. VII. 7-8.

.....

He that is not with me is against me,
 And he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.(5)
 Lk. XI. 23: Mt. XII. 30.

.....

For ye build the tombs of the prophets,
 And your fathers killed them.(6)
 Lk. XI. 47: Mt. XXIII. 29.

.....

Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat;
 Nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on;
 For the life is more than food,
 And the body than raiment.
 Lk. XII. 22-23: Mt. VI. 25.

The Lukan version is preferred here. Matthew's addition, 'or what ye shall drink', destroys the parallelism. Bishop Jebb seems to have been the first to apply this criterion to discover the true reading (7).

.....

The Lord of that servant shall come in a day when he
 expecteth not,
 And in an hour when he knoweth not,
 And cut him asunder,
 And appoint his portion with the unfaithful.
 Lk. XII. 46: Mt. XXIV. 50-51

See comment on p. 89.

.....

The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence,
 And men of violence take it by force.
 Lk. XVI. 16: Mt. XI. 12

Burney differs here from Marshall (vid. sup. p. 90.) and prefers the Matthaean version (8).

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM IN Q

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,
Where moth and rust doth consume,
And where thieves break through and steal:

But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,
Where neither moth nor rust doth consume,
And where thieves do not break through and steal. (9)
Lk.XII.33 : Mt.VI.19,20

Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth ?
I tell you, Nay; but rather division.
Lk.XII.51.

A MINORI AD MAIUS
KAL WAHOMER

Rabbi Hillel, who died shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, formulated seven rules of logic. Among them was one he called *minori ad maius* i.e. arguing from the less to the greater. (10). It characterises some of the utterances of Jesus.

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye,
And considerest not the beam that is in thine own ?
Or how canst thou say to thy brother,
Brother, let me cast out the mote that is in thine own eye,
When thou beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye.
Thou hypocrite !
Cast out first the beam out of thine own eye,
And then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote
that is in thy brother's eye.

Lk.VI.41,42: Mt VII.3-5.

Matthew's version has been followed here.

.....

If ye then being evil know how to give good gifts to
your children,
How much more shall your heavenly Father give good gifts to them
that ask Him.
Lk.XI.13: Mt.VII.II.

Burney considers Matthew original here and Luke interpretative (11)

SYNTHETIC PARALLELISM IN Q

I came to cast fire upon the earth;
 And what will I, if it is already kindled ?
 But I have a baptism to be baptised with;
 And how am I straightened till it be accomplished !
 Lk.XII.49-50: Mt.om.

CLIMACTIC PARALLELISM

He that heareth you heareth me,
 And he that rejecteth you, rejecteth me;
And he that rejecteth me, rejecteth him that sent me.
 Lk.X.16: Mt.X.40.

An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign;
And a sign shall not be given it save the sign of
 Jonah the prophet.
 (Burney's translation.)
 Lk. XI.29: Mt.XII.39.

The lamp of the body is the eye,
If therefore thine eye be single

.....
 Lk.VI.34: Mt.VI.22

But I will warn you whom ye shall fear:
Fear him, which after he hath killed...
 Lk.XII.5: cf. Mt.X.28.

COMPOUND PARALLELISM

Woe unto thee, Chorazin !
 Woe unto thee, Bethsaida !
 For if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon,
 which were done in you,
 They would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth
 and ashes.
 Howbeit it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon
 in the judgment than for you.
 And thou Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven ?
 Thou shalt be brought down unto Hades. (12).
 Lk.X.13-15.

the
 The queen of the south shall rise in judgment
 with the men of this generation and condemn them,
 For she came from the ends of the earth to hear
 the wisdom of Solomon
 And lo, a greater than Solomon is here.

COMPOUND PARALLELISM IN Q

The men of Nineveh shall rise in the Judgment
 with this generation and condemn it,
 For they repented at the preaching of Jonah
 and lo, a greater than Jonah is here (13).
 Lk.XI.3-32

.....

Consider the ravens,
 That they sow not neither reap;
 Which have no store chamber nor barn;
 And God feedeth them:

Of how much more value are ye than the birds.

Consider the lilies how they grow:
 They toil not neither do they spin;
 Yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all
 his glory was not arrayed like one of these.
 But if God so clothe the grass
 in the field which today is
 And tomorrow is cast into the oven,

How much more (shall he clothe) you, O ye of little faith.

Lk.XII.24-27: Mt.VI.28-30.

.....

Unto what is the kingdom of God like ?
 And whereunto shall I liken it ?
 It is like unto a grain of mustard seed,
 Which a man took and cast into his own garden;
 And it grew and became a tree;
 And the birds of heaven lodged in the branches thereof.

Whereunto shall I liken the kingdom of God ?
 It is like unto leaven,
 Which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal,
 Till it was all leavened (15).

Lk.XIII.18-20

COMPOUND PARALLELISM IN Q

And as it happened in the days of Noah,
 So shall it be in the days of the Son of Man:
 They ate, they drank,
 They married, they gave in marriage,
 Till the day when Noah went into the ark
 And the deluge came and destroyed them all.

Likewise as it happened in the days of Lot;
 They ate, they drank,
 They bought, they sold,
 They planted, they built,
 But in the day when Lot went forth from Sodom,
 Fire and brimstone rained from heaven and destroyed them all.

Just so shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is
 revealed. (16)
 Lk.XVII.26-30.

K I N A H

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets,
 And stoneth them that are sent unto her,
 How often would I have gathered,
 Thy children together
 Even as a hen gathereth her chickens
 Under her wings

And ye would not.

Behold your house is left
 Unto you desolate.

Lk.XIII.34-35: Mt .XXIII.37-39

- Burney considers that Matthew preserves more accurately the original. The words, 'and ye would not' he compares to a ~~ugh~~ sigh between verses (17)

THREE BEAT RHYTHM IN Q

I thank thee, O Father,
 Lord of heaven and earth,
 That thou didst hide these things from the wise,
 And didst reveal them unto babes:
 Yea Father;
 For so it was well pleasing in thy sight,

All things have been delivered unto me of my Father:
 And no man knoweth who the Son is, save the Father;
 And ~~no man~~ who the Father is, save the Son,
 And he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.
 Lk.X.21-22: Mt.XI.25-27

Burney translates as follows and draws attention to the rhyming couplets.

Modena lak 'abba
 Mare dismayya ude'ar'a
 ditmart hallen min hakkimin
 we gallit 'innun letalyin
 'in abba
 dikden ra'awa k^adamak

kulla mesir li min 'abba
 welet makker libra 'ella 'abba
 welet makker le'abba 'ella bera
 uman desabe leh bera limgallaya.(18)

.....

The lamp of the body is the eye;
 If therefore thine eye be single,
 Thy whole body shall be full of light.
 And if thine eye be evil,
 Thy whole body shall be full of darkness.
 Lk.XI.34-35: Mt.VI.22-23.

Matthew's version is given here as being probably the nearer to the original. Burney translates as follows(19):

bosineh depigra hi ena
 in haweya enak pesita
 kulleh pigrak nehir
 weih haweya enak bisa
 kulleh pigrak kebil
~~wein nehora debak kebil~~
~~hu kable had koma~~

ASSONANCE IN Q

Not a few scholars have suggested that the original words of Jesus were frequently marked by paranomasia. Black, Creed, Hunkin, Mrs Lewis, McNeile, Manson and Torrey have all made suggestions. It is from Q that their suggestions often come.

Luke VI.27-36 (Matthew V.43-48.)

The word play in these verses has just been considered at considerable length by Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.137.f.

Luke VI.40 (Matthew X.24.f.)

The Matthaean version is given here, following Dalman and Manson.

above his lord..... as his master:

Manson suggests that we have here a double play upon words. We have already seen (p.90.) that Jesus did not use the word ܕܡܝܢܐ , but ܕܡܝܢܐ apprentice. We thus have a play upon ܕܡܝܢܐ and upon ܕܡܝܢܐ . (20)

Luke VII.8 (Matthew VIII.9.)

Do.....servant.

Mrs Lewis long ago pointed out the play upon words here. 'Do' and 'slave' and both forms of the root ܕܡܝܢܐ . Similar assonance may underlie John VIII.34: Everyone that committeth sin is the bondservant of sin.

Luke VII.32 (Matthew XI.17.)

We piped unto you and ye did not dance
We wailed and ye did not weep.

Torrey (22) holds that the assonance of the Syriac version here is too good to be the sole property of a secondary version. In the Sinaitic Syriac the couplet appears as follows:

(ܘܠܟܘܢ ܘܠܘܠܐ ܘܠܘܠܐ ܘܠܘܠܐ)
 : (ܘܠܟܘܢ ܘܠܘܠܐ ܘܠܘܠܐ ܘܠܘܠܐ)
 Torrey would translate the original Aramaic,
 Holelna l'kon w'la raqqedton
 Ailelna l'kon w'la aspedton.

Luke XII.7 (Matthew X.30.)

hairs...numbered.

Here is another play upon words detected by Mrs Lewis (23) in her study of the Old Syriac. The word for hairs is mene and the word for number is ma. Lagrange, although making no mention of assonance here, suggests that the words are "peut-être influences par l'araméen."

Luke XII.27 (Matthew VI.28.)

Following Manson we take Matthew's version (24)

Toil...spin.

There is a play upon words here. Toil would be ܘܠܘܠܐ : spin would be ܘܠܘܠܐ. This paranomasia occurs in an instance of compound parallelism which we have already given (vid. sup.p.96.)

Luke XII.33 (Matthew VI.19.f.)

The alliteration and paranomasia in these verses have been recently and full examined by Black (25)

Luke XIV.34.f.(Matthew V.13.)

Perles has suggested that land (ܘܠܘܠܐ) is a mistaken rendering of an original Aramaic ܘܠܘܠܐ , meaning seasoning. We then have the following word play. It is neither for seasoning (ܘܠܘܠܐ), nor for the dunghill (ܘܠܘܠܐ)(26)

PROVERBS IN Q

With the vast wealth of Semitic poetry in Q., we shall not be surprised to find a number of proverbs among it.

Luke VI.42 (Matthew VII.4)

Cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

This saying has the characteristics of an established proverb. So Lightfoot thought (27). He quotes a saying of R. Tarphon (c.100.A.D.) to the same effect:

שול קצת מן הבית שנתן אורו לו שול קצת מן הבית שנתן אורו לו

Luke VI.45 (Matthew XII.34.)

Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.

Dalman (28) taking the Matthaean version renders,
man motereh delibba memallel pumma.

The Midrashim have similar sayings, all in Aramaic. What is in the heart is in the mouth (Mid. Ps. XXVIII.4): What the heart doth not reveal to the mouth, to whom can the mouth reveal it ? (Eccles. Rabba XII.9.)

Luke IX.60. (Matthew VIII.22.)

Leave the dead to bury their own dead.

It has been suggested that this apparently harsh saying is a current proverb (29). Dalman suggests the following translation: arpe lemitaiya deykberun, mitehon.

Perles (30) agrees about its proverbial nature but goes further ^{and} suggests a mistranslation of an underlying Aramaic. The underlying Aramaic is שוּבְּ לַמֵּיטָא לְמַקְבְּרֵי דְלֵיבָנָן which he translated, Leave the dead to their burier of the dead. לְמַקְבְּרֵי (to their buriers) was misunderstood as the infinitive and so translated 'to bury'.

Smith (31) affirms that the proverb is still current.

Luke XIII.30 (cf. Matthew XIX.30; XX.16.)

The last shall be first, and the first last.

These words have all the crispness of a well used proverb. They occur in Mark (Mk. X.31) as well as Q.

PROVERBS IN Q

The word also occurs as a saying in the mouth of Jesus in one of the papyri (emended) from Oxyrhynchus (32). It is therefore a well known saying of our Lord. The sayings offered by Dalman (33) as parallel are much more wordy, later, and only vague in their resemblance.

Luke XVI.13 : Matthew VI.24

No servant can serve two masters.

Dalman renders the Matthaean version:

let barnash yakhel dishammesh liten marin (34)

Luke XVII.33 : Matthew X.39.

He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.

Once again a Q proverb parallel to one preserved in ~~Ma~~
Maek (VIII, 35)

Dalman renders the Matthaean version:

Man demashkah naphsheh mobed yatah
uman demobed yatah beginni mashkah yatah (35).

THE POETRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST IN Q

We have already seen that the words of John the Baptist have about them the marks of parallelism. Nor is this surprising if, as is often said, he is in the succession of the Old Testament prophets. It was natural that he should use their characteristic forms of expression.

The message given in Mark is repeated in Q.

I indeed baptise you with water

He shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost....
Luke 111.16.

It will be noted that the original verse is obscured and Black has suggested (36) that the whole of the Baptist's message has been re-arranged in the course of its transmission. In Mark, Q., and in the Fourth Gospel, poetic forms are visible in the teaching of the Baptist, though in every case the parallelism is not quite perfect. This is visible in our next illustration:

Whose fan is in his hand,
Thoroughly to cleanse his threshing floor,
And to gather the wheat into his garner;
But the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire.
Luke 111.17. (Matt.111.12)

It will be noted that the first couplet is in Synonymous parallelism: the second couplet is in Antithetic parallelism. Black goes on to attempt to restore the parallelism of the remainder of the Baptist's message.

ASSONANCE IN THE TEACHING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

In Luke 111.8 (Matthew 111.9) John points to the stones (אבנים) as he refers to the children (בנים) of Abraham (37)

THE POETRY OF THE CENTURION

Recourse to an underlying Aramaic has already (38) made clearer the words of the Centurion in Luke VII.8. If he was sufficiently interested in the faith of the Jews to build them a synagogue (v.5.), it is not impossible that he knew the language used in the synagogue. When we examine his words more closely we see they fall into Semitic parallelism:

THE POETRY OF THE CENTURION IN Q

Lord, trouble not thyself:
 For I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my x
 roof:
 Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come
 unto thee:
 But say the word and my servant shall be healed.
 For I am a man that hath authority,
 Having under myself soldiers:
 And I say to this one, Go, and he goeth;
 And to another, Come, and he cometh;
 And to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

Lk. VII.6-8.

L

As to the provenance of Luke's special material there is much to be said for the conjecture that it was largely derived from Palestinian sources.

Creed. The Gospel According
to St. Luke.p.lxx.

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The passages here ascribed to L. are taken from Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* p.15 and p.194. Certain passages are omitted which Streeter has ascribed to Q.

It is not intended to suggest that L. is one source here.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN L

Slightly more than half the transliterations which we shall find in L. have already been considered in Mark and Q: Amen, Passover, Pharisee, Sabbath and Satan in Mark; Mammon in Q.

Peculiar to L are Bath (Luke XVI.6), Byssos (Luke XVI.19) Kor (Luke XVI.7), Rhesa (Luke 111.27) and Sikera (Luke 1.15)

We have already noticed Sheringham's suggestion in the 17th century that ch.XVI. of St Luke was derived from Talmudic sources (vid.sup.p.17.). Its semitic tone is very marked.

BATH Βάτος (1)

Βάτος never occurs in Classical Greek and only appears in the later books of the LXX. Usually the LXX translated it as μέτρον (2) or κέρδιον (3). It is at least equally possible therefore that L. was indebted to a semitic rather than to a Greek source. Even Moulton and Milligan are constrained to admit that it is a Hebrew loan word (4.) We would go further and say that it is equally possible an Aramaic loan word. The Targum of Isaiah V.10 has כֶּרֶס for 'measure'.

BYSSOS Βύσσοσ (5)

In view of the wide use of the material here designated by Βύσσοσ, it is not surprising to find mention of it in non-Semitic (6) as well as Semitic writings (7). The word seems ultimately to derived from Egypt (8) though it is probable that Phoenician traders circulated it around the Mediterranean (cf. Nard. vid. sup.p.29.)

KOROS Κόρος (9)

This word occurs several times in the LXX but never in other pre-Christian literature. Here again it is possible that the LXX rather than any purely Semitic source gave rise to the word in L. The very vehemence however of Loisy's denial (10) indicates his own uncertainty and uneasiness. Speaking of Luke ch.XVI. and the discovery of certain words like Koros, he writes: Le trait ne prouve pas que la parabole ait été jamais prononcée ou écrite en langage sémitique.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN L.

RHESA ρησα (II)

This word has generally been taken as a proper name. It is likely however that it is a transliteration of the Aramaic word for prince. This fact seems first to have been detected by Sir John Hervey in 1853 (12). Its latest champion is Torrey (13). Plummer (14) explains the reading as follows. The original was taken to be Zerubbabel (begat) Rhesa rather than Zerubbabel the Prince. In the context, the mistake is a very natural one. There is no known person in the Old Testament called Rhesa, but the title certainly existed by the time the genealogy of L. was being transmitted. By the third century Septimius Hairan chief of Tadmor (ܩܝܨܬܐ ܘܪ) was member of a family which, in the opinion of G.A.Cooke (15) 'had acquired almost the position of a reigning dynasty'. The suitability therefore of applying ܘܪ to Zerubbabel is clear.

SIKERA Σικερα (16)

This is a transliteration of the Aramaic ܫܝܟܪܐ found also in the LXX (17) but in no classical writer. Suidas writes (18): *ἵνα ἐβραϊστὶς οὕτω λεγόμενον μίθωμα.*

A note on PHARISEE

In view of the fact that L. contains many references to the Pharisees, it is worth noting that three of his references are most friendly (Luke VII.36; XI.37; XIV.1.) (19). This suggests that one of the sources of L. was sympathetic to Jewish orthodoxy

PLACE NAMES IN L

The sources which make up L. introduce us to wider horizons than we have yet seen. Not only do they refer to places we have already met in Mark and Q and in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, but also to several places whose existence is corroborated from other sources.

