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Classic Essays

Edited by

Stanley E. Porter

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To
Stanley E. and Lorraine D. Porter

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PREFACE

This anthology brings together a number of what I consider to be classic essays regarding the Greek language of the NT; that is, what kind of Greek is it: Semitic, koine, transitionary, and so on? Many positions have been advocated, refuted, and debated. This gathering of spokesmen is designed to give some idea of the history and progress of this continuing discussion.

This collection of essays would not have been possible without the assistance of many people. Pride of position must go first to the distinguished contributors, many of whom are sadly now dead, but others continue to discuss the topic raised by these essays. Although I do not know many of them personally, through reading their many essays I certainly feel I know them better than I did previously. More than that I believe that I now have an idea of the kinds of questions which are uppermost in their minds and which have generated their interest and response. I am also impressed with the dedication and devotion they have displayed in their work on such an important topic, one which has a history of divisiveness and dissension. I would like also to thank all of the authors or their publishers who granted permission to reproduce the essays enclosed. To an individual, they were cooperative, and in several instances especially encouraging that a collection of this sort was necessary.

In the second place I wish to thank my translators, Dr Marika Walter and Dr Harold Biessmann, who took over the task of rendering two previously untranslated essays into idiomatic English: Adolf Deissmann's 'Hellenistic Greek' and Lars Rydbeck's 'On the Question of Linguistic Levels and the Place of the New Testament in the Contemporary Language Milieu'. The German was technical and difficult, and the time-constraints I dare say unreasonable.

In the third place I wish to thank my excellent typist, Miss Melody Versoza. Quite frankly, I was astounded at the speed and accuracy with which she took these essays and brought them into conformity with appropriate manuscript form.

In the fourth place I wish to thank two diligent reference librarians at Biola University's Rose Memorial Library: Mrs Beth Patton and Mrs Sue Whitehead. In my furious and frantic attempt to fill out as many bibliographical references as possible, they were equally diligent and enthusiastic. Like sleuths groping for hidden clues, they did not give up until every last reference was exhausted. The completeness of the notes in several of these essays is really their responsibility.

In the fifth place I wish to thank my publisher, Professor David J.A. Clines of the University of Sheffield, who encouraged me to publish this work when it was little more than an idea, and who accepted it as on-schedule whenever it came in. I wish the Press the best of fortune in the years to come.

Finally, I wish to thank and dedicate this collection of essays to my parents, Stanley E. and Lorraine D. Porter, who have been a constant and continual source of encouragement and help. For what its worth, the fact that I do what I do is in large measure their doing. For this book, they alone have helped to offset a good portion of the necessary expenses.

In a day and age in which theology is often of paramount—even exclusive—interest for those concerned with the biblical text, some have given quizzical looks when I have mentioned that I have been working on areas of NT Greek grammar. But allow me to quote (a little out of context) James Hope Moulton, who to my mind combined in an unparalleled way excellence in scholarship with true greatness of character: 'But the practical advantages of confining attention to what concerns the grammatical interpretation of a book of unique importance, written in a language which has absolutely no other literature worthy of the name, need hardly be labored here, and this foreword is already long enough' (Preface to second edition, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1908] xiv). Now you know my position.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aeg	*Aegyptus*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ArOr	*Archiv orientální*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
Bib	*Biblica*
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* (= *Yediot*)
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BT	*The Bible Translator*
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CII	*Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971)
ESBNT	J.A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the NT*
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
GCS	Griechische christliche Schriftsteller
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HJPAJC	E. Schürer (ed.), *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBS	*Irish Biblical Studies*
IDB	G.A. Buttrick (ed.), *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IR	R. Hestrin (ed.), *Inscriptions Reveal*

JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht . . . ex oriente lux*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPCI	S. Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisch corpus inscriptionum*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
MPAT	J. Fitzmyer and D. Harrington (eds.), *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum* Supplements
NTB	C.K. Barrett (ed.), *New Testament Background*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OGIS	*Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*
Or	*Orientalia* (Rome)
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*
PJB	Palästina Jahrbuch
PW	Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RB	*Revue biblique*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RSV	*Revised Standard Version*
Sef	*Sefarad*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
TGI	K. Galling (ed.), *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
VT	*Vetus Testamentun*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

INTRODUCTION

THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AS A DISPUTED AREA OF RESEARCH

Stanley E. Porter

Since the first significant studies of Semitic influence on the NT published in the mid-seventeenth century, there has not been a lack of interest in the Greek language found in the NT, although the issues involved are diverse and not easily defined.[1] The topic includes treatment not only of the Greek found in the NT documents themselves, but of the languages current in first-century AD Palestine. The essays in this collection address both of these questions because of their close dependence upon each other. The focus of this anthology is to present the major statements of the twentieth century regarding the kind of Greek found in the Greek NT.

Before describing these selections in more detail, however, two caveats must be registered. First, any collection of essays reflects the idiosyncracies of its anthologizer. This collection attempts to present essays which speak for the major movements within this debate during the last one hundred years. Although I have selected the spokesmen who I believe should be represented, it is almost certain that someone else would have made a different selection. Second, it is not always possible or even advisable to include the best-known statements. Consequently, although I believe that I have included incisive statements by some of the most significant authors on this topic, the major piece by each one, especially if this piece is already widely available, is not always included. I have tried to include complete statements, rather

1. For recent summaries of the debate see E.C. Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 7-34; and J.W. Voelz, 'The Language of the NT', *ANRW* II.25.2 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 894-930.

than excerpts. The result is a collection of essays which, I trust, will be broadly representative without being repetitious, inclusive but still definably focused.

The proposals regarding the nature of the Greek of the NT have ranged from positing a pure koine derived directly from Attic Greek to a heavily Semitized translation Greek, and all points in between. Whereas there has been significant work in this area for well over the near one hundred years surveyed by this collection, many engaged in academic biblical studies are unaware of even the major contours of the debate. The result is often uncritical acceptance of a position which may not in fact be as well supported as some believe. Those who can recount the major positions of the last one hundred years are all too aware that consensus on its many topics is still lacking. It is hoped that this collection will serve both to provide a meaningful historical context in which discussion can continue and to clarify through examination of the history of discussion which questions are worth pursuing further and which questions are best laid to rest. The footnotes in this chapter are used to list bibliographical information for important sources, as well as to illustrate where some of the observations have been pursued by subsequent research. The literature on this topic is so immense that only a representative selection of more general works can be presented (I have tried to cite English editions where available).[1]

Discussion of the nature of the Greek of the NT must begin with the work of the German scholar Adolf Deissmann. Beginning with his *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897), translated into English in 1901, and continuing with his *Licht vom Osten* (1908), translated into English in 1910,[2] Deissmann was one of the first to make widely known the importance of the then recently-discovered

1. I have placed this discussion within the larger framework of Greek grammar in my *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the NT, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (New York and Bern: Peter Lang, 1989). This introduction is dependent upon pp. 111-17, with my own assessment of the various positions on pp. 141-56.

2. *Bibelstudien* (Marburg: Elwert, 1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (Marburg: Elwert, 1897) were translated together as *Bible Studies* by A. Grieve (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901) and *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1908) was translated as *Light from the Ancient East* by L.R.M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910 [see *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 7 (1909), pp. 97-110, 208-24, 352-57]); it went through several German and English editions.

Egyptian papyri, as well as the Greek inscriptions. Arguing against the views that NT Greek fulfilled classical standards or that it along with the Septuagint (LXX) was part of a 'Biblical' Greek inspired by the Holy Spirit, Deissmann maintained that the Greek of the NT was part of the body of Egyptian or popular Greek of the Hellenistic age. Recognizing the LXX as a translated document, he thereby discounted any 'written Semitic Greek' as ever being a spoken or literary language.[1] He recognized that certain portions of the Gospel material were translations of Aramaic into Greek, though he questioned the ability to reconstruct a *Vorlage* (unlike the case of the LXX). Most Hellenistic Jews, Deissmann maintained, knew Greek as a first language. Investigation of the NT documents must proceed, therefore, from their examination as philological artifacts, not of the literary language of the time but of the vast body of Hellenistic Greek, before

1. This has been a topic of continuing debate. Some have questioned the purity of Alexandrian or Egyptian Greek, hence its validity as a standard for establishing the nature of Hellenistic Greek. One group has maintained that Alexandrian Greek came under Semitic (primarily Hebrew) influence because of the large Jewish population in the region. The papyri then already had a Semitic cast, hence their closeness to NT Greek. See, e.g., G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus: Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (trans. D.M. Kay; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), p. 17; R.R. Ottley, *A Handbook to the Septuagint* (London: Methuen, 1920), p. 165; and J. Courtenay James, *The Language of Palestine and Adjacent Regions* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), pp. 57-75. Another group has argued that the Alexandrian Greek of the papyri was influenced by Egyptian Coptic, which is, according to this view, syntactically similar to the Semitic languages. This would result in apparent linguistic similarities between NT Greek, influenced by Aramaisms, and the papyri, influenced by Coptic. See L.-Th. Lefort, 'Pour une grammaire des LXX', *Muséon* 41 (1928), pp. 152-60; J. Vergote, 'Grec Biblique', *DBSup3* (ed. L. Pirot; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1938) cols. 1353-60; F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (2 vols.; Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, [1976], 1981), I, pp. 46-48; 'The Language of the Non-Literary Greek Papyri', *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (ed. D.H. Samuel; Toronto: Hakkert, 1970); 'The Papyri and the Greek Language', *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985), pp. 157-58. S.-T. Teodorsson argues against these positions, claiming that no other kind of Greek has ever been found in Egypt, thus there is no evidence of a previous 'pure' Greek, no evidence of the creolization process, and no evidence of this Greek being considered to depart from the acceptable norms of Hellenistic Greek (*The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* [Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1977], pp. 25-35).

application of secondary tests as to their Semitic 'feel'. As can be seen, Deissmann was surprisingly advanced in his consideration of the problems of multilingualism and linguistic development. Though he limited himself fairly exclusively to investigation of lexicographical items, Deissmann maintained almost inevitably that a lexical item of the NT could be paralleled in Hellenistic Greek.

Rather than include a portion from one of his better-known works, including also his *The Philology of the Greek Bible* or *New Light on the NT from Records of the Graeco-Roman Period*,[1] the selection included in this anthology is a complete article, 'Hellenistic Greek [Hellenistisches Griechisch]', translated into English for the first time from the well-known *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1899).[2] After dismissing several false definitions of the concept of 'Hellenistic Greek', Deissmann settles on a definition of the language in use from 300 BC to AD 600 as the commercial language of the time. This Greek represents the collective written and spoken Greek of the period. After tracing various theories regarding the origin of this Greek, including the influence of the Attic dialect, Deissmann turns to particular features of the language. Deissmann distinguishes the language of the LXX from the Greek of the NT. He emphasizes that the clearest markers of the Hellenistic language occur in phonology and morphology, as well as vocabulary, where supposed NT meanings are shown to be characteristic of Hellenistic Greek. Deissmann admits that certain syntactical constructions appear unique to the Greek Bible, although he attributes many of these to restricted instances of translation Greek. He closes by raising the question of whether individual books of the NT reflect a more colloquial or literary kind of writing, claiming that the area requires further investigation. This wide-ranging essay reflects the major themes suggested by the debate over the nature of the Greek of the NT, handled with the fair-mindedness which was typical of Deissmann. He does not draw back from admitting Semitic influence where he sees it, although he does not lose sight of what he perceives as the larger

1. Trans. L.R.M. Strachan; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908 (see *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 4 [1907], pp. 289-302, 425-35, 506-20; 5 [1908], pp. 61-75) and Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907.

2. Ed. A. Hauck; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 3rd edn, 1899, VII, pp. 627-39.

linguistic milieu out of which the NT documents arose.[1]

Deissmann's theories were soon applied more widely to grammar, as well as the lexicon, by James Hope Moulton, the Cambridge and Manchester scholar who was tragically killed in 1917 while crossing the Mediterranean. Moulton wrote a series of articles in the *Classical Review* (1901, 1904) and *Expositor* (1901, 1903–1904, 1908–1909), his *Prolegomena*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* (1906), a significant portion of the *Accidence and Word-Formation*, vol. 2 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* (1929), as well as a number of lesser-known but still valuable pieces.[2] *The Science of Language and the Study of the NT*, his inaugural lecture at Manchester University, and his 'New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery' are not as well known as they deserve to be.[3] After examining volumes of papyri, Moulton found numerous parallels to many NT lexical items and grammatical constructions, some previously thought to be foreign to Greek. Recognizing the revolutionary character of Deissmann's discoveries, as well as Albert Thumb's similar philological findings,[4]

1. The original essay includes a one and a half page bibliography, which is not reproduced in this translation. For those interested in tracing research before Deissmann many of the works in the bibliography will prove helpful.

2. The following list is only representative: J.H. Moulton, 'Grammatical Notes from the Papyri', *Classical Review* 15 (1901), pp. 31-39, 434-42; 18 (1904), pp. 106-12, 151-55; 'Characteristics of NT Greek', *Expositor*, Sixth Series, 9 (1904), pp. 67-75, 215-25, 310-20, 359-68, 461-72; 10 (1904), pp. 24-34, 168-74, 276-83, 353-64, 440-50; 'Notes from the Papyri', *Expositor*, Sixth Series, 3 (1901), pp. 271-82; 7 (1903), pp. 104-21; 8 (1903), pp. 423-39 (many of his articles in *Expositor* 1908–1909 found their way into J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914–29]); *An Introduction to the Study of NT Greek* (London: C.H. Kelly, 2nd edn, 1903) (this edition reflects the view with which Moulton is associated, not the first edition of 1895); 'Language of the NT', *Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. J. Hastings; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), pp. 528-30; *Prolegomena*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1908) (with appendixes); *Accidence and Word-Formation*, vol. 2 of *A Grammar of NT Greek*, with W.F. Howard (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1929); *From Egyptian Rubbish Heaps* (London: C.H. Kelly, 1916).

3. Manchester: University Press, 1906, and *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day: By Members of the University of Cambridge* (London: Macmillan, 1909), pp. 461-505 (reprinted in this volume).

4. See, e.g., A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der KOINH* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1901);

Moulton concludes that biblical Greek, 'except where it is translation Greek, was simply the vernacular of daily life', without 'serious' dialectical differences and very much a predominant language in the bilingual environment of Palestine.[1]

Moulton's selection, 'New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery', from *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day: By Members of the University of Cambridge* (1909), has been chosen for inclusion here. Moulton begins by noting the changes of standpoint in study of NT Greek produced by comparative philology, the discoveries of papyri and inscriptions, the growth of interest in dialects of modern Greek, and the work of Thumb and Deissmann, as well as various opponents. Moulton argues for the homogeneity of the Hellenistic vernacular as the *lingua franca* of the Greco-Roman world, and against Semitic influence. In the second part of the essay, he analyses the various biblical writers. For example, he notes Luke's sense of style and conscious assimilation to the LXX, Paul's restricted yet significant contacts with Greek literature and philosophy, the literary quality of Hebrews, the artificial Greek of 2 Peter, the corrections of Mark's Greek found in Matthew, the simple Greek of the Johannine writings, interpretation of the odd Greek of the Apocalypse, and the (to him) obvious Aramaic background of Mark. Moulton concludes by recognizing the value of the papyri for understanding the vocabulary of the NT, and bemoaning the deleterious influence of classical presuppositions on the study of NT Greek. He pleads for recognition of the value of study of the Greek of the NT as a fitting introduction to the world and language of the Roman Empire. Whereas Moulton clearly built upon the work of Deissmann and others, he was an independent thinker in his own right, feeling free to suggest various places where recent discoveries aided in understanding the Greek of the NT. He was a rare man in combining the demonstrated abilities of a classical and comparative philologist, theologian and linguist. One can only speculate about the greatness of his contribution had he lived longer.[2]

'Hellenistic and Biblical Greek', *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* (ed. J. Hastings; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), I, pp. 551-60; 'On the Value of Modern Greek for the Study of Ancient Greek', *Classical Quarterly* 8 (1914), pp. 181-205.

1. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 4, 5.
2. M. Reiser (*Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums im Licht der hellenistischen*

Deissmann and Moulton were followed in their major precepts by many others,[1] as discussion below illustrates.[2] Others found significant fault, however, with the Deissmann–Moulton hypothesis. One of the major theories to reject Deissmann and Moulton's conclusions, and a

Volksliteratur [Tübingen: Mohr {Siebeck}, 1984], p. 2) contends that after the deaths of the significant advocates of the Greek language hypothesis—Moulton, Deissmann and Thumb—the field was left open to those positing the Aramaic hypothesis.

1. Only a selection of names and representative works can be mentioned: H.St J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek According to the Septuagint*, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909); L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das Griechisch des NT im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1911); A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek NT in the Light of Historical Research* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914); G. Milligan, 'The Grammar of the Greek NT', *ExpTim* 31 (1919–20), pp. 420-24, and *Here and There among the Papyri* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922); H.G. Meecham, *Light from Ancient Letters: Private Correspondence in the Non-Literary Papyri of Oxyrhynchus of the First Four Centuries, and its Bearing on NT Language and Thought* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1923); E.J. Goodspeed, 'The Original Language of the NT', in *New Chapters in NT Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 127-68; E.C. Colwell, *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel: A Study of its Aramaisms in the Light of Hellenistic Greek* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931) and 'The Greek Language', in *IDB*, II (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 479-87; P.W. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language, with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and the Subsequent Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); H. Koester, *Introduction to the NT*, I (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), pp. 103-13; R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1983), ch. 1; G.H.R. Horsley, 'The Fiction of "Jewish Greek"', *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. V. *Linguistic Essays* (New South Ryde: Macquarie University, 1989), pp. 5-40, who provides a very competent and detailed discussion of the major issues; and M. Silva (see below).

2. Suggestive modifications of their position have been made. For example, W.F. Howard, who completed vol. 2 (*Accidence and Word-Formation*) of Moulton's *A Grammar of NT Greek*, includes the appendix on Semitisms (pp. 411-85); A.J. Malherbe (*Social Aspects of Early Christianity* [London: Louisiana State University Press, 1977; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2nd edn, 1983], pp. 31-59) emphasizes the range of literary accomplishment of the NT documents; and G.H.R. Horsley ('*Koine* or Atticism—A False Dichotomy?', in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, vol. 5, pp. 41-48) wants to ensure that Atticism as a phenomenon of Hellenistic Greek is given its due. The work of L. Rydbeck is to some extent a modification of Moulton and Deissmann's position (see below).

theory with probably more support over the years—or at least more argumentative force than most others—maintains that the Gospels and at least the first part of Acts, and possibly Revelation, are directly dependent upon some form of Semitic language, probably Aramaic. This theory has progressed in several stages. A serious weakness of early attempts by, for example, A. Meyer, J. Wellhausen, E. Nestle, G. Dalman and F. Blass[1] was a failure to thoroughly support Aramaic reconstructions of the supposed original text. This shortcoming has been well-documented, even by proponents of the theory.[2] Later, armed with a wealth of supposed evidence on the basis of such criteria as apparent mistranslations, ambiguity in the Aramaic text, and parallels with the LXX, Charles C. Torrey, the Yale University scholar, argued vociferously that the Gospels, Acts 1–15, and Revelation were early translations from Aramaic originals. Rather than depicting the translators as bunglers, however, Torrey depicted, for example, the Gospel 'writers' as pious men who did an admirable job of translation in an attempt to preserve 'the wording of the original text' (lviii), enabling reconstruction of the underlying original, though the final Greek may be, in Torrey's own words, 'inexcusable' (liv) as idiomatic Greek. Torrey wrote a number of important works, beginning with his now well-known early article in the C.H. Toy *Festschrift*, in which he responded directly to Moulton's work.[3] He continued his work in articles[4] as well as several books: *The Composition and Date of Acts*,

1. A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache: Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt* (Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1896); J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1905) (in the 1st edition [pp. 7-43] he emphasizes the Semitic or Aramaic element standing behind the Gospels, while in the 2nd edition [1911; pp. 7-32] he places slightly more stress on the Gospels as part of the koine); E. Nestle, *Philologica Sacra: Bemerkungen über die Urgestalt der Evangelien und Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1896); Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (who recognizes this problem on pp. 43-71); F. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1898).

2. See, e.g., M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 1-12; *idem*, 'Semitisms in the NT', *ANRW* II.25.2, pp. 979-86 and esp. the work of M. Black (see below).

3. 'The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels', in *Studies in the History of Religions* (FS C.H. Toy; ed. D.G. Lyon and G.F. Moore; New York: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 269-317.

4. A few of Torrey's articles include: 'Fact and Fancy in the Theories Concerning

Our Translated Gospels: Some of the Evidence, *The Apocalypse of John*, and *The Four Gospels: A New Translation*, in which he translated into English his reconstructed Aramaic text behind the four Gospels (the quotations above are taken from his instructive introduction).[1] Torrey was followed in many respects by such scholars as C.F. Burney, J.A. Montgomery, M. Burrows and J. de Zwaan.[2]

The article by Torrey included in this anthology, 'The Aramaic of the Gospels', appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1942),[3] and its representative stance makes it worthy of inclusion here. Although the article is a response directed at A.T. Olmstead,[4] and may appear both discursive and a little technical, it gives a good sense of the kind of argumentation made by his supporters and opponents and a clear summary of the approach which Torrey himself took. Torrey claims first of all that much more Aramaic literature can be found than most suppose, including many documents translated into Greek from Aramaic originals. He discusses in some detail several of the more significant examples of translated Aramaic documents, and treats several books in Hebrew, which he characterizes as 'learned *tours de force*'. Then Torrey turns to questions regarding Aramaic and Greek

Acts', *AJT* 23 (1919), pp. 61-86, 189-212; 'The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John', *HTR* 16 (1923), pp. 305-44; 'Julius Wellhausen's Approach to the Aramaic Gospels', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 101 (ns 26) (1951), pp. 125-37; 'Studies in the Aramaic of the First Century AD', *ZAW* 65 (1953), pp. 228-47.

1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936; and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1958.

2. See, e.g., C.F. Burney, 'A Hebraic Construction in the Apocalypse', *JTS* 22 (1920–21), pp. 371-76; *idem*, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922); *idem*, *The Poetry of Our Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925); J.A. Montgomery, *The Origin of the Gospel According to St. John* (Philadelphia: J.C. Winston, 1923); M. Burrows, 'The Original Language of the Gospel of John', *JBL* 49 (1930), pp. 95-139; *idem*, 'The Semitic Background of the NT', *BT* 2 (1951), pp. 67-73; J. de Zwaan, 'The use of the Greek Language in Acts', in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I.2 (ed. F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 30-65; *idem*, 'John Wrote in Aramaic', *JBL* 57 (1938), pp. 155-71.

3. *JBL* 61 (1942), pp. 71-85.

4. A.T. Olmstead, 'Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?' *JNES* 1 (1942), pp. 41-75.

in Palestine. Torrey sees no reaction against Aramaic in Palestine, but rather sees a negative attitude toward Greek. In response to Olmstead's question of whether an Aramaic Gospel could have been written, Torrey concludes that a Gospel could have been written in no other language but Aramaic. Hebrew would not have reached the people and Greek would have been scorned. Instead, Torrey contends, the Aramaic of Palestine was a relatively homogeneous language from the seventh century BC through to the second century AD. Having established the place of Aramaic, Torrey concludes by responding to critics of his theory of extensive mistranslation, taking several examples which (he argues) illustrate that the Gospels were originally written in Aramaic. This article, although brief in its several sections, contains what is essential in Torrey's position, including a justifiable context for discussion of Aramaic Gospels, an argument against the use of Greek, and a reassertion of his methodological soundness in relying upon mistranslation as an indication of Semitic sources.

As a herald of his position in this century, Torrey's approach was criticized even by later proponents of the same position. Though much of his writing is devoted to positing plausible reconstructions, the lack of an Aramaic *Vorlage* with which to compare his results leaves his conclusions tentative, as most readily admit. And many of his examples of mistranslations—upon which his theory so heavily depends—are open to objection. More recently Matthew Black, former principal of St Mary's College and professor at the University of St Andrews, Scotland, and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, former professor at the Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, have attempted to answer a similar question, though they have been much more circumspect. They appreciate the varied Aramaic textual tradition, the tension between translation Greek and original Greek within the same texts, and the varied textual traditions of the NT. And their conclusions are stated cautiously, not polemically.[1]

Matthew Black is one of the most prolific writers on this topic

1. Not all are as circumspect as Black and Fitzmyer. See, e.g., F. Zimmermann, *The Aramaic Origin of the Four Gospels* (New York: Ktav, 1979), esp. pp. 3-23; S.T. Lachs, 'Hebrew Elements in the Gospels and Acts', *JQR* 71 (1980), pp. 31-43; G.M. Lee, 'Translation Greek in the NT', in *Studia Evangelica*, VII (ed. E.A. Livingstone; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982), pp. 317-26; G. Schwarz, *'Und Jesu Sprach': Untersuchungen zur aramäischen Urgestalt der Worte Jesu* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2nd edn, 1987).

(as well as others), and is legitimately well-regarded for his *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, now in its third edition.[1] Rather than select a portion from this readily-available book, or choose one of the often highly-concentrated and focused articles which he writes, I have chosen an article which reflects his concern for some of the broader questions regarding the relation of the Greek of the NT to forms of Aramaic: 'Aramaic Studies and the Language of Jesus'. The selection by Black may appear out of place, since it is from a *Festschrift* to Paul Kahle,[2] a good friend of Black. But the article conveys well the sense of entering into an ongoing dialogue regarding some of the significant issues regarding the nature of the Greek of the NT. The discussion reviews one school of research (represented by Kahle) into the kind of Aramaic used during the time of Jesus.[3] Citing Kahle's more important works, including his two volumes on the Masoretes and his lectures on the Cairo Geniza, Black describes the importance of Kahle's conclusion that the Aramaic represented by the Cairo Geniza was free from Hebrew influence and pre-dated the Onkelos tradition, which was not a representative Palestinian Aramaic but a mixed text. This was a bold conclusion at that time, and one which has been subsequently debated and evaluated. Black traces some of this discussion, responding to several scholars who have argued for modifications of Kahle's hypothesis. Even so, Black contends, Kahle's hypothesis about the Palestinian Targum tradition provides good information for studying the Aramaic of the NT period. Black recognizes that much more grammatical work is necessary to understand the Aramaic language more fully. Black proceeds to see how Kahle's theory has held up in light of subsequent application to various texts, including finds from Qumran. In conclusion he applies

1. A representative selection of works bearing directly upon this topic includes: *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1st edn, 1946; 2nd edn, 1954; 3rd edn, 1967); 'The Recovery of the Language of Jesus', *NTS* 3 (1956–57), pp. 305-13; 'Second Thoughts—IX. The Semitic Element in the NT', *ExpTim* 77 (1965–66), pp. 20-23; 'The Biblical Languages', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I (ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 1-11.

2. *In Memoriam P. Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), pp. 17-28.

3. See also H. Ott, 'Um die Muttersprache Jesu: Forschungen seit G. Dalman', *NovT* 9 (1967), pp. 1-25.

his findings to the problem of the original language or languages of Jesus, which takes him into a few brief comments about the Hebrew language hypothesis presented by H. Birkeland (see below). Although studies of Aramaic have progressed since Black wrote his article, due in no small part to the work of Black and M. Wilcox, his former student,[1] this selection gives a good idea of how the debate was conducted when studies of Aramaic documents in relation to the language of the NT were receiving much attention. The article also presents in clear fashion many of the forces and movements of the discussion, with a survey of the major proponents of the major theories.

It has long been agreed by scholars that Aramaic was the predominant language of Palestinian Judaism and almost certainly one of the languages, if not the primary language, of Jesus. Dalman's conclusion—that though Jesus might have known Hebrew, and probably spoke Greek, he certainly taught in Aramaic—has held sway with the majority.[2] The Aramaic hypothesis rests securely upon the fact that, though Greek was the language of the Greek and Roman Empires, it never fully replaced Aramaic (an important Semitic language brought back to Palestine after the exile) in Palestine, as evidenced by not only the biblical writings but a large amount of inscriptional, epistolary, papyric and literary evidence, especially from Qumran. It was once thought that Aramaic had entered a period of decline in the two centuries on either side of Christ's birth, but in the last fifty years many important discoveries have been made.[3] While it is likely that Jesus' primary language was Aramaic, this position is argued primarily by logical and historical inference, since Jesus is not recorded as using Aramaic apart from odd quotations (e.g. Mk 15.34). Also, the majority of texts are of literary quality, some quite late, while the inscriptional evidence (much of which could be Hebrew) is limited

1. On methodological questions see S.A. Kaufmann, 'On Methodology in the Study of the Targums and their Chronology', *JSNT* 23 (1985), pp. 117-24.

2. G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua: Studies in the Gospels* (trans. P.P. Levertoff; London: SPCK, 1929), pp. 1-37; P. Lapide, 'Insights from Qumran into the Languages of Jesus', *RevQ* 8 (1975), pp. 483-86; Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 16 n. 1, cf. 47-49.

3. J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978); K. Beyer, *Die Aramäische Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

mostly to proper names.[1] Nevertheless, the theory that Jesus spoke primarily Aramaic has many important supporters, such as Wellhausen, Dalman, Joüon, Bardy, Black, Wilcox, Feldman, Torrey and Fitzmyer, to name only a few.[2]

Others have maintained, however, that some form of Hebrew, whether biblical or Mishnaic, had a far greater importance in first-century Palestine than is often suspected. M.H. Segal proposed that Mishnaic Hebrew, rightly considered the linguistic evolutionary offspring of biblical Hebrew, much evidenced in the Rabbinic writings and independent of Aramaic, was a prominent Jewish vernacular at all social levels from approximately 400 BC to AD 150.[3] The Judean Desert documents, including those from Qumran, but especially the Hebrew Bar Kokhba letters, have given further credence to the theory of vernacular Hebrew. Although several scholars disagree with Segal over the exact nature of this Hebrew and its extent of use,[4] he has been followed to the extent that Mishnaic Hebrew is thought by many to have been a probable language of the first century and a possible if not probable language of Jesus, by Manson, Emerton, Barr, Grintz and Rabin.[5] Several scholars have argued concurrently that Hebrew

1. Recent comments on the methodology employed in Aramaic studies may be found in L.D. Hurst, 'The Neglected Role of Semantics in the Search for the Aramaic Words of Jesus', *JSNT* 28 (1986), pp. 63-80.

2. The works of many of these proponents have already been cited. Those who have not include: P. Joüon, 'Quelques aramaïsmes: sous-jacent au grec des Evangiles', *RSR* 17 (1927), pp. 210-29; G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'église ancienne*, I (Paris: Beauchesne, 1948); L.H. Feldman, 'How Much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine?', *HUCA* 57 (1986), pp. 83-111.

3. See M.H. Segal, 'Mishnaic Hebrew and its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and to Aramaic', *JQR* 20 (1908), pp. 670-700, 734-37; *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 5-19. He is followed in his major formulations by H. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* (Oslo: Dybwad, 1954); E.Y. Kutscher, 'Hebrew Language: Mishnaic', *EncJud*, XVI (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1972) cols. 1592-93; *idem*, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (ed. R. Kutscher; Leiden: Brill, 1982), pp. 115-20.

4. For example, Birkeland (*Language of Jesus*) contends that the Hebrew is a dialect of Mishnaic Hebrew overwhelmingly predominant at the lower social levels; Lapide ('Insights', pp. 486-500) proposes that Mishnaic Hebrew was the bridge language between Hebrew and Aramaic in the Palestinian diglossic milieu (he relies on C.A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 [1959], pp. 325-40).

5. See, e.g., T.W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of its Form and*

sources lie behind several books of the NT. For example, K. Beyer has argued that the Johannine writings have a Hebrew and not an Aramaic *Vorlage*; J. Carmignac has posited a Hebrew original for the Synoptics; S. Thompson, following in a long tradition which includes R.H. Charles, posits a Hebrew source for Revelation; and G. Howard claims to have discovered an early, independent version of Matthew in Hebrew.[1] However, though Jesus may have known sufficient Hebrew to read Lk. 4.16-39, and Hebrew was certainly in use in Palestine, at least by the Jewish leaders, the evidence for colloquial Hebrew—and for Hebrew lying behind the NT documents—is not sufficient to support the case made by Segal and others. Consequently, this view is not nearly as widespread as the Aramaic and Greek language hypotheses.

Other scholars have argued strongly for the predominant role of Greek in first-century Palestine and, hence, in the ministry of Jesus. Their arguments rest firmly on, among other facts, the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire, the trilingual nature of the Judean Desert material, including Greek Bar Kokhba letters, and other remaining evidence, and most importantly the linguistic fact that the NT has been transmitted in Greek from its earliest documents. A number of scholars have argued in various ways that Greek was in widespread use in the multilingual society of first-century Palestine, including Abbott, Argyle, Smith, Sevenster, Lieberman, Mussies,

Content (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1935); J.A. Emerton, 'Did Jesus Speak Hebrew?', *JTS* ns 12 (1961), pp. 189-202; *idem*, 'The Problem of Vernacular Hebrew in the First Century AD and the Language of Jesus', *JTS* 24 (1973), pp. 1-23; J. Barr, 'Which Language did Jesus Speak?—Some Remarks of a Semitist', *BJRL* 53 (1970), pp. 9-29; J.M. Grintz, 'Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple', *JBL* 79 (1960), pp. 32-47; C. Rabin, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century', CRINT (section 1; vol. 2; eds. S. Safrai and M. Stern; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976), pp. 1007-39.

1. K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im NT*, I (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd edn, 1968), pp. 17-18; J. Carmignac, 'Studies in the Hebrew Background of the Synoptic Gospels', *ASTI* 7 (1968–69), pp. 64-93; S. Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. pp. 2-6, 108; R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, I (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), p. cxliii; G. Howard, *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).

Treu, Hengel, Ross, and especially N. Turner (on whom see below).[1] There seems to be nothing to have prevented any Palestinian resident from learning Greek, certainly as a second and often as a first language, though the ability of the average resident is still an unquantifiable factor.[2]

In the midst of this discussion, with advocates for Aramaic, Greek, and even Hebrew, Joseph A. Fitzmyer's article, originally his presidential address to the Catholic Biblical Association, was instrumental in giving perspective to the debate. 'The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD' was first published in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.[3] It not only does an excellent job of representing the position with which Fitzmyer has become aligned, i.e. appreciating the influence of Aramaic upon the Greek of the NT, but it does an excellent job of introducing the reader to the issue of the languages used in Palestine in the first century AD.[4] Fitzmyer's survey combines in a

1. Representative works of the proponents of this position include: E.A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar* (London: A. & C. Black, 1906); A.W. Argyle, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56), pp. 92-93, 383; *idem*, 'Greek Among the Jews of Palestine in NT Times', *NTS* 20 (1973–74), pp. 87-89; M. Smith, 'Aramaic Studies and the Study of the NT', *JBR* 26 (1958), pp. 304-13; J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries CE* (New York: P. Feldheim, 2nd edn, 1965); *idem*, 'How much Greek in Jewish Palestine', in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 123-41; G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora', CRINT, pp. 1040-64; *idem*, 'Greek as the Vehicle of Early Christianity', *NTS* 29 (1983), pp. 356-69; K. Treu, 'Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich', *Kairos* 15 (1973), pp. 123-44; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (London: SCM Press, 1974); J.M. Ross, 'Jesus's Knowledge of Greek', *IBS* 12 (1990), pp. 41-47.

2. The degree of Greek penetration of rural Palestine is discussed in A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City: From Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 289-95; T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1983), pp. 46-64; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, pp. 58ff.; Feldman, 'How Much Hellenism'.

3. *CBQ* 32 (1970), pp. 501-31. The version in this collection is reprinted from *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 29-56.

4. Many of Fitzmyer's major writings on this topic are collected in *A Wandering*

highly readable way both a thorough and detailed discussion of the primary evidence for the use of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew and Latin during the time of Jesus,[1] and several very important synthetic statements which draw upon the evidence to reach important conclusions. His footnotes may be mined for much useful material, as well.

Beginning with the most recent language on the scene, Latin, Fitzmyer works his way back to the earliest, Hebrew, by way of Greek and Aramaic. As far as Latin is concerned, Fitzmyer believes that it was used mostly by the Romans for official purposes. This is confirmed by inscriptions of various sorts, which are not abundant. Greek came to Palestine with the conquest of Alexander the Great, and the Hellenization which occurred was widespread, with the Greek language playing a part in it. Evidence of Greek influence includes names of towns and references to many Jewish-Greek writers, although little of their work is extant. Although Josephus provides some help, since he wrote in Rome, Fitzmyer turns to other evidence, including inscriptions and papyri. Regarding Jesus, it is probably true that he spoke Greek. Although he still believes that Aramaic was the most commonly used language in Palestine, Fitzmyer cautiously recognizes that Greek and Hebrew were used as well. Rejecting the theory that Aramaic was on the wane during the turn of the millennia, Fitzmyer argues on the basis of the Qumran discoveries, for example, that there was much literature being composed in Aramaic. But not only literary texts are to be found. There are also important inscriptions, some of them bilingual, although Fitzmyer finds no influence of Greek on Palestinian Aramaic, thus rejecting Kahle, Black, and Díez Macho's hypothesis regarding the Aramaic of the Palestinian targums being from the first century AD (see Black's essay in this volume). Fitzmyer also sees a possible influence of Hebrew upon Palestinian Aramaic. As far as Hebrew is concerned, Fitzmyer believes that it was never fully supplanted by Aramaic. He expresses surprise regarding the paucity of inscriptional evidence, despite an

Aramean, including 'The Phases of the Aramaic Language', pp. 57-84, and esp 'The Study of the Aramaic Background of the NT', pp. 1-27, which is highly recommended; and *Essays on the Semitic Background of the NT* (n.p.: Scholars Press 1974). A more recent essay is 'The Aramaic Language and the Study of the NT' *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 5-21.

1. See also E.M. Meyers and J.F. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis and Early Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1981), pp. 62-91.

abundance of literary texts. In response to Birkeland's proposal (see above), Fitzmyer calls for a cautious assessment. In a way for which he has become rightly heralded, Fitzmyer summarizes and evaluates a wealth of material, giving a fair and balanced analysis of the evidence for the four languages which vied for position in the linguistic milieu of first-century Palestine.

It is not possible to settle the various issues regarding the linguistic milieu of first-century Palestine, as Fitzmyer rightly notes, except to say that the archaeological, linguistic and sociological evidence seems to indicate that the region was multilingual, including at least Aramaic and Greek in widespread and frequent use, and Hebrew as a possible vernacular but certainly a written language, with Latin a fourth language used primarily by the Romans in political and administrative matters. Therefore, the likelihood that Jesus, along with most Gentiles and Jews, was multilingual himself is strong. As Fitzmyer says,

> the most commonly used language of Palestine in the first century AD was Aramaic, but... many Palestinian Jews, not only those in Hellenistic towns, but farmers and craftsmen of less obviously Hellenized areas used Greek, at least as a second language. The data collected from Greek inscriptions and literary sources indicate that Greek was avidly used. In fact there is some indication... that some Palestinians spoke only Greek... But pockets of Palestinian Jews also used Hebrew, even though its use was not widespread.[1]

Having agreed that Greek was a widely used language in first-century Palestine does not solve the problem of what kind of Greek is found in the NT, however. That topic remains one of widespread debate. A theory which has aroused more controversy than any other of late is that of Henry Gehman, a former Princeton professor, and

1. Fitzmyer, 'Languages of Palestine', *Wandering Aramean*, 46. Many scholars mention the possibility of at least a trilingual community, including Dalman, Black, Rabin, Barr, Fitzmyer, Bardy, Sevenster, Birkeland, Emerton, Turner, Lapide, de Waard, Rajak and Meyers/Strange, among those already cited, as well as: R. Gundry, 'The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition', *JBL* 83 (1964), pp. 404-408; H.F.D. Sparks, 'Some Observations on the Semitic Background of the NT', *Bulletin of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* 2 (1951), pp. 33-42; H. Leclercq, 'Note sur le grec néotestamentaire et la position du grec en Palestine au premier siècle', *Les études classiques* 42 (1974), pp. 243-55; Olmstead, 'Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?' (Torrey's essay in the present volume is a response to Olmstead).

Nigel Turner, a British scholar. The theory harks back to the late nineteenth century, when some (represented by H. Cremer[1]) believed that the NT was written in a unique Holy Ghost Greek. In their many significant works, Gehman has concentrated upon the nature of the Greek of the LXX,[2] and Turner, while dealing most heavily with the NT, has also analysed apocryphal works.[3] Modifying the argument for a Holy Ghost language from the position advocated in the nineteenth century (to which Deissmann and Moulton responded), Gehman and Turner argue for a Jewish-Greek dialect in use in Palestine in the first century. Recognizing the Semitic element in the Gospels and other NT books, Turner claims that Semitic influence alone inadequately explains all the linguistic phenomena. Turner also asserts that the NT displays an 'almost complete lack of classical standards in every author'.[4] He therefore concludes that Jesus, as well as his disciples, the NT writers and possibly many others, used in regular conversation a Greek influenced by the Semitic languages spoken in Galilee at that

1. See H. Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of NT Greek* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 4th edn, 1895), a translation from the German (1st edn, 1867).

2. Gehman's works bearing on this topic include: 'The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek', *VT* 1 (1951), pp. 81-90 (reprinted in this collection); 'Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis', *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 141-48; '"Αγιος in the Septuagint, and its Relation to the Hebrew Original', *VT* 4 (1954), pp. 337-48.

3. Of Turner's many works, the following warrant mention: 'Were the Gospels Written in Greek or Aramaic?', *EvQ* 21 (1949), pp. 42-48, where his ideas are taking shape; 'The "Testament of Abraham": Problems in Biblical Greek', *NTS* 1 (1954–55), pp. 219-23; 'The Unique Character of Biblical Greek', *VT* 5 (1955), pp. 208-13; 'The Relation of Luke I and II to Hebraic Sources and to the Rest of Luke–Acts', *NTS* 2 (1955–56), pp. 100-109; 'Philology in NT Studies', *ExpTim* 71 (1959–60), pp. 104-107; 'The Language of the NT', in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley; London: Nelson, 1962), pp. 659-62; J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of NT Greek*. III. *Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), esp. pp. 1-9; 'Second Thoughts: VII. Papyrus Finds', *ExpTim* 76 (1964–65), pp. 44-48; *Grammatical Insights into the NT* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965), pp. 174-88 (reprinted in this collection); 'Jewish and Christian Influence in the NT Vocabulary', *NovT* 16 (1974), pp. 149-60; 'The Literary Character of NT Greek', *NTS* 20 (1973–74), pp. 107-14; 'The Quality of the Greek of Luke–Acts', in *Studies in NT Language and Text* (ed. J. K. Elliott; Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 387-400; J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of NT Greek*. IV. *Style* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1976), pp. 1-10; 'Biblical Greek: the Peculiar Language of a Peculiar People', *Studia Evangelica* 7, pp. 505-12.

4. Turner, *Syntax*, p. 2.

time. In kind very similar to LXX Greek, Turner maintains, this Greek was very different from the Greek of the papyri; it 'was a distinguishable dialect of spoken and written Jewish Greek'.[1] Though Gehman suggests this may have been a temporary linguistic condition brought about by Jews passing from Semitic to Greek language, Turner believes that the period was not transitional nor the language artificial. In apparent common reaction with Turner to Deissmann, Black has even gone so far as to call biblical Greek 'a peculiar language, the language of a peculiar people'.[2]

Gehman's selection, 'The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek', was the first in a series of articles he published in *Vetus Testamentum* (1951) representing this position. The article is a little technical, relying on the reader's knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew, but the framework he sets for his discussion is highly instructive, with its direct focus upon the Greek of the LXX. Using a simple argument, Gehman begins from the premise that 'The object of a translator obviously is to render a document clearly into the vernacular'.[3] On the basis of apparent difficulties in the text of the LXX when compared to the Masoretic Hebrew text, as well as trouble in the idioms and constructions of the Greek itself,[4] and since 'it is well-known that the

1. Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, p. 183.

2. Black, 'Biblical Languages', p. 11. See also F.L. Horton, 'Reflections on the Semitisms of Luke–Acts', in *Perspectives on Luke–Acts* (ed. C.H. Talbert: Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978), pp. 1-23.

3. This premise has been widely criticized, in light of the question of whether the translators in fact understood the original text. For discussion see J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), p. 15 and *passim*; J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), p. 18. On translation in the ancient world see S.P. Brock, 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint', in *The Witness of Tradition* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 11-36; *idem*, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 69-87; C. Rabin, 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint', *Textus* 6 (1968), pp. 1-26.

4. A recent discussion of these anomalies can be found in E. Tov, 'Did the Septuagint Translators always Understand their Hebrew Text?', in *De Septuaginta* (FS J.W. Wevers; ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox; Ontario: Benben, 1984), pp. 53-70. Comparison between Jewish writings originally in Greek and those translated shows a marked contrast, according to Lee, with the latter heavily Semitized. This argument was already stated by Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, p. 69 n. 1) and Thackeray

Greek of the LXX is the koine' (though there are some differences), Gehman claims that 'we can hardly avoid speaking of a Jewish Greek, which was used in the Synagogues and in religious circles'. After introductory comments, in which he responds briefly to H.St J. Thackeray's view of the Greek of the LXX, Gehman divides his discussion into two parts, the first treating syntactical and the second treating lexical items. In the first, he discusses various conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns, including such things as use of καί to introduce various dependent clauses, a temporal sense of ὅτι, and use of ἐν. He concludes that 'the LXX is full of Hebrew idioms which also involve a matter of syntax'.[1] In the second part, he treats selected words. This article gives a wide-open look at how someone arguing for a Semitic hypothesis treats the evidence. Gehman hides nothing with respect to the basis for his position, going into detailed discussion of the examples he uses. This kind of evidence proved very important for Nigel Turner.

It is difficult to know which of Turner's many writings best represents his position. I have selected the final chapter, 'The Language of Jesus and His Disciples', in his book *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (1965), although I could have selected from a number of articles, some of them very narrowly focused and others very broad and general. In the concluding essay to his *Grammatical Insights*, Turner begins by recounting the possible languages which Jesus could have spoken. He acknowledges the work of Torrey regarding mistranslation but rejects it because of the lack of evidence regarding the kind of Aramaic used in Palestine during this time. And offsetting what he claims are clear examples of an Aramaic *Vorlage* are examples of characteristically Greek phrases. Turner also considers Hebrew, although he rejects Birkeland's hypothesis, since the evidence is against widespread use of Hebrew especially in a religious context. In support of Jesus' use of Greek are a number of distinctly Greek features, such as word-play, alliteration and lexical choice. In response to the paradox that, if Jesus spoke Greek, he would have had to use koine Greek but the Gospels do not have a pure koine, Turner responds by positing that the 'hybrid' Greek of the Gospels was 'a distinct type of Jewish Greek, which I would prefer to

(*Grammar*, pp. 27-28), and, Lee contends, never refuted (*Study*, pp. 14-15).

1. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', pp. 81, 90, 87 for quotations.

call biblical Greek, spoken by Jesus'.[1] It is not inconceivable, Turner contends, that Jesus' language was influenced by all of the languages spoken in Galilee. Drawing upon his other grammatical studies, including work on the *Testament of Abraham*, Turner argues that this language was not a temporary phenomenon (as Gehman believed) but the normal language which Jesus spoke. In distinguishing his position from that of Moulton, Turner contends that the Egyptian papyri may well have been influenced by Semitic languages. Rather than Semitic documents lying behind the NT documents, however, Turner argues for the language of the NT as a form of symbolic representation, an iconography attesting to the pious devotion of its writers as they captured the sound of the OT documents in Greek. Turner's essay provides much material for thought, as he attempts to find a balance between what he perceives as indisputable Semitic and Greek elements in the language of the NT, as well as the language of Jesus.

The above survey should convey some sense of the major issues of the debate which has occurred through the years. A broad generalization would claim that most scholars probably favor the Aramaic hypothesis, although many of them for no particular or definite reason, apart possibly from their educational training and a general tendency in NT studies today to privilege theories which advocate Semitic backgrounds. The Aramaic position remains strong, and many of its presuppositions are often assumed when taking a stance in critical work. But at the same time there has been much rebellion against this position, as well as re-assessment of the Deissmann–Moulton and Holy Ghost Greek hypotheses.

Lars Rydbeck, a lecturer at Lund University in Sweden, is perhaps best known to English-speaking scholars for his challenging 1975 article in *New Testament Studies* which called for a revival of the study of NT Greek.[2] But perhaps Rydbeck's greatest contribution has come in his own advocation of a theory regarding the Greek of the NT. Although Rydbeck is in essential agreement with Moulton, in his

1. Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, p. 182.

2. 'What happened to NT Greek Grammar after Albert Debrunner?', *NTS* 21 (1974–75), pp. 424-27. See also his 'Die "Anstatt-Mentalität" bei der Erforschung griechischer Syntax', in *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius* (ed. S.-T. Teodorsson; Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, 54; Göteborg, 1990), pp. 154-57.

book *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (1967) he desires to shift the categories somewhat by broadening discussion to include the 'so-called people's language'.[1] He asserts that the Greek of the NT shares a common grammatical base with all other *Fachprosa* (popular literature, papyri, etc.).[2] For inclusion in this anthology I have selected one of his concluding chapters, 'On the Question of Linguistic Levels and the Place of the New Testament in the Contemporary Language Milieu [Zur Frage nach den Sprachschichten und der Stellung des Neuen Testaments im zeitgenössischen Sprachmilieu]', translated here for the first time into English. The essay is divided into three parts, and draws upon the detailed studies in the rest of Rydbeck's book in defending his position. Part one disputes the way the term 'popular' has been used in traditional grammatical discussions, establishing the need for Rydbeck's own discussion of vernacular language using a more rigorous methodology. Part two establishes and defends the existence of an intermediate prose level, including treatment of such topics as the relation of spoken to written language. Rydbeck looks to a technical prose built upon an Ionic-Attic base as the widespread medium for written communication in the Hellenistic world, until later classicizing influence took over. Part three concludes with eight theses which draw conclusions from the detailed grammatical discussions Rydbeck performs throughout his monograph. Rydbeck concludes by introducing several areas for further exploration, areas which some scholars have already taken up for further examination.

1. *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und NT: Zur Beurteilung der sprachlichen Niveauunterscheide im nachklassischen Griechisch* (Uppsala: n.p., 1967). The selection included in this collection is pp. 187-99 of his book. He has been followed by L.C.A. Alexander, 'Luke's Preface in the Context of Greek Preface-Writing', *NovT* 28 (1986), pp. 48-74.

2. Several have raised objections to this characterization: e.g. H. Kurzová, 'Das Griechische, im Zeitalter des Hellenismus', in *Soziale Probleme im Hellenismus und im römischen Reich* (ed. P. Oliva and J. Burian; Prague: n.p., 1973), pp. 218-24, who disputes Rydbeck's denial that through the popular documents one can know the *Vulgärsprache* spoken during the Hellenistic period; E. Pax, 'Probleme des neutestamentlichen Griechisch', *Bib* 53 (1972), pp. 560-62, who questions the very concept of *Fachprosa*; and S.E. Porter, 'Thucydides 1.22.1 and Speeches in Acts: Is there a Thucydidean View?', *NovT* 32 (1990), pp. 124-27, who raises issues of dialect, register and content.

In an appropriately synthetic essay, Moisés Silva, professor at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, brings the selections to a close. Silva has shown serious concern for issues of grammar and linguistics in several treatments of the Greek of the NT, including his essay reprinted here, 'Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek', which appeared in *Biblica* (1980).[1] Although he is a reserved advocate of the Deissmann–Moulton hypothesis, he attempts to provide a balanced perspective on the issues by illustrating that some of the disputes have arisen through imprecise language and the failure to make essential linguistic distinctions. There are two distinguishing features in his approach. First, Silva incorporates the categories of modern linguistics into his work, including the issue of bilingualism in sociolinguistics,[2] where he draws upon modern parallels. Second, he attempts to clarify the debate by subjecting the logic of various views to searching scrutiny. The article is structured in six parts. The first defends Deissmann, pointing out that much of the subsequent criticism directed toward him—especially concerning signs of Semitic influence upon the NT—had either been anticipated or corrected by Deissmann, as well as Moulton. Silva observes that Turner is in fact very similar to Moulton in his position regarding the place and kind of Greek in use in the NT, though Turner disputes this. Second, Silva finds the term 'dialect' to be problematic and adopts a definition from classical philology in which ancient Greece is seen to have had many regional dialects distinguished by essentially phonological and morphological features. Third, Silva treats the issue of bilingualism, mentioning such factors as first and second language acquisition, prestige languages, and the important distinction of F. de Saussure between a language in and of itself (*langue*) and an individual user's language (*parole*). Silva

1. *Bib* 61 (1980), pp. 198-219. See also Silva's 'Semantic Borrowing in the NT', *NTS* 22 (1975–76), pp. 104-10; 'New Lexical Semitisms', *ZNW* 69 (1978), pp. 253-57; 'The Pauline Style as Lexical Choice: ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΙΝ and Related Verbs', in *Pauline Studies* (FS F.F. Bruce; ed. D.A. Hagner and M.J. Harris; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 184-207; *Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983). See also G.H.R. Horsley, 'Divergent Views on the Nature of the Greek of the Bible', *Bib* 65 (1984), pp. 393-403; C.J. Hemer, 'Reflections on the Nature of NT Greek Vocabulary', *TynBul* 38 (1987), pp. 65-92.

2. See S.E. Porter, 'The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion', *NTS* 35 (1989), pp. 582-603, which is indebted to Silva's approach.

contends that discussion of the Greek of the NT has been at cross-purposes because Deissmann and his followers have been discussing *langue*, arguing that the structure of Greek has been unaffected by Semitic languages, while those who have argued for Semitic influence have been discussing *parole*, citing features of individual language users which illustrate Semitisms. Fourth, Silva responds to Gehman's article (reprinted in this collection; see also above) regarding Alexandrian bilingualism, refuting the idea of a transitional language. Fifth, regarding Palestinian bilingualism, which is different from Alexandrian, Silva sees widespread evidence for use of Greek. Sixth, Silva contends that discussion of biblical Greek must be concerned with style, i.e. the features of individual usage of various authors. Silva resolves the dispute between those arguing for and against Semitic influence by seeking a compromise. Yes, he argues, there is a Semitized Greek style, just as there is a Christian English style, but no, there was no permanent influence upon the Greek language itself by Semitic languages, and in this sense Deissmann and Moulton were responsible in their conclusions.

The final word on the nature of the Greek of the NT has not been said, and it is questionable whether it ever will be. Discussion of this issue will almost certainly continue if for no other reason than its outcome has serious consequences in several areas. For the student of ancient languages and cultures, examination of the Greek of the NT provides a window into the various forces at work in Palestine in the first century AD. The period was one of widespread Hellenistic culture, yet it was a culture which came up against the force of equally proud cultural and religious heritages in local population groups. The times promoted widespread production of literary documents, including papyri and inscriptions, which provide instructive information regarding the development of the Greek language as well as the institutions of the Greco-Roman world. For the student of early Christianity, the answer to the question of the kind of Greek used in the NT documents has potential for determining which ideas were at play in the thinking of the writers of the NT, and whether biblical scholars should look to Greek or Jewish sources for the conceptual background of these ideas. The last fifty or so years of academic biblical studies have been dominated for the most part by a

Jewish paradigm,[1] in which the major categories of thought have traditionally been traced to the Jewish background of the NT writers. It is interesting to see the correlation between this perspective and discussion of the nature of the Greek of the NT. I leave it to others to see if there is some sort of cause and effect at play. Just as there are signs of revival of the Deissmann hypothesis in study of the nature of the Greek of the NT, there are signs of increased attention to the Greco-Roman background of the NT documents.[2] It remains to be seen in which direction this recent discussion will proceed. For the student of linguistics, this discussion provides an interesting arena for honing and refining linguistic skills which are usually reserved for the study of modern languages.[3] The adaptation of modern linguistic methodology to the study of ancient languages requires some adjustments, especially in the weight given to epigraphic over oral evidence, since there are no native speakers by which to evaluate observations. But the complex interplay of the at least trilingual environment provides an interesting and intriguing context in which to study multilingualism.

By way of conclusion, I would like to state what I see as major issues still to be resolved in discussion regarding the Greek of the NT. As the survey above illustrates, there are many issues which call for further treatment, but I have selected three. First, there must be an increased awareness of the terms of the debate. My impression is that those who argue for a heavy Semitic influence upon the Greek of the NT for the most part are far less aware of the work of those who advocate little Semitic influence, than vice versa. For future progress, it will be incumbent upon all sides to be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of the various positions, and to re-examine the categories

1. Of course it is difficult to make such a sweeping generalization without recognizing that there have been many others who have looked to Greek background. This is I believe an accurate impression of the majority of work being done, however.

2. I cite, for example, work on the diatribe by S.K. Stowers (*The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981]) and others, and work on more theological issues by J.L. Kinneavy (*Greek Rhetorical Origins of Christian Faith: An Inquiry* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1987]).

3. See S.E. Porter, 'Studying Ancient Languages from a Modern Linguistic Perspective: Essential Terms and Terminology', *Filología Neotestamentaria* 2 (1989), pp. 147-72, which attempts to establish a workable methodology for thinking of ancient Greek in light of categories of modern linguistics.

under discussion. Categories worth examining include Silva's helpful distinction between the structure of the language in and of itself and an individual's use of the language, or style, and Rydbeck's differentiation of kinds of prose writings. Scholars must be clear what the specific question is before they can be certain that they have found an appropriate answer.

