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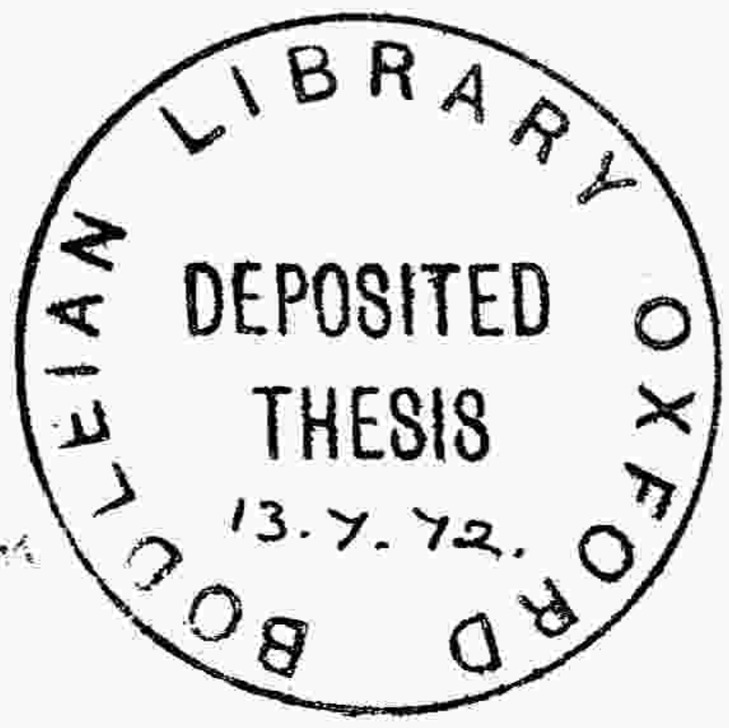
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'An examination of some problems of

the language of St. Matthew's Gospel'

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Contents

Abbreviations.

Chapter 1: New Testament language study in this century.

Chapter 2: The problems of the language of St. Matthew's gospel.

Chapter 3: The use of the verbal tenses, moods and voices in the gospel.

Chapter 4: Matthew's use of prepositions.

Chapter 5: The use of connecting particles in the gospel.

Chapter 6: Methods of subordination practised in the gospel and the use of conjunctions.

Chapter 7: The vocabulary of Matthew's gospel - favoured and noted uses.

Chapter 8: An examination of Matthew's word-order.

Chapter 9: An examination of Matthew's doublets.

Chapter 10: Conclusions.

Bibliography.

Abstract.

Abbreviations.

BT	Bible Translator.
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudicarum (ed. Frey).
CQ	Classical Quarterly.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford).
ET	English Translation.
ICC	International Critical Commentary.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
NT	Novum Testamentum.
NTS	Novum Testamentum Supplements.
RB	Revue Biblique.
SE	Studia Evangelica.
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplements.

Chapter 1

New Testament language study in this century

Two opposing trends have been discernible in the past century in the study of the language of the New Testament, and in particular that of the Gospels.

(1) Several scholars have emphasised the extent to which the Greek of the New Testament is influenced by Semitic idiom. They have observed the wide divergence of New Testament Greek from both classical Greek and from much of the pagan literary writing of the early Christian centuries, have recognised in the New Testament idioms with which they were already familiar from their knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic literature and have hence concluded that it is in terms of Semitic idiom rather than Greek that we must approach this study. In the nineteenth century the absence of adequate comparative material on the Greek side prevented scholars from reaching any other conclusion. In this century, with the discoveries of archaeology and the more scientific study of the history of the Greek language, the Semitic approach has been practised by those who reacted against the use of material whose content they felt to be unworthy of comparison with the New Testament and who held that the Palestinian origin of the early Church and of the traditions of Jesus prima facie involved a Semitic origin for much of the material.

Among those who have recognised a Semitic base in the language of the New Testament there has been a divergence in the degree to which they

believed the influence of Semitic idiom to extend. Attention has been confined in the main to the gospels and Acts and the aim has been to confirm the authenticity of the work and words of Jesus and of the early Church by recovering the original Palestinian setting and the original language of the words and reports of Jesus and the apostles before the migration of Christianity into the Hellenistic Greek-speaking world.