The places mentioned, which we have already seen in Mark and the Old Testament are: Galilee (1), Israel (2), Jericho (3), Jerusalem (4), Judaea (5), and Sidon (6). Places mentioned for the first time only in Mark and repeated in L., are Capernaum (7), Gennesaret (8), and Nazareth (9). We now have an added reason for believing in their authenticity.

L mentions a number of places for the first time in the Synoptics which occur in the Old Testament: Bethlehem (10), Iturea (11), Nain (12), Samaria (13), Siloam (14), Syria (15), Zarephath (16), Emmaus (17), is mentioned in the Apocrypha. Of these several call for comment: Iturea, Nain, Samaria, Siloam and Emmaus.

Of entirely new places in the Biblical and Synoptic record mention must be made of A city of Judah, Abila and Trachonitis.

ITURAEA *Ἰτουραία*

Iturea takes its name from an eponymous Jetur mentioned in Genesis XXV.15. Attention however is drawn to the fact that ~~that~~ although there are pre-Christian references to the Ituraeans (18), there is no other extant reference to Iturea until the time of Eusebius (19). The ending is the normal Greek equivalent for the Aramaic ܝܬܘܪܝܐ .

NAIN *Ναϊν*

This name, though not occurring in the Hebrew Old Testament, does occur in the LXX. In Gen. XIV.5 (E.) it represents Ashteroth-Karnaim; in 1 Kings XV.20 and 11 Kings XV.29., it represents Ijon. Josephus also mentions Nain (B. J. 4.511.) on the east side of Jordan. Its location therefore is uncertain and likewise its meaning. It is now generally thought to be near Mount Tabor in Galilee.

PLACE NAMES IN L

SAMARIA Σαμαρία .

The favourable references to the Samaritans in Luke are found only in material peculiar to that Gospel. They are more easily explicable if that material emanated from Caesarea. In 25.B.C. the city of Samaria was refounded as Sebaste (20). A little later Caesarea was founded and the connection between the two places was very close. It would be a strong point in favour of this new Christian writing if the writer in Caesarea could shew that Jesus was happy in His relations with the neighbouring Samaritans.

The form of the name is Aramaic (21) In Hebrew it is סמריא and is occasionally rendered in the LXX as Σαμαριών or Σαμαρειών. But the Aramaic form of the name was known, certainly not later than the fifth century B.C. (22). And in Samaria itself we know from Sukenik (23) that Aramaic and Hebrew existed side by side ~~in that~~ before Herodian times. Sukenik does not offer any clear date. It is this Aramaic form which was taken over by the LXX and Polybius in the second century B.C. (V.71;XVI.39.)

SILOAM Σιλωάμ .

This is the LXX rendering of שִׁלּוֹחַ in Isaiah VIII.6. The final 'm' is difficult to explain. Josephus (23a.) transliterates the word as Σιλωάμ : the fourth Gospel as Σιλωάμ, at the same time definitely equating it with ~~Silōam~~ Siloam of the Old Testament. In John IX.7 the author refers to Siloam 'which is by interpretation sent'.

Driver's explanation of the confusion in script may help us here. (24). Before the translators of the LXX, he says, was a transitional script, in which several pairs of letters were alike. Among these were 'ד' and the final 'מ'. This is exactly the confusion in Isaiah VII.6 and the one suggested in John IX.7.

EMMAUS Ἐμμαούς

Although this name occurs several times in I Maccabees (25); the site is not the same as the one mentioned in the third Gospel. There is also another Emmaus near Tiberias. This suggests that the name originally signified some common object. Josephus transliteration of the name is Ἐμμαούς, and adds: this name may be interpreted as 'warm springs'. This is the meaning S.A.Cooke (27) would suggest for the Emmaus of the Gospels, whatever its precise location). This accords with early Christian tradition. Sozomen (28) speaks of the abundance and pleasantness of the waters: William of Tyre (29) says that there was plenty of good water there.

A city of Judah : $\text{קָדְשָׁהּ יְהוּדָה}$ (30)

There remains one un-named place to discuss. The R.V. incorrectly renders it a 'city of Judah'. It should be 'city Judah'. There is no known place of this name.

Torrey (31) has long suggested that the explanation is due to a mis-understanding of the word קָדְשָׁהּ . In the fifth century Aramaic papyri, (32) we find the word and Cowley translates it 'province' (c.410.B.C.). Abel (33) shews that in Persian times Judah was the name of the province and he adds that the Aramaic is קָדְשָׁהּ . The word is used with this meaning frequently in the Old Testament (34). But in Syriac (35) the word means city and only rarely a province. It is easy to see therefore how the mistake arose if there was a semitic original at this point.

ABILENE أبيلين

The tetrarchy of Abilene occupied the territory between Damascus and Helippolis in Coele-Syria. Its capital was Abila. Later tradition assigned the meaning of the name to Abel who was supposed to be buried there by Cain (H.D.B. s.v. Abilene.) More probably it derives its name from the word אָבִיל , meadow. B.D.B. (s.v. אָבִיל) give five instances where it is used in place names.

Doubt has been expressed about Luke's statement here. It is held by Cronin (J.T.S. XVIII.147.ff) that Luke is describing the state of affairs between 53-66 A.D. (we would suggest that L was being written at Caesarea at this time) rather than the extent of Herodian domains in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

TRACHONITIS Τραχωνίτις

This is not a Semitic name but derived from the Greek for a rugged, stony tract (Liddell and Scott s.v. τραχύν) It describes the rough, rugged country South and East of Damascus. Strabo (XVI.2.20.) appears to be the first to mention the name.

PERSONAL NAMES IN Q

As in his geographical references so in his historical references, the writer of the third Gospel takes us much further afield than the others. Creed (1) following Streeter gives the probable reason for this wider outlook: "The conjecture that much of the material (i.e. of Luke) took shape in the Church of Caesarea is at least attractive. A Greek speaking city, the civil capital of Palestine, in tradition the scene of Peter's first gentile convert, and the home of Philip the Evangelist of Samaria, Caesarea would provide the kind of background which seems to suit the internal character of much of the material peculiar to Luke....a Church such as that of Caesarea might be expected to combine an instinctive understanding of Jewish national aspirations with a universalistic interpretation of the Gospel .."

When we come to examine the names of people mentioned in L., we find both a strong Semitic strain as well as greater glimpses than in any other of the Synoptic sources, into the names of personages in the Roman Empire.

Of Semitic names we have a number which we have already observed in Mark: Abraham (2); David (3); Elijah (4); Isaiah (5); Jacob (6); John (7); Jesus (8); Joseph (9); Mary (10); Simon (11); Zebedee (12). And most of these are clearly from the Old Testament. The name Zachariah (13) we have already met in Q., though again it is a name which occurs in the Old Testament. Of the remaining names in L. which are Semitic, most of them occur in the Old Testament: Abijah (14), Annas (15 probably the Hanan of Neh. VIII.2. (14a.)), Lazarus (a shortened form of Eleazar which is discussed on p.114.), Elisabeth (15), Naaman (16); Susanna (this occurs as a common noun in Cant. 11.2., lily and as a proper name in the Apocrypha), and Zachaeus (Ez. 11.9. *Ζαχαρίας* which is rendered by Lucian as *Ζακχαρίας*, *Ζακχαῖος*. Itself occurs in 11. Macc. X.19.) To these we have to add the names in the Genealogy (Lk. 11.23-28) which are all explicable from the Old Testament apart from Rhesa to which we have already referred (vid. sup. p.108.)

~~The considerable number of Gentile names, Caesar, Lycaeus, Quirinius, Tiberius etc fall outside our present consideration.~~

There remain therefore to be discussed, Caiaphas, Chuza, Joanna, and Martha

CAIAPHAS *Καϊάφας* (17)

Some have thought that Caiaphas is a variation of Cephas (18). This is just possible. Wright (20x) tells us that 'c' and 'p' interchange freely; e.g. *κύριος*. If this is so then we have an Aramaic name for the Chief Priest.

Nestle dissents from this, objecting to the identification of the two names, feeling that 'c' and 'p' are not thus to be interchanged.

PERSONAL NAMES IN L

According to the Mishnah(21) Hakkof or Hakkayaf was the Father of Eliehoenai, one of those mentioned in the return with Ezra.(22). Danby (23) considers that this is the same name as *Kaifas*.

The form of the name therefore is undoubtedly Semitic. Its meaning is less certain. Some suggest that it is the Arabic root which affords a clue to the translation. The word *kaif* means a seer or a prophet. This meaning adds force to the passage in John XI.51: ἀρχιερέως ὃν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἱκίνοῦ ἐπροφήτευσεν

CHUZA Χουζας (24)

Blass's attempt(25) to prove that this is a Greek name has been sledgehammered out of existence by Burkitt(26). There is little reason to doubt that the name is the Nabataean *χουζ* which occurs in an inscription from either the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. (27).

JOANNA Ἰωάννα (28)

This appears to be the Aramaic form *ܝܘܢܝܢܐ* or *ܝܘܢܝܐ* (B.Rab.64; b.Sot.22.a.) Although there are no previous traces of the name, it is a most likely form.

MARTHA Μαρθα (29)

The name occurs in a Nabataean (30) and Palmyrene (31) inscriptions as early as 5.A.D. It occurs frequently in the Talmud. Lightfoot commenting on John XI.1. gives several examples(32).

When we turn to names dependent on the surrounding Greco-Roman civilisation, we have an impressive list, very few of which we have met already. Hitherto we have met only, Caesar (33), Herod (34), Philip(35), and Pilate (36) among the names preserved for us by L. To them he adds Augustus (37), Euergetes (38), (R.V. Benefactor: Lk,XXII.25) Lysanias (39) Quirinius (39a.) Theophilus (40) and Tiberius (41). Most of these are names such as we should expect to hear in the civil capital of the country.

PERSONAL NAMES IN L

A Note on Lazarus and Eleazar : $\Lambda\acute{\zeta}\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Lk.XVI.20,23,25.)

Commenting on the name Lazarus as it occurs in John XI.1., Lightfoot (42) writes : "In the Jerusalem dialect, it is not unusual in some words that begin with aleph to cut off that letter". He instances $\aleph\beta$ for $\aleph\beta\aleph$, $\aleph\gamma$ for $\aleph\gamma\aleph$. Lazar he indicates is frequently given instead of Eleazar. (For a further example of the vagaries of the initial aleph, vid.sup.p.45.)

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN L

The Semitic traces in Luke have long been recognised. In some of the earlier commentators there was some confusion between Hebrew and Aramaic. Even Hawkins (1) and Plummer (2) give the impression of confusion on this point. These professedly Semitic traces occur in many instances in material peculiar to L.

There are many cases where the Greek seems to be a direct translation from the Hebrew (προβολή κοίτης ἐν τῷ ἡμίρῳ L.7.2 or προθεῖς σῖτον παραβολῆν XIX.11.) But in all these cases it is possible to maintain that L. was dependent solely upon the LXX. Of Semitisms of this sort Wellhausen has detected over three hundred in the Luke I. and II.; and further analysis by other scholars of other passages peculiar to L. yields an average of more than two Semitisms per verse. Perry (3) takes three passages peculiar to L., XIX.41-44; XXIII.39-43; and XXIV.13-35, and detects 71 Semitisms in 32 verses.

It is not our intention to deal with Semitisms which might be explained by a knowledge of the LXX, nor shipwrecked by some obscure papyrus. But in a source with only a single tradition (hitherto we have had the threefold tradition of Mark, and the two-fold tradition of Q.) there will be less evidence to permit us to look for a Semitic original.

Luke XVIII.8 Son of Man. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

As in Mark and Q., we find that L. too makes use of this translation from the Aramaic. Akin to this is the expression 'Sons of the Resurrection' in XX.36.

Luke 1.39 A city of Judah πόλις τούτων

We have already seen ~~how~~ how reference to the Aramaic ܩܢܝܢܐ restores sense to a phrase otherwise without meaning (4).

Luke 11. 1. All the world. πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη

The historical difficulties of the opening verse of Luke 11. are many and well known. Torrey (5) has suggested that, as in 1.39, an original Aramaic word has been misunderstood. The word ܩܢܝܢܐ can mean either earth or land (i.e. of Palestine.) If the second interpretation is followed, its likelihood is reinforced by a similar phrase in Acts XI.28, where a famine 'over all the world' does not reach as far as Antioch (6). The famine was over all the land of Palestine. The underlying Aramaic ܩܢܝܢܐ was misunderstood. This contention on behalf of the Lukan passage is borne out by Tertullian (7) Adv. Marc. IV.19; There is historical proof that at this very time a census had been taken in Judaea by Sentius Saturninus.

Luke VII.45. I came in $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$

Torrey (8) suggests that the change of person here is due to a mistranslation of the underlying $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$. The verb refers not to Jesus but to the woman who entered the house. We should retain therefore $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$ and render: but she, since the time she came in, has not ceased to kiss my feet. Burney (9) has already suggested a similar confusion in John XX.18 where 'I have seen' should be 'she had seen'. The whole passage would then read: Mary Magdalene cometh and telleth the disciples that she had seen the Lord; and that he had said these things unto her.

A.H.Dammers (10) in a recent article in Theology has suggested that there is a Semitic source behind Luke VII.36-50.

Luke IX.51. that he should be received $\mu\upsilon$. $\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$

This phrase occurs in a passage (Lk. IX.51-56) which has been noted both by Plummer (11) and Easton (12) as Hebraistic.

The particular phrase selected for consideration has obviously given concern to Creed (13). He notes that the noun occurs nowhere else in the Greek Bible and suggests that it 'connotes the various stages by which Jesus passed from an earthly to a heavenly existence rather than the singly incident of the Ascension'. Wensinck's (14) suggestion is stronger. The original Aramaic $\mu\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ should be rendered 'for him to go up' ~~that is~~ i.e. to Jerusalem. In the years after the Ascension it was natural that the alternative meaning of the verb should prevail. Jastrow gives: to go up, ... 'with the idea of going up to Palestine'. (15).

Luke XIII. 2 and 4. Sinners....offenders. $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\tau\omicron\iota \dots \epsilon\phi\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\iota$

This variation is exactly the variation we find in the two accounts of the Lord's Prayer. Matthew has 'debts' (Mt. VI.12): Luke has 'sins' (Lk. XI.4). The variants can be explained by reference to an original root $\mu\upsilon$. Jastrow (16) gives three possibilities for this root: 1. debtor; 2. guilty; 3. wicked. Torrey (17) suggests that the same root was really beneath the variants offered by L. The fact that Manson (18) holds that the whole passage is one of Compound parallelism adds point to the suggestion.

Luke XIV.7-10.

Luke's parable of the wedding guest is found in somewhat crude form in the Bezan text and the Curetonian of Matthew XX.28f. Black (19) suggests that this is the original and that the present Lukan Text is a literary working over of it. In D in

Matthew the text runs as follows:

- 1 ὅμως δε ζητινιτε δε μικρου αυθγαδι
 2 και δε μεγαλου σλαττου σιναι
 3 σισερχομεσνοι δε και παρακληθησιντις
 4 δεσπυνησθι μη ανακλισησθε
 5 εις τους εβσχουτις τοπουσ
 6 μη ποτε ευδοσοιτροσ σου ετισθι
 7 και προσελθων ο δεσπυνοκλητωσ σιτισ σοι
 8 ετι κατα κλισηι . και καταισχυθησθι
 9 ειν δε ανακλισησ . εις τον ηττουα τοπου
 10 και ετισθι σου εττου .
 11 ερισ σοι ο δεσπυνοκλητωσ . σοναγι ετι αυω
 και εσται σοι τουτο χρησιμου (20)

This may be translated:

- 1 But ye, seek from little to become great,
 2 And (not) from great to be made small.
 3 When ye enter as guests to dinner,
 4 Recline not in the seat of honour,
 5 Lest a more honoured guest than thou come
 6 And thy host approach and say to thee,
 7 Still lower down ! And thou art affronted.
 (Syr. Cur. adds - ~~λεβα ειν~~)
 8 But if thou reclinest in a less honoured place,
 9 And a less honoured guest than thou should come,
 10 The host will say to thee, "Go up higher yet"
 11 And this shall be useful to thee.
 (Syr. Cur. reads: Then wilt thou have great honour
 in the eys of the guests.)

This text, suggests Black, is the original of the parable and goes back to the Aramaic. The following notes are based on him

- 1 & 2. These lines are in antithetic parallelism. The 'not' absent from the Greek is present in Syr. Cur.
 μικροσ . The Aramaic ~~בב~~ could also mean unimportant (cf. Gen. XVI.4,5. Targum.)
 'Αυθγαδι . This un-Greek expression is probably based on ~~אב~~.
 11. ~~Χρησιμου~~. The Syr. Cur. gives a more probable reading and one which gives excellent parallelism with his reading in lines 7,8:

~~λεβα ειν~~ ~~λεβα ειν~~ ~~λεβα ειν~~ ~~λεβα ειν~~ ~~λεβα ειν~~

We may note that our present Luke puts the moral of the story at the end and not at the beginning:

Every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled;
 And he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

The rest of the parable reads like a more polished version.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN L

Professor Marshall (21) drew attention to the similarity between Luke XXI.34 and 1 Thess. V.3-7.