Second, there must be a more nuanced method by which to evaluate the evidence which is marshalled. This will probably require less emphasis upon treatment of single examples of translation or mistranslation of individual lexical items and more concern for the cumulative evidence of the effect of a Semitic feature upon entire grammatical categories. In my work I have found it helpful to distinguish between three kinds of data: instances of clear translation, for example where the author states the Semitic wording and then gives a rendering (e.g. Mk 15.34 par. Mt. 27.46); instances of intervention, when a form that cannot reasonably be formed or paralleled in Greek must be attributed to the influence of a Semitic construction (e.g. temporal ἰδού in Lk. 13.16); and instances of enhancement, when a rare construction that can be paralleled in Greek has its frequency of occurrence increased due to associations with Semitic literature (e.g. the adjectival attributive genitive in Rom. 8.21). Whereas the third category plays a significant role in tracing diachronic change in a language, only the second constitutes what can legitimately be called Semitic influence, since it represents an incursion by Semitic language and not a linguistic change that can be accounted for within the recognizable parameters of Greek linguistic development.[1]

Third, literacy in the ancient world, an area which is only recently receiving the kind of attention it deserves, must be considered. Written documentation in various forms became increasingly important in the Hellenistic world as communication and the need for keeping of records spread beyond local confines. Since study of ancient languages is incumbent upon the study of written documents, no matter how these are conceived as giving insight into the spoken registers, it is all too easy to get a distorted view which either overestimates or underestimates the extent of literacy in the ancient world. Errors in both extremes have been made, promoted in large

1. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, p. 118; 'Language of the Apocalypse', p. 587.

part due to the difficulty in gathering and assessing the evidence. One recent estimate is that at the most approximately twenty to thirty per cent of the males in a given Hellenistic community would have been literate. Literacy is directly related to the educational system of the time, which was primarily focused upon the city rather than the country and tended to favor males, especially those with money.[1] The papyri provide interesting information at this point. For example, a number of texts make reference to one writing for another, because the author of the letter is illiterate.[2]

With this historical perspective in mind, one is more than prepared to examine the essays below, in an attempt to get some sense of the course of discussion over the last approximately one hundred years regarding the nature of the Greek of the NT. There are several possible responses the reader might have to the debate. Perhaps one side in the debate will prove convincing, in which case the reader will approach further studies from a new or at least reinforced methodological perspective regarding the influence of Semitic languages upon the Greek of the NT. More likely, however, is the alternative that, even if one is not fully convinced by one side or another, the reader will gain a greater appreciation for the history and importance of this on going debate. The central questions will become clear, so that in approaching the text of the NT and those who have commented upon it, one's scholarship will be enhanced.

Bibliographical note: The essays are reprinted in this collection essentially as they appeared in their original sources, apart from bringing

1. See W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989) for a recent incisive study of this area. He treats the classical period on pp. 65-115 and the Hellenistic era with its educational system on pp. 116-46 (the statistic of twenty to thirty per cent literacy comes from p. 141). See also Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, pp. 58-106.

2. For example *P. Teb.* 104.39-40 (92 BC): ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Διονύσιος Ἑρμαΐσκ[ου / ὁ προγεγραμμένος διὰ τ]ὸ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθ[αι γρά]μματα; *P. Hamb.* 4.14-15 (AD 87): ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαμένου / μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα Ἰσίδωρος νομογράφος; *BGU* 1579.27-28 (AD 118–19). See Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, p. 146 n. 145 for other examples. On the relation of this phenomenon to the NT see R.N. Longenecker, 'Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles', in *New Dimensions in NT Study* (ed. R.N. Longenecker and M.C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974), pp. 281-97.

them into conformity with the publisher's style regarding biblical citations, numbering of footnotes, JBL abbreviations, and so on. I have attempted to give more complete bibliographic information in those articles which followed an abbreviated citation format, which has required fuller references in the text or footnotes in several instances.

HELLENISTIC GREEK WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF THE GREEK BIBLE

Adolf Deissmann*

Contents:
(1) An incorrect definition of the term 'Hellenistic Greek'. (2) The correct definition. (3) The name. (4) The general character and origin of Hellenistic Greek. (5) Are differences detectable? (6) The Greek Bible as an artifact of Hellenistic Greek: (a) principle facts; (b) phonology and morphology; (c) vocabulary; (d) syntax (with special consideration of Semitisms); (e) colloquial or literary language?

1. The definition which Eduard Reuss placed at the beginning of his article 'Hellenistisches Idiom' in the second edition of this encyclopedia[1] cannot be held today. According to him, the Hellenistic language would be

> the accepted term for the language which was used by the Jews living among Greeks or communicating with Greeks; or, if you will, for the particular form of the Greek language which was created in the mind and mouth of the Semitic Orient, as the two spheres of the peoples' lives began directly to touch and penetrate each other.

Reuss himself felt that the first of the two definitions 'is more limited and certainly historically insufficient', and with this he anticipated the main objection which we must raise against his definition.

* This essay is reprinted from *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. A. Hauck; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 3rd edn, 1899), VII, pp. 627-39. An opening bibliography has been deleted. Instead all references to secondary literature have been retained in the text or placed in footnotes to aid in ease of reading. The initial translation was completed by Marika Walter and Harold Biessmann, and revised by the editor.

1. E. Reuss, 'Hellenistisches Idiom', in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. A. Hauck; Leipzig, 2nd edn, 1879), V, pp. 741-49.

Notwithstanding that such a definition was 'accepted' at most perhaps in theological circles but not by linguistic science,[1] this definition only became possible by an arbitrary isolation and special consideration of certain details. There is just as little justification for defining the Hellenistic idiom as the language of the Greek Jews or of the Greek-influenced Semitic Orient, as if someone were to define Hellenistic art as the art of Greek Jews or of the Greek-influenced Semitic Orient. Actually, both definitions, the narrower and the broader one, are 'historically insufficient'. They are based on that wrong interpretation of the term 'Hellenistic' which, for example, is still used in Perthes' *Handlexikon für evangelische Theologen* (Gotha, 1890), II, p. 58: 'Hellenists: Jews who live dispersed among Greek-speaking peoples and speak the Hellenistic idiom'.

But, says Reuss, this definition 'satisfies us because we only get to know the subject itself through the inner circles of Judaism, and because an interest in the subject is for us tied to just these inner circles'. Today we can no longer agree with this notion because now we are more familiar with Hellenistic Greek through much more extensive original material from all over the world than were our predecessors. They, however, only had the Jewish-Hellenistic texts at hand—or took them in hand, and let stand in the libraries the long available, if now partly antiquated, inscriptions and papyrus publications. This was true even though J.E.I. Walch's *Observationes in Matthaeum ex graecis in scriptionibus* (Jenae, 1779) could have provided access. This original material is of such a kind that it forces interest onto every scholar who does not approach it interestedly. It has not only linguistic but also general cultural–historical interest, from which the religions–history studies of Greek Judaism and of Christianity will benefit.

The consequences for theological research of the older method of linguistic isolation of the Semitic-Hellenistic texts will be more closely considered under (6)(a) below. We may anticipate here that this research led to the definition of a holy language, a 'biblical' or 'New Testament' Greek with specific rules and secrets.

1. Only in G. Meyer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Indogermanische Grammatiken Band 3; Leipzig, 3rd edn, 1896), p. 26, do we find use of the term 'Hellenistic Greek' resembling that of Reuss. According to Meyer, Hellenistic Greek occurs 'especially in the New Testament'.

In sharp contrast to the isolation and sanctification of 'biblical' Greek by theologians is the ignoring or condemnation of late Greek by philologists. While in the prior case the dogmatic term 'canonical' paralysed research, in the latter case the similarly dogmatic fence of 'classical' hindered an unbiased scientific view. Categorizations such as 'graecitas fatiscens', 'vulgar Greek', 'bad Greek' were employed; and in the rare editions of post-classical texts, a red pen was grabbed as if the books of secondary-school students were to be corrected.

2. We have to be cautious of these two extremes when defining the term Hellenistic Greek. Neither limitation of the Hellenistic 'idiom' to the language of the Greek Jews and Christians nor well-meant schoolmasterly judgments can help us. For the unbiased, i.e. linguistic view there can be no doubt that Hellenistic Greek means 'the Greek world language of the Diadochian and Imperial periods'. If one divides the entire history of the Greek language, as far as it is possible, into three main periods—the period of the ancient Greek dialects, the middle (or late) Greek period, and the new Greek period—then Hellenistic Greek is generally identical to the middle (or late) Greek phase. How to define this period is debatable. Above all, the obvious must be considered; in other words the parameters are fluid. In general, the year 300 BC may be the upper limit, the year AD 600 the lower limit.[1] The lower limit is more fluid than the upper—a fact which lends a trace of truth to Schweizer's paradoxical statement: 'There is no lower limit: the Byzantine as well as the modern Greek linguistic developments are parts of the general Greek development'.[2] The fact that an overall consensus on the question of limits has been reached is shown by the findings of Thumb,[3] and even by Schweizer himself, which are related to those of Hatzidakis and Karl Dietrich. Thumb begins the Hellenistic era with the conquests of Alexander the Great and terminates it with the foundation of a

1. K. Dietrich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Byzantinisches Archiv Heft 1; Leipzig, 1898), XVI, following G.R. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Indogermanische Grammatiken Band 5; Leipzig, 1892), pp. 170-71, who draws the lower limit at AD 500–600.

2. E. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften. Beiträge zur Laut- und Flexionslehre der gemeingriechischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1898), p. 20.

3. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache. Grammatik, Texte, Glossar* (Strassburg, 1895).

national Greek state, the Byzantine Empire;[1] Schweizer lets the 'old Greek κοινή', as he calls it (i.e. our 'Hellenistic Greek'), extend from about 300 BC until the end of antiquity, about AD 500.[2] Our definition—'Greek world language of the Diadochian and Imperial eras'—renounces dates; it is, however, in general agreement with the mentioned limits.

3. There is not the same consensus with respect to the name. This has already become apparent in the statements above. Different terms have been used or mentioned: 'Hellenistic Greek', 'Greek world language', 'middle Greek', 'late Greek', 'old Greek κοινή'. The latter term, Κοινή, without the modifier, seems to enjoy general popularity. But a survey of the Greek linguistic literature shows that not every scholar means the same thing by κοινή: 'Even about the concept defined by this word there is no consent', says Krumbacher, who also talks about the 'nebulous idea which is provoked by the word κοινή'.[3]

We can detect,[4] however, a narrower and a broader use of the term κοινή in research. Some define κοινή as the language of the post-classical literature with the exception of the intentionally archaizing Atticistic works; the first and main representative is Polybius. Thus, for instance, Winer–Schmiedel's definition: 'a prosaic literary language which was indeed based on the Attic dialect, but differed from it by giving up Attic subtleties and picking up the common Greek, and even being distinguished by some provincialisms (ἡ κοινὴ or Ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος)'.[5] They distinguish this 'literary language' from the 'popular and colloquial language'. Others define the term κοινή in a broader sense. Hatzidakis in his works, for instance, means by κοινή the entire Greek language development from Alexander the Great until into the sixth century AD, i.e. until the main characteristics of the new Greek had formed, and not only the written but also the

1. A. Thumb, 'Die mittel- und neugriechische Sprachforschung (mit Einschluss der Koινή) in den Jahren 1892–1895', *Anzeiger für die indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde* 6 (1896), p. 224.

2. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, p. 20.

3. K. Krumbacher, 'Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der griechischen Sprache', *Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 27 ns 7 (1885), pp. 484, 495.

4. Following Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, pp. 18f.

5. G.B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (ed. P.W. Schmiedel; Göttingen, 8th edn, 1894–), § 3.1 (p. 16).

colloquial language. Similarly Schweizer himself says that vernacular Greek or κοινή, in contrast to the old, strongly differentiated dialects, means the collective written and spoken development of Greek—insofar as it is not obscured by archaizing tendencies (Atticism)—from the time from which a (common) Greek language existed at all, i.e. about 300 BC.[1]

This broad definition of the term κοινή seems to us the most natural, in which the historic starting point and the inclusion of the colloquial language are important facts, and the question of the historic lower limit is an unimportant fact. With the existing uncertainty of the Greek term κοινή, it is best to choose a clearer term, and the term 'Hellenistic world language' commends itself the most.

4. The question of the general character and origin of the Hellenistic world language has often been raised recently without a complete consensus having yet been reached. The relationship of the Hellenistic language to the dialects has been investigated particularly often. Opinions diverge in two directions. Some declare Attic the fundamental basis of the Hellenistic language, while others consider the influence of the Attic language to be significantly lower.

The reason this disagreement persists is mainly the fact that the sources of the Hellenistic world language have often been used in an incomplete or a mechanistic manner. Either one has referred solely to the Hellenistic literary artifacts (Polybius, etc.) or one has also considered the inscriptions and papyri but forgotten that these, so far as they are not of an official nature, represent mostly the free, colloquial language not consciously bound by the rules of style of either a higher or lower level of education.

To clarify the situation it is of foremost necessity that we, together with Schweizer[2] and Kretschmer,[3] pay attention to the main difference which exists in any language,[4] so also in Hellenistic Greek, between the written and the spoken, and between the literary and the colloquial languages. The literary language is by its nature something restricted, artificial, and regulated. The colloquial language, wherever it is

1. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, p. 19.
2. *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, p. 20.
3. P. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 16 (1899), pp. 2ff.
4. H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (Halle a. S., 3rd edn, 1898), pp. 379ff.

spoken, is uninhibited, a wildly grown and wildly growing thing, unrestricted, receptive, always drawing new power and stimulus from the inexhaustibly fertile soil of the dialects and from the rich vocabulary of the trades. It is evident that neither entity can be separated from the other.

If Hellenistic Greek is judged solely by its literary artifacts, a more or less strong Attic element will clearly be seen. 'In general, the language of literature is heavily under the influence of Attic prose: it fluctuates between the two extremes, the dead language of the Attic classicizing writers and the living language of the day, although never reaching the latter. According to a writer's literary tendency or his degree of education, his language is more or less colored by Attic, more or less approaching colloquial language.'[1] It is a natural process that, the longer the time, the more a literature is influenced by colloquial language. There are Hellenistic works of literature which evidence rather little Attic influence. Forms, words, and idioms which were not read in the old canonical representatives of Attic literature flowed abundantly into the written language. But from early on there was the impression that one was embarking on a dangerous course by tolerating these intrusions. A powerful movement arose which tried 'to elevate the prose artistically by returning to the language of the Attic classical writers'.[2] For detailed knowledge of the Atticistic movement, whose first and for us definitive representative was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of emperor Augustus, we are indebted to the just-quoted great work of Wilhelm Schmid. The modern (new Greek) written language is still influenced by Atticism.[3]

Only on the basis of special study of Hellenistic literary language has the thesis of the Attic basis of the Hellenistic language been possible. This has been proposed or even adopted by most scholars. Indeed, the literature shows many Attic, sometimes a lot of Attic, and often only Attic features. But much of the Attic here and there must be left aside as pure imitation and dead adornment, if we want to grasp the real character of the living Hellenistic world language. Characteristic of a distinct linguistic period—characteristic in a historical sense—are

1. P. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), p. 738.
2. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Helikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus* (5 vols.; Stuttgart, 1889–97), I, p. v.
3. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), p. 738.

not the relics which are contained in it, but the seeds which it germinates. Therefore, we have to unmask the literary language and look directly at the colloquial language, if we want to grasp the origin and character of the Hellenistic world language. Its artifacts have become available to us in larger numbers only in recent times: the unofficial—i.e. not composed or stylized by experts—inscriptions, ostraca and papyri of the Hellenistic era. From all parts of the Greek world come these inscriptions, compiled in large collections; from Egypt originate almost all of the incredibly abundant papyri; and from Egypt and Nubia come the ostraca, which Ulrich Wilcken has published in two volumes.[1] In view of these newly available sources, it was certainly not overstated when we spoke of a promising renaissance of Greek philology.[2] With the inscriptions, ostraca, and papyri, the artifacts of colloquial language are not yet exhausted. Beside most parts of the Greek Bible, Old and New Testaments, including apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, legends, and martyr books, and many other Jewish, Christian and heathen texts handed down in written form, which are either entirely non-literary like the true letters or are written in popular Greek, such as perhaps Babrius,[3] we have an abundance of material in the works of the ancient grammarians, particularly in the area of lexicography: words and forms which these schoolmasters deny and would like to ban from written Greek and which originate indeed in the colloquial language. Hatzidakis especially has begun to exploit this source.[4] These ancient sources and documents are joined, however, by the great corrective element offered by the new Greek vernacular language.[5] There is indeed a never-interrupted connection (καθομιλουμένη)—for us at many points only hidden until now and not yet rediscovered—between the Hellenistic and the new Greek.

According to all sources one must say the following about the Hellenistic colloquial language: it contains Attic elements 'but in

1. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1899).

2. A. Deissmann, *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel, ihr gegenwärtiger Stand und ihre Ausgaben* (Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen 12. Folge; Giessen, 1898), p. 5.

3. See O. Crusius, *Philologus* 53 (1894), p. 249.

4. *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, pp. 4ff. and 285ff.

5. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), p. 738; 16 (1899), pp. 3-4.

addition a lot of un-Attic character and so little specific Attic character that we must not call it Attic or corrupted Attic'.[1] As proof, the concise but highly significant synthesis of Kretschmer may be repeated here:[2]

> Treatment of diphthongs follows Boeotian rules: αι, ει, οι become *e, i, ü* monophthongs. Despite that, if from Hellenistic times until the present one writes αι, ει, οι, it is based on the Atticism which governs orthography but not pronunciation. It is characteristic of the un-Attic character of the monophthongs that they appear in popular Attic inscriptions a few centuries later than in the papyri, i.e. in the Egyptian koine,[3] where they are already demonstrable in the second century BC, at a time when the Boeotian dialect certainly was still alive. Boeotian also has the closed pronunciation of η, which eventually led to its converging with ι (in Pontus the *e*-sound remained). In the treatment of adjacent vowels, the koine not always but mostly followed the Ionic norm: on the one hand χώνη, on the other hand γαλέα, adjectives with -εος as χρύσεος, κράτεα, ὀρέων, ὀστέον and comparable, new Greek stems with -εα. Aeolic–Thessalic is the change of ιρ to ερ (σκερτῶν already in the wax inscriptions of Babrius = σκιρτῶν). Attic has, however, long α after ρ and ι, ε otherwise η = Doric long α, but there are also many (if ambiguous) exceptions to this rule. The consonants of the koine have un-Attic features too: σσ predominates instead of ττ. While Attic writers were to a large extent δασυνταί, in the koine the Ionic–Aeolic de-aspiration prevailed, and the new Greek does not know *h* any more. The position of aspiration is Ionic in κύθρα (Attic χύτρα), κιθών (Attic χιτών), new Greek πάχνη, Pontic παθενίν (Attic φάτνη), new Greek Βάθρακας (Attic Βάτραχος) as Ionic. The transition from ντ to *nd* perhaps originated with the Greeks of Asia Minor, where it already appears in pre-Christian times. The use of the nominative plural with -ες as accusative is northwest Greek. . . The favored nouns in the koine with -ᾶς. . . , feminine -οῦς. . . originate in Ionic. The vocabulary contains Doric elements, such as λαός, ναός (also new Greek), πιάζω (new Greek πιάνω), Ionic, as ἐγγαρεύω (new Greek ἀγγαρεύω); for the remainder it is difficult in lexicographical terms to distinguish between the dialects.

Kretschmer closes with the following general sentences:

1. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 16 (1899), p. 3.
2. *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), pp. 738ff.
3. S. Witkowski, *Prodromus Grammaticae papyrorum Graecarum aetatis Lagidarum* (Sonderdruck aus dem 26. Band der Abhandlung der philologische Klasse der Akademie zu Krakau; Cracoviae, 1897), pp. 4-5.

> This colorful mixture of dialects in the koine will not seem strange to someone who considers that even the New High German colloquial language consists of upper, middle and some Low German elements. Here the unification occurred predominantly in the literature, whereas the Greek koine must have originated in the spoken language. The Greek population of the cities of Egypt and the Orient, which was composed of different national groups, smoothed out the peculiarities of their dialects in mutual interaction and created a relatively homogeneous colloquial language, in which Ionic–Attic dominated; the Attic written language exerted a certain influence, but the remaining dialects also contributed several things.

At this point, the vivid remarks of Reuss (in his article in the second edition of this encyclopedia, mentioned above) about the origin of the colloquial language may be recognized, in so far as we still believe them to be true:

> with the sudden huge expansion of the geographic horizon following the Alexandrian revolutionizing of the world, the Greek language had to adopt a quantity of foreign words—Egyptian, Persian, Semitic—for animals, plants, raw materials, fabricated goods, tools, and institutions of public and private life. With the new political order creating vast empires, and if not entirely destroying at least pushing into the background the limited character of the Diadochian states and their unrefined politics, there also occurred a melting of local languages and national dialects into a common Greek world language. At first the common man in Athens will certainly have continued to speak Attic, in Sparta Doric, in Halicarnassus Ionic, but a middle ground was arrived at, especially in the new cities where the population was not of a single origin. The living, formative impetus of this new language, which was on its way to becoming the adhesive of the entire future world civilization, itself created in turn a number of novelties. Much of what we now encounter for the first time may well be older, but may then for the first time have been moved out of the dark of the colloquial language, which everywhere is richer than what is classically legitimate, or moved out of a remote province into the focus of the new urban civilization.

So says Reuss. Among older scholars the statement is often found that the Macedonian and Alexandrian dialects exerted a decisive influence on the formation of Hellenistic Greek. This statement should disappear. 'If one considers the Macedonian dialect the old language of the Macedonians, its influence is extremely low and is limited to a few foreign words which other languages also contribute. Macedonian can only have been particularly important if it is defined as Greek spoken in Macedonia and by Macedonians outside of Macedonia.

However, this is not well known to us. And furthermore, like the so-called Alexandrian dialect, it is only a product of the formation of the common language, a part of it, and therefore cannot have contributed to its formation.'[1] It is true, however, that the vocabulary of 'Alexandrian Greek', with the immense importance of Alexandria for the entire Hellenistic world,[2] has exerted at several points in the course of development a strong influence, for example, on the Greek of Asia Minor. One only needs to think of the influence of the LXX vocabulary on Paul and other Christian Asians.

Let us summarize. The general character of the Hellenistic colloquial language, allowing at the same time for the safest conclusion about its origin, is that of a common Greek language. Resting on a mixture of dialects, especially Ionic and Attic (but also others), it gained enrichment from all parts of the world where it formed, but also developed its own novel features from within. In this characterization of the living language are found the important features of Hellenistic Greek *per se*: the literary language has to be judged by the colloquial language and not the colloquial language by the literary language, for language is spoken before it is written. The Hellenistic vernacular language is not an uncultivated form of the Hellenistic literary language, but the literary language strives to be a refinement of the vernacular language. By what right it raises this claim need not be examined here.

5. It has just been mentioned that the Hellenistic world language is distinguished according to local peculiarities. Karl Dietrich differentiates the κοινή of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece.[3] The so-called Alexandrian 'dialect' especially, already so-named by ancient writers, has long enjoyed great popularity as an item of special linguistic concern. This situation is certainly caused on the surface by the fact that most linguistic artifacts have originated from Egypt; what they had to offer in grammatical and lexical peculiarities had of course to be 'Egyptian' Greek. We, too, do not deny that world Greek was a living language capable of acquisition and differentiation, leaving freedom for local and personal character particularly with respect to enrichment or consolidation of the vocabulary. But one must caution

1. Schweizer, *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, p. 27.
2. Dietrich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 306ff.
3. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 251ff.

emphatically against attempts at a mechanistic differentiation of Hellenistic 'dialects'. Provincial differences[1] exist but they are not sufficient for forming dialects. The differences we know are just not significant.[2] The common Greek popular language was generally uniform, if uniformity is something different than monotony. Wilhelm Schmid also rightfully speaks of the 'surprising uniformity' of the κοινή: 'not only in a positive sense, but also in phonetic and morphological aberrations this characteristic becomes apparent—since all important traits occur almost simultaneously in the most widely different regions'.[3]

More dangerous than the strong emphasis on provincial 'dialects', but downright misleading as will soon be demonstrated in detail, is the identification of a special Jewish Greek or even a Christian Greek and any similar 'phantastic entity'.[4]

6. (a) The Greek Bible, both Old and New Testaments along with their appendices, has also been mentioned in (4) above among the artifacts of Hellenistic Greek. The reason why we now treat it separately at the end of this article entitled 'Hellenistic Greek' is determined by the character of this encyclopedia itself, which, at many points with respect to the interest of its immediate audience, can only present parts of larger contexts. An intrinsic, meaning here a historical, reason for linguistic isolation of the Greek Bible does not exist.

With this previous sentence we enter into strong opposition to those grammarians, lexicographers and exegetes of the Greek Bible for whom there is absolutely no doubt that a 'biblical' Greek can be defined linguistically. The fact that some differentiate this term into 'Septuagint Greek' and 'New Testament Greek', or into 'Jewish Greek' and 'Christian Greek', or expand it into an 'ecclesiastical Greek', is irrelevant. For everywhere the mostly tacit assumption has existed that the entity in question differed characteristically from its linguistic environment; therefore, for example, 'New Testament'

1. Kretschmer, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 15 (1898), p. 738.
2. F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1896), p. 4.
3. W. Schmid, *Wochenschrift für die klassische Philologie* 16 (1899), p. 549.
4. This is what A. Jülicher, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1899), p. 258, calls the alleged *sermo, quo Sacri Scriptores uti solent.*

Greek, as Blass once formerly asserted, is to be recognized 'as special, following its own rules'.[1]

Particular linguistic observations have been isolated or interpreted falsely, and displaced religious considerations were and have remained important for the idea of 'biblical' Greek. As long as the LXX and New Testament were essentially the only known or at least easily available witnesses of the spoken Hellenistic language, no particularly sensible linguistic intuition was required to realize the distance of those texts from the 'classical' Greek learned in school. One was indeed in an entirely different world. Also, anyone who went one step farther and read, for instance, the LXX beside Polybius soon realized the difference between the two texts, especially in syntax: a Greek which is so full of unmistakable 'Semitisms' and 'Hebraisms' is not identical with the κοινή; it is a special Greek. Indeed, the LXX texts were written by Jews, whose 'sense of language' was naturally 'Semitic'—what was more self-evident than that the concept of 'Jewish Greek' was created, which seemed to solve the entire problem instantaneously? Scholars who used the term in a linguistic sense imagined the 'Jewish Greek' to be something analogous to Negro English or to some ghetto gibberish, as a hodgepodge of two entirely different languages. Starting with totally different perspectives, the theological point of view arrived at a more favorable but methodologically similar result. From ancient times the biblical texts were believed inspired; on issues of linguistic character the unregenerate person, who wants to judge from the perspective of Demosthenes, must not join the conversation.[2] By this some may have silently transferred the notion of divine inspiration from the New Testament and the Hebrew Old Testament to the LXX. Hence one found the biblical texts, as one investigated them for their 'Graecisms', isolated already. Even when the dogma of mechanical inspiration had collapsed from a theoretical standpoint, it still had influence in practice, especially since the isolation-provoking term 'canonical' remained: there had to exist a sacred Greek as opposed to the 'profane Greek'. At present, one of the most influential representatives of this theory—incidentally, accepted blindly and applied practically by most exegetes—is Hermann

1. F. Blass, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 19 (1894), p. 338.

2. J.A. Quenstedt in C.E. Luthardt, *Kompendium der Dogmatik* (Leipzig, 7th edn, 1886), p. 312.

Cremer, who explicitly adopted in the introduction to his *Biblisch-theologischen Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* (Gotha, 8th edn, 1895) the following sentences of Richard Rothe:[1]

> One can, indeed, speak intelligibly of a language of the Holy Ghost. For it appears openly in the Bible before our eyes—how the divine spirit every time through the work of revelation created from the language of the people who lived in the place a very peculiar religious language, by transforming the linguistic elements he found and the already existing terms into a characteristic, appropriate form. The Greek of the New Testament demonstrates this fact most clearly.

Cremer then tries to prove this theory at many places in his dictionary.

Both considerations, the more linguistic and the more religious, agree in that they elevate a specific biblical Greek above the remaining Greek and in that for them this biblical Greek constitutes a generally uniform entity. In the appreciation of this unity both may diverge, but in any case they belong together methodologically.

The 'Beiträge zur Sprachgeschichte der griechischen Bibel' in the author's *Bibelstudien* and his *Neue Bibelstudien* [2] (see also the other small articles cited above) fought against this theory, which is a fetter for linguistic science and biblical exegesis, as well as for the Christian faith. In characterizing the Greek Bible as an artifact of Hellenistic Greek, we will have to refer several times to these works.

(b) The most obvious characteristics of the living Hellenistic language are in the area of phonology and morphology. In phonology and morphology the acceptance of a special biblical Greek is shattered beyond repair. All of the hundreds of formal details, which the reader of biblical texts who is used to Plato and Xenophon notices, he also finds in the contemporary 'profane' documents of the Greek world language, especially in the original texts handed down to us which have not been 'purified' by an Attic purgation: the inscriptions,

1. R. Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik* (Gotha, 1863), p. 238 (in the 2nd edition, 1869, pp. 233-34.).

2. A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien. Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums* (Marburg, 1895); *Neue Bibelstudien. Sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Erklärung des NT* (Marburg, 1897).

ostraca, and papyri, and here again mostly the papyri. That the papyri offer richer finds than the inscriptions is not entirely accidental:

> The reasons are obvious. One may almost say the difference of the writing material causes such a discrepancy. Papyrus is patient and serves intimate purposes; stone is brittle and stands publicly before all eyes in markets, in temples, or at grave sites. The inscriptions, especially the longer and official ones, approach the literary language in their style and therefore exhibit something slightly studied and affected. What is written in the papyri is much less affected, because it has been triggered by the thousand necessities and situations in the daily life of common people. While the legal documents may exhibit a certain rigid use of the language associated with all the formality of the office, the many writers of letters act more uninhibited. This is true for everything more formal.[1]

The new revised edition of the accidence of Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* by Schmiedel offers so many reliable observations (even though it appeared before the publication of the most important recent papyrus discoveries and therefore could not use this most instructive material) that, from the standpoint of forms, the identification of the alleged 'Language of the New Testament' with the Hellenistic popular language could no longer be ignored. The same conclusion is reached from another perspective in the book by Karl Dietrich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert nach Christus.* The value of the often arrogantly despised philological leftovers is that they open our eyes to the simple connections of linguistic history.

The peculiarities of Hellenistic Greek phonology and morphology, so far as they appear in the Holy Scriptures (some of it has doubtlessly been later removed by Atticistically influenced scribes), need not be summarized here, since every reader can find them in Winer–Schmiedel. We also refer to Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.*[2] Especially in Winer–Schmiedel we also find abundant examples from the LXX texts, which, by the way, still await a methodical, comprehensive linguistic study. As Egyptian texts they will receive bright illumination from the Egyptian papyri and ostraca. These observations, which we compiled in *Neue Bibelstudien* (pp. 9-21), may be largely multiplied. Indeed, the abundant private

1. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 7-8.
2. Compare *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1898), pp. 120ff.

papyri from the Diodochian and Imperial periods, which papyri were not welcomed by classical philologists as jubilantly as poetry fragments, are the most valuable sources for the entire linguistic study of the Greek Bible. Most of them can be dated precisely, often to the day; their origin also can almost always be determined. Ulrich Wilcken gives a wonderful overview of these discoveries.[1]

(c) The vocabulary of the Greek Bible also shows characteristic traits of Hellenistic Greek. However, at this point proof is not so evident as for phonology and morphology, but our thesis does not require strong evidence. It is obvious that the vocabulary of the world language, which was enriched from all countries conquered by the Greeks, cannot be known completely. Indeed, new words which will not be found in the dictionaries are being found every day in the newly discovered sources. It is likewise evident that many words can only be found once in the entire body of texts handed down to us. No intelligent person will believe that all of these were instantaneously created by the writers: these are ἅπαξ εὑρημένα, not ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. Such ἅπαξ εὑρημένα also occur in not small numbers in the Greek Bible. Advocates of 'biblical' Greek have often utilized them in their favor. Cremer especially likes to declare ἅπαξ εὑρημένα as 'biblical' or 'New Testament' words which are owed to the language-creating power of Christianity. In his edition of Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, Grimm, too, always carefully notes concerning rarities, 'vox solum biblica', 'vox mere biblica', 'vox profanis ignota', creating the impression that 'biblical Greek' can somehow be defined lexically.[2] (The English edition of Wilke–Grimm by J.H. Thayer, the best available dictionary for the New Testament, is more careful in this respect.[3]) In a large number of cases, in general one may say without hesitation the following: that a word has only been found in the Bible until now is by statistical chance alone. In other cases it is possible to document directly a certain word as 'profane', i.e. generally 'Hellenistic', in overlooked or unknown

1. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Papyri* (Berlin, 1897); see also *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 21 (1896), pp. 609ff.; 23 (1898), pp. 628ff.

2. C.L.W. Grimm, *Lexicon Graeco–Latinum in libros Novi Testamenti* (Lipsiae, 3rd edn, 1888).

3. J.H. Thayer, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti translated revised and enlarged* (corr. edn; New York and Edinburgh, 1896); see *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1898), p. 922.

authors, inscriptions, ostraca, and papyri. This is the case, for instance, in the alleged 'biblical' or 'New Testament' words and compounds ἀγάπη, ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀντιλήμπτωρ, ἐλαιών, ἐνώπιον, εὐάρεστος, εὐΐλατος, ἱερατεύω, καθαρίζω, κυριακός, λειτουργικός, λογεία, νεόφυτος, ὀφειλή, περιδέξιον, ἀπὸ πέρυσι, προσευχή, πυρράκης, σιτομέτριον, ἔναντι, φιλοπρωτεύω, φρεναπάτης.[1] The list can be extended. The same is true of many meanings of colloquial Greek words, emphasized by Cremer as being specifically 'biblical' or 'New Testamental', which in the dictionaries until now have not been documented outside of the Bible but at this point can: for example, the use of ἀδελφός for a member of a community, ἀναστρέφομαι and ἀναστροφή in an ethical sense, ἀντίλημψις = help, λειτουργέω and λειτουργία in a sacred sense, πρεσβύτεροι of priests, ἐρωτάω = I beg, ἀρεσκεία in a good sense, ἐπιθυμητής in an evil sense, ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας, λούω for sacred washings, πάροικος = alien.[2] In commentaries on New Testament books the alleged 'New Testament' meaning of certain words plays an important role and is often required to remove exegetical doubt; it is time to scrutinize these arguments, because not infrequently they provide a cover for dogmatic and scholastic arbitrariness.

Unfortunately, research has been confused at this point by a special circumstance. The linguistic and the religions–history points of view have not been separated clearly enough. It must also be considered a fact that Greek Judaism and Christianity created novel terms—but considered a fact of history-of-religions, not of history-of-language. For instance, the Greek Jew who first said εἰδωλόθυτον instead of ἱερόθυτον did not with this new creation leave the ground of Hellenistic Greek, but only demonstrated his Jewish contempt of idols: this word does not originate with Jewish 'Greek' but with Jewish belief. The same can be said for the change in meaning of old words brought about by Judaism and Christianity. It does not need to be demonstrated in detail that through religion worn words were coined anew, empty terms were filled with new meaning, and despised ones

1. For the three last words see Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, pp. xii 69, 68; the rest has been documented in the author's *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien*.

2. Documentation is in the author's *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien*.

were honored. But because of that one cannot speak of a new 'Greek'. Who speaks of a dialect of the Stoa or a Greek of the Gnostics? Who writes a grammar of Neo-Platonism? And still, all these movements have enriched and changed the Greek vocabulary.

A large portion of the alleged changes in meaning are, by the way, only detectable by a wrong lexical method: in the texts of the LXX one simply logically equates the Greek words with their Semitic equivalents. In doing this, it is often overlooked that not infrequently the LXX is freely—often very freely—translated, and that in many places the LXX does not translate but replace. Equivalent words do not always produce equivalent meanings.[1]

By lexical examination also the Greek Bible is a legitimate artifact of the Hellenistic world language.

(d) Syntactical analysis of the Greek Bible seems at first to allow the construction of a 'biblical' Greek. Whoever, for instance, leafs through the psalms of the LXX, or reads individual pages of the synoptic evangelists, gets the strangest impressions. Such constructions, such examples of word order, and such syntax are indeed not even found in the most vulgar papyri, which were written by humble people in small Egyptian towns. Indeed, here must be Jewish Greek, since here is a Greek completely interspersed with Semitisms. Many scholars have certainly been strongly influenced by this impression. Also, quite different texts, which are found together with the 'Jewish Greek' ones in the same corpus, were determined without inspection to make the same impression. And still, an obvious difference cannot be overlooked. *4 Maccabees*, the letters of the Apostle Paul, and the Epistle to the Hebrews and others, are nothing like 'Jewish Greek' but are more or less artifacts of the Hellenistic colloquial and literary language. They may remain outside of our discussion, without further consideration at this point: as a linguistically (especially syntactically) clearly coherent group, they must be separated from the texts which appear to be Jewish Greek. The scientifically defensible justification for this separation comes from the fact that these texts are original Greek, while the 'Jewish Greek' texts are translations from Hebrew or Aramaic. With this realization we obtain an entirely different standard for syntactical analysis of the translated texts. Instead of 'Jewish

1. See also our Giessen address: *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel*, pp. 15ff.

Greek' we cautiously speak of 'translator's Greek'. If we compare the original text with the translation in cases where the Semitic original is still available, we realize—Semitism for Semitism—how slavish a copying of the original there is. There is only one other point that needs clarification: is this translator's Greek identical to the colloquial Greek language of the translators or is it an *ad hoc* created Greek, dependent on the original? In the first case a 'Jewish Greek' would have been identified as an actually spoken Semitic variant of the Greek world language, in the second case 'Jewish Greek' would have existed only on the papyrus on which one did not translate the holy original into Greek but substituted word for word with Greek equivalents. Or, oriented towards the term 'Semitism', the problem could be defined: are the Semitisms of the translations of the Bible usual or occasional? Concerning this distinction, which to our knowledge has not been observed until now in the rich literature on Hebraisms and Aramaisms of the Greek Bible, one should compare Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (pp. 67ff. and 145ff.; regarding usual anomalies and momentary anomalies). The answer cannot be in doubt: the translator's Greek is an artificial, paper Greek, and not a spoken Greek; its numerous, specifically syntactical, Semitisms are occasional.

Does this answer still need a more detailed substantiation? If the Greek Jews have their own 'idiom', why does the Greek Jew Paul, who only wrote letters but no books,[1] not write in this idiom? Why does Philo or the author of the Aristeas epistle write in so totally un-Jewish a way? With these questions one can put the burden of proof for the thesis on the defenders of 'Jewish Greek'. But two biblical artifacts themselves render any further debate superfluous, the Wisdom of Ben Sirah, and the Gospel of St Luke. Both have prologues, of which nobody can assert that they are 'Jewish Greek' or even Hebraistic. The question of whether they are written in elegant Greek or not may remain unanswered: they are in any case Greek. The works of both authors, however, also contain Semitic Greek: one quite a lot of it, the other less. For the representatives of the Jewish Greek hypothesis this side-by-side comparison of two kinds of Greek from the same pen is extremely embarrassing, and such a brilliant sentence as the one by Reuss in the second edition of this encyclopedia must be erased: 'During the Jewish period and sphere of influence the

1. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 234ff.

Hellenistic idiom was one of slavish translation; during the Christian period it became a free language-forming idiom, without denouncing its origin' (p. 747). For us the side-by-side comparison can be explained quite simply: in the prologue the authors write the way they speak; afterwards however they depend directly or indirectly—one very much, the other not so much—on a Semitic original.

The so-called Jewish Greek was not a living language but was merely caused, according to our perspective, by a wrong method of translation. Most of the texts of the LXX carry the birthmarks of this method in much larger numbers than the Greek words of Jesus in the synoptic gospels. This is probably due to the fact that the LXX is translated from written originals; perhaps the majority of the words of Jesus are interpreted from oral sources by bilingual Christians, whose work may be understood in analogy to the translating function of a native Palestinian dragoman.[1]

It must not be denied that beside the occasional Semitisms there are also some Semitisms that became usual. Especially in places where the LXX was common, through hearing and reading, some of the originally occasional Hebraisms gradually became usual ones. Johannes Weiss therefore speaks correctly of a 'staining' of the religious language by certain LXX terms.[2] But this concerns mostly lexical Semitisms, just as the 'language of Canaan' of our German sermons and Sunday papers is mainly composed of 'biblical' words which have vanished from colloquial language but have remained familiar to the reader of the Bible.

A study of Semitisms from this point of view, for example in the early Christian texts, is a pressing necessity. A comparative consideration of examples of Hellenistic colloquial language would not infrequently result in the realization that an apparent Semitism must rather be defined as characteristic of popular Greek: for example ἀναστρέφομαι and ἀναστροφή in the ethical sense, ὄνομα = person, ἐρωτάω = I beg, the construction καθαρὸς ἀπό τινος,[3] and the determination of a distributive ratio of Semitisms on the basis of a

1. See A. Merx, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 19 (1898), p. 989.

2. J. Weiss, *Paulinische Probleme II* (Theologische Studien und Kritiken Band 69 Heft 1; Gotha, 1896), p. 33.

3. Documentation of these and other examples is in the author's *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 22ff.

basic number of them.[1] The number of truly usual Semitisms will not be large and will mainly belong to the religious language. How much has passed into the common world Greek, not considering Semitic foreign words, can hardly be determined for pre-Christian times, apart from perhaps an occasional technical term from the language of trade. Also, the single (!) Egyptism of Hellenistic Greek found up to now,[2] the expression ὄνος ὑπὸ οἴνου, is an imitation of a technical term.

From a syntactical standpoint, therefore, the Greek Bible must be placed with the artifacts of the Hellenistic language. Its occasional Semitisms are curiosities but of no linguistic importance; its usual Semitisms can change the linguistic verdict as little as can some possible Latinisms or other pieces of booty from the victorious conquest by the Greek language of the Mediterranean world.

(e) One other question needs to be dealt with, but its answer can here only be implied. Is the Greek Bible an artifact of colloquial or literary language? If what has been stressed above (4) as self-evident is considered together with this question, i.e. that the borderline between colloquial and literary language is fluctuating, one may say the following. One must be cautious in lumping together all of the biblical texts. They rather have to be studied separately. That some writings use literary language, or at least want to, seems beyond doubt, and studies like Blass's[3] about observing instances of hiatus in the Epistle to the Hebrews are of immense importance in this context, pedantic as they may appear. Blass considers this text the only one in the New Testament 'which in syntax and style reflects the care and skill of an artistic writer' (p. 290). In contrast, Paul's letters seem to us to be artifacts of colloquial language, even though Paul seems to have copied some from the rhetoricians.[4] At least his vocabulary is such that an ancient Atticistic grammarian would have corrected it continuously to remove all words that are taboo in educated written language. This may easily be proven from dictionaries and other dispersed notes of the grammarians. For instance, no 'author' who

1. F. Blass, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 23 (1898), pp. 630ff.
2. See A. Erman, *Hermes* 28 (1893), pp. 479-80.
3. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, pp. 290-91.
4. Compare J. Weiss, *Beiträge zur Paulinistischen Rhetorik, Sonderabdruck aus den Theologischen Studien* (FS Bernhard Weiss; Göttingen, 1897).

respects form would have written the magnificent γρηγορεῖτε στήκετε of 1 Cor. 16.13; both verbs are 'quite vulgar', as Blass calls the latter.[1] These examples can be multiplied easily. To expect 'literary Greek' from an apostle would be entirely unjustified; he was no author, no epistolographer, but a letter writer. He talked the same way as the common people of Ephesus and Corinth. The only difference was that it was indeed Paul who handled the world Greek of the cities of Asia Minor, Europe, and Egypt, Paul with the natural eloquence and the prophetic pathos of his fiery soul. *Tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus.* And as he spoke, so he wrote. The Greek gospels also are for the most part artifacts of colloquial language. The same is true for the vocabulary of most of the books of the LXX: it teems with words which were anathema to Atticists.[2] Studies of particular biblical books with respect to the character of their individual language would be timely and rewarding. It is a very important fact for the religions–history evaluation of ancient Christianity, that the men of this unique period were nothing less than book-people. In the more popular texts of later Christian centuries, legends, novels, letters, martyr books, and the like, we also have artifacts of the living language developing towards new Greek. Anyone who wanted to prove this in detail,[3] and simultaneously on the other hand wanted to reveal traces of Atticism in the Church Fathers,[4] would not only serve Greek philology but also open up new perspectives on the religious history of Christianity.[5]

1. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, p. 40.

2. Compare for the Pentateuch H. Anz, *Subsidia ad cognoscendum Graecorum sermonem vulgarem e Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina repetita* (Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses, 12; Hal. Sax., 1894), pp. 259-389.

3. After pioneering work by Blass in his *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, a superb beginning is offered by his student H. Reinhold, *De graecitate Patrum Apostolicorum librorumque Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae* (Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses, 14; Hal. Sax.1898), pp. 1-113; cf. also the dissertation by J. Compernass, which essentially deals with *Acta sanctorum: De sermone graeco vulgari Pisidiae Phrygiaeque meridionalis* (Bonn, 1895).

4. Compare, e.g., B.W. Fritz, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Synesius von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Atticismus im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1898).

5. We have referred to other examples of linguistic studies, especially of biblical texts, in our Giessen address of 1897: *Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel.*

NEW TESTAMENT GREEK IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN DISCOVERY

James Hope Moulton*

The researches which supply material for the present essay are described in the title as 'modern'. This term obviously needs definition at the outset. It will be used here of work that has been done almost entirely since the publication of the Revised Version, and mainly within the last fifteen years. A brief sketch of the new positions will fitly precede their defence in points where they have been considered vulnerable, and some exposition of important consequences for NT study.[1]

The beginning of the doctrines to be considered here is to be traced to Adolf Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, the first series of which appeared in 1895 (ET Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901). Despite some voices of cavil from German scholars who underestimate the importance of the Berlin Professor's work, there can be no question that Deissmann has been the leader in a very real revolution. This revolution has however been prepared for by a host of workers, toiling almost unconsciously towards the same goal along a different road. The scientific study of the Greek language from the close of the classical period down to the present day has for a generation been attracting able and diligent students. They have shown that the aftermath of Greek literature is rich in interest and value of its own, and that if the comparative philologist and syntactician has fitly busied himself with the *origines* of Greek, he may with equal profit study the continuous evolution

* This essay is reprinted from *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day: By Members of the University of Cambridge* (ed. Henry Barclay Swete; London: Macmillan, 1909), pp. 461-505. An attached synopsis of the essay is not included here. Fuller references are included in the text and footnotes of works which are important for Moulton's discussion. Longer inclusions by the editor are indicated.

1. As far as possible I shall avoid repeating what has been already said in my *Grammar of NT Greek*. I. *Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1908).

which issues in the flexible and resourceful language of the common people in modern Hellas. This line of research is one among many products of the regeneration in comparative philology which dates from the pioneer work of Brugmann, Leskien, and others in German some thirty years ago. The old contempt of the classical scholar for the 'debased Greek' of the centuries after Alexander was overcome by an enthusiasm which found language worth studying for its own sake, in Old Irish glosses or Lithuanian folk-songs, in Byzantine historians or mediaeval hagiologies or ill-spelt letters from peasants of the Fayyûm. Hellenistic Greek accordingly found competent philologists ready to enter on a field which was already wide enough to promise rich reward for industry and skill. But with the new research there came in a vast mass of new material. Hellenistic inscriptions were collected by systematic exploration to an extent unparalleled hitherto. And from the tombs and rubbish-heaps of Egypt there began to rise again an undreamt-of literature, the unlettered, unconscious literature of daily life. The vernacular language of the early Roman Empire took form under our eyes, like a new planet swimming into our ken. It remained for some 'watcher of the skies' to identify the newcomer with what had long been known. Casually glancing at a page of the Berlin Papyri, copied in a friend's hand, Deissmann saw at once the resemblance of this vernacular Greek to the biblical Greek which had for ages been regarded as a dialect apart. Further study confirmed the first impression. *Bibelstudien* brought the theologian into line with the philologist, and a new method of biblical study emerged which, even if its advocates be deemed to have sometimes exaggerated its claims, may at least plead justly that it is producing fresh material in great abundance for the interpretation of the Greek Bible.

At this point it will be advisable to sketch some of the most outstanding features of modern work upon the 'common' Greek, and name the workers who have specially advanced our knowledge. The first place must be taken by the department that gave a lead to all the others. The true character of Κοινή Greek could only be recognized when it became possible to differentiate between the natural and the artificial, the unstudied vernacular of speech and the 'correct' Atticism of literary composition. Materials for delineating the former variety were very scanty. The Paris papyri slumbered in the Louvre *Notices et Extraits*, and those of the British Museum, of Leyden and of Turin, provoked as little attention: classical scholars had something better to

do than to follow the short and simple annals of the poor Egyptian farmer in a patois which would spoil anybody's Greek prose composition.[1] But when Drs Grenfell and Hunt were fairly started on their astonishing career of discovery, with fellow-explorers of other nations achieving only less abundant success—when the volumes of the Egypt Exploration Fund stood by the side of goodly tomes from Professor Mahaffy and Dr F.G. Kenyon in this country, and many a collection from Berlin, Vienna, Paris and Chicago, the character of the language soon was realized. In the meantime, the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period were being carefully studied according to their localities. The dialectic evidence of the vase inscriptions had yielded important results in the hands of Paul Kretschmer. K. Meisterhans taught us the true idiom of Athens from its stone records; and Eduard Schweizer (now Schwyzer) threw welcome light on the Κοινή of Asia Minor in his *Preisschrift* on the accidence of the inscriptions of Pergamon. The great epigraphist Wilhelm Dittenberger annotated with the utmost fullness of knowledge four massive volumes of Greek inscriptions from Greece and the East. More illiterate compositions were collected in Audollent's *Defixionum Tabellae*; while Sir W.M. Ramsay's researches in Asia Minor have given us a great mass of rude monuments of the popular local dialects, valuable to us in direct ratio to the 'badness' of the Greek. Material of another kind has been gathered by specialists in sundry languages of antiquity, who have collected Greek loanwords, and shown from them what forms Greek was assuming in the localities involved at certain epochs known: we may instance Krauss on Greek words in Rabbinic Hebrew, and Hübschmann on similar elements in Armenian. At the head of the scholars who have assimilated this ever-growing material, and from it drawn a synthesis of vernacular Hellenistic under the early Empire, stands Professor Thumb of Marburg, a philologist of extraordinary versatility and learning, whose modest little treatise on 'Greek in the Hellenistic Period' (*Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* [Strassburg: Trübner, 1901]) marks an epoch in our

1. That Lightfoot would have reaped a harvest from these collections, had it occurred to him to examine them, is strongly suggested by an extract from his lectures supplied to me by a pupil of his (*Prolegomena*, p. 242).

knowledge. The chapter on biblical Greek in that invaluable book will engage our attention later on.

It is manifestly insufficient to examine Κοινή Greek only from the classical side, as our ancestors mostly did; nor can we be discharged from our duty when we have added the monuments of the Hellenistic age. A German savant coming to study Chaucer with a good equipment of Anglo-Saxon would confessedly produce one-sided results. To add a thorough knowledge of Gower and Langland would still leave him imperfectly fitted unless he could use the English of Shakespeare's age and our own as well. This truism has not been acted upon till very recently in the case of Greek. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, founded and conducted through sixteen years by Karl Krumbacher, has been gathering together a goodly band of scholars to work on Greek in its mediaeval period. The language suffers sorely from artificialism in the remains which have reached us. But the NT student may get much illumination from genuine books of the people like the 'Legends of Pelagia' (ed. H. Usener). The facts of the language throughout this period may be seen in A.N. Jannaris's *A Historical Greek Grammar* (London: Macmillan, 1897), the theories of which however need to be taken cautiously.

Finally we have the modern vernacular, which is being well worked by Hellenistic students of the present day. As in private duty bound, the writer recalls that one of the earliest effective uses of it for the illustration of NT Greek was in W.F. Moulton's English *Winer*, nearly forty years ago (G.B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of NT Greek Regarded as a Sure Basis for NT Exegesis* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn, 1882]). Great scholars of modern Hellas, notably Hatzidakis and Psichari, have given us a wealth of material. But the foreigner who travels in Greece today is in some danger of bringing away with him a broken reed to lean on. Greek writing is infected with the virus of artificial archaism now as it was in the days of Josephus. The Greek of the newspapers is refreshingly easy for a classical tiro to read; and the schools do their best to initiate the *Graeculus* of modern Athens into its mysteries, alien though they are from the dialect of daily life. But it is a dead language, for all that, and—what is worse—a language that never was spoken in all Hellas at one and the same time. We need not argue the burning question as to the propriety of the Καθαρεύουσα as a medium of literary prose composition in twentieth-century Athens. That is a domestic problem

for the Hellenes themselves, as to which the foreign visitor will be discreetly silent, whatever private opinion he may cherish. But for scientific study of NT Greek we can only use the modern book-Greek as we use that of Lucian and the other Atticists of ancient times. Both may employ genuine living idioms or forms, but they cannot be called as witnesses of the living language. It is the vernacular Greek of the uneducated to which we should rather go, as lying in the direct succession of the Κοινή. Thumb's handbook of the *Volkssprache*, with a scientific grammar and a chrestomathy of ballads and other popular literature, will be invaluable to Hellenistic scholars who know how to use it. A new line of research has recently been essayed by this acute observer, starting from his own investigations among the out-of-the-way dialects of the modern Greek world. There are points in which dialectic differences of the present day seem to attach themselves to differences dimly seen in the local variety of the Κοινή in ancient times. The extreme difficulty of detecting with any certainty points of difference between the Κοινή as spoken in widely separated localities within the Empire, makes this new criterion possibly helpful for our special purpose; for if we could establish some features of dialectic differentiation they might sometimes be of importance in criticism.

The last-mentioned point in this general sketch leads us on to the statement of a result which is of primary importance for the thesis of the essay. The popular spoken Greek of the Empire, as recovered in our own day from converging evidence of very different kinds, was homogeneous in nearly every feature that our methods can retrace. Pronunciation apart, it seems clear that a Hellenist like Paul would have provoked no comment whether he preached in Tarsus or in Alexandria, in Corinth or in Rome. It is on these lines, it would seem, that the answer lies to an objection recently raised by the lamented Dr H.A. Redpath and by Professor Swete[1] against the doctrine associated with the name of Deissmann, but maintained with equal emphasis by the great philologist Albert Thumb—the doctrine, that is, of the

1. Cf. also G.C. Richards in *JTS* 10 (1909), p. 289. This eminently helpful review (of my second edition) unfortunately came too late to be used in the present paper. [See H.A. Redpath, 'The Present Position of the Study of the Septuagint', *AJT* 7 (1903), pp. 10f.; and H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), p. cxx, referred to by Moulton in the preface to the third edition of his *Prolegomena*, p. xvii—ed.]

non-existence of 'biblical Greek' as a real separate category. The papyri have naturally figured very largely in arguments about 'Semitism'. They form by far the most considerable element in our materials for the colloquial Κοινή. It accordingly happens very often that an idiom which can be paralleled from a papyrus, or from several, is claimed as owing nothing to Hebrew or Aramaic thought lying behind the expression. But the Jewish population in Egypt was exceedingly numerous—what if these papyrus parallels are Semitisms as well as the biblical phrase for which they are quoted? The general answer to this acute objection would be that the Greek of the non-literary papyri does not differ from that of vernacular inscriptions found in widely distant regions; and we cannot postulate in every quarter an influential ghetto. But it is undeniably fair to say that an isolated papyrus parallel for some Semitic-seeming locution is not evidence enough for our plea, since it may itself have been tarred with the same brush in a different way. Such cases must be examined on their merits. The papyrus or papyri in question may be scrutinized for other signs of Semitic influence. (It can be said at once that these will be extremely hard to find.) And the word or usage may be examined in connexion with the general record of its class in Hellenistic vernacular. This will best be expounded by an example. The instrumental use of ἐν in biblical Greek has naturally been taken as arising from the wider use of the Semitic preposition which answers to it generally. Unwilling to adopt this account for ἐν ῥάβδῳ in 1 Cor. 4.21, where the use of a foreign idiom seems antecedently most improbable, Deissmann was unable to quote any vernacular parallel in *Bible Studies* (p. 120).[1] Then in 1902 appeared the first volume of papyri from Tebtunis, with half-a-dozen examples of ἐν μαχαίρῃ and the like, all due to different writers, the comparison of which produced an additional example by a certain restoration in one of the Paris papyri.[2] Are we to explain the new 'Semitisms' by postulating an influential Jewish colony at or near Tebtunis—the seat, by the way, of

1. An exact parallel was quotable nevertheless from Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 23.3—see Winer–Moulton, *Treatise*, p. 485 n. 3, and Dr Findlay's note on 1 Cor. 4.21 [*The Expositor's Greek Testament* (vol. 2; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.)—ed.]: it will scarcely be urged that this was the 'last infirmity' of the great Atticist's Syrian birth. The doubt felt about the ἐν there, recorded by Deissmann from Winer, means only that an editor did not know how correct the phrase is.

2. *P. Par.* 11, from the Arsinoite nome apparently.

a 'famous' (λόγιμον) temple of the crocodile-god Sobk? If so, they succeeded wonderfully well in suppressing nearly all trace of their existence throughout two large volumes of papyri. On this point may be quoted the judgment of Dr A.S. Hunt,[1] whose impression on any question touching the papyri naturally goes very far.

> Dr Swete's objection is of course hardly to be disproved, but I think the probabilities are very much on your side. I do not at all believe that there was any considerable Jewish element in the population of Tebtunis and the neighbourhood;[2] an element strong enough to influence the local speech and make itself felt in official correspondence would certainly be expected to be more distinctly in evidence in so large a number of documents. I should imagine that, as you say, the Jews were mostly to be found in the bigger towns (there was a προσευχὴ Ἰουδαίων at Crocodilopolis, by the way: *P. Teb.* 86); but they were also to be found, I think, in the country: cf. e.g. *P. Magdola* 3 (*B.C.H.* xxvi. p. 104), where Ηεόδοτος, Γαδδαῖος and ['O?] νίας (apparently Jews) appear as the μισθωταί of a κλῆρος; and the Arsinoite village Σαμάρεια must not be forgotten (cf. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. 2 [1907], p. 383, s.v. Κερκεσῆφις). But it is a long step from facts of this kind to the assumption of a Semitism in the Greek of a local official, whom there is no reason to suspect of Jewish connexion, and whom there is good reason to believe to have been comparatively free from Jewish intercourse. The occurrence of the same idiom elsewhere makes the step still more precarious.