(A) The most extreme statement of this approach is made by C.C. Torrey of Harvard, who believed all four gospels and the first half of Acts to be translations from Aramaic. In the preface to 'Our Translated Gospels' (1937), he declares:

"The material of our Four Gospels is all Palestinian and the language in which it was originally written is Aramaic, then the principal language of the land, with the exception of the first two chapters of Luke, which were composed in Hebrew". (ix).

He later makes an exception for John Chapter 21 as a later Greek addition.

Since the gospels are all translations they are all of early origin.

"The latest of them can be only a little later than the middle of the century." (x).

Scorning the understanding of New Testament Greek as natural Greek of the period, he declares:

"The Greek of the Gospels has all the characteristics of the language of the Septuagint; there is no other parallel." (liii).

Of all the Four Gospels "Luke is the one which gives by far the plainest and most constant evidence of being a translation. His habit as a

translator resembles that of Aquila."

These statements of Torrey raise a number of questions.

(a) The exclusion of the first two chapters of Luke from the general statement on Aramaic translation seems strange, since a number of the characteristics of Luke's style appear in these chapters; thus it could be argued that Luke is wholly a translation from Hebrew rather than from Aramaic.

(b) Comparison with the Septuagint again raises the question of the original language of the New Testament writings, since it is in the main a translation of Hebrew, with only parts of Ezra and Daniel having an Aramaic original. While Aramaic is a cognate language to Hebrew, there are various differences between the two languages which must be taken into account.

(c) Torrey's approach, as worked out in his book, depends to a large extent on systematic representation, or as he calls it 'standing equivalents' (p.3); it is noticeable that in fact the Septuagint translators do not always render the same Hebrew word by the corresponding Greek one. They vary among themselves in their practices depending on their respective familiarity with the Greek and Hebrew languages.

(d) The claim for all four gospels as translations fails to account for the identical wording in the first three gospels in certain passages and baulks the whole problem of synoptic literary criticism. Torrey's account of the situation, that Greek Matthew copied Greek Mark to preserve the reputation for accuracy and the solidarity of the Christian account (111),

fails to explain why more care was not taken in some other passages to iron out contradictions.

The main part of Torrey's book consists of a series of examples of mistranslation of an Aramaic original together with what he believes to be the 'true' rendering, even where the Greek as it stands is perfectly intelligible. In some cases the Greek scholar is left to wonder why he should be incapable of understanding perfectly good Greek as Greek, since Torrey tends to emphasise that it is the Aramaic scholar who ought to be left to decide the issue.

(B) For more modest claims of Aramaic influence we note the earlier work of C.F. Burney of Oxford. In 'The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel' (1922) he declares that only John's gospel gives evidence of being a translation. Similarities in part between Mark and John are traceable to common Semitic influence, Mark providing only sufficient evidence for being written by an Aramaic speaker thinking in Greek. He examines a number of syntactical features of John's language and provides figures for the relative frequencies of various usages in the four gospels. John's fondness for asyndeton and parataxis, dislike of subordinating participle and genitive absolute, his usage of personal pronouns and demonstratives and his choice of tenses are all used to reinforce the case.

While Burney devotes a chapter to the question of mistranslations in John, pp. 101-113, his case does not rest solely on this basis as does Torrey's. A genuine attempt is made to provide parallels for usage in Aramaic instead of reconstructing conjectured original readings. The

presence of common Aramaic constructions and absence of favourite Greek usages affords a firmer basis of argument.

Apart from his work on John's gospel, Burney devoted himself to showing in 'The Poetry of Our Lord' (1925) how the sayings of Jesus fit well into the framework of Semitic poetry with parallelism of clauses, rhythm and rhyme and can thus be shown to go back to an Aramaic original.

(C) Even less ambitious claims for Aramaic influence are found in the work of the great German Aramaic scholar, Gustaf Dalman. In his work, 'Die Wörte Jesu' he set himself against the prevailing tendency of scholars in the nineteenth century to discover originals for the gospels on the basis of mistranslations and to hold that variant readings between the synoptists were due to variant or mistaken readings of Semitic originals in source documents. Thus in E.T. 1902 p. 45 we read that the fundamental error of biblical critics of that time was 'a marked depreciation of the capacity of the authors of the historical books of the Bible, who are treated too much as mere redactors and mechanical copyists or translators of source documents, and a not less exaggerated estimate of the precision of subsequent copyists ... so that sometimes the most extravagant excess of an unscrupulous transcriber is, just because of its extravagance, pronounced to be the original reading, or the later correction of the author himself.'