Luke XXI.34

But take heed to yourself lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come upon you suddenly as a snare.

snare : *παγίς*

1 Thess V.

6. Let us watch and be sober
7....they that be drunken are drunk in the night..
3. then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child.

travail: *ἔργον*

Marshall draws attention to the general similarity between the passages with the significant exception of 'snare' and 'travail'. With the help of a Semitic original these variants are at once explicable. An original *כּוּל* could be translated in either way. Paul the Jew would be expecting the birth pangs of the Messiah (*כּוּל מְשִׁיחַ*) while Luke, possibly not so conversant with the idea, translated the word equally faithfully by 'snare'. In Aramaic the root could be translated similarly. If however there were beginnings of Christian scriptures at this time (vid. inf. p.150) indebtedness to Hebrew is the more probable.

Luke XXII.19.b.

This is my body which is given for you. (*גּוֹ*)

*Τούτο ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα μου
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδομένον*

1 Cor.XI.24

This is my body which (is broken) for you.

*Τούτο μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (κλυμένον)*

On the Cross we had good reason to believe that Jesus spoke in Hebrew. At this solemn act likewise it is very improbable that He spoke Greek. And if we conjecture an underlying Hebrew here, the variants in the Christian tradition become immediately explicable. There is a confusion here between *גּוֹ* (Luke) and *כּוּל* (Paul)(22). Once again Luke preserves the easier and less scholarly tradition. Paul's translation reflects a verb which, according to Robertson Smith, "had originally a sacramental sense". Jesus, on this interpretation, said, "This is my body, sacrificiably broken for you".

THE POETRY OF L

Examples of most poetical forms which we have already met are likewise to be met in L.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

For this ~~th~~ my son was dead, and is alive again,
He was lost, and is found.

Lk.XV.24.

Thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee,
And compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,
And shall dash thee to the ground(1), and thy children
within thee;
And they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.

Lk.XIX.43-44.

Why are ye troubled?
And wherefore do reasonings arise in your hearts?
See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself:
Handle me and see.

Lk.XXIV.38.

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM

He that is faithful in a very little, is faithful in much:
And he that is unrighteous in a very little, is unrighteous
also in much.

Lk.XVI.10.

For that which is exalted among men,
Is an abomination in the sight of God.

Lk.XVI.15.

Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy
good things,
And Lazarus in like manner evil things:
But now he is comforted,
And thou art in anguish.

Lk.XVI.25.

Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me,
But weep for yourselves and your children.

Lk.XXIII.28.

COMPOUND PARALLELISM IN L

There were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah;

And unto none of them was Elijah sent,
But only to Zarephath in the land of Sidon;
Unto a woman that was a widow.

And there were many lepers in the land of Israel in the
time of Elisha (the Prophet),

And none of them was cleansed;
But only Naaman the Syrian.

Lk IV:25-27.

Think ye that all these Galileans were sinners above all
the Galileans;

Because they suffered these things ?
I tell you , Nay:

But except ye repent, ye shall all in like manner perish.

Or, those eighteen, upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and
killed them,

Think ye that they were offenders above all the men that
dwell in Jerusalem

I tell you, Nay:

But except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

Lk. XIII:2-5.

These illustrations are sufficient to show the parallelism of
aggregates to which Manson gives the name of Compound Parallel-
ism. He suggests also Lk.XV:4-10; and possibly XV:11-32.(4).

THE POETRY OF L

Outside the recorded words of Jesus, there are a number of poetical passages in the material peculiar to L. Much of it has long been recognised as such, even though a closer examination of it belongs to a late date. The Magnificat, Benedictus, Gloria in Excelsis, and Nunc Dimittis have long been treated as hymns. (5). Bishop Middleton of Calcutta was possibly the first to see in a more critical manner their poetical nature. Writing to Bishop Jebb, he says: "It did occur to me that the hymns of the Blessed Virgin and Zacharias exhibited peculiarities much resembling the style of Hebrew poetry" (6).

The Revised Version printed all these as verse and their underlying Hebraisms or Aramaisms have been frequently discussed. Loisy (7) detects the waw consecutive in CM.1.v.48.a: Wellhausen sees over three hundred Aramaisms in chs. 1. and 11., of which a good proportion would fall in these hymns.

More recently Moffatt has seen further poetry in ch.1.14-17; 32-33; and 42. Briggs detects seven poems in chs. 1 and 11; Aytoun detects ten.

In view of the general acceptance of the four hymns of the Christian Church, comment is reserved for the remaining six possibilities.

Luke 1.14-17. The Angel to Zacharias

- 1 And thou shalt have joy and gladness;
- 2 And many shall rejoice at his birth.
- 3 For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord,
- 4 (And he shall drink no wine nor strong drink;)
- 5 And he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost,
- 6 (even from his mother's womb.)
- 6 And many of the children of Israel shall he turn
- 7 unto the Lord their God.
- 7 And he shall go before his face in the spirit
- 8 and power of Elijah,
- 8 To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,
- 9 And the disobedient to walk in the wisdom of the just;
- 10 (To make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him.)

The parallelism here is not perfect but slight omissions (vv.4,5b., and 10) would make it so. Aytoun's arrangement (8) is similar. He omits 3,5b, and 10, and finds five couplets. These are marked, he suggests, by what Burney later called three beat rhythm.

Luke 1.30-33. Gabriel's first address to Mary.

THE POETRY OF L

Aytoun considers that these four verses, consisting of five hexameters, should be set out as poetry. Moffatt sets out as poetry only verses 32-33.

We suggest that there are possibly seven lines in three beat rhythm:

Fear not Mary,

- 1 For thou has found favour with God;
- 2 And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb
- 3 And bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.
- 4 He shall be great, and shall be called the son of
the Most High
- 5 And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne
of his father David:
- 6 And he shall reign over the house of Israel for ever;
- 7 And of his kingdom there shall be no end.

Luke 1.35-37. Gabriel's second address to Mary

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee,
And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee:

Easton remarks on the perfect Hebrew parallelism here. Moffatt somewhat strangely omits it, while Aytoun struggles to detect verse in the remainder of the address.

Luke 1.42-45. Elisabeth welcomes Mary.

Blessed art thou among women,
And blessed is the fruit of thy womb.

Plummer(9) seems first to have observed that these words have "the characteristic of Hebrew poetry in a marked degree". Moffatt so prints them and again Aytoun struggles with the remainder of the words to find vestiges of parallelism.

Luke 11.10-12. The address of the Angels to the Shepherds.

THE POETRY OF L

Aytoun admits that the poetry here is not "particularly obvious". It is not noted either in the R.V. or Moffatt. The commentators likewise are silent except that Black (10) considers there are signs of Paronomasia in verse 12: wrapped..... manger, mekharakh... 'urya. There is probably too much subtlety here both on the part of Aytoun and of Black.

Luke 11.34-36 Simeon's address to the Virgin.

Aytoun only gives three lines of affirmation of the poetical nature of these words. They are probably best considered as prose.

PROVERBS IN L

The material peculiar to L. is quite explicit that Jesus used proverbial sayings. In His sermon at Nazareth He says: Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable (Moffatt: proverb) "Physician heal thyself". (Lk. IV. 23.) Dalman translates it asya assi garmakh (11).. It is not unlike the Rabbinic proverb יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Other proverbs are:

For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled,
And he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.

Luke XIV. 11

^v In Aramaic it could be rendered:

kol man demeromem garmeh memakkekhin yateh,
uman dimemakkeh garmeh meromemin yateh (13).

.....

For if they do these things in the green tree,
What shall be done in the dry ?

Luke XXIII. 31

Although Lightfoot (14) treats this as a proverbial saying, he adduces no Rabbinic parallel. Neither does Dalman (15). ~~xxx~~ Plummer (16) treats it as a proverb and refers to proverbs in other languages. For the Aramaic Dalman suggests:

in 'abedin hekh bekesa rattiba
ma yit'abed beyabbisha (17).

.....

Why seek ye the living among the dead ?

Luke XXIV. 5.

Dalman adduces a Hebrew parallel to this and suggests as a translation:

ma attun ba'ayin haiya 'im mitaiya (18).

Further proverbial sayings are seen by Dalman in Luke XIV. 8; XV. 16, 17; and XXIII. 29. (19).

ASSONANCE IN L

Luke 11.34. Simeon.....sign.

Συμῶν... σημεῖον

Black(20) suggests there might be an intentional word play here. For sign he would put the late Aramaic כּוּמַיָּ. This would then give a possible assonance in a dialect where gutturals are are omitted or carelessly pronounced and where sibilants have lost their nice distinctions.

Luke XIV.5. Son (W.H)(R.V. ass)....ox....well. υἱός... βοῦς... φάρμακον.

A very plausible word play is visible here: בּוֹרָא (son) בּוֹרָא (ox) and כּוּמַיָּ (well).

Luke XVI.11. mammon...faithful...true...committ to your trust.

μαμωνᾶς πιστός ἀληθινός πιστεύω

Nestle (21) and Easton(22) both point out that an underlying Aramaic would be marked by a most elaborate word play. All these words would derive from the root מִמְּנָן.

That this is not simply fanciful may be seen in Isaiah VII.9 where the same word play exists though not on so large a scale. G.A.Smith (23) tries to preserve the paranomasia with the help of dialect:

If ye have no faith,
Ye cannot have staith.

M

It is also, I think, probable that much of the matter peculiar to Matthew is derived from an Aramaic document or documents.

Manson T.W. E.T. xlvii.p.10.

THE CONTENTS OF M

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4	13-16 23-25	18	3, 4, 10, 14-15 16-20, 23-25
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The contents of M. are taken from W.C. Allen, St Matthew (I.C.C.) pp.1-liii and pp.lxii.ff.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN M

As in the other sources, so in M., we have a number of transliterations from the Semitic. A number of them we have considered already: Amán (1), Beelzebub (2); Pharisee (3), Rabbi (4), Sabbath (5), Sadducee (6).

Surprisingly few are the transliterations which we meet for the first time in M: Battologeo (7), Korbanas (8), More (9), Raka (10), and Zizania (11). Doubts may legitimately be raised about two of these, Battologeo and More; while the transliteration Korbanas has been foreshadowed already in the word Korban which we have examined in Mark (vid. sup. p. 25.)

BATTOLOGEO Βαττολογέω (Matthew VI. 7.)

Scholars are divided about the origin of this word. Those who suggest a Greek origin are not unanimous about it. It has been suggested that it derives from :-

- a. a root related to βατταρίζω 'to stutter'.
- b. Battos, the name of a Libyan king who stuttered.
- c. an abbreviation of βαττολογέω (12). The mistake arise through haplography. Battalos was the nickname of Demasthenes well known for his stammer in his early life.

Because of the unsatisfactory suggestions which alone are possible from Greek sources, it has been suggested that the word comes from a Semitic root:-

- a. The Hebrew שׁוֹרָר : to speak thoughtlessly (13)
- b. The Aramaic root שׁוֹרָר : idle or useless.

KORBANAS Κορβανὰς (Matthew XXVII. 6)

All that was said about Korban applies here (14). The original of the present transliteration was probably used in the first draft of Josephus. He translated ~~καὶ~~ : Κορβανὰς, Κορβανὰς (15)

MORE Μωρῶς (V. 22)

It has been customary to refer this word to a Greek origin (16); dull, stupid or foolish.

Manson (17) however suggests: "It is therefore probable that represents the Rabbinical word מְרִיב with a shade of meaning

TRANSLITERATIONS IN M.

contributed by the Hebrew word רָקָה. This last means more than merely stupid: it means stubborn, rebellious and obstinately wicked. The distinction between the two words Raka (to which we come in the next paragraph) and More is that while the former means a defect in intelligence, the latter suggests a moral defect.

RAKA *ῥακα* (Matthew V.22.)

The Semitic origin of the word seems never to have been questioned in the Early Church. Chrysostom (19) observes that the word is based on the language of Syria: "Just as we say when we give an order to servants or inferiors, Go and say to so and so; so those who used the tongue of the Syrians say Raka instead of 'you'."

Augustine (20) wrote: "Raca...nec Graecum nec Latinum est ...Audivi a quodam Hebraeo, dixit enim esse vocem non significantem aliquid, sed indignantis animi motum exprimentem".

Enthymius Zigabenus (21) writes: Raka is a Hebrew word signifying 'you'.

Despite an occasional attempt to connect the word with the Greek word *ῥακος*, rag, (22); it is generally agreed that the word is of Semitic origin. No one to-day follows the explanation of the Fathers but rather, with Dalman (23), affirm that it is connected with the root *רָקַח* and that a colloquial translation would be 'silly fool'.

ZIZANIA *Σίζανια* (Matthew ^{xiii.25} ~~xiii.25~~ etc.)

Botanist (24) and philologist (25) alike agree that the word was originally Semitic. In the Gospels its immediate origin is probably the Aramaic *זיזניה*, ~~a weed growing among wheat~~ (Jastrow s.v. *זיזניה*). It appears in the Mishnah as *זיזניה* (26).

PLACE NAMES IN M

Mt is disappointing in the light it throws on the topography of the ministry of Christ. The only new features are all subject to debate and will be mentioned below.

We have in M. mention of those places known already to us in Mark: Capernaum (Mt. IV.13 and XVII.24.), Decapolis (Mt. IV.25.) and Nazareth (II.23, IV.13, XXI.11.) It is here that we meet the difficult epithet *Ναζαρεθ* which purports to come from *Ναζαρεθ* (11.23) The spelling of the noun wavers between the Markan spelling *Ναζαρεθ* (11.23) and the spelling of Q. *Ναζαρεθ* (IV.13) while in XXI.11 we have *Ναζαρεθ*.

We have also a number of places which occurred in Mark but which are common in the Old Testament: Galilee (Mt. 11.22, IV.15, 23, 25, ~~XXV~~ XXVIII.16); Israel (11.6, 20, X. 6, 23.); Jerusalem (11.1, 3, IV.25); Beyond Jordan (IV.15, 25); Judaea (11.5, 22, IV.25). His spelling of Jerusalem it may be noted is the more ^{modern} Markan spelling ~~α~~ rather than the more traditional one of Q.

M mentions too some places we have met already in L: Bethlehem (11.1, 5, 6, 8, 16.); Samaria (the adjective, X.5.); and Syria (IV.24). In L Syria occurred quite naturally but here in M. we shall see (vid inf. p.134) that it calls for some comment.

The names appearing in M. for the first time are easily explicable from a knowledge of the Old Testament, which indeed he generously claims for himself; Babylon (1.11, 12, 17); Egypt (11.13, 14, 15, 19.); Naphtali (IV.13, 15.); Ramah (11.18.); Zabulon (IV.13, 15); Apart from Babylon each of these occurs in an explicit quotation from the Old Testament. Topography is subservient to the fulfilment of the scriptures. Referring to Naphtali and Zabulon, Christie (D.C.G. s.v. *Naphtali*, *Zabulon*) points out that the tribal divisions fell into desuetude at the Captivity. All references to them occur in pre-exilic passages in the Old Testament apart from the 'ideal picture' (Barnes. The Psalms West. Comm. ad loc.) presented in Psalm LXVIII.27.

It is for similar reasons that scholars have suspected M's references to Egypt. It is always possible that the Old Testament has decided the event to be recorded. ~~rather than~~

When we come to the 'Potter's Field' and to the 'Field of Blood' we shall see there too (vid inf. p.138.) that it is impossible to secure certainty.

We are obliged to admit therefore that as a guide to the topography of the Gospels M. is not very valuable.

PERSONAL NAMES IN **M**

God lets his shekinah dwell only in families that can prove their pedigrees. Sifre on Numbers (1)

The material peculiar to **M**, is uncommonly rich in personal names. Some we have already met in **Mark** (2), **Q**, (3), or **L**(4). Many more we can trace to the Old Testament (5). But even when these sources are exhausted there still remain a few names which we meet for the first time.

It is noteworthy too that **M** has very few references indeed to non-Jewish names: Pilate (**Matthew** XXVII. 24,63,65.); Herod (**Matthew** 11.1^{etc})

BAR JONAH (XVI.17)

There seems to be no reason to doubt the explanation given by Jerome(7): Barjona, filius columbae, syrum est et Hebraeum, bar quippe lingua syra filius, et jona columba utroque sermone dicitur.

Bar is the well known Aramaic which we have met already (8). Jonah is the name of the prophet and is normally derived from the Hebrew *יָוֹן*, a dove.

Dissent has arisen because of the statements in **John** 1.42 and XXI.16,17, where Simon is called the 'son of John'. It has been suggested therefore that *ἰωάνης* is really an abbreviation for *ἰωάννης*. This confusion of *ἰωάν* (B) and *ἰωάννης* (A) does occur in **2 Kings** XXV.23 (LXX) but is hardly sufficient evidence for changing the reading in **Matthew**.

IMMANUEL. GOD WITH US. (1.23.)

Althou this name occurs in the Old Testament, there is no added explanation there such as is afforded here by **M**. This is clearly no debt to a Greek source, but to a Hebrew source. According to Field no surviving Greek version has such an explanation. Aquila alone has an interpretation: potens cum hominibus (10)

Our source here seems to be acquainted with Hebrew.

PERSONAL NAMES IN M

JESUS : HE SHALL SAVE (1.21)

The Old Testament not infrequently explains (11) the names of men, but it offers no explanation of the name of Joshua. Our source therefore is either drawing on current knowledge or on his own erudition. In either case there is some indebtedness to a source of Hebrew origin. Philo (12) gives the explanation of the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Joshua as follows:

Ἰησοῦς δὲ (Ἰησοῦς) σωτήρ τοῦ κυρίου. Our source may be availing himself of some such current explanation. If not, he was directly drawing upon his knowledge of Hebrew. We have already noticed that the root יָשׁוּ was not known in Aramaic at this time.