An appeal to our other material, in fact, soon shows us that loose uses of ἐν in Hellenistic vernacular need no foreign influences to account for them. The dative was getting feebler and feebler, and in many uses the addition of a preposition seemed to make no difference at all. 'To grow weak with hunger' has in one Ptolemaic papyrus the simple dative, in another of the same date and in the same collection the dative with ἐν.[3] 'Let them be tried before three judges' is expressed by ἐν in a dialectic inscription from Delphi of the third century BC,[4] just as in Acts 17.31 and 1 Cor. 6.2. It seems a fair inference that the apparently narrow range of the illustration we are able to give for

1. In a letter to the writer, dated 20 December, 1908.
2. Dr Hunt notes that the papyri in *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. 1 (1902), are mainly from Kerkeosiris, not Tebtunis.
3. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 62: *P. Par.* 22 and 28 (2nd cent. BC).
4. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 107 additional notes: SIG^2 850.8 (3rd cent. BC).

Paul's ἐν ῥάβδῳ does not compromise our right to use it as a proof that there is no Semitism here.

A further criterion of importance must not be overlooked. It is laid down with emphasis by great authorities like Thumb that the persistence of an alleged Semitism in modern Greek may be generally taken as evidence that it arose in the ancient Κοινή without foreign suggestion. This doctrine rests upon the established fact that the modern language is the lineal descendant of the Κοινή vernacular. There is one very obvious objection, that the modern usage may be simply the biblical word or phrase perpetuated in a country where the Greek Bible has been read in church for ages. Now this might count for something if it were merely the word or phrase itself that has survived—it would be a simple quotation, not affecting the language in its essence. If the Greeks said συμπόσια συμπόσια today, we should take it as a biblical phrase and reject it as contributory evidence against Semitism in Mk 6.39. But when we find other nouns thus repeated in the popular speech to form a distributive, we claim it without hesitation, since our own language alone suffices to teach us that borrowed phrases are sterile and produce no imitations.

We must not spend too much space on the question of Semitism; but a short restatement seems desirable before we pass on, in view of criticisms which have been passed by important scholars. To put in brief form the contention of the new school, we might say that the epistles of Paul are written in the ordinary Greek of his time in exactly the same sense as the Authorized Version is said to be written in the ordinary English of the seventeenth century. There are phrases in the latter which are mere 'translation English', like 'Noah the eighth person', but we do not make 'biblical English' a special category on their account. 'Biblical English' will be simply archaic English, the well-remembered phrases of the Book colouring the style of preachers and others when speaking on religion. The epistles are named here because they show free composition by a man who used Greek as a mother-tongue.[1] Other parts of the NT, especially the gospels, are on rather a different footing, for which the Revised Version will supply an apt parallel. Tied down by their instructions not to forsake the diction of their predecessors (except where it

1. Of course Paul, 'a Hebrew, the son of Hebrews', and yet the native of a Greek city, was really possessed of *two* 'mother-tongues'.

involved complete obscurity), and precluded from indulging in paraphrase, the Revisers often used the deliberate archaism proper to literature as distinguished from ordinary educated speech. This is very much what Luke does when he employs the literary dialect, to the very moderate extent he allows himself. His imitations of the Septuagint Greek will answer to the over-literal translations which are sometimes found in the Revised Version, as in its predecessors. This element is of course much more considerably found in the writings of Mark and in the Apocalypse, where the author was at home in a Semitic speech and used Greek without freedom, like a Welshman stumbling in English, even though he has spoken it occasionally since school days.

At this point may be recalled the remarks on Semitisms contained in Dr Nestle's review of the writer's *Prolegomena*.[1] Nestle cites Jewish German, and sundry examples of blunders made by Germans newly arrived in England, translating German phrases all too literally. 'If these things happen', he says, 'I can only regard it as a great exaggeration if one insists on denying the existence of a Jewish and a biblical Greek. Why do we need a "Grammar of New Testament Greek" at all?' To the last question the answer seems obvious. A 'Digest of Platonic Idioms' or a 'Shakespearian Grammar' exists not because Plato's Greek or Shakespeare's English differs from that of his contemporaries, but merely because Plato and Shakespeare's are writers of great importance and their meaning can be illustrated by a grammar restricted for convenience to forms and syntax found in their writings. A NT grammar justifies itself more completely still, since there is no other literature, properly so-called, written in its own idiom: it can be written wholly without prejudice to the more scientific 'Grammar of the Vernacular Κοινή' of which it forms a part. The other element in Nestle's criticism brings him nearer to our modern school than he seems to realize. All his illustrations apparently assume for his concept of Jewish or biblical Greek that it is the Greek of men who are too familiar with another language to be able to write Greek idiomatically. What then about the Gentile Luke, the Tarsian Paul, or the most cultured Greek of them all who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews? If these are excluded from the definition of biblical Greek, there is not much left to quarrel about. If they

1. *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 8 December, 1906.

quote the Greek Bible, and even deliberately copy it to produce an appropriate effect of style, we cannot classify their Greek as a thing apart on this ground, unless we are prepared to take John Bunyan out of the list of English writers and make a new category for him as a writer of 'Jewish English'. We shall indeed have to enlarge our categories of English in various directions. The 'Jewish English' infects Milton badly; and in his case we shall have to bring in Hellenized and Latinized English as well, to suit the numerous places where (*more Lucae*) he deliberately copies a foreign idiom to produce a particular effect, or simply because his mind was so steeped in the great literatures whose gems he set in his own crown. If 'biblical Greek' is used only in a sense analogous to 'Miltonic' (or again 'Puritan') English, we need raise no objection on the score of theory. As Professor Thumb puts it,[1] writing of 'translation Greek': 'Speaking generally, everything which after full investigation has to be set down as not Greek, has been produced by slavish imitation of Semitic sources'. Thumb goes on to urge the importance for the theologian of an adequate study of 'profane' Greek (including of course the Κοινή), instancing some places in which Zahn has based critical conclusions upon 'Hebraisms' that will not bear examination. There is in fact no small danger that scholars whose strength lies in Semitic or in classical and patristic Greek—and this description naturally covers most of our theologians—may exaggerate the extent of the Semitisms even in 'translation Greek'. Dr Nestle himself appears to err in this way in the valuable review just cited, when he selects ἕως πότε as 'for me a Hebraism, even if it is still used by Pallis in his modern Greek translation', and though it 'may be quotable from early Greek, and have spread in later times'. It is not quite clear why Dr Nestle does not feel satisfied that these admitted facts make the locution good Κοινή Greek. Will it turn the scale that Hadrian says ἐκ πότε?[2] (Hadrian is indeed not the only Emperor whom Dr Nestle's principles would bring under the damaging imputation of Semitism in language: according to Wilamowitz and the MS witness, Marcus Aurelius at least once lapsed into what we must presumably call Yiddish Greek,[3]

1. *Hellenismus*, p. 132. The whole discussion there will repay careful study. See also pp. 174ff.
2. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 107 additional notes: SIG^2 385.9.
3. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 76 additional notes: Marcus Aurelius 6.42.

though the new Oxford Texts editor kindly corrects him.) If Nestle merely means that ἕως πότε is a Semitism in Mark because it exactly answers to a Semitic original, we need only ask whether our own *till when* is a Semitism also.

The fact is often overlooked that the idioms of colloquial speech in widely distant languages differ much less than do those of the corresponding literary dialects. Colloquial idiom affects parataxis—to take one very large category for illustration—and it is simply the independent working of identical causes which makes colloquial English and the Egyptian non-literary papyri approximate in this respect to Hebrew, which still remains so large in the simple paratactic stage. The more rudimentary the education, the closer the resemblance grows. It is futile therefore to cite the commonness of καί in the Fourth Gospel as an evidence of the author's Semitic birth, though when this has been established by other evidence we may readily admit a real connection. Birth and residence in a country where Greek was only a subsidiary language, were for the Evangelist the sufficient causes of an elementary Greek culture. The same cause operated in the Egyptian farmer who writes his letter or petition in exactly the same style. The Coptic mother-tongue of the one, the Aramaic of the other, were equally innocent of their excessive use of *and*; for the uneducated native who tells of the marvellous cures achieved by the god in an Asclepieum, though he knows no language but Greek, falls naturally into the same kind of language. If we are seeking for evidences of Semitic birth in a writer whose Greek betrays deficient knowledge of the resources of the language, we must not look only for uses which strain or actually contravene the Greek idiom. We shall find a subtler test in the *over-use* of locutions which can be defended as good Κοινή Greek, but have their motive clearly in their coincidence with locutions of the writer's native tongue. This test of course applies only to Greek which is virtually or actually translated—to the Hebraism of the LXX and the Aramaism of NT books which are either translated from Aramaic sources or written by men who thought in Aramaic and moved with little freedom in Greek. The other kind of Semitism discoverable in the NT, the direct imitation of the LXX, is a different matter altogether. When we make up on these lines our account of the genuinely non-Greek elements that can be recognized in the writings before us, we shall find their total astonishingly small. Even the new material of the past eight years

has sensibly strengthened the evidence for the verdict Professor Thumb pronounced in 1901. 'Had the living language', he writes,[1] 'been infected to any extent with Oriental idiom, we could not have expected such a negative result in Philo and Josephus'—whose freedom from Semitism he has just been describing—'and much less in the papyri.'

Our subject calls us next to estimate the linguistic position of the several writers of the NT, according to our modern knowledge; after which it remains to indicate how recent research helps us in the general determination of the meaning of words, and in the application of the canons of grammar. Though we are strictly not concerned with the Greek OT, it is scarcely possible to pass it by entirely, in view of its large influence upon the NT. The parts of the OT which provide an immense preponderance of quotations in the NT, and may therefore be presumed to have exercised by far the greatest influence on its writers, are the Pentateuch, the Prophets (including Daniel) and the Psalms: the historical books and the rest of the Hagiographa fall very much into the background. If we count the separate verses cited in WH (B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The NT in the Original Greek* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1881, 1896]) to make a rough test, we find that the Pentateuch accounts for a quarter of the NT quotations and allusions, the Prophets (and Daniel) for nearly a half, and the Psalms for a fifth, while all the rest only amount to six per cent. The prominence of the Law, brought out by this and other tests, makes it of importance to observe the quality of this oldest part of the LXX, regarded as a translation. If P. Schmiedel (*G.B. Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 8th edn, 1894ff.], p. 29) can say of the LXX translators generally that as a rule they do not use constructions which are actually not Greek, this is pre-eminently true in the Pentateuch. The reverential literalness which produced such extraordinary results in later translations was not yet known; and ignorance of the meaning of the original does not afflict these pioneer translators as it often afflicted their successors. The result is that we can recognize a version which if translated into English would differ very little from our own Bible. A careful study of such a typical narrative passage as the Saga of Joseph will soon reveal to the student

1. *Hellenismus*, p. 126.

of the papyri that its Greek is the pure vernacular of daily life, with a very small admixture of abnormal phrases due to literal translation. That it is not the Greek of the books may be seen most vividly by comparing it with the two dozen pages in which Josephus showed how elegantly the story ran when rescued from its unadorned simplicity and clothed in the Attic which everybody wrote and nobody had spoken for generations. But it is good Greek for all that. It does not reach the aim of the modern translator, that of making the reader forget that he has a translation before him. Neither does our English Bible, except through the familiarity which makes us think its 'translation English' to be genuine native idiom. It would be safe to assert that these chapters of the Greek Genesis sounded no more foreign to Alexandrian ears than the English version would to our own, were we reading it for the first time. Indeed there are not a few places where the Greek is distinctly more idiomatic than the English. Thus an unnecessary *behold*—the over-use of which is in the NT quite a hallmark of the writer to whom Greek is not native—is dropped in Gen. 37.15 and 29. Egyptian inscriptions show that ἵλεως ὑμῖν (43.23—cf. Mt. 16.22) was idiomatic, which 'Peace be to you' certainly is not. 'Eat bread' in 43.25 compares indifferently with ἀριστᾶν. Of course there are many points in which the advantage lies with our version. In 37.8 'Shalt thou indeed reign over us?' is more successful than Μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; and 'for indeed I was stolen away' (40.15) than ὅτι κλοπῇ ἐκλάπην. Nevertheless, as has been shown elsewhere,[1] the Alexandrian translators came much nearer to their own idiom here than did ours when they perpetrated 'By hearing ye shall hear, ...and seeing ye shall see'. What translators with a stricter standard of literalness could do with this Hebrew infinitive is seen in Josh. 17.13 (B), ἐξολεθρεῦσαι οὐκ ἐξωλέθρευσαν, a phrase which might almost as well have been left in its original Hebrew.[2] One other example we may name, the use of προσθέσθαι, *pergere*, with the infinitive, to express 'do again' or 'do more'. The fact that this usage survives in Josephus (in a less aggravated form), the only Semitism which the microscope of

1. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 75-76.

2. 'They did not destroy them so as to destroy' would represent it in English. (In *Prolegomena*, p. 76 n. 1, I note that 'A emends ὀλεθρεύσει'. I now find that A.E. Brooke regards the reading of B as an error.)

research has found sullying the virgin purity of his Atticism, is enough to show that literary ears would not have been grossly offended by it. There are several other instructive points on which we might tarry in these chapters, but for our present purpose these will suffice. They show that the NT writers, setting forth to write a religious literature in the language of daily life as spoken throughout the Empire, had for their model the books which on other grounds took the first place in their veneration.

Before we take up the NT writers and try to estimate their linguistic position, some general comment is needed on a question that will be constantly before us, the relation between literary and colloquial Greek. In Greek Testament studies we are not concerned with the phenomenon of Atticism, which dominated all prose composition more or less throughout the Imperial age, and in a slightly varied form dominates written prose in Hellas today. Within the covers of the Cambridge Septuagint we meet with it in *4 Maccabees*, and (as we have seen) Josephus has it strongly developed. But there is hardly anything even remotely like it in the NT.[1] The very fact that the Greek there found was so long regarded as wholly *sui generis* attests the difference there is between the sacred writers and the least artificial of prose authors outside, including even the Greek Fathers, who at an early date reverted mostly to the standard dialect of literature. We have nothing in English exactly answering to Atticism. In its milder forms it is not unlike Dr Johnson's written style, especially when contrasted (as Macaulay points out) with his terse and vigorous colloquial language. In its extreme developments the effect is not unlike that of the Babu English which sometimes comes for our amusement from India.[2] The principle of it has some general resemblance to a rule that bound our Revisers. To use no words that were not current in Elizabethan English was a restriction on which the shades of Phrynichus and Moeris might have smiled approval. So far as the parallel goes, it makes us wish the more heartily that Convocation had left the Revisers free. But of course it does not carry us far, for our educated colloquial has changed from Elizabethan English much less than Hellenistic from the Attic of the fourth century BC. As has been implied, Atticism was very much a matter of degree.

1. 2 Peter is the nearest—on this see below.
2. [Ed.: The author's comment was made in 1909.]

There are many conspicuous writers in the Hellenistic age who can hardly be said to Atticize at all. That is to say, they never use a really dead language, in which they may blunder egregiously, like Lucian when he employs the optative regardless of sequence. Their language is not colloquial in any sense, but it is not artificial. Our own language gives us adequate analogies here. Our great stylist Macaulay has left us his English in two or three forms. His biographer gives us some of his diary notes, jotted down after visiting scenes he was about to paint in his *History*, that we may compare the passages in which he works up the notes into their final literary form.[1] Macaulay's diary is as little conscious literature as the notes he scribbled to his sister between two courses at dinner. But the difference between diary or letters and the *History* is not the difference between natural and artificial, between present-day English and archaism. It is all living English, but of two different kinds. Putting aside authors with marked mannerisms, we may say that written and spoken English alike vary only with the culture of the writers. And this is essentially true of the wholly natural and living Greek which we find in the NT.

Among the NT writers we will take first those who most certainly wrote in Greek as a native tongue. After Harnack's decisive endorsement of Hobart's work, it will no longer be regarded as the mark of an uncritical person with an apologetic bias if we assume the Gentile physician Luke to be the author of the two books *ad Theophilum*. Their unity of phraseology and style has been sufficiently proved; but grammar has still something to say, and a whole series of syntactical tests establish an agreement between the author of the 'We-document' and those of the Gospel and the rest of Acts which is hard to explain on any theory but the old-fashioned one. There are obvious points in which Luke's diction differs from that of other NT writers,[2] some of them such as we should expect from a writer of Greek birth who knew no Semitic language till middle life (and probably not then), and others which seem strange in a writer of these antecedents. The Lukan use of the potential optative—in indirect questions and conditional

1. We recall Luke's 'Travel Diary', which was *not* thus worked up, or at least not to anything like the same degree.

2. Cf. Thumb, *Hellenismus*, p. 184. He cites Norden's thorough-going comparison of Luke with the other synoptists to show how far Luke goes in the literary direction.

with ἄν—is one of those which we have called literary but not artificial. Luke's vocabulary includes a good many words which belonged to the speech of more cultured circles, as well as words current in his profession, and other words (medical or ordinary) found in the Greek medical works on which he had been trained. But there is also in him the instinct of style which a Greek could hardly shake off, even when writing on themes that made artificiality of any kind a thing impossible. He consciously imitates the Greek Bible, and in the parts of his narrative which have their scene in Palestine he feels it congruous to retain the rough diction of his sources, the Greek of men and women who would talk Greek to a foreigner, just as a Welshman talks English to a tourist, with a style betraying preference for his native tongue. In a Greek this conscious or half-conscious adaptation of style to the surroundings of his narrative is wholly natural, and does not suggest the slightest labouring of effect. The reading of the classics soon shows us how the several literary forms attached themselves to dialects associated with their earliest exemplars. Epic poetry, even down to Nonnus, must endeavour to follow the nondescript dialect into which Ionic rhapsodists had transformed the Achaian of Homer. Choral odes in tragedy and comedy must preserve the broad long α which witnesses to the origin of drama in some region outside the area of the Ionic–Attic η. We can therefore understand the instinct that would lead the educated Greek Evangelist to suit his style under certain conditions to the book which held the same relation to his Gospel as the *Iliad* held to subsequent experiments in epic verse. Whether Mary (or Elizabeth?) and Zacharias and Simeon or Luke himself (as Harnack would teach us) composed the canticles of chs. 1 and 2, we can see that they are steeped in the language of the Greek Bible. One might compare Theocritus, deserting his usual Doric to write the 'Distaff' in the Aeolic of Sappho. Or, to seek a closer parallel, we might suppose one of ourselves charged with the difficult task of composing special prayers to be used in conjunction with some from the Book of Common Prayer: it would obviously be essential that every turn of expression should exhale as far as possible the English of its intended surroundings. Something of this kind Luke has manifestly aimed at, though he only maintains the effort in very limited parts of his work, and drops it mostly when he has his two authoritative gospel sources to incorporate. In dealing with them he feels free in narrative to improve upon their uncultivated style, though in the sayings of Jesus

drawn from 'Q' we may venture to believe that his stylistic alterations were decidedly less extensive than Harnack asserts.[1] In his second volume we may see the local colouring appropriately reflected in the retention of the style of his Palestinian witnesses, whose story would have seemed almost artificial if clothed in the cultured Greek into which the historian naturally falls when he is out in the Gentile atmosphere of the missionary journeys.

So we pass on to Luke's great teacher, the next largest contributor to the sacred volume. It is not very easy to say how much is involved in the Apostle's claim to be Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων—a Hebrew, not merely a Jew, and the descendant of Hebrews. There were clearly senses in which it was possible to be both Hebrew and Hellenist—Hebrew in that the tie to the mother country was never broken, and Aramaic was retained as the language of the family circle,[2] Hellenist in that foreign residence demanded perpetual use of Greek from childhood. Canon Hicks and Sir W.M. Ramsay have made us realize that Paul's Hellenism was deeply ingrained. How much he knew of Greek literature is an old question which can never perhaps be decisively answered. But if we may assume that the intensely Pauline address (or rather exordium of an address) at Athens really represents what Paul afterwards sketched to the disciple who was writing the story of the gospel's victories, Dr Rendel Harris's recent discovery adds a most interesting novelty to the tale of Paul's quotations. From the Syriac lines he has found we easily reconstruct such a verse as

ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσμέν—

and the quatrain, of which this forms the last, and Tit. 1.12 the second, line, becomes a Greek philosopher's scornful protest against unworthy views of God, such as would be wholly after Paul's heart. There is not, however, evidence to suggest that Paul's studies in Greek literature went very far. Certainly they did little to colour his style. The careful examination of his vocabulary by T. Nägeli (*Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

1. I may refer to my paper, 'Some Criticisms on Professor Harnack's "Sayings of Jesus"', in the *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 7 (1909), pp. 411-23 for a justification of this belief: see also below.

2. But cf. H.A.A. Kennedy's note: 'Eusebius... applies the designation to Philo, and... to Aristobulus, both of them Greek-speaking Jews with little if any knowledge of Hebrew'.

1905]) shows strikingly that his words do not come from literary sources but from the common stock of ordinary spoken Greek. One possibly typical exception, however, might be cited. The vernacular record of αὐτάρκης and αὐτάρκεια is fairly ample, and the meaning is always very simple: thus τὰ αὐτάρκη καύματα in a first-century papyrus is only '*sufficient* fuel'. Paul's use of the word in the philosophic sense of 'self-sufficient, contented' shows that, for all his essentially popular vocabulary, he could employ the technical words of thinkers in their own way.[1] That of course entirely agrees with his subtle allusions to Stoic and Epicurean tenets in Acts 17; and it is exactly what we should expect from a missionary so full of sympathy for every effort of men groping after God. For the rest, we need say no more as to the character of Pauline Greek. We have seen that it is the Greek of one who had always been at home in the language, however familiar the Aramaic with which at a crisis of his life he could hush the Jerusalem mob to hear his story. In such a Greek we have about the same expectation of Semitisms as of Cymricisms in the English speeches of Mr Lloyd-George. And the well-known conditions of his letter-writing preclude to a peculiar extent the invasion of literary phrase or conscious art. The letters are in colloquial Greek for the best of reasons—they were spoken and not written, and they reflect in every line the impetuous utterance of one who never dreamed that his unstudied words would survive all the literature of his time. Whether, if Paul had ever sat down to write a treatise we should see Nägeli's results materially affected, we have no means of knowing.

A composition more literary than anything by Paul or Luke meets us in the noble work of an unknown man—or woman—of their circle. The Epistle to the Hebrews is easily recognized as coming nearer to the definite literary style than anything else in the NT. Blass pointed out that it manifests a general avoidance of the harsher kinds of hiatus between successive words. This would probably be almost instinctive in anyone who had received a good Greek education, to whom

1. Repeated from the lexical note *sub voce*, 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri', in *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 6 (1908), pp. 375f. The general sense agrees very well with Sir W.M. Ramsay's account of Paul's language in 'Dr. Milligan's Edition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians', *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 7 (1909), p. 5, published since these pages were written.

ἐλέγετο αὐτῷ[1] would have sounded harsh, much as a word like 'idea' sounds harsh in English when followed by a vowel in rapid speech. Blass goes on to demonstrate the presence of an elaborate system of rhythm. In estimating this we must not forget that we have to do with the judgment of a Hellenist who had no peer—except indeed our own Jebb, who was taken from our head not long before Germany lost Blass—and one who did much of his finest work upon the Greek orators. But we cannot repress the reflexion that Blass went on later to apply his canons of rhythm to Paul, a supremely improbable subject a priori. Few will listen to such a thesis, even when propounded by Blass, and its natural effect is to make us suspicious of the canons when applied to Hebrews. It is not quite easy, moreover, to understand why Blass, after sensibly discountenancing the futile occupation of verse-hunting in NT prose, seems to regard the presence of two consecutive iambics in 12.14, 15 as worthy of mention, with a 'faultless hexameter' in the previous verse that is ruined by the reading (ποιεῖτε) which Blass himself prefers. One would have thought that actual verses in literary prose were rather a blemish than a beauty. And—to select an example for the *reductio ad absurdum* which has not, we think, been noticed before—are not the consecutive iambics in Hebrews fairly matched by the consecutive anapaests in Jn 5.14—

ὑγιὴς γέγονας· μηκέθ' ἁμάρτανε,
ἵνα μὴ χεῖρόν σοί τι γένηται—

which have the advantage of forming a complete sentence! (The hypercritic will object to the hiatus between the verses, but we really cannot have everything.) Apart, however, from false scents like these, we have plenty of evidence wherewith to trace the higher literary quality of Hebrews. But even here we must keep within limits. There is no archaism visible, not even the potential optative which we noticed above in the Lukan writings. It is the higher conversational style after all, comparable best perhaps with what we can hear in the pulpit style of a cultured extempore preacher. We must not forget to notice in passing the suggestive paradox that a letter 'to Hebrews' is

1. F. Blass's example (*Grammar of NT Greek* [trans. H.St J. Thackeray; London: Macmillan, 2nd edn, 1905], p. 297).

written by someone who knew no Hebrew, and used the Greek Bible alone.

We must not discuss on this scale the Greek of all our writers; but it will be well to refer briefly to one more before passing on to those with whom Greek was a secondary language. The Second Epistle of Peter, presumably the latest of the NT writings, presents us with the nearest analogue to the work of the Atticists which we can find within the canon—though certainly the Atticists would have scorned to own a book so full of 'solecism'. It is hard to resist the impression that the author learnt his Greek mainly from books. Dr Abbott's comparison with Babu English does not discredit the epistle as he thought it did, and we may probably take it as justifiable. Greek proverbs,[1] Greek inscriptions,[2] and Greek books which we can no longer handle seem to have contributed to the writer's vocabulary, and moulded the fine sense of rhythm to which Dr J.B. Mayor bears effective testimony. That the one definitely pseudepigraphic book in the canon should have these further traces of elaboration and artificiality, is quite in keeping with its character; nor would we admit that they impair its value, any more than the perfectly understood convention of writing under the shelter of a great name from the past. We do not scorn the majestic Book of Wisdom because it bears the name of Solomon, while we are assured that even Solomon's wisdom was not capable of producing an original work in Alexandrian Greek. That the writer of 2 Peter was not a born Greek may perhaps be inferred from the blunders into which he seems not seldom to fall.

In our second class may be noted first those writers whose Greek betrays least of the stiffness due to imperfect Hellenism. The intrinsic importance of the First Gospel prompts special attention to its linguistic phenomena. Semitic birth is inferred for the author from his thought and general outlook, not at all from his language, which is a simple and rather colourless Hellenistic of the average type. He is capable of elaboration, but it is on the lines of a Hebrew author rather than those of a Greek. He has an instinct for the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, which produces the beautifully balanced periods of the 'Two Builders' at the end of the Sermon—to mention only the most

1. See J.B. Mayor (*The Epistle of St Jude and the Second Epistle of St Peter* [London: Macmillan, 1907], pp. 143-45) on 2.22.

2. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 360ff.

conspicuous among many examples—where Luke's much less symmetrical form must surely (*pace* Harnack) be regarded as Q unadorned.[1] But 'Matthew' is not by any means destitute of resource in the use of Greek. With so much fresh matter to add to his Markan source, he is always seen pruning wherever space can be gained without sacrifice of what seems essential; and he would sometimes very effectively shorten sentences from the Matthaean 'Sayings' without losing anything of the meaning. Thus 'to stoop down and unloose the thong of his sandals' is reduced to τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι, 'to remove his sandals' (3.11). In 11.27 ἐπιγινώσκει is exactly equivalent in sense to the Lukan γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν: this follows naturally from Dean J. Armitage Robinson's illuminating account of ἐπιγινώσκειν,[2] which could be supported now with new evidence.[3] There are also places to note where Matthew mends the Greek of Mark: e.g. 9.6, κλίνην for the vulgar κράβαττον, 12.14, συμβούλιον ἔλαβον for σ. ἐδίδουν, or the many places where he drops the historic present.[4] No doubt he does not do this as often as Luke; but that he does it not infrequently should make us ready to expect similar treatment of Q. Careful investigation of each case on its merits would, one may venture to think, transfer not a few passages from one side of the account to the other, where Harnack has assumed stylistic alteration of Q in Luke on the strength of a tendency supposed to be proved. We do not deny the tendency, nor that it is stronger in Luke than in Matthew; but it must not be pressed too far. Thus in Lk. 3.17 it seems probable that Q had διακαθᾶραι ...καὶ συνάξαι, as Luke reads according to ℵ[a]; and that the vulgar first aorist (emended to συναγαγεῖν in ℵ* B) was altered to συνάξει by Matthew, with another future in the first clause—a much less cumbrous construction. (Compare ἐπισυνάξαι in Lk. 13.34 (Q) with the 'correct' ἐπισυναγαγεῖν in Mt. 23.37.) In Mt. 3.9 Harnack does not convince

1. The same tendency to heighten parallelism is seen in an exaggerated form in the Oxyrhynchus 'Logia'.

2. *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: Macmillan, 2nd edn, 1904), pp. 248ff.; cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 113.

3. A. Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), p. 295, cites four Lukan τίς clauses (one at least of them taken from Mark) to prove that the τίς ἐστιν is Luke's own; but he shows hesitation in his excursus.

4. Cf. J.C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1909), pp. 113ff.

us that δόξητε is the phrase of Q, which idiomatic Greek Luke deliberately marred by introducing 'a favourite phrase of his', derived from literal translation of Aramaic sources. In Lk. 12.28 we find the Hellenistic ἀμφιέζει, undoubtedly due to Q: Matthew has substituted the literary ἀμφιέννυσιν. Matthew's shortening of the precept of Lk. 6.27, 28 may quite possibly have been conditioned partly by the avoidance of ἐπηρεάζειν, which emphatically *does* 'belong to the vocabulary of common speech': Harnack (*Sayings*, p. 61) must have overlooked the papyri. Again we may notice how in 23.35 Matthew has substituted the clearer Greek ναοῦ, 'shrine', for the too literal οἴκου of Luke and Q: Harnack's opposite conclusion (p. 105) seems to rest on an assumption that ναός was the same as ἱερόν.

The foregoing remarks on the language of the First Gospel have been prolonged rather beyond due limits for a special purpose. Professor Harnack's book on the *Sayings of Jesus* is a brilliant reconstruction, as anything from his pen is bound to be. It seems almost presumptuous for a mere grammarian to criticize; but when scholars so great as Harnack and Wellhausen call ἀφήκαμεν a perfect,[1] or form nominatives like ἐαυτός and ἀλλήλοι,[2] the humble philologist is encouraged to think that there may be a corner in this field for him to glean. We shall return to a further point of this kind later on.

The Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles must of course be considered together: the philologist's lancet is useless for dissecting out the distinct elements which cleverer surgeons have diagnosed to exist. We have anticipated the most important note that modern research prompts here—on the inferences to be drawn from the extreme simplicity of Johannine style. Those who would still find Semitism in these plain coordinated sentences, with their large use of καί, may be recommended to study the most instructive parallels which Deissmann has set out in his new *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1908), pp. 88f.,—Jn. 9.7, 11 compared with a section from an inscription (Rome, 138 AD) which tells of a blind man's cure in the temple of Asclepios.[3] Deissmann's delineation of the primitive popular Greek in which John writes is illustrated with other telling parallels

1. Harnack, *Sayings*, p. 65.

2. J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1905), p. 30; cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 242.

3. SIG^2 807.

from monuments coming from the same stratum of culture—if we make 'culture' for this purpose synonymous with knowledge of literary Greek. Apart from this important consideration, modern linguistic research has but little to say which touches the burning questions that centre on the Fourth Gospel. There are however linguistic novelties which affect exegesis profoundly, and nowhere so much as here. Those of us who were brought up on Westcott's great commentary became familiar early with the subtleties that had sometimes to be wrung out of ἵνα. A more moderate view was taken by W.F. Moulton in his English *Winer*. But our vernacular sources, with the significant fact that ἵνα (now νά) in modern Greek replaces the obsolete infinitive, show us conclusively that all these subtleties must go. In a typical passage like Jn. 17.3 it does not seem possible to distinguish effectively between the ἵνα γινώσκωσι which John prefers and the τὸ or τοῦ γινώσκειν which some other NT writers would have been tolerably sure to substitute. Ultimately the distinction became a geographical one, Asiatic Greek retaining the infinitive, European allowing it to fall into disuse, and employing the ἵνα construction as its surrogate. If we could establish an early date for the dialect-differentiation, we should have a most valuable tool for our lower and higher criticism alike.

Three professedly Palestinian writings come next, demanding only a few words before we go on to the Apocalypse and the Gospel of Mark, which stand in a special category. The letters ascribed to James, to his brother Jude, and to Peter—2 Peter has been dealt with—have in common the incongruity which in some critics' opinion prevents our assigning to inhabitants of Palestine documents written in such free and vigorous Greek. The incongruity disappears when we recognize the bilingual conditions of Palestine. Without repeating what has been said elsewhere on this subject,[1] we may remark that there is no adequate ground for supposing Palestine to have been isolated from the empire by a widespread ignorance of the universal language. The papyri give us a living picture of bilingualism in Egypt, where peasants and slaves and schoolboys can express themselves in Greek with perfect freedom, and with correctness varying simply with their education. Demotic papyri in abundance survive to show that they did not forget their native language. All over the east, as far as Alexander's

1. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 7-8.

arms penetrated, Greek inscriptions attest this same condition, nor is Palestine an exception there. Sundry small proofs converge—the Greek names that meet us everywhere, the hushing of the crowd at Jerusalem when Paul came forward to address them (as they presumed) in Greek, the dependence of the Shechemite Justin Martyr upon the LXX, and so on. In 'Galilee of the Gentiles' it may be conjectured that Greek was needed even more regularly than in Judaea. That Joseph and Mary and their family talked Greek at home, or that our Lord's discourses to his disciples or the multitudes needed no translation to prepare them for reception into our gospels, few would care to assert now. But that a perfect readiness in Greek expression should be reached by members of the Lord's own circle need cause no surprise whatever, and can certainly supply no argument against the traditional authorship of the three epistles.

The two remaining books stand on a lower level of Greek culture than anything else in the NT. *Greek* culture, we say, for if a Palestinian native, who presumably spent most of his time in Jerusalem till he reached middle life, failed to get a thorough hold of Greek idiom, it clearly proves nothing as to his status as an educated man. We often welcome first-rank German savants whose efforts at English conversation are imperfectly successful; and we fully realize what some of our return visits might witness in the shape of German grammar. Now the author of Revelation has undeniably a copious Greek vocabulary, and he uses the language with perfect freedom. But there are principles of Greek grammar which he seems to defy at will, though frequently evidencing his knowledge of them.[1] Conspicuous among these is the rule of concord. Our German analogy will help us here. We English stumble inevitably over gender, till a thorough proficiency in German has been reached; and our failure is due to the fact that we have no real gender in our own language. A Frenchman might fail because he has gender, but of a very different kind. The solecism of which ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός is a type seems to be inexplicable except on these lines. Examples of exactly the same kind recur very commonly in the papyri: specimens are cited

1. The whole of this section is in welcome agreement with the Dean of Westminster's pages (J. Armitage Robinson, 'Dr. Hort on the Apocalypse') in *JTS* 10 (1908), pp. 3-12, which had not been seen when these words were written. He in turn coincides with the writer's views in *Prolegomena*, p. 9.

elsewhere,[1] showing the same use of the nominative with a noun in apposition, where the governing word is felt to have exhausted its influence upon the word standing in immediate relation to it. It seems very artificial to explain these and other solecisms—see the convenient list marshalled on pp. cxxiiif. of Dr Swete's introduction—by such a theory as Archbishop Benson's (*Apocalypse*, p. cxxiv). The assumption of occasional or frequent lapse from correct grammar, in the writing of a foreigner who attained complete fluency in the secondary language but never grasped its grammar well enough to write correctly by instinct, is true to every day experience, and paralleled all along the line by the phenomena of the papyri, due to the same cause. Dr Swete's unwillingness to compare a literary document with ephemeral writings like the papyri may be met by considerations advanced already in the course of this essay. We have seen that the isolation of 'biblical Greek', finally ended by the study of the papyri and other records of spoken Hellenistic, was due entirely to the fact that 'literature' was always written in a dialect of its own. From this convention, for reasons which we need not examine, the Greek translators of the Pentateuch boldly broke away; while their later successors, some from reverence for the sacred text, some from defective knowledge of its meaning, made no effort to exclude even solecisms from their version. With such a book as the LXX set high above all other books as their model, were NT writers likely to feel the importance of careful revision to excise mere slips of grammar? And can we be quite sure that John would have discovered his slips if he had made such a revision? They had better be left, we may venture to believe, with Paul's anacolutha, as the sign-manual of a writer far too much concerned with his message to be conscious of the fact that he is writing literature which after ages will read with a critical eye.

Modern linguistic investigations have something to contribute to the comparison of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel which must ultimately determine the question of their common authorship. So far as these tests can go, they strengthen the criticism of Dionysius, who (we must remember) was a Greek weighing stylistic and grammatical differences found in books written in his own language. In the evidence so carefully and impartially set forth by Dr Swete, we find our lexical and grammatical facts tending to emphasize the differences

1. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 60 n. 1.

between the Gospel and the Apocalypse, and to reduce the significance of the resemblances. Thus of four 'unusual constructions' given on p. cxxviii as common to the two books, the use of ἵνα and the combination σῴζειν ἐκ will hardly retain their position in a list of varieties, nor does the strengthening of the partitive genitive with ἐκ impress us now as out of the way.[1] And the contrasts of grammar already mentioned show up all the more markedly as we study them in the light of the vernacular Greek outside the Bible. Into the vocabulary we need not enter, except to say in passing that Professor Thumb has vindicated κατήγωρ from appropriation by Jewish Greek.[2] We interpret our facts either by yielding assent to Dionysius, or by taking (with Hort) the early date for the Apocalypse and postulating a subsequent improvement in John's Greek culture, or by pointing with Dr Swete to the probability that the author of the Gospel supplied its matter but left other pens to write it down. *Discernant grammatici*, the 'critics', as we call them: this is beyond the province of 'grammar' in our modern restricted sense.

The Greek of our Second Gospel would justify a much more detailed examination than we can give it here. That there was very marked deficiency in Greek culture here will hardly be denied. We assume the authorship of John Mark, if only for the absurdity of supposing early second century tradition to have selected by guesswork so unlikely an author. The position of Mark's family does not favour the idea that he was badly educated: he only shared the strong preference for Aramaic which was normal among Jerusalem residents, and never troubled to acquire polish for a Greek which came to him from conversation with other foreigners and with men of the people. What are we to make then of the statement that he 'once acted as interpreter to Peter'?[3] Was Peter more ἀγράμματος still? If he was, our acceptance of his epistle becomes very difficult. It is better to take ἑρμηνευτής less strictly—cf. for instance its verb in Lk. 24.27—and think with Dr Wright of a teacher or catechist who undertook the instruction of

1. Cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 102.
2. *Hellenismus*, p. 126.
3. The exact meaning of Papias's phrase may be found by comparison with the papyri: its critical importance justifies special care in rendering. We find that it clearly suggests that Mark's association with Peter was past. It is like βουλευτὴς γενόμενος, which replaces such forms as βουλεύσας when no verb exists: it is the ordinary way of saying that a man had held a certain office—'ex-senator', etc.

enquirers drawn into further truth-seeking by the stimulus of the preacher's appeal. There can be no question that the catechetical lessons, on which the written gospel was ultimately based, were given first in Aramaic; and they may well have become so fixed in that form that when their author transferred them to Greek they retained ubiquitous marks of too literal translation. It is of great critical importance to observe how these Aramaisms of translation were progressively smoothed away. Wellhausen shows that D has most of them and B distinctly less. Unless this is due (as Bishop Chase argued) to a Syriac infection in D, we have here a most important source of evidence as to the origin of the Western text, of which in this respect the 'neutral' becomes a revision. But this we must leave to the Semitists. As has been noted already, there is plenty of revision of Mark's Aramaism to be seen in Matthew and Luke. In a considerable number of little points these evangelists coincide in their amendments, a fact well explained by Dr Sanday's suggestion that the text of Mark had been polished by a cultured scribe before it reached them: our Mark descends from the unrevised form. Of Mark's Semitisms as a whole it will not be necessary to repeat what has been said more generally before. They are hardly ever really barbarous Greek, though Mark's extremely vernacular language often makes us think so, until we read the less educated papyri. Generally we recognize them by their over-use of a possible though uncommon idiom, which happens to agree with Aramaic. There is one peculiarity of Mark which we must bring out, as having a lesson for other purposes. It is too readily assumed, as it is constantly by Harnack, that a free use of compound verbs is naturally a sign of culture. But it seems to have been overlooked that Mark has a very high proportion.[1] Sir John Hawkins's figures (*Horae Synopticae*, p. 142), when revised and brought into relation with the length of the several books, show us that Hebrews has 8·0 per WH page, Acts 6·25, Luke and Mark 5·7, Paul 3·8, Matthew 3·55, while John (Gospel) has only 1·97.[2] Harnack

1. Sir John Hawkins writes (30 January, 1909): 'The point you have established as to Mark's habit is well illustrated by his using πορεύομαι only once (9.30) if at all, while it is so common in the other historical books. . . but on the other hand he has it compounded with εἰς (8), ἐκ (11), παρά, πρός, σύν, and perhaps διά. This used to seem very strange.'

2. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 237. The figures have been checked afresh, with the aid of the author's lists, kindly lent me. I have omitted the two long interpolations in

does not draw the inference which naturally follows from his statement (*Sayings*, p. 150—see the German) that Luke and Mark have almost exactly the same ratio of simple verbs to compounds.[1] Since there may well be difference of procedure among three computers—for instance as to the inclusion of a verb like ἀποδημεῖν, which is not strictly a compound—it has been necessary to complete the statistics independently. The ratio in Matthew works out as 100 simple verbs to 69 compounds, while in Mark it is 100:92. It will be noted that the very considerable difference between Mark and Matthew comes out alike when the total of compounds is reckoned in proportion to the length of the books, and when the ratio of simple and compound verbs is examined. Since Mark is obviously not a cultured Greek writer, there must be something wrong about the theory that compounds and culture go together. This conviction is confirmed by the papyri. We can test this well in S. Witkowski's excellent little Teubner volume of private letters dated BC (*Epistulae Privatae Graecae* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1906]), in which the editor has marked sixteen letters, amounting to more than a quarter of the book, as of men not even 'modice eruditorum'. In these letters the ratio of simple verbs to compounds is 100:102, a sufficiently close parallel to the ratio for Mark. Since Harnack is inclined to regard double compounds as specially significant, it may be added that ἐγκαταλείπειν (Markan) and συμπροσγίνεσθαι are in this list. If we take the whole book, which contains also thirty-four letters of men marked as 'eruditorum' and nine 'modice eruditorum', the ratio becomes 100:128, a very moderate rise for the purposes of Harnack's theory. We may try another test, that of the number of actual occurrences: some supplement is needed for a method which would place verbs like εἶναι and μετεωρίζεσθαι on the same footing. Taking the totals for Mark, we find the ratio of occurrences is 100:49·5. Compare this with the figures for Acts, where we find it 100:66. In Luke, however, it is 100:46, actually lower than Mark. Matthew has

Mark and John, and have struck out a number of verbs which I do not regard as true compounds. The remaining statistics for the NT, as given above, depend upon tables made for me by Mr H. Scott, after I had determined which verbs should count as true compounds. (εἶναι has been omitted in the table of total occurrences.)

1. Unfortunately I only detected the mistake in the English version here after writing my criticism in 'Some Criticisms on Professor Harnack's "Sayings of Jesus"'.

100:41. This test agrees very well with the comparison of Mark and Luke given above, based on the other method. Applying the total occurrences test to papyri, we have the ratio 100:51 in the last half of Witkowski's collection, which includes eleven educated letters, four classed as moderate, and sixteen as uneducated. On the other hand, the ratio is 100:27 in eighteen miscellaneous letters from *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. 2 (1907)—which shows that there are wide differences here as there are among the NT writers, and even in different works of the same writer. The fact that these letters are much later than Witkowski's, ranging up to the third century AD, does not account for the differences, for some of the most illiterate have the largest proportion of compounds. These facts will help us to estimate Harnack's statement that in his reconstructed Q there is a ratio of 100 *simplicia* to 50 compounds, or 475:168 (100:35) when reckoned by occurrences. This last is eight per cent higher than in the Tebtunis letters above. But Harnack has constructed his text of Q on the axiom that if either Matthew or Luke has a *simplex* it is (normally) original. Now that we have seen that compounds are not at all necessarily a literary feature, the axiom falls to the ground; and Matthew's preference for simple verbs may have altered the original Q quite as often as an opposite preference in Luke. The result is that 'the near relation of this source to the Semitic' does not follow either way. Two of Harnack's examples should be noted. On p. 84, 'οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον is the language of literature.' But in the uneducated letter, *P. Oxy.* 744 (BC 1—no. 58 in Witkowski)—showing by the way 100:75 as its index of occurrences—we read εἴρηκας Ἀφροδισιᾶτι ὅτι Μή με ἐπιλάθῃς· πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπιλαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς. Another letter (second to third century AD), containing βλέπε μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ μηδὲν τοὺς στεφάνους κτλ, gives us the correct middle, as does *P. Par.* 32 (132 BC), which is one of Witkowski's illiterate documents (no. 28). On p. 86, Harnack says that Luke's παρεγενόμην 'is a choicer word' than Matthew's ἦλθον, and therefore less original. Even this becomes less obvious when we note that παραγίνεσθαι occurs some thirty times in Witkowski's little volume, containing only 100 Teubner pages with a large proportion of fragmentary lines, and commentary on each page: four of these are in the illiterate section.

The subject just discussed may seem perhaps to have received rather disproportionate attention, nor is it very specially connected with the

delineation of the Greek of our oldest gospel, which supplied the starting-point. But it is intended as an object lesson, with much wider consequences than those concerning its own subject. That subject is indeed of greater importance than would be inferred from our existing grammars and dictionaries, as has been strikingly shown in recent years by many investigators in the new field of comparative Indo-European syntax. It has been our purpose to show that the work of even our greatest masters may need checking by methods which have naturally not yet entered the technology of criticism. A set of papyrus collections, with their word-indices well thumbed, will assuredly have to stand on the shelves of all future critics of the NT; and they will in not a few cases make some serious modifications of results supposed to be secure.

It remains to indicate in brief compass some further consequences of the discovery of so much new material for study, and of the new methods which research has developed within the last two decades. First comes naturally the light that has been thrown on the vocabulary of the NT. Deissmann's pioneer results were achieved here; and from the time of *Bibelstudien* (1895) to the present day the working of this mine has produced a steady output. New volumes of papyri continue to appear, our own great explorers and editors, Drs Grenfell and Hunt, still retaining a long lead in the quantity and quality of their discoveries, but with fellow workers from many lands laying us under obligation only less considerable. The new material of course does not produce the same wealth of surprises: the reader of the latest volume from Tebtunis or Oxyrhynchus has not the recurrent temptation to catch the first post with some new and fascinating illustration of a biblical word. But though the first isolated parallel may be of the utmost interest, clearly the second, third and fourth occurrences of the word in vernacular documents are of greater importance for establishing the right of the word to stand in the vocabulary of common life: the isolated occurrence might be a freak. And every fresh citation gives us a new context from which we may get light as to the connotation a word possessed on the lips of the people. We are accordingly now entering on the less exciting stage of consolidating results and focusing our material upon the exegesis of the sacred writers.[1] The study of Deissmann's newest work, *Licht vom Osten*

1. It may be mentioned that Dr George Milligan and the writer hope before long to

(1908), shows very well how we stand at the present time. The papyri continue to figure very largely—as they may well do, when we reflect that our shelves of papyrus collections contain some fifty volumes today, as against under ten in 1895. But the massive work now before us draws its material from inscriptions even more conspicuously; and it makes large use of the ostraca, the broken pottery on which the poor wrote from necessity, and other people jotted receipts and other short documents that were in no danger of being mistaken for literature.

It has sometimes been observed, by scholars properly anxious that we should not too hastily depreciate older methods, that we have not secured anything definitely *new* by the ransacking of papyri. The criticism is not true in fact, though we are not careful to answer in this matter. We may give one instructive example. The adjective δοκίμιος, in Jas 1.3 and 1 Pet. 1.7, was discovered by Deissmann in the papyri, where it is a standing epithet of gold, etc., with the meaning *genuine*: many additional citations are now available. But in literary Greek the word had absolutely vanished (like the noun λογεία, *collection*, which T.C. Edwards supposed Paul to have coined!); and translators inevitably went off on a track which in the passage from 1 Peter landed them in absolute nonsense. In a book of *Cambridge Essays* it is a peculiar pleasure to recall confirmations of our greatest master's divination: we look at Hort's precious fragment on 1 Peter and find that 'what is genuine in your faith' appealed to his instinct as the needed meaning, though he had to alter the text to get it. But it is no part of our claim that the vernacular sources commonly reveal meanings which have disappeared with the papyri beneath the sands of Egypt, and risen again only with their return to the light. The NT writings were read from the first by men who talked the very language of the apostles and evangelists, even if in their own written

complete a first essay in systematic lexical illustration from our new material. A selection of this material has appeared in the 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri' already referred to (*Expositor*, Seventh Series, 5 [1908], pp. 51-60, 170-85, 262-77; 6 [1908], pp. 84-93, 183-92, 273-81, 370-84, 562-68; 7 [1909], pp. 88-95, 282-85, 375-84, 470-80, 559-68). [See also *Expositor*, Seventh Series, 9 (1910), pp. 284-88; 10 (1910), pp. 89-96, 282-88, 477-80, 563-68—many of these *Expositor* articles went into J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914–29)—ed.]

composition they conformed to the book language of Hellenism. It would be little short of a miracle if not one in the whole succession of diligent Greek commentators had known and mentioned a meaning which in ordinary conversation he would instinctively give to a word in the sacred text. He would of course be in constant danger of reading the literary meaning into the vernacular words he found. Just as the 'Syrian' revisers pruned away vulgar forms and solecistic phrases from a book whose sanctity precluded its deviating from 'correctness', so the literary Greek Fathers would tend to minimize colloquialism wherever an alternative interpretation could be given. It is accordingly in the choice between rival explanations that our new methods and materials mainly find their exercise. Let us take two examples, both of them words that have provoked much controversy, and both in very common use in Hellenistic vernacular. διαθήκη in the Revised Version is always *covenant*, except in Heb. 9.16f. Ought the exception to be allowed? Westcott and W.F. Moulton strenuously said no, and the present writer has a natural predisposition towards this view, despite all the difficulties of exegesis involved. But then comes in the fact that in the papyri, from the end of the fourth century BC down to the Byzantine period, the word denotes *testament* and that alone, in many scores of documents. We possess a veritable Somerset House on a small scale in our papyrus collections, and there is no other word than διαθήκη used. Even the Rabbis borrowed this Greek word to express a meaning for which they had no Hebrew.[1] We seem compelled to ask therefore whether a writer who shows strong points of contact with Alexandria, and is more vitally linked with the Greek world than any writer in the canon, could have used this word for long without betraying the slightest sense that it commonly bore a totally different meaning.[2] Our other example shall be ἡλικία, as used in the Sermon on the Mount. It is needless to repeat the argument for the Revised Version *margin* which may be drawn from Wetstein's excellent comment and literary citations: had some of the moderns read and weighed that note, we might have seen remarkable conversions! But the reader of the papyri and inscriptions recalls with

1. See Krauss, *ap.* Thumb, *Hellenismus*, p. 185.

2. Some further suggestions as to the usage of both noun and verb will be found in 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri' (*Expositor*, Seventh Series, 6 [1908], pp. 563-64).

surprise that he cannot cite a single passage in favour of *height* as a meaning of ἡλικία, while there are scores for the alternative. (A glance at Liddell and Scott will show how comparatively rare the meaning *height* is even in the literary Greek.) The inference would seem to be that there is a strong presumption in favour of *age, term of life*, unless (as in Lk. 19.3) the context provides decisive arguments against it, which the ἐλάχιστον in Lk. 12.26 somewhat emphatically fails to do.

What has been advanced more than once in this essay prepares the way for a generalization taking us to the very foundation of NT exegetical research. Do not the facts now known force us to recognize that we have hitherto allowed preponderant weight in all our discussions to a mass of sources which should take the second place and not the first? To vary a comparison used before, we are seeking to interpret a popular writer of the twentieth century by means of parallels laboriously culled from Chaucer and Shakespeare, and sometimes even from Cædmon, where it might be more profitable to listen to a schoolboy's slang. Let us illustrate with a word on which we have nothing to quote from our new sources, and it is a question simply of interpreting the evidence we had already. λόγιος in Acts 18.24 is *eloquent* in the Authorized Version (following the Vulgate), *learned* in the Revised Version, according to the prevailing sense in classical writers. But there is a page of C.A. Lobeck's *Phrynichus* (*Phyrinichi Ecloga* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1837], p. 198), which would have probably given pause to the majority that carried the change, had they lived under the new dispensation. Phrynichus says, 'The ancients do not use λόγιος as the multitude do, of the man who is skillful and lofty in speech, but of one who can expound as an expert the native customs in each several nation'. Lobeck's note contains a number of passages from Hellenistic writers in which *eloquence* is clearly intended. (Add to them Strabo, p. 712.) Lobeck adds the remark that Thomas and Moeris argued for πολυΐστωρ as the Attic connotation, while the mass of writers used it as λεκτικός. F. Field (*Notes on the Translation of the NT* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899], p. 129), after quoting two of Lobeck's passages, says, 'The other sense, ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔμπειρος, is chiefly found in Herodotus and the cultivators of the Attic dialect'. Now it is true, as Liddell and Scott will show, that Hellenistic writers sometimes remembered to use the word 'correctly'. But—and here is the main reason for choosing this

particular example—the testimony of the Atticist grammarians is always of special value for us. They may be right or wrong in their statements of Attic usage centuries before their own time. But the words and uses which they banned were unmistakeably in use around them; and their unwilling testimony constantly helps us to discover the 'bad Greek' which interests us more than the Atticists' 'good Greek'. It is a fair working rule that a meaning condemned by these *modistes* of literature, Phrynichus and his company, may be accepted as probably intended by the NT writer. So though we desert the RV with great reluctance, we feel bound to conclude that Lobeck's authors (including the Jew Philo) were lapsing into the colloquial from which Luke was not tempted to stray, and that Jerome (and consequently the Authorized Version) gave the more probable meaning.

The orientation of our present attitude towards grammar must not detain us, in view of prolonged discussions elsewhere. A few very general observations will suffice. Firstly let us note, in continuation of what has just been said, that in grammar even more than in vocabulary the difference between classical and Hellenistic needs perpetual watching. The statement is of course the veriest truism, and like many other truisms it needs repeating only too obviously. Would Westcott, one wonders, have been so insistent on pursuing the ghost of a purposive force in ἵνα throughout the Fourth Gospel, had he not been a senior classic and spent years in teaching Greek composition? Had his presuppositions been drawn from Epictetus instead of Plato, from the papyri instead of the dramatists, the motive for such scrupulousness would have vanished. Taking this point as typical, it may be noted that the blunting of the old use of ἵνα does not reduce the resources of the language as an instrument for expressing thought with exactness. Our own infinitive covers the whole range of meaning which ἵνα clauses had acquired in the Κοινή—noun sentence, final, consecutive, jussive; but how often are we conscious of ambiguity? It is safe to say that we never have any difficulty in the use of ἵνα except when we are trying to force it into one of the old categories which are too familiar to us from our classical grammar. Let the classics go, and come to the difficulty with Hellenistic alone in the mind, and the passage becomes clear at once. The same may be said of other points in which Hellenistic has decidedly moved away from the standards of the Attic golden age. The delicate precision of the use of the optative commands our admiration as we see it in the great writers of Athens. And yet we

may remember that, except to express a wish, the optative has really no function which other moods cannot express equally well, so that by practically dropping the rest of its uses Hellenistic has lost no real necessity of language. Indeed the fact that all the Indo-European dialects have either fused these two moods into one (as Latin) or let one of them go (as post-Vedic Sanskrit) is evidence enough that classical Greek was preserving a mere superfluity developing the same after its manner into a thing of beauty which added to the resources of the most delicate and graceful idiom the world has ever seen. But we are not belittling the masterpieces of Hellas when we say that their language was far less fitted than Hellenistic for the work that awaited the missionaries of the new world-faith. The delicacies of Attic would have been thrown away on the barbarians whom Paul did not disdain to seek for the kingdom of Christ. If much of the old grace was gone, the strength and suppleness, the lucidity and expressiveness of that matchless tongue were there in undimmed perfection. They are recognized still when travellers master the unschooled 'jargon' of the peasants in modern Hellas, the direct descendant of the Greek of Mark and Paul. As one of the most accomplished of them, Dr W.H.D. Rouse, well says, 'The most abstruse and abstract ideas are capable of clear expression in the popular speech. The book-learned will often hesitate for an expression, the peasant never. He spends all his days in talking, and has plenty of practice; and his vernacular is not only vivid and racy, it is capable of expressing any thought... His language has the further advantage of being able to form new words by composition.' Assuredly a language which had all these characteristics three thousand years ago, and has them today, is scarcely likely to have lost them awhile during the great period when Greek was spoken and understood by a far larger proportion of civilized mankind than it had ever been in the period of its greatest glory, or has ever been again since east and west parted asunder and let the dark ages in.