The views of Resch that Hebrew originals underlie all the gospels and of Zahn that Matthew is a translation from Aramaic fail from inadequate proof, declares Dalman. "For the words of Jesus only is an

Aramaic original incontestably secure; for them alone does the earliest Church tradition assert a written Semitic source." (op.cit. p. 72).

He continues by declaring that his aim is exegetical; he seeks only to examine the original of certain fundamental ideas and not to attempt to translate the words for the sere sake of recovering an original. (pp. 73-4). Earlier, on pp. 20ff, he notes some Semitisms, particularly participial usages, and declares that the certain Aramaisms are confined to the sayings, possible Aramaisms are chiefly in Mark and Hebraisms or Septuagintalisms are practically confined to Luke.

These distinctions are of great importance, especially in the conclusion which has commonly been drawn from this concerning Luke as a writer who knew only Greek, but who imitated the idiom of the Septuagint in which he was steeped. Septuagintalism has in fact been adduced as the cause of most of the Semitisms in the New Testament by those who emphasise the essentially Greek nature of New Testament language, while at the same time recognising the presence in places of constructions not found elsewhere outside the Greek Old Testament. Dalman's distinction of sayings and narrative has been a popular one, but while it avoids too hypothetical reconstructions and provides a practical, exegetical purpose for the Aramaic approach, it involves too great a narrowing of the field from the objective linguistic viewpoint. Further, it is uncertain that a written Semitic source is attested by tradition and it is likely that the sayings originated and were current orally for a period before being written down. We have no proof that they were not written down first in

Greek and have to take account of the migration from oral to written form as well as from Aramaic to Greek language.

From the linguistic viewpoint it is just as important to discover whether the authors themselves were Aramaic or Greek speakers and how well they knew the Greek language. Exegetically too the knowledge of the author's background thus adduced will be of aid in reaching a decision on the reliability of the traditions preserved in his material.

On the other hand, the wealth of illustrative material in Dalman's book makes it a valuable source of evidence on the linguistic background to the thought of the gospels. His later work, 'Jesus - Jeshua', in its examination of the linguistic background of Palestine and in its studies of some of the sayings contained in the Sermon on the Mount, the Eucharistic words, sayings from the cross and the use by Jesus of Jewish proverbs and maxims, has a similar permanent value for scholarship.

(D) In more recent times the principal work from the Aramaic viewpoint has been Matthew Black's 'An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts', which first appeared in 1946 and which has now appeared in a third edition of 1967. This latest edition incorporates material on later discoveries, while it remains basically in the same form as the first edition.

In his opening chapter Black summarises earlier work and makes three main criticisms of his predecessors' work. The first concerns their choice of Aramaic and this I shall consider later in this chapter. The second concerns the textual approach of earlier scholars, the fact that

they confined themselves to studying Aramaisms in only one text, whether Westcott and Hort or Tischendorf, and took no account of variant readings, especially those of Codex Bezae. The third criticism concerned their excessive dependence on mistranslation, producing incredible examples and impossible Aramaic.

In reaction against these failings, Black integrates his linguistic approach with a textual one and this can be said to be his chief contribution to the whole Aramaic question. There is no justification for assuming that ℵB always preserve the original reading and that other manuscripts are always inferior. Every manuscript is subject alike to scribal error and the desire of the copyist to improve the Greek. Thus a reading found in any Greek manuscript which preserves the more Semitic manner of speech and which accords with the stylistic features of the writer more closely has good reason to be declared original and to be taken into account in the study of Aramaic influence. The evidence of the versions here is, however, limited in view of differences between their language structures and that of Greek.

As regards the third criticism made by Black it is to be noted that he himself has not been wholly successful in avoiding the positing of unnecessary and far-fetched examples of mistranslation. Over 50 pages, from p. 186 - 243, are devoted to this question and various other suggestions are put forward earlier in the book. Of these his discussion of Ναζωραῖος at Matthew 2.23 (pp. 197-200) and its supposed derivation from nasorayya is an example of far-fetched etymology, while

his treatment of ἐθνικοὶ in Matthew 6.7 (pp. 176-8) assumes that Jesus made no reference to Gentiles and fails to consider the presence of a variant in B, ὑποκριταὶ, which would remove such a difficulty more simply.