Margoliouth (The Expositor Oct. 1919) considered that the use of the name in this verse indicated a Hebrew original.

RAHAB : Ραχάβ (1.5)

Matthew's transliteration here is not indebted to the LXX where the name is uniformly rendered Ραβ . Elsewhere in the New Testament, when the name is used (Heb. XI.31 and James 11.25) it is the form in the LXX which is followed. M therefore was able to make an independent use of his Hebrew text and to reproduce it more accurately. Josephus has both forms (13)

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN M

When we come to the translations and mistranslations of M. we are confronted with the same difficulties which we have already encountered in L. We may suspect many a semitism but by the terms imposed upon ourselves we cannot examine it. We lack any parallel version which, because of some detailed difference, enables us to go behind the version to a possibly Semitic original.

One characteristic of M. which partly makes up for this deficiency is his use of the Old Testament. The vast bulk of his quotations from it side with the LXX against other versions. On at least five occasions however M. quotes the Hebrew against the other versions. The first of these is

Matthew 11.6. Princes (Gk. ἡγεμόνων)

Micah V.2. Thousands (Gk. χιλιάδων) Hebrew : יָבֵט

It is clear that while M. does not follow the LXX, he does follow the same consonantal Hebrew text as is presupposed by the LXX. Elsewhere we find the root יָבֵט translated by ἡγεμόνων. It looks therefore as though M. made independent use of the Hebrew.

(1)

Swete gives four other passages, all from M., in which dependence upon the Hebrew rather than the Greek, may be seen: IV.15; VIII.17; XIII.35; and XXVII.9. He continues: "In these five passages the compiler of the first Gospel has more or less distinctly thrown off the yoke of the Alexandrian version and substituted for it a paraphrase, or an independent rendering from the Hebrew".

The fact that Swete should draw attention to these passages long before Streeter's recognition of M., is a significant proof of the peculiarly Semitic nature of this source.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN M

Matthew V.37. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay.
 vaì vaì, oò oò.

Reminiscences of our Lord's words outside the Gospels are rare. The present saying however is recalled in James V.12: let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay: $\text{ܘܢܐܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐܘܢܐ ܘܢܐܝܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܐܘܢܐ}$. Justin Martyr records our Lord's words as they are preserved in James (5). The difference, says Manson (6), is due "to following an Aramaic original word by word. There can be little doubt that James V.12 here gives the correct reading. This is confirmed by the fact that in Jewish teaching the doubled yes or no is regarded as a form of oath".

This opinion simply re-affirms the belief of Resch(7) expressed as long ago as 1888.

Matthew VI.1. Your righteousness : ܕܝܢܐܘܬܝܢܐ

The MS. evidence for this word in the Greek varies between 'righteousness' (B.D. Sin.Syr.) and 'alms' (W.Θ.fam13.).

In the Syriac the same word (ܕܝܢܐܘܬܝܢܐ) is used both for righteousness in v.1 and for alms in v.4. In Aramaic the root ܕܝܢܐ was used for alms as early as the fifth century B.C.(8).
~~and~~

As verses 1-4 deal with the subject of alms we believe that 'righteousness' is a mistaken translation of the underlying ܕܝܢܐܘܬܝܢܐ . We may note that Mrs Lewis translates (ܕܝܢܐܘܬܝܢܐ) as 'alms' in v.1.

The correct translation therefore is : Take heed that ye do not your alms before men.

These two last illustrations bear out Stanton's contention (9): "It appears to be highly probable that the sections.. V.17-48 and VI.1-8..stood in the Aramaic original virtually as they do in St Matthew".

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN M

Matthew VII.6.

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,
Neither cast your pearls before the swine.

holy : ἅγιος

The utmost caution is required when applying poetical considerations to the discovery of the true text of the Gospels. In the Old Testament this caution is very necessary: in the New, it is particularly requisite.

The poetical nature of these words has long been noted. We shall come across them again when we consider the Synonymus or Cognate Parallelism of M. (vid inf. p.139.) They were recognised as such in the fourth century by Juvencus:

Ne canibus sanctum dederitis; neve velitis
Turpiter immundis jactare minilia porcis.

To-day we should not look for hexameters but rather for parallelism. But at one point this parallelism is weakened. Lagrange clearly feels this and says that for holy we must assume some 'objet concret'.

But if we assume an Aramaic original and recall the knowledge of Hebrew which we have already found in M the solution appears at once. The Hebrew mind of M saw $\omega\tau\rho$ and translated it quite naturally as 'holy'. In Aramaic however the word can also be translated as 'ring'. In the Targum of Onkelos (Gen. XXIV.22.) we have the phrase $\text{טַרְטָרָא דְּזָהָב}$, a ring of gold. If we read 'ring' we then have a sentiment quite in accord with Semitic thought: cf. Prov. XI.22. a jewel of gold in a swine's snout.

This translation of $\omega\tau\rho$ in Aramaic holds equally of ܠܗܘܘܣܐ in Syriac.

The true translation therefore is:

Give not a ring unto the dogs,
Neither cast your pearls before the swine.

In this way perfect parallelism is restored.

Matthew XXI. 15

The children were crying in the temple: children... *παιδῶν*

We have already seen that Josephus records a probable instance of the confusion between 'stone' (אבן) and 'son' (בן) (IO) We have also seen that there was probably a play upon these words in the teaching of John the Baptist (II).

In the present context McNeile has found difficulty in the children crying out in the Temple and suggests that we have a metaphorical reference to the crying out of the stones, such as we have in Lk. XIX. 40: the stones will cry out.

We would suggest that the same Aramaic underlies both Matthew and Luke and that L has preserved the words of Jesus more faithfully. An underlying אבן easily explains both records, especially when the tendency to confuse אבן and אב is recalled along with the uncertainties that attach to an initial aleph.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN M

Matthew XXIII.2. Moses' seat : Μωυσειως καθεδρα

This phrase has hitherto been understood metaphorically. Even T.H. Robinson (12) in the Moffatt Commentary understands it in this way.

Archaeology however clearly shews that the phrase is to be understood literally. Sukenik (13) informs us that the first 'Moses' seat' was discovered at Hammath near Tiberias; the second at Chorazin. The congregation sat on stone benches lining the side walls of the building: the elders sat on seats with their backs against the wall orientated towards Jerusalem. The special seat on which the most distinguished of the elders sat was 'Moses' seat'.

A further reference to this chair is to be found in the Pesikta de Rab Kahana in the fourth century (*כונן כרזרפ)

Matthew XXVII.7.&8. Potter's field.....field of blood.

*Αγρου του κερπιδου *Αγρος αιματος

Silence and uncertainty shroud the location of these fields. The first clearly echoes Zechariah XI.13: "I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast them unto the potter (*קרי)". Three MSS of Kennicott here read *קרי.e.treasury. The Syriac (see R.V.mg.) has the same reading and it is generally accepted as the correct one (14). Its close association with *Κορβανουδ in the preceding verse makes it the more likely. MSS penchant for the Old Testament is only too clear. Additional motives of reverence for the Temple and its connections would be sufficient to cause the writer to try and dissociate Judas Iscariot from them.

The Aramaic for 'field of blood' is preserved for us at this juncture in the Vulgate and the other Latin versions (15) It is possible that they have been influenced by ~~the~~ transliteration preserved in Acts 1.19. The difficulty arises in the transliteration of *קרי as - *קריδ. It is just possible as we can see from a comparison with *קרי and *קריδ. Klostermann however has suggested that we have here, originally, the Aramaic *קרי 'to sleep', used metaphorically of death. The Field of Sleep would then refer to a local burying ground. Lake and Cadbury (16) feels difficulties about this conception. But the idea is certainly pre-Christian as we can see from Enoch XCI.10 and XCII.3 where death is spoken of in terms of sleep. The date of these chapters is "either 95-79 B.C. or 70-64 B.C". (Charles A.P.O.T. Vol.11.p.171.). Its later use in a similar sense in Talmud and Midrash may be seen in Buxtorf's Lexicon s.v. *קרי

THE POETRY OF M

Most of the forms of poetry which we have met already are to be found also in M. His assonance, proverbs and gematria may conveniently be considered here.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,
Neither cast your pearls before the swine.
Matt. VII.6 (1)

He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet,
Shall receive a prophet's reward;

And he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man,
Shall receive a righteous man's reward.
Matt. X.41.

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM

For if ye forgive men their trespasses,
Your heavenly Father will also forgive you.
But if ye forgive not men their trespasses,
Neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.
Matt. VI.14-15.

Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit;
But the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
Matt. VII.17.

He that findeth his life shall lose it,
And he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.
Matt. X.39.

So the first shall be last,
And the last first.
Matt. XX.16.

A MINORI AD MAIUS

If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub,
How much more shall they call them of his household.
Matt. X.25.

THE POETRY OF M

SYNTHETIC PARALLELISM

For they make broad their phylacteries,
 And enlarge the borders.
 And love the chief place at feasts,
 And the chief seats in the synagogues,
 And the salutations in the market places,
 And to be called of men, Rabbi.

But be ye not called Rabbi;
 For one is your teacher,
 And all ye are brethren.

And call no man your Father on the earth:
 For one is your Father which is in heaven.

Neither be ye called master:
 For one is your master, even Christ.

Matt. XXIII.5-10.

CLIMACTIC PARALLELISM

Think not that I came to destroy the Law and the Prophets;
 I came not to destroy, but to fulfil.

Matt.V.17.

THE POETRY OF M

FOUR BEAT RHYTHM : THE LORD'S PRAYER

As we are following Streeter's delimitation of Q, the Lord's Prayer ought to be considered as coming in both L. and M. Yet this conclusion, made with some nervousness by Streeter in view of the word *παρούσιον* in both versions, leaves us in much the same position as before. For if the Prayer does not occur in a source used by two writers, it occurs in two sources very clearly alike.

As Burney holds that the Matthaean version is the more accurate we are considering it under M. Bishop Jebb (1) in a letter of his in 1808 spoke of the poetical nature of the Prayer and set it out as follows:-

Our Father which art in heaven

Hallowed be Thy name,
Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done,

As in heaven, so on earth.

Our daily bread
Give us this day,

And forgive us our debts,
As we also have forgiven our debtors,

And bring us not into temptation,
But deliver us from the evil one. Amen.(2).

Jebb believed that our Lord might have 'descended' to poetical devices 'both for the aid of memory, and to secure the integrity of the prayer, from subsequent mutilation or addition'(3). He also thought that the three lines, Hallowed be Thy name etc 'form a very beautiful parallel triplet; and I think you will hardly fail to admit that, according to the common construction of language and especially Hebrew poetry, each line of the triplet equally refers to the *ὡς ἐν οὐρανόσιν*.' This hardly differs from McNeile's judgment over a century later: 'The rhythm allows, if not requires it (*ὡς ἐν οὐρανόσιν κ.τ.λ*) to refer to all the foregoing petitions'(4).

THE POETRY OF M

Burney sets out the Prayer in almost the same way. He too believes that there are two stanzas and, referring to the various poetical devices which he detects, unconsciously echoes Jebb: "Was it accidental that our Lord so composed it, or did He intentionally employ art in composition as an aid to memory" (5).

Our Father in heaven	hallowed be thy name,
Thy kingdom come;	Thy will be done,
As in heaven,	So on earth

Our daily (?) bread	Give us to-day;
And forgive us our debts,	As we forgive our debtors;
And lead us not into temptation,	But deliver us from evil.

(Burney's translation)

In Galilean Aramaic he renders it :-

'abunan debismayya
tete malkutak
hekma debismayya

yitkaddas semak
tehe sibyonak
hekden be'ar'a

lahman deyoma
usebok lan hoben
wela ta'linan lenisyona

hab lan yoma den
hek disbaknan lehayyeben
'ella passinan min bisa.

¶¶

Every scribe that hath been made a disciple (6)

To the kingdom of heaven,

Is like unto a man

That is a householder,

THE POETRY OF M

Which bringeth forth out of histreasure

Things new and old.

XIII.52.

Blessed art thou Simon

Bar Jonah

For flesh and blood

hath not revealed it unto thee

But my Father

Which is in heaven.

And I also say unto thee

That thou art Peter

And upon this rock

I will build my Church

And the gates of Hades

shall not prevail against it.

I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,

And whatsoever thou shalt
bind on earth

shall be bound in heaven:

And whatsoever thou shalt
loose on earth

shall be loosed in heaven.

XVI.17-19.

Burney renders these last verses in Aramaic as follows:

tubayk Simon
debisra udeba
'ella 'abba

bereh de Yonah
la gale lak
de'it hu bismayya

we'amarna lak
we'al haden kepha
wetar'eh dis'ol

de'att hu Kepha
'ebne liknisti
la yekhelun 'aleh

'ihab lak maptehayya
uma deteser be'ar'a
uma detisre be'ar'a

demalkuta dismayya
yitesar bismayya
yistere bismayya (7).

THE POETRY OF M

THREE BEAT RHYTHM

Ye are the light of the world:
 A city...cannot be hid
 Set on a hill
 Neither do (men) light a lamp,
 And put it under a bushel,
 But on the stand
 And it shineth unto all that are in the house:
 Even so let your light shine before men,
 That they may see your good works,
 And glorify your Father which is in Heaven.

V.14-16.

Burney renders this into Aramaic as follows:-

attun nehorah de'alema
 la yakela detittamar
 dil'el min tur mittesama
 wela madlekin bosina
 umesimin tehot modeya
 'ella'al menorta (mesimin leh)
 wehu manhar lekullehon kedam bene 'enasa
 deyhmon 'obadekon sappirin
 wisabbahun la'abukon debismayya (8)

Burney also gives as a further example of three beat rhythm Matthew VII.6 which we have already given as an example of synonymous parallelism. (Via sup. p. 139)

KINAH

Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden
 And I will give you rest.
 Take my yoke upon you
 And learn of me
 For I am meek and lowly in heart:
 And ye shall find rest unto your souls
 For my yoke is easy
 And my burden is light.

XI.28-30.

Come ye blessed of my Father
 Inherit the kingdom prepared for you
 From the foundation of the world:
 For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat,
 I was thirsty and ye gave me drink:
 I was a stranger and ye took me in;
 Naked and ye clothed me:
 I was sick and ye visited me,
 I was in prison and ye came unto me.

.....

THE POETRY OF M

When saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee ?
 Or athirst and gave thee drink ?
 And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in ?
 Or naked, and clothed thee ?
 Or when saw we thee sick...
 Or in prison and came unto thee ?

Verily I say unto you,
 Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren,
 these least,
 Ye did it unto me.

XXV.34.ff.

Burney translates vv.35-40. as follows:

begen dikphanit we'okaltuni
 sehet we'askituni
 'aksn hawet ukenastuni
 'artilay we'albestuni
 mera' hawet we'as'ertuni
 bahabusya we'alwituni

'ematay hamenatak kaphen we'okalnatak
 wesahe we'askinatak
 'ematay hamenatak 'aksan ukenasnatak
 we'artilay we'albesnatak
 'ematay hamenatak mera'
 ubahabusya we'alwinatak

'amen 'amarna lekon
 hay da'abadtun lehad min 'ahay ze'erayya
 li 'abadtuneh (9).

Burney also draws attention to the assonance of the endings of the lines.

ASSONANCE

Bischoff has suggested that the original Aramaic of 'salt of the earth' (V.13) contained the following word play:
 ܣܠܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ (IO). Dalman's translation is different (II).

In a source characteristic for its vast amount of teaching, we should not be surprised to discover a number of proverbial sayings taken from current thought. Dalman gives a number of illustrations of this. First we shall give the proverbial saying ~~saying~~; then its suggested translation; and in each case there is a rough parallel to it in Rabbinic literature.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

tubehon derahmanaiya deyhwon merahhemin 'alehon.

V.7 (12)

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

tubehon didekhe libba.

V.8 (13)

Dalman offers no translation for the conclusion of this saying.

Freely ye have received: freely give.

'al maggan kabbeltun, 'all maggan habun.

X.8 (14)

For many are called, but few chosen.

saglin de'innun zeminin, wesibhad de'innun behirin.

XXII.14 (15)

As an example of what is probably a proverbial saying without a Rabbinic parallel, Dalman suggests:

Neither cast your pearls before swine

la titrephun margeliiyata dilekhon lekumme haziraiyya

VII.6 (16)

GEMATRIA

Gematria is the art of discovering the hidden sense of the Hebrew text by means of the numerical equivalents of the Hebrew letters. It figures largely in Rabbinic literature. An example is to be found in Gen.XIV.14 where ~~the~~ we learn that Abraham led forth his trained men, 318 in number. This number is equivalent to the numerical value of the Hebrew letters of the word **Eliezer**.

GEMATRIA IN M

The Talmud therefore equates the trained men with Eliezer. Other examples are Genesis XVIII.2 and Deut. XXXII. vv.1-6.

This fantastic science was not unknown to the early Christians, especially to the Gnostics. Irenaeus (17) tells us that they drew attention to the equal numerical value of in Jn.1.32 and Alpha and Omega, i.e. 801. Cyprian even (18) saw a reference to the new Adam in the number in Jn.11.20.

It is not impossible therefore that this pseudo-science went back to New Testament times. Box (19) suggest that the genealogy of our Lord was 'invested with the character of a numerical acrostic on the name of David. The numerical value of the letters in $\nu\tau\tau$ being 4.6.4., i.e.14. The three groups of fourteen names in the genealogy might have been thus arranged to facilitate their recollection

CONCLUSION AND FORM CRITICISM

It is abundantly clear that the Greek dress of the Synoptics is a disguise. When Jesus spoke, He did so in the forms of Semitic poetry. The poetry of the Old Testament is perfected in Him.