We have wandered far from our optative text, but that or any other characteristic of NT Greek will illustrate well enough the thesis that the grammatical losses of Κοινή vernacular are abundantly compensated by qualities which make this dialect an absolutely ideal one for proclaiming great spiritual truths to all sorts and conditions of men all over the Roman Empire. There are other things that would be worth saying as to the gains we have won from the study of non-literary

papyri and cognate material. As might be expected, contemporary documents like these have plenty to teach us as to the *Realien* of our subject. The census of Luke 2—'they disfigure their faces'—an invitation to feast in an idol temple—the number of the beast—the emperor as 'Son of God'—'in the name'—emancipation by enslavement to a god—purity, ritual and moral—the uses of chaff—here are a few miscellaneous headings on which something new and interesting might be said, and they are only the first topics which happen to strike us without refreshing the memory out of a book. For most of them we may refer to the fascinating pages of *Licht vom Osten*: in this essay they must obviously remain samples of headings and nothing more. There is one more topic under the heading of grammar which calls for a few words. To judge from a sentence in Dr Nestle's review, referred to above, it would seem that even scholars of the first rank in a different line are not yet alive to the practical importance of modern research in comparative syntax. Yet it is certainly a most fruitful innovation in Greek scholarship that the language is no longer isolated, but receives light on the meaning of its categories from developments in kindred tongues. Linguistic science occupies a curious position in the open between the rival camps of literary and scientific studies. On the one side it is constantly liable to abuse from every amateur: no untrained man would venture an opinion on the technical ground of botany or physics, but everyone who can spell, and some who cannot, will pronounce *ex cathedra* on an etymology. And on the other side we notice a strange antipathy towards its claim to rule in its own house, born apparently of the fact that it is a science, and that men of the literary temperament revolt against it as such. But its results are there, for all that; and never have they been worked out with such scientific accuracy as during the past thirty years. 'The terminology of our modern philology' in the important subject of the action denoted by verbal tenses and conjugations, to which Dr Nestle objects, is simply the systematization of knowledge now gathered from languages ancient and modern in the Indo-European family, enabling us to understand, as we never could from Greek study alone, the precise meaning of the most complex elements in Greek. To realize what the comparative method has done for us, we should try to make a beginner comprehend the functions of the Aorist, or what is the unifying principle which can bind together the different uses of the genitive. No teacher who has tried it, with the modern equipment,

will fail to grasp the value of the work that has opened up the structure and history of the sister languages, and so made clear the central principles of each of them.

With this we must close. If the thesis of this essay has been made only plausible, it would seem to follow that a neglected element ought to be brought into the training of those who are to study and expound the NT, even if it means displacing something that is already there. Most of our Greek Testament scholars, in the highest and in the lowest ranks, have come to the book through the door of classical Greek. When we think what it means to have Greek enough to read Plato's *Apology*, we are not likely to make light of such a preparation. But it is surely not enough. Should not the Greek, literary and vernacular, of the period contemporary with the rise of Christianity be reckoned among the subjects necessary for a Theological Tripos candidate to study? The elevation of Hellenistic Greek to the dignity of a Tripos subject would not be a step without precedent. A beginning has been made in a small way in the University of Manchester, where the subject stands among the options for the final BA examination. Students who are going on to Theology are encouraged to take it, and have thus an excellent linguistic preparation for the studies that are to follow. Biblical texts stand side by side with works of Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and so on, chosen from year to year, and there is always a selection of papyrus texts and other vernacular material. Composition and historical grammar complete the scheme. The new syllabus is only in its second year, but there is every reason for hoping that it will have good results.

It is not only Tripos candidates however who are in our minds when we speak of NT students. Classical studies in general are, as we all know, seriously threatened in our day by the reaction from conditions under which they held an absurd and harmful monopoly in education. It is likely enough that candidates for the ministry, who have had a good education but were not conscious of their call till after leaving school, will come forward more often than not with Greek yet to learn. And there is another recruiting-ground for the ministry, from which the Church of England is expecting to secure able and devoted men, as we of other communions have long rejoiced to do. Men who have had no educational advantages, called to the work after many years away from school—how shall we best train them for service in which experience shows they may be surpassingly useful? The

urgency of the question is recognized in a recent report which has deeply interested us all. Perhaps the writer may contribute his own experience of some years, concerned as it is vitally with the subject of this essay. Hellenistic proves a far shorter road than the classical grammar which the writer used in schoolmaster days. A short and simple grammar and reader in NT Greek, written for the purpose, supplies the forms and syntax needed for intelligent reading of the sacred text; and with this basis it is found that students with an aptitude for languages can go on to classical Greek when they have become proficient in the far easier Hellenistic. It may fairly be claimed that there is much to be said for a method which, for men who have little time to spare and a great object to attain, reduces to a minimum the initial drudgery of language learning, and in a few months enables them to read with profit greater books than ever Plato penned. And Hellenistic is worth learning. The mere student of human history may find his blood stirred by the spectacle of its achievement. In days when all that was great in Hellenism seemed to be dead, when brute force from outside and dissension within had reduced to subjection the proud people who had once hurled back the East that thundered at its doors, we see the old greatness rise again in new forms. Literature that could inspire Shakespeare's creations, philosophy instinct with fervour and life, science and history that in faithful search for truth rivalled the masterpieces of antiquity, humour and satire that Aristophanes might be proud to own—all these we see in the books of the Hellenistic age. And then we find that this wonderful language, which we knew once as the refined dialect of a brilliant people inhabiting a mere corner of a small country, had become the world speech of civilization. For one (and this one) period in history only, the curse of Babel seemed undone. Exhausted by generations of bloodshed, the world rested in peace under one firm government, and spoke one tongue, current even in Imperial Rome. And the Christian thinker looks on all this, and sees the finger of God. It was no blind chance that ordained the time of the birth at Bethlehem. The ages had long been preparing for that royal visitation. The world was ready to understand those who came to speak in its own tongue the mighty works of God. So with the time came the message, and God's heralds went forth to their work, 'having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people'.

THE ARAMAIC OF THE GOSPELS

Charles C. Torrey*

Inasmuch as Professor Olmstead's very timely and important article, 'Could an Aramaic Gospel be written?', published in the first number of the new *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* [(1942), pp. 41-75; references to this article are cited within the body of the text—ed.], closely concerns my own work on the Gospels, I may be permitted to supplement it in certain particulars.

Some of our colleagues in the NT field have shown a comprehensive unfamiliarity (largely excusable) with the principal facts bearing on the problem. This need of information Olmstead seeks to meet, and he accomplishes his purpose admirably, if those whom he wishes to reach will read his article. There has been lack of a general survey of the status of Aramaic in Palestine at the beginning of the present era, and the lack has now been partially filled, in a clear and cogent sketch. Aramaic Gospels were possible, indeed were actually written (p. 65). The argument could have been made stronger at several points, and it may be useful to indicate one or two of these.

There was much more Aramaic literature in use in Palestine in the last centuries BC and the first century AD than Olmstead (pp. 55ff.) supposes. For one thing, numerous books of the extra-canonical Jewish literature now preserved in Greek translation were originally Aramaic. Ever since the idea of translation Greek in this rather extensive group of writings began to be entertained, it has been uncritically taken for granted by the great majority of scholars that the original language in all cases was Hebrew. Guesses at Aramaic

* This article is reprinted, with the permission of the Society of Biblical Literature, from *JBL* 61 (1942), pp. 71-85. Fuller bibliographical references are included within the body of the text in order to preserve the original footnotes. I have silently corrected several errors.

here and there produced nothing useful; the few attempts at detailed demonstration, such as those of the present writer regarding the Story of the Three Youths in 1 Esdras and the two letters prefixed to 2 Maccabees, made little impression. It is now possible, however, to make a further advance.

The book of *Enoch* was composed in Aramaic throughout, not at all in Hebrew. This is shown in an article published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (C.C. Torrey, 'Notes on the Greek Text of Enoch', *JAOS* 62 [1942], pp. 52-60). Whatever may have been the number and variety of 'books' brought together in this great apocalypse of Enoch, it seems quite clear that the Greek translator found it as a single document. At all events, the fact of translation from Aramaic in each of the generally recognized divisions of the work is settled beyond the reach of controversy.

Another Aramaic work is *Jubilees*, which R.H. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis* [London: A. & C. Black, 1902], p. xiii) correctly termed 'an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus'; though he, like all his contemporaries, supposed it to have been written in Hebrew. The proof of Aramaic origin is clear, however.[1] E. Littmann, in E. Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1900, with vol. II on the pseudepigrapha), had been inclined to pronounce for Aramaic (see p. 34), but allowed himself to be persuaded by Charles, 'dass die Jub. hebräisch geschrieben sein müssen'.

Demonstrably composed in Aramaic, with abundant evidence, are also the *Testament of Job*, of which the Greek translation (more than thirty pages) was published by M.R. James in J. Armitage Robinson's *Texts and Studies*, V (*Apocrypha Anecdota* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897]); the Assumption of Moses (R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT in English* [2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913], II, pp. 414-24); and the so-called *Apocalypse of Moses*, one of the Books of Adam and Eve (Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, pp. 134-54). In the case of each of these

1. Thus in the first chapter, 1.16, 'I will *remove them* the plant of uprightness' is an obvious blunder for 'I will *make them* the plant of uprightness', *e'bedhon* misread as *a'berhon* (*Targ. Prov.* 4.27; 2 Chron. 35.23, 24, etc.). There is no space here for other examples; see however the note on 13.24 in Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 100.

documents, close inspection of the Greek shows the original language with certainty.

The Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, closely related works, are further examples. Here, the true state of the case is less readily seen. The Greek translation is lost, and the secondary versions made from it, especially the Latin and Syriac, render a little more freely, and are likely to smooth over any especially rough places and thus to destroy valuable evidence. Numerous plain marks of Aramaic are to be seen, however, while there is *no* specific indication of Hebrew in either book. It will perhaps be worth while to illustrate here.

Wellhausen, whose detailed demonstration of the 'Hebrew' origin of 1 Esdras had the greatest weight, ended by saying that he left open the question between Hebrew and Aramaic (see *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* [6 vols.; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1884–99], VI, p. 241). On p. 239 he had mentioned a characteristic feature of the text, the frequent redundant use of the verb 'begin'. Thus 6.20, 'the world that is to *begin* to pass away'; 8.17, 'I will *begin* to pray before thee'; 10.52, 'I knew that the Most High would *begin* to show this to you'; 12.21, 'until the time shall *begin* to approach', and many other examples. Our English version leaves out this 'begin' in most cases.

So also in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*: 6.5, 'another angel *began* to descend from heaven'; 29.3, 'It will come to pass when all is accomplished... that the Messiah will then *begin* to be revealed'. (R.H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* [London: SPCK, 1917], p. 52; *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, p. 497, does not understand this, and thinks the text corrupt.) Now this literary habit is not Hebrew at all, but is definitely Aramaic, and seemingly confined to a rather brief period.[1] Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, p. 239 footnote) remarks that it is 'ungemein häufig' in the Gospels. The most interesting example of its use is in Lk. 3.23, 'Jesus was *beginning to be* about thirty years of age'.

Other evidence, very briefly: *Apoc. Bar.* 29.8, the Aramaic relative pronoun *dī* is mistaken (as usual) for the conjunction. The original

1. See G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu: Mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898), pp. 21f.; T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1st and 2nd edn, 1913), p. 192 n. 46; E. Klostermann with H. Gressmann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1919) on 1.45, etc.

reading was: Manna will come down from heaven, 'and there will eat of it in those years *those who* have come to the consummation of time'. Our text reads: 'they will eat of it in those years, *because* (!) they are those who have come', etc. This blunder, typical in Aramaic, would not be possible in Hebrew—2 Esd. 6.41, 'Thou didst make *the spirit of* the firmament'(!); read, 'the Spirit made the firmament' (see v. 39). This also would be impossible in Hebrew—7.48, 'An evil heart has led us away from *these*', where there is nothing to which the pronoun can refer, and the original text, as many have seen, must have been 'from God' (מִן אֵל Aramaic! not to be explained from Hebrew)—9.26, the original reading was not 'to the field of *Arbad*', but 'to the field *outside*' (with exactly the same Aramaic letters).

Since the Semitic origin of these two apocalypses is universally recognized, there cannot be the slightest doubt, in view of the facts here presented, that both were written in Aramaic.

There are other books to be added to the list, as will appear. It is obvious that those already mentioned were written for a reading public; equally obvious, that they can have constituted but a small part of the literature which was in circulation. Interesting especially is the testimony of the book of *Enoch*, with its wide range including the mass of technical matter in the section dealing with 'celestial physics' (chs. 72–82). This illustrates the fact which we knew already, that Aramaic was at that time the most highly developed language of western Asia. We are also given the certainty that there were many of the Jews who could and would read even the most abstruse portions of the book. A highly literary public is clearly postulated here, and the same is true elsewhere.

'Of making many books there is no end', said Koheleth (12.12), who wrote probably at about the close of the third century BC. From the atmosphere of his teaching throughout the whole work, from the nature of the hearers whom he constantly imagines, as in this same verse, the natural supposition is that he is speaking of the 'books' of his own people. He testifies to a multitude of authors and readers, but of the hundreds of books written in his lifetime we possess only a few. It cannot be doubted that the prevailing literary language of the Jews of that day was Aramaic; Hebrew was already the language of Israel's past history, the language of the sacred writings, not at all the language of the people.

The author of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah, writing a generation or

more before Koheleth, wrote Aramaic better than he wrote Hebrew, which 'was for him a learned language' (R.H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the OT* [New York: Harper Bros., 1941], p. 812). The fact is before our eyes in Ezra 6.15-18, to say nothing of 7.12-26, now very commonly recognized as his own composition (see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II [ed. T.K. Cheyne; 4 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1899–1903], p. 1480; H.P. Smith, *OT History* [New York: Scribners 1928], p. 391; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, X [ed. H. Chisholm; 29 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11th edn, 1910–11], p. 109; Hölscher, in E. Kautzsch (ed.), *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* [2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 4th edn, 1922–23]; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, p. 826).[1] The significance of this has hardly been seen by those who have written on the subject. The Chronicler and his contemporaries in Jerusalem in the middle of the third century ordinarily wrote Aramaic, which was then, had been, and continued to be, the literary language of their people. The author of a well-known textbook writes: 'It is difficult to account for the fact that the middle chapters of Daniel [c. 245 BC] were written in Aramaic'. We should be faced with a similar puzzle if the question were raised why Dumas wrote *The Three Musketeers* in French instead of in Latin.

Hebrew was a dead language in the time of the Chronicler, but was still written by learned men, with varying degrees of success. Some achieved an almost perfect result, others were plainly under the influence of Aramaic, introducing its idioms (Chronicles,[2] Koheleth, Esther) and even its grammatical forms (Ezekiel). The sacred books were still supplemented to some extent after the time of the Chronicler, but perhaps less than we are in the habit of supposing.

The uncanonical books written in Hebrew as learned *tours de force* were not merely for other learned men (of whom there doubtless were many), but sooner or later and at different times and places were rendered into Aramaic and became part of the popular literature. Such translation was very easy, and was likely to be correct. The most

1. The present writer, after renewed testing, has at last accepted the conclusion of Nöldeke and others, that *all* the Aramaic 'documents' in Ezra are the work of the Chronicler. Any other supposition creates too great improbabilities.

2. The Chronicler's worst specimen of this sort is perhaps in 2 Chron. 4.16, in the phrase: חוּרָם אָבִיו לַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, 'Huram, the trusted counsellor of King Solomon'.

noted example is Ben Sira's book, of which the original text has perished.[1] The grandson, in his prologue to the Greek translation, plainly shows his belief that his grandfather composed the proverbs, *not in his native tongue*, but after long study of the Hebrew scriptures and in imitation of them. He had of course been acquainted with Hebrew from his childhood, however, and no one who studies the Greek translation of his great work can doubt that he wrote the sacred language with full mastery. On the remnants of *Aramaic versions* of Sirach's proverbs which happen to have been preserved in the Talmud and in other rabbinical literature, see G. Dalman (*Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 2nd edn, 1905], p. 37).

The book of Judith was written in idiomatic Hebrew, and was excellently translated into Greek. It also circulated in one or more Aramaic versions. When Jerome undertook to render it into Latin, he found no Hebrew text (neither did Origen), but informs us in his preface to the book that he translated from a 'Chaldee' manuscript, one of a number. The accuracy of this statement, which some had questioned, is fully demonstrated by Dr E.E. Voigt (*The Latin Versions of Judith* [Leipzig: Drugulin, 1925], pp. 46-54). The Jewish people read this capital story in their own language, Aramaic.

The book of Tobit, originally composed in Aramaic, as the Greek plainly shows, circulated in Palestine, as few will doubt, from the second century BC onward. In this case, also, Jerome made his Latin version from a 'Chaldee' text (probably derived from Greek), while the process which he describes in his *Praefatio ad Chromatium et Eliodorum* is not at all reassuring as to the accuracy of the work. But we are interested simply to know that the Jewish people had continued to read the book in various texts of their own language. The seventh-century Aramaic version published in 1878 by Neubauer is an interesting illustration of the fact that Aramaic continued, down through the Middle Ages, to be the preferred language of the Jewish People in all parts of the world.

1. The present writer still holds the opinion which he expressed in a paper read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Cornell University in 1919, that the Hebrew of the Cairo Genizah Sirach is distinctly second-rate, and is largely translated from the Syriac version. At the time, this view met with no favor from any quarter; recently, there have appeared indications that others are holding it.

Another excellent Hebrew *tour de force* was 1 Maccabees. There were, and continued to be, scholars who could write elegant Hebrew, and they wrote it perhaps as easily and naturally as they wrote the vernacular Aramaic. In the times of hostility and persecution from without, enthusiasm for *both* the sacred tongue and native speech blazed up, especially in opposition to the Greek language. To patriotic Israelites, at such times, the language of their enemies and oppressors was a horror. Writings which in either form or subject matter seemed to continue the tradition of sacred scripture were naturally written in Hebrew, and 1 Maccabees is an outstanding example. 'The rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did', etc. (9.22). 'The rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and valiant deeds...behold, they are written in the chronicles', etc. (16.23). These were successors of the kings of Israel and Judah.

The Hebrew book was not for the common people, however, and it was translated into Aramaic; probably soon, though we have no means of knowing this. The Hebrew text seems to have disappeared at a very early date (see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, p. 2866). Origen knew only an Aramaic version (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, p. 2857), and this undoubtedly was the language in which it had been chiefly read.

Such popular and yet quasi-canonical literature as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* naturally circulated in both Semitic languages and in several recensions, of different periods of time. The Hebrew was the original, as the mistranslation in the Greek of 6.10 suffices of itself to prove. Only fragments of the Aramaic have been preserved.

The second of the two Aramaic Letters prefixed to 2 Maccabees is an instructive specimen of the popular literature of Jewish Palestine in the second century BC. (See C.C. Torrey, 'The Letters Prefixed to Second Maccabees', *JAOS* 60 [1940], pp. 119-50.) It is natural to suppose that the 'records' (legends) of Jeremiah and Nehemiah to which this document refers were also Aramaic. The letter itself shows that this was the written language in ordinary use.

Some specimens of the pagan Aramaic literature must have been current in Palestine. Olmstead (p. 55) mentions Ahiqar, and it may well be supposed that this fine example of edifying literature was as highly prized at Jerusalem as it was at Elephantine. Another 'wisdom' document which we know to have been admired by Jewish readers is the Story of the Three Youths, which was interpolated in the Chronicler's history and is preserved in 'First Esdras'; a very

interesting composition of the third century BC, long ago proved (by the present writer) and now generally acknowledged to have been written in Aramaic. According to Pfeiffer (*Introduction*, p. 769), 'During the Persian and early Greek periods there must have been a vast body of popular Aramaic fiction... which, though Pagan in origin, exercised a deep influence on Jewish writers'.

However that may be, the facts here presented have shown, beyond controversy, that there was a large reading public in Jewish Palestine, and that the literary language of the people was Aramaic, the same which was in use throughout the most of Western Asia. The documents here enumerated cover the time from the fifth century BC to about the end of the first century AD.

Regarding the history of the language in its use by the Jews my own view would differ at some points from that of Olmstead. He supposes (p. 68) 'that there had been in the second pre-Christian century a reaction against the folk language in favor of the language of the Sacred Books'. Some others have made the same conjecture, but has it the support of any real evidence? On the occasional use of Hebrew, see the preceding pages of this article. We know, in fact, of no change in the literary habit; nor is it easy to see any possible connection between the long-established use of classical Aramaic and (p. 68) 'the use of the peasant language by the Nazarenes'. The latter dialect played no part whatever in the Gospels. At the bottom of p. 56, moreover, it is implied that there came a time when a book written in Aramaic was for this reason less likely to be received into the canon of holy scripture. We have no knowledge of any such time, for the two languages are expressly put on the same footing by the Rabbis. Hebrew and Aramaic became unacceptable for canonicity at the same time, namely, when the canon was closed.

Another subject which one could wish to have seen pursued farther in Olmstead's article is that of the probable attitude of the Jews of first-century Palestine toward the Greek language. The prohibition of the study of that tongue mentioned on p. 52 is not the only example of the kind in the rabbinical writings. Still, prohibition was not practicable in Palestine; Greek was absolutely necessary, at least for all the Jewish officials and hardly less for very many others. But the feeling of the common people is quite another matter. The language of hated oppressors is itself hated fanatically, and that inevitably. Even in our more-or-less enlightened age we have seen, twenty to twenty-five

years ago, the German tongue detested, its literature put aside, and its teaching banished from a multitude of schools. Read *Pss. Sol.* 17.6ff.:

> Because of our sins wicked men are over us, they have assaulted us, driven us out. . . Thou, O God, wilt cast them down, destroy their seed from the land, raising up against them a foe from our own race. . . Gird him with strength to shatter the wicked rulers, cleansing Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample it to destruction, crushing their arrogance like the vessels of the potter.

The Jews were not an apathetic people. It is perfectly obvious from the content of the Four Gospels that the homogeneous material out of which they are constructed was composed for the purpose which one of them expressly declares (Jn 20.31), to persuade the Jewish people that Jesus was the divine Messiah, so long expected. This being the case, it is easy to imagine the folly of composing a 'gospel' in the detested language of the enemy.

If the question which forms the title of Olmstead's article were put in this way: could a gospel intended for the Jews of Palestine have been written in any other language than Aramaic? It would seem that the answer must be, emphatically, No. Both Hebrew and Greek are out of the question. A Hebrew gospel would not have reached the people: a Greek gospel would have been trampled upon. No fanatical patriot would give it a second look, and few of the cooler heads could see it without some feeling of aversion—for the Jews of that day were like other human beings. Only Aramaic, the language of the popular literature for centuries past, could be considered, and examination of the Gospels shows immediately that it *was* the language employed.

Much has been said to the effect that we can have no sure knowledge of the Jewish Aramaic of the first century AD. Suppose that all the English literature of the nineteenth century should be destroyed, while that of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries remained available, would there be any difficulty in determining what sort of English was written in the 'lost' period? The analogy of Aramaic is not so remote as might be supposed. Olmstead has very little to say on this point, but what he does say (pp. 52f., 55, 73f.) is important.

The literary Aramaic of Western Asia was remarkably homogeneous throughout its long history. A letter from the time of Ashurbanipal (seventh century) happened to survive because it was written on a large potsherd (M. Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921]). There are twenty-one

fragmentary lines, good Aramaic, not strange. One passage explains a troublesome reading in the Book of Daniel, the only known parallel. In the Wisdom of Ahiqar and the Behistun Inscription, of the sixth century (these mentioned by Olmstead), we read the familiar language; so also in the many important inscriptions found in Northern Syria, Asia Minor, and Northern Arabia; in the letters and documents from Elephantine (fifth century); in inscriptions from Egypt, including a fine bit of Aramaic verse. In the Aramaic of the Chronicler in Ezra and of the middle chapters of Daniel, slight euphonic changes are taking place, but otherwise the language is the same; so also in the regions near to Palestine, in the multitude of Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions dating from the last century BC to the latter part of the third century AD. A large vocabulary has been gained, while the morphology, the syntax, the characteristic idioms, are seen to have continued practically uniform throughout the centuries.

When the Jewish Aramaic of the second century AD is examined, we see at once that there had been no significant change in the meantime; the paragraphs of the Megillath Taanith and the official letters of Gamaliel II show this plainly. The *p'īl* perfect passive, the suffix *nā* of the first person plural, the relative pronoun *dī*, and other characteristics *which soon after disappear*, are all in living use. No one can doubt that the written Aramaic of Palestine in the first century AD was practically identical with biblical Aramaic. So Dalman (*Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 9) concludes. The vocabulary of the Onkelos Targum is also familiar, and its morphology shows little that is new. It was in the third century, when the schools were well established in Galilee and large numbers poured in from Babylonia and elsewhere, that a decided change in the language took place.

The side light on Jewish Aramaic obtained from the eastern dialect, Syriac, should also be mentioned. Here we see a language with nearly the same vocabulary, and a great literature that is prevailingly religious and in its beginnings under strong Palestinian influence, not only in the OT Peshitta (Olmstead, p. 69) but also in the Gospels (C.C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* [New York: Harper and Bros., 1941], pp. 245-70). The close relation to the early Jewish religious writings is obvious, and it is easy to see how one deeply read in the literature of both dialects might feel decidedly better acquainted with literary Aramaic than with classical Hebrew.

I would protest, mildly, against confusing the diction of the Gospels with the uncouth Aramaic printed on p. 67 in Olmstead's article. The quotation is from a famous anecdote, the purpose of which is to lampoon the Christians and their Teacher, and it is an intentional travesty of the words of Jesus. This appears plainly both in the form and in the substance of the saying. On the one hand, there is the intolerably clumsy repetition, and the unnecessary emphasis on the pronoun of the first person; on the other hand, the joke about 'adding to' the law of Moses. The point of the whole humorous anecdote lies in the mock charge that the gospel introduced a new law of inheritance. Incidentally, the type of Aramaic shown in the alleged quotation would hardly be possible before the third century (C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* [2 vols.; Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1908–13], I, pp. 573f., 629; Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, §63, 5).

The term 'uncouth', above employed, by no means applies—as some have applied it—to the Aramaic language as compared with Greek. The present passage may illustrate. Our Greek text of the phrase, 'I came not to annul, but to fulfill', οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, rhythmical and high-sounding, makes an impression of originality; but the Aramaic (in the very words which the Greek translated) is even more concise and equally euphonic: *lā ăthēth l'ešrē ellā l'emlē* The two contrasted verbs mean respectively 'loose' and 'fill', and are commonly used in exactly the manner of the two Greek verbs.

Olmstead (p. 47) mentions the accusation of some NT scholars, that I have 'translated into Aramaic phraseology what is certainly Greek'. It is utterly natural that they should suppose this to be true, but in fact there is in the Four Gospels no such Greek as the reproach implies. This is the most significant item in the whole great chain of evidence; the Greek *never* gets away from the Aramaic, even for a single clause. Greek idioms which have no counterpart or standing equivalent in the Semitic original are not to be found in the Gospels. Everything that is said in this 'Greek' can be said in similar words in idiomatic Aramaic. This extremely important fact has of course been unknown to the experts in NT Greek.

It is not strange (p. 47) that those who have no wish for Aramaic gospels 'depreciate evidence based on mistranslation', refuse in fact to take notice of it. Everyone who has had much to do with this problem

of literary genealogy knows that the demonstrated mistranslation is the trump card. All scribes make mistakes, all translators from Semitic to Greek make recognizable blunders—very frequently, as is shown by all the Greek scriptures which we can control. Some of these blunders are 'difficult to prove', others can be demonstrated with the clearness of a theorem in geometry. It is well to make the most exacting demands on the would-be demonstrator, but not to refuse to consider his evidence on the ground that it is subjective; a critical principle which the late G.F. Moore once characterized as 'the methodical elimination of the element of human intelligence'.[1] Our NT friends are perfectly right in holding retroversions and alleged mistranslations in deep suspicion (the field is not a playground for sophomores), but it is beyond question that the more serious slips of a translator *can* be recognized and shown conclusively—in any language. Such instances furnish the proof which is at once the most striking and the most reliable.

In the brief 'Notes on the Greek Text of Enoch', mentioned near the beginning of this article, may be seen examples of the compelling force of single mistranslations. The main purpose of the article was to show that the modern dabblers in translation Greek (the present writer is one) have generally fixed their eyes on Hebrew without any serious consideration of Aramaic. A few of the blunders made in *Enoch* by the Greek translator are recommended to the attention of scholars who are interested to see how inevitable are the slips, and what utter nonsense is allowed to pass; in short, what the above-mentioned 'trump cards' look like. To the argument presented, for example, in *Enoch* 75.5 there is no answer; and this may be said also of the proof offered in 1.5; 31.2; 54.5(!); 65.10; 66.2 and 97.9. A fine example of the occasional power of a single mistranslation to show the character of an entire recension is to be seen in the 'Western' text of Acts 11.2 (*Documents of the Primitive Church*, pp. 127, 142). Because of the nature of the passage in which the word occurs, and the accepted critical conclusion in regard to this and the other similar interpolations in Acts, the proof that the 'Western' Greek text—all of it—is the result of a new translation from Aramaic is decisive, even without the mass of other evidence to the same effect.

1. Preface to H.St J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1929), p. v.

In the little volume entitled *Our Translated Gospels* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936) the principal aim of the publication is thus declared: 'The reader is provided with a brief commentary on about 140 of the passages in the Four Gospels which have been the most difficult of interpretation'; and there are claims of 'clearness brought out of obscurity', 'sense substituted for nonsense', etc. Here, it would seem, is an opportunity for anyone who really wishes to test the matter. In former generations it was easy to adopt the device of the ostrich and insist that there *are* no difficulties in the Gospels, but the most of the scholars of our own day are not tied to any doctrine of verbal infallibility. The problem and the means of solving it are exactly the same as in the book of *Enoch*, and because of the much greater amount of text the translator's mistakes in the Gospels would be correspondingly numerous. The 'trump cards', in fact, are numbered by the dozen; proofs as conclusive as any literary demonstration can be.

I am sorry that Olmstead has not seen (p. 70) that our four canonical Gospels, entire and just as they stand (excepting Luke's prologue, John 21, and the first two chapters of Luke's Gospel, which he rendered from Hebrew) are translations from Aramaic, for I should have been glad of his support. Mark, Matthew, and John were composed and published in the language of Israel's own popular literature; Luke's Gospel, published in Greek, was made up entirely of Semitic documents (the only 'authentic' material) assembled and translated by Luke himself. These are facts regarding which there cannot be the slightest doubt, for one who has seen and understood the evidence. No other hypothesis is tenable, as eventually will be acknowledged by all scholars. *Magna est veritas*, and sometimes just because of its bulk it is a long time in coming through.

I confess to some surprise at Olmstead's assertion (p. 70): 'The Gentile historian Luke did not know any Semitic language', especially as it is made the basis of an argument.

An interesting subject touched upon in pp. 73-75 is the question of 'poetic structure' in the sayings of Jesus, as illustrated in C.F. Burney's *The Poetry of our Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 73 n. 109. Burney believed that Jesus, continuing the tradition of the Hebrew prophetical writings, uttered his discourses in elaborate rhetorical form, prevailingly in verse. (Following this criterion, he naturally came to the conclusion that the chief repository

of the authentic utterances of Jesus is the Gospel of John.) Burney's metrical retroversions from all four Gospels, sometimes pleasing but usually doggerel, couched in the Aramaic of the third century AD (following Dalman), were not convincing. Here and there are passages in which the reduction to strict metric form brings no sense of incongruity, but in the main the imposition of this straitjacket is so manifestly artificial as to be distressing. But another may succeed where Burney failed.

I would express once more my high appreciation of Olmstead's article, which I hope will have a wide reading. It seems to me to have brought new life into the whole discussion. His argument, as that of a scholar who has stood outside the controversy, will make a stronger impression than could be made by any argument coming from one of the disputants. I could only wish that he had gone into the matter a little more deeply.

ARAMAIC STUDIES AND THE LANGUAGE OF JESUS

Matthew Black*

The remarkable thing about Paul Kahle was that, in every branch of scholarship he entered, he soon became not only a leading authority in that subject, but himself a pioneer, opening up new avenues into unknown and untrodden fields. There was no subject in the field of oriental learning in which he was content simply to take over, at second hand or on another's authority, the conclusions of the past, unless he had himself thoroughly proved and approved them. This was most notably true in the areas of biblical or oriental study where his major contributions were made, such as his identification of the Ben Asher text, his studies in Hebrew punctuation or his Islamic studies: it was no less true, however, of his Aramaic studies, and in particular of his contributions to the elucidation of the history of the Aramaic Targums, and to the understanding of their language and its relevance to the problem of the language of Jesus. The impetus he gave to such studies led to the rise of a 'Kahle' school of Targumic or Aramaic studies, in which pupils of Kahle (or pupils of his pupils) carried forward his pioneering work.[1]

The purpose of this tribute to Kahle's memory is to provide a brief review of the main work (some of it still unpublished) of this Kahle school of Targumic and Aramaic studies, based on an account and estimate of Kahle's own work in this branch of learning.

Kahle's first interest in the history of the Aramaic Targums and the

* This essay is reprinted, with the permission of the author and publishers, from *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer; BZAW, 103; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), pp. 17-28. I have silently corrected several errors in the text, as well as provided fuller references in the notes to make the essay more useful.

1. Cf. Kahle's own remarks in this connection in 'Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch: Erwiderung', *ZNW* 51 (1960), p. 55.

problems of their language goes back to his Semitic studies as a pupil of F. Praetorius in Halle: they certainly were one of his chief interests in the Semitic field long before the appearance in 1913 of his *Masoreten des Ostens*, followed in 1930 by his *Masoreten des Westens, Band II*,[1] in which for the first time Aramaic Targum fragments from the Cairo Geniza were published by him. It was in these studies, however, that Kahle began his pioneering work in the field of Targumica et Aramaica.

The Geniza Targum fragments, according to their first editor, represented a Palestinian tradition of free paraphrasing of the Hebrew OT which ante-dated the introduction of the official and authoritative *Onqelos*;[2] the latter was written in an artificial Aramaic which had to be such as could be understood by both Babylonian and Palestinian Jews; it was fundamentally a Babylonian composition. Kahle's views on the history and relationship of the Targums finally crystallized in his Schweich lectures.[3] He held that *Onqelos* had been without importance in Palestine, and, indeed, that it had not even existed there till it was introduced from Babylonia, and then scarcely before 1000 AD. It was entirely a product of Babylonian Judaism: the native Palestinian Targums were preserved in his own Geniza fragments and the related 'Jerusalem' Targums.

This was a view in marked contrast to that hitherto held and first propounded by A. Geiger[4] and A. Berliner,[5] viz. that the *Onqelos Targum* was a native product of Palestinian Judaism dating to the second century AD whence it had been transplanted to Babylon (like so much else, e.g., Calendar, Mishnah, etc.) and where it had undergone a certain local influence.[6] Berliner's views had been substantially accepted by Dalman who, also following the Geiger–Berliner

1. *Masoreten des Ostens* (BWAT, 15; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913) and *Masoreten des Westens*, II (BWAT, 50; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930).

2. *Masoreten des Ostens*, pp. 204ff.; *Masoreten des Westens*, pp. 11ff.

3. *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd edn, 1959), pp. 191ff.

4. *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer abhängigkeit von der innern Entwickelung des Judenthums* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1857), pp. 162ff.

5. *Targum Onkelos* (Berlin: Gorzelanczyk, 1884), pp. 107ff. Berliner was inclined to the view that the first authoritative written Targums were introduced under the influence of the work of R. Akiba.

6. See especially Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, pp. 107ff. Cf. also F. Rosenthal, *Die aramäistische Forschung* (Leiden: Brill, 1939), pp. 127ff.

tradition, tended to dismiss the so-called Fragment or Jerusalem Targums as late Palestinian compositions of no great value linguistically for the recovery of the spoken language of the time of Christ, and without any authority from the synagogue; they were private Jewish Aramaic paraphrases of the Middle Ages. With the exception of *Pseudo-Jonathan*, Kahle classed the *Fragment Targum* with the *Geniza Targum* as pre-*Onqelos* Palestinian tradition; *Pseudo-Jonathan* also belonged to this tradition at a later stage of development, only it included *Targum Onqelos*, or rather, those haggadic expansions, of which *Pseudo-Jonathan* mainly consisted, had been packed, as it were, into the framework of *Onqelos*. What held for *Onqelos* was also true of the so-called Targum of Jonathan to the Prophets or the Targum to the Hagiographa.

Kahle's theory of the Babylonian origin and linguistic character of the *Onqelos Targum* had important consequences for the question of the language of Jesus. Following the assumptions of Geiger–Berliner about the Palestinian provenance and language of the *Onqelos Targum*, G. Dalman had argued that its language was our nearest representative, next to the old *Reichsaramäisch*, of the type of Aramaic language spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ.[1] Kahle now argued that the language of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum of his 'pre-Onqelos' tradition was much more representative of first-century Palestinian Aramaic.[2]

Since the publication of Kahle's views in *Masoreten des Westens, Band II*, and subsequently in his Schweich lectures, a new edition of the *Onqelos Targum* has appeared,[3] and other important work has been done. Sperber's magnificent work has resulted in an edition of *Onqelos* which must remain a model of its kind: Sperber did not, however, concern himself with questions of the history and development of the Targum tradition. The same is true of other scholars, like Díez Macho, who edited fragments of the Targum to the Prophets,[4] and in 1956 announced the discovery of an entirely new Targum to

1. G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 2nd edn, 1905; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), pp. 12ff.

2. *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn), pp. 200ff.

3. A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic*. I. *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

4. See infra, p. 117 n. 5.

the Pentateuch, *Codex Neofiti.*[1] The question of the *Überlieferungsgeschichte* of the Aramaic Targums has been raised recently by E.Y. Kutscher and Kahle's view challenged.[2] Kutscher's arguments, however, which will be considered later in this essay, were anticipated by the work of a younger scholar, G.J. Kuiper, now Associate Professor of NT at the Theological Seminary, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina. Kuiper undertook, under my supervision, an investigation into the relationship between the different strands of the Targum tradition, and in particular the question of the relationship of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Onqelos.*[3] The results, which it is hoped will be published soon, have proved surprisingly interesting: *Onqelos*, while admittedly showing traces of Babylonian influence, appears nevertheless to have been an authoritative redaction *of the same kind of Palestinian Targum tradition which is preserved, still in fluid state, in the Fragment Targum, the Geniza Fragments, Pseudo-Jonathan and Targum Neofiti I.*

We need not, therefore, be so sceptical about the value of Dalman's *Aramaic Grammar* as Kahle was: at the same time, it must be admitted with Kahle that the more idiomatic and freer Aramaic of the pre-*Onqelos* Palestinian Targum tradition, uninfluenced by the Babylonian dialect or the need to translate the Hebrew word by word, is a much better source of knowledge for the Aramaic of the NT period.

Work on the problems of the connections and interrelations of the different strands in the Palestinian Targum tradition is still in progress, and must inevitably be delayed until the (long-awaited) publication of the *editio princeps* of *Neofiti* I, promised by Díez Macho of Barcelona as part of the great modern Spanish Polyglot project.[4]

1. A. Díez Macho, 'Una copia de todo el Targum jerosolimitano en la Vaticana', *EstBib* 16 (1956), pp. 446-47. Cf. also M. Black, 'The Recovery of the Language of Jesus', *NTS* 3 (1956–57), p. 306. See further, below.

2. See infra, pp. 118-19.

3. G.J. Kuiper, *The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and its Relationship to Targum Onkelos* (PhD thesis, St Andrews University, 1962) [now published under the same title: Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1972—ed.]. Kuiper spent some time in Oxford, where he had the privilege of consulting Kahle.

4. Cf. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn), pp. 201ff. The Bibliotheca Vaticana is also proposing to bring out a facsimile edition (Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* [2nd edn], p. 201). [The edition of *Neofiti* I has now been published: A. Díez Macho (ed.), *Neophyti I: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (6 vols.; Madrid:

Nothing so far, however, has led anyone to cast serious doubts on Kahle's view that what we have in the extant *Palestinian Targum* is a free, developing tradition with very substantial differences between the different manuscripts: indeed, this has, if anything, been confirmed by the text of the Neofiti manuscript, which seems to represent an entirely different and independent translation from anything we know of in the Geniza fragments or the *Fragment Targum*. The importance of this work cannot be overemphasized, since it forms an essential preparation for an edition (or editions) of the *Palestinian Targum* (or Targums), without which the study of their vocabulary, grammar, syntax, etc., is premature. Kahle himself was convinced of the need for a new edition of his Geniza fragments, and entrusted this task several years ago to his pupil Pater G. Schelbert.[1] My own pupil, M.C. Doubles of Laurinburg, North Carolina, worked under the joint supervision of myself and Kahle, on the problem of the Ginsburger edition of the *Fragment Targum*: that edition did much less than justice to the Vatican manuscript of these fragments, and the full text of this is now available in Doubles's work.[2] There is still an enormous amount of preparatory work to be done, but some rough pattern of relationships appears to be emerging. As Kuiper's work seems to point to *Onqelos* as an official redaction of one Palestinian tradition, so the close connection of the Paris, Nürnberg, Leipzig and Vatican manuscripts of the *Fragment Targum* seem to point to a likewise official rabbinical redaction undertaken in the Middle Ages, with the purpose of preserving something (in addition to the official *Onqelos*) from the previous Palestinian Pentateuch Targumic tradition. *Neofiti* I is still a vast open question, and its marginalia, some of which can be traced in the *Fragment Targum*, may further enrich our knowledge of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum.[3]

Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cietíficas, 1968–79)—ed.]

1. See Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn), p. 201.

2. *The Fragment Targum: A Critical Examination of the Editio Princeps, Das Fragmententhargum, by M. Ginsburger, in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (PhD thesis, St Andrews University, 1962).

3. One of my pupils, Miss S. Lund of Boston, is at present engaged on a study of the *Neofiti* text of Deuteronomy. A short study of the *marginalia* of *Neofiti* appears as 'The Sources of the Variant Readings to Deuteronomy 1.1–29.17 of Codex Neofiti 1', in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (ed. M. Black and G. Fohrer), pp. 167-73. [See now S. Lund and J.A. Foster, *Variant Versions of Targumic Traditions within*

So far as the language of the Targums was concerned, Kahle was firmly convinced that Dalman was wrong in taking *Onqelos* and the related Targum to the Prophets as his main authorities for first-century Palestinian Aramaic, the so-called 'Jerusalem' Targums having been relegated to a secondary position:[1] the latter, together with such close relatives as Samaritan Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Syriac, seemed to Kahle to be much closer to the original language of Jesus and the best post-Christian sources for the reconstruction of the Aramaic of the *verba Christi*. This he sought to demonstrate by his now well-known discovery that *ribboni* (my Lord) in *Onqelos* was pronounced *rabbouni* in the Geniza fragment targum, exactly as at Jn 20.16 (cf. Mk 10.51).[2] In view of this, Kahle held that a study of the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of his Geniza fragments, and indeed of the whole of the Palestinian Targum tradition, so far as it was extant, was the next urgent task in Aramaic studies. This view was shared—and to a large extent reached independently through the study of *Masoreten des Westens, Band II*—by the late A.J. Wensinck, who carried his work to the point of preparing, on the basis of existing editions of the *Palestinian Pentateuch Targum*, a lexicon of these texts to supplement Levy's *Chaldäisches Lexicon* (or the smaller lexica of Jastrow and Dalman).[3]

No one will deny the urgency of the need for grammatical and lexicographical studies in those particular areas if we are to extend our knowledge of the Aramaic language, and particularly of the language as it was spoken and written in the NT period. The situation, however, has changed in some important respects since the publication of *Masoreten des Westens* (or *The Cairo Geniza*). There are the new Qumrân Aramaic texts to study, for the most part exhibiting a language closer to the old *Reichsaramäisch*, but also in their literary form and character, no less than in language, exhibiting a literature which serves as a much closer prototype of the Aramaic portions and

Codex Neofiti 1 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977)—ed.]

1. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, pp. 30ff.

2. See *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd edn), p. 204, and my *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1954), p. 21.

3. This material was very kindly lent by Mrs Wensinck to Kahle and myself for a period (see my *Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* [2nd edn], p. 231 n. 2). It is now in the care of Professor Jansma of Leiden.

especially the original Aramaic poetry of the Gospels.[1] There is also the inestimably valuable text (450 folios) of *Neofiti*, which will also have to be scrutinized by the philologist, once an edition is available. In fact it is this last difficulty, applying to all the Palestinian Pentateuch Targums, which makes grammatical investigation or lexicographical studies at present difficult, if not impossible. *Our first and most urgent needs are for editions of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum (or Targums) similar to Sperber's splendid edition of Onqelos*, which must also, however, not be overlooked in any full study of early Palestinian Aramaic.

It was characteristic of Kahle that he lost no opportunity of presenting positions with which he had once identified himself in the light of the latest developments in his field; and he could be a doughty opponent in controversy. Thus, just shortly before the second edition of his Cairo Geniza was published he wrote a long article in *ZNW* entitled 'Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch',[2] in which he took cognisance of the new Qumran discoveries, in particular of the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* (or *Genesis Midrash*, as he himself preferred to describe it). The article (which forms most of chapter 3 of *The Cairo Geniza*) brought *inter alia* an up-to-date report on work on the Targums and the scrolls by W.H. Brownlee,[3] N. Wieder,[4] Díez Macho,[5] etc. In the course of the article Kahle had occasion to criticize some of the methods of E.Y. Kutscher of Jerusalem in his dating and localizing of the *Genesis Midrash*, and this criticism drew a lively rejoinder from Kutscher in which he not only replied to the points of Kahle's criticism but called in question Kahle's general position on the relation of the *Palestinian Pentateuch Targum* to *Targum Onqelos*, and on its value linguistically as a primary source for the language of Jesus.[6] Kutscher's reply called

1. See my article on 'The Recovery of the Language of Jesus', p. 313.
2. *ZNW* 49 (1958), pp. 100-16.
3. 'The Dead Sea Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan', mimeographed paper issued by the author, 1953. Cf. 'The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan', *JJS* 7 (1957), pp. 169-86.
4. 'The Habakkuk Scroll and the Targum', *JJS* 4 (1953), pp. 14-18.
5. 'Un nuevo Targum a los Profetas', *EstBib* 15 (1956), pp. 287-95; cf. also 'Nuevos manuscritos importantes, bíblicos o litúrgicos, en hebreo o arameo', *Sef* 16 (1956), pp. 1-22.
6. E.Y. Kutscher, 'Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch', *ZNW* 51 (1960),

forth in turn an equally lively riposte from Kahle.[1]

The controversy centred mainly on the exception Kahle had taken to Kutscher's methods of determining the date of the *Genesis Midrash*: he accepted Kutscher's conclusions that this text, composed in a literary Aramaic (of the type we find in Daniel, Ezra, etc.), was Palestinian, belonging to the first century BC or earlier. Kutscher's attempt to show that the language of the *Palestinian Pentateuch Targum* was not one of our best representatives of the spoken language of the time of Christ was unconvincing. It is true, the view that *Onqelos* is a purely Babylonian composition is doubtful,[2] but the fact that it may have had its origin in Palestine does not mean that its language is, therefore, a pure spoken Aramaic of the time of Jesus: it is, in fact, as Kahle held, an artificially literal translation of the Hebrew, composed in its present and final redaction in a form of 'literary' Aramaic which is neither pure Palestinian nor pure Babylonian dialect.

In one point Kutscher challenged Kahle's claim that the *Palestinian Pentateuch Targum* alone knew the NT word *rabbo(u)ni* (ῥαββουνί, Mk 10.51, Jn 20.16).[3] Kutscher is, of course, right in maintaining that the *word* does appear in rabbinical texts, and this Kahle never sought to deny: it was the pronunciation of the word in the *Palestinian Pentateuch Targum* as *rabbo(u)ni* in contrast to the rabbinical *ribboni* which was unique and adduced as proof by Kahle that it was this Palestinian Targum tradition which correctly preserved the accents of the living speech and dialect of Palestinian Aramaic. To prove that this was not so, Kutscher adduced one instance from one Mishnah codex where the pronunciation *rabbouni* is preserved, evidently as a 'Verbesserung': but all that this, in fact, proves is that at least one scribe knew of this particular pronunciation and objected to the probably artificial (Babylonian?) pronunciation *ribboni*. The instance from the Mishnah confirms rather than refutes Kahle's argument: it is a reminiscence of how the word was actually pronounced in Palestinian spoken Aramaic.

In comparison with the extensive Hebrew discoveries, only a small

pp. 46-54.

1. 'Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch: Erwiderung', p. 55.

2. Cf. above, p. 115, and see especially Kutscher, 'Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch', p. 48 n. 11.

3. Kutscher, 'Das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch', p. 53.

number of Aramaic texts have so far come to light at Qumrân. They consist, for the most part, of small fragments, miscellaneous bits and pieces, sometimes containing no more than one word or even just a single letter,[1] and only occasionally extending to several lines of text, as, for instance, in the fragments from 'apocryphal works' (from the *Book of Enoch*, or the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*).[2] Where, in one case, a longer text has existed, it has been preserved in so dilapidated a condition as to be at times barely legible.[3] In view of this situation, the discovery at Qumrân of an entire scroll of twenty-two columns, with approximately thirty-five lines to each column,[4] makes a welcome and significant addition to the Qumrân library, and, in particular, to its sadly decimated Aramaic contents.

Most recently the remains of an ancient *Targum of Job* have been discovered: they consist (a) of twenty-seven small fragments, all that is left of a scroll with twenty-eight columns, containing portions of the text of Job 27.14–36.33; (b) in addition, a scroll of some ten columns with connected text of Job 37.10–43.11. J. van der Ploeg, who has edited the text,[5] thinks the manuscript comes from the first century of the Christian era, and would place the language nearer to Daniel than to the *Genesis Apocryphon*; he estimates the second half of the second century BC as the period of composition of the translation. The translation is literal, not free or paraphrastic, and without haggadic expansions. (It seems to be based on a Hebrew text closer to the Massoretic Text than the LXX.) The editor has been widely followed in his identification of this ancient Targum with the banned Job Targum of the Talmud:[6] it is quite different from the familiar Job

1. See D. Barthélemy, J.T. Milik, with R. de Vaux and others, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD, 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 97, 147.

2. Barthélemy, Milik, DJD, 1, pp. 84, 87.

3. Cf. M. Baillet, 'Fragments araméens de Qumrân 2: Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle', *RB* 62 (1955), pp. 222-45.

4. See N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, xix-xxii* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956).

5. J. van der Ploeg, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumran (11 QtgJob). Première Communication* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche, 1962), p. 15.

6. *B. Šâb.* 115a.

Targum of the Polyglot Bibles.[1] Here we have a literary monument of the written Targum of inestimable importance, posing a whole new set of problems for the Targum's history. The question of the existence of written Targums in the time of Jesus is now relegated *ad acta.*

The now so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* is a kind of *midrash* on Genesis 12 and 14.[2] The date is not absolutely certain, but, if we accept the general conclusions of the archaeologists, the scroll itself must have been written before AD 70. Affinities with the apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha (especially the *Book of Jubilees*) support this early dating. Before sufficient number of characteristic Aramaic idioms of a particular period can be adduced to identify the period of the scroll by linguistic criteria, we shall have to await publication of the whole text.[3] The published folios, however, already yield one important philological fact: the scroll makes use of the Aramaic temporal conjunction באדין, אדין (e.g., col. 22, lines 2, 18, 20), found no less than twenty-six times in Daniel alone, but *never* in Targumic Aramaic. Mr. Peter Coxon has drawn my attention to the employment of *'ashkah,* literally, 'to find', in the sense of 'to be able', at IQapGen 21.13.[4] The use of εὑρίσκειν in this sense is a well-known Gospel Aramaism,[5] but hitherto the meaning 'to be able' for *'ashkah* has been attested in Syriac only. Further close affinity with East Aramaic is attested by the form אבי at 1QapGen 2, 19, 24, where *Neofiti* and all Jewish Targums have the familiar אבא, attested for the Gospel period by its transcription in the NT. The presence of the form with final yodh in West Aramaic is not only an indication of the great antiquity of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, but, in view of the firmly attested *Abba* for first-century Aramaic, clear evidence that the split

1. See W. Bacher, 'Das Targum zu Hiob', *MGWJ* 21 (1871), pp. 208-23.

2. Earlier I was inclined to regard the so-called 'Apocryphon' as a 'Targum' ('The Recovery of the Language of Jesus', pp. 309ff.; *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* [London: Nelson, 1961]): in fact, it is much more of the character of a *midrash* than a targum.

3. The 'apocryphon' has been made the subject of an extensive linguistic study by E.Y. Kutscher of Jerusalem: 'The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon', *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1957), pp. 1-35.

4. See now also J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), p. 134.

5. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd edn, 1967), p. 133.

between west and east was pre-Christian.

The discovery of fragments of an Aramaic *Enoch* in Cave 4 at Qumrân was first made known in a communication of Père J. T. Milik to the *Revue Biblique* in January 1956,[1] though the first fragments had been identified by Pères de Vaux and Milik as early as September 1952. Milik's communication mentioned eight different manuscripts of *1 Enoch*, all in Aramaic and containing portions of four out of the five books of *Enoch*. Three manuscripts contained Book 3 only, the astronomical section, in a much larger, more detailed and more intelligible redaction than that of the Ethiopic version, in which alone this section is otherwise extant; two of these manuscripts seem to have practically identical texts. So too in the earlier books, where the fragments happen to contain the same portions of the text, different manuscripts offer an almost identical text. One fragment purporting to be a letter of Enoch which Milik conjectured was addressed to a certain Shamazya and his companions, is not found in any of the versions. Book 5 was contained in a small scroll which Milik suggested was possibly the original of the *Epistle of Enoch* of the Chester Beatty–Michigan Papyrus (*Enoch* 97.6–107.3).

In this preliminary announcement Milik drew attention to the complete absence of any fragment from Book 2, the *Book of the Parables* (containing the famous Son of Man passages which have been the subject of so much controversy). This omission, Milik ventured to add, could scarcely be accidental.

So far two only of these fragments have been published, in an article by Milik in the *Revue Biblique* entitled 'Hénoch au Pays des Aromates'.[2] They are fragments containing some eight to ten verses from Book 1, chs. 30, 31, 32. They are typical of the extent and character of the larger fragments which have been preserved. There are several fragments which do have a larger portion of text than these; and these are mostly in the astronomical section of the book. Unfortunately some of these longer fragments are preserved in the Ethiopic version only. The script varies from manuscript to

1. ' "Prière de Nabonide" et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel: Fragments araméens de Qumrân 4 (Pl. I)', *RB* 63 (1956), pp. 407-15 with addendum.

2. 'Hénoch au pays des aromates (ch. xxvii à xxxii): Fragments araméens de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (Pl. I)', *RB* 65 (1958), pp. 70-77. [See now Black's *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Leiden: Brill, 1985)—ed.]

manuscript, but is very close in form to that of the *Hymn Scroll* or the *Genesis Apocryphon*. There seems little doubt that they come from the same period, usually put before AD 70.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that we are dealing with 'classical' Aramaic literature of the Daniel–Ezra type, of very considerable, indeed at times remarkable literary merit, both in the *Enoch* poems and in the *Genesis Midrash* which (like the later targums and Midrashim) contains poetic passages. An example is the description of Sarah's beauty at column 20 and the Parable of the Palm and the Cedar at column 19. The second (in Avigad and Yadin's English version) reads:

> And I, Abram, dreamed a dream. . .
> and lo! I saw in my dream one cedar tree and one palm
> . . . And men came and sought to cut down and uproot
> the cedar and to leave the palm by itself.
> And the palm cried out and said, 'Cut not down the cedar. . .'
> And for the sake of the palm the cedar was saved.

(The cedar is Abraham, the palm Sarah, through whose offer of herself Abraham was saved in Egypt.) These are probably the closest literary parallels we possess in Aramaic to the original (poetic) parables and poems of Jesus.

It is abundantly clear that linguistically these newly discovered Aramaic scrolls belong to the period of the Daniel-type or *Reichsaramäisch* (or classical Aramaic). Both from a linguistic and a literary point of view they are invaluable witnesses to the Aramaic language and literature of the time of Christ.

The problem of the original language (or languages) of Jesus has been reopened more than once in recent years. A.W. Argyle and others have sponsored the claims of the *Koine* as a 'second language' of Jesus.[1] The Qumrân discoveries have also shed fresh light on the problem. M. Wilcox writes:

> With regard to the matter of language, we ought to note that the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has now placed at our disposal information of a highly interesting and relevant nature. . . The non-Biblical texts show us a *free, living language,* and attest the fact that in New Testament times, and

1. A.W. Argyle, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', pp. 92-93, 383; J.K. Russell, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', p. 246; H.M. Draper, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', p. 317, all in *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56).

> for some considerable time previously, Hebrew was not confined to Rabbinical circles by any means, but appeared *as a normal vehicle of expression.*[1]

It would seem from this description of Hebrew in the time of Christ as a 'free, living language' and 'a normal vehicle of expression' that Wilcox intends us to understand that Hebrew was in fact a spoken Palestinian language in the time of Christ, and not merely a medium of literary expression only or a learned language confined to rabbinical circles (as well, of course, as being the sacred tongue of the Hebrew Scriptures). If this is a correct estimate of the Qumrân evidence, where Hebrew certainly vastly predominates over Aramaic, then it may be held to confirm the view identified with the name of Segal that Hebrew was actually a spoken vernacular in the time of Christ.[2]

This view—or a closely similar one—has been argued in recent years by H. Birkeland of Oslo, who set out, in a learned article,[3] to challenge the usual view that Aramaic was the regular spoken language of first-century Palestine, and, therefore, the spoken language of Jesus: according to Birkeland, Hebrew not Aramaic was the regular and normal language of the Jews in first-century Palestine, and certainly so, so far as the masses of the Jewish people were concerned; it was only the educated upper classes who spoke (or used) Aramaic and only the learned who were familiar with both languages.[4] The Aramaic Targums were intended for the benefit, not of the masses of the people who could understand the Hebrew Scriptures without an Aramaic paraphrase, but for the upper classes who understood Aramaic only.[5] This extreme position has found little if any support among competent authorities: the evidence of the Aramaic *ipsissima verba* of Jesus in the Gospels is impossible to explain if Aramaic was not his normal spoken language.[6] Moreover, it is absurd to suggest that the Hebrew Scriptures were paraphrased for the benefit of the

1. *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 14. My italics.
2. M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 17.
3. *The Language of Jesus* (Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II; Hist. Filos. Klasse; Oslo: Dybwad, 1954).
4. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus*, p. 39.
5. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus*, p. 39.
6. For *effatha*, *Targ. Neof. Gen.* 3.7 marg.