The main part of the book consists of an examination of syntax and vocabulary with an account of the distribution of the various features which are probably to be derived, either by their un-Greek nature or by their un-Greek preponderance, from Aramaic sources. This section, stretching from pages 50-142, is a useful collection of evidence with varying degrees of probability, even though it is by no means exhaustive in its treatment. It is followed by a section on Semitic Poetic Form (pp. 143-85), which follows the lines of Burney's 'Poetry of our Lord' and shows by reconstruction of the Aramaic of various sayings the parallelism of lines and clauses, the alliteration, assonance and paronomasia which can be recovered by retranslation of these sayings.

In summarising the conclusions of his survey on pp. 271ff Black is considerably more cautious than in some of the suggestions in the body of the work.

"A survey of the results of this study .. yields one conclusion only which can be regarded as in any degree established, that an Aramaic sayings-source or tradition lies behind the Synoptic Gospels. Where any one Semitic or Aramaic construction could be observed recurring, its distribution showed that it tended to be found most frequently, and sometimes exclusively, in the Words of Jesus. The same conclusion emerged

from a study of the translation and mistranslation of Aramaic in the gospels." (op.cit. p. 271).

Elsewhere only in the Marcan narrative or in non-dominical sayings and dialogue could one adduce Aramaic influence, but this could be evidence 'of the kind of Greek which an Aramaic-speaking Jew would write.' (p. 271). Matthew has a 'Jewish Greek style', Luke appears to employ an odd Aramaism or Syriacism, while John seems to employ an Aramaic sayings-source, since his Aramaisms too occur chiefly in sayings, though behind John's prologue and the sayings of the Baptist in the third chapter there seems also to be Aramaic tradition. (op.cit. p. 274).

The nature of the translation is described by Black as 'not literal, but literary.' "The Evangelists, that is to say, are for the most part writing Greek Gospels, even where they are dependent upon sources." (op.cit. p. 274).

The question of whether Black's conclusions follow from the evidence he presents has been raised in a review of the third edition by Joseph Fitzmyer. (CBQ Vol. XXX No. 3 pp. 417-428). On pages 422-4 he criticises the discussion of Aramaisms as too tied to previous discussions, as lacking in rigour and logic with insufficient care in distinguishing Aramaic and Hebrew, as sketchy in part and as showing insufficient attention to our growth of knowledge about Hellenistic Greek. He declares that Black's conclusion that an Aramaic sayings-source lies behind the gospel is 'vaguely enough stated to be tenable.'

The most interesting of this particular set of criticisms regards the inattention shown by Black towards our growing knowledge of

Hellenistic Greek. It leads to Fitzmyer's concluding statement on p. 428 that every claim for Aramaism must be supported with possible counter-claims for the construction as due to internal Greek development. In view of the fact that Black was setting out to state a case for one side this criticism is somewhat unfair and the sign of the over-zealous, over-critical reviewer. On the other hand, it points to a real dichotomy that exists between those who spend their life's work on the study of Semitic languages and are hence unable to appreciate the ways in which Greek developed and those who are most familiar with Greek and reject in toto any idea of direct Semitic influence.

(2) This latter viewpoint reflects the second trend in New Testament language study in this century, the emphasis on the essentially Greek nature of the material. The real breakthrough for this approach came at the end of last century with the discovery of large numbers of papyri dating from the third century B.C. onwards in rubbish-heaps and tombs in Egypt. These documents varied in substance from a comparatively small number of literary works to the larger numbers of non-literary public documents such as wills, marriage-settlements, deeds of divorce and receipts and private writings such as letters. Their language was seen to be totally different from the more literary Greek of contemporary writing and more in line with Biblical Greek. Since the Septuagint derived from Egypt, it was possible to show that the language in which it was written owed a good deal to the kind of Greek spoken in Egypt at that period. The most clear examples of spoken Greek are the private letters,

which lack the stereotyped formulae of the public documents and reflect natural colloquial speech expressed without thought for its preservation by posterity.

The evidence gained from the papyri was corroborated by a study of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, even though they are somewhat more polished in language since they were composed with the express intention of escaping the ravages of time. From these inscriptions it was seen that the Greek of Egypt was not a distinctive dialect, but a sample of a universal κοινή used in Asia Minor, Italy and Syria just as much as in Egypt. It thus became clear that 1st and 2nd century A.D. writers such as Dionysius, Josephus, Plutarch, Arrian and Lucian who wrote a Greek closer to that of classical times were in fact reviving artificially a language already dead in ordinary usage.