The closest parallel to the poetry of our Lord is the Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament. But that was not the only form. Rendall and Harris and A. Mingana show that the Odes of Solomon were written in Syriac verse, probably at Antioch, about the end of the first century A.D. Indeed we now see that poetical forms go back to the times of the Ras Shamra tablets (1). The suggestion therefore of Burney (2) that the poetry of our Lord was Aramaic is entirely reasonable.

This general impression is re-inforced in a number of ways. Some of the words preserved in the Greek give a vague Semitic atmosphere: Byssos, Kollubistes, Korban, Nard and Zizania. The place names recorded are much more specific. In many cases the Gospels become primary sources for places like Bethany and Bethphage, Chorazin and Nazareth. Detailed knowledge of Jerusalem and Galilee is shown. The extent of this knowledge has been confirmed by archaeological and literary sources. The names Alphaeus and Joses come to us from Galilee: we note the prevalence of the name Z.b.d in that part of Palestine. Moses's seat we lean is now a fact. Archaic tendencies in spelling are faithfully preserved in the Gospels and little idiosyncracies in pronunciation are faithfully kept. We have good reason to believe in the confusion of Galilean gutturals.

The linguistic background is sometimes uncertain. There are words whose origin, Hebrew or Aramaic, it is difficult so far to decide: Batos, Iscariot, Korban, Koros, More, Rabbi. But in the vast majority of words it is possible to be more definite. There are a few words of Hebrew origin: Eli, Amen, Gehenna, Hosanna. There is a large number of words of Aramaic origin: Abba, Beelzebub, Bethsaida, Cananaean, Dalmanutha, Ephphatha, Golgotha, lama sabchthani, Mammon, Passover, Pharisee, Rhesa, Sabbath, Sadducee, Satan, saton, sikera, sukaminos and talitha cumi.

personal

The ~~proper~~ names ~~of~~ shew connections with Hebrew and Aramaic. Where they are clearly dependent upon the Old Testament they are Hebrew: Abraham David, Jacob, Rahab (even against the LXX.) Further knowledge of Hebrew is shown in the interpretation of names: Immanuel, Jesus. But when more modern names are used, they are always Aramaic: Alphaeus, Barabbas (compounds with bar never with ben) Bar Jonah, Bartimaeus, Chuza and th artha.

CONCLUSION AND FORM CRITICISM

When we come to examine the translations ^{and} mistranslations in the four sources, it is Aramaic which we detect in an overwhelmingly large number of cases. There are the indisputable translations like 'The Son of Man', 'began to'. There are those variations in the threefold tradition of Mark and the two-fold tradition of Q which are best explained as variations from an original Aramaic. Even when allowances are made for variations within the Greek tradition or Theological bias (e.g. the point of view of the writer of the First Gospel as distinct from that of Mark) there remain such cases as Mark 11:3, IV.4 etc which are reasonably explained by reference to the Aramaic. It is the same within the tradition of Q: e.g. Lk. XI.41 and XIV.26. These variations are similar to those that can be observed within the Hebrew-Greek tradition of the Old Testament and arose for similar reasons.

From these inferences in particular cases we do not wish to pass to sweeping generalisations about the whole of the Gospel sources. We believe however that they fit in with recent developments in Form Criticism. Professor Vincent Taylor (3) has written: "The fundamental assumption of Form Criticism... of small isolated units... appears to be fully justified". These small units go back to the very first decades of the history of the Church. There are signs that before the Gospels appeared in their present form there were smaller collections of incidents or sayings, e.g. Mark 11.1 - 11.6.

These earliest ~~say~~ units and collections of units were the work of the earliest disciples and followers of Jesus from the Day of Pentecost and onwards. It is now generally accepted that from an early date there existed a separate Passion Narrative. This was probably referred to, thinks Büssmann, when Paul wrote of the death of Christ ~~καὶ τὰς γραφῶν~~ (1 Cor. XV. 3.4.) He was referring not to the Old Testament, but to a written document in the possession of the very early Christian Church which was its own composition.

The classification of the other units has called forth the most varied nomenclature from Dihelius (4), Bultmann and others. Professor Taylor, after referring to the Passion Narrative, calls them, Pronouncement Stories, Sayings and Parables, Miracle Stories, and Stories about Jesus. The material we have examined comes from all these groups: Pronouncement Stories (Mk. 11.4 Vid. sup. p.67. V.T. p.65.); Sayings and Parables (Mt. V.17-48. Vid. sup. p.135. V.T. p.97.); Miracle Stories (Mk. V.16; f. Vid. sup. p.51. f. V.T. p.122); Stories about Jesus (Mk. VIII.33. Vid. sup. p.55. V.T. p.149). Every group, therefore is firmly rooted in this Semitic background. Some of the units are very near their origin and were collected into their present position from the Aramaic: others had been gathered into earlier groups before the writing of the Gospels and were already in Greek when incorporated. This approximates to Büssmann's conclusion (5) over Q: "Q is a fusion of two documents, one written in Greek (T)

which contained narratives and sayings, and the other written in Aramaic (R) containing sayings exclusively".

All the illustrations we have given, explicable as translations or mistranslations in Q of an Aramaic original are from sayings of Jesus, John the Baptist or the Centurion.

Units however with scriptural or liturgical interest which may foreshadow the shape of the liturgy or the earliest lectionary, seem to have a Hebrew background. In M. especially we saw the ability of the writer to make an independent use of Hebrew both in quoting the Old Testament and in referring to certain proper names. In L too it is Hebrew which explains variations between the Lukan and Pauline accounts of the Last Supper. There are the Hebrew words Amen, Eli and Hosanna. all of scriptural or liturgical interest.

Dugmore has recently shewn the indebtedness of the early Christians to the worship of the Synagogue. That indebtedness was greatest during the first years of the Christian Church when there was no thought of a separate institution. It may well be that those earliest Christians in Palestine used Hebrew in their Christian Synagogues for lessons, not only from the Old Testament but also from the 'Scriptures' to which Paul refers and which Bussmann ~~believes~~ believes to be the earliest passion narrative. In accordance with this is the suggestion about the words at the Last Supper and their Pauline variant. To these we suggest that there should be added 'The Words of the Lord Jesus' to which Paul ~~again~~ refers, in Acts XX.35. These would correspond to the Sayings and Parables of the Form Critics and in the eyes of the early Christians ~~was~~ assumed the status of 'The Words' which Moses spoke in ~~xxv~~ fifth book of the Torah. It is to be noticed that while Luke gives the form of our Lord's saying in Acts XX.35 as *Μετὰ τὸ εὐχρισθὲν ἑαυτοῦ εἰσελάλησεν ἡμῖν λέγων*, Clement of Rome gives it as *ἡ δὲ εὐχρῆσις ἡ ἐκείνη*. Dugmore admits that the prayers of Clement have affinities with the Synagogue prayers. Was he here dependent upon a collection of the Words of the Lord Jesus already of scriptural status and therefore in Hebrew? If we may assume the possibility of the same error as in Zechariah XI.12. F which we have already met (Vid sup.p.138), then Luke read *ῥαχ* (*φρασεολογία*) and Clement *ῥαχ* (*ῥαχ*), which is the rendering of Symmachus in 1 Sam.XVIII.20. Lake and Cadbury(12), commenting on the passage in Acts write: "There is no reason why there should not have been a collection in writing". And in view of the almost axiomatic belief that in the beginning was the sermon, the preacher may well have quoted from his ~~st~~ early Christian lectionary, then used in Hebrew in the Christian synagogue.

Confining then our deductions to the sections of the Gospels which we have examined, it is possible to see that there are units in the tradition which are very near to their Aramaic or occasionally Hebrew source.

NOTES

1. G.R.Driver. Article on Semitic Languages in the Encyclopaedia Britannica Ed.14. O'Leary. Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages p.2. W.R.Smith and A.A.Bevan in their article in the E.B. on the Hebrew Language are much less explicit and date the term 'since Eichhorn'. Col.1985.
2. G.R.Driver. The People and the Book. Chart opposite p.80. See Appendix p.235.
3. Lightfoot. Horae Hebraicae Vol.11.p.20.ff
4. Mishnah Megillah IV.4. Ed. Rabbinowitz.
5. J.T.S. Vol.XXIII.p.22.ff.
6. Letter of Aristeas. Charles A.P.O.T. Vol.11.p.83.ff.
7. Cooke G.A. North Semitic Inscriptions p.354.
8. Ibid. p.355. of. Sotah IX.14; In the war of Titus...no one was allowed to teach his son Greek. (Zahn Introduction to the N.T. Vol. 1. p.62.)
9. J.T.S. Vol.XXIX.p.43.ff. Ettelson H.W. The Integrity of 1 Maccabees.(Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 1925. pp.249.ff.)
10. H.D.B. s.v. Baruch. So also Schürer The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ. Div.11. Vol.11. p.191.
11. The Septuagint and Jewish Worship p.80.ff. Torrey (The Apocryphal Literature p.7.n.5.) says not only was Hebrew the original language of Baruch but also of Sirach, 1 Maccabees, Judith, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Psalms of Solomon, Wisdom (part), Lives of the Prophets.
12. Bevan E.R. House of Seleucus Vol.1.p.225.n.2. The text is given in Rénan Langues Sémitiques p.194 n.1:
*Ἄλλ' ἐν πρῶτον χρόνῳ ἐστὶν ἑλληνικὴ ἐν δ' οὖν οὐ γὰρ φοινικῆς
 Ἀβδουῖς. ἐν δευτέρῳ χρόνῳ τὸ δ' αὖτὸ φράσσου.*
 Phoenician and Greek were used on the coinage of Ptolemais after 261.B.C. (Makhoully Guide to Acre p.10.)
13. Thackeray Loeb Josephus Vol 11.pp.ix-xi. See also H.St.J Thackeray: An unrecorded Aramaism in Josephus J.T.S. XXX.p.361.
14. See also Moreau: Les plus anciens témoignages profanes sur Jésus. Bruxelles. 1944. p.25.f. Goguel. Jean-Baptiste. Paris 1928.p.21.f. Eisler. The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist p.131.ff

INTRODUCTION : NOTES

15. H.D.B. s.v. Baruch, Bel and the Dragon, and Tobit. Whitehouse A.P.O.T. 1.571. disputes Marshall's contention for Baruch. He believes the underlying text is Hebrew. Schürer (Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ.) thinks the original here is Greek. (Div. 11. Vol. 11. p. 191.)
16. Dalman Jesus-Jeshua p. 10
17. Ibid.
18. Schweitzer. The Quest of the Historical Jesus p. 270.
19. Codex Talmudicus in quo agitur de sacrificiis, caeterisque ministeriis Diei Expiationis, ex Hebraeo Sermone in Latinum versus et commentariis illustratus.
20. Schweitzer op. cit. p. 270.
21. De Hebraismis Novi Testamenti Commentarius. Amsterdam. 1665.
22. Della Lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da' tempi de' Maccabei. Parma. 1772.
- 22a. Neue Hypothese über die Evangelisten als blosse menschliche Schriftsteller betrachtet. 1784.
23. Über die Palästinsische Landessprache in dem Zeitalter Christi und der Apostel. Leipzig. 1798.
- 23a. The description 'Synoptic' was first given by Griesbach, 1797.
24. Marshall. Expositor Fourth Series. Vol. 111. p. 15. Klausner Jesus of Nazareth p. 82.
25. Schweitzer The Quest of the Historical Jesus p. 271.
26. Meyer. Jesu Muttersprache 1896. Wellhausen Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte Ed. 4. 1901. Burney Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. Torrey Our Translated Gospels and The Four Gospels.

TRANSLITERATIONS EXPLAINED BY MARK : NOTES

1. 1 Kings VI.11.15 $\theta\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\ \acute{\iota}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\beta$
 1 Kings VII.4 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\gamma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\theta$
 See further Swete Introduction p.324.f.
 Thackeray Grammar p.31
 Driver Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of
 Samuel.Edn.2.p.lxi.
2. Rom.VIII.15
 Gal.IV.6
3. Mark XIV.36
4. The Teaching of Jesus p.50
5. Mark X.46
6. Onom.Sac. LXVI.IO
7. The Gospel according to St Mark. West. Comm. p.149.
8. E.B. Col. 491.
9. Mark III.17
10. Vid sup.p.14.
11. Words of Jesus p.49
12. D.C.G. 1.216.
13. Ibid.
14. Bab.Dan.43.a. of. 2.Sam.XXIII.27 M.T. מִבְּנֵי R.V. Mebunnai.
 LXX. ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν ; and 2 Sam.XXIII.36. M.T. בָּנֵי R.V. Bani. LXX ὕἱος
15. Selon Saint Marc p.65.
16. e.g. Βουναίας for בְּנֵי and Σόδομα for סֹדֹם . See Hatch and
 Redpath Concordance s.vv. Βουναίας and Σόδομα .
17. Horae Hebraicae Vol.11.p.402.f. Ed. Gandell.1859.
18. E.B. Col. 593.
19. Ibid.
20. Com. in Dan. 1.7.

TRANSLITERATIONS EXPLAINED BY MARK : NOTES

21. Mark XV.34
Matt.XXVII.46
22. Haer. LXIX.68
23. L'Évangile de Pierre par Léon Vaganay.p.255.f.
24. Psalm XXII.1.
25. Gen.XXXI.29
Proverbs 111.27
Micah 11.1
Nehemiah V.5
26. Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta Tom11.p.117.
27. Dialogue with Trypho CXXV. A.N.C.L. p.258. cf. 2.Sam. XXII.31 M.T. לַאֱלֹהִים : LXX ἐξουσία v.32. M.T. לַאֱלֹהִים : LXX ἐξουσία .
Parallel verses in Ps.XVIII. δύναμις .
28. Deissmann Light from the Ancient East p.415. See further Dodd The Bible and the Greeks p.8. He concludes:his consideration of the word : "Thus the translators took לַאֱלֹהִים to describe God in His attribute of Power".
29. Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem p.305.f.
30. Mark VII.34.
31. D.C.G. 1.p.522.
32. Buxtorf Lexicon s.v. לַאֱלֹהִים
33. Grammatik Ed.2. p.253.n.1.
34. Mark XV.22
Matt XXVII.33
Luke XXIII.33 gives the explanation but not the transliteration.
- 34a. Exod. XVI.16
25. Introduction 1.1.29
36. Les Itinéraires de Jésus p.451.
37. Jesus of Nazareth p.352.
38. Sacrifice in the Old Testament p.17.
40. Against Apion 1.167. Ant. 4.4.4.

41. Vid. p.129

42. Mark V.41. There is a divergence here between the text of Westcott and Hort (κοσμ) and of the Revisers, presumably κοσμι.

43. D.C.G. 11.697.

44. Vid sup. p.23.

45. Hatch and Redpath s.v. Σαβα.

46. κοσμ B.C.L...fam.1. κοσμι A.D.Δ.Θ.... fam.13.

47. Nöldeke Syriac Grammar p.104.f.

48. Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem. p.297.

49. Chase 'The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels'.p.IIO.

50. Ibid.

TRANSLITERATIONS NOT EXPLAINED BY MARK:NOTES

- 1 Grammar of New Testament Greek Vol.1. s.v. ἀρχή, βιβλίον, etc
Index of Greek words and forms.
- 2 Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek p.34.f.
- 3 Mark 111.28 Mark XI.23
VIII.12 XII.43
IX.1 XIV.9
IX.41 XIV.18
X.15 XIV.25
X.29 XIV.30
- 4 e.g. Deut. XXVII.v.15.f
- 5 Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta Tom.1. p.311.
- 6 Sukenik. Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece p.77
)οκ)οκ λ κτθ . λς λς α λς (The inscription is from a synagogue
in Jerash.
7. E.T. Vol.13.p.563.
- 8 Mark IX.1 ἀρχή : Lk. IX.27 ἀρχή
- 9 Zeit.f.Luth.Theol. 1856. p.422.f.
- 10 Mark 111.22
Lk. XI.15
Mt. XII.24
There is a divergence between the text of W.H. and of the R.V.
- 11 Jastrow s.v. אָנא construct אָנא .
- 12 D.C.G. 1.181 (Nestle)
- 13 Zahn Introduction Vol.1.p.20
14. Mark 111.19
- 15 Luke VI.15 Ζηλωτής
- 16 Ant. 18.1.6
- 17 Montefiore. Synoptic Gospels Ed.2. Vol.1. p.89
Dalman. The Words of Jesus.p.50.
- 18 Abbott-Smith. Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament.
s.v. κεννάριος .