'upper classes'; these Scriptures were provided with a Targum for the benefit of the Aramaic-speaking masses who could no longer understand Hebrew. The use of the term 'Hebrew' to refer to Aramaic is readily explicable, since it described the peculiar *dialect of Aramaic* which had grown up in Palestine since the days of Nehemiah and *which was distinctively Jewish* (with a no doubt distinctive Hebrew script associated with it, and a large proportion of borrowings from classical Hebrew). It is these differences to which the letter of Aristeas is referring and not to two different languages, Hebrew and Aramaic (Syriac).[1]

While this extreme position must be rejected, there is nevertheless a case, certainly for a wider *literary* use of Hebrew in NT times. This much is certain from the Qumrân discoveries. It is also possible, however, as Segal argues, that Hebrew did continue as a spoken tongue; it seems unlikely, however, that this was outside the circles of the learned or the educated, i.e., learned Pharisaic, priestly or Essene circles. We must nevertheless allow possibly more than has been done before for the use of Hebrew in addition to (or instead of) Aramaic by Jesus himself, especially on solemn festive occasions. There is a high degree of probability that Jesus began his career as a Galilaean rabbi who would be well versed in the Scriptures, and able to compose (or converse) as freely in Hebrew as in Aramaic.

1. Cf. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus*, p. 14. See also R.H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT in English*. II. *Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 95. The passage in the Letter of Aristeas reads: '"They (the Hebrew Scriptures) need to be translated", answered Demetrius, "for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet, and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different."' The reference is to the peculiar dialect of Aramaic spoken by the Jews, a dialect of West Aramaic, quite different from Syriac, the dialect of East Aramaic which was in regular use as the standard Aramaic language.

THE LANGUAGES OF PALESTINE IN THE FIRST CENTURY AD

Joseph A. Fitzmyer, SJ*

With the deportation of Palestinian Jews to Babylonia in the early sixth century there began a gradual but distinctive shift in the language habits of the people of Palestine. What had been known as *śᵉpat Kᵉna'an*, 'the language of Canaan' (Isa. 19.18) or *Yᵉhûdît*, 'the language of Judah' (2 Kgs 18.26, 28; Isa. 36.11, 13), or what is often called today classical Hebrew of the pre-exilic period, gave way at first to a more Aramaicized form of the language.[1] Though the two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, had co-existed for several centuries in the Near East before this, Aramaic became the more important of the two, serving as the *lingua franca* during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian empire and during the Persian period. Hebrew is usually regarded today as the more important of the two languages, because it is the tongue of the bulk of the OT. And yet, historically it was restricted to a small area on the southeastern coast of the Mediterranean, whereas Official or Imperial Aramaic was used across a major portion of the Near Eastern world, from Egypt to Asia Minor to Pakistan. Indeed, it gradually supplanted Hebrew in

* This essay is reprinted, with the permission of the author and Scholars Press, and with added bibliography at the author's request, from Joseph A. Fitzmyer, SJ, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 29-56. This essay first appeared in *CBQ* 32 (1970), pp. 501-31.

1. Evidence of this can be found in the Aramaisms in Biblical Hebrew. See M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramäismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966); D.F. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäismen im Alten Testament* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1902); A. Hurvitz, 'The Chronological Significance of "Aramaisms" in Biblical Hebrew', *IEJ* 18 (1968), pp. 234-40. See also A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1906); J. Courtenay James, *The Language of Palestine and Adjacent Regions* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920) (to be used with caution).

most of Palestine itself as the common tongue.[1]

With the conquest of the east by Alexander a new linguistic influence was felt in Palestine. Even prior to the golden age of Greece, its culture had been influencing the eastern Mediterranean world, and Palestine was affected. But the extent to which the Greek language was advancing into the area at an early period is not easy to say. The evidence for the use of Greek in Palestine prior to the third century BC is very sparse indeed, the oldest extant Greek inscription dating from only 277 BC.[2]

Hebrew did not wholly disappear from Palestine, either when Aramaic had become the more common language or when Palestinian Jews gradually began to use Greek. The composition of Daniel and of Ben Sira is an indication of the continued use of it.[3] Though these compositions may point to a learned and literary use of the language, it would be oversimplified to regard it as only that. There were areas or pockets in Palestine, and perhaps even strata of society, where Hebrew continued as a spoken language too. It is often thought that an effort was made to resurrect it (if that is the proper term) at the time of the Maccabean revolt and that the use of Hebrew became a token of

1. Neh. 8.8 may be hinting at this situation. The interpretation of the participle מפרש is quite disputed. Does it mean 'clearly' (RSV)? Or 'with interpretation' (RSV margin)? Cf. Ezra 4.18, where it occurs in a context suggesting translation; but also Ezra 4.7,which uses מתרגם explicitly for this idea. For a recent discussion of the verse and its meaning, see R. Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1966), p. 29.

2. See B. Lifshitz, 'Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik', *ZDPV* 78 (1962), pp. 64-88, esp. 82-84 (and pl. 10), for the Raphia inscription of 217 BC. For an earlier bilingual inscription (Greek and Edomite) on an ostracon, dating from 277 BC, see the dissertation of L.T. Geraty, *Third-Century BC Ostraca from Khirbet el-Kom* (dissertation summary in *HTR* 65 [1972], pp. 595-96); also his article, 'The Khirbet el-Kom Bilingual Ostracon', *BASOR* 220 (1975), pp. 55-61.

3. This evidence depends on the usual interpretation of Sir. 50.27, that 'Yeshua ben Eleazar ben Sira', of Jerusalem composed his book in Palestine c. 180 BC and that the Book of Daniel took its final protocanonical form there within a short time after the Maccabean revolt, c. 165 BC. Parts of Daniel, however, especially the Aramaic stories about the hero at the Persian court, may well be older, as some scholars have argued. For an important discussion of this view, see K.A. Kitchen, 'The Aramaic of Daniel', in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (London: Tyndale Press, 1965), pp. 31-79. If this is so, it makes little difference to the issue being discussed here.

one's loyalty to the national effort.[1] If the origins of the Qumran Essene community are rightly related to the aftermath of the revolt, this may explain why the majority of the Qumran texts discovered to date were written in Hebrew and composed at a time when most Palestinian Jews were thought to be speaking Aramaic. These texts, of course, do not tell us how much Hebrew was *spoken* among the Essenes, because they bear witness only to what is called a 'neo-classical Hebrew', a form of the language that may be only literary. Since, however, the majority of the sectarian literature was composed in Hebrew, this seems to mean that it was being spoken. But in any case, the use of Hebrew for such compositions did not exclude the use of Aramaic; the latter is also found in the Qumran fragments, but not to the same extent as the Hebrew. A few fragments of an Old Greek translation of the OT were also found in Qumran Cave IV; they suggest that at least some of the community were reading Greek, and possibly speaking it.[2] The relative paucity of the Greek texts in comparison with the Hebrew and Aramaic is noteworthy.

With the advent of the Romans in 63 BC and the conquest of Pompey, Latin too was introduced into the area. Again, the evidence for its early use is exceedingly sparse.[3] Yet it must be considered

1. See J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1959), p. 130.

2. See P.W. Skehan, 'The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism', in *Volume du congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), pp. 148-60, esp. 155-57 (4QLXX Num [3.40-42; 4.6-9]; 4QLXX Lev[a] [26.2-16]). See also the Greek papyrus fragments discovered in Qumran Cave VII, where apparently nothing but Greek texts were found (M. Baillet *et al.*, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], pp. 142-47). They have been dated by C.H. Roberts to c. 100–50 BC. 7Q1 is a fragment of Exod. 28.4-7; 7Q2 is a fragment of the Letter of Jeremy (vv. 43-44). For an attempt to interpret the Greek texts of Qumran Cave VII as Christian, see the writings of J. O'Callaghan cited in my book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 119-23. P.W. Skehan informs me that there are also three pieces of non-biblical Greek texts in Cave IV; they are as yet unpublished but are apparently of literary and liturgical character. For the view that the Aramaic texts of Qumran are of non-Essene origin, see J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Study of the Aramaic Background of the NT', in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 8-9.

3. The earliest Latin texts from Palestine that I have been able to uncover are all dated to the first century AD. L. Kadman (*The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*

among the languages of Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era.

This very brief historical sketch provides the background for the use of four languages in Palestine about the time when Christianity emerged. The complex linguistic picture that they created is not easy to draw. Yet that complexity bears on a number of problems in the interpretation of the NT and of intertestamental writings. It bears too on the use and interpretation of the targums. My topic is one that has been discussed many times over during the last century and the opinions expressed have often been in favor of one language over another; the topic is vast and my treatment here can only hope to survey it without going into great detail.

In speaking of first-century Palestine, I would like to include the first part of the second century too, up to the time of the Second Revolt against Rome (AD 132-135), since this marks a logical cut-off point in the history of Palestine and is often regarded as the end of the NT era. The sources that I shall be using in this discussion will be both literary and epigraphic.

1. *Latin*

I shall begin with the latest language to appear on the scene and work back to the oldest. The evidence of Latin in first-century Palestine indicates that it was used mainly by the Romans who occupied the land and for more or less official purposes. Thus there are dedicatory inscriptions on buildings and aqueducts, funerary inscriptions on tombstones of Roman legionnaires who died in Palestine, milestones on Roman roads with Latin inscriptions,[1] and the ubiquitous Roman terracotta tiles stamped with various abbreviations of the Tenth Legion, the *Legio decima fretensis* (LX, LXF, LXFRE, LEXFR, LCXF, LEG X F).[2]

[Jerusalem: Schocken, 1957]) lists no coins from Caesarea with Latin inscriptions before the time of Domitian.

1. M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Development of the Roman Road System in Palestine', *IEJ* 1 (1950–51), pp. 54-60. Some of the milestones were erected in both Latin and Greek; see B. Lifshitz, *Latomus* 19 (1960), p. 111 (and pl. IV). Cf. *Année épigraphique* 1925, §95; 1927, §151; 1948, §142.

2. The Tenth Legion was transferred from northern Syria to Palestine (Ptolemais) by Nero, who put it under the command of Vespasian. See D. Barag, 'Brick Stamp-Impressions of the *Legio X Fretensis*', in *E.L. Sukenik Memorial Volume (1899–*

Two of the most interesting Latin inscriptions have only recently come to light and both of them are from Caesarea Maritima, the town rebuilt by Herod the Great between 22 and 9 BC in honor of Augustus, which eventually became the seat of the Roman governor. Tacitus called it *caput Iudaeae* (*Hist.* 2.78.10). One of the inscriptions comes from the architrave of a building in Caesarea and partly preserves the name of the Roman colony established by the emperor Vespasian. It reads:[1]

[COLONIAE] PRIMAE FL(aviae) AVG(vstae) [Caesareae?]
[CLEO]PATRA MATER EIVS HOC F(ieri) I(vssit)

The other is the now famous fragment of a dedicatory inscription on a building, the Tiberieum, that Pontius Pilate erected in honor of the emperor Tiberius. It reads:[2]

1953) (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1967), pp. 168-82 [Hebrew; English summary, p. 73*]. This article has an ample bibliography on the subject. See further N. Avigad, 'Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1969–70 (Preliminary Report)', *IEJ* 20 (1970), pp. 1-8, esp. 3; B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969–1970* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 1971), p. 5 (fig. 6); 'Excavations near the Temple Mount', *Qadmoniot* 5 (1972), pp. 74-90, esp. 83 (an inscription mentioning LEG X FR and Lucius Flavius Silva, governor of Judea, AD 73–79/80); J. Olami and J. Ringel, 'New Inscriptions of the Tenth Legion Fretensis from the High Level Aqueduct of Caesarea', *IEJ* 25 (1975), pp. 148-50; cf. *Qadmoniot* 7 (1974), pp. 44-46; G.B. Sarfatti, 'A Fragmentary Roman Inscription in the Turkish Wall of Jerusalem', *IEJ* 25 (1975), p. 151. Cf. D. Bahat, 'A Roof Tile of the Legio VI Ferrata and Pottery Vessels from Horvat Hazon', *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 160-69. See also R. Hestrin (ed.), *IR* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973), §217.

1. A. Negev, 'Caesarea Maritima', *Christian News from Israel* 11/4 (1960), pp. 17-22; 'New Inscriptions from the High Level Aqueduct of Caesarea', *Yediot* 30 (1966), pp. 135-41 [Hebrew]; B. Lifshitz, 'Inscriptions latines de Césarée (Caesarea Palestinae)', *Latomus* 22 (1963), pp. 783-84; *Année épigraphique* 1964, §188; cf. K. Zangmeister, 'Inschrift der vespasianischen Colonie Caesarea in Palästina', *ZDPV* 13 (1890), pp. 25-30; A. Negev, 'Inscriptions hébraïques, grecques et latines de Césarée Maritime', *RB* 78 (1971), pp. 247-63 (and pls. I-IX); J. Ringel, 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions de l'aquéduc de Césarée Maritime', *RB* 81 (1974), pp. 597-600. Cf. M. Gichon and B.H. Isaac, 'A Flavian Inscription from Jerusalem', *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 117-23.

2. This fragmentary inscription was found in the northern part of the orchestra of the Roman theatre of Caesarea. In the fourth century the stone was used as part of a

[TI(berio) CAES(are) AVG(vsto) V CO(n)]S(vle) TIBERIEVM
[PO]NTIVS PILATVS
[PRAEF]ECTVS IVDA[EA]E
[ ]'[ ]

This inscription thus attests the official use of Latin in Palestine, prior to AD 36, the year of Pilate's recall to Rome. It also records the historical presence of Pilate in Judea, a fact scarcely doubted,[1] but never

small stairway which was then being constructed; the stairway was obviously more important than the memory of the man mentioned on the stone. See A. Frova, 'L'iscrizione di Ponzio Pilato a Cesarea', *Rendiconti dell'istituto lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere*, cl. di lettere, 95 (1961), pp. 419-34; 'Quattro campagne di scavo della missione archeologica milanese a Caesarea Maritima (Israele) 1959–1962', in *Atti del convegno La Lombardia e l'Oriente* (Milan: Istituto Lombardo, 1963), p. 175. Also J. Vardaman, 'A New Inscription Which Mentions Pilate as "Prefect"', *JBL* 81 (1962), pp. 70-71; Lifshitz, 'Inscriptions latines', p. 783; J.H. Gauze, *Ecclesia* 174 (1963), p. 137; A. Calderini, 'L'inscription de Ponce Pilate à Césarée', *BTS* 57 (1963), pp. 8-19; A. Degrassi, 'Sull'iscrizione di Ponzio Pilato', *ANL Rendiconti*, cl. di sc. morali, 8/19 (1964), fasc. 3-4, pp. 59-65; E. Stauffer, 'Die Pilatusinschrift von Caesarea', *Erlangen Universitätsreden* 12 (1965) [Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 1966]; L.A. Yelnitzky, 'The Caesarea Inscription of Pontius Pilate and its Historical Significance', *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 3 (93, 1965), pp. 142-46 [Russian]; C. Brusa Gerra, 'Le iscrizioni', in *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milan: Istituto Lombardo, 1965), pp. 217-20; A.N. Sherwin-White, Review of A. Frova, 'L'iscrizione. . . ', *JRS* 54 (1964), pp. 258-59; H. Volkmann, *Gymnasium* 75 (1968), pp. 124-35; E. Weber, 'Zur Inschrift des Pontius Pilatus', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971), pp.194-200; E. Schürer, *HJPAJC* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, rev. edn, 1973), I, pp. 357-59. Cf. L.I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological–Topographical Study* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1975), pp. 19-21.

Various attempts have been made to restore line 1: (a) Frova: [CAESARIEN]S(ibus)—Pilate would have dedicated the Tiberieum to the citizens of Caesarea; (b) Lifshitz: [TIB(erio) CAES(are) AVG(vsto) V? CON]S(vle)—the date of the inscription in Tiberius's fifth(?) consulate; (c) Degrassi: [DIS AVGVSTI]S—Pilate dedicates the building to Augustus and Livia, who were considered *theoi sebastoi* in the east.

The name *Tiberieum* is not attested elsewhere, but it is similar to *Hadrianeum* (*RB* 4 [1895], pp. 75-76), *Kaisareion*, and *Agrippeion* (Jos. *War* 1.21.1 §402). The accent in the fourth line was probably over an E (possibly [D]É[DICAVIT] or [D]É[DIT] or [F]É[CIT].

1. Josephus mentions him (*Ant.* 18.2.2 §35; 18.3.1-3 §55-64; 18.4.1-2 §87-89; 18.6.5 §177), as does also Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 38, §299-305). Cf. Mk 15.1-44; Mt. 27.2-65; Lk. 3.1; 13.1; 23.1-52; Jn 18.29-38; 19.1-38; Acts 3.13; 4.27; 13.28; 1

before attested epigraphically. Finally, it confirms the suggestion made by Roman historians that Pilate's official title was not *procurator*,[1] but rather *praefectus*.[2]

Such Latin inscriptions as these illustrate the information supplied by Josephus who tells us that prohibitions forbidding non-Jews to enter the inner courts of the Jerusalem temple were erected along the stone balustrades surrounding them, 'some in Greek, and some in Latin characters', αἱ μὲν ἑλληνικοῖς, αἱ δὲ ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν.[3] Though exemplars of this warning have been found in Greek,[4] none has yet turned up in Latin. Such a prohibition carrying the death penalty would understandably be erected in Greek and Latin to warn foreign visitors little acquainted with the Semitic languages. But one cannot restrict the understanding of them to foreigners alone. Josephus also mentions decrees of Caesar concerning the Jews which were formulated in Latin as well as in Greek.[5]

Tim. 6.13. Cf. F. Morison [= A.H. Ross], *And Pilate Said: A New Study of the Roman Procurator* (New York: Scribners, 1940); Paul L. Maier, *Pontius Pilate* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968).

1. As Tacitus entitled him proleptically (*Ann.* 15.44.2); cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 21.18, 'Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte romana procuranti' (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 69.57); Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 38 §299, Πιλᾶτος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεδειγμένος τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Philo's text may well reflect the shift in title that apparently took place about the time of the emperor Claudius (c. AD 46). Latin *praefectus* was usually rendered in Greek as ἔπαρχος, and *procurator* as ἐπίτροπος.

2. See O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin: Wiedman, 2nd edn, 1905), pp. 382-83; A.N. Sherwin-White, 'Procurator Augusti', *Paper of the British School at Rome* 15 (1939), pp. 11-26; *Society and Roman Law in the NT* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 6, 12; A.H.M. Jones, 'Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate', in *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), pp. 115-25; Schürer, *HJPAJC* 1/2 (1905), p. 45; rev. edn (1973), I, pp. 357-59; H.G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950), pp. 23-25.

3. 'Proceeding across this [open court] towards the second court of the temple, one found it surrounded by a stone balustrade, three cubits high and of exquisite workmanship; in this at regular intervals stood slabs giving warning, some in Greek, others in Latin characters, of the law of purification, to wit that no foreigner was permitted to enter the holy place' (*War* 5.5.2 §193-94). Cf. *Ant.* 15.11.5 §417; Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 31 §212; Acts 21.26-30.

4. See p. 140.

5. *Ant.* 14.10.2 §191.

All of this makes intelligible the action of Pilate recorded in the Fourth Gospel,[1] writing the official title on Jesus' cross ῥωμαϊστί 'in Latin', as well as ἑβραϊστί and ἑλληνιστί (Jn 19.20).

This evidence points to an official use of Latin in Palestine by Romans which might have been expected. From the period between the two revolts there are four (or five) fragmentary papyrus Latin texts which were found in the caves of Murabba'at. Though they are so fragmentary that one cannot be certain about their contents, yet one of them (Mur 158) seems to have been an official, archival copy of a document belonging to the Roman invaders.[2] Part of a Roman name is preserved on it, *C. Iulius R*[...].

There are also a few funerary inscriptions, one of them marking the burial of a Roman soldier of the Tenth Legion, Lucius Magniu[s] Felix.[3] From the same period come other Latin inscriptions too, for example, one belonging to a monument, possibly an altar, dedicated to Jupiter Sarapis and found in Jerusalem itself. It is dated to AD 116, and invokes Jupiter for the health and victory of the emperor Trajan.[4]

Such evidence is precious, indeed, because it is not abundant. It says, however, little about the amount of Latin that might have been spoken in Palestine by the indigenous population, despite the long time since the Roman occupation began in 63 BC.[5] But one reason for this is that Greek was still a common means of communication not only between Romans in the provinces, but also between the capital and the provinces. Greek was still more or less the *lingua franca* in the Near East.

1. A similar notice is also found in some mss of Lk. 23.38 (S*, C, A, D, W, the Koine tradition, etc.); but it is undoubtedly due to scribal harmonization.

2. See P. Benoit, J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'ât* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 270-74 (Mur 158-63).

3. *CIL*, 3.14155.3; Thomsen §178 (cf. G. Jeffery, *PEFQS* 29 [1898], p. 35).

4. *CIL*, 2.13587; Thomsen §1 (cf. F.J. Bliss, *PEFQS* 26 [1895], p. 25). For other Latin inscriptions of this period, see Thomsen §92, 237; *Année épigraphique* 1927, §151; Z. Vilnay, *PEFQS* (1928), pp. 45-47 (cf. D. Barag, *IEJ* 14 [1964], pp. 250-52), 108-109; A. Negev, *IEJ* 14 (1964) 237-49, esp. 244-48; Y. Yadin, 'The Excavation of Masada. 1963–64: Preliminary Report', *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 1-120, esp. 110.

5. See T. Frankfort, 'Présence de Rome en Israël', *Latomus* 19 (1960), pp. 708-23.

2. *Greek*

Greek culture had been increasingly affecting the Jews of Palestine for some time prior to the conquest of Alexander.[1] The influence of this culture continued after his conquest, especially with the Hellenizing efforts of the Lagide and Seleucid kings, and even with the Herods. Greek cities were founded in Palestine and older towns were transformed into *poleis*. Alexander himself ordered the reconstruction of Gaza. The names of some towns of the Decapolis, Pella and Dion, reveal the early Macedonian influence. Under Lagide domination Acco became Ptolemais and Rabbat-Ammon became Philadelphia, another town of the Decapolis. Philoteria was established under the same influence on the western shore of Lake Gennesareth, and Joppa was Hellenized. Ancient Beth-shan was conquered by Antiochus III the Great in 218 BC and became Scythopolis. The Hellenization continued under Herod the Great, who transformed the ancient town of Strato's Tower into Caesarea Maritima, Samaria into Sebaste, and established a number of other towns and fortresses throughout the country on Greek models (Antipatris, Phasaelis, Antonia at Jerusalem, etc.). Nor did his heirs desist from such activity, because to them is ascribed the founding of such places as Caesarea Philippi, Tiberias, Bethsaida

1. D. Auscher, 'Les relations entre la Grèce et la Palestine avant la conquête d'Alexandre', *VT* 17 (1967), pp. 8-30. Auscher's evidence consists of three things: (a) the remains of Greek pottery in Palestine; (b) Greek coins and Palestinian imitations of them; (c) the problematic Proto-Ionic pillar capitals. Cf. Kitchen, 'The Aramaic of Daniel', pp. 44-50. Kitchen amasses all sorts of evidence for Greek influence in the Near East from the eighth century on: Greek pottery in many places, Greek mercenaries, Greek papyri in fourth-century Egypt, etc. But his evidence is drawn from all over the Near East, and his argumentation about the two or three Greek words in Elephantine Aramaic papyri says nothing about the influence of Greek on Palestinian Aramaic. Cf. W.F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Baltimore: Penguin, rev. edn, 1960), pp. 143-44; *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1946), pp. 256-61. Clear evidence of Greek (and Roman) arts and mythology in first-century Palestine can now be found in artifacts from the Cave of Letters of Wadi Habra; see Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 49-64, esp. 52. See now the monumental treatment of this subject by M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).

Julias. In all some thirty towns of the area have been counted that were either Greek foundations or transformed *poleis*.[1] These Hellenistic cities dotted the countryside of Palestine for several centuries prior to the first Christian century and were clearly centers from which the Greek language spread to less formally Hellenistic towns, such as Jerusalem, Jericho, or Nazareth. As in the case of the Roman occupiers of the land, the new language was undoubtedly used at first in official texts, decrees, and inscriptions, and from such use it spread to the indigenous population.

However, it is not possible to document the use of Greek in Palestine prior to Alexander or to indicate what influence it might have had then. The earliest Greek text found there is apparently the bilingual Edomite–Greek ostracon dated in the sixth year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (227 BC), discovered in the spring of 1971 at Khirbet el-Kom, along with other ostraca (see my third note above). Prior to this discovery the earliest known inscription was that erected by Anaxikles, a priest of the royal cult of Ptolemy IV Philopator, who was installed at Joppa shortly after the Egyptian victory over Antiochus III at Raphia in 217 BC. It gives clear evidence of the use of the language by foreigners, but says little about the use of it by the indigenous population.

When the Hellenization of Palestine under Antiochus IV Epiphanes began, his efforts were aided by the Jews themselves, as both 1 Maccabees and Josephus make clear.[2] There seems to be little doubt that the use of the Greek language was part of this assistance.[3]

1. See V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), pp. 90-116. Cf. the Hepsiba Slab of 195 BC (*IR* §214).

2. 1 Macc. 1.11-15; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.5.1 §240 (τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πολιτείαν ἔχειν, 'adopt the Greek way of life' [R. Marcus, LCL, 7.123]). This Jewish support scarcely substantiates the thesis once proposed by I. Voss that Greek became the only language spoken in Palestine since Alexander.

3. For further Greek epigraphic material from Palestine in the last two centuries BC, see the graffiti from Marisa (*SEG*, 8. §247-51; E. Oren, *Archaeology* 18 [1965], pp. 218-24); a dedication to Serapis and Isis from Samaria, probably dating from the end of the third century BC (*SEG*, 8. §95); a sepulchral poem from Gaza of the third century BC (*SEG*, 8. §269); a Gazara (Gezer) graffito, dated c. 142 BC and bearing on 1 Macc. 13.43, 48 (*CII* §1184; Gabba §9); the dedication to Zeus Soter from Ptolemais, c. 130–129 BC (*SEG*, 19. §904; 20. §413); an inscribed handle of the same period from Joppa (*SEG*, 18. §627; cf. *SEG*, 9. §252-60 [Marisa]); an

Antiochus's reign, however, lasted only a little over a decade, and in its aftermath, the Maccabean revolt, the book of Daniel was reduced to its final form. In the Aramaic stories that form part of that book one finds the first clear instance of Greek invading a Palestinian Aramaic text. In Dan. 3.5 the names of three of the musical instruments, 'the lyre, the harp, and the bagpipe' (RSV—קיתרוס < Gk. κίθαρις, פסנתרין < ψαλτήριον; סומפניה < συμφωνία), are all given in slightly Aramaicized forms of clearly Greek names.[1] Further evidence

execration from Marisa, dated before 128 BC (*SEG*, 8. §246; Gabba §10); the dedication to Herod the Great on a statue from Bashan, dated c. 23 BC (*OGIS* §415; Gabba §12); the second-century list of priests of the temple of Zeus Olympios at Samaria (*SEG*, 8. §96); a second-century inscription about Antiochus VII Sidetes from Acre (Y.H. Landau, *IEJ* 11 [1961], pp. 118-26; J. Schwartz, *IEJ* 12 [1962], pp. 135-36); the votive offering on an altar to Syrian gods, Hadad and Atargatis, from Ptolemais, probably from the second century BC (*SEG*, 18. §622). Y.H. Landau ('A Greek Inscription Found Near Hefzibah', *IEJ* 16 [1966], pp. 54-70) has published an unusual inscription recording orders issued by Antiochus III and his eldest son, the junior king Antiochus, for the benefit of Ptolemaios, the military governor (στρατηγός) and high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, along with the memoranda sent by Ptolemaios to the king. The documents come from the time of the Fifth Syrian War, begun by Antiochus III in 202–201, and are variously dated between 202 and 195 BC. Part of the orders include the royal instruction to record them on stone stelae or white tablets in the villages. The above list scarcely pretends to be exhaustive for this period. See further, Y. Meshorer, 'A Stone Weight from the Reign of Herod', *IEJ* 20 (1970), pp. 97-98 (with a Greek inscription dated to the 32nd year of Herod, 9 BC); K. Treu, 'Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich', *Kairos* 15 (1973), pp. 124-44.

1. Part of the evidence that these words are foreign in the Aramaic text is the lack of the distinctive Aramaic ending on them in contrast to the names of other instruments in the same verse. These are the only words of certain Greek origin in Daniel; it is significant that they are the names of musical instruments and were probably borrowed with the importation of the instruments themselves. Since they are isolated instances and technical words, it is difficult to say to what extent they are a gauge of the influence of Greek on Palestinian Semitic languages. See T.C. Mitchell and R. Joyce, 'The Musical Instruments in Nebuchadrezzar's Orchestra', in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, pp. 19-27. Cf. E.M. Yamauchi, 'The Greek Words in Daniel in the Light of Greek Influence in the Near East', in *New Perspectives on the OT* (ed. J.B. Payne; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970), pp. 170-200. Other words which were once thought to be Greek derivatives (e.g., *pitgām* in Dan. 3.16, allegedly from either ἐπίταγμα or φθέγμα), are more correctly recognized today as of Persian origin. See S. Telegdi, 'Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique', *JA* 226 (1935),

of Greek influence is seen also in the linguistic problem of the book as a whole; in its protocanonical form it is composed in two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, but in its deuterocanonical form, Greek appears. This influence is further seen in other apocryphal and deuterocanonical compositions in Greek by Jews, such as 1 Esdras, 2 Maccabees, and the additions to Esther (to mention only those writings that are probably of Palestinian origin).

Though the names of a host of Hellenistic Jewish litterateurs who wrote in Greek are known,[1] and some fragments of their writings are preserved in patristic authors such as Clement of Alexandria,[2] or Eusebius of Caesarea,[3] there are only a few whose writings are related to first-century Palestine. The most important of these are Justus of Tiberias and Flavius Josephus, both of whom wrote mainly historical works. The first was the bitter opponent of Josephus in the First Revolt against Rome, a man of Hellenistic education and noted for his eloquence, the author of Ἱστορία ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου τοῦ κατὰ Οὐεσπασιάνου.[4]

Josephus tells us something about his own knowledge of Greek and about his use of it to compose his works. At the end of the *Antiquities*, he says of himself:

> My compatriots admit that in our Jewish learning (παρ' ἡμῖν παιδείαν) I far excel them. But I labored hard to steep myself in Greek prose [and poetic learning], after having gained a knowledge of Greek grammar; but the constant use of my native tongue (πάτριος... συνήθεια) hindered my achieving precision in pronunciation. For our people do not welcome those who have mastered the speech of many nations or adorn their style

pp. 177-256, esp. 253; H.H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1930), pp. 199-296 (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), p. 272.

1. A convenient list of them can be found in C. Colpe, 'Jüdisch-hellenistische Literatur', in *Der kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike* (Stuttgart: A. Drückenmüller, 1967), II, pp. 1507-12; cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *JNES* 1 (1942), pp. 315-28.

2. *Stromata* 1.21-23 §141-55 (GCS, 15, pp. 87-98).

3. *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.22-28 (GCS, 43/1, pp. 512-27).

4. Most of what we know about him comes from the not unbiased account in Josephus (*Life* §34-41, 65, 88, 175-78, 186, 279, 336-40, 355-60, 390-93, 410). Josephus severely criticized his ability as an historian (§336, 357-58), but openly admitted his good Greek training. Cf. Eusebius, *History of the Church* 3.10.8 (GCS, 9/1, p. 226); F. Jacoby, PW 10/2 (1919), pp. 1341-46; S. Krauss, 'Justus of Tiberias', *Jewish Encyclopedia* 7 (1904), pp. 398-99; C. Muller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris: Didot, 1848–74), III, p. 523.

> with smoothness of diction, because they consider that such skill is not only common to ordinary freemen but that even slaves acquire it, if they so choose. Rather, they give credit for wisdom to those who acquire an exact knowledge of the Law and can interpret the Holy Scriptures. Consequently, though many have laboriously undertaken this study, scarcely two or three have succeeded (in it) and reaped the fruit of their labors.[1]

Several points should be noted in Josephus's statement. First, his record of a popular boastful attitude that the learning of Greek would be an ordinary achievement for many Palestinians, even for freemen and slaves, if they wanted to do so. The attitude is at least condescending. Secondly, such learning was not so much esteemed as knowledge of the Mosaic Law and the interpretation of Scripture. Thirdly, Josephus testifies about the efforts that he personally made to acquire a good command of Greek. Fourthly, he also gives the impression that few Palestinian Jews of his day could speak Greek well.

From other places in his writings we know that he acted as an interpreter for Titus, speaking 'in his native tongue' to the populace toward the end of the war.[2] Titus himself had addressed the Jews of Palestine in Greek, but preferred to have Josephus parley with them *hebraïzōn*. This may suggest that Palestinian Jews did not understand Greek very well, and bear out the comment of Josephus himself cited above. However, J.N. Sevenster has plausibly noted that we do not know how well Titus himself could speak Greek.[3] Hence Josephus's task as interpreter does not necessarily mean that little Greek was actually understood.

Again Josephus informs us that he composed his *Jewish War* originally 'in his native tongue' (τῇ πατρίῳ [γλώσσῃ]), destining it for

1. *Ant.* 20.12.1 §263-65. The interpretation of these words of Josephus is notoriously different and the manuscript tradition in this passage is not firm. For a recent discussion of the problems involved in an interpretation largely identical with mine, see J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 65-71.

2. τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ (*War* 5.9.2 §361). Cf. 6.2.1 §96; 6.2.5 §129; 6.6.2 §327.

3. *Do You Know Greek?*, pp. 63-65. Sevenster compares the emperor Claudius's excellent command of Greek with the halting use of it by the emperor Augustus, who was, nevertheless, greatly interested in it and intensely applied himself to the study of it (see Suetonius, *Vita Claudii* §42; *Vita Augusti* §89).

Parthians, Babylonians, the tribes of Arabia, Jews beyond the Euphrates and in Adiabene.[1] This destination almost certainly implies that it was originally written in the *lingua franca*, Aramaic.[2] Josephus subsequently translated this composition into Greek (ἑλλαδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλών),[3] to provide subjects of the Roman empire with his version of the Palestinian revolt. What a problem this was for him he reveals in the *Antiquities*, where he still looks on Greek as 'foreign and unfamiliar'.[4] And yet, despite this attitude, the end-product of his efforts has been hailed as 'an excellent specimen of Atticistic Greek of the first century'.[5]

But the real difficulty in this testimony of Josephus is that his Greek writings were composed in Rome, not in Palestine; and he frankly admits that he composed the Greek version of the *Jewish War* in the leisure that Rome afforded, 'making use of some assistants for the sake of the Greek' (χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνέργοις).[6] Presumably, other Jewish authors in Palestine who might have wanted to write in Greek could have found there comparable assistants. This may seem to have been essential for literary composition, but it says little about the degree of communication between Palestinian Jews in Greek.

If Josephus's testimony leaves the picture of Greek in first-century Palestine unclear, there are many other considerations that persuade us that Greek was widely used at this time and not only in the clearly Hellenized towns, but in many others as well. Indeed, there are some indications that Palestinian Jews in some areas may have used nothing

1. *War* 1.1.2 §6.

2. This is also the opinion of F. Büchsel, 'Die griechische Sprache der Juden in der Zeit der Septuaginta und des Neuen Testaments', *ZAW* 60 (1944), pp. 132-49, esp. 140. But H. Birkeland (*The Language of Jesus* [Oslo: Dybwad, 1954], pp. 13-14) contests this view: 'That Josephus should name Aramaic "the ancestral language", when he knows the difference between this language and Hebrew, cannot seriously be maintained'. He insists that Josephus was using the common language of Palestine, which was Hebrew.

3. *War* 1.1.1 §3.

4. *Ant.* 1.1.2 §7 (εἰς ἀλλοδάπην ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου συνήθειαν).

5. H.St J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1929), p. 104.

6. *Apion* 1.9 §50.

else but Greek. Reasons for considering the matter in this way may now be briefly set forth.

There is first the epigraphic material. Several famous Greek inscriptions are extant from this period. There is the Greek inscription forbidding non-Jews to enter the inner courts of the Jerusalem temple,[1] the Jerusalem synagogue inscription which commemorates its building by Theodotos Vettenos, a priest and leader of the synagogue,[2] the hymn inscribed in the necropolis of Marisa,[3] the edict of Augustus (or some first-century Roman emperor) found at Nazareth concerning the violation of tombs,[4] the Capernaum dedicatory inscription,[5] and the numberless ossuary inscriptions, some written in Greek alone, others in Greek and Hebrew (or Aramaic) from the vicinity of Jerusalem.[6] In several cases the Greek inscriptions on these ossuaries

1. Two exemplars of this inscription have been found; the better preserved is in the Istanbul Museum, the other in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. See *OGIS*, 2. §598; *SEG*, 8. §169; 20. §477; Thomsen, *ZDPV* 44 (1921), pp. 7-8; K. Galling (ed.), *TGI* §52; Gabba §24; C.K. Barrett, *NTB* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), §47. Two modern falsified reproductions of it have also been reported; see W.R. Taylor, *JPOS* 13 [1933], pp. 137-39. See p. 132 n. 3 above for Josephus's description of such inscriptions.

2. See R. Weill, *REJ* 71 (1920), pp. 30-34; Thomsen, p. 261; *SEG*, 8. §170; 20. §478; *Année épigraphique* 1922, §117; *CII*, 2. §1404; Gabba §23; *TGI* §54; Barrett, *NTB* §50.

3. *SEG*, 8. §244; cf. H.W. Garrod, 'Locrica', *Classical Review* 37 (1923), pp. 161-62; H. Lamer, 'Der Kalypso-Graffito in Marissa (Palästina)', *ZDPV* 54 (1931), pp. 59-67.

4. This inscription begins διάταγμα Καίσαρος; but it is neither certainly attributed to Augustus nor certainly of Nazareth provenience. See F. Cumont, 'Un rescrit impérial sur la violation de sépulture', *Revue historique* 163 (1930), pp. 241-66; cf. S. Lösch, *Diatagma Kaisaros: Die Inschrift von Nazareth und das Neue Testament* (Freiburg: Herder, 1936); S. Riccobono, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani, pars prima: Leges* (Florence: Barbera, 1941), pp. 414-16; J. Schmitt, *DBSup* 6 (1960), pp. 333-63.

5. See G. Orfali, 'Une nouvelle inscription grecque découverte à Capharnaüm', *JPOS* 6 (1926), pp. 159-63; cf. *SEG*, 8. §4; 17. §774.

6. What is badly needed is a systematic collection of the Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew inscriptions on ossuaries from Jerusalem and elsewhere. It is impossible at the moment to give any sort of comprehensive view of this topic. Many of the Aramaic inscriptions can now be found in J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *MPAT* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978), pp. 151-303. Some examples of Greek inscriptions from Jerusalem can be found in *CII* 2; Thomsen §190-97, 199, 201-205;

have outnumbered those in Aramaic or Hebrew,[1] and it is unlikely that the language chosen for most of these crudely incised identifications was merely the *lingua franca* of the day. Rather, they bear witness to the widespread and living use of Greek among first-century Palestinian Jews, as does the adoption of Greek and Roman names by many of them in this period. H.J. Leon is undoubtedly right when he writes that such 'sepulchral inscriptions...best indicate the language of the common people'.[2] For they reveal that Greek was not confined merely to official inscriptions. The real question, however, is how widespread it was among the common people.

Information concerning Palestine during the period between the two revolts against Rome has always been sparse, and information about the use of Greek at that time is no exception. Recently, however, some new material has come to light in the Greek papyri from the Murabba'at caves and in copies of Greek letters from the Bar Cochba revolt.

From the Murabba'at caves have come examples of grain transactions (Mur 89-107), IOU's (Mur 114), contracts of marriage and remarriage among Jews (Mur 115-16), fragments of philosophical and literary texts (Mur 108-12), even texts written in a Greek shorthand (Mur 164).[3] The letters from a cave in the Wadi Habra indicate that Greek was also used in a less official kind of writing. From the period just before the Second Revolt there is a batch of letters which are communications between Bar Cochba and his lieutenants, and surprisingly enough written even in Greek.[4]

One letter, in particular, merits some attention because of the

SEG, 8. §179-86, 197, 201, 208-209, 221, 224; 6. §849; 17. §784; 19. §922; 20. §483-92.

1. M. Smith ('Aramaic Studies and the Study of the NT', *JBR* 26 [1958], p. 310) says, 'Of the 168 published in Frey's *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*, 5 are illegible, 32 are in Hebrew or Aramaic or both, 17 are in a Semitic language and Greek, but 114 are in Greek only'. But are they all of the first century?

2. *The Jews of Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960), p. 75.

3. See Benoit *et al.*, *Les grottes de Murabba'ât*, pp. 212-33, 243-56, 234-40, 275-79.

4. B. Lifshitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aeg* 42 (1962), pp. 240-56 (and 2 pls.). The first text is apparently the one that Y. Yadin refers to as Hev 3 (see *IEJ* 11 [1961], pp. 42-43; *BIES* 25 [1961], p. 57). Cf. Y. Yadin, 'New Discoveries in the Judean Desert', *BA* 24 (1961), pp. 34-50; 'More on the Letters of Bar Kochba', *BA* 24 (1961), pp. 86-95.

special bearing it has on the topic under discussion. It comes from the so-called Cave of Letters in the Wadi Habra and was discovered in 1960. It is written in the name of one *Soumaios*. The editor of the letter, B. Lifshitz, thinks that this is a Greek form of the name of *Šime'ōn ben Kōsibāh*, the real name of Bar Cochba. If it is not Bar Cochba himself, then it is someone very closely associated with him, who writes to the same two lieutenants to whom Bar Cochba wrote in other letters—and, indeed, about the same matter. Soumaios requests of Jonathan bar Ba'yan and Masabbala that they send wooden beams (?) and citrons (the *'etrōgîm*) for the celebration of Succoth or Tabernacles. The text reads:

	Σου[μαῖ]ος Ἰωναθῆι	Sou[mai]os to Jonathe,
	Βαϊανοῦ καὶ Μα-	(son of) Baianos, and Ma-
	[σ]άβαλα χαίρειν.	[s]abbala, greetings!
	Ἐ[π]ηδὴ ἔπεμσα πρὸς	S[i]nce I have sent to
5	ὑμᾶς Α[γ]ρίππαν σπου-	you A[g]rippa, make
	δ[άσα]τε πέμσε μοι	h[ast]e to send me
	σ[τε]λεοὺ[ς] καὶ κίτρια	b[e]am[s] and citrons.
	α[ὐτὰ] δ' ἀνασθήσεται	And furnish th[em]
	ἰς [χ]ιτρειαβολὴν Ἰου-	for the [C]itron-celebration of the
10	δαίων καὶ μὴ ἄλως	Jews; and do not do
	ποιήσηται. Ἐγράφη	otherwise. No[w] (this) has been writ-
	δ[ὲ] Ἑληνιστὶ διὰ	ten in Greek because
	τ[ὸ ὀρ]μὰν μὴ εὑρη-	a [des]ire has not be[en]
	θ[ῆ]ναι Ἑβραεστὶ	found to w[ri]te in Hebrew. De[s]patch
15	γ[ρά]ψασθαι. Αὐτὸν	him quickly
	ἀπ[ο]λῦσαι τάχιον	fo[r t]he feast,
	δι[ὰ τ]ὴν Ἑορτὴν	an[d do no]t
	κα[ὶ μ]ὴ ἄλλως ποιή-	do otherwise.
	ση[τα]ι.	
20	Σουμαῖος	Soumaios.
	ἔρρωσο	Farewell.[1]

1. Lifshitz takes Σουμαῖος as a Greek transcription of *Šamay* or *Šema'*, which he regards as a hypocoristicon of *Šim'ôn*. In the second papyrus letter that Lifshitz publishes in the same article, the name is written in Greek as Σίμων, with Χώσιβα clearly written above it (between the lines). For a discussion of the name of Bar Cochba, see my article, 'The Bar Cochba Period', in *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (ed. J.L. McKenzie; New York: Herder and Herder, 1962), pp. 133-68,

Two things are of importance in this letter. First, Bar Cochba's solicitude to have provisions for the celebration of Succoth is again attested; a similar request for citrons and willow-branches is found in one of his Aramaic letters.[1] Secondly, at a time when the nationalist fever of the Jews must have been running high the leader of the revolt—or someone close to him, if Soumaios is not Šimᵉ'ōn bar Kōsibāh—frankly prefers to write in Greek, or at least has to write in Greek. He does not find the ὅρμα, 'impulse, desire', to compose the letter ἑβραϊστί. The cursive handwriting is not elegant and the spelling leaves much to be desired; if a scribe were employed for the writing of it, then he was not very well trained. In any case, this Palestinian Greek is not much worse than other examples of Greek in

esp. 138-41. Cf. the revised form in *ESBNT* (London: Chapman, 1971), pp. 305-54, esp. 312-16.

The spelling of certain words in this document is defective: thus Ἐπηδή = ἐπειδή; ἔπεμσα = ἔπεμψα; πέμσε = πέμψαι; ἀνασθήσεται = ἀναστήσετε; ις = εἰς; ἄλως = ἄλλως; ποιήσηται = ποιήσητε; Ἑληνιστί = Ἑλληνιστί; Ἑβραεστί = Ἑβραϊστί. The meaning of στελεούς is not clear; does it refer to 'beams' that might be used for huts, or to the 'branches' (*lûlāb*)?

The real problem in this letter is the restoration of the word [. . .]μαν in line 13, and even the reading of it. Though I originally went along with Lifshitz's reading of [ὀρ]μὰν, I have never been satisfied with it, because it looks like a Doric form of the accusative singular of the feminine noun, which should otherwise be ὀρμήν at this period in Palestine. The same difficulty has been noted by G. Howard and J.C. Shelton ('The Bar-Kokhba Letters and Palestinian Greek', *IEJ* 23 [1973], pp. 101-102), who suggest as 'the most obvious possibility' for restoring the lacuna [" Ερ]μαν, comparing Rom. 16.14. But they do not tell us how to construe the rest of the Greek with such a restoration (does the preceding neuter article remain?). Y. Yadin (*Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* [London: Weinfeld and Nicholson, 1971], pp. 130-31) gives an abbreviated translation of the letter, especially of this crucial part: '"the letter is written in Greek as we have no one who knows Hebrew [or Aramaic]."' Yadin supplies a good photo of the text, but he does not tell us how he reads the text's Greek writing; and it is not possible to puzzle out what in the text could be understood as 'no one' in his translation. As a result, I leave the translation and interpretation of the text stand according to the original Lifshitz interpretation until further light is shed on it by someone.

As for the four elements required for Succoth, one should consult Lev. 23.40 and Josephus, *Ant.* 3.10.3 §245.

1. See Y. Yadin, '*Mhnh* D', *BIES* 25 (1960), pp. 49-64, esp. 60-61; also my article, 'The Bar Cochba Period', pp. 155-56; *ESBNT*, pp. 336-37; cf. *MPAT* §60.

the provinces that have been found elsewhere.

A NT problem that bears on this discussion may be introduced at this point. It is the names for Jerusalem Christians recorded in Acts 6.1, the Ἑλληνισταί and the Ἑβραῖοι. I have discussed this matter more fully elsewhere,[1] adopting the interesting suggestion of C.F.D. Moule,[2] which seems to cope best with the data available and seems to be far more plausible than other attempts to explain these names.[3] Moule proposes that these names designate two groups of Palestinian *Jewish* Christians in Jerusalem. The Ἑλληνισταί were not simply Gentile converts who spoke Greek, while the Ἑβραῖοι were Jewish converts who spoke Hebrew (or possibly Aramaic). The Greek-speaking Paul of Tarsus stoutly maintained that he was Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων (Phil. 3.5). Rather, Ἑλληνισταί undoubtedly denotes Jerusalem Jews or Jewish Christians who habitually spoke Greek only (and for that reason were more affected by Hellenistic culture), while the Ἑβραῖοι were those who also spoke a Semitic language. In any case, it can scarcely be maintained that ἑλληνίζειν did not mean 'to speak Greek' at all. Moule's distinction fits in very well with the widespread use of Greek in first-century Palestine. It raises a further problem of the determination of what Semitic language would have been commonly used along with it by the Ἑβραῖοι.

Before we approach that problem, however, two final remarks about the use of Greek in first-century Palestine are in order. The first concerns Jesus' use of Greek. This question has been raised from time to time for a variety of reasons, and obviously little can be asserted

1. 'Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls', in *Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays. . . in Honor of Paul Schubert* (ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), pp. 233-57, esp. 237-38; *ESBNT*, pp. 271-303.

2. 'Once More, Who Were the Hellenists?', *ExpTim* 70 (1958–59), pp. 100-102; see also Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, p. 37; W.G. Kümmel, *RGG* 6 (3rd edn, 1962), p. 1189.

3. Compare the opinion of C.S. Mann (Appendix VI in J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967], pp. 301-304); he believes that Ἑβραῖοι refers to Samaritans or Samaritan Christians! Older discussions can be found in H.J. Cadbury, 'The Hellenists', in *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1933), V, pp. 59-74; H. Windisch, *'Hellēn'*, *TDNT* 2 (1964), pp. 504-15, esp. 511-12. Note the use of Josephus's ἑβραΐζων, meaning 'speaking in "Hebrew"' (*War* 6.2.1 §96).

about it.[1] 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (Mt. 4.15) has often been said to have been an area of Palestine where the population was more bilingual than in the south, for example, at Jerusalem. Hence it is argued: coming from an area such as this, Jesus would have shared this double linguistic heritage. While it must be admitted that there were undoubtedly areas where less Greek was used than others, nevertheless the widespread attestation of Greek material in Palestine would indicate that 'Galilee of the Gentiles' did not have a monopoly on it. The general evidence that we have been considering would suggest the likelihood that Jesus did speak Greek. Further, his conversations with Roman officials—Pilate or the centurion, and perhaps even that reflected in John 12—would point in this direction. This question, however, is related to the others about the Semitic language that he used, and I shall return to it later. However, what evidence there is that he used Greek yields at most a probability; if it be used to insist that we might even have in the Gospels some of the *ipsissima verba Iesu graeca*, actually uttered by him as he addressed his bilingual Galilean compatriots,[2] then the evidence is being pressed beyond legitimate bounds.

1. For some literature on the subject, see A. Roberts, *Greek, the Language of Christ and His Apostles* (London: Longmans, Green, 1888); S. Greijdanus, *Het gebruik van het Grieksch door den Heere en zijne apostelen in Palestine* (Kampen: Kok, 1932); S.M. Patterson, 'What Language Did Jesus Speak?', *Classical Outlook* 23 (1946), pp. 65-67; L. Rood, 'Heeft Jezus Grieks gesproken?', *Streven* 2 (1949), pp. 1026-35; A.W. Argyle, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56), pp. 92-93; J.K. Russell, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56), p. 246; H.M. Draper, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56), p. 317; A.W. Argyle, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 (1955–56), p. 383; R.M. Wilson, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *Exp Tim* 68 (1956–57), pp. 121-22; R.O.P. Taylor, 'Did Jesus Speak Aramaic?', *ExpTim* 56 (1944–45), pp. 95-97; *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), pp. 91-105.

For some older discussions, see also D. Diodati, *De Christo graece loquente exercitatio* (ed. O.T. Dobbin; London: J. Gladding, 1843 [Naples, 1767]); A. Paulus, *Verosimilia de Judaeis palaestinensibus, Jesu atque etiam Apostolis non aramaea dialecto sola, sed graeca quoque aramaizante locutis* (Jena, 1803 [*non vidi*]).

2. Cf. Argyle, 'Did Jesus Speak Greek?.' p. 93: 'The importance of establishing that Jesus and His disciples sometimes spoke Greek cannot be overestimated. It means that in some cases we may have direct access to the original utterances of our Lord and not only to a translation of them.' See also his articles, 'Hypocrites and the Aramaic Theory', *ExpTim* 75 (1963–64), pp. 113-14; 'Greek among the Jews of Palestine in NT Times', *NTS* 20 (1973–74), pp. 87-89.

The other remark concerns the researches and studies of such scholars as S. Krauss, M. Schwabe, S. Lieberman, B. Lifshitz *et al.*, who have done yeoman service in ferreting out the evidence for the Hellenization of Palestinian Jews. In particular, the two books of S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* and *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*,[1] are outstanding in this regard; but their subtitles reveal that they are largely based on materials of a much later date than the first century—on the Mishnah, the Talmud, and other rabbinical writings. J.N. Sevenster has frankly stated the difficulty in using this material as an indication of the first-century situation.[2] Moreover, Lieberman has been criticized for neglecting the inscriptional material from the cemetery of Beth-She'arim,[3] and for not using the older Greek materials from Joppa, Capernaum, etc., that have been known for a long time. The materials which these scholars have amassed make it abundantly clear that the Palestinian Jews *of the third and fourth centuries*

1. *Greek in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Life and Manners of Jewish Palestine in the II–IV Centuries CE* (New York: P. Feldheim, 2nd edn, 1965); *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century BCE–IV Century* CE (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950). Though the latter does go back to an earlier date, it is largely devoted to a broader topic than the first book and the issue being treated here.

2. *Do You Know Greek?*, pp. 38-44.

3. See G. Alon, *Kirjath Sepher* 20 (1943–44), pp. 76-95; B. Lifshitz, *Aeg* 42 (1962), pp. 254-56; 'L'hellénisation des Juifs de Palestine: A propos des inscriptions de Besara (Beth-Shearim)', *RB* 72 (1965), pp. 520-38; 'Y^{e}wānît wîwānût bên Y^{e}hûdê 'ereṣ- Yiśrā'ēl', *Eshkoloth* 5 (1966–67), pp. 20-28.

For the important Greek material coming from Beth-She'arim, see M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim: II The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1967). These inscriptions date from the first quarter of the third century AD, when R. Judah the Prince was buried there. To be buried in the vicinity of this Jewish leader and compiler of the Mishnah was regarded as a privilege and a sizeable necropolis developed there up until AD 352, when the city was destroyed by the army of Gallus. These dates are also confirmed by coins found there. See further B. Lifshitz, 'Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik', *ZDPV* 78 (1962), pp. 64-88; *ZDPV* 82 (1966), pp. 57-63; 'Les inscriptions grecques de Beth She'arim (Besara)', *IEJ* 17 (1967), p. 194.

For a similar important group of sepulchral inscriptions dated merely to 'the Roman period', see B. Lifshitz's articles on the necropolis of Caesarea Maritima: 'La nécropole juive de Césarée', *RB* 71 (1964), pp. 384-87; 'Inscriptions de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 72 (1965), pp. 98-107; 'Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne', *RB* 73 (1966), pp. 248-57; 'Inscriptions de Césarée', *RB* 74 (1967), pp. 50-59.

AD were quite Hellenized and used Greek widely. This is the sort of situation that the numerous hebraized and aramaicized Greek words that appear in rabbinical literature also suggest.[1] From 200 on it is clear that not only Hellenism but even the Greek language used by the Jews had made heavy inroads into the Aramaic being spoken; it is the same sort of influence that one detects in the Aramaic being spoken in the territory of Palestine's neighbor to the north, in Syriac. This is, by contrast, the advantage of J.N. Sevenster's recent book, *Do You Know Greek?* For he has sought to sift data from literary and epigraphic sources and presents an intriguing thesis on the wide use of Greek in first-century Palestine both among Jews and Christians. Unfortunately, the reader is distracted at times by lengthy discussions of texts from periods prior and posterior to this century.[2]

3. *Aramaic*

If asked what was the language commonly spoken in Palestine in the time of Jesus of Nazareth, most people with some acquaintance of that era and area would almost spontaneously answer Aramaic. To my way of thinking, this is still the correct answer for the *most commonly* used language, but the defense of this thesis must reckon with the growing mass of evidence that both Greek and Hebrew were being used as well. I would, however, hesitate to say with M. Smith that 'at least as much Greek as Aramaic was spoken in Palestine'.[3] In any case, the evidence for the use of Aramaic has also been growing in recent years.

Evidence for the use of Aramaic toward the end of the first millennium BC has never been abundant. A scholar such as W.F. Albright was led by this situation to think that its use was actually on the wane, especially during the Seleucid period. He writes:

1. See the old, but still useful list in S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1899–1900).

2. Cf. M. Smith, 'Palestinian Judaism in the First Century', in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization* (ed. M. Davis; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956), pp. 67-81 (much of the material used as evidence in this article is not derived from the first century). See now B. Schwank, 'Die neuen Grabungen in Sepphoris', *Erbe und Auftrag* 63 (1987), pp. 222-25; cf. *Bibel und Kirche* 42 (1987), pp. 75-79.

3. 'Aramaic Studies and the Study of the NT', pp. 304-13, esp. 310.