This fact was borne out by the study of Mediaeval and Modern Greek, and it became accepted that whatever is at home in Modern Greek and present in papyri and New Testament is the result of a natural development within the language. The situation in Modern Greece in which we find both a literary language, the καθαρεύουσα , and a spoken language, the δημοτική , provides a perfect parallel to the situation which existed at the beginning of the Christian era.

The spoken Greek of the Hellenistic period, the κοινή , can first be traced in the works of Xenophon, who spent his life among Greeks of differing dialects of speech. It received stimulus from the conquests of Alexander the Great, whose empire provided a common Greek culture to a

wide range of lands. The various dialects which characterised Greece in the period of the city states began to lose their distinctive features in a period of political unification. At first the new κοινή was used alongside the local dialects, as can be seen from an inscription discovered at Larisa, containing two decrees made by that Thessalian town in accordance with the recommendations made by Philip V in 219 and 214 B.C.; in this inscription both κοινή and Thessalian dialect appear. The next stage was the total disappearance of dialects and their complete replacement by the new κοινή. In the resultant fusion Attic proved the predominant element, no doubt because of the cultural hegemony of Athens, though in the process the Attic dialect itself lost its distinctive elements such as doubled τ for doubled σ, optative and dual.

It was the obsolescent elements of Attic which the so-called Atticists of the second century A.D. sought to revive in their writings. The standard work on that subject is W. Schmid's four volume 'Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnassos bis auf den zweiten Philostratus' (1897). Dionysius of Halicarnassus with his interest in style, Josephus, Plutarch, Lucian and Philostratus are good examples of the new movement back to classical standards. The effect of the movement on the scribes who copied the New Testament has been illustrated by G.D. Kilpatrick in 'Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament' in the Festschrift für J. Schmid pp. 125-37.[1] The

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1. Cf. the same author's 'Style and Text in the Greek New Testament' (Studies and Documents XXIX pp. 153-60).

more Hellenistic and less literary reading is to be preferred to the one which reflects Atticist pretensions and an obsolescent construction.

Even before the Atticist movement, however, it is clear that a divergence existed between more literary and less literary Hellenistic writing. Thus writers like Philo and Polybius write a style of Greek which differs in several ways from that of both papyri and the New Testament. It is for this reason that scholars have tended to illustrate the New Testament from the less polished papyri with their greater similarities in language and to neglect more literary 1st century A.D. writings. It is understandable that this should have provoked a reaction from those who wish to emphasise the uniqueness of the New Testament in language as well as message. It is certain too that legal documents and private letters are not adequate as comparative material to gospels with their blend of narrative and discourse matter. It is only insofar as the evidence of the papyri can be checked by that from Modern Greek as the end-product of development in the language that we can use their evidence as indicative of trends in spoken Greek.

The two aspects of New Testament language which have to be considered in connection with its relationship to the Κοινή are vocabulary and syntax. The former was the subject of the studies of Adolf Deissmann in 'Bibelstudien', 'Neue Bibelstudien' and 'Licht vom Osten'; the first two are bound together in an English translation by A. Grieve, 'Bible Studies', the third is translated by L.R.M. Strachan under the title 'Light from the Ancient East'. In these works Deissmann set himself against the

views of Kroschmer and Thayer in their lexica that certain words can be described as purely 'Biblical', created by the Biblical writers to express the uniqueness of their message. He showed instead that words found in ordinary use in papyri and inscriptions were taken over by the New Testament writers and moulded to fit the new message. An understanding of the meaning of such words in their context in the papyri can be used to illumine their meaning in the New Testament. Words such as παρουσία used of the coming of a king, ἐντυγχάνω 'I petition', ἀναστροφή 'conduct', ἀπέχω 'I receive in full', συνίστημι 'I recommend' and ἀρραβών 'earnest-money' provide light on New Testament usage of such terms.

The main product of this work on the lexical field is the lexicon of J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, 'The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources', with passages from these documents cited for their bearing on passages in the New Testament.

From the viewpoint of syntax we are fortunate in possessing a full-scale treatment of the usages of the papyri of the Ptolemaic period in E. Mayser's two volume 'Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit' (2nd edition 1936). For a collection of material from a later period with some grammatical notes we have E. Olsson's 'Papyrusbriefe aus der Frühesten Römerzeit' (Uppsala 1925). The grammatical relationships of the New Testament and the papyri are illustrated in the first volume by J.H. Moulton of 'A Grammar of New

Testament Greek', the Prolegomena, which reflects well the emphasis laid by scholars on the purely κοινή nature of New Testament Greek in the decades following the discoveries in Egypt.