TRANSLITERATIONS NOT EXPLAINED BY MARK : NOTES

- 19 Mark IX.43,45,47
- 20 H.D.B. Vol.2.p.119.(Charles)
- 21 Josh.XVIII.16
- 22 Light from the Ancient East.p.259.n.7. This fusion of α and ε began in the first century A.D. (Moulton. Grammar of N.T.Greek. Vol.11.p.65.f.)
- 23
- 24 Mark XI.9
XI.10
- 25 Origenis Hexaplotum Fragmenta Tom.11.p.270.
- 26 Ep.20. Ad Damasum. Migne P.L. Tom.XXII.col.379.
- 27 The Septuagint and Jewish Worship p.74.f.
- 28 Thsaurus Syriacus s.v. ܠܝܠܝܘܬܝܐ
- 29 Sukkah IV.5
The Mishnah Danby p.178.
- 30 J.T.S. Vol.XVII.p.139.f.
- 31 B.D.B. s.v. $\nu\upsilon\tau$
- 32 Mark XI.15
Matt. XXI.15
- 33 Theophrastus Frag. 2. De lapidibus
Cicero In Ver.111.78,181
Ad Att XII.6
Suetonius In Aug. 11.4
- 34 Madden The Coins of the Jews p.306.
- 35 Gen.VI.14: pitch
Exod. XXI.30: redemptionis pretium
- 36 Mark XIV.3
- 37 Liddell and Scott. New Edition s.v. Νάρδος
- 38 Mark XIV.1,12(2),14,16 and parallels
- 39 Hatch and Redpath. A Concordance to the LXX. s.v. φασικ. φασίχ.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid. s.v. πασίχ

TRANSLITERATIONS NOT EXPLAINED BY MARK: NOTES

- 42 Cowley. Aramaic Papyri of the fifth century B.C.
passim.
- 43 G.A.Cooke. North Semitic Inscriptions p.90.f. 200.f.
- 44 Cowley op.cit. p.64.
- 45 Thackeray. Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek p.28.
- 46 Ibid. p.xx.
- 47 Swete. Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. p.319.n.3.
- 48 Introduction to the New Testament. Vol.1.p.46.
- 49 B.J. 2.10; Ant.5.1.4;9.13.3.
- 50 Luke 11.41.
- 51 Mark 11.16
11.18
11.6
VII.1
VII.3
VII.5
VIII.11
VIII.15
X.2
XII.13
- 52 Words of Jesus p.2
- 53 Introduction to the New Testament Vol.1.p32.
- 54 Ibid. 1.32.
- 55 Mark IX.5
XI.21
XIV.45
- 56 Hatch and Redpath. A concordance to the Septuagint
S.V. *ἐκχρημάτιστος, ἐκχριστουόχος.*
- 57 G.A.Cooke. North Semitic Inscriptions p.273.
- 58 Dugmore. The Interpretation of the Bible p.9.
- 59 Mark X.51. In the parallel passages (Lk. XVIII.41
and Matthew XX.33. we find *κρίσε.*)
- 60 Words of Jesus p.340.
- 61 In Mark the word appears in the plural in the following pas-
sages 1.21; 11.23; 11.24

TRANSLITERATIONS NOT EXPLAINED BY MARK : NOTES

- 61 cont. Mark 111.2
111.4.
It occurs in the singular in 11.27(02),28
VI.2
XVI.1.
- The parallel passages are by no means precise in following Mark.
- 62 Hatch and Redpath s.v. *σαββατων*
- 63 Vid sup p.30.
- 64 Liddwell and Scott. Grek-English Lexicon. New Edition. s.v. *σαββατων*
- 65 Flinders Petrie. The Status of the Jews in Egypt. p.28.
- 66 Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Vol.18. p.112. A Phoenician name is transliterated *Ἀβδγμοὺν*.
- 67 B.J. 1.146.
- 68 Contra Ap. 220,226.
B.J. 2.456 & 2.517.
- 69 Lexicon in LXX.s.v. *σαββατων*
- 70 Mark XV.42.
- 71 Charles A.P.O.T. Vol.1.p244.f.
- 72 *ηγοσ σαββατων*
- 73 Mark XII.18.
- 74 Dalman. Words of Jesus.p.3.
- 75 B.J. 11.119,164-166.
- 76 Moore G.F. Judaism Vol.1. p.68.f.
77. Mark 1.13
111.23
111.26
IV.15
VIII.33

TRANSLITERATIONS NOT EXPLAINED BY MARK : NOTES

- 78 Hatch and Redpath s.v. $\epsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$
- 79 e.g. Job 11.3. Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta Tom.11.p.6.
- 80 Milligan. Greek Papyri p.113 where the word appears as $\epsilon\alpha\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$. In view of the admittedly Semitic influence behind ~~the~~ this papyrus, the Aramaic form is significant.

PLACE NAMES IN MARK : NOTES

1 Mark XV.43. 1.Sam.1.1.

2 Mark 1.9,14,16,28,39.

3.7

6.21

7.31

9.30

14.28

15.41

16.7

Joshua XX.7 etc

~~2a Joshua XX.7 etc.~~

~~Map~~

2a Mark VI.53 (Matthew XIV.34) The name first occurs in Macc XI.67. Onkelos interprets 2 of Deut. XXXIII.23 as בְּיַרְדֵּן .

3 Mark 111.8 Isaiah XXXIV.5 etc.

4 Mark XII.29

XV.32

Old Testament passim.

5 Mark X.46

Numbers XXII.1 etc.

6 Mark 1.5

111.8,22

VII.1

X.32,33

XI.1,11,15,27

XV.41

Old Testament passim

7 Mark 1.5,9

111.8

X.1

Old Testament passim. 'Beyond Jordan (Mark 111.8 and X.1 is both in the Old Testament (Isaiah VIII.23) and be outside (Strabo XVI.2.16 and Tacitus V.6).

8 Mark 1.5

111.7

X.1

~~XIII.14~~

XIII.14

PLACE NAMES IN MARK : NOTES

8 cont. 1 Kings XXIII.3 etc. The LXX varies between 'louδαια and 'louδαια. See Hatch and Redpath. Concordance. s.v 'louδαια and 'louδαια

- 9 Mark 111.8
VII.24
VII.31 . The occurrence of the name Sidon in this verse is considered under Bethsaida. Vid. sup. p.36.
Gen.X.9.
- 10 Mark 111.8
VII.24,31.
2 Sam.V.11.
11. Mark Xv.21. where the adjective derived from the name occurs.
- 12 Vid. sup. p.41.
- 13 Mark XI.1,11,12,XIV.3.
- 14 Swete. St Mark. XI.1
- 15 D.C.G. 1.193 (Gautier).
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Swete op.cit.
- 18 Dalman. Les Itinéraires de Jésus. p.327. Abel.11.243,266.
- 19 Mark XI.1
- 20 Danby. Mishnah p.500,507. (Men. XI.2 אֲמַר עַד הַיָּם)
- 21 Abel 11.p.279.
- Swete
- 22 Swete St Mark XI.1
- 23 Horae Hebraicae Ed. Gandell. 1859. Vol.1.p.83.
- 24 Ev. sec. S. Marc. Ed. Legg App. Crit. ad loc.
- 25 Mark VI.45, VIII.22
- 26 H.G.H.L. p.457.
- 27 Burkitt, F.C. The Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names p. 6. (ܩܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ)
- 28 Ant.18.2.1.
- 29 Jesus of Nazareth p.165.

PLACE NAMES IN MARK : NOTES

- 30 D.C.G. 1.198.
- 31 B.J. 3.35
- 32 Rawlinson St Mark West. Comm. p.101.
- 33 Abel. 11.243 where further illustrations are given.
- 34 Rawlinson op.cit.p.101.
- 35 Mark 1.21, 11.1, IX.33.
- 36 Life. 403. There is some textual uncertainty here.
- 37 Syriac Grammar Nöldeke. Para.23. ..the East Syrians ~~xxxxx~~ for a very long time have nearly always given 'g' a hard sound; only in the end of a syllable have they sometimes given it a soft pronunciation. See also Burkitt: Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names p.27.
- 38 Buxtorf Lexicon s.v. 793
- 39 Mark VIII.10
- 40 Legg. ~~op.cit.~~ Mark VIII.10
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Old Syriac Gospels Ed.A.S.Lewis. ad loc.
- 43 Legg op.cit.
- 44 Abel 11.373
- 45 Mark V.20. VII.31
- 46 D.C.G. 1.436.
- 47 Abel 11.145
- 48 N.H. V.16
- 49 B.J. 3.446
- 50 H.G.H.L. p.396.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Mark V.1
- 53 Abel 11.p.331.

- 70 The Gospel according to St Mark p.7.
- 71 Lagrange Évangile selon S.Matthieu. p.37.
- 72 Ibid.p.38.
- 73 op.cit.p.16.
- 73a Josephus Life 235.
- 74 Mark XV.21
- 75 Acts 11.10; VI.9, XI.20, XIII.1
- 76 The Four Gospels p.297. Our Translated Gospels.p.131.f. Cyrenian (qurenai): farm labourer (qurṣai).
- 77 Lightfoot. Horae Hebraicae. Vol.1.p.171. Erubhin 53.*
(See note at bottom of this page)
- 78 Mark VII.26
- 79 The Four Gospels p.301. See Jastrow s.v ארסי :Syrian in gen.;gentile. In the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg.1.71) ארסי is used for a Latin woman.
- 80 Hierosolyma. Tacitus Hist.11.4. Cicero Fl.28,67.
In the Latin Fathers there is a return to the more archaic for Hierusalem.(See Lewis and Short).
- 81 D.C.G. 1.849.

* Note.

Jerome Comm.in Mt.XXVI.73.

Non quod alterius sermonis esset Petrus, aut gentis aut terrae:(omnes quippe Hebraei erant et qui arguebant ~~xxx~~ et qui arguebatur) sed quod unaquaque provincia et regio, habebat proprietates suas et vernaculum loquendi sonum vitare non possit.

- 9 Sukenik. Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece p.72. The inscription dates probably from Byzantine times.
- 10 Lightfoot Horae Hebraicae. Ed. Gandell. 1859. Vol. 11. p. 178.
- 11 Gesenius* Hebrew Grammar. Para. 6. r
- 12 Mark XV. 6-15, Matthew XXVII. 15-26, Luke XXIII. 17-25, Wendland has suggested that the name and incident are dependent upon an Egyptian madman Carabbas. Philo. c. Faacc. c. VI. Trans. Yonge. Vol. IV. p. 68.
- 13 Vid sup. p. 22.
- 14 XV. 7. W. H. *βαραββας*
247, 472, 482, 485. *βαραβας*
βαραββας also in vv. 11. 15
βαραββας also in v. 11.
W
- 15 Fam. 1. , 22, 241, 299, Syr. Sin and ~~XXXXXX~~ Origen in Mt. XXVII. 6.
- 16 The Four Gospels p. 95 and p. 136.
- 17 Evangelion da-Mepharreshe Vol. 11. p. 277. f.
- 18 Ibid. of. Lightfoot Horae Hebraicae Vol. 11. p. 363: A very usual name in the Talmudists.
- 19 M. R. James. The Apocryphal New Testament. p. 5. Jerome (in Matt. XXVII. 6) interprets the name as Filius Magistri. Likewise the Scholiast on Matthew XXVII. 6 writes : *δ βαραββας οτις ηρμηνευεται*
διδασκαλου υιου.
- 20 Vid. note 14 p. 168.
- 21 Deissmann. Bible Studies. p. 307. f.
- 22 Ibid. p. 309.
- 23 Ibid. See further, Kalusner. From Jesus to Paul. p. 334. n. 10.
- 24 Mark VI. 3, XV. 40 and XV. 47 and parallels.
- 25 Dictionary of the Targumim etc. s. v. *באראבבא*.
- 26 D. C. G. 1. 902.
- 27 W. A. L. Elmslie. 'Aboda Zarah p. 50 (111. 5)
- 28 R Travers Herford. Pirke Aboth. pp. 24, 25, 53, 54, 58, 59, 103, 121, 161. The name occurs in Aramaic inscriptions noted by Cooke (North Semitic Inscriptions p. 342)

- 28 cont and Sukenik (Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece p.73.) Zahn (Introduction to the New Testament Vol.1.p.29 writes: It may be that the people in Jerusalem, like the historian Josephus, preferred the full form $\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota$...and that $\gamma\omicron\iota$ was more common in Galilee.
- 29 Mark 11.19, XIV.10, XIV.43 and parallels.
- 30 Mark 11.19 Iscariotes: A fam.1., 22, Fam.13.
 Iscarioth: Aleph, B.C.M L, 33 565
 Scarioth: D. Syr.Sin.
- Mark XIV.10. A similar variety of readings
- Matthew X.4 and XXVII.14 exhibit the same variety of readings with the addition of Carioth (see Legg. ad loc.)
- 31 See note 30
- 32 Lewis. The Old Syriac Gospels. Mark 11.19, XIV.10, Matthew X.4 XXVI.14. Luke VI.16, XXII.3.
- 33 Burkitt. Evangelion da-Mepharreshe Luke XXII.3 of. John VI.71.
- 34 Nöldeke Syriac Grammar para.51. of. Segal. Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar para.62.
- 35 Jastrow. Dictionary of the Targumim.s.v. $\chi\tau\omicron\iota$
- 36 Nöldeke op.cit.
- 37 Payne Smith. Thes.Syr. p.3.
- 38 Ibid. p.2637.
- 39 Dalman. Words of Jesus p.51.
- 40 B.D.B. s.v. $\chi\tau\omicron\iota$ Gray. Hebrew Proper Names. s.v. Index. Josephus, Ant.7.6.1. has $\chi\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (? $\chi\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$): LXX $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$
 2 Sam.X.6. and 2 Sam X.8.
- 41 Mark 11.16.
- 42 Cephas: 1 Cor.1.12, 11.22, IX.9, XV.5 and Gal.11.9. Elsewhere in Galatians we find Peter.
- 43 Selwyn (Gore's Commentary N.T. p.302.)
- 44 M.M.J. p.496.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK:NOTES

- 1 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.33.f.
- 2 Field. Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta Tom.11.p.283.
- 3 Ep.106. para.63. Migne P.L. Vol.XXII.Col.859. Jerome goes on to give a further illustration of the identity of ~~סג~~ and 'tectum': Denique et Petrus in Actibus Apostolorum (Cap.X.9 : Migne's reference is mistaken here) quando ~~in~~ ascendit in doma, in tectum aedificii ascendisse credendus est.
- 4 M.M. p.174.
- 5 F.W.Mozley. The Psalter and the Church.p.154.
- 6 B.D.B. p.1098.s.v. ~~ב~~.
- 7 G.A.Cooke. North Semitic Inscriptions. p.272,274,313. These inscriptions belong to the second and third centuries A.D.
- 8 Jastrow. Dictionary of the Targumim etc. s.v. ~~פ~~ P1. ~~פ~~
- 9 VI.14
- 10 The Teaching of Jesus p.212.
- 11 VIII.31,38, IX.9,12,31, X.33,45, XIII.26, XIV.21(2),41,62.
- 12 Sukk.53.a.
- 12a Allen (St Matthew I.C.C. p.91.) gives it as ~~סג~~
- 13 Swete. The Gospels according to St Mark ad loc.
- 14 It occurs in the Aramaic part of Daniel: 11.38.
- 15 Selon S.Matthieu p.244.
- 16 The Four Gospels. p.298. Our Translated Gospels. p.7. p.9.
- 17 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts.p.119.f.
- 18 Lexicon. s.v. ~~פ~~
- 19 Torrey. Our Translated Gospels p.7. p.9.
- 20 The Teaching of Jesus p.75.f.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK: NOTES

- 21 The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. p.101.f
- 22 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.153.f.
- 23 J.T.S. Vol.XXXVIII. p.399.f.
- 24 Westcott. The Epistle to the Hebrews p.51. §.11.v.12.
- 25 The Biblical Archaeologist. Vol.1.p.8.
- 26 Wright. Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, p.49.
- 27 Field. Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta. tom.11.p.565.
- 28 Buxtorf. Lexicon s.v. ܨܘܪܐ
- 29 B.D.B. s.v. ܨܘܪܐ
- 30 Ezekiel I.C.C. p.311. ܨܘܪܐ Acc. saru to pass along, take one's way. Arabic sa'ra march, travel, Sayya'rat, caravan.
- 31 Cooke. North Semitic Inscriptions. p.271.
- 32 Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta. Tom.11.p.910.
- 33 Burkitt. Evangelion da-Mepharreshe Vol.1.p.33.
- 34 The Expositor. Fourth Series. Vol.11.p.77.
- 35 Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem. p.296.
- 36 The Poetry of our Lord.p.121.
- 37 The Four Gospels.p.191.
- 38 The Four Gospels p.274. Our Translated Gospels p.143. Black, in his Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.158., is not convinced by this chain of scholarship. He writes: "What we have in Mark is not literal translation nor ignorant mistranslation, but probably considered interpretation, the work not of a translator but of a Greek writer".
- 39 Streeter op.cit.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK : NOTES

- 40 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.8
- 41 The Four Gospels p.300. Our Translated Gospels.p.93.f.
- 42 Judges I.C~~9~~0. p.94.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Horae Hebraicae. Vol.11.p.417.
- 45 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts.p.8.
- 46 See for example the plate of Palmyrene script in Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions PlateVIII.
- 47 Vid.sup.p.32.
- 48 Lewis. The Old Syriac Gospels. p.vii.
- 49 Ibid. p.xvii.
- 50 The Four Gospels. p.294.
- 51 In a letter to the writer Dec.16.1946.
- 52 See also Merx. Die Vier kanonischen Evangelien. Part 11. 1st half.pp.54-56.
- 53 Lewis. The Old Syriac Gospels. ad loc.
- 54 Jastrow. A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.s.v. 𐤓𐤓
- 55 ibid. s.v. 𐤓𐤓
- 56 ibid. s.v. 𐤓𐤓
- 57 Elliott. Hebrew Learning. Dictionary of Christian Biography Vol.11.p.866. Jerome confuses 𐤓𐤓 meaning drought or desolation in Zeph.11.14., with 𐤓𐤓 and renders it raven. See also p.41.
- 58 Evangelion da-Mepharreshe Vol.1.p.307.
- 59 The Four Gospels Translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. p.121.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN MARK : NOTES

- 60 vid sup. p.48
- 61 The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel p.10.
- 62 Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels.2nd Series.p.203.f.
- 63 Swete. The Gospel according to St Mark. ad loc.
- 64 Cooke. North Semitic Inscriptions Plate VIII.
- 65 The Gospel according to St Mark.(Oxford Church Biblical Commentary ad loc.) E.T. XIII.p.330.
- 66 Moulton. Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol.1.
Prolegomena p.131. Ptolemaic Papyrus Tb. E.50.
- 67 Evangile selon S. Marc. p.409.
- 68 Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels pgs. 1 & 11.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.