> There are no Aramaic literary works extant from the period between the third or second century BC and the second or third AD, a period of over three hundred years. There can be little doubt that there was a real eclipse of Aramaic during the period of the Seleucid Empire (312 BC to the early first century BC), since scarcely a single Aramaic inscription from this period has been discovered, except in Transjordan and the adjacent parts of Arabia, which were relatively freer from Greek influence than Western Palestine and Syria proper. After this epigraphic hiatus, Palmyrene inscriptions began to appear in the second half of the first century BC; recent excavations have brought to light an inscription dating from the year 44 BC. Inscriptions in Jewish Aramaic first appeared about the middle of the first century BC, and became more abundant during the reign of Herod the Great, just before the Christian era. . . They thus help to clarify the actual Aramaic of Jewish Palestine in the time of Jesus and the Apostles. If the Megillat Taʿanith, or 'Scroll of Fastings', a list of official Jewish fasts with accompanying historical notations, really precedes the year AD 70, as held by some scholars, it belongs to our period, but it is safer to date it in the second century AD, in accordance with its present chronological content.[1]

Between the final redaction of Daniel (c. 165 BC), in which roughly six chapters are written in Aramaic, and the first of the rabbinical writings, *Mᵉgillat Taʿᵃnît*,[2] dating from the end of the first Christian century, there had never been much evidence of the use of Aramaic in Palestine prior to the discovery of the Qumran scrolls and fragments. Before 1947 numberless ossuary and sepulchral inscriptions had been coming to light.[3] But they were scarcely evidence of what E.J. Goodspeed has called 'creative Aramaic literary writing'.[4] Except

1. *The Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 201-202. See also V. Tcherikover, *Corpus papyrorum in judaicarum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), I, p. 30.

2. For literature on this text, see my commentary on the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 2nd edn, 1971), p. 21 n. 57; also *MPAT* §150.

3. For an attempt to gather the Aramaic ossuary inscriptions from Palestine, see *MPAT* §69-148 (and the literature cited there).

4. Goodspeed's skepticism about the 'possibility of an Aramaic Gospel' was first expressed in his *New Chapters in NT Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 127-68, esp. 165-66. A.T. Olmstead sought to answer Goodspeed in an article, 'Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?', *JNES* 1 (1942), pp. 41-75. Goodspeed replied in another, 'The Possible Aramaic Gospel', *JNES* 1 (1942), pp. 315-40 (his words quoted in the text are taken from p. 328 of this reply). The heat of the debate between Olmstead and Goodspeed produced more rhetoric than clarity; some of the

for a few with extended texts, they consist for the most part of proper names, written in the cursive Hebrew-Aramaic script of the time. Indeed, it is often hard to tell whether their inscribers spoke Hebrew or Aramaic. The most important of the extended texts are the Uzziah plaque, commemorating the first-century transfer of the alleged bones of the famous eighth-century king of Judah,[1] an ossuary lid with a *qorban* inscription that illustrates the use of this Aramaic word in Mk 7.11,[2] and a Kidron Valley dipinto.[3] There was also the evidence of Aramaic words preserved in the Greek Gospels and Josephus's writings, as well as the Aramaisms in the syntax of the NT in general.[4] This was more or less the extent of the evidence up to 1947.

Since the discovery of the Qumran material it is now evident that literature was indeed being composed in Aramaic in the last century BC and in the first century AD. The number of extant Aramaic texts of a literary nature is not small, even though the fragments of them found in the various Qumran caves may be. Only a few of these texts have been published so far: the *Genesis Apocryphon*,[5] the *Prayer of Nabonidus*, the *Description of the New Jerusalem*, the *Elect of God* text; parts of such texts as the *Testament of Levi*, *Enoch*, *Pseudo-Daniel*, a *Targum of Job*, and a number of untitled texts to which a number has merely been assigned. Reports have been made on still

new factors that I have been trying to draw together here would change a number of contentions of both of these writers. The limited topic of my discussion does not bear exactly on the point at issue between them.

1. See E.L. Sukenik, '*Siyyûn 'Uzziyāhû melek Y^ehûdāh*', *Tarbiz* 2 (1930–31), pp. 288-92; W.F. Albright, 'The Discovery of an Aramaic Inscription Relating to King Uzziah', *BASOR* 44 (1931), pp. 8-10; J.N. Epstein, '*L^eSiyyûn 'Uzziyāhû*', *Tarbiz* 2 (1930–31), pp. 293-94; J.M. van der Ploeg, *JEOL* 11 (1949) pl. XVIII, fig. 29; *TGI* §55.

2. See Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic Background of the NT', p. 11 and nn. 55-57. Cf. J. Bligh, '"Qorban"', *HeyJ* 5 (1964), pp. 192-93; S. Zeitlin, 'Korban', *JQR* 53 (1962), pp. 160-63; 'Korban: A Gift', *JQR* 59 (1968), pp. 133-35; Z.W. Falk, 'Notes and Observations on Talmudic Vows', *HTR* 59 (1966), pp. 309-12.

3. See E.L. Sukenik, 'A Jewish Tomb in the Kidon Valey [sic]', *Tarbiz* 6 (1934–35), pp. 190-96; for the literature on this inscription, see *MPAT* §71.

4. See Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic Background of the NT', pp. 23-24 n. 53.

5. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956); see my commentary on it (2nd edn, 1971). The other Qumran Aramaic texts are listed in Fitzmyer, 'Qumran Aramaic and the NT', in *A Wandering Aramean*, pp. 101-102.

other Aramaic texts from Caves IV and XI, such as several copies of Tobit, of targums of Job and Leviticus, of a text mentioning 'the Son of God' and 'the Son of the Most High' in phrases remarkably close to Lk. 1.32, 35.[1] All of this points to an extensive Aramaic literary activity and an Aramaic literature, at least used by the Essenes, if not composed by them.

Objection might be made at this point that this evidence points only to a literary use of Aramaic and that it really says little about the current spoken form of the language. True, but then one must beware of exaggerating theoretically the difference between the literary and spoken forms of the language. Contemporary with the Qumran evidence are the ossuary and sepulchral inscriptions already mentioned, many more of which have been coming to light in recent years.[2] Again, an Aramaic IOU, dated in the second year of Nero (i.e., 55–56), came to light in one of the Murabba'at caves, and a letter on an ostracon from Masada.[3] And from a slightly later period comes a batch of legal documents, composed in Aramaic as well as in Greek and Hebrew, from caves in the wadies Murabba^{c}at, Habra, and Seiyâl.[4] Many of these still await publication.

1. On this text, see Fitzmyer, 'Qumran Aramaic and the NT', pp. 90-94.

2. These too have been gathered together with those in *MPAT*, §69-148 (see the literature cited there).

3. See Mur 18 (DJD, 2, pp. 100-104); also Y. Yadin, 'The Excavation of Masada: 1963–64', pp. 1-120, esp. 111.

4. See Mur 8, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 72. Cf. S. Segert, 'Zur Orthographie und Sprache der aramäischen Texte von W. Murabba'at (Auf Grund von DJD II)', *ArOr* 31 (1963), pp. 122-37. The material from Wadi Habra is still to be published; for preliminary reports and partial publication of it, see Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 36-52; *BIES* 25 (1961), pp. 49-64; 'Expedition D: The Cave of Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 227-57. Cf. E.Y. Kutscher, 'The Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters of Bar Cochba and His Contemporaries', *Lĕšonénu* 25 (1961), pp. 117-33; 26 (1962), pp. 7-23. From this cave (official siglum 5/6Hev) came the Nabatean contract published by J. Starcky, 'Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus', *RB* 61 (1954), pp. 161-81. Yadin ('Expedition D: The Cave of Letters', p. 229) reveals that he recovered the *scriptura interior* of this 'tied deed' and thus established the provenience of the contract. It is also likely that two other Aramaic documents published by J.T. Milik come from the same cave ('Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J.-C.', *RB* 61 [1954], pp. 182-90; 'Deux documents inédits du désert de Juda', *Bib* 38 [1957], pp. 245-68, esp. 255-64). Cf. E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Leiden: Brill, 1968). See *MPAT*, §38-64.

One of them, which has already been published by H.J. Polotsky,[1] merits some attention here because of its unique bilingual character. Discovered in 1961 in the so-called Cave of Letters of the Wadi Habra, it belongs to the family archives of Babatha, daughter of Simeon, who at one time lived in a small Nabatean town called Mahoz 'Eglatain (or in Greek *Maōza*), which since AD 106 had become part of *provincia Arabia*. The main part of the text, which is a copy of a receipt given by Babatha to a Jewish guardian of her orphan son, is written in Greek. It is dated to 19 August 132 and acknowledges the payment of six denarii for the boy's food and clothing. The ten lines of Greek text of the receipt are followed by three in Aramaic that summarize the Greek statement. This Aramaic summary, however, is immediately followed by four lines of Greek, written by the same scribe who composed the main text; they give an almost literal translation of the Aramaic and are explicitly introduced by the word ἑρμενίας, 'translation'. The text ends with Γέρμαν[ος] Ἰούδ[ο]υ ἔγραψα, 'I, Germanus, (son) of Judah, have written (this)'. Though this receipt was found in the southern part of Palestine, it was actually written in Nabatean country, to the southeast of the Dead Sea. From the same place comes yet another Greek document, a *Doppelurkunde*, with the Greek text written twice, but with the *scriptura exterior* endorsed by two men who write, one in Aramaic, the other in Nabatean.[2] It is dated to 12 October 125. Apparently there are other examples of bilingual or trilingual texts still to be published by Yadin or Polotsky.[3] Here we have in official documents the simultaneous use of Greek, Aramaic, and Nabatean; the problem is to say to what extent this might represent language habits in southern Palestine of roughly the same period.

Given this simultaneous use, the real question is to what extent Greek would be affecting the Aramaic and vice versa. In the case of the receipt from the Babatha archive, the main text written in Greek, with an Aramaic abstract itself rendered again in a Greek translation, obviously attests to the importance of Greek in the area where such

1. 'Three Greek Documents from the Family Archive of Babatha', *E.L. Sukenik Memorial Volume*, pp. 46-51, esp. 50 (document 27); cf. 'The Greek Papyri from the Cave of the Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 258-62.
2. See Polotsky, 'Three Greek Documents', pp. 46-49.
3. See Yadin, 'Expedition D: The Cave of Letters', p. 246.

documents were composed. The woman was Jewish, and it is scarcely credible that she would have legal and financial documents drawn up for her in a language that she did not understand or read. But the text raises the question to what extent Greek vocabulary and idiom were invading Aramaic. We know that the converse took place. Aramaic certainly affected the Greek used by Jews. The Aramaic words in the Gospels and Josephus, and the Aramaisms in their Greek syntax reveal this. A small Greek fragment from Murabba^{c}at, containing a broken list of proper names, gives one of them as Ἰώσηπος ἀσωφήρ Κητα[ ], 'Josephus, the scribe, *Keta* [ ]'. Here a Hebrew title, *has-sōphēr*, has simply been transcribed.[1] Even though this is evidence for Hebrew affecting Greek, it serves as an illustration of the sort of data we should expect in Aramaic texts of the period: Greek words transcribed into Aramaic, such as we have in the names of the musical instruments in Dan. 3.5.

However, this sort of evidence is surprisingly lacking in the first-century Aramaic texts that are extant. This phenomenon is still to be discovered in Qumran Aramaic texts or in the Aramaic IOU of 55/56 (Mur 18). In all of the Aramaic texts of slightly later date from the caves of the wadies Murabba^{c}at and Habra that have either been published so far or reported on with partial publication of texts, I have found to date only four isolated words and one formula that are clearly due to Greek. These are:

כנמסא	'according to the Law' (Mur 21.11 [a marriage contract with the date missing; Milik would not exclude a first-century date])	νόμος
באסכלי֯א	'in security' (5/6Hev 1 ar.2 [an Aramaic letter of Bar Cochba])	ἀσφάλεια
רהומיה	'Romans' (5/6Hev 6 ar.2 [another letter of Bar Cochba])	Ῥωμαῖοι
[אפ]טרפא	'guardian' (5/6Hev 27.12 [receipt of payment from Babatha archive, dated 19 August 132; Polotsky's restoration is certain, because ἐπίτροπος occurs in the Greek version, line 16]).[2]	ἐπίτροπος

1. Mur 103a 1 (DJD, 2, p. 232).

2. See DJD, 2, p. 115; Kutscher, 'The Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters', pp. 119, 126; Polotsky, 'Three Greek Documents', p. 50. See now N. Lewis (ed.), *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period of the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University,

A date formula in an Aramaic text was taken over from Greek usage:

על הפטות ליקיס קטיליס סורס תינותא ומרקס
אורליס אנטונינס שנת תלת לאוטוקרטור קסר טרינס
הדרינס סבסטס ועל מנין הפרכיה דא בעשרין וארבעה
בתמז שנת עשר וחמש

in the consulship of Lucius Catilius Severus for the second time and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in the third year of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus and according to the era of this province, on the 24th of Tammuz, year 15 (= 13 July 120).[1]

The date is given by the consulship, by Hadrian's regnal year, and by the era of *provincia Arabia.* Aside from the proper names, the clear Grecisms are על הפטות for ἐπὶ ὑπάτων, לאוטוקרטור for αὐτοκράτωρ ('emperor'), קסר for Καῖσαρ, סבסטס for σέβαστος, ועל מנין הפרכיה דא for κατὰ τὸν τῆς νέας ἐπαρχίας Ἀραβίας ἄριθμον.[2] This is a clear example of Greek affecting Aramaic; it is a stereotyped legal formula that was undoubtedly often used and perhaps required in official documents of that province. Again, it is not easy to say to what extent this clear Greek influence was also found in first-century Palestine itself.

In sum, there is precious little evidence for the influence of Greek on Palestinian Aramaic, and none of it certainly from the first century. This is indeed surprising and may be a sheer coincidence; it is purely 'negative evidence'[3] at this time. It is an argument from silence that could be proved wrong tomorrow—by the discovery of first-century Palestinian Aramaic texts with abundant examples of borrowed Grecisms. But at the moment we have to wait such a discovery.

The reason for making something of all this is the contention of M. Black, A. Díez Macho, and others that the language of the Palestinian targum(s) is that of the first century, and indeed represents spoken Aramaic of that time in contrast to the literary Aramaic of

Shrine of the Book, 1989).

1. See Yadin, 'Expedition D: The Cave of Letters', p. 242; cf. his article, 'The Nabatean Kingdom, Provincia Arabia, Petra and En-Geddi in the Documents from Nahal Hever', *JEOL* 17 (1963), pp. 227-41, esp. 232-33.

2. The last Greek formula is taken from the receipt in the Babatha archive, document 27 (see 'Three Greek Documents', p. 50), l. 2-3.

3. To borrow a phrase from K.A. Kitchen ('The Aramaic of Daniel), used in his critique of H.H. Rowley's studies of the Aramaic of Daniel.

Qumran. Black's main argument for the thesis that 'the language of the Palestinian Targum is... first-century Aramaic' is this: 'The large number of borrowings in it from Greek point to a period for its composition when Palestinian Aramaic was spoken in a hellenistic environment'.[1] But, as we have already seen, the Hellenization of Palestine stretched over a long period, from at least the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (if not much earlier) well into the first half of the first Christian millennium. And yet what evidence there is for Greek words borrowed into Palestinian Aramaic is very sparse indeed up to AD 200. There comes a time, however, *after that* when it is surprisingly abundant, as epigraphic material and the researches of S. Krauss, S. Lieberman, *et al.* have shown time and again.[2] The same heavy influence of Greek is paralleled in classical Syriac too—a form of Aramaic that emerges toward the beginning of the third century BC. The fact, then, that the Aramaic of the Palestinian targums contains a 'large number of borrowings in it from Greek' could point theoretically to any period from the third century BC (at least) to AD 500 (at least). But when we look for the first-century evidence, it is certainly negative.

There is no doubt that targums were beginning to be written down in first-century Palestine, as the discovery of fragments of a targum on Job from Qumran caves IV and XI and a targum on Leviticus from Qumran Cave IV illustrate. Until these are fully published and the relation of them to the previously known and existing targums can be assessed, we cannot without further ado assume a genetic relationship between them or believe that they manifest the same degree of Greek influence as the other targums. J. van der Ploeg has already indicated in a preliminary report that 11QtgJob is unrelated to the later, little-known targum on Job, the origin of which is quite obscure.[3] As for

1. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd edn, 1967), p. 22.

2. See p. 146 n. 1 and p. 147 n. 1 above. On early Syriac inscriptions, see Fitzmyer, 'The Phases of the Aramaic Language', in *A Wandering Aramean*, p. 71.

3. 'Le targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumran [11QtgJob]: Première communication', in *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, n.r. 25/9 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers M., 1962), pp. 543-57, esp. 552. The full text of the Qumran targum of Job has been published; see J.P. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude (with B. Jongeling), *Le targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

4QtgLev, which is the sole fragment of a targum on the Pentateuch, Milik has already revealed some differences in it.[1] In my opinion, the evidence from the borrowing of Greek words in the Palestinian targums argues for a date after AD 200—a date that could be supported by a number of other orthographic, lexical, and grammatical considerations which are absent from Biblical, Qumran, and similar Aramaic texts, but that begin to appear in Murabba'at and Habra texts and become abundant in the targums, in Syriac, and in dated Aramaic inscriptions from Palestinian synagogues from the third to the sixth centuries.[2] A handy catalogue of such synagogues has

For a comparison of it with the earlier-known targum of Job, see Fitzmyer, 'The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI', in *A Wandering Aramean*, pp. 167-74.

1. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 31. See further Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic Background of the NT', p. 22 n. 32.

2. E.g., the inscriptions from the 'Ain-Dûq synagogue (see E.L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* [London: British Academy, 1934], I, pp. 73-74; II, pp. 75-76; III, p. 76), the 'Alma synagogue (R. Hestrin, 'A New Aramaic Inscription from 'Alma', in *L.M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues, Bulletin* 3 [1960], pp. 65-67), the Beth Alpha synagogue (E.L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* [Jerusalem: University Press, 1932], pp. 43-46), the Beth Gubrin synagogue (E.L. Sukenik, 'A Synagogue Inscription from Beit Jibrin', *JPOS* 10 [1930], pp. 76-78), the Capernaum synagogue (G. Orfali, 'Deux inscriptions de Capharnaüm', *Antonianum* 1 [1926], pp. 401-12), the Chorazin synagogue (J. Ory, 'An Inscription Newly Found in the Synagogue of Kerazah', *PEFQS* [1927], pp. 51-52), the Fiq synagogue (S.A. Cook, 'Hebrew Inscription at Fiq', *PEFQS* [1903], pp. 185-86; cf. p. 274), the Gaza synagogue (D.J. Saul, 'Von el-'Akabe über Gaza nach Jerusalem', *Mitteilungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 7 [1901], pp. 9-14, esp. 12-13), the Gischala synagogue (G. Dalman, 'Die Zeltreise', *PJB* 10 [1914], pp. 47-48), the Hammath-by-Gadara synagogue (E.L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El Hammeh* (Hammath-by-Gadara) [Jerusalem: R. Mass, 1935]), the Hamat-Tiberias synagogue (M. Dothan, 'The Aramaic Inscription from the Synagogue of Severus at Hamat-Tiberias', in *E.L. Sukenik Memorial Volume*, pp. 183-85), the 'Isfiyah synagogue (M. Avi-Yonah, 'A Sixth Century Synagogue at 'Isfiyā', *QDAP* 3 [1933], pp. 119-31), the Khirbet Kanef synagogue (G. Dalman, 'Inschriften aus Palästina', *ZDPV* 37 [1914], p. 138), the Jerash synagogue (J.W. Crowfoot and R.W. Hamilton, 'The Discovery of a Synagogue at Jerash', *PEFQS* [1929], pp. 211-19, esp. 218; see E.L. Sukenik, 'Note on the Aramaic Inscription at the Synagogue of Gerasa', *PEFQS* [1930], pp. 48-49), the Kafr Bir'im school inscription (*JPCI* §9), the Kafr Kenna synagogue (C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Mosaïque à inscription hébraïque de Kefr Kenna', *CRAIBL* [1900], pp. 555-57), the Umm el-'Amed synagogue (N. Avigad, 'An Aramaic Inscription from the Ancient Synagogue

now been made available by S.J. Saller.[1]

In speaking of the influence of another language on first-century Aramaic we must not restrict our remarks to Greek alone. For the influence of Hebrew on it is also evident. This issue is more difficult to assess because the languages are so closely related. But a number of Hebraisms are clearly evident in the literary Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,[2] and in the less literary writings from Murabba'at and Habra. There are masculine plural absolute endings in *-îm* instead of *-în*, the occasional use of the prepositive article (הנסי, 5/6Hev 1 ar.[3]), the conjunction אם, 'if', instead of הו or אן, the apocopated form of the imperfect of the verb 'to be', יהי; etc. This Hebraized Aramaic is, of course, not surprising; nor is it confined to the first-century evidence, since it is already found in Ezra and Daniel.[4]

Two last remarks concerning the Aramaic of first-century Palestine. The first deals with the Nabatean dialect; so far I have left it out of

of Umm el-'Amed', *BIES* 19 [1956–57], pp. 183-87). S. Segert once reported ('Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu einigen aramäischen Texten von Qumran', *ArOr* 33 [1965], p. 196 n. 12) that E.Y. Kutscher was preparing a 'zusammenfassende Ausgabe dieser Texte'. Since, however, death has taken Kutscher away, one may have to be content with the collection that D.J. Harrington and I have made in *MPAT*, Appendix, §A1-A156.

1. *A Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1969). Cf. B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives: Répertoires des dédicaces grecques relatives à la construction et à la réfection des synagogues* (Paris: Gabalda, 1967).

2. See my commentary (2nd edn, 1971), pp. 25-26. Cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *Or* 39 (1970), pp. 178-83.

3. This is an instance of the prepositive article and may have to be discounted, because it is the title of Bar Cochba. It may be part of a stereotyped way of referring to him, even if one spoke or wrote in Aramaic. However, there is another instance of it on a Jerusalem ossuary, *Yhwdh br 'l'zr hswpr* (see *MPAT* §99). Compare the Greek fragment mentioned above: Document 27, 'Three Greek Documents', p. 50.

4. Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1961), §187; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1927), §1 t-v (p. 10). This reference to Daniel (and even to Ezra) should not be misunderstood. It may seem that such 'Hebraisms' were already a living part of Aramaic of an earlier day. This is undoubtedly true; but it does not make them indigenous in Aramaic. They were originally Hebraisms, and they persisted in the language because of the more or less simultaneous use of the languages throughout a long period. Cf. Segert, 'Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu einigen aramäischen Texten von Qumran', pp. 190-206.

consideration for the most part. It is a dialect of Aramaic, which betrays Arabic influence. There is no doubt that it was being used in Petra and in the Nabatean country to the south of Palestine. Was it also being used in the southern part of Palestine as well? In the Daroma? In Idumea? We do not know for certain, and the possibility cannot be excluded. The fragments and documents written in Nabatean and recovered from the Cave of Letters in Wadi Habra were obviously brought there by refugees who hid in the caves of the area. They were written, as we have already indicated, for the most part in Mahoz 'Eglatain, a town or village in Nabatea. Yet they speak of relations with En-Gedi and persons who lived on the western shore of the Dead Sea. When these texts are finally published, perhaps it will be possible to establish more definitely the use of this special dialect of Aramaic in first-century southern Palestine as well.

The other remark concerns the name for Aramaic. It is well known that the Aramaic portion of Daniel begins with the adverb *ʿărāmît* (Dan. 2.4b). This gloss, which at some point in the transmission of the book crept into the text itself, reflects the ancient name of the language attested in the OT and in Elephantine papyrus texts.[1] Greek writers of a later period refer to the language as συριστί or συριακή.[2] When, however, Greek writers of the first century refer to the native Semitic language of Palestine, they use ἑβραϊστί, ἑβραΐδος διάλεκτος, or ἑβραΐζων. As far as I can see, no one has yet found the adverb *aramaïsti*.[3] The adverb ἑβραϊστί (and its related expressions) seems to mean 'in Hebrew', and it has often been argued that it means this and nothing more.[4] As is well known, it is used at times with words and expressions that are clearly Aramaic. Thus in Jn 19.13, ἑβραϊστι δὲ Γαββαθᾶ is given as an explanation of the Lithostrotos, and γαββαθᾶ is a Grecized form of the Aramaic word

1. 2 Kgs 18.26; Isa. 36.11; Ezra 4.7—cf. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923) 28.4, 6.

2. Cf. the LXX passages corresponding to the OT passages in the preceding note; also Job 42.17b (συριακή) and the *Letter of Aristeas* §11. This Greek name may be reflected in the Hebrew (contemptuous?) name for Aramaic, לשן סורסי (*b. Soṭ.* 49b; *b. B. Qam.* 82b, 83a).

3. However, χαλδαϊστί is added in the LXX of Dan. 2.26, corresponding to nothing in the MT.

4. As it certainly does in the Greek prologue of Ben Sira. This exclusive meaning has been argued for it by Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus*, pp. 12-16.

gabbᵉtā, 'raised place'.[1] This long-standing, thorny question is still debated; and unfortunately, the Greek letter of Bar Cochba (?) cited earlier does not shed a ray of light on the meaning of ἑβραϊστί. We know that the author preferred to write 'in Greek' than in it; but both Aramaic and Hebrew letters belong to the same cache of documents and the question still remains unresolved about the precise meaning of the word. In any case, this problem forms a fitting transition to the consideration of the fourth language of first-century Palestine, viz. Hebrew.

4. *Hebrew*

Hebrew probably was the oldest language still spoken in first-century Palestine. We may speculate about the language that was spoken by the 'wandering Aramean' (Deut. 26.5) who returned from Egypt at the time of the conquest of Palestine. Was it Old Aramaic of the form known in the early inscriptions from northern Syria? Or had this semi-nomadic people already adopted the *sᵉpat Kᵉna'an* of the inhabitants who preceded them? The likelihood is that the 'nomad' was still speaking the tongue of his forebears (Ahlamē). In any case, the earliest epigraphic material points heavily in the direction of Hebrew as a Canaanite dialect, dominating the land. It was never completely supplanted by Aramaic after the exile, when the latter became more commonly used because of its international prominence. It is, however, often asserted that Aramaic was the only Semitic language in use in Palestine at the time of Jesus and the Apostles.[2] But there are clear indications, both epigraphic and literary, that Hebrew continued in use in certain social strata of the people and perhaps also in certain

1. See further G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (trans. D.M. Kay; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902).

2. E.g., A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les araméens* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1949), p. 99 ('L'araméen continua longtemps à se parler et à s'écrire en Palestine. A l'époque du Christ, il était la seule langue courante pour la masse du peuple; c'est l'araméen que parlaient Jésus et les Apôtres'); F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, 'Jesus der Galiläer', in *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), III, p. 92 ('Das Hebräische war als lebende Sprache seit dem Beginn der hellenistischen Zeit ausgestorben und in Palästina durch Aramäische ersetzt worden'). Cf. J.F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. vii: 'Aramaic alone held the field'.

geographical areas. The evidence, however, is not as abundant as it is for Aramaic.

It is true that the number of Qumran texts written in Hebrew far outnumber those in Aramaic, and these bear witness to a lively literary productivity in the language. It is not great literature, no more than the Aramaic literature of the time; even the War Scroll and the Thanksgiving Psalms are scarcely exceptions to this, though they are the most literary pieces in the Qumran scrolls. However, much of this Qumran Hebrew composition dates from the last two centuries BC. But the *p^{e}šārîm*, which exist in only one copy of each *pēšer* and were written for the most part in the late Herodian script, may be regarded as first-century compositions.[1] They are literary compositions, reflecting on earlier stages of the sect's history and interpreting the biblical books in the light of that history and of the sect's beliefs. Along with the rest of Qumran Hebrew, the language of these texts represents a slight development beyond that of the late books of the OT. It has been called a 'neo-classical Hebrew', lacking in spontaneity and contaminated by the contemporary colloquial dialect.[2]

The evidence for colloquial Hebrew is not abundant. What is surprising is that there is scarcely a Hebrew inscription from Palestine in the first century outside of the Qumran material—the inscription of the *B^{e}nê Ḥ^{e}zîr* tomb being almost the sole exception.[3] There are, of course, ossuaries with Semitic names that could have been inscribed by Hebrew-speaking Jews as well as by Aramaic-speaking Jews. The use of *ben* instead of *bar* in the patronymics is no sure indication of a Hebrew proper name, even though it is often used to distinguish Hebrew from Aramaic inscriptions on the ossuaries. This is a recognized convenience and no more. The proper name with *ben* or *bar* could have been used properly in its own language milieu or could easily have been borrowed into the other because of the close relationship of the two; it is even conceivable that the stereotyped character of the *ben* or *bar* might have been the unique borrowed

1. See Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 41.
2. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 130.
3. See N. Avigad, *Ancient Monuments in the Kidron Valley* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1954), pp. 59-66. Also the Bethphage ossuary lid may be considered here (R. Dussaud, 'Comptes d'ouvriers d'une entreprise funéraire juive', *Syria* 4 [1923], pp. 241-49).

element.[1] Texts from Murabbaʿat illustrate this.[2] *Bar* is found in Semitic names in a text written in Hebrew, and *ben* in a text written in Aramaic. The only noteworthy thing in the Murabba'at texts is that *bar* is more frequent in Hebrew texts than *ben* is in Aramaic texts. The evidence, however, is so slight that one could scarcely conclude that this argues for Aramaic as the more common language.

The Copper Roll from Qumran Cave III, which almost certainly had nothing to do with the Essenes themselves, is 'the oldest known text to be written in Mishnaic Hebrew',[3] or perhaps more accurately, in Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew. Texts from the Murabba'at and Habra caves, which consist of letters as well as quasi-official documents, are written in practically the same form of Hebrew. Mishnaic Hebrew, reflecting a still further development of the language, is usually regarded as a literary dialect. But it is now seen to have been a development of the colloquial Hebrew of the first century. All of this points to a clear use of Hebrew in Palestine of that time, but it is really not sufficient to say with J.T. Milik that it proves 'beyond reasonable doubt that Mishnaic was the normal language of the Judaean population in the Roman period',[4] unless one is willing to specify what part of the Roman period is meant. For that must be reckoned as lasting from the Pompeian conquest of Palestine (63 BC) until at least the time of Constantine (early fourth century), if not later. While it seems apparent that certain pockets, or perhaps strata, of the population in the early Roman period were using Hebrew and that this language became enshrined in the Mishnah in a still more developed form, as of its codification c. 200, I find it difficult to think of Hebrew as 'the

1. As בר in the Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa 1 (*KAI* §24).

2. For instance, Mur 22.1-9 i 3, 4, 11-12; 29.1, 2, 10, 11-12; 30.1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17, 26, 32; 36.1, 2, 8; 42.12; 46.10. These examples are scarcely exhaustive.

3. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 130. Here Milik dates the text to 'the middle of the first century AD'; but in the official publication of this text (DJD, 3, p. 217) he says, 'le document se situe par conséquent au premier siècle de notre ère ou au début du siècle suivant, entre 30 et 130 après J.-C. en chiffres ronds, avec préférence pour la second moitié de cette période'. He also cites the date proposed by W.F. Albright, 'between cir. 70 and cir. 135 AD'. S. Segert ('Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu einigen aramäischen Texten von Qumran', pp. 190-206, esp. 191) thinks that 3Q15 was written in Hebrew by a Jew who otherwise spoke Aramaic; but he does not specify how this is revealed in this text.

4. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, p. 130.

normal language of the Judaean population' in the *whole* Roman period. If it were, one would expect more evidence of it to turn up—especially in the first century and in more widespread locales.

This leads us naturally to the issue raised by H. Birkeland some years ago that Hebrew was actually the language of Jesus, because it had still 'remained the language of the common people'.[1] Little can actually be said about Jesus' use of Hebrew. That Hebrew was being used in first-century Palestine is beyond doubt, as we have been saying; but this fact is scarcely sufficient evidence for maintaining that Jesus therefore made use of it. We would have to look for further indications of this fact. If Lk. 4.16-30 records a historical visit of Jesus to Nazareth with all its details, it might suggest that Jesus opened the scroll to Isaiah 61, found his place there, and read from it, presumably in Hebrew. The Lukan text completely prescinds from any use of a targum. Literalists among commentators on Acts 26.14 have also sought to insist that the risen Jesus, appearing to Paul on the road to Damascus and speaking τῇ ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ, actually spoke in real Hebrew, not Aramaic. A similar suggestion is made that the *logia* that Matthew put together, according to Papias's statement in Eusebius (*HE* 3.39.16), were actually Hebrew, not Aramaic. And the appeal is made to the extensive literature in Hebrew from Qumran as an indication of the possibility of writing a Hebrew gospel. There is certainly some plausibility in such suggestions; but do they really exceed the bounds of speculation?

Just as we mentioned the influence of other languages on the Greek and Aramaic spoken in Palestine, so too one can detect foreign influence on the non-literary Hebrew of this period. Phoenician or Punic influence has been claimed for the use of *t* as the sign of the accusative (instead of the older, biblical *'et*); Aramaic influence for the frequent use of *-în* instead of *-îm* as the absolute masculine plural ending (5/6 Hev hebr 1.3, 4; 2.1),[2] of the third plural masculine suffix in *-hn*

1. *The Language of Jesus*, p. 16. For further negative reactions to Birkeland's thesis, see Fitzmyer, 'The Aramaic Background of the NT', p. 22 n. 37.

2. M.H. Segal (*A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927], §281, p. 126) is often cited in opposition to this claim: 'The termination *-în* [in Mishnaic Hebrew] is not an Aramaism', but rather 'a purely Hebraic phenomenon'. Yet the fact that '*-n* is common to nearly all Semitic languages' or is 'the only one found on the Meša' stone' or that it occurs 'as early as the Song of Deborah' still does not rule out the influence of a dominant language of the area (such as Aramaic

instead of *-hm* (Mur 44.4; 45.7), of the third singular masculine suffix in *-h* instead of *-w* (Mur 44.9; 42.8, 9 [*ktbh*, 'wrote it']). Aramaic influence is clear in the Hebrew text of 4QTestimonia.[1] Is it, again, sheer coincidence that the only Greek word that I have been able to detect in this non-literary Hebrew is הפרנסים, a form that some have explained as derived from Greek πρόνοος? An Aramaic lexical expression may be found in Mur 46.7: בשל ש, possibly reflecting the Aramaic בדיל די.[2] In this case, the evidence is truly negative, because there is so little to go on.

By way of conclusion, I should maintain that the most commonly used language of Palestine in the first century AD was Aramaic, but that many Palestinian Jews, not only those in Hellenistic towns, but farmers and craftsmen of less obviously Hellenized areas used Greek, at least as a second language. The data collected from Greek inscriptions and literary sources indicate that Greek was widely used. In fact, there is indication, despite Josephus's testimony, that some Palestinians spoke only Greek, the Ἑλληνισταί. But pockets of Palestinian Jews also used Hebrew, even though its use was not widespread. The emergence of the targums supports this. The real problem is the influence of these languages on one another. Grecized Aramaic is still to be attested in the first century. It begins to be attested in the early second century and becomes abundant in the third and fourth centuries. Is it legitimate to appeal to this evidence to postulate the same situation earlier? Latin was really a negligible factor in the language situation of first-century Palestine, since it was confined for the most part to the Roman occupiers. If Aramaic did go into an eclipse in the Seleucid period, as some maintain, it did not remain there. The first-century evidence points, indeed, to its use as the most common language in Palestine.[3]

was) on Hebrew (or Moabite).

1. See the analysis of this text by S. Segert, *ArOr* 25 (1967), pp. 34-35. Aramaic orthographic practice seems to be the best explanation of such further forms as [*kwh*] *gbwr'*[. . .] in 6Q9 45.2 and of [. . .]*'ht 'śr'*[. . .] in 6Q9 1.1.

2. See J.T. Milik, DJD, 2, p. 166.

3. See also now G. Mussies, 'Greek as the Vehicle of Early Christianity', *NTS* 29 (1983), pp. 356-69; D.T. Ariel, 'Two Rhodian Amphoras', *IEJ* 38 (1988), pp. 31-35 (and pls. 7C, 8D).

THE HEBRAIC CHARACTER OF SEPTUAGINT GREEK

Henry S. Gehman*

The object of a translator obviously is to render a document clearly into the vernacular. Upon reading the LXX, however, it is often difficult to obtain the sense without comparing the Hebrew text. In other words, there is a Hebraic cast to the language of the LXX. It is well-known that the Greek of the LXX is the *koine*, of which the colloquial element is amply illustrated from the papyri; yet we have to admit that the language of the LXX is different in many ways from other *koine* Greek. In his *Grammar of the OT in Greek According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) H.St J. Thackeray maintains (p. 26) that the papyri 'have given the death-blow to, or at any rate have rendered extremely improbable, the theory once held of the existence of a "Jewish-Greek" jargon, in use in the Ghettos of Alexandria and other centres where Jews congregated'. It certainly would be too bold to speak of a 'Jewish-Greek jargon', and yet we can hardly avoid speaking of a Jewish-Greek, which was in use in the synagogues and in religious circles. If the Jews who read the LXX did not understand Hebrew, we may infer at least that the translation made sense to them and that it was intelligible when it was read in the synagogue.

In speaking of Jewish-Greek usage we may start with the use of the conjunction καί. Thus in the paratactic construction in LXX Greek as in Hebrew, the conjunction 'and' may signify 'that' in the sense that it introduces what is really a substantive clause: Gen. 4.8, 'And it came to pass while they were in the field, (καὶ ἀνέστη Κάιν) that Cain rose up'; 1 Sam. 10.5, 'And it shall come to pass... (καὶ ἀπαντήσεις) that thou wilt meet'; 2 Sam. 7.12, 'And it shall come to pass (καὶ ἔσται)

* This article is reprinted, with the permission of E.J. Brill Publishers, Leiden, from *VT* 1 (1951), pp. 81-90. I have silently corrected several errors in the text.

when thy days are fulfilled and thou sleepest with thy fathers, (καὶ ἀναστήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σέ) that I will raise thy seed after thee'; 1 Kgs 1.21, 'And it will come to pass... (καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ καὶ Σαλωμὼν ὁ υἱός μου ἁμαρτωλοί) that I and my son Solomon shall be offenders'.

As in Hebrew, a circumstantial clause may be indicated in LXX Greek with the conjunction 'and': 2 Sam. 4.10, in connection with the report of the assassin of Ish-Bosheth, we meet the circumstantial clause καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἐνώπιόν μου (while he was as one bringing good tidings in my presence); 2 Sam. 11.4, 'And he lay with her (καὶ αὕτη ἁγιαζομένη ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτῆς), while she was purified from her uncleanness'.

As in Hebrew, the conjunction 'and' may show the beginning of the apodosis: 1 Sam. 17.9, 'If he be able to fight with me..., then (καί) we shall be servants unto you'; 1 Sam. 20.6, 'If thy father miss me at all, then (καί) thou shall say'.

From this use of καί to introduce the apodosis, it is easy to see how the conjunction developed the meaning of 'then': Gen. 4.12, 'When thou tillest the ground, (καί) then it will no longer yield to thee its strength'; Gen. 9.16, 'When (καί) my bow will be in the cloud, then (καί) will I see to remember'; 1 Sam. 16.2, 'If (καί) Saul hear, then (καί) he will slay me'; 1 Sam. 14.52, 'And Saul seeing any mighty man..., then (καί) he collected them unto himself'; 2 Sam. 10.5, 'When (καί) they reported to David concerning the men, then (καί) he dispatched'; 1 Kgs 3.14, 'And if thou wilt walk in my way..., then (καί) I will lengthen thy days'; Ezek. 32.15, 'When (ὅταν) I scatter all those dwelling in her, then (καί) they shall know that I am the Lord'.

Likewise the conjunction developed the sense of 'so' or 'therefore': Gen. 3.22-23: 'And now lest ever he stretch forth his hand and take of the tree of life and eat and live forever. So (καί) the Lord God dismissed him from the paradise of luxuriousness.'

From these examples of the use of καί, of which there are many more, it seems reasonable to believe that in the LXX the reader would not merely ramble along reading one καί after another; he certainly must have felt even in the paratactic construction that in many instances καί introduces what is really a subordinate clause, that it shows the relationship of clauses to each other, and that it indicates the sequence and dependence of ideas. Even though a Hellenistic Jew

would not know Hebrew or Aramaic, it is probable that for the most part the context would lead him to the correct interpretation of καί in passages of this nature.

The foregoing Hebraic uses of the conjunction καί are, however, only an incident in the Hebraic Greek of the LXX. When it comes to the subordinate conjunction ὅτι, we have cases where Hebrew *kî* is rendered by ὅτι (when): Gen. 4.12, 'When (ὅτι) thou tillest the ground'; 2 Sam. 4.10, 'When (ὅτι) he who informed me that Saul was dead'. Among the meanings of Hebrew *kî* is 'when', and without assuming a textual error of ὅτι for ὅτε in the above examples, it seems clear that in these cases ὅτι is a literalism for *kî*.

The Hebraic influence, however, is not only a matter of literalism of vocabulary, but also of syntax. Thus the use of the pronoun *hû'* to express the copula is found in the LXX: 1 Kgs 8.60, ὅτι Κύριος ὁ θεός, αὐτὸς θεός (that the Lord God is God). In a previous case (1 Kgs 8.41) the pronoun *hû'* is doubly rendered by the copula and by the pronoun οὗτος: ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ λαοῦ σου οὗτος.

The Semitic use of the relative in the LXX is well-known, and a few examples will suffice: Gen. 6.17, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα ζωῆς; Gen. 19.25, τὰς πόλεις ταύτας ἐν αἷς κατῴκει ἐν αὐταῖς; Job 30.4b, οἵτινες ἅλιμα ἦν αὐτῶν τὰ σῖτα; 1 Sam. 9.10, where *'ašer šām* is rendered by οὗ...ἐκεῖ.

For the use of *'eḥād* in a list of names, see Josh. 12.9ff., where the old Greek does not render it. In 1 Kgs 4.8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, however, we find εἷς, even though it is not in MT.

The definite article may be employed to represent *'ēt*, the sign of the direct object. Thus in 1 Kgs 1.38, 39, 43, *'et Šᵉlōmōh* is rendered τὸν Σαλωμών and in v. 44, *'et Sādôq*, τὸν Σαδώκ.

Furthermore, the definite article with the positive may indicate the superlative: 1 Sam. 15.9, *mēṭab haṣṣ'ōn* (the best of the sheep) is translated τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῶν προβάτων; 2 Kgs 10.3, *hattōb wᵉhayyāšār mibbnē 'ᵃdōnêkem* (the best and the meetest of your master's sons) is rendered τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸν εὐθῆ ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν.

The preposition ἐν in many instances assumes in quite literal fashion the various meanings of *b*: 1 Kgs 8.24, 'Thou speakest with (*b*) thy mouth and hast fulfilled it with (*b*) thy hands'; here *b* denoting means or instrument is rendered in both cases by ἐν; Job 40.29, in connection with Leviathan, we read: 'Will thou play with (*b*) him as with a bird?' The Greek follows this literally: παίξῃ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ὥσπερ ὀρνέῳ.

The preposition *b* denoting place-where is rendered by ἐν: Gen. 14.13, 'Now he was dwelling by (*b*) the terebinths of Mamre'; αὐτὸς δὲ κατῴκει ἐν τῇ δρυὶ τῇ Μαμβρή. Accompaniment denoted by *b* is also expressed by the preposition ἐν: Gen. 9.4, 'Only flesh with the life thereof (*b^{e}napšô*); πλὴν κρέας ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς; 1 Sam. 17.43, 'Thou comest to me with staves (*bammaqlôt*)': ἐν ῥάβδῳ καὶ λίθοις. In connection with an oath *b* is used: 1 Sam. 17.43, 'And the Philistine cursed David *bē'lōhāw*; Greek renders the preposition literalistically by ἐν.

Certain verbs are modified by a phrase introduced by the preposition ἐν, a case of Hebrew syntax: 1 Kgs 10.9, (thy God) who delighted in thee (*ḥāpēṣ b^{e}kā*) is rendered ὃς ἠθέλησεν ἐν σοί; in this case the verb carries over a special meaning from the Hebrew. The verb ἐκλέγομαι as a rendering of *bāḥar* should also be considered in this connection: 1 Sam. 16.8, *gam bāzeh lō' bāḥar YHWH* is idiomatically translated οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐξελέξατο Κύριος, but in v. 9, where the same sentence occurs, we find a Hebrew idiom: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐξελέξατο Κύριος. In 1 Kgs 8.16 the two idioms are found in the same verse οὐκ ἐξελεξάμην ἐν πόλει...καὶ ἐξελεξάμην ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ...καὶ ἐξελεξάμην τὸν Δαυείδ. In 1 Kgs 8.44, the Hebrew idiom occurs, with attraction, however, of the relative to the antecedent: ὁδὸν τῆς πόλεως ἧς ἐξελέξω ἐν αὐτῇ (toward the city which thou hast chosen). Similarly we find a double construction in 1 Kgs 11.32, τὴν πόλιν ἣν ἐξελεξάμην ἐν αὐτῇ. Compare in this connexion 2 Chron. 6.34, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἣν ἐξελέξω ἐν αὐτῇ. The preposition ἐν is used also with the verb ἐκλέγομαι in 1 Chron. 28.4-5.

The use of *b* with nouns of measure after a numeral has occasionally been transferred to the Greek. In 1 Kgs 6.6 (2) where MT does not employ this idiom, Greek reads: καὶ εἴκοσι ἐν πήχει πλάτος αὐτοῦ καὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐν πήχει τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ. In 1 Kgs 7.10 (23), in connection with the molten sea, MT uses *b*; Greek follows with the Hebrew idiom: καὶ ἐποίησεν τὴν θάλασσαν δέκα ἐν πήχει ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς ἕως τοῦ χείλους αὐτῆς, στρογγύλον κύκλῳ τὸ αὐτό· πέντε ἐν πήχει τὸ ὕψος αὐτῆς, καὶ συνηγμένοι τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν πήχει. The same idiom is found also in Ezek. 40.5.

The preposition ἐκ like Hebrew *min* may be used to denote the partitive idea: Amos 2.11, 'And I raised up of (*min*) your sons for prophets And of (*min*) your young men for Nazirites'. Greek renders

both cases of *min* by ἐκ. A similar use is found in Sir. 11.19 καὶ νῦν φάγομαι ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μου.

The compound preposition *mē'al* (from upon, from on, from off) is rendered by ἐπάνωθεν (above, on top), which consequently assumes the Hebrew sense of separation. Examples of this are found in 2 Kgs 2.5, 'Knowest thou that Yahweh will take thy master from thy head (*mē'al rō^{e}šekā* today?' Greek renders ἐπάνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς σου; and in 2 Kgs 2.13-14, (the mantel) that fell *mē'ālāw*; here again Greek renders the preposition by ἐπάνωθεν with the genitive. A similar usage occurs in 2 Kgs 17.21, 23; 25.5.

In case of the negative we meet a pure Hebrew idiom: 1 Kgs 8.60, 'Yahweh is God. (*'ēn 'ôd*) There is none else.' Greek renders these two Hebrew words in literalistic fashion: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι.

The dative of agent may be a translation of *l* with the *nomen agentis*: Gen. 14.19, Εὐλογημένος Ἀβρὰμ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ. This is a literal rendering of *bārûk 'Abrām l^{e} 'ēl 'elyôn*.

Generally the infinitive absolute is rendered by a participle. This may be in the same tense and voice as the main verb: 1 Sam. 14.43, *ṭā'ōm ṭā'amtî*, γευσάμενος ἐγευσάμην; 1 Kgs 9.6, *'im šôt^{e}šubūn*, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποστραφέντες ἀποστραφῆτε. On the other hand, however, the participle may be in a different tense: Judg. 17.3, *haqdēš hiqdaštî*, ἁγιάζουσα ἡγίακα; 1 Kgs 22.28, *'im šôb tāšûb*, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέφων ἐπιστρέψῃς. The force of the infinitive absolute may also be rendered by a dative: Gen. 2.16, *'ākōl tō'kēl*, βρώσει φάγῃ; Gen. 2.17, *môt tāmût*, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε. Even though these renderings of the infinitive absolute may not be classical Greek, they would cause no difficulty to a Greek who had no Semitic background.

One Hebrew verb to express repetition is *yāsap* (add); this is generally rendered in the LXX by προστίθημι followed by the infinitive: Gen. 4.2, *wattōsep lāledet* (and she bore again), καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν; Gen. 8.21, *lō' 'ōs'īp l^{e}qallēl* (I will not again curse any more), οὐ προσθήσω ἔτι τοῦ καταράσασθαι. The second verb in Greek, may, however, be a finite verb: 1 Sam. 3.6, *wayyōsep YHWH q^{e}rō' 'ôd Š^{e}mû'ēl* (and *YHWH* yet again called Samuel), καὶ προσέθετο Κύριος καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Σαμουὴλ Σαμουήλ.

The other verb frequently employed in Hebrew to express the idea of 'again' is *šûb*, which is translated by ἐπιστρέφω. In both languages the main verb governs an infinitive: Deut. 30.9, *kî yāšûb YHWH lāsûs'ālēkā l^{e}tôb* (for *YHWH* will again rejoice over thee for good),

ὅτι ἐπιστρέψει Κύριος ὁ θεός σου εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ σοὶ εἰς ἀγαθά. On the other hand, we may have two finite verbs in both languages: 2 Kgs 21.3, *wayyāšob wayyiben 'et habbāmôt* (for he built again the high places), καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὰ ὑψηλά. Cf. in this connection 2 Kgs 1.11, where *šûb* is rendered by προστίθημι: *wayyāšob wayyišlaḥ 'ēlāw* (and again he sent unto him), καὶ προσέθετο ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτόν. In Job 7.7, however, the verb ἐπανέρχομαι with the infinitive renders *šûb* with the infinitive.

In Hebrew an affirmative oath is introduced by *'im lō'*, as for example, 1 Kgs 20.23, *'im lō' neḥ^{e}zaq mēhem* (surely, we shall be stronger than they); Greek εἰ μὴ κραταιώσομεν ὑπὲρ αὐτούς is to be understood in the same sense as the Hebrew. A variation of εἰ μή in this sense is εἰ μή as, for example, in Ezek. 36.5, 'Surely (*'im lō'*) in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken'; εἰ μὴν ἐν πυρὶ θύμου μου ἐλάλησα. Apparently εἰ μήν is the same as ἦ μήν (now verily, now surely).

A negative oath is introduced by *'im*, of which we have many examples which are directly reproduced in Greek. A few will suffice: Gen. 14.23, *'im...w^{e}im 'eqqaḥ mikkol '^{a}šer lāk*; εἰ...λήμψομαι ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν σῶν; 1 Sam. 3.14, *w^{e}l ākēn nišba'tî l^{e}bêt 'ēlî 'im yitkappēr '^{a}wōn bêt 'ēlî*; (And therefore I have sworn...that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be expiated); in Greek the oath reads εἰ ἐξιλασθήσεται. It need not be assumed, however, that all these cases are literalistic renderings of the Hebrew; Greek may have εἰ even where it does not exist in MT: 1 Kgs 1.52 'If he be a good fellow, there shall not fall (*lō' yippōl*) a hair of him to the earth'. Here Greek introduces the protasis with ἐάν, but εἰ takes the place of the negative at the head of the apodosis, which is an oath. In other words, this use of εἰ was well understood regardless of the original. In the verse preceding (1 Kgs 1.51), however, Greek uses what is really a double negative (εἰ οὐ): 'Let King Solomon swear unto me that he will not slay (*'im yāmît*) his servant'; εἰ οὐ θανατώσει.

A wish may be expressed in Hebrew by *mî yittēn*, a phrase in which the idea of giving has disappeared and which has become stereotyped as a mere desiderative particle. This may be rendered in Hebraic fashion: Job 19.23, *mî yittēn '^{e}pô w^{e}yikkāt^{e}bûn millāy* (Oh that my words were now written!); τίς γὰρ ἂν δῴη γραφῆναι τὰ ῥήματά μου; Job 29.2, *mî yitt^{e}nēnî k^{e}yarḥê qedem* (Oh that I were as in the

months of old!); τίς ἄν με θείη κατὰ μῆνα ἔμπροσθεν ἡμερῶν. The classical influence, however, is not entirely lost: Job 14.13, *mî yittēn biš'ôl taspînēnî* (Oh that thou wouldest hide me in Sheol); εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον ἐν ᾅδῃ με ἐφύλαξας. In this case Greek uses the aorist indicative instead of the infinitive. We also find a combination of two idioms: Job 6.8, *mî yittēn tābô' šĕ'ᵉlātî* (Oh that I might have my request!); εἰ γὰρ δῴη, καὶ ἔλθοι μοι ἡ αἴτησις. Even though MT has *mî yittēn,* Greek has εἰ γὰρ δῴη followed by καί with the optative. Yet the pure classical syntax of a wish has not been lost: Job 6.2, *lû šāqôl yiššāqēl ka'sî* (Oh that my vexation were but weighed); εἰ γάρ τις ἰστῶν στῆσαι μου τὴν ὀργήν.

In Hebrew the construction of the infinitive with a preposition may be continued in the further course of the narrative with a finite verb. According to E. Kautzsch's *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (ed. A.E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn, 1910), p. 114 r, the finite verb is governed by a subordinate conjunction corresponding to the preposition before the infinitive. This construction is also taken over by the LXX: 1 Kgs 18.18, *ba'ᵃzobkem 'et miṣwôt YHWH wattēlek 'aḥᵃrê habbᵃ'ālîm* (in that ye have forsaken the commandments of Yahweh and thou hast followed the Baalim); ἐν τῷ καταλιμπάνειν ὑμᾶς τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπορεύθης ὀπίσω τῶν Βααλείμ; Ezek. 35.5, *ya'an hᵉyôt lᵉkā 'ebat 'ôlām wattaggēr et bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl* (because thou hast had an enmity of old and hast given over the children of Israel); ἀντὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι σε ἐχθρὰν αἰωνίαν, καὶ ἐνεκάθισας τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραήλ. In spite of Greek's interpretation, the grammatical principle is illustrated in the Greek. A finite verb in Greek may follow even a noun denoting action: 1 Kgs 2.37, *wᵉhāyâ bᵉyôm ṣe't ᵉkā wᵉ'ābarta 'et naḥal qidrôn* (for on the day thou goest out and passeth over the Wady Kidron); καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐξόδου σου καὶ διαβήσῃ. This Semitic construction may be used in Greek even though it does not occur in MT: Deut. 4.37, *wᵉtaḥat kî 'āhab...wayyibḥar...wayyôṣî' ᵃkā* (And because he loved thy fathers and chose their seed after them and brought thee out). Here MT has three finite verbs, but Greek opens with an infinitive governed by a preposition: διὰ τὸ ἀγαπῆσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς πατέρας σου, καὶ ἐξελέξατο...καὶ ἐξήγαγέν σε.

The above examples will suffice to demonstrate that the LXX is full of Hebrew idioms which also involve a matter of syntax. It may appear, however, that these are due simply to a literalistic rendering

from Hebrew into Greek, and no doubt many of them have such an origin. On the other hand, if the LXX made sense to Hellenistic Jews, the translation was understood because its idiom corresponded to a familiar *Denkart*. At any rate, if the Greek spoken by Alexandrian Jews was saturated with Semitic expressions, their biblical translation did not help them in making the translation to a pure Greek.

The Hebraic character of LXX Greek, however, is not limited to syntax including a Semitic use of conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns; the vocabulary also was bound to be influenced by the Hebrew original. Certain Greek words had to be adapted to OT usage, and in this way they received a meaning not found in classical or ordinary Hellenistic Greek.

There follows a discussion of a list of selected words.

ἁγιάζω (hallow, make sacred). In connection with the year of jubilee we read in Lev. 25.11, 'nor gather the grapes of its undressed vines (*nᵉzīrēhā*)'. In this case *nāzîr*, a term applied to the Nazirite with unshorn hair, by a figure of speech refers to untrimmed vines. This term is rendered τὰ ἡγιασμένα. In this connection, cf. the word for Nazirites, οἱ ἡγιασμένοι (Amos 2.12); at any rate the figure of the Nazirite has been preserved.

ἀνάστημα, ἀνάστεμα (height, protuberance, prominence, erection, building, eruption). The word is used to translate *yᵉqûm* (substance, existence): Gen. 7.4, 23, πᾶν τὸ ἀνάστεμα. This literal rendering of the root, however, introduced a new meaning for this noun.

ἀνατολή (rising). The verb ἀνατέλλω (rise) has also the meaning 'to spring out' in connection with plants, whence the meaning 'shoot' for the noun could develop. The noun and the verb are brought together in Zech. 6.12, 'Ανατολὴ (*ṣemaḥ*) ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ (*yiṣmāḥ*). In Zech. 3.8 we read: 'I will bring forth my servant the Shoot (*ṣemaḥ*)', which Greek renders ἐγὼ ἄγω τὸν δοῦλόν μου 'Ανατολήν. Thus through a literalism the noun carried a Hebrew meaning into the Greek.

ἀποστολή (sending off or away, dispatching, discharge, payment or tribute). In 1 Kgs 9.16 we read that Pharaoh gave to his daughter Gezer as a dowry (*šilluḥîm*). This is rendered literally in Greek 1 Kgs 4.32 as ἀποστολαί, and thus Greek gave this noun a Hebrew coloring it did not have before.

ἑτοιμάζω (prepare). The Hebrew root *kûn* means in the Niphal 'to

be set up, established, fixed', and in the Hiphil 'to establish, set up, fix, make ready, prepare'. In 1 Kgs 2.12 we read 'and was established (*wattikōn*) his kingdom greatly'. This is rendered by Greek καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ σφόδρα. The verb in the Greek has to be understood in the Hebrew sense. Cf. 1 Kgs 2.45, where *nākôn*, the Niphal participle, is rendered by ἕτοιμος. In 1 Kgs 2.24 the Hiphil *hᵉkînanî* (hath established me) is rendered by ἡτοίμασέν με. It appears that the verb ἑτοιμάζω in this connection is to be understood in a Hebrew sense.

θάλασσα (sea). Hebrew *yām* (sea), however, is often used in the sense of the direction 'west', and this meaning has been transferred to θάλασσα in a number of passages; for example, Gen. 12.8; Exod. 26.22; Josh. 8.9, 12; Ezek. 45.7. In some cases as Gen. 13.14 the meaning of θάλασσα could be inferred from the context, but the usage is not Greek.