From the modern Greek viewpoint the work of A. Thumb and A. Pallis must be noted, the former with works entitled 'Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus' and 'Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache', the latter with a series of notes on various New Testament books as illustrated from Modern Greek speech.

It is the merit of all this work that it emphasises the fact that the New Testament writings as we have them are all written in Greek and that in their present form they are written for Greek readers who were more interested in comprehending the message than in being presented with specimens of some specially inspired, incomprehensible language. The use of the papyri, however, raises the question of lack of attainment in Greek on the part of certain writers of the New Testament, especially Mark and the author of Revelation, and presents us with two possible reasons for the similarities of New Testament Greek and non-literary papyri. The first is that the writers of the New Testament lacked education, the second that while perfectly literate in Semitic languages, they experienced difficulty in expressing themselves in Greek. If the latter is the reason, then the work of the Aramaic scholars may be held to be complementary to that done by Greek scholars and a possible corrective to the over-zealous exertions to parallel everything in the New Testament from the papyri.

From time to time indeed scholars have felt that it was necessary to find more adequate parallels in literary writing to the New Testament than the non-literary papyri. Thus we find the 'Discourses' of Epictetus, the 1st century A.D. Stoic philosopher, used by D.S. Sharp in 'Epictetus and the New Testament' (1914) and by E.C. Colwell in 'The Greek of the Fourth Gospel' (1931). This latter work is a refutation of the views of Burney, Montgomery and Torrey that John's gospel is a translation from Aramaic and employs the 'Discourses' alongside the papyri of the Roman period as evidence of the essentially Greek nature of John; Colwell deliberately avoids the Ptolemaic papyri as reflecting possible foreign influence.

Epictetus' frequent use of asyndeton, rare usage of subordinating participle, frequency of demonstratives and various features of his word order are all adduced by Colwell to discount Aramaic influence on John. He notes that the three Semitists are not agreed on what constitutes Aramaism and that they have failed to use Hellenistic writing as a control before arguing for Aramaic influence. In parts of his work Colwell presents a strong case, but where his two groups of material differ in usage, as they do in the employment of demonstratives and οὖν, he is in some difficulty in pressing his case, while for John's over-use of ἵνα he has to admit that his material affords no comparable frequency. On the other hand, since Epictetus' work consists of discourse material with little narrative, it provides a good example of matter comparable to the longer speeches of Jesus, especially as presented in John. Sharp, writing earlier, noted several parallels in expression between the New

Testament writings and Epictetus and attributed them not to dependence, but to the common use of Κοινὴ Greek. (op.cit. pp. 136-7).

In the lexical sphere we must note too the work of E.K. Simpson in 'Words Worth Weighing in the Greek New Testament' (London 1946), in relating the New Testament vocabulary to more literary Hellenistic writings. Further comparative usages can be gleaned from Bauer's Wörterbuch translated by Arndt-Gingrich, showing which words are frequent in later Greek usage, new formations and new significances for old words.

The problem of relating New Testament Greek to literary writing at the syntactical level still remains. We search with difficulty for parallels in form in pagan writing to the Christian gospels with their particular blend of narrative and discourse. One fairly similar piece of writing does, however, exist in the 'Life of Aesop' with its narrative of Aesop's doings and account of what he and others said in dialogue with one another; in its G recension this dates from the 1st century B.C. and in its vivid style, free of literary pretension and with racy narrative accounts, this work can provide us with some comparative material. Hence I propose to employ it in places to this end.[2]

More recent work (A) :- In this task of relating the New Testament to Greek literature we must note an important work of recent times - 'Fachprosa, Vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament' by the Swedish scholar, Dr Lars Rydbeck, published in Uppsala in 1967. Dr Rydbeck holds that the ungrammatical papyri are not fit comparative material for the

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2. See Perry's edition in 'Aesopica' Volume 1.