- 1 Opera quaedam hactenus inedita. J.S.Brewer.London 1859.
Opus tertium. Cap.LIV.p.266.
- 2 The Teaching of Jesus p.56
- 3 Ant. 2.16.4
- 4 Ant 4.18.44
- 5 Ant 7.12.3 Philo De Vit. Contemp.
- 6 Jebb Sacred Literature p.10
- 7 Burney The Poetry of Our Lord p.59 See also De Sacra
Poesi Hebraeorum Oxford 1753. p.195 :

Ait ille (Azariah), Sine dubio esse mensuras et proportiones certas Canticorum sacrorum, sed illas non consistere in numero metionum (hoc est syllabarum) vel pedum perfectorum aut imperfectorum, juxta formam carminum Aodiernorum; sed in numero Rerum, et illarum (rerum) partium, Subiecti scilicet et praedicati, et quod illa inter se copulat in unaquaque sententia et enuntiatione.... siue est versus duabus mensuris seu propositionis partibus constans; quibus in accedat secundus, fiunt quattuor: alius qui constant ex tribus, quibus si alter accedat, fiunt sex: non enim tibi sunt numerandae vel syllabae vel dictiones, sed sensus.

- 8 Jebb Sacred Literature p.10
- 9 Ibid p.11.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 De Sac. Poes. Heb. Oxford 1753. Lowth.
- 12 Ibid p.180
- 13 Lowth op.cit.p189.
- 14 ibid.p.191.
- 15 Sacred Literature Section VI.
- 16 Ibid.p.38
- 17 Ibid. p.53.
- 18 Psalms I.C.C. Vol.1. p.XXXV, In the B.T. (Vol.VIII.pp. 393, .492...and Vol.IX.p.69) he writes of the originally Hebrew Poetry of "The Wisdom of Jesus the Messiah"

HEBREW POETRY : NOTES

- 19 Burney Judges p.169.f.
- 20 The Poetry of our Lord p.107.
- 21 Ibid p.100.f.
- 22 A.S.Peake. Introduction to Lamentations. Century Bible (Jeremiah Vol.11 and Lamentations) p.290.
- 23 The Book of Amos. West. Comm. p.48
- 24 Introduction to the Literature of the O.T. p.391.f. (Ed.9)
- 25 The Poetry of our Lord p.147.f.
- 26 The Four Gospels translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest p.XV.
- 27 ~~Amo~~ Amos V.5 See also Gen. XXIX.34: על כן קרא שמו לוי
- 28 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.118.
- 29 Forster Life of Jebb. p.145. Alexander Knox. p.152. Bishop Middleton of Calcutta.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM IN MARK : NOTES

- 1 Vid. sup. p.31
- 2 The Poetry of our Lord p.64.f.
- 3 Mark renders:
 And if a kingdom be divided against itself,
 that kingdom cannot stand,
 And if a house be divided against itself
 that house will not be able to stand.
- 4 Rawlinson. St Mark. West. Comm. ad loc.
- 5 Lk. XII.10.Mt. XII.31-32.
- 6 of. Pirke Aboth IV.4. He that profanes the name of heaven
 in secret (בְּסֵתֶר) shall be requited openly (בְּפִנְיָא).
- 7 Selon S Marc.ad loc. Swete, The Gospel according to St
 Mark, writes, p.78; "The interpretation of the parable
 (of the sower) takes the form of a parallelism after the
 manner^{er} of Proverbs or Sirach". Jebb (Sacred Literature
 p.168) comments on the use of καυατήν and φουζροῦν in parallelism
 in Rom.11.28., and 1. Cor. XIV.25.
- 8 Jebb. Sacred Literature p.38. "Cognate parallelism discharges
 the more difficult and more critical function of discrimi-
 nating between different degrees of truth and falsehood on
 the one hand, of falsehood and evil on the other". ~~XXXV~~
- 9 The Poetry of our Lord.p.65. Aramaic Origin of the Fourth
 Gospel p.76.
- 10 Lk. VIII.17.
- 11 The Poetry of our Lord.p.66.n.2.
- 12 Vid.p.75.
- 13 Jesus-Jeshua p.191.
- 14 The Four Gospels p.293.
- 15 The Poetry of our Lord p.63.
- 16 The Gospel according to St Matthew. p.287.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM IN MARK:NOTES

- 17 Lagrange Évangile selon Saint Matthieu. p.393.
- 18 Essays in Biblical Greek p.54.
- 19 Words of Jesus p.1288.
- 20 Hatch and Redpath Concordance s.v. *ἑτοιμασία, ἱεραποστολή*.
- 21 Jesus-Jeshua p.118

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM IN MARK

- 22 Toy, Proverbs I.C.C.p.ix.
- 23 Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, 1st Series ch. XVII.
- 24 Jesus-Jeshua p.238.
- 25 The Gospel according to St. Mark p.79.
- 26 Jesus-Jeshua p.228.
- 27 Évangile selon Saint Mark p.114.
- 28 The Teaching of Jesus p.61.
- 29 The Poetry of our Lord p.74. McNeile. The Gospel according to St Matthew p.148 believes that the same Aramaic underlies the different expressions of this paradox. Mk. VIII.35: Lk. IX.24: Mt. XVI.25. Lk. XVII.33: Mt. X.39.
- 30 Burney The Poetry of our Lord p.75.
- 31 Sacred Literature p.114.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Burney The Poetry of our Lord p.76

CLIMACTIC PARALLELISM IN MARK

COMPOUND PARALLELISM IN MARK

- 34 The Teaching of Jesus p.54.f.

35 Évangile selon S. Matthieu. p.182.

FOUR BEAT RHYTHM

36 The Matthaean version is preferred by Burney.

KINAH

37 Burney (The Poetry of our Lord p.141.) puts the passage in ~~bracket~~ brackets (Mk.11.19.b.) into the Matthaean version. He considers it should be adopted because of its perfect rhythm. Its omission he thinks is accidental. He considers that the Matthaean version generally is more Semitic in tone.

PROVERBS

38 Jesus-Jeshua p.225. Sot.1.7. Siphre 28.b. See also Smith D. D.C.G. 11.446.b.

39 Rabbinic Literature and Gospel Teachings p.144.f.

40 Dalman op.cit.

41 Black. An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts.p.123.

42 Montefiore op.cit. p.35.

43 Novum Testamentum Graecum 1.291

44 Dalman op.cit. p.229.

45 Dalman Jesus-Jeshua p.230

46 Horae Hebraicae Vol.11.p.264.

47 op.cit.p.230.

48. Dalman ~~Jesus~~ Jesus-Jeshua p.232.

49 op.cit. p.23.f.

50 D.C.G. s.v. Proverbs (Jesus' use of...)

ASSONANCE

51 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.119.f.

THE CONTENTS OF Q : NOTES

1 The Four Gospels.p.291.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN Q

2 Vid. sup.p.27.f.

3. Lk.XVI.13.

4 XVIII.9. Charles A.P.O.T. Vol.11.p.832.

5 11.12. The word occurs in a saying of Rabbi Jose c.80.A.D. Danby, Mishnah p.449., translated property. The date is given by Travers Herford. Pirke Aboth.p.66.

6 Ep.XXII.31. Migne P.L. Vol.XXII.p col. 417. cf. Ep. CXXI. Non Hebraeorum sed Syrorum lingua, Migne. Ibid. Col.1019.
7 Aug. Serm. LXIII.(on St Luke XVI.) ...mammon: It is not a Latin word. It is a Hebrew word, and cognate to the Punic language. For these languages are allied to one another by a kind of nearness of signification. What the Punic call mammon, is called in Latin Divitiae.

8 In a letter to the writer.

9 Lk.XIII.21: Mt.XIII.33

10 Hatch and Redpath s.v.

11 Ibid. s.v. *μάτρον, ματρωνή*.

12 Ant.9.4.5.

13 Comm. in Mt. ad loc.

14 Lk. XVII.6

15. M.M.J. p.433.

PLACE NAMES IN Q

16 D.C.G. 1.p.849.

17 An exegetical commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew p.324.n.1.

18 The Gospel according to St Matthew. p.341. Moulton Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol.11.p.147. Moulton's conclusion agrees with the one already reached : Mark always writes *ἡ προσόνομα*; but Q writes *ἡ προσεληγή*.

19 Lk.X.13.

PLACE NAMES IN Q : NOTES

- 20 Onom.
- 21 Menahoth 85a
- 22 Sukenik Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece p.21.
- 23 Vid p.138

PERSONAL NAMES IN Q.

- 24 In Matt Hom LXXIV (LXXV) para.2 Ed.Migne P.G. Tom LVII
p.681. Translation by the writer.
- 25 Amann.Prottevangile de Jacques p.264ff. James The Apocryphal
New Testament p.48.
- 26 Wellhausen Einleitung pp.118f.
- 27 B.J.IV. 335. Ed Thackeray.
- 28 J T S Vol.XIII.pp398ff.
- 29 ~~Wetstein~~ Chapman op cit p.408.f.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN Q : NOTES

- 1 M.M.J. p.331.f.
- 2 Church Quarterly Review Vol.CXXXII.p.197.f.
- 3 The Poetry of our Lord. p.67.f., 76.f.,91.,113.f.
- 4 Torrey. The Four Gospels p.290,291,309. See also Our Translated Gospels.
- 5 E.T. XV.528
- 6 The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. p.8.
- 7 Vol.CXXXII.p.197.f.
- 8 M.M.J. p.332.
- 9 The Four Gospels p.290. Black (An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, p.106.) renders Luke: ~~אֲנִי הָיִיתִי מִלְּפָנָיו~~
אֲנִי הָיִיתִי מִלְּפָנָיו
- 10 McNeile. St Matthew p.53. M.M.J. p.340.
- 11 Moffatt. Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament. p.195.f.
- 12 M.M.J. p.356.f. Black, (Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.116.) supports this.
- 13 Jastow. A Dictionary of the Targumim etc. s.v. תַּרְגוּמֵי
- 14 The Teaching of Jesus p.217.f.
- 15 Ibid. cf. Beza on Matthew VIII.20 : Familiare est Hebraeis ut de se loquantur in tertia persona.
- 16 St Luke: the ^Mman and his work. p.54. (based on Nestle and Wellhausen.) McNeile, St Matthew p.137., considers ^{אֲנִי הָיִיתִי מִלְּפָנָיו} and ^{אֲנִי הָיִיתִי מִלְּפָנָיו} as variations of the same Aramaic original.
- 17 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.2.
- 18 E.T. XV.528.
- 19 Church Quarterly Review. Vol.CXXII.p.197.
- 20 The Teaching of Jesus. p.237.f.
21. Box. St Matthew. Century Bible. p.195.
- 22 The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus. p.23.
- 23 Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. Second Series. p.191.
- 24 Black. An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.2.

SYNONYMOUS OR COGNATE PARALLELISM

- 1 Matthew only preserves the first and fourth lines.
- 2 The Mission and Message of Jesus p. 342.
- 3 Creed. The Gospel according to St Luke.p.95.
- 4 Both versions are here identical.
- 5 Again, both versions are here identical.
- 6 Burney. The Poetry of our Lord.p.68. The Second stichos summarises vv.30-31 of Matthew c.XXIII.
- 7 Forster. Life of Bishop Jebb 1837.p.153.
- 8 The Poetry Of our Lord.p.68.

ANTITHETIC PARALLELISM

- 9 The Matthaean version is followed here as Luke entirely destroys the parallelism.
- 10 Burney. The Poetry of our Lord.p.82. Manson. The Teaching of Jesus. p.74.

A MINORI AD MAIUS

- 11 The Poetry of our Lord.p.82.

SYNTHETIC PARALLELISM

CLIMACTIC PARALLELISM

COMPOUND PARALLELISM

- 12 Manson. The Teaching of Jesus.p.55.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Some MSS (D. Old Syriac) omit 'how they grow'. There is probably a play upon words underlying 'toil (ܠܡܥܠ) and spin (ܠܡܘܠܝܢ)'. The Mission and Message of Jesus.p.403.
- 15 Manson. The Teaching of Jesus.p.55.
- 16 Ibid.p.54.

THE POETRY OF Q : NOTES

- 17 Burney. The Poetry of our Lord. p.146. Manson. M.M.J. p.418.
- 18 Burney op.cit. p.171. M.M.J. p.371. אֵל , that thou might easily reflect the Aramaic אֵל which, equally correctly, may be translated אֵל , who.

And understanding: these words are omitted for rhythmical reasons.

Yea, Father. Burney (The Poetry of our Lord. p.171.) thinks that something has dropped out here parallel to, I thank thee. He suggests, I gave gladly to thee; mesabbahna lak.

Manson, M.M.J. p.371., considers the whole passage full of Semitic turns and phrases, and of definite Palestinian origin.

Chapman (McNeile. St Matthew. p.165.) likewise uses poetical considerations here to arrive at the true text.

- 19 The Poetry of our Lord. p.131. Manson, M.M.J. p.348.

ASSONANCE

- 20 Dalman. Jesus-Jeshua. p.229. Manson. M.M.J. p.239.
- 21 The Four Gospels translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest p.xv. אֵל (אֵל) : to do (אֵל).
- 22 The Four Gospels p.278.
- 23 Lewis. Op.cit. p.xv.f.
- 24 M.M.J. p. 404.
- 25 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.135.f.
- 26 Abrahams Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. Second Series. p.184. Abrahams also suggests that we may have here another Aramaic proverb.

PROVERBS

- 27 Horae Hebraicae Vol.11.p.157.f.
- 28 Jesus-Jeshua p.227.f.
- 29 Ibid. p.237.

Proverbs

- 30 Abrahams Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels. Second Series. p.183.f.
- 31 D.C.G. Vol.11. s.v. Proverbs (Jesus' use of.)
- 32 Lagrange Évangile Selon S.Matthieu p.383.
- 33 Jesus- Jeshua p.228.
- 34 Ibid. p.237.
- 35 Ibid. p.238.

The Poetry of John the Baptist

- 36 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts. p.106.

Assonance in the Teaching of John the Baptist

- 37 Creed. The Gospel according to St Luke p.52.

The Poetry of the Centurion

- 38 Vid sup.p.88.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN L: NOTES.

- 1 Luke XVI.6 x l w . βάρδοσ γ σαδουαρ γα σαταυαρς β.161.
- 2 11. Chron.IV.5
- 3 Isaiah V.10
- 4 M.M.s.v. βατος
- 5 Luke XVI.19
- 6 Liddell and Scott New Edition s.v. βύσσος
- 7 B.D.B.s.v. γ 12.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Luke XVI.7 (Hameu 7id)
- 10 L'Evangile selon Luc p.406
- 11 Luke 111.27
- 12 Torrey The Four Gospels p.306
- 13 Ibid
- 14 St Luke I.C.C.p.104
- 15 North Semetic Inscriptions p.285.
- 16 Luke 1.15
- 17 Hatch and Redpath Concordance s.v. σίκερα
- 18 Schleusner Lexicon in LXX.s.v. σίκερα
- 19 Wright St Luke's Gospel in Greek p.63.






PLACE NAMES IN L : NOTES

- 1
Lk. 1.26; 11.4, 39; 111.1; XVII.11; XXIII.5, 6.
- 2 Lk. 1.16, 54, 68, 80; 11.25, 32, 34; IV.25; XXIV.21
- 3 Lk. X.30; XIX.1
- 4 Lk. 11.22, 25, 38, 41, 43, 45,; IX.51, 53; X.30; XIII.4; XVII.11.
XXIII.7, 28; XXIV.13, 18, 33, 47, 52.
It is noticeable that L. has a marked preference for the more archaic form of the name. Only on two occasions in W.H. does he use the more modern form, 11.22 and XXIII.7. (See note on p. 42.)
- 5 Lk. 1.5, 65; 11.4; 111.1; VII.17; XXIII.5
- 6 Lk. IV.26
- 7 Luke IV.23
- 8 Lk. V.1
- 9 Lk. 1.26; 11.4, 39, 51; IV.16; XXIV.19.
- 10 Lk. II.4, 15
- 11 Lk. 111.1
- 12 Lk. VII.1
- 13 Lk. XVII.11. There are other references to the Samaritans in Lk. IX.52; X.33; XVII.16
- 14 Lk. XIII.4
- 15 Lk. 11.2
- 16 Lk. IV.26
- 17 Lk. XXIV.13
- 18 D.C.G. 11.843
- 19 ibid.
- 20 R.W. Hamilton. Guide to the Historical Site of Sebastieh. p.24.
- 21 G.A. Smith. Historical Geography of the Holy Land. p.386.n.1.
22. A.E. Cowley. Aramaic Papyri. no.30. 1.29 (408.B.C.) שְׁבַסְתִּי

PLACE NAMES IN L. NOTES.