ἰσχύς (strength, might, power). In Job 6.22b it is used in the sense of 'wealth, goods, substance' as a translation of Hebrew *kōaḥ*, which from the meaning 'strength, power' developed the sense of 'wealth'. Again a Greek word is used with a signification which is not Greek.

ὁδός (way). As a translation of Hebrew *derek* (way, road) which in connection with direction developed the sense 'toward', ὁδός in the accusative has taken over this Hebrew meaning. Thus in 1 Kgs 8.44 *derek hā'îr* (toward the city) is rendered ὁδὸν τῆς πόλεως, and in v. 48 *derek 'arṣām* (toward their land), ὁδὸν γῆς αὐτῶν. The meaning may be clear in the context, but the usage is not Greek.

πλευρά (rib, side). Hebrew *ṣēlā'*, originally 'rib, side', in connection with the floor and wall of the Temple developed from 'ribs' (of cedar and fir) to the sense of 'planks, boards'. In 1 Kgs 6.15, *bᵉṣal'ôt bᵉrôšîm* (with boards of cypress, or fir) is rendered in Greek by ἐν πλευραῖς πευκίναις. In this case the Greek noun has taken over its meaning from the Hebrew.

πληρόω (make full, fill, complete, fulfill). In 1 Kgs 1.14, Nathan says to Bathsheba: 'and (I will) confirm thy words (*ûmillē'tî et dᵉbārāyik*)'. This is rendered literally in Greek: καὶ πληρώσω τοὺς λόγους σου. The Greek verb can be understood from the context, but it has a Hebrew nuance (confirm).

προνομή (foraging, pl., foraging parties; plunder, booty, store, provision). In 1 Kgs 9.15 *mas* (forced labor, levy) is rendered by Greek (10.23) by προνομή, a unique use of the word. In the context,

however, the only thing it can mean is 'forced labor' or 'levy'.

σπουδάζω (to be eager, busy, make haste, to be serious). Hebrew *bāhal* in the Niphal means 'to be disturbed, dismayed, terrified, to be in haste'. It is easy to see how a person who is terrified will make haste to escape, and thus the semantics of the Hebrew verb are clear. It seems, however, that this was not a normal development in Greek. In Job 4.5b, *wattibbāhēl* (and thou art affrighted) is rendered σὺ δὲ ἐσπούδασας. Certainly the Greek verb here is to be understood in a Hebrew sense.

υἱός (son). In Hebrew the age of a man is denoted by *bēn* followed by the genitive of the number of years. This Hebrew idiom is found in Gen. 11.10, Σὴμ υἱὸς ἐτῶν ἑκατόν. For the same idiom, cf. Greek 1 Sam. 4.15; 2 Sam. 4.4; 19.32 (33), 35 (36). While a Greek could get the meaning from the context, the idiom is Hebrew.

χεῖλος (lip). In Gen. 11.1, 6, 9, this noun translates Hebrew *śāpâ* (lip, language). In v. 7, however, the same noun is rendered by γλῶσσα and φωνή. In this connection χεῖλος means 'language', a non-Greek usage taken over from Hebrew.

χείρ (hand). In Hebrew, *yād* developed the signification of 'means, medium, instrument', and this was taken over in the LXX. In 1 Sam. 11.7, Saul cut a yoke of oxen into parts and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων. In 2 Sam. 10.2 condolences were sent to the king of Ammon ἐν χειρὶ τῶν δούλων. In reference to God's speaking through prophets, the same phrase is used: for example, 1 Sam. 28.15, ἐν χειρὶ τῶν προφητῶν; 1 Kgs 8.53, ἐν χειρὶ δούλου σου Μωυσῆ; Mal. 1.1, ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ.

Hebrew *yād* is also used in the sense of 'monument', i.e., an object pointing up like a hand. Thus in 1 Sam. 15.12 it was told Samuel that Saul was setting up a monument for himself (*maṣṣîb lô yād*); this is rendered καὶ ἀνέστακεν αὐτῷ χεῖρα. The same usage is found in 2 Sam. 18.18, χεὶρ Ἀβεσσαλώμ. Probably in the same sense is to be understood ἐπιστῆσαι (τὴν) χεῖρα in 2 Sam. 8.3 and 1 Chron. 18.3. In Zech. 13.6 Greek ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν χειρῶν σου literally follows MT *bên yādekā*, meaning 'on the shoulders'.

From the above examples it is clear that LXX Greek has numerous cases of grammar and vocabulary which are Hebraic. The language of the LXX certainly would have caused trouble to a Greek who was not acquainted with the psychology of the Hebrew language, its idioms, and its construction. The LXX must have been read in most instances

by itself and not by making continual references to the Hebrew; the translators had no intention of making a book to be used for textual studies. In other words we may suppose that its language made sense to Greek-speaking Jews. In a bilingual area a few individuals may speak both tongues perfectly, but the masses do not keep the idioms of the two apart, as may be abundantly observed in linguistic islands in this country. There is always a difficulty in passing from one language to another; in the transitional period a generation has a smattering of the tongue of the forefathers without having become thoroughly immersed in the new vernacular. Beyond a doubt Hebrew and Aramaic had left their influences on the speech of Jews who could speak only Greek. This does not necessarily imply that there was a Jewish-Greek jargon, but there was a Greek with a pronounced Semitic cast that was used and understood in religious circles. If the LXX made sense to Hellenistic Jews, we may infer that there was a Jewish Greek which was understood apart from the Hebrew language.

THE LANGUAGE OF JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES

Nigel Turner*

The question of what language Jesus used in his daily life cannot fail to be of interest to Christians. Was it Palestinian Aramaic, the local tongue of his own country, one of the Semitic group of languages known technically as Western Aramaean? Or did he speak the kind of Greek known as Koine, which was the common language spoken in most countries of the Roman empire at that time? Although in Jerusalem few Jews may have used Greek it is possible that in 'Galilee of the Gentiles' Jesus would find it necessary to converse in the world's language.

There is a third possibility, held by some but not widely, that he spoke in Hebrew.

The question has a wider significance than the satisfaction of devout curiosity. If Jesus spoke Aramaic, rather than the Greek of the NT writings, then the earliest records of his teaching and his apostles' teaching were transmitted in Aramaic, and the realization of this must influence our interpretation of them in their Greek dress. The presumption is that when these very early records were put into Greek, mistakes would be made, and at the very least there is the possibility that misunderstandings crept in because reverence would demand that his own language be translated as literally as possible.

As a matter of fact, in the four gospels there are enough traces of Semitic constructions to attract scholars to the conclusion either that the authors of the gospels wrote their original drafts in Aramaic, or that they used Aramaic written sources; but not enough attention has been paid to the possibility that they wrote in Greek while thinking in

* This essay is reprinted, with the permission of T. & T. Clark, Publishers, from Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the NT* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965), pp. 174-88.

Aramaic or, better still, that they spoke and wrote in a dialect of Jewish Greek. Among those who do appreciate the high degree of Semitic influence in the Greek of the NT there is a strong feeling that it can be explained on the theory of Aramaic sources,[1] and they adduce in support several apparently convincing instances of mistranslation, which are mainly within the teaching of Jesus, but not exclusively.

To prove translation is sometimes no easy task, although usually the translator betrays his handiwork to the patient researcher. C.C. Torrey[2] has suggested three methods whereby an apparently original composition may be tested for evidence of translation. (1) The first is the subjective one of testing the Semitic sound of certain phrases—most of the NT would react positively. (2) The second is the presence of mistranslations. (3) The third is the cumulative evidence of a great number of Semitic idioms, whether they occur in ordinary Greek or not. It is the second of the tests which is the only really significant one, because the first and third do no more than indicate that the author was thinking in Semitic forms or writing in a dialect of Greek which was influenced by Semitic idiom. It is well to heed Torrey's own warning that each test is applicable only 'in the rare cases where it is convincing';[3] if we can find a phrase where a difficulty of exegesis is removed by a literal rendering into a Semitic language, we have the soundest proof that the passage in question is a translation. There are not many of them in the NT and a high proportion of those that have been adduced belong to the teaching of Jesus, which indicates, if the mistranslations are admitted, that hardly anything more than the teaching of Jesus was originally written in Aramaic. Contrary to Torrey and Burney, the most that can safely be

1. Or Hebrew, in the instance of St Luke. See the views of various specialists (Harnack, Dibelius, Sahlin, Vielhauer, Winter, Turner, Laurentin, Benoit) conveniently summarized in H.H. Oliver, 'The Lucan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke–Acts', *NTS* 10 (1963–64), pp. 202ff.

2. 'The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels', in *Studies in the History of Religions* (FS C.H. Toy; ed. D.G. Lyon and G.F. Moore; New York, 1912), pp. 283ff., quoted by W.F. Howard in J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard, *Accidence and Word-Formation*, vol. 2 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* (Edinburgh, 1929), Appendix, p. 478.

3. Torrey, 'The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels', p. 284, quoted by Howard, in Moulton and Howard, *Accidence and Word-Formation*, p. 478.

said is that an Aramaic sayings-source or sayings-tradition lies behind the synoptic gospels. Whatever the problem for the narrative portions of the gospels, there is strong support among Aramaic scholars for the view that Jesus spoke and thought in Aramaic, and that his words were first taken down in that language.

Among the alleged mistranslations is the saying where Jesus uses the verb, 'cut in pieces',[1] which is thought to be too strong a word to be reasonable, and which can be toned down admirably on the theory that Jesus spoke Aramaic. There is an Aramaic verb, *pesaq*, with the double meaning 'to cut' and 'to apportion'. Ignorance of the second meaning may have led an inexpert translator into a misunderstanding of his original. Jesus may have said, 'The master of that servant *will apportion* him and put him with the hypocrites'. This causes less offence to those who forget that this is after all a parable.

Another misunderstanding, said to have resulted in mistranslation, is the apparent nonsense produced by the aphorism, 'Give for alms that which is within' (Lk. 11.41). All is thought to be clear if it is supposed that St Luke, or someone whose work he used, confused the Aramaic words *dakki* and *zakki* and produced a mistranslation. Jesus may actually have said, '*Cleanse* that which is within', just as St Matthew represents him as saying. Not a few scholars are convinced by such examples that Aramaic was the language of Jesus, but I have suggested[2] an alternative explanation consistent with Greek grammar and excluding the appeal to Aramaic.

The question is unfortunately beset by the difficulty that there are insufficient contemporary sources for the kind of Aramaic which might have been familiar to Jesus, for almost no written records of this language have come down to us from the period 100 BC to AD 100. However, such translations as *maranatha*, *cephas*, *pascha* and *abba*, which have come through into Greek, suggest that the earliest Christian community was Aramaic speaking, and there is little wonder if many scholars—great names like those of J. Wellhausen, G. Dalman, C.C. Torrey, C.F. Burney, M.H. Segal, T.W. Manson and Matthew Black—have been of opinion that Jesus and his disciples used Aramaic at least in Galilee, and although they were probably also

1. In the parable of the wise servant (Mt. 24.51; Lk. 12.46).

2. 'Growing Opposition to Jesus', in *Grammatical Insights into the NT* (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 57.

acquainted with Hebrew or Greek, they conversed with each other normally in Aramaic and perhaps on solemn occasions, like his arguments with the Pharisees and the Last Supper, Jesus addressed his listeners in Hebrew. Matthew Black sums up the conclusion of Dalman, which he regards as firmly established: 'Jesus may have spoken Greek, but he certainly did speak and teach in Aramaic'.[1] Admittedly Aramaic was particularly associated with 'the people of the land', and in that class would be Jesus and his disciples. Nevertheless, on some occasions at least Jesus may have used Greek, such as his conversations with the Syro-Phoenician woman, the Roman centurion and the procurator Pontius Pilate.

Against the extreme view that the whole of Matthew was originally written in Aramaic,[2] we must say that the characteristically Greek phrase, *men...de*, occurs twenty times in this gospel, and that is an unsual proportion for translation Greek, to say the least. Even the reported words of John the Baptist contain this typically Greek phrase (3.11), and it occurs in the words of Jesus[3] and of his disciples.[4] It should be remarked that every occurrence of *men...de* is in the words of Jesus, his disciples, or the Baptist—in fact, in that part of the gospel which is commonly thought to be derived from the document Q, about as early an account of Jesus' teaching as one could easily conceive. Since such a document bears obvious signs of having been originally composed in Greek, the advocates of the theory of an exclusively Aramaic-speaking Jesus should have reason to be cautious. The *men...de* construction occurs hardly at all in translated books.[5]

Another construction which is rare indeed in the translated books of the Septuagint is the genitive absolute, plentiful enough still in the

1. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, 2nd edn, 1954), p. 14 n.

2. For the theory of an Aramaic Matthew, see M.-J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon S. Matthieu* (Paris, 8th edn, 1948), pp. lxxixff., especially xcff. Besides *men...de*, see the tables (below) for genitive absolute construction, which reveal that it occurs once in twenty verses in Matthew as a whole, making a translation hypothesis the more improbable.

3. Mt. 9.37; 10.13; 13.4, 8, 23, 32; 16.3; 17.11; 20.23; 21.35; 22.5, 8; 23.27, 28; 25.15, 33; 26.24, 41.

4. Mt. 16.14.

5. N. Turner, *Syntax*, vol. 3 of *A Grammar of NT Greek*, by J.H. Moulton (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 332.

Common Greek of the period and even in works of biblical Greek authors when they are not translating from Hebrew or Aramaic. It is not very common in St John's Gospel or St Paul; opportunities for its use occur in narrative rather than in doctrinal or philosophical works. From the tables which follow, some evidential results appear. St Matthew apparently is addicted to the construction, and so is St Luke. Inevitably it occurs less frequently in the Q-sections, as there is a predominance of teaching and sparsity of narrative, but in spite of this the incidence of the genitive absolute is here very marked when compared with the translated books of the Septuagint. For instance, in subject matter Q is most comparable with Ecclesiasticus and yet even in St Matthew's version of Q, where it occurs less often than in St Luke's, the genitive absolute occurs *twenty-eight times as often* as in Ecclesiasticus. If the Q material was ever in Hebrew or Aramaic—most improbable, in view of these figures—then both versions were very free translations indeed, even paraphrases. Yet that is impossible, for no Christian translator would render the holy sayings of Jesus so freely. Veneration demanded literal treatment, and in this the Septuagint affords a parallel. As reverence for the sacred books increased, so did the degree of literalness in the translation.

Significantly enough, the synoptic tradition is not alone in displaying the influence of Aramaic. The style of St John, who represents a different and perhaps later tradition, and especially the style of the discourses of Jesus, is that of Semitic speech; indeed, a modern tendency is to see the book as a product of gnosticizing Judaism, with a double influence of Aramaic diction and Gnostic dualism.

Undoubted traces of Aramaic syntax are not an argument against apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel, if the present Greek book is based on the work of the apostle John who, having emigrated to Ephesus, composed a work in Aramaic which was later rendered into Greek. Perhaps he did this himself, for he may have been alive until just before AD 100. Alternatively, the Aramaic original of the apostle may have been put into Greek by an Ephesian elder who added the last chapter and perhaps wrote the second and third epistles.

Turning from the Aramaic question we may now ask whether Jesus, sometimes at least, spoke Hebrew. Although there is little evidence, the theory has been advanced and, by the fact that in the synagogue at Nazareth the scroll of Isaiah was handed to him and that he read a passage from it in a manner provoking admiration, one is probably

justified in assuming that he was at least well enough versed in biblical Hebrew to read it fluently. All this rests on the probability that in a Galilean synagogue of the period the Law and the Prophets were still read in Hebrew. Even if that is a safe assumption, there was nevertheless an *oral* translation of the Law into Aramaic in Palestine as early as the time of Nehemiah and the written translation which soon followed may very well have been used in the synagogues of Galilee.

The Occurrence of the Genitive Absolute

New Testament Books (Gospels)

Infancy Narrative (Mt.)	5/48	or one in	10	Verses[1]
Non-Q (Mt.)	48/855	" "	18	"
Matt's Special Source (M)	14/251	" "	18	"[2]
Markan sections of Matt	29/540[3]	" "	19	"
St Matthew	52/1068	" "	20	"
St Mark	30/661	" "	22	"
St Luke	43/1149	" "	26	"
Non-Q (Lk.)	34/943	" "	28	"
Q (in Lk.)	9/272[4]	" "	30	"[5]
	6/206[6]	" "	34	"[7]
Q (in Mt.)	4/213	" "	53	"[8]
St John	12/878	" "	73	"

1. 1.18, 20; 2.1, 13, 19.
2. 5.1; 6.3; 9.32, 33; 17.24, 26; 18.24, 25; 20.8; 25.5, 10; 27.19; 28.11, 13.
3. Of these, thirteen are copied directly from Mark and sixteen are the original work of the evangelist (From Mark: 8.16, 28; 13.21; 14.15, 23; 17.9; 24.3; 26.6, 20, 21, 26, 47; 27.57. Added to Mark: 8.1; 9.10, 18; 12.46; 13.6, 19; 14.32; 17.14, 22; 20.29; 21.10, 23; 22.41; 26.60; 27.1, 17).
4. Based on B.H. Streeter's reconstruction in *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London, 1924).
5. To those in the next note but one, below, add 3.21; 12.36; 19.11.
6. Based on Streeter's figures in the original *Peake's Commentary* (B.H. Streeter, 'The Synoptic Problem', in A.S. Peake, *A Commentary on the Bible* [London, 1919], p. 679).
7. 6.48; 7.6, 24; 9.57; 11.14, 29.
8. This includes 17.5 which agrees with Luke, although it is a Markan section. It must be from Q, or else it indicates that St Luke knew Matthew. Undoubtedly Q are 8.5; 11.7; 16.2.

New Testament Books (Acts and Epistles)

Acts 16–28	61/446	or one in	7 verses
3 John	1/15	" "	15 "
1 Peter	6/105	" "	17 "
Acts 1–15	29/560	" "	19 "
2 Peter	3/61	" "	20 "
Hebrews	13/303	" "	23 "
St Paul (exc. Eph., Pastorals)	21/1609	" "	77 "
St Paul (incl. Pastorals)	21/2033	" "	97 "

Septuagint[1] (arranged in ascending order of frequency)

(1) Translated Books

Ecclesiasticus	1/1406	or one in	1406 verses
Judges–Ruth	1/703	" "	703 "
Joshua	1/657	" "	657 "
Ezekiel	2/1273	" "	636 "
Psalms	4/2534	" "	633 "
1 Chronicles	2/942	" "	471 "
Isaiah	4/1290	" "	322 "
2 Chronicles	3/822	" "	274 "
Numbers	5/1285	" "	257 "
1 Maccabees	4/924	" "	231 "
Ecclesiastes	1/222	" "	222 "
Minor Prophets	5/1049	" "	210 "
Genesis	9/1532	" "	170 "
Jeremiah	8/1343	" "	168 "
3 Kingdoms	6/856	" "	143 "
Deuteronomy	7/957	" "	137 "
Exodus	9/1173	" "	130 "
Leviticus	7/859	" "	123 "
4 Kingdoms	6/722	" "	120 "
1 Kingdoms	7/806	" "	115 "
2 Kingdoms	6/686	" "	114 "
Proverbs	8/916	" "	114 "
Job	13/1074	" "	83 "

(2) Paraphrases

Tobit	3/241	or one in	80 verses
Epistle of Jeremy	1/72	" "	72 "
Daniel (LXX)	6/419	" "	70 "
1 Esdras	11/430	" "	39 "

1. For the overall figures I am dependent on A.W. Argyle's note, 'The Genitive Absolute in Biblical Greek', *ExpTim* 69 (1957–58), p. 285.

(3) Free Greek Books

Wisdom	13/439	or one in 34 verses
4 Maccabees	21/484	" " 23 "
3 Maccabees	27/228	" " 8 "
2 Maccabees	80/555	" " 7 "

Supposing then that Jesus could read Hebrew, I wonder whether he could or did habitually speak it. I would go further. His Bible was not consistently, if at all, the Hebrew scriptures. On the cross he began to quote the twenty-second Psalm in an Aramaic version; the quotation was not originally in Hebrew, for there is no adequate reason why St Mark or his source should have changed it to Aramaic, and the Aramaic form *Eloi* (no less than the Hebrew *Eli*) could have provoked the taunt of 'Elijah' from a scornful crowd. Moreover, there are indications that he knew the scriptures in a Greek version, because Mt. 5.39-40 (a possible quotation from Isa. 50.6) appears in a different form from the Hebrew Bible which is known as the Masoretic text. Jesus is reported as saying, 'Whosoever shall *smite* thee on the right cheek...' The Septuagint version of Isaiah has, 'I gave my cheeks to *smitings*', and Jesus may very well have this text in mind. If so, it was the Greek Bible which came to mind since the Hebrew text has the rather different idea, 'I gave my cheeks to *them that plucked off the hair*'. From this evidence one would suppose that Jesus knew the Scriptures in Greek but not in Hebrew.

However, Dr Birkeland has argued that Jesus regularly spoke in Hebrew; that the sources of the gospel were written in Hebrew; and that this was not even the current Mishnaic variety, but a dialect nearer to the classical language of the Bible and less subject to Aramaic influence.[1] Part of Birkeland's thesis is that a dialect like this was still in use among the lower classes of Palestine in Christian times. He proposed that the upper classes used Aramaic, while the learned classes understood both languages. The argument concerning Hebrew may well be sound as far as isolated country districts or communities, like Qumran, are concerned, but only if it was something rather less refined than classical Hebrew, and probably in Judaea rather than in Galilee.

St Luke's description of St Paul speaking to the mob in the Temple

1. H. Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* (Oslo, 1954).

'in the Hebrew tongue' is not very significant. Aramaic was the language of the 'Hebrew' people and St Luke, St John, and Josephus fall into this loose way of speaking; in fact, some of the words they call 'Hebrew' are known to us as exclusively Aramaic. It would be dangerous to argue that the contemporary Hebrew had borrowed these words from Aramaic, since in the case of *Akeldama,* for instance, Hebrew already had a word meaning *blood* (viz. *dam*) and there would be no necessity to borrow the Aramaic *dema.*[1]

As long ago as 1891 T.K. Abbott argued effectively in favour of Greek as the dominical language, and one of his best submissions was that if Jesus regularly taught in Aramaic it is difficult to explain why St Mark adopted the curious practice of reproducing only some, and not all, of his sayings in Aramaic. St Mark gives no more than *talitha coum*, 5.41; *qorban*, 7.11; *ephphatha*, 7.34; *abba*, 14.36; *eloi eloi lema sabachthani*, 15.34. One would think that the evangelist's reason for reproducing this particular selection of transliterations is that, contrary to his usual way, Jesus spoke in Aramaic on these occasions. The reason why is not so clear, but on some of them he may have been addressing individuals whose sole language was Aramaic.

Improbable in the extreme is the contention that St Mark is giving his readers a selection of Jesus' 'words of power' with the aim of letting them hear what the Aramaic sounded like. Another speculation, hardly more worthy of attention, is that St Mark normally translated all Jesus' Aramaic into corresponding Greek but that once or twice the Aramaic word slipped off the end of his pen by mistake and, thinking it too good to delete, he merely added the Greek equivalent.

Consideration has already been given to the alleged mistranslations, but on the opposite side there is evidence which may establish original Greek composition. In Lk. 8.15 Jesus uses a phrase which looks anything but Semitic: 'in a beautiful and good heart'. It is well known that 'beautiful and good' (*kalos kāgathos*) is the traditional Greek phrase for a gentleman; it has no parallel in either Hebrew or Aramaic. Moreover there is an alliteration (three k's) which is too good to be true if Jesus did not use the words *en kardiā kalē kai agathē*. There are other instances in the reported words of Jesus. There is the vigorous phrase, which seems original, in Mt. 21.41: *kakous kakōs* ('he will destroy those miserable men miserably').

1. J.A. Emerton, 'Did Jesus Speak Hebrew?', *JTS* ns 12 (1961), p. 192.

There is the clever juxtaposition of *limoi* and *loimoi* (famines and pestilences) in Lk. 21.11 which is less likely to be the creation of a translator than to be original. Again, *Petros* and *petra* are too ingenious for the ordinary translator (Mt. 16.18: Peter and rock), and we have not yet achieved it in any English version. Besides, it would have been pointless for early translators of the Lord's words to indulge in clever adornments, and interest in language for its own sake could not have been very high on their list of priorities.

If we may cite the Lord's words in the fourth gospel, there is further evidence against translation from Aramaic in his discourse with Nicodemus. 'Except a man be born *again*, he cannot see the kingdom of God' (3.3, 7). The word 'again' (*anōthen*) has a double meaning but, as Grotius remarked so very long ago, there is no equivalent in Hebrew and Aramaic which has the double meaning that *anōthen* has; but Grotius went on from this to conclude that, as Jesus must have spoken to a rabbi in either Hebrew or Aramaic, there can only have been one meaning intended by his use of *anōthen*. This is to spoil the powerful point in the double meaning; for 'again' is the same word (*anōthen*) as is used for 'from above'. Supposing therefore that Jesus conversed with Nicodemus in Greek we are confronted with the truth that conversion is not only a *new* birth (being born *again*) but also a birth from God (being born *from above*). In spite of general reluctance to believe that Jesus would speak to a rabbi in Greek, it should be remembered that this occurred probably in Galilee and not in Jerusalem (see v. 22); and Nicodemus, whose name is thoroughly Greek, may have been a rabbi of a very liberal kind, probably a 'Hellenist' like Stephen.

When he is discussing the allegory of the Vine, there is a pun which Bengel called 'suavis rhythmus' and which really excludes the possibility of translation: first the verb *airei*, then the verb *kathairei*,[1] and no English version so much as attempts to reproduce the play on words. If there was such a play in Aramaic, it seems incredible that the evangelist or his sources were lucky enough to achieve the same in Greek. The best we can do in English is: 'Every branch that beareth not fruit, he *removeth*; and every branch that beareth fruit, he *reproveth*'. But this has nothing of the brilliance of the Greek and in

1. To read *arei* and *kathariei*, in accordance with the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, is to spoil the play on words.

any case is not quite accurate, which goes to show how difficult it is to transfer paronomasiae from one language to another (Jn 15.2).

It has been pleaded[1] that if Jesus spoke Greek it would be the Koine and therefore, because the language of the gospels is not actually the Koine but a 'hybrid composed of Greek words and Aramaic syntax' (according to H.M. Draper), Jesus could not possibly have spoken Greek. Such an argument entirely fails to consider the hypothesis that the 'hybrid' was a distinct type of Jewish Greek, which I would prefer to call biblical Greek, spoken by Jesus. We need not quarrel in the least with the statement that this Greek is not 'good' Koine. But it is wrong to draw the conclusion that because Jesus' words are recorded in such a language he cannot actually have spoken it and so must have used Aramaic or Hebrew. The hypothesis of biblical Greek as a spoken language must be seriously considered.

As early as 1949 I put forward my first suspicions that such a language was spoken.

> Even in the matter of possible oral sources in Aramaic the assumption that our Lord and the apostles spoke and wrote in Aramaic must not be too easily made. Except in exclusively Jewish circles Greek was probably the regular language of Palestine, even though it were a kind of Jewish Greek.[2]

It is not inconceivable that, whatever the language of Jesus, it was influenced by all those spoken in Galilee at that time, viz. Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and perhaps Latin.[3] It was biblical Greek, of a kind not very different from the Septuagint—a branch of the Koine, but very different from what we read in the Egyptian rubbish heaps or on the papyrus of more literate people. Since 1949, intense study of vocabulary and syntax seems to me to establish that there was a distinguishable dialect of spoken and written Jewish Greek. That is to say, the biblical language was more than a written product of those whose mother tongue was Semitic and who floundered in Greek because they knew so little of it that they must copy Semitic idioms as they penned

1. E.g. by H.M. Draper ('Did Jesus Speak Greek?', *ExpTim* 67 [1955–56], p. 317) against A.W. Argyle.

2. 'Were the Gospels written in Greek or Aramaic?', *EvQ* 21 (1949), p. 44.

3. Although there is little evidence that our Lord ever spoke Latin, perhaps there is a slight trace of it in the saying, 'Have salt (Latin *salem*). . . and be at peace (Hebrew *shalôm*)', Mk 9.50.

it. I am not the first to suggest that the Greek of the OT was a language distinct from the mainstream of the Koine, yet fully understood by Jews.[1] Perhaps, as Gehman suggests, those who used this dialect of Greek were bilingual; it may have been a temporary phase in the history of the language, representing a period of transition for those Jews who were passing from a Semitic speaking period. However, as words of a much later date, like the *Testament of Abraham*, exhibit exactly this kind of diction, I do not think it was merely transitional. Certainly it was not artificial. Biblical Greek is so powerful and fluent, it is difficult to believe that those who used it did not have at hand a language all ready for use. This, I submit, was the normal language of Jesus, at least in Galilee—rather a separate dialect of Greek than a form of the Koine, and distinguishable as something parallel to classical, Hellenistic, Koine and Imperial Greek.

Such a view constitutes a reaction against the position of J.H. Moulton in the first two volumes of the grammatical trilogy, and of Deissmann and Thumb. Some critics are sceptical about Jewish Greek because they observe that the 'Semitisms' are also found in the Koine. Anticipating the objection, C.F. Burney urged that 'practically the whole of the new material upon which we base our knowledge of the Koine comes from Egypt, where there existed large colonies of Jews whose knowledge of Greek was undoubtedly influenced by the translation Greek of the LXX'.[2] Egyptian Koine may in fact have been influenced by Semitic diction. Burney cited others who supported his thesis sixty years ago.

> It is precarious to compare a literary document with a collection of personal and business letters, accounts, and other ephemeral writings; slips in word-formation or in syntax which are to be expected in the latter, are phenomenal in the former, and if they find a place there, can only be attributed to lifelong habits of thought,[3]

1. Dr H.S. Gehman, 'The Hebrew Character of Septuagint Greek', *VT* 1 (1951), pp. 81-90 [reprinted in this collection—ed.]; 'Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis', *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 141-48; and see my note, 'The Unique Character of Biblical Greek', *VT* 5 (1955), pp. 208ff.; and 'The Language of the NT', in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley; London, 1962), p. 577 c.

2. C.F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford, 1922), p. 4.

3. H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John* (London, 2nd edn, 1907), p. cxxiv n. 1.

and Swete raised the further question whether 'the quasi-Semitic colloquialisms' of the Koine may not themselves be due to the influence of the many Jews living in the Nile Delta.

The question of Jewish influence on the Koine, raised by scholars like Redpath and Swete, has not yet been met. Dr Moulton attempted an answer[1] along the lines that the Greek in the papyri does not differ from Greek in the vernacular inscriptions which have been found in widely scattered regions 'and we cannot postulate in every quarter an influential Ghetto'. Thus, a dozen examples of instrumental *en* came from Tebtunis in 1902, and Tebtunis was not a place which was likely to possess a considerable Jewish population. The point is taken, but there are too many other instances where a Hebrew idiom has obviously popularized and extended one which was already fairly familiar in Greek. The Greek Bible and the synagogues of the Dispersion had a great influence on the world of Hellenism, not solely in Egypt and not on Jews and proselytes exclusively. The Bible has everywhere influenced thought and language, 'for from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every sabbath in the synagogues'.

Again, as one reflects upon those many strongly Semitic phrases in biblical Greek one must comment that there is no secular document known to us that is written consistently in this style. The phrases have come from the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, by some way or other; Semitic and Greek idioms coincide in too many instances within the pages of one book. Certainly all languages tend to develop the same speech-forms, and Koine Greek advanced towards simpler forms of speech on the oriental pattern, but most of the Semitic phrases and idioms in biblical Greek and the Koine have no parallel in the dialects of ancient Greece, which makes it more probable that they have been borrowed than that they developed within the Greek language itself. Such phrases and idioms are: the initial position of the verb in the sentence, the redundance of personal pronouns, prepositional phrases with the word 'face', instrumental *en*, resumptive pronouns, 'whether' introducing a question. Moreover, we have some fairly definite evidence of borrowing, at least at a later time, for the Hebrew

1. J.H. Moulton, 'NT Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery', in *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day: By Members of the University of Cambridge* (ed. H.B. Swete; Cambridge, 1909), p. 468 [p. 65 in this collection—ed.].

comparison of adjectives by means of a Hebrew word meaning 'from' is reproduced in modern Greek by a Greek word meaning 'from'.

The more important question was bound to follow. Does the phenomenon of biblical Greek arise from Semitic *documents* lying behind the Greek Old and New Testaments? Are Semitic circumlocutions, like 'he answered and said' or 'he arose/went and did', deliberate imitations of biblical language by a Greek author who wished to produce a book with a biblical ring about it, or are they indications that a translator was actually rendering a Semitic original which lay before him? No argument for translation will be convincing until many more examples of dittographs, mistranslations, and paronomasiae, are detected in the NT. Indeed, such evidence is very slight. We find no trace whatever of the literalism of the later parts of the Septuagint, much less anything like the barbarism of Aquila. There is not even a trace of the Hebrew infinitive absolute.[1] The authors are never averse from using *hupo* to express the passive idea, although Hebrew and Aramaic authors, and their translators, prefer to express the idea by means of the impersonal use of the third person plural in the *active* voice. In the early chapters of Acts there is a large use of Hebrew circumlocutions involving the face, hand, mouth, and name, but in itself the evidence is not strong enough to prove that the chapters are a direct translation and may indicate that their author was acquainted with the branch or dialect of the Koine which was employed by the Hellenistic Jews and proselytes, a dialect which naturally gave a large place within itself to Greek idioms which happened also to be well loved phrases in Hebrew or Aramaic; it had also absorbed many familiar phrases of the Septuagint and exhibited the Jewish predilection for more concrete expressions and simpler speech.

The more closely I study this fascinating dialect, the more I am convinced that biblical Greek is conspicuously a method of symbolic presentation, like early Christian art within the same and later periods. Literary, no less than artistic, creative effort may be a reflection of an inspiring Spirit making himself articulate, but inability to think conceptually, or even to read, has never hindered the spread of either art or faith. It has often been compensated by a balancing appreciation of visual imagery. Artists use symbols, in words as well as in pictorial

1. Whether the literal rendering in Josh. 17.13(B) or the adverbial rendering in Gen. 32.12, 4 Kgdms 5.11, or even the dative of a noun.

art and music, for a symbol is the union of a material image with the transcendent supra-sensual—dare we say, 'spiritual'?—message which the image evokes.

The naturalism of contemporary pagan art had no more than a superficial influence on the early Christians, who reverted to the symbol as to the simplest and profoundest form of communication. Pictures of Mary never depicted the beauty of woman or the devotion of motherhood, but were symbols of the Mother of God. The earliest portraits of Christ made no pretence to naturalistic realism but were dogmatic in purpose. No portrait for about four centuries depicts him bearded, and he is endowed with a look of perpetual youthfulness. This may be Art in Chains, screwed down to dogma, and biblical Greek gives the same impression of Greek in chains. But neither form of art loses any vigour because it has shed conventional culture and forged its own primitive medium. Of course, symbols are never created *ex nihilo* and biblical Greek as well as Christian inconography adopted the conventional materials of the time. Biblical Greek is Greek. Having said that, there is so much difference from the contemporary language that we are justified in looking for some special nisus within it.

Recently, critics have taken more notice of iconographic art and react against the assumption that the Renaissance liberated Byzantine art from the dominance of Christian dogma, and that the creators of icons, humble servants of the Church, had allowed their technique to be so rigorously circumscribed that it was no more than a handicraft. True, the artists—like biblical Greek writers—were innocent of any ambition to delight the senses and were devoted to inspiring worship and inculcating doctrine. Icons were produced by the hundred, and certainly by the sixth century their subject matter was stereotyped. The technique is described in a very much later Greek document entitled *Explanation of Painting*,[1] and known as the Painter's Manual of Mount Athos. The collection may go back originally to the eleventh century,[2] although it was often re-copied, revised, and extended; a

1. Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς. In 1839 the French savant, M. Didron, obtained the manuscript of this work from Mt Athos and translated and published it as *Manuel d'iconographie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1843).

2. Not earlier than sixteenth century, according to A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, *Denys de Fourna, Manuel d'iconographie Chrétienne* (St Petersburg, 1900).

final edition was produced apparently in the early eighteenth century by Dionysius, a monk of Furna, who seems to have been guided by an icon artist of the monastery, Manuel Panselinos, and who dedicated his work to 'Mary, Mother of God and ever Virgin'. The monks of Mount Athos, being devoted to defending the Faith, preserved the traditional art of the holy icons.

The parallel between iconography and biblical Greek can be studied in this treatise which, in each of its several books, deals with aspects of painting, such as the method of applying colour to the wooden panels, the correct kind of ground, and the application of the gilt which still shines through the candle smoke and other defacements of the years. Presentation of the artist's message was governed by elaborate rules concerning the treatment of the nose, eyes, lids and beards, but within these severe limits, Byzantine, Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian artists achieved a mysterious effect of flatness and abstraction which art critics and theologians now discuss with interest. Modern Greeks too[1] begin to value their heritage of iconography and are ridding their churches of nineteenth-century borrowings from the west.

St Mark and the author of Revelation give every appearance of having worked in this way, from a textbook, and to have strange aberrations of style which horrify the reader who comes directly from secular Greek, and yet they are faithful to their own severely circumscribed rules.[2] The simplicity is often breathtaking, the careless artistry uncannily matching the narrative and the graphic visual imagery of the two books. Even St Luke's art is not really naturalistic when one examines it carefully, and St Paul cares as little for this world's canons of literary taste as he does for the rest of its wisdom. We do see a slight departure from symbolical syntax in the more flexible and studied periods of the author to the Hebrews,

1. The austere technique of the Byzantine tradition is well expressed in a recent publication by a modern Greek: C. Cavarnos, *Byzantine Sacred Art: Selected Writings of the Contemporary Greek Icon Painter, Fotius Kontoglous* (New York, 1957). Reference should also be made to Photius Kontoglou, *Explanation of Orthodox Iconography* (2 vols., 1960) (text in modern Greek).

2. E.g. 'Phrases which occur for the first time without the art[icle] have the art[icle] prefixed on their recurrence': R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John* (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1920), I, p. cxx. For St Mark, see the stimulating work of G.D. Kilpatrick, especially 'Some Notes on Marcan Usage', *BT* 7 (1956), pp. 2-9, 51-56, 146.

but the naturalism is more apparent than real.

Scholars like Erasmus endeavoured to mould the Church's taste into a classical tradition, and the study of the NT Greek suffered accordingly as men began to look at it with secular eyes; and yet the old symbolism in painting lived on in El Greco, the Greek who settled in Spain. His earliest pictures—before 1600—show the naturalistic influence in Venice, especially Tintoretto, and Raphael to a less degree, even as late as the *Cleansing of the Temple*, with its Venetian background. Nevertheless with *St Joseph and the Boy Christ*, iconography creeps in. Each figure is an image of grace, its gestures arranged with inner significance. The boy's upreaching hand speaks of trust which is continued directly into the devoted care of the guardian's hand. Passion in the angelic figures is indicated by their being placed upside down. The whole symbol is evocative of veneration for the counter-Reformation cult of St Joseph. Moreover, there is El Greco's unity of colour and texture, which is part of the genius of the *maniera bizantina.*

Every word of this is true of NT Greek, if we transfer the underlying image from visual to mental material. There is unity of verbal colour and texture; there is abstraction, and flagrant disregard of literary virtuosity, breaches of accepted rules of syntax which critics denounce as anacolutha, and yet the total effect of this barbarism, like barbaric Gothicism, is to evoke a sense of the holy and to point the reader beyond. Especially is this so in that book which closes the canon and which is, I think, the most characteristic example of this kind of Greek,[1] the chief glory of this hieratic tongue. The Book of Revelation is the sublimest icon of them all.

1. E.g. *apo* is used with the nominative case (1.4), which is far worse than our saying 'From you and I'. There are expressions like, 'The he-was' (1.4), and solecistic sense-constructions like, 'A reed was given to me, saying' (11.1). There are frequent breaches of concord in gender, number and case, and participles often take the place of finite verbs. Such characteristics in Revelation distinguish the author only in intensity from other biblical Greek authors, and not in quality. I cannot agree with Dr Charles that 'the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely unique' (*Revelation*, I, p. cxliii.)

On the Question of Linguistic Levels and the Place of the New Testament in the Contemporary Language Milieu

Lars Rydbeck*

1. *The 'Vernacular Language'*

> . . . in general we are by no means able to understand the colloquial Greek language of the Imperial period (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* [Berlin, 1928], p. 5).

In the traditional grammar books (Blass–Debrunner, Radermacher, Moulton, Turner) many of the phenomena studied are called 'popular'.[1] To my knowledge no grammar gives a satisfactory definition of this concept.[2] This type of classification gives rise to two questions. (1) Can a grammatical phenomenon *per se* be

* This essay is reprinted, with permission, from Lars Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament: Zur Beurteilung der sprachlichen Niveauunterschiede im nachklassischen Griechisch* (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 186-99. The initial translation was completed by Marika Walter and Harold Biessmann, and revised by the author and by the editor, who has inserted cross-references to the rest of Rydbeck's monograph.

1. This is valid for the phenomena which I have researched in *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (Uppsala, 1967) (abbreviated as *Fachprosa*) and which have received the stamp of being popular, if not in grammar books at least from other authorities in the field: the subjectless third person plural verb for the idea of 'one', with verbs other than those of speech; ὅμοιος with the genitive; ἑαυτῷ as 'by oneself', 'self', 'on one's own initiative'; temporal expressions of the type πρὸ δύο ὡρῶν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς 'two hours before the attack' and related constructions; the syntax of comparatives; ὅδε as 'this or that'; ὅς and ὅστις; and use of the particle ἐάν *post relativa*.

2. Compare L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (Tübingen, 2nd edn, 1925), p. 6: 'What is the Hellenistic vernacular language? Maybe it is said best this way: Everything that shows life and development when compared with the past'. A very broad definition!

'popular'; can thus 'popularity' be connected with it?; and (2) why has it been so difficult to keep separated from each other the statement that a phenomenon is popular and the fact that it occurs in some popular texts? Concerning the examples in my first footnote, it has been impossible to determine that something 'popular' is connected with them *per se*.

Moreover, it would seem that researchers have not based their opinions regarding the popularity of the phenomena on a real knowledge of their distribution in the post-classical language (e.g. in the simple, Christian popular literature of the Imperial period).

Another criterion which could have been used but has not yet been applied is the function of a phenomenon in a given context. For example, an emotionally colored kind of story-telling[1] may treat a certain phenomenon in a popular way by using it in a very distinct context. Yet such delicate issues have not been discussed.

The question arises as to which criteria have really been used in defining the popularity of a phenomenon. Primary, of course, is the fact that a particular phenomenon appears in both the NT and the papyri (these two bodies of texts have been, and are still sometimes, considered undifferentiated text masses) but cannot be documented in classical Attic Greek. Secondary is the fact that the phenomenon

1. Compare also, although it concerns the German language, the generally valid explanations of W. Henzen, *Schriftsprache und Mundarten* (Bern, 2nd edn, 1954), pp. 36-37. He defines characteristic traits of popular language: simple logic, emotional, sensual, pictorial and phantasy-determined expression, successive thinking with a corresponding word order and syntax, and an associative and egocentric mindset. None of the phenomena mentioned in n. 1 on the previous page qualify *sua sponte* according to their character as deserving the term 'popular' owing to their syntactical lack of logic, etc. A book like J.B. Hofmann's *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (Heidelberg, 1926, 1936, 1951) with its positive focus on research is probably unthinkable for the post-classical Greek language. Greek scholars do not have the possibilities as do Latinists to study the colloquial language in archaic–literary 'bottling'. There is no Greek Plautus. *Koine* scholars can not make use of Aristophanes and Menander. This situation is a little like an upside-down world. The people themselves cannot repeat the 'vernacular language' in writing; only a perceptive stylist can give a true impression of popular syntax and style. Compare to this H. Happ, 'Die lateinische Umgangssprache und die Kunstsprache des Plautus', *Glotta* 45 (1967), pp. 60-104 (with valuable fundamental discussions).

in question deviates from the norm, especially because of its lack of occurrence in Attic Greek.[1]

My studies show that it is phenomena that fit these criteria which have been lumped together as amorphous 'vernacular language'.[2] The commom term 'vernacular language' used by grammarians is based on this kind of detailed classification. When these classifications do not hold water in so many important language areas as are considered here, there is good cause for re-evaluation.

2. *Intermediate Level Prose*

The existence of a linguistic intermediate level cannot be proven in the same way as a conjecture might be proved true. It is indeed difficult to view as the result of pure chance the distribution in the post-classical era of the phenomena being studied. The phenomena are found in technical prose, and do not occur in those language levels that are literarily conservative and that are normally rated higher than these texts. In the previous section I have pointed out how little substance the term 'vernacular language' really has. The occurrence of these phenomena in technical prose texts renders their classification as

1. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 2nd edn, 1897), p. 790.

2. Before Deissmann and Moulton 'coined' the term 'vernacular language' for the language of the NT and the papyri, the vernacular language seemed to have been a collective term for post-classical, non-classicizing Greek in general. C.G. Cobet writes about Polybius as follows (*Commentatio de sinceritate Graeci sermonis in Graecorum scriptis post Aristotelem graviter depravata,* pp. 9-10, in *Commentationes philologicae tres in Instituti Regii Belgici classe tertia* [Amstelodami, 1853]): 'sordet Polybius et fastiditur: utitur tamen oratione, qualis erat tum in ore populi'. At the time of Deissmann, it was not uncommon to describe the language of a technical prose writer as Tittel does in his *Realencyclopädie* article on Heron (PW, Neue Bearbeitung 8 [1913], cols. 1000 and 1008): 'Since H. untouched by the Atticistic style writes very vulgarly. . .', 'He rather writes the language of the common man who occasionally has trouble expressing his thoughts. . . It teems with technical terms which are often surprisingly graphic. Amazingly large is the number of diminutives which are typical of vernacular language. He only achieves the height of literary education in a few theoretical explanations which he borrowed from others,' etc. Compare also the cautious change of opinion on the language of Heron by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the second and third editions of *Die griechische Literatur des Altertums* (Die Kultur der Gegenwart I.8 [2nd edn], p. 145; [Leipzig and Berlin, 3rd edn, 1922], p. 221).

vernacular or popular (whatever one may mean by these terms) even less credible.

Here the question is raised as to the influence of the spoken language on this intermediate level within the koine.[1] It is particularly difficult to prove that, for example, the technical writers were less restrictive than representatives of the other classes and text types with respect to elevating peculiarities of popular language to the level of written prose. In some cases I have pointed out such possibilities (ἐάν after relatives, restrictive dependent clauses without ἄν, and individual ὅστις). But since these phenomena are diffused in normal written Greek over a longer period of time (200 to 300 years), they obtain the function of totally incorporated parts of written Greek grammar.[2] Thus it makes sense no longer to call them characteristics of the popular or vernacular language.

Furthermore, it may be stated that the freedom of the technical prose with respect to grammar is a characteristic inherited since the beginning from the *Ionic* language area. The earliest Hippocratic texts (a detailed treatment of their grammar is still to be desired) are also strangely *laissez-aller* in grammatical details in comparison with the rest of contemporary Attic prose.

Technical prose, as well as, for example, historical prose, had a tradition in the Greek language, and stylized language was not something the technical writers of the early Roman era had to consider. It was in any case secondary in comparison to the technical presentation.

The tradition to present certain topics in a very distinct way was strong. It may suffice to refer to the similar descriptions of plants by

1. Compare—mutatis mutandis—Henzen, *Schriftsprache und Mundarten*, p. 17: 'It is in the nature of the thing that the stronger dialect chronically supports the fading written language', and p. 18: 'the written language will contain a good dose of dialect'.

2. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff remarks (*Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 31) optimistically but also hypothetically: 'Gradually, more and more of the spoken language intrudes into the written language, and this seems to have happened especially fast in Hellenistic Greek. This is why the so-called κοινή, the Greek of the three Hellenistic centuries, *if one does not solely regard the grammar*, is not a unit, not only because it comprises different styles, even if we disregard poetry, but because it changes over long periods of time, written as well as spoken' (my italics).

Theophrastus and Dioscurides.[1] This methodological and technical continuity supports linguistic continuity.

The scientific prose of the early Imperial era is indebted for everything to the Hellenistic tradition: primarily of course for its terminology and phraseology, but also for the appropriate style of expression in general. The origin of this prose lies in Ionia, as mentioned earlier.[2] An Attic variant on the boundary of the koine is the technical prose of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Their individual characteristics are certainly significant, even though I believe that, from its beginnings on Ionic and Attic soil, this type of prose in general is clearly distinguishable from the periodic and smoothed-out prose of the type of Isocrates, which lies behind the belletristic style of the Hellenistic historians.[3]

The authors of technical prose wanted to communicate facts, describe things, argue for or against something; they have no literary pretensions. We are dealing here with factual prose which was primarily intended for practical use. From Hellenistic times on, the Greeks became a prolifically *writing* people, even though surely not all were masters of style or literary craftsmen. In spite of that what one was striving for was to acquire a written language of a precise standard.

This non-literary, non-classicizing prose, which has been very briefly outlined here with respect to contents, style, and linguistic–grammatical features, came into abundant use in many areas at the beginning of the Imperial period. It was the medium of the scientists; when educated speech attained a deliberately written status, it was clear that one followed this language group (only highly individual examples with respect to contents and style have been preserved: Cebes's *Pinax*, Epictetus's *Diatribes*, and the texts of the NT[4]); the

1. See R. Strömberg, *Theophrastea. Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung* (Göteborg, 1937), pp. 25, 84, 179 and *passim*.

2. A. Wifstrand, 'Det grekiska prosaspråket. En historisk översikt', *Eranos* 50 (1952), pp. 149, 152, and 154.

3. See J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien. Ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der hellenistischen Prosa* (Lund, 1955), *passim*.

4. The good orthography in the oldest NT papyri is already an indication in this direction. R. Kasser writes in his 'Introduction générale' (p. 19) to *Papyrus Bodmer* XIV–XV (Cologne and Geneva, 1961) the following: 'But in general the orthography in $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is *remarkably* correct' (my italics). By the way, knowledge of reading and writing was not widespread in the 'lower' classes. See E. Majer-

commercial language of the governmental and local authorities (legal language) also belongs in this category. I would like to state that differences are great in style and contents between the various representatives of this technical prose. But if one considers what can be called the details of style, i.e. the general categories of morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, the common characteristics become apparent.

A writer without high literary ambitions, but wishing to express himself in writing at the beginning of the Imperial era, could thus fall back on this standard language, this normal prose. Here were found the units of morphology and syntax which everybody needed for written communication, and which were well known from the pre-classicizing basic education (see *Fachprosa*, pp. 111-12 n. 8) which children as well as adults enjoyed (the latter if they were non-Greeks).[1] For non-Greeks who learned Greek as adults (partly relevant in the case of the NT), the general point is also true that the less one has of a native tongue, the more one is forced to follow models which can be given through education and literature. This type of written language of course differed significantly from the daily spoken Greek of the writers; however, we do not know to what extent.

The situation became different in the second century AD with respect to technical prose and also in general with the *definitive* breakthrough of classicism. A sign of the iron grip of classicism is that even some scientists were captured by the antiquarian spirit. A typical case is the Ionic prose of Aretaeus in purely scientific (literary) products.[2] Men such as Galen, Sextus Empiricus, and Hermogenes, who do not represent classicism in its strict form,[3] were already

Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ in Aegypto qui litteras sciverint qui nesciverint ex papyris Graecis quantum fieri potest exploratur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1913), pp. 74-78 ('Qua vitae condicione fuerint homines litterarum gnari et ignari').

1. See also p. 202 n. 1.

2. F. Kudlien's dating of Aretaeus to the middle of the first century AD (*Untersuchungen zu Aretaios von Kappadokien* [Mainz, 1963], p. 30 and *passim*; *Lexikon der Alten Welt* [Zürich and Stuttgart, 1965], p. 291) is indeed hardly correct.

3. Galen: see W. Herbst, *Galeni Pergameni de atticissantium studiis testimonia* (Lipsiae, 1911), pp. 11-12 and *passim*; Sextus Empiricus: *Adv. math.* 1.179 (δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλομένους διαλέγεσθαι τῇ ἀτέχνῳ καὶ ἀφελεῖ κατὰ τὸν βίον [ὁμιλίᾳ (insert Bekker)] καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν τῶν πολλῶν συνήθειαν

(partly unconsciously) caught in its fetters. For these authors the *obiter dictum* of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff is valid (*Die griechische Literatur des Altertums*, 3rd edn, p. 221): 'so much has the school (i.e., the school of the rhetor) achieved'. Galen states the fact somewhat differently and offers us at the same time a valuable picture of his education (8.587 K.; Herbst, *Galeni Pergameni*, p. 139): Πατὴρ ἦν ἐμοὶ ἀκριβῶν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ παιδαγωγὸς Ἕλλην. Ἐν τούτοις ἐτράφην τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. Οὐ γνωρίζω τὰ σά (= words which were used by Archigenes). Μήτ' ἐμπόρων μοι μήτε καπήλων μήτε τελωνῶν χρῆσιν ὀνομάτων ἔπαγε, οὐχ ὡμίλησα τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις. Ἐν ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν βίβλοις διετράφην.

3. *Conclusions and Theses*

I am summarizing briefly the material *common* to my individual studies, realizing that several of the problems touched upon have already been discussed in the individual contributions. The table of contents of my *Fachprosa* (p. 191 n. 1 for a list of the major studies) will facilitate finding those places where questions of general significance are discussed.

1. The technical prose of the first century AD was defined as a group of texts which will have to be considered in continuing studies of the language of this period.

2. Remarkable parallels between the languages of the technical prose writers and the language in the NT and in the papyri have been documented. I will present here some fundamental points using one of the phenomena I have treated. My study of the relative pronouns shows that a totally *new* syntactical structure could be formed practically throughout the whole language at the end of the Hellenistic period. In some areas such as technical prose and the NT we have the possibility of studying this new structure more clearly than in others. The kind of thinking in categories—e.g., one or the other author has so many ἥτις instead of ἥ, οἵτινες instead of οἵ, etc.—which became

παρατηρήσει προσανέχειν); Hermogenes: *Inv.* I. 1, p. 94, 22ff. R. (τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἁπλότητος μὴ φροντίσῃς· διδασκαλικώτερον γὰρ ἐσπούδασα τὰς τέχνας ἀφηγήσασθαι, περιελὼν τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ λόγου καὶ γυμνὰ τιθεὶς τὰ νοήματα, ὡς εἶναι κατάδηλα μᾶλλον). Cf. also Wifstrand, 'Det grekiska prosaspråket', p. 159.

the cause of judging such appearances in the koine as *abnormal*, has been replaced by an objective view of the post-classical language development. In agreement with this, ἤτις *instead of* ἥ in almost the entire written koine below the most stringent classicizing level became the normal structure in the language at the time of the transition to the Imperial era (cf. my article on the 'Anstatt-Mentalität', in *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius* [ed. S.-T. Teodorsson; Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, 54; Göteborg, 1990], pp. 154-57).

What I present here is nothing unusual; nevertheless, much is gained if one is constantly aware that, by the old, familiar, Attic frame of reference, there is a barrier to access to true linguistic data in post-classical times.[1]

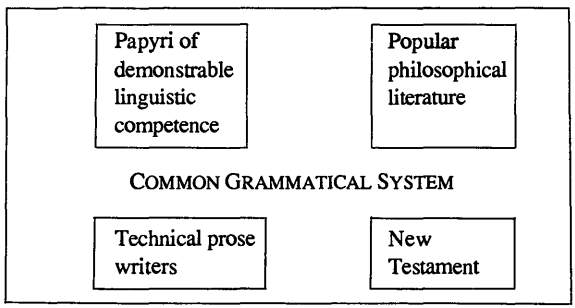
3. The parallel phenomena mentioned in (2) were previously—without technical prose being available as a control—judged as popular or, in some cases, as purely Semitically colored (the latter is the case, for example, in the general usage of the third person plural verb apart from verbs of speech). These assumptions have not proven true.

4. The facts obtained in my detailed studies are interpreted in such a way that we have to be aware of a significant *grammatical* relationship among the pre-classicizing texts in the first century AD. Some examples of such texts are Dioscurides, the pharmacologists cited word-for-word by Galen, the NT, papyri of demonstrable linguistic competence (which may be the case for the bulk of the papyri), Cebes, and Epictetus. I imagine a sort of common grammatical system in the

1. Other examples of new structures in the post-classical period are ἕως with the pure subjunctive, ὅμοιος with the genitive, ὡς ὅτι with the superlative to express the highest possible degree, ἑαυτῷ = self, πρό with the double genitive, etc. According to Szantyr (Leumann–Hofmann–Szantyr, *Lateinisches Grammatik*. II. *Syntax und Stilistik* [Munich, 1965], preface v) Latin syntax 'not only has to direct its interest to the normal and regular, but also—and this perhaps with first priority—to the abnormal, unusual, faulty. Its task is to set limits in which the abnormal is still tolerable, the unusual explicable and still bearable for the individual writer.' This is the problem which the text critic often intuitively tries to solve. It also has to be considered that it is individual post-classical examples which constitute the basis of Szantyr's theoretical program. Szantyr and his predecessors have in this case, in contrast to Schwyzer–Debrunner (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* [ed. A. Debrunner; Munich, 1959]) on the Greek side, really used the enormous material from the post-classical era. Unfortunately, such a grammar book for post-classical Greek is still missing.

early Imperial period, a grammatical basis for the pre-classicizing language of the time. This language system supplies the linguistic material common to many authors, which does not preclude that these authors can exhibit great differences in their topics and styles. Through its basic education, the school system contributed significantly to the solidity of this linguistic–grammatical base in the early Imperial period. The table below tries to illustrate these facts in a simplified way.