New Testament, which, with the exception of Revelation, abides by the rules of Greek grammar. The sentence structure of the New Testament is basically Greek, with clear Semitisms such as καὶ ἐγένετο ... καὶ , θανάτῳ τελευτάτω , υἱοὶ βροντῆς , οὐ ... πᾶς , ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ , καὶ ἰδοὺ and ἐξομολογεῖσθαι θεῷ acting merely as phrases brought within this structure and not breaking the essential grammar of the sentence. Further, the writers of the papyri took up Greek as a second language, as a convenient medium for expression to be understood by others, but were themselves Egyptians. Their work cannot be used as an indication of pure spoken Greek of the period. On the other hand, Hellenistic historians and philosophers write a more polished Greek marked by their literary ambitions and their knowledge of the style demanded by their genre of writing. There remains for consideration a group of writers of the 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. who wrote before the onset of the Atticist movement and whose work has never been systematically studied. These are the technical prose writers such as Dioscurides and the other medical writers cited by Galen; surviving fragments of their work show that Galen quotes them exactly. To their evidence can be added the work of Ptolemaeus the astronomer, Strabo the geographer, Nicomachus the mathematician, Heron the engineer and Didymus the philologist. These writers do not aim at stylistic attainment and tend rather towards pedantry in setting forth their technical subject-matter. It is this particular group of writers whose work is of chief use in comparative study of the New Testament. (op.cit. pp. 1-26, 186-99).

In the main body of his work Dr Rydbeck examines a number of alleged New Testament Semitisms and provides parallels for their usage in this group of writers as proof that these 'Semitisms' are in fact natural Greek of the period. (op.cit. pp. 27-185). He also lists on pp. 198-9 a number of other subjects deserving investigation in relating the New Testament to these technical prose writings.

This book is a work of significant scholarship and will have to be taken into account in any future investigations in New Testament language. In particular we must note as strong points in Dr Rydbeck's thesis:

(a) The way in which he shows how certain distinctions to which we have been accustomed from classical Greek and whose absence in the New Testament we attribute to non-Greek influence were never drawn in Ionic. Thus the synonymous use of ὅς and ὅστις and the indiscriminate use or absence of ἄν with ἕως , μέχρι and ἄχρι are found in Ionic and the usage of the κοινή in these matters is determined by Ionic influence. It is clear from this that we may well have to ascribe to Ionic more influence in the creation of the κοινή than used to be stated. We shall have to beware in future of speaking loosely of classical Greek when in fact we are talking merely of one dialect, Attic. Indeed Ionic exerted considerable influence on Attic at an earlier stage and a writer such as Thucydides was considerably influenced by its usage.

(b) His ability to provide a wide range of Greek writing in support of several of his points. His treatment of the impersonal third person plural (pp. 27-45) in particular is well illustrated from a number of

writers of different periods and is thus convincing in its cumulative evidence. The same holds true for his treatment of relative pronouns, the genitive of separation alongside ἀπὸ with the genitive, points of vocabulary and the forms παραχρῆμα , εὐθέως and εὐθύς , even though the evidence in some of these cases is more limited to the Hellenistic period.

The one evident weakness in his work is his undue reliance on the medical writer, Dioscurides, and the fact that he does not always back up that writer's evidence is serious in view of the claim of Galen in 12.330.4 that Dioscurides was ἀληθὴς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς : "μάλιστα τοὺς ἀληθεῖς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς οἷος ἐστιν ὁ Ἀναζαρβεὺς Διοσκορίδης , πολλὰ μὲν καλῶς εἰρηκὼς τῶν περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὕλης ἱστορουμένων , ἀγνοῶν δὲ τὰ σημαινόμενα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων."

Dr Rydbeck is aware of this possible criticism and thus sets himself to answer it on pp. 200-3 by stating that Galen speaks as an Atticist, who found Dioscurides' work lacking in Attic precision, not un-Greek as such. On the other hand, the fact that Dioscurides came from Anazarba in Cilicia, from a comparatively remote part of Asia Minor, must cause us to wonder how far his Greek can be regarded as pure Greek of the period. It is questionable too whether in fact Galen was an Atticist.

Further we may well question with regard to some of the other technical writers whether in fact these writers did not have some measure of literary pretension in the sense that they wished to present their

subject as well as they could. When due weight has been given to such criticisms, however, it still remains necessary for scholars to take this class of writers into account as a separate group distinguishable in Hellenistic Greek writing and to note their didactic aims as common with those of the New Testament writers in spite of differences in subject matter.

(B) A work of comparable importance from the Semitic side has likewise appeared in recent years. 'Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament' by Dr Klaus Beyer, the first volume of a series planned to examine a range of New Testament syntax for its Semitic foundations, treats καὶ ἐγένετο , καὶ ἔσται , καὶ in apodosi and various methods of expressing condition such as clauses with εἰ/ἐὰν , conditional relative clauses with ὅς ἄν , conditional participles and loosely connected protasis and apodosis with an underlying conditional sense. Dr Beyer proceeds on the principle of asking what is and what is not possible in syntactical expression in Semitic languages and how far the various New Testament writers use manners of expression with parallels in Semitic idiom as opposed to purely Greek ways of speaking. This approach to the Semitic question is considerably more useful than the attempt to discern mistranslations, since Semitic speakers writing in Greek will tend to express themselves in ways familiar to them which need not be in themselves un-Greek; only when grammar breaks down in the hands of one unskilled in Greek can we be certain of so-called mistranslation.

Dr Beyer draws distinctions too between what is due to Hebrew

influence as opposed to Aramaic and makes allowance for false imitation of Septuagintal idiom. Thus in summarising his conclusions on καὶ ἐγένετο on pp. 60ff he declares this idiom to be Hebraic and the examples of it in the Palestinian Pentateuch Targums to be Hebraisms. He distinguishes five groups of examples:

(1) Those in which the Hebrew construction can be easily detected and where Hebrew order has been retained.

(2) Those in which slight modifications on the Hebrew construction have been made, with a change in word-order or additions or omissions of individual words.

(3) Those which could be reckoned as free translations of a Hebrew original.

(4) Those which could come from a Hebrew original if we assume mistranslation.

(5) Unhebraic examples derived from imitation of Hebrew construction, pure Septuagintalisms.

Having made these distinctions, he questions whether the first four sets of examples may not also be due to Septuagintal usage. If we are to posit translation from Hebrew as their source, he asks, why do John's Gospel, the Johannine Epistles and Revelation not use this construction in view of their strong traces of Semitic influence?

In illustration of the various constructions which he discusses,

Beyer draws on a wide range of material from Hebrew and Aramaic of various periods, not confining his discussions to material contemporary with the New Testament and giving occasional examples from other Semitic languages. He provides too some material from the Greek side, drawing on Epictetus and papyri in his discussion of exceptive clauses and Xenophon on anaphoric use of demonstratives with conditional relatives to weigh alongside his arguments for Semitic influence. He indicates that the conditional participle is either Hebraic or native Greek and not Aramaic and shows how examples with a negative preceding the participle are purely Greek.

One of the main merits of his work is the consideration of the New Testament as a whole and not just the gospels, as in other works. This prevents his approach from being a dogmatic or exegetical one and allows for a picture of the New Testament as a whole and of its individual books in a more general setting. It is true that this involves the assumption that there is a Semitic foundation underlying every New Testament writing and that where an idiom is both Semitic and Greek the influence is Semitic. On the other hand, since allowance is made for Septuagintalism and every writing of the New Testament has some degree of contact with the Septuagint or some other Greek version of the Old Testament, this assumption is not so misplaced as a purely Aramaic approach would be. It is to be noted too that for none of the writings does Beyer actually posit an Aramaic original, only Aramaic influence.

Beyer provides statistical lists at various points relating to the presence of certain Semitic characteristics such as the use of πᾶς

with relative clauses and articular participles and a concluding list of percentage of 'Semitism', ways of speech possible in Aramaic, to 'Graecism', purely Greek manners of expression, in all the material which he has examined. This final list is of considerable interest in the conclusions it affords. Matthew is shown to be the most Semitic writing of the New Testament with 329 Semitisms to 100 Graecisms - 329%, followed by Luke with 422 Semitisms to 137 Graecisms - 308% and Acts with 74 Semitisms to 31 Graecisms - 238.7%. There follow Ephesians with 8 Semitisms to 4 Graecisms - 200%, Mark with 113 Semitisms to 61 Graecisms - 185.2%, James with 29 Semitisms to 17 Graecisms - 170.6% and Revelation with 71 Semitisms to 43 Graecisms - 165.1%. John's gospel has 173 Semitisms to 156 Graecisms - 110.9% and the Johannine epistles have 75 Semitisms to 60 Graecisms - 125%. The average for the epistles other than James and the Johannines is of only 41.6% Semitic syntax to Greek, while in the Pastorals only Greek influence is at work. This evidence requires a degree of interpretation in