- 23 Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement
July 1933.p.152.
- 23a B.J.5.410.
- 24 Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel Edn.2.p.lxiv
- 25 1 Macc. 111.40,57, 1V. 3,IX,50.
- 26 B.J. IV.11
- 27 E.B. Col.1289.
- 28 Lightfoot Horae Heb.p.315. In the Mishnah (Arak.11.4 it
appears as ~~בִּיאָרָא~~. See Danby p.545.)
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Luke 1.39.
- 31 Our Translated Gospels p.85.
- 32 Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.p.133.
- 33 Géographie de la Palestine Vol.11.p.120.
- 34 B.D.B.s.v.
- 35 Payne-Smith Syriac English Dictionary s.v. *לֵב*

PERSONAL NAMES IN L : NOTES

- 1 The Gospel according to St Luke. p.lxx.
- 2 Lk.XVI.22.ff.
- 3 Lk.1.27,32.etc
- 4 Lk.1.17, IV.25.etc
- 5 Lk.IV.17
- 6 Lk.1.33
- 7 Lk.1.13,60,63.
- 8 Lk.1.31.etc
- 9 Lk.1.27.etc.
- 10 Lk.1.27.etc
- 11 Lk.V.3,4,5,8,10, XXIV.34 (Simon Peter)
VII.40,43,44. (Simon the Pharisee)
- 12 Lk.V.10
- 13 Lk.1.5.etc
- 14 1 Chron. XXIV.10 and XXVI.20: Lk.1.5.
- 14a The Sinaitic Syriac renders 
- 15 Exod. VI.23. Lk.1.5.etc.
- 16 2 Kings V.1.etc. Lk.IV.27.
- 17 Lk.111.2. Ch.111.of Lk. uses Mark and Q. but the elaborate framework of dating is his own. All names therefore in Lk. 111.2 & 2 will be considered.
- 18 Hort. The First Ep. of St Peter. pp.151.ff. Bernard. St. John. I.C.C. Vol.1.p.60.
- 19
- 20 Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages p.50.
of Sinaitic Syriac  : Curetonian 
Segal. Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar. Para. 45.  =  p
- 21 Parah 111.5
- 22 Ezra VIII.4
- 23 The Mishnah p.700.

PERSONAL NAMES IN L. NOTES

- 24 Luke VIII.3
- 25 Philology of the Gospels p.152.
- 26 The Expositor Fifth Series Vol.IX.p.118.ff.
- 27 Cook S A. Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions
- 28 Luke VIII.3.
- 29 Luke X.38,40,41.
- 30 Cooke North Semitic Inscriptions p.256.
- 31 Ibid.p.278.
- 32 Horae Hebraicae Vol.111.p.360.
- 33 Luke 11.1 and 111.1 (A Lucan framework to Mark and Q.)
- 34 Luke 11.1,V111.3,XX111, 7(2)8,11,12.
- 35 Luke 11.1(This Philip was Tetrarch of Ituraea.) We have already met a disciple of this name but not the tetrarch.x
- 36 Luke 11.1, K111.1, XXX111.6,11.12.
- 37 Luke 11.1
- 38 The name occurs in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus and frequently in Polybius (11.47, 51,63,71; 1V.1; V.34,35,58; XV.25, XXIX.24.)
- 39 Luke 11.1
- 40 Luke 1.3. Streeter has suggested that this name hides the identity of Flavius Clemens. The Four Gospels.p.534.f.
- 41 Luke 11.1
- 42 Horae Hebraicae Vol.111.p.360. cf. Juchasin Fol.81.1
 ב. ה. ש. ל. כ. ל. ר. א. ל. ע. ז. כ. ב. ב. י. א. ר. ל. ע. ז. כ. ב.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN L : NOTES

- 1 Horae Synopticae p.130. "The Aramaic or Hebrew....Talitha Cumi"
- 2 St Luke I.C.C. p.46. "The marks of Lk's style, accompanied by Hebraistic forms of expression still continue; and we infer... ..that he is translating from an Aramaic document".
- 3 The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative p.67.f. and 80.f.
- 4 Vid. sup..p.111.
- 5 We have followed the line suggested by Torrey but have substituted* for γ (as in The Four Gospels p.305 and Our Translated Gospels.p.84. and p.87) See also, Peakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake Vol.IV.p.131 for a discussion of the word in Acts XI.28). The twofold use of the word is to be seen in the Targum where it is used of the whole world (Genl.1.) and of the land of Palestine (Gen.XXVI.2.)
- 6 Our Translated Gospels. Torrey.p.87.
- 7 A.N.C.L. Tertullian against Marcion.p.254.
- 8 Torrey. op.cit.p.98.f.
- 9 The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel. p.113. תליתא
- 10 Theology. Vol.XLIX.p.78.f.
- 11 St Luke I.E.C. p.263.
- 12 The Gospel according to St Luke. p.152.
- 13 The Gospel according to St Luke. p.141.
- 14 Torrey The Four Gospels.p.309. and Our Translated Gospels.p31
15. A Dictionary of the Targumim etc. s.v. תליתא
- 16 ibid. s.v. תליתא
- 17 The Four Gospels. p.310.
- 18 The Teaching of Jesus.p.55.
- 19 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts.p.129f.
- 20 Chase. The Syro Latin Text of the Gospels p.9.
- 21 Expositor. Fourth Series Vol.11.p.74.
- 21a. τὸ ἰσραηλῆσιν ἰσχυροῦσιν : om.D.
- 22 Expositor op.cit. p.77.f
- 23 The Religion of the Semites. Edn.3. p.402.n.3.

- 1 Shall dash thee to the ground: Creed affirms that the Greek here (ἵσαοῦ) may mean 'to lay level with the ground' or 'to dash against the ground'. Burney prefers the former as giving better parallelism with the following line. (Poetry of our Lord p.69.n.1.)
- 2 The Poetry of our Lord p.132.
- 3 Augustine detected some artifice here: Repetitive nominis indicium delectationis; aut movendae intentionis ut audiret intentius. (Sermon LIII:3.)
- 4 The Teaching of Jesus p.55.
- 5 Black has recently examined these hymns afresh and draws attention not only to their frequent examples of parallelism but also to their examples of assonance. The original language he considers to be Aramaic. (An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts.p.111.f.)
- 6 Forster Life of Bishop Jebb. p. 152.
- 7 L'Évangile selon Luc. p.96.
- 8 J.T.S. XVIII. 274
- 9 St Luke I.C.C.p.27. Plummer sees two strophes of four lines each.
- 10 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.125.
- 11 The Words of Jesus p.229.
- 12 Bereshith Rabba. 23. Physician heal thy lameness.
- 13 Dalman Words of Jesus p.227. He also gives a number of Hebrew parallels.
- 14 Horae Hebraicae Vol.111.p.210.
- 15 Words of Jesus p.232.
- 16 St Luke I.C.C. p.529. Wetstein (Vol.1.p.816) gives examples.
- 17 Words of Jesus p.232.
- 18 op.cit.p.230.
- 19 op.cit.p.227, 230, 231.
- 20 An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts p.114. This confusion of and is as old as Jud.XII.6. אֲבָרָהָם אֲבָרָהָם

21. E.B. Col. 2914.
22. The Gospel according to St. Luke B.244.
23. The Book of Isaiah Vol.1. p.104. The original Hebrew is:
:וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת-קוֹל אֲדָמָה

TRANSLITERATIONS IN M : NOTES

1 Matthew V.17, VI.2, 5 X.23, XIV.28, XVIII.18,19, XXV.12,40,45.
Vid.sup.p.27.

~~XXXX~~

2 X.25 Vid.sup. p.27

3 IX.34, XV.12, XVI.11,12, XXI.45, XXII.34, XXIII.2,15.
XXVII.62. Vid. sup. p.30.

4 XXIII.7,8. Vid. sup.p.31.

5 ~~Matthew~~ XII.5,11. Vid. sup. p.31.

6 ~~Matthew~~ XVI.11,12,XXII.34

7 VI.7

8 XXVII.6

9 V.22

10 *ibid.*

11 XIII.25,30.

12 Moulton Grammar. Vol.11.p.68.

13 Cf. Psalm CVI.33

14 Vid.sup.p.25.

15 B.J. 2.175.

16 Abbott Smith: Lexicon, s.v. *Μωπος* Zahn. Introduction. Vol.1.
p.17.f. Moulton Grammar Vol.11.p.153.f.

17 M.M.J. p.448.

TRANSLITERATIONS IN M : NOTES

- 18 of. Num.XX.v.IO where the R.V. translates ²⁷²⁷ as rebels.
- 19 Hom. in Matt. XVI.7. Migne P.E.LVII. col 248.
- 20 Serm. Dom. in Monte
- 21 D.C.G. 11.p.468. (Nestle)
- 22 Ibid
- 23 Jesus-Jeshua p.14 of B.D.B. s.v. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Vol.11. p.109.
- 24 Sir W.Thistleton Dyer.E.B. Col.4897.
- 25 Liddell and Scott. Lexicon New Edn. s.v. ^{zizān} (Sumerian:zizan)
- 26 Kilaim 1.1. Terumoth 11.6

PLACE NAMES IN M : NOTES

.....

PERSONAL NAMES IN M : NOTES

- 1 Levertoff. St Matthew. Gore's Commentary.p.130.
- 2 e.g. David, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus (Joshua), Judas, Mary, Matthew, Moses, Peter, Simon. All of these are from an Old Testament environment.
- 3 e.g. Abraham.
- 4 Aminadab, Eleazar, Eliakim, Hezrom, Jesse, Joseph, Nahshon, Obed, Salmon, Shealtiel, Zerubbabel.
- 5 Abijah, Abiud, Ahaz, Amon, Aram, Asa(ph), Eliud, Hezekiah, Jechoniah, Jehoshaphat, Joram, Josiah, Jotham, Manasseh, Matthan, Phares, Rehoboam, Sadoc, Tamar, Uriah, Zera.
- 7 Onom. Sac. 60,62.
- 8 Vid.sup.p.22.
- 10 Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta. Tom.11.p.443.
- 11 e.g. Isaac. Gen. XVII.17.f. Jacob.Gen.XXV.26.
- 12 De Mut. Nom. 21.
- 13 Ant. 5.1.2 & 7.

TRANSLATIONS AND MISTRANSLATIONS IN M: NOTES

- 1 Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek p.396.ff.
- 2 Evangile selon Saint Matthieu p.72.
- 3 Burkitt. Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe Vol.1p.18.
- 4 An Old Hebrew Text of Matthew's Gospel p.23f.
- 5 The First Apology Ch.XVI (A.N.C.L. Justin Martyr and Athenagoras p.20.)
- 6 The Mission and Message of Jesus p.451.
- 7 See Mayor; The Epistle of St James. p.162.
- 8 Cooke: North Semitic Inscriptions p.197.
- 9 The Gospels as Historical Documents Vol.11 p.82.
- 10 vid sup.p.18.
- 11 vid sup.p.103.
- 12 The Gospel of Matthew p.185.
- 13 Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece p.57ff.
- 14 Mitchell. Haggai Zechariah Malachi Jonah (I.C.C.) p.313.
- 15 Wordsworth and White N.T....Latine (Large Edn.) ad loc.
- 16 The Beginnings of Christianity F. Jackson and K. Lake Vol.1V.p.13.

POETRY OF M. NOTES

- 1 For An attempt to improve the parallelism see p.136.
- 2 Forster. Life of Bishop Jebb. p442.
- 3 Ibid 443.
- 4 The Gospel according to St Matthew p.79.
- 5 The Poetry of our Lord. p.113.
- 6 It is noteworthy that Burney anticipates Manson here in ~~his~~ preference for "apprentice" rather than "disciple". See Burney Poetry p. 116. Vid sup. p 90.
- 7 Burney. op.cit,p.117.
- 8 Ibid.p.131.
- 9 Ibid.p.173. Burney drew attention to the poetical nature of Matt. XXV.31-46. in an article in the J.T.S. Vol.XIV. p.414.f. He there wrote that it was originally a Hebrew poem and offers a Hebrew translation. Although he appends an Aramaic translation, he states that it was in Hebrew that Jesus first uttered the parable. In his book on the Poetry of our Lord, he makes no mention of this.
- 10 McNeile. The Gospel according to St. Mat thew.p.55.
- 11 Jesus-Jeshua.p.228. Aramaic: attun milha dear'a.
- 12 ibid.p.226
- 13 ibid.
- 14 ibid.
- 15 op.cit.p.228.
- 16 op.cit,p.232.
- 17 Haer. 1.14.&
- 18 Hoskyns. The Fourth Gospel. Vol.1.p.206. ($\alpha = 1$; $\delta = 4$; $\alpha = 1$; $\mu = 40$; i.e. 46.)
- 19 McNeile The Gospel according to St Matthew p.5

CONCLUSION AND FORM CRITICISM: NOTES

- 1 The Odes and Psalms of Solomon. Vol.11.p.69. Since the discovery of the Ras Shamra tablets, the existence of Parallelism has been carried backwards in time. See Schaeffer: The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit.p.58. For Kinah rhythm see p.71.
- 2 The Poetry of our Lord. passim
- 3 The Formation of the Gospel Tradition (referred to as V.T. in the remainder of the section) p.38.
- 4 ibid.
op.cit
- 5 ~~ibid~~.p.48
- 6 From Tradition to Gospel.
- 7 V.T. p.181
- 8 The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office. P.8..."Synagogue worship was the norm of Christian worship in the days of the Apostles".
- 9 The Epistle to the Corinthians.c.2. Ed. Lightfoot and Harmer.p.6.
- 10 Dugmore op.cit. p.75.
- 11 See Deut.1.1...the words which Moses spake..LXX. Λόγος.
- 12 The Beginnings of Christianity.Pt.1. The Acts of the Apostles F.Jackson and K.Lake Vol.IV.p.263.

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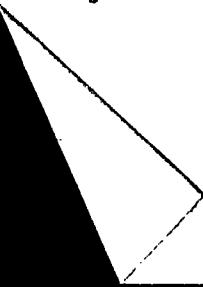
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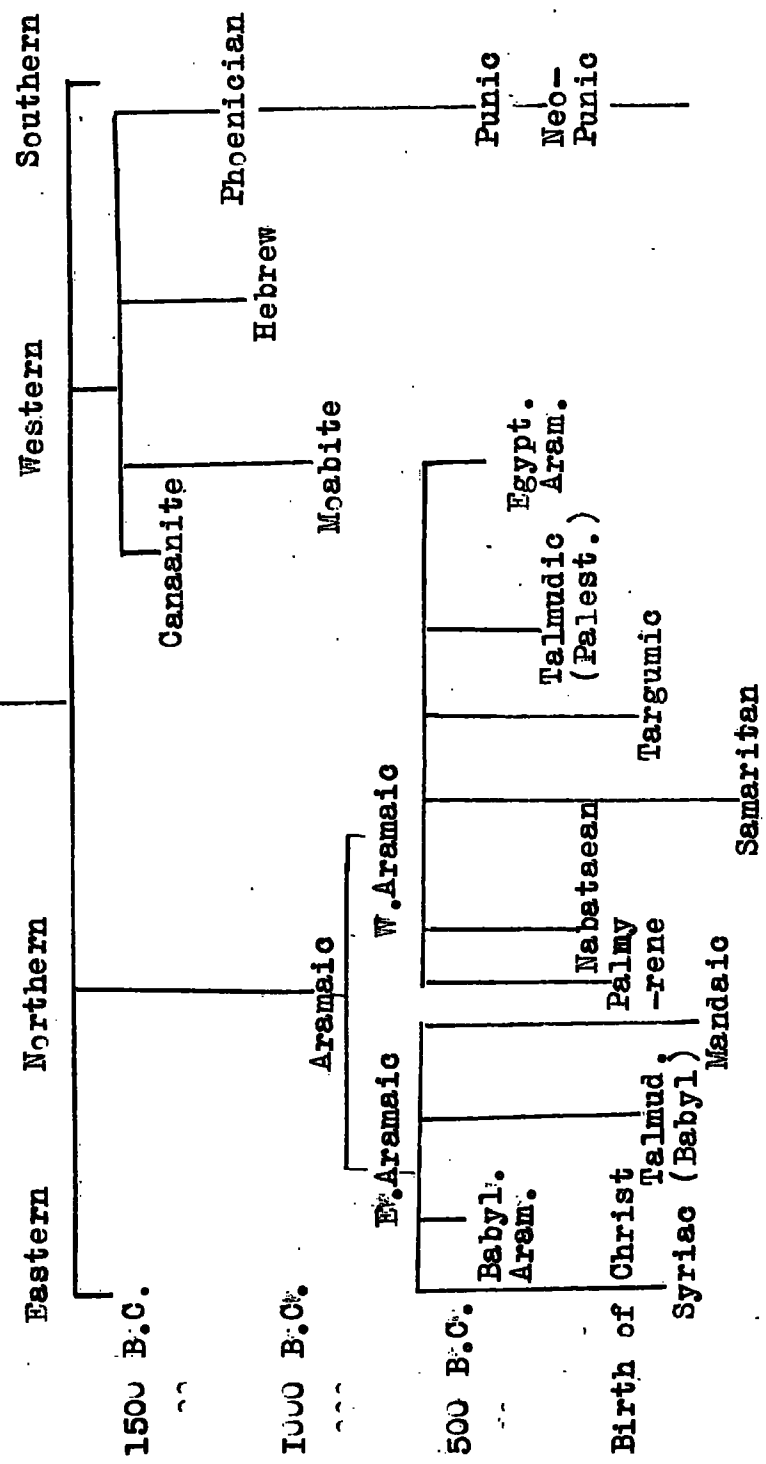
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APPENDIX

HISTORICAL TABLE OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

Assumed Parent Language

Sub-divided into four principal groups



Taken from Professor G.R.Driver. The People and the Book. p.80.