The Linguistic Intermediate Level in the First Century AD



Common grammatical system = the unifying grammatical base of the pre-classicizing authors of the time

5. The impact of the previous discussion is that from a linguistic–grammatical perspective I want to categorize neither the papyri nor the NT as popular texts in general. I also have strong reservations against the 'popular language thinking' of Deissmann, Moulton, and their followers.

The intentional depth of the term 'popular' is in any case very low, so that one must use it very carefully in the future.

Efforts to regain the live Greek language with the help of the NT can be traced back to the Romantic period. See F. Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik mit bes. Beziehung auf das NT* in *Sämmtliche Werke* (1 Abth. 7 Bd.; Berlin, 1838), pp. 58-59: 'The NT belongs entirely in the area of prose, but not in that of the artistic, scientific form, but more in that of common life (συνήθεια). This deserves consideration. Wherever grammar is considered, one pays more attention to the artistic, elaborate form of the language. What occurs in common life is less observed. Only sometimes is it stated in grammatical treatment of the authors that a term appears

which belongs more in common life. *However, a general view of the language of common life is not achieved*' (my italics). The attempt to extract the living language from the written pieces of the past will always be an almost impossible task.

It is worth noting that Deissmann, who was always searching for the living language, in his various works[1] mostly dealt with the problem of vocabulary: he is the first to consider on a large scale the vocabulary of the NT through that of the papyri. Judged by its contents, the NT represents a reality about which the contemporary artistic and technical literature gives almost no information. The papyri, which also deal with various aspects of practical life, must therefore offer more of this popular vocabulary. These words reflecting typical everyday life appeared not only in the spoken, but also in written koine (only from this source do we know them at all). These documents form the basis of the proven correspondences of vocabulary between the papyri and the New Testament. In my opinion, however, these superficial parallels of words are not sufficient for us to speak of the daily, popular language of the papyri and the New Testament, or to consider the language of the papyri as vernacular in general. Rather, the papyri are to a very low degree documents of vernacular, vulgar language; they range from extremely carefully written official documents, through correct business type letters, to really vulgar private letters, a minority among the otherwise quite carefully phrased private letters (compare my rough distinction based on limited papyrus material in the studies of ἐάν after relatives in my *Fachprosa*, p. 127). These vulgar documents, which somehow were subjected to normalization by writing (the old theme: 'anybody, however uneducated he may be, who grasps a pen'), are not available separately for philological studies; they are, as already mentioned, a minority, at best ten to fifteen per cent of the published so-called non-literary papyri. A normal papyrus document is a piece of writing which has been composed by a person with a normal language education—hence by somebody who has learned to write Greek, sometimes known to be a professional writer (see Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, indices 1-3 and pp. 69ff.). The Egyptian writers of

1. *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895), Neue Bibelstudien (Marburg, 1897), *Licht vom Osten. Das NT und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen, 4th edn, 1923).

papyrus documents, like the authors of the NT, did not learn Greek only by talking to and interacting with Greeks (soldiers, merchants, etc.).[1] Through their basic education they acquired, grammatically speaking, a form of a quite homogeneous written language. The linguistic–grammatical unity of the great mass of papyrus documents and of the NT (Deissmann's and Moulton's 'vernacular') is striking, considering the possible grammatical variations, e.g. with respect to the regional and linguistic differences.[2]

6. I do not see any really vulgar characteristics in the language of the New Testament (apart from very special things in the Apocalypse). To draw connections between the language of the really vulgar papyri and the grammatically correct Greek of the NT[3] may be

1. Compare Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, p. 73: 'E duabus denique papyris aetatem cognoscere possumus, qua Aegyptii litteras discebant: in Flor. 56 puer novem annorum scribere nondum scit, atque in Stud. Pal. II p. 27 pueri decem et tredecim annorum litteras discunt'. One could possibly find in Celsus's Ἀληθὴς λόγος a condescending and also classicistic–polemical judgment of the level of education and the language of the common people in Jesus' environment. See Origen's *Contra Celsum* I. 62 (GCS I, p. 114.9): νυνὶ δὲ τίς βλέπων ἁλιεῖς καὶ τελώνας μηδὲ τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα μεμαθηκότας (ὡς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀναγράφει περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ Κέλσος κατὰ ταῦτα πεπίστευκεν αὐτοῖς, ἀληθεύουσι περὶ τῆς ἰδιωτείας αὐτῶν),... Compare to that Acts 4.13. Koetschau (in *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*) translates τὰ πρῶτα γρ. as 'the first principles of science', which is wrong. It is simply a matter of basic education. If the customs officer Matthew is indeed the author of the Gospel of St Matthew, he must have received more than τὰ πρῶτα γρ. This shows in the 'clear and clever' Greek of his Gospel (this opinion is taken from Stählin; see W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* [Munich, 1920, 1924], II, p. 1166). Compare also regarding customs officers and customs vocabulary, the self testimony of Galen (cited in section 2 above).

2. On the grammatical unity of the koine language of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, at p. 195 n. 2 above..

3. This characteristic should by no means deny the Semitic coloring in the phraseology of the NT (ἄρτον φαγεῖν and the like). Compare Aem. Springhetti, *Introductio historica-grammatica in Graecitatem Novi Testamenti* (Rome, 1966), pars. 46, 47, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 61, 64, 66. Springhetti does not separate clearly the phraseological from the syntactical Semitisms or Septuagintisms. Real syntactical Semitisms should be rare in the NT. Linguistic phenomena of Semitic origin which are usually recorded in the syntax part of the NT grammars never touch the fundamental grammatical structure of Greek (e.g., καὶ ἐγένετο...καὶ...; θανάτῳ τελευτάτω; σπλάγχνα ἐλέους; υἱοὶ βροντῆς; ἐν μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων;

difficult.[1] As things are today, we also have a very limited knowledge

οὐ...πᾶς; ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, εἰ δοθήσεται...σημεῖον; ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ; ἦν διδάσκων αὐτούς; καὶ ἰδού; ἀπεκρίθησαν αἱ φρόνιμοι λέγουσαι; πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν; ἐξέρχεσθαι ἐξ ὀσφύος τινός; ποιεῖν ἔλεος [χάριν] μετά τινος; ἐξομολογεῖσθαι θεῷ; important for my arguments are the observations of Winer–Schmiedel (G.B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* [8th edn by P.W. Schmiedel; Göttingen, 1894, 1897, 1898], p. 28) and especially of G.B. Winer (*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* [7th edn by G. Lünemann; Leipzig, 1867], pp. 35-39). These phenomena, which originated by *directly* reflecting the Semitic, act as *phrases*, and that is how we actually conceive of them. Because of their regular abundance in certain parts of the NT they exercise a *stylistic dominance* and let the normal and grammatically correct Greek move into the background. This OT colored phraseology gives the NT style its own pathos and solemnity (see A. Wifstrand, 'Lukas och den grekiska klassicismen', *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 5 [1940], pp. 139-51; and 'Lukas och Septuaginta', *Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift* 16 [1940], pp. 243-62). Concerning the question of true Greek and foreign elements in the post-classical language and culture compare A. Wifstrand, 'The Homily of Melito on the Passion', *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948), pp. 215ff.:

> If a fact is not to be found in the archaic and classical times, but only later, in what sense have we a right to call it 'unhellenic'? Only, I think, in the sense that we certify its non-occurrence in ancient times, certainly not in the sense that it is entirely foreign to the 'hellenic spirit' and that it could creep in only since that spirit had come to a state of weakness and degeneration. He who says so seems to have a higher gnosis than the ordinary philologist and historian. Could it not be conceivable that there were some lines within the evolution of the Greek spirit itself, that eventually must lead to such results as are seen in the Hellenistic epoch and in the Emperors' times? Is it not possible that the oriental influences came in because there were some shortages and deficiencies in the Greek spirit which little by little were felt as such by the Greeks themselves and supplied from the sources they had near at hand?... Such currents in the Greek mind could have developed by themselves in a direction that brought them into contact with the Semitic type of thought and expression, as also the Semitic mind might have been transformed and brought nearer the way of the Greeks.

1. If one compares the degree of command of language in some of the papyri letters which demonstrate a real lack of education (see 'Epistulae hominum non eruditorum' in S. Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae Graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur* [2nd edn; Lipsiae, 1911] p. xv [especially the Hilarion letter no. 72]; also Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* [4th edn] letters no. 12 [Apion to Epimachus], 13 [Apion to Sabina], 14 [Antonis Longus to Nilus], 15 and 16 [Sempronius to Saturnila and Maximus], 19 [boy Theon to father Theon], 24 [Papas Caor to Flavius Abinnaeus], etc.) with any section in any of the Gospels, one perceives at once the difference in levels, both when one considers the phonetic, morphological and

of what is exclusively vulgar in post-classical language, and what does not occur at other levels.

7. In the future, if we wish to classify grammatical phenomena in the NT as popular or Semitic, we must consider whether it is possible that these phenomena do not also occur in the technical prose of the time. (Compare the fundamental remarks at the end of chapter 1, pp. 27-45, in my *Fachprosa.*)

8. One may have a different opinion about the relevance of the phenomena studied by me. This especially concerns the question as to how far their occurrence constitutes the existence—below the linguistic level of Polybius and Diodorus—of an intermediate grammatical level in the prose of the early pre-classicizing Imperial era.[1] More studies

grammatical–syntactical details, and when one considers the ability to hold together an essential train of thought. Several linguistic phenomena (Deissmann often records them in his annotations) in the cited documents have dropped so much below 'the norm' that wisely one simply should describe them as vulgar. These phenomena are missing in the NT writings. Another concern is that the means of style in the written language often find their background in the means of expression of the living daily language. To examine this closely would be a rewarding task (suitable texts: Mark, Matthew, Epictetus, the Ὄνος of Lucian). Such analyses (for example M. Zerwick's *Untersuchungen zum Markus-Stil* [Rome, 1937]) are far removed from the old labeling of certain syntactical phenomena as popular.

1. The hypothesis of an intermediate language level and of an overall unknown vulgar language solves several difficult technical and terminological problems. See, for example, the attempts of Blass–Debrunner (F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* [ed. A. Debrunner; Göttingen, 11th edn, 1961], par. 3) to describe the position of the NT language within the contemporary koine: 'Which position do the NT documents occupy, between the two extremes of the papyrus letters, on the one hand, that represent the everyday idioms'—how many letters of this type do we really possess?—'and of the Atticistic literary monuments on the other hand? In general one may say that the language of the NT authors is closer to the natural language of the people, as it is seen—apart from the LXX and the primitive Christian literature—in the non-literary papyri and in Epictetus, than it is to the sophisticated literary language. But there are remarkable differences; the author of the Apocalypse writes the most vulgarly, Luke writes the most exactingly, especially in the prologues of the Gospel and Acts and in the sermons of Paul, as does the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Barnabas?); Paul uses a good, occasionally very refined vulgar Greek [sic].' Compare my 'introductory definition' to the section 'Ergebnisse der Einzeluntersuchungen' (Hellenistic literary language—classicism versus intermediate language level), p. 177 of my *Fachprosa.* My subdivisions attempt to consider the grammatical situation and the very often ignored fact that

of this kind are desirable, and in this direction there are rich opportunities for interested koine grammarians. Especially valuable would be studies of the following problems, for example: freedom of relation in several grammatical areas (singular–plural, pronouns, etc.); assimilation of relatives; the modal future tense = *modus potentialis*; the future tense with ἄν; coordinated infinitives with different subjects; the independent present participle without the article or τις; the type of construction χαμαιλέων λευκὸς..., ὧ...αὐτῷ...αἱ γυναῖκες χρῶνται (Dioscurides III 14.9; whose 'Semitisms' are conspicuous); 'dative absolute' (Dioscurides II 134.18 ἀνεῳγόσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, etc.); the 'progressive' periphrastic of the type ἦν διδάσκων (not only in the NT and the LXX but also a few times in the later Hippocratic Epidemia, which has escaped the latest study in the area of verbal periphrasis [W.J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* {Amsterdam, 1965}] compared to my article on the same subject in *Glotta* 47 [1969], pp. 186-201); διά = on account of; σύν > μετά; ἐκ > ἀπό; πρὸς τό + infinitive with a purpose sense; κελεύω with the passive infinitive 'instead of' the active infinitive the type of construction τοιοῦτος (ὅμοιος, etc.) ἀγαθός; ἐάν = ὅταν; εὖ > καλῶς; the relations between ἐγενόμην and ἐγενήθην.

classicism does not yet dominate the field in the first century AD (compare *Fachprosa*, pp. 13, 191-92 and *passim*). Blass and Debrunner waver in the above-mentioned characterization between grammatical and stylistic viewpoints.

BILINGUALISM AND THE CHARACTER OF PALESTINIAN GREEK

Moisés Silva*

In his justly famous article on 'Grec biblique' Jean Vergote dismissed as absurd Albert Thumb's view that the Greek of Jewish speakers was not significantly affected by their native speech.[1] Precisely because it is absurd, however, it may well be that these two authors are not talking about the same thing. In effect, I wish to argue that much of the contemporary debate on this issue suffers from the use of imprecise language, and, more specifically, that the failure to distinguish clearly between 'language' (*langue*) and 'speech' (*parole*) lies at the root of the disagreements.[2] I shall further seek to demonstrate that recent criticisms of so-called 'Deissmannism' are largely misdirected and have failed to overturn it.

1. *Deissmann and His Critics*

The history of the controversy is well known and frequently alluded to in the literature.[3] We cannot, however, altogether dispense with a

* This essay is reprinted, with permission of the author and editors, from *Bib.* 61 (1980), pp. 198-219. I have silently corrected a few errors in the text.

1. To anyone who is familiar with the phenomenon of bilingualism, Vergote claimed, 'il paraît absurde que Thumb, et d'autres avec lui, aient pu nier l'existence d'une langue judéo-grecque parce que Josèphe et Philon ont écrit un grec à peu près correct' (*DBSup* 3 [Paris, 1938], col. 1367). For Thumb's views, see *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der* Κοινή (Strassburg, 1901), pp. 125-26.

2. I hinted at this possible solution in 'New Lexical Semitisms?', *ZNW* 69 (1978), pp. 253-57. Much of the research for this article goes back to my PhD thesis, *Semantic Change and Semitic Influence in the Greek Bible* (University of Manchester, 1972), portions of which are quoted here.

3. Perhaps the clearest brief surveys are by N. Turner, 'The Language of the NT',

survey of the various positions advanced, and that for two reasons. In the first place, the views of Adolf Deissmann and others have received less than fair press; indeed, one suspects from time to time that contemporary writers may not always take the time to read the works of the scholars they criticize. Thus, a striking statement by Deissmann may be quoted without any clear attempt to understand its significance in his total presentation. For example, the standard (and almost wearisome) characterization nowadays is that Deissmann made a major contribution to the field but that he took his views to an extreme and so they need considerable modification; yet when *concrete* instances of modifications are given, they often turn out to be items that had been readily admitted by Deissmann himself.

In the second place, the viewpoints offered by the scholars involved are not limited to a single, well-defined issue but rather include a good number of separate questions. We may list the most important of these as follows.

Regarding the Koine in general:

1. The place of the Koine in the history of the Greek language;
2. The possibility of dialectal differentiation within the Koine.

Regarding the Koine in Alexandria:

3. The nature of the Greek spoken by native Egyptians;
4. The nature of the Greek spoken by Alexandrian Jews;
5. The nature of 'Septuagintal' Greek (insofar as it is a unity);
6. The relation between 'Septuagintal' Greek and the language of Alexandrian Jews.

Regarding the Koine in Palestine:

7. The general linguistic situation in Palestine (more specifically: which language did Jesus speak?);
8. The nature of the Greek spoken by Palestinian Jews;
9. The nature of NT Greek (insofar as it is a unity);
10. The relation between NT Greek and the language of Palestinian Jews (including the possibility of 'translation Greek');

in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (ed. M. Black and H.H. Rowley; London, 1962), pp. 659-62; and E.V. McKnight, 'Is the NT Written in "Holy Ghost" Greek?', *BT* 16 (1965), pp. 87-93.

11. The influence of the living Aramaic (or Hebrew) substratum on the NT writers;
12. The influence of the Septuagint on the NT writers.

These and other questions need not of course be dealt with one by one in mechanical fashion, yet we must perceive them as distinct issues. When a scholar advances an opinion, for example, on the character of Alexandrian Jewish Greek, one cannot tacitly assume that the same opinion holds for Palestinian Greek.

To begin with, let it be openly admitted that Deissmann's earlier formulations, framed as they were in the excitement of discovery, overstated the facts. Deissmann himself admitted as much.[1] We should therefore move to his later expositions. In one of the clearest, he argues against the view that biblical Greek 'must be *sharply distinguished* from the rest of what people have been so fond of calling "profane Greek"'.[2] He complains that before the study of the papyri 'we had greatly *over-estimated* the number of Hebraisms and Aramaisms in the Bible', but that 'not one of the recent investigators has dreamt of denying the existence of Semiticisms'.[3] The exposition ends with this paragraph:

> What we do deny is *merely* this: that the Semiticisms, particularly those of the New Testament, are sufficient reason for scholars to *isolate* the language of the sacred texts. Our opinion of the biblical language is reached by considering its innumerable coincidences with the cosmopolitan language, not its numerable differences from it. The Semiticisms *do not place the Bible outside the scope of Greek philology; they are merely birthmarks*. They show us that in this great cosmopolitan Book the Greek cosmopolitan language was spoken by men whose home lay in the East.[4]

1. With particular reference to the Greek of translation literature he said: 'I myself have formerly been less reserved in expressing my opinion on this point than I should be now' (*The Philology of the Greek Bible: Its Present and Future* [London, 1908], p. 51).
2. Deissmann, *Philology of the Greek Bible*, p. 44 (my emphasis).
3. Deissmann, *Philology of the Greek Bible*, pp. 62-63 (my emphasis).
4. Deissmann, *Philology of the Greek Bible*, p. 65 (my emphasis). The main weakness in this formulation is the exclusive reference to *numerical* comparisons; he should have emphasized that the coincidences and the differences do not refer to the same *type* of material.

The italicized words in these quotations make Deissmann's position crystal-clear: while certain peculiarities of NT Greek give it away as having been written by Semites, they are not so many that the language should be 'sharply distinguished' from non-biblical Greek or 'isolated' from the normal tasks of Greek philology. We may also note that Moulton summarized both his own views and those of Thumb by admitting freely that some types of dialectal differences must have existed in the Koine, with the qualification that

> writings like the Greek Bible, intended for general circulation, employed a *Durchschnittsprache* which avoided local peculiarities. . . For nearly all the purposes of our own special study, Hellenistic Greek may be regarded as a unity, hardly varying except with the education of the writer, his tendency to use or ignore specialities of literary language, and the degree of his dependence upon foreign originals. . . [1]

The point to notice in this quotation is Moulton's emphasis on the unity of the language, *not* in some absolute sense, but *for the specific purposes of grammatical description.*

The opposition to 'Deissmannism' took different forms.[2] Some scholars argued, for example, that the language of the Egyptian papyri might itself be semiticized as a result of the large Jewish population in Alexandria. Vergote, following the lead of L.-T. Lefort, admitted the improbability of this argument and argued instead that the peculiarities of the papyri were due to the native Egyptian language. Since the Hamitic and Semitic languages are closely related, these peculiarities should be construed as 'Copticisms' analogous to the Semitisms of biblical Greek. Vergote subsequently devoted his professional interests to the study of Coptic itself rather than to the character of

1. J.H. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, vol. 1 of *A Grammar of NT Greek* (Edinburgh, 3rd edn, 1908), p. 40. In addition to the writings of the scholars already mentioned, note F. Büchsel, 'Die griechische Sprache der Juden in der Zeit der Septuaginta und des Neuen Testaments', *ZAW* 60 (1944), pp. 132-49.

2. Vergote has documented this in 'Grec biblique', cols. 1352ff. It should be noted, however, that he refers to a number of works that merely seek to refine Deissmann's work. It is certainly inaccurate, for example, to suggest that A.T. Robertson was part of a 'réaction contre Deissmann–Thumb'. Similarly, we should note that although Ludwig Radermacher refers to NT Greek as (in some ways) 'eine Art von Judengriechisch', this statement is made after a careful distinction between grammatical and stylistic phenomena (*Neutestamentliche Grammatik* [HNT, 1; Tübingen, 1925], pp. 28-29).

NT Greek, but Francis T. Gignac, who is publishing *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*,[1] uses the same approach to the problem. It should be noted, however, that many of Deissmann's examples were *not* restricted to the Egyptian papyri but also came from inscriptions, not particularly those in Asia Minor. Furthermore, many of Vergote's and Gignac's Coptic examples come by necessity from biblical texts, that is, from documents that are *translations* of the very language for which supposedly independent data are being adduced; this obstacle of course does not completely invalidate the argument, but it certainly restricts its application.

Another line of opposition has come from Scandinavian scholars. One thinks especially of Albert Wifstrand, who argued that, although 'we cannot discover any special Greek *dialect* spoken by the hellenized Jews', nevertheless 'the stylistic home' of the NT writers was the synagogue.[2]

A third approach, and the one which has stirred most of the recent controversy, is that of Nigel Turner. In one of his earlier contributions,[3] Turner stated that in spite of the impressive evidence brought forth by Deissmann and Moulton, 'we may still legitimately feel that in numerous uses an Hebraic idiom has popularized and extended one which was already fairly familiar in Greek'. This is an exceedingly

1. Volume 1 on phonology has appeared (Milan, 1976) [vol. 2 on morphology appeared in 1981—ed.]. Note also his text, *An Introductory NT Greek Course* (Chicago, 1973). On p. 169 he argues: 'The establishment of Bilingualism as an operative factor in the Greek of the papyri from Egypt excludes the validity of an appeal to parallels in these papyri to show that a suspected Semitism in biblical Greek is nothing but a pure Greek spoken throughout the Mediterranean world'. But this is an overstatement on two scores. First, the mere *possibility* of Coptic interference does not exclude outright all the papyrological evidence: only that evidence can be excluded for which such interference can be *demonstrated* (that is, not every peculiarity in the papyri can be explained in the same way). Secondly, Gignac's expression, 'pure Greek', erects a straw man—more than that, it is a regrettable misrepresentation of the view he opposes, since neither Deissmann nor his collaborators ever thought of biblical Greek as pure (whatever that could mean).

2. 'Stylistic Problems in the Epistles of James and Peter', *ST* 1 (1947), pp. 170-82, esp. 180-82. Wifstrand's views, along with those of David Tabachovitz, Lars Rydbeck [see Rydbeck's essay in this collection—ed.] and others will occupy our attention towards the end of this article.

3. 'The "Testament of Abraham": Problems in Biblical Greek', *NTS* 1 (1954–55), pp. 219-23, esp. 222-23.

curious statement, for the point is precisely the one made by Moulton when he argued that 'the ordinary Greek speech or writing of men whose native language was Semitic... brought into prominence locutions, correct enough as Greek, but which would have remained in comparatively rare use but for the accident of their answering to Hebrew or Aramaic phrases'.[1] Turner appears to be saying nothing more than Moulton did, yet he inexplicably opposes his viewpoint to that of his predecessor. Turner entitled another article, 'The Unique Character of Biblical Greek',[2] clearly indicating that he wished to go beyond Deissmannism. His best piece of evidence is the fact that biblical Greek prefers overwhelmingly the patterns πᾶς ἄνθρωπος and πᾶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, whereas the papyri prefer ὁ ἄνθρωπος πᾶς and ὁ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος. (We should note that, in contrast to Vergote's approach, Turner assumes that the papyri may indeed be used as evidence of the general Koine.) Turner's own charts, however, show that the former constructions are not at all rare (let alone non-existent) in the papyri! In other words, even if we accept Turner's analysis, we still have not moved in substance from Moulton's position.

Turner's later and comprehensive work on syntax[3] offers evidence which is not really different *in character*. One gathers, instead, that Turner has been impressed by the *amount* of evidence; that is, his exposure to the papyri has persuaded him of what he considers a major or even radical difference between their language and that of the NT. Now if our evaluation is accurate, if Turner's judgment has been moulded by the total impression which NT Greek makes, then he did not need to go beyond Wifstrand's position referred to earlier. For some reason, however, he felt he must confront Deissmannism head-on. Thus, with regard to the NT writers' use of prepositions he argues that the standards must be looked at from 'outside the sphere of classical Greek, even outside secular Greek altogether, although the living Koine must be kept in mind always'.[4] Re-opening the possibility that biblical Greek reflects a spoken Jewish Greek, he suggests that perhaps it is not all that bad to speak of a 'Holy Ghost language'.

1. *Prolegomena*, p. 11.
2. In *VT* 5 (1955), pp. 208-13.
3. *Syntax*, vol. 3 of Moulton's *A Grammar of NT Greek* (Edinburgh, 1963).
4. *Syntax*, p. 3.

'We now have to concede that not only is the subject matter of the Scriptures unique but so also is the language in which they came to be written or translated.'[1] Matthew Black has welcomed Turner's new evaluation, commenting (perhaps with deliberate allusion to Deissmann's concern not to isolate NT Greek) that the language of the Greek-speaking synagogue, 'like the Hebrew of the Old Testament which moulded it, was a *language apart* from the beginning; biblical Greek is a peculiar language, the language of a peculiar people.'[2]

2. *The Concept of Dialect*

Perhaps the biggest obstacle in the way of resolving our problem is the freedom with which the word 'dialect' (or related expressions like 'unique language', etc.) is used by the various parties. To be sure, even among professional dialectologists the term is somewhat ambiguous (though only in the sense that no hard and fast criteria have been established for distinguishing between a 'dialect' and a 'language'). Still, it makes very little sense to affirm or deny or even question whether NT Greek represents a dialect *before* the parties involved define precisely what meaning they are attributing to the word. As things stand, some writers appear to use the term in the vaguest possible way, based on the subjective impression made by the data; to the extent that this is true, one may be forgiven for responding, *de gustibus non disputandum.*

We may begin by referring to Thumb's discussion. Thumb himself does not give us a concise definition of 'dialect', but his extensive treatment makes plain that he uses the term in the established sense it

1. *Syntax*, p. 9. Although in this volume Turner did not commit himself on whether biblical Greek reflected a spoken Jewish vernacular, we should note his *Grammatical Insights into the NT* (Edinburgh, 1965), p. 183: 'Biblical Greek is so powerful and fluent, it is difficult to believe that those who used it did not have at hand a language all ready for use. This, I submit, was the normal language of Jesus, at least in Galilee—rather a separate dialect of Greek than a form of the Koine, and distinguishable as something parallel to classical, Hellenistic, Koine and Imperial Greek' [Turner's essay is reprinted in this collection—ed.]. Note, more recently, N. Turner, 'Jewish and Christian Influence in the NT Vocabulary', *NovT* 16 (1974), pp. 149-60, esp. his conclusion.

2. 'The Biblical Languages', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (vol. I; ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge, 1970), p. 11 (my italics).

has in classical philology. When classical scholars speak of ancient Greek dialects, the meaning is fixed by the kind of material differentiating Ionic from Attic, both of them from Doric, and so on. By and large, however, the data come from the areas of phonology, morphology, those aspects of syntax that are most closely linked to morphology, and vocabulary (the last of which, however, does not normally include specialized terms, but only the presence of different words with common meanings). Thus, the primary criteria differentiating Ionic–Attic from other groups are such features as the shift of ᾱ to η, the disappearance of ϝ, etc.; again, northwest dialects are characterized by such conservative features as -μες (Attic μεν), -οντι (Attic-ουσι), etc. Now even a cursory examination of Thumb's argument shows that *these* are the kinds of factors that inform his view of dialect. We can hardly be surprised, therefore, not only that he denied dialectal differentiations in the Koine, but that the leading classical philologists support him.[1]

All of this means that when Turner re-opens the question, he is either rejecting the established conclusions of classical scholarship (in which case we may fairly ask for an extensive, scientific refutation of those conclusions) or, what seems most likely, he is using his terms in a different way. Could it be, for example, that Turner understands 'dialect' as that term is used in modern linguistics? Dialectologists use the term when describing very small phonological variations: even the two pronunciations of *caught* will serve to distinguish American dialects of English. But Turner surely does not mean that, since it would lead him to speak of the 'uniqueness' of, say, Philadelphia English; besides, Thumb never denied the existence of such differentiations.[2]

1. A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* (Paris, 8th edn, 1975), p. 329, regarding 'la grande κοινή ionienne-attique, qui était la seule langue de civilisation': 'L'observation du grec moderne montre que toutes les classes de la population, par des adaptations successives, ont fini par la parler et que, une à une, les particularités locales ont été presque partout éliminées'. Similarly, A. Debrunner and A. Scherer speak of the 'Dialektlosigkeit der Koine', in *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, II (Sammlung Göschen 114/114a; Berlin, 2nd edn, 1969), p. 92. Note also R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969), p. 55. For a valuable survey of research, note J. Frösén, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Greek Language in the First Centuries AD: The Problem of Koiné and Atticism* (Helsinki, 1974), esp. pp. 71-80, 85-88, 177.

2. *Die griechische Sprache*, pp. 166-67.

In short, we find ourselves at an impasse because of the failure of writers generally (not Turner alone) to define the very terms which stand at the center of the debate. Perhaps some further considerations will help to resolve this dilemma.

3. *Bilingualism — Some General Principles*

Vergote's article on 'Grec biblique', to a large extent a harsh criticism of Thumb and Deissmann for failing to understand the nature of bilingualism, offers modern linguistics as something of a panacea for our problem.[1] When Vergote wrote these words, however, 'modern linguistics' was in its infancy, and bilingualism in particular had *not* been subjected to systematic and scientific examination. In the 1950s several scholars, principally Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich, gave a strong impulse to the study of bilingualism, and the more recent emphases on psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics have contributed enormously to our understanding of this phenomenon. It is all the more remarkable, then, that this field of research, although *directly* relevant to the question of Palestinian Greek, has remained practically untouched in the contemporary discussion. Instead, the very frequent comments made regarding bilingualism are usually based on haphazard personal observations or even on purely speculative assumptions.

There can be no question, in this article, of treating the field in comprehensive fashion; at any rate, the present writer can hardly pass for an authority on the subject. Still, it is not necessary to dig too deeply into the literature in order to discover some basic principles that can shed considerable light on the discussion.

First of all, it is essential to recognize the complexity of the field. One cannot afford merely to observe the language of, say, Portuguese immigrants in the US and assume that the same situation, *mutatis mutandis*, obtained for Palestinian Jews. For one thing, English and Portuguese are genetically related, whereas Greek and Aramaic

1. In col. 1364 Vergote claims that 'Thumb appartenait à l'école linguistique ancienne'. Towards the end of the article he suggests: 'Il n'y a pas de doute que l'étude du Nouveau Testament à la lumière de la linguistique moderne peut fournir encore des résultats remarquables' (col. 1367). For a cursory application of linguistics to our topic, see Christine Mohrmann, 'General Trends in the Study of NT Greek and of Early Christian Greek and Latin', in *Classica et Iberica* (ed. P.T. Braunan; Worcester, MA, 1975), pp. 95-105.

belong to different families. Secondly, the *native* language of a bilingual (in our illustration Portuguese or Aramaic) is not affected in the same way as his or her second language (English or Greek). Thirdly, the radically different sociological milieus (immigrants faced with the pressures of the dominant language versus speakers who remain in their homeland) will also affect the bilingual's linguistic behavior. Fourthly, one must allow for various levels of competence within each group. These are only four out of a large number of distinguishing features which characterize various forms of bilingualism.[1]

Perhaps the most important distinction, for our purposes, is whether we are dealing with the mother tongue of the bilingual or with the language he subsequently learns. The importance of this distinction rests on the observation (which goes back to the last century) that

> it is the language of the learner that is influenced, not the language he learns. English is hardly influenced at all by the immigrant languages, but these are all influenced by English; in Latin America the Indian languages acquire material from Spanish, but the Spanish shows very little influence from Indian.
>
> The reason for this is that the social pressure in such cases is all in one direction, because of the difference in prestige of the speakers of the two languages.[2]

1. M. Beziers and M. van Overbeke devote virtually a whole book to classification: *Le bilinguisme: Essai de définition et guide bibliographique* (Cahiers de l'Institut des Langues Vivantes, 13; Louvain, n.d.). The authors use three basic criteria (the relationship between the languages used by the bilinguals, the manner in which the languages were acquired, the degree of mastery), which are then sub-classified for a total of over a dozen possible categories; yet even this classification is not exhaustive. See also the excellent survey of research by Els Oksaar, 'Bilingualism', in *Current Trends in Linguistics* 9 (The Hague, 1972), pp. 476-511, and the methodological comments by Andrew D. Cohen, 'Assessing Language Maintenance in Spanish Speaking Communities in the Southwest', in *El Lenguaje de los Chicanos: Regional and Social Characteristics Used by Mexican Americans* (ed. Eduardo Hernández-Chávez *et al.*; Arlington, VA, 1975), pp. 202-19.

2. E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior* (Philadelphia, 1953), II, p. 370. The concept of prestige, however, needs to be used with caution; see T.E. Hope, *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages: A Critical Study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900* (Oxford, 1971), II, pp. 722-23.

On the basis of that observation, Thumb and Deissmann could have argued that Palestinian Aramaic and Hebrew were more likely influenced by Greek than vice versa;[1] indeed, the strong influence of Greek on Syriac and on Coptic is admitted by all. It is interesting that Haugen speaks of English as 'hardly influenced' by immigrant languages in spite of the many loanwords and foreign phrases present in English; no doubt he recognized that these isolated elements do not materially affect the structure of the language. Similarly, Deissmann readily granted the presence of Latinisms and Semitisms in Greek, but in his view these elements simply constituted 'booty' captured by the conqueror.[2]

However, Haugen warns us that what may be true for the language in general does not necessarily hold for the *individual* bilingual.

> Those learners with whom we are most familiar in our foreign language classes or even adult immigrants do maltreat the language they learn. In their case there is bilateral influence between the languages. *But the innovations they make in the language they learn do not spread to the native speakers of that language, while the innovations they make in their own language do spread.*[3]

One can hardly exaggerate the significance of this last observation for our discussion. Without saying so explicitly, Haugen is in fact calling our attention to the well-known Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole*: the former refers to the (abstracted) linguistic system in the consciousness of a community, whereas the latter designates the actual speech utterances of individual speakers.[4] A slip of the tongue,

1. For example, C. Rabin suggests that probably 'it was in fact Greek which influenced both Hebrew and Aramaic' in the use of the tenses ('Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century' [CRINT, I, 2; ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; Assen, 1976], p. 1024).

2. 'Hellenistisches Griechisch', in Herzog-Hauck's *Realen-cyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. A. Hauck; Leipzig, 1899), VII, p. 638: the Greek Bible's 'okkasionellen Semitismen sind Kuriositäten, aber kein sprachhistorisches Moment; ihre usuellen Semitismen jedoch können das sprachwissenschaftliche Urteil so wenig verändern, wie etwaige Latinismen oder andere Beutestücke aus dem siegreichen Eroberungszug des Griechischen durch die Welt der Mittelmeerländer' [Deissmann's essay is translated in this collection—ed.].

3. *The Norwegian Language*, II, p. 371 (my italics).

4. Although discussed at length and subjected to criticism at various points, this basic dichotomy informs all major approaches. J. Lyons puts it this way: 'Linguists

for example, is part of *parole*, not of *langue*. Similarly, an individual will make mistakes (*parole*) when speaking a foreign language due to 'interference' from his native tongue, but these mistakes are not regularized, do not become part of the system (*langue*).

We could suggest, then, that whereas Thumb's views referred to *langue*, they appeared absurd to Vergote only because the latter was concerned with *parole*. We may even argue that the scholars concerned were at least partly conscious of this distinction. In his article for Herzog-Hauck's *Realen-cyclopädie* (written before the publication of Saussure's seminal work) Deissmann drew on H. Paul's distinction between 'usuelle' and 'momentane Anomalien' to argue that the syntactical Semitisms of the Septuagint were occasional rather than usual (therefore, not part of the system).[1] For his part, Vergote emphasized the 'caractère individuel de la langue des bilingues'.[2]

Although it would be foolhardy to suggest that the differences between the two parties are only a matter of semantics, perhaps we can expect some progress if we recognize that the discussion may be taking place at two distinct levels.

4. *Alexandrian Bilingualism*

It should be clear from previous remarks that the bilingual situation in Palestine cannot be simply identified with the situation in Alexandria. The Jews in Alexandria were immigrants; furthermore, Greek was the dominant language in a sense that it certainly was not in Palestine. What *can* we say about the Greek of Alexandrian Jews?

Henry S. Gehman wrote an article in 1951 which has been used by

will argue about the degree of abstraction and idealization involved in the postulation of an underlying relatively uniform language-system; and many of them will deny that the system they postulate is internalized, as such, in the brains of the native speakers of the languages they are describing. But most linguists do nowadays draw some kind of distinction between language-behavior and the system of units and relations underlying that behavior'(*Semantics* [2 vols.; Cambridge, 1977], I, p. 239).

1. 'Hellenistisches Griechisch', p. 637 (see also three notes above); it appears, incidentally, that Deissmann was not as ignorant of linguistics as Vergote seems to imply, and one should also remark that Moulton was a profound student of the linguistics of his day.

2. 'Grec biblique', col. 1366.

Turner in support of his thesis. Entitled 'The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek',[1] it sought to show that 'we can hardly avoid speaking of a Jewish-Greek, which was in use in the synagogues and in religious circles'.[2] Surveying a number of well-known syntactical and lexical Semitisms in the LXX, Gehman argues that 'it is often difficult to obtain the sense without comparing the Hebrew text'.[3] But since 'the LXX must have been read in most instances by itself and not by making continual references to the Hebrew', it follows that the LXX reflects the language of Greek-speaking Jews.[4] In support of this statement he says:

> In a bilingual area a few individuals may speak both tongues perfectly, but the masses do not keep the idioms of the two apart, as may be abundantly observed in linguistic islands in this country. There is always a difficulty in passing from one language to another; in the transitional period a generation has a smattering of the tongue of the forefathers without having become thoroughly immersed in the new vernacular.[5]

The following criticisms may be offered. (a) Gehman, while rejecting the expression 'Jewish-Greek jargon' (a term which he does not define), speaks of 'a Jewish Greek which was understood apart from the Hebrew language'.[6] But this terminology is so vague that, in my judgment, it serves no useful purpose.

(b) The author throughout the article refers to 'LXX Greek' as though this were a well-defined entity. Now Gehman, himself one of our leading LXX scholars, was hardly ignorant of the wide divergences in translation technique—and therefore in the character of the resulting language—among the books in the Greek OT. Nevertheless he can jump in the same paragraph from Genesis 4 to 1 Kings 1, that is, from a fairly respectable Koine style to the very literalistic '*kaige* section' of Samuel–Kings. Of one thing we may be sure: if 'LXX Greek' reflected the spoken Jewish Greek of Alexandria, we will need to specify which LXX style we are referring to.

1. It appeared in *VT* 1 (1951), pp. 81-90 [this article is reprinted in this collection—ed.].
2. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 81.
3. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 81.
4. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 90.
5. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 90.
6. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 90.

(c) Gehman seems to argue that the strange idioms of the LXX could only be understood either by someone who referred to the Hebrew or by someone familiar with a spoken Jewish Greek. The truth is, however, that many of his examples, such as the use of the infinitive with a preposition, can be understood even if translated quite literally into English. In fact, Gehman himself (inconsistently) shows us how a Greek reader could understand the subordinate use of καί without *either* checking the Hebrew *or* being familiar with some Jewish Greek: 'Even though a Hellenistic Jew [but a Gentile as well!] would not know Hebrew or Aramaic, it is probable that *for the most part the context would lead him* to the correct interpretation of καί in passages of this nature'.[1] As for the really difficult passages in some LXX books, we may readily concede that a Greek speaker would not have understood them, but sometimes we cannot be sure that the translator himself understood what he wrote![2]

(d) Although Gehman appropriately uses the bilingualism of US immigrants as a parallel to Alexandrian bilingualism, his actual description is completely unacceptable. I have seen no evidence in the literature of a 'transitional period' during which a generation of immigrants are less than competent in *both* their native tongue and the foreign language.[3] My first-hand contact with Cuban immigrants in Florida, for example, suggests a picture quite different from Gehman's. With rare exceptions, Cubans who migrated during their childhood (and children born to Cuban families after migrating) have completely mastered the English language: only minor phonetic

1. Gehman, 'Hebraic Character', p. 82 (my emphasis).

2. For a superb article on this general question, see C. Rabin, 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint', *Textus* 6 (ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 1-26, esp. his comments on 'semantic tolerance' (pp. 9-10) and on 'translations of embarrassment' (pp. 23-24); on p. 25 he argues that the features of the LXX 'simply have no direct bearing on' the question whether Alexandrian Jews spoke a Jewish Greek. Note also S.P. Brock, 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint', in *The Witness of Tradition* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; OTS, 17; Leiden, 1972), pp. 11-36, esp. 31ff.; without making explicit reference to the *langue–parole* distinction, Brock in effect alludes to it when he states that the very inconsistency of Hebraisms in the LXX argues against a spoken Jewish Greek.

3. Even in the case of widely different languages, children adapt very rapidly. Cf. E.C.Y. Kuo, 'Bilingual Patterns of a Chinese Immigrant Group in the US', *Anthropological Linguistics* 16 (1974), pp. 128-40.

difficulties and a few turns of phrase could ever give some of them away. Although when speaking with each other in English they may introduce words or phrases peculiar to Cuban culture, this is done quite deliberately and usually for humorous purposes. On the other hand, their Spanish is contaminated at all levels by the influence of English, even to the extent of using such a 'loanblend' as *loquear* (< 'to lock').[1] And we should emphasize that this has taken place in a matter of fifteen to twenty years—no time for a transitional generation of the kind envisioned by Gehman.

Of course, not all groups develop linguistically in the same way, but unfortunately it is difficult to obtain reliable information, since most studies focus on the changes that take place in the native language, not in English (precisely because English does not change significantly). One valuable exception is a study of 'Spanish–English Bilingualism in San Antonio, Texas', by Janet B. Sawyer.[2] It appears from her description that Mexican-Americans in San Antonio have been much slower than Cubans in Florida to adopt English culture and language; perhaps their situation is closer to that of Alexandrian Jews, who surely sought to preserve their identity as much as possible. Interestingly, Sawyer tackles the very question whether these Mexican-Americans speak a dialect of English. In her opinion, to merit the term 'dialect',

> a particular variety of language should be fairly stable in its structure so that it can be learned by succeeding generations in the speech community. Nothing that could be called a Mexican-American *dialect* of English was found in San Antonio, Texas. The English spoken by the bilingual informants was simply an imperfect state in the mastery of English.

She continues:

> What does have significance is the fact that the relatively unskilled bilinguals. . . did not pass on their imperfect English to their children. . . It

1. Note also A.G. Lozano, 'Grammatical Notes on Chicano Spanish', *The Bilingual Review* 1 (1974), pp. 147-51. On pp. 149-50 he reports that in the southwest of the US we find traces of English ranging from *soñé de* (< *con*) *ella* = 'I dreamed *of her*' to the almost incredible loan translation *hice mi mente pa' arriba* (instead of *llegué a una decisión*) = 'I made up my mind'.

2. In *Texas Studies in Bilingualism: Spanish, French, German, Czech, Polish, Serbian, and Norwegian in the Southwest* (Studia Linguistica Germanica, 3; Berlin, 1970), pp. 18-41.

> was clear that the linguistic norm was not the English of their relatives or neighbors, but rather that of the members of the prestige, English-speaking community. From generation to generation, the second language was in a fluid state, becoming more and more expert.[1]

I am not aware of any study that, in opposition to Sawyer's, has established the existence of an English 'dialect' among immigrant groups. In other words, the possibility of a Jewish-Greek dialect (or whatever we care to call some unified and stable speech form) in Alexandria appears to receive no support from modern research into bilingualism. Even apart from these considerations, however, it must be said that the very existence of the LXX militates against Gehman's position: the fact that Alexandrian Jews needed their Bible in Greek[2] is virtually conclusive proof that they had indeed 'become thoroughly immersed in the new vernacular'.[3]

5. *Palestinian Bilingualism*

As we move to a consideration of the linguistic situation in Palestine we must recognize not only that it should be clearly distinguished from that in Alexandria, but also that we have fewer scientific treatments of this type of bilingualism. To be sure, modern linguistic research has frequently examined bilinguals who remain in their homeland, but this is usually with a view to assessing the state of the native tongue, not that of a foreign *lingua franca*. We may, however,

1. Sawyer, 'Spanish–English Bilingualism', p. 19.

2. This is the generally accepted view. For a different interpretation of the evidence, see Charles C. Torrey, *The Apocalypse of John* (New Haven, 1958), p. 8 note; and Elias Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (part one; AGJU, 9; Leiden, 1976), pp. 171ff.

3. Cf. Gehman's own description, quoted above. Gehman wrote a later, more narrowly conceived article on 'Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis', *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 141-48. His conclusions are milder: 'Although the Greek rendering of Genesis has a number of Hebraisms, for the most part it could be understood by one whose native language was Hellenistic Greek' (p. 148). Further, he shies away from the position 'that the Alexandrian generation which had lost Hebrew and Aramaic, spoke a Greek influenced by Semitic idioms as that found in the LXX'. This is a significant concession, apparently not recognized by Turner, but one wonders what it really means for Gehman to add that 'there was a Greek with a decided Hebrew cast that was understood in religious circles'. This final statement is either a contradiction of what he has just said or else it is a mere truism.

briefly note two modern situations roughly parallel to that of first-century Palestine.

In the fairly large northeastern region of Spain known as Catalonia nearly six million people speak Catalan even though Spanish remains the official language.[1] A.M. Badia-Margarit has paid attention to the effect of this situation on the Spanish of bilinguals and reports that 'with the superimposition of Spanish (the language of culture) on Catalan (the natural language), cultured Catalans cannot generally prevent a series of characteristic features of their natural language from appearing in their Spanish'.[2] We may deduce from these observations what was a priori likely, namely, that Palestinians could not prevent features of their Aramaic or Hebrew from interfering in their Greek. However, two qualifications are necessary. First of all, the extremely close relationship of Spanish and Catalan presumably facilitates confusion; thus, for example, a Catalan speaker might unconsciously modify in some way the Spanish *cuando vuelvas* ('when you return') under the influence of his native *quan tornaràs*, whereas such structural similarities are not to be found between Greek and Semitic languages. Secondly, and more important, Badia-Margarit reports that Catalan speakers do avoid interference if they hesitate: the structures of the languages do not become fused.[3] In other words, the influence is purely at the level of *parole* and, we might add, would not likely manifest itself in the written form.

A closer parallel to the situation in Palestine is what we find today in Wales. Although Welsh and English are of course related, the separate evolution of these languages has resulted in drastic differences at all linguistic levels; further, in contrast to Catalan (which has from time to time suffered considerable political pressure), Welsh has

1. I have no precise figures regarding what proportion of this population learned Catalan as their mother-tongue. Although my first-hand acquaintance with this bilingual situation is practically non-existent, it may be instructive to note that the manager of a hotel in Barcelona where I stayed a few years back, though perfectly fluent in Spanish, resorted to Catalan when doing arithmetical operations, a clear indication that Catalan was her first language. Presumably, she was typical of the population in general.

2. A.M. Badia-Margarit, 'Some Aspects of Bilingualism Among Cultured People in Catalonia', in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics* (ed. H.G. Lunt; The Hague, 1964), p. 367.

3. Badia-Margarit, 'Some Aspects of Bilingualism', pp. 372-73.

enjoyed uninterrupted prestige and vitality. It is interesting, therefore, that Moulton drew his illustrations precisely from the English spoken by native Welsh. He concluded that this English was hardly a dialect to be isolated—it simply contains a superabundance of features which are possible and comprehensible in English.[1] Although I have not found a modern scientific study that confirms Moulton's judgment, neither am I aware of any data that conflict with it.

But now, precisely what was the linguistic situation in Palestine? Against Moulton, we should recognize that the Palestinian population in general did not enjoy a Greek education comparable to Spanish education in Catalonia or English education in Wales. In other words, we may well assume that Semitic interference in the spoken Greek of Palestine was much more noticeable than Moulton supposed.[2] On the other hand, we must remind ourselves of the massive evidence, much of it unavailable to Moulton, confirming the vitality of Greek in Palestine. J.N. Sevenster, who maintains that the difference in the use of Greek between Diaspora and Palestinian Jews was relatively minor, has put it most strongly:

> It has now been clearly demonstrated that a knowledge of Greek was in no way restricted to the upper circles, which were permeated with Hellenistic culture, but was to be found in all circles of Jewish society, and certainly in places bordering on regions where much Greek was spoken, e.g. Galilee.[3]

1. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, pp. 7, 10-11. From another perspective, A.W. Argyle has also alluded to the situation in Wales ('Greek Among the Jews of Palestine in NT Times', *NTS* 20 [1973–74], pp. 87-89).

2. Palestinian speakers must have made mistakes in pronunciation (not evident in the written form because of standardized orthography) and in morphology (though someone who knew Greek well enough to write it was not likely to fail in this area). Since Vergote argued ('Grec biblique', col. 1364) that interference affects primarily the semantic domain, the reader may be referred to my article, 'Semantic Borrowing in the NT', *NTS* 22 (1975–76), pp. 104-10 (on p. 109 of this article, lines 11 and 14, 'former loans' should read 'latter loans' and vice versa).

3. J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (NovTSup, 19; Leiden, 1968), p. 189. For a capable survey of the data and a sober evaluation, see G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora', *CRINT*, pp. 1040-54. Several items could be added to his bibliography, such as J.A. Fitzmyer, 'The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD', *CBQ* 32 (1970), pp. 501-31 [reprinted in this collection—ed.], and R.M. Mackowsky, *Spoken Greek of the First Century AD* (dissertation, Hebrew

This view has received support from the evidence that even as early as the third century BC Greek was widespread in Palestine.[1] Now it is true that Turner supports the possibility that Jesus might have done much of his teaching in Greek,[2] but he fails to appreciate that this argument damages his position. The greater the use of Greek in Palestine, the greater the evidence of Hellenistic influence among the Jews and the lesser the likelihood that they failed to master the *common* language (as opposed to speaking some 'hybrid' form).

5. Parole *and Style*

One of the distinctive developments in the linguistics of the last two decades is its concern with the analysis of *parole*, in contrast with the almost exclusive preoccupation of earlier scholars with *langue*. Now since 'style' may be defined roughly as the variations (*parole*) that grammar (*langue*) leaves out,[3] we are not surprised to note, also during the past two decades, new interests in the linguistic study of style. It is at this level, I believe, that the discussion of 'biblical Greek' must take place. Much of the debate has, sometimes explicitly, assumed that the differences between the two parties can be resolved arithmetically, depending upon whether there is a large enough *number* of Semitisms. But such a resolution could only take place (and even then with great difficulty) if the parties were dealing with the same linguistic phenomena. I wish to argue that, in fact, they are dealing with two distinct levels of linguistic description. Deissmann, concerned with grammatical rules (*langue*), insisted rightly that NT Greek cannot be isolated from the Hellenistic form. Turner, who has

University, Jerusalem, 1971 [Hebrew]) (unavailable to me).

1. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1974), I, pp. 58ff. Most recently, see E. Schürer, *HJPAJC* (2 vols.; Edinburgh, 1979), II, pp. 74-80, which however plays down the use of Greek by the populace.

2. See pp 211-12 n. 5.

3. Cf. G.W. Turner, *Stylistics* (Baltimore, 1973), p. 19. On p. 21 he states that the grammatical set of rules in a language 'is prior to style. It is given by the language, leaving no choice, and . . . an element of choice seems to be basic to all conceptions of style.' However, N.E. Enkvist (*Linguistic Stylistics* [Janua linguarum, series critica, 5; The Hague, 1973], p. 37) argues rightly against too facile an equation of style with *parole*.

devoted his efforts to syntactical phenomena—an area of grammar that constantly 'infringes' on stylistics (*parole*)[1]—sees an undeniable distinctiveness in the Biblical language.

There is little originality about this suggestion that style may be the key to the problem. Thumb himself noted, without, however, perceiving its full implications, that the Semitic element in the Greek Bible 'äussert sich mehr im Stil und in der Denk- und Anschauungsweise als in der Sprache im engern Sinn'.[2] More explicit is Wifstrand:

> We cannot discover any special Greek dialect spoken by the hellenized Jews; in phonology, accidence, syntax, word formation and many significations of words their language was ordinary *koine*; . . . but in phraseology, in the formation of sentences, in preferences when equivalent expressions were at hand, in all such things to which the authors of New Testament grammars give less attention, the real foundation is, to a great extent, the Hebraic and Aramaic mode of thought.[3]

We may note especially the role of the LXX in this connection. Although it is quite proper and necessary to emphasize the great influence of the Greek OT on the NT writers, we should specify exactly *where* this influence manifests itself.[4] In particular, we need to remember that ancient literary documents seldom affect the linguistic habits of a community. A good example is the influence of the King

1. He himself tells us that in his view style 'involves the same considerations as syntax' (see *Style*, vol. 4 of Moulton's *A Grammar of NT Greek* [Edinburgh, 1976], p. 1). More properly, style cuts across *all* levels of linguistic description, although it manifests itself most clearly in lexical choices and in those syntactical constructions not determined by 'grammar'. Cf. my article, 'The Pauline Style as Lexical Choice: Γινώσκειν and Related Verbs', *Pauline Studies* (FS F.F. Bruce; ed. D.A. Hagner and M.J. Harris; Grand Rapids, 1980), pp. 184-207.

2. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, p. 121. Note also Deissmann's reference to 'birthmarks' (quoted above, p. 208) and Radermacher's words (quoted above, p. 209 n. 2).

3 'Stylistic Problems', pp. 181-82. L. Rydbeck has also emphasized this point in 'What Happened to NT Greek Grammar After Albert Debrunner?', *NTS* 21 (1974–75), pp. 424-27. (On Rydbeck's *Zwischenschichtsprosa*, see Frösén, *Prolegomena*, p. 93, and E. Pax, 'Probleme des neutestamentlichen Griechisch', *Bib* 53 [1972], pp. 557-64.) Perhaps Rabin takes the same approach, although his use of the term 'diglossia' ('Hebrew and Aramaic', p. 1008) to describe the status of Greek in Palestine seems to me unfortunate.

4. I have argued this point at greater length in 'Semantic Change in the Greek Bible', forthcoming in a *Festschrift*.

James Version on the English language. That influence is evident in idioms, phrases and allusions, not in *linguistic structure* (whether grammatical or lexical); further, it is much more frequently found in formal speech, such as sermons, than in colloquial conversation. C.S. Lewis argues that the impact of this translation is less than generally thought, as may be shown by the fact that we rarely use its characteristic features without the awareness that we are quoting it.[1]

Particularly interesting in this regard is J. Trénel's investigation of OT influence on the French language.[2] His work is 649 pages long and it seeks to show just how strongly medieval French writings give evidence of that influence. However, the bulk of the book (pp. 243-599) consists of a treatment of 'expressions'. Indeed, apart from some examples of Hebraisms which are not merely idioms but approximate syntactical adaptation (cf. pp. 600-49), he gives hardly any evidence of influence on the structure of the language. Since by and large Trénel's material consists of religious authors who deliberately imitated the biblical style, it is all the more surprising that his evidence deals almost exclusively with form and not with structure. Indeed, perhaps this rough distinction between form and structure uncovers the real nature of LXX influence on the NT. From a somewhat different perspective, David Tabachovitz has already made the same point:

> Es kommt noch hinzu—was im Prinzip zwar anerkannt, tatsächlich aber selten in Rechnung gezogen wird—dass die neutestamentliche Koine zum Teil aus der Septuaginta übernommen ist. Mit einer freilich groben Schematizierung könnte man die Sache auch so ausdrücken: das Wort, als isolierte Einheit betrachtet, ist im NT allgemein hellenistisch, der Stil aber ist durch das alttestamentliche Griechisch bedingt.[3]

1. C.S. Lewis, *The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version* (London, 1958), pp. 11ff.; he states that in the specific area of vocabulary the AV has indeed influenced English, but unfortunately fails to elaborate the point. Büchsel ('Die griechische Sprache', p. 142) argues that 'die Umgangsprache der Juden und die Sprache ihres heiligen Buches waren zwei verschiedene Dinge, und man wird nie ein Verständnis weder der einen noch der andern erreichen, wenn man diesen Unterschied unterschätzt'.

2. *L'Ancien Testament et la langue française du moyen âge (VIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)* (Genève, 1968 [1904]).

3. D. Tabachovitz, *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament: Stilstudien* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8 IV; Lund, 1956), p. 18. Cf. also Brock, 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint', pp. 35-36, and E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II.1.1; Munich, 1953), p. 126.

We may in conclusion seek specifically to answer the question: is it proper to speak of a special Jewish (or Christian) Greek? N. Fernández Marcos points out that, although the Stoics, for example, had their own specialized vocabulary, no one speaks of a 'Stoic language'. He goes on to suggest, however, that the *number* of more or less technical lexical items in the Greek of Christian writings may be reason to treat it as a special case.[1] In my opinion, the answer to our question depends on whether such a designation is used to oppose Deissmannism or whether it is used in the sense in which a contemporary linguist speaks of various *styles* in each community. Of course there *is* a semiticized Greek style or a Christian Greek style or even a Christian *English* style. We may take the matter to its logical and valid conclusion and remind ourselves that there are even individual Pauline and Johannine styles (better, 'idiolects'). However, such descriptions should in all fairness be dissociated from the kinds of issues with which Thumb and his collaborators were concerned. They did *their* work and they did it responsibly and well.

1. 'En torno al estudio del griego de los cristianos', *Emérita* 41 (1973), pp. 45-56, esp. 56. His opinions are based on G.J.M. Bartelink, *Lexicologisch–semantische Studie over de Taal van de apostolische Vaders* (Utrecht, 1952). We should note that any linguistic group with specialized interests (even a small family) develops its own specialized vocabulary. A modern linguist would surely treat the Stoic writings as a special style.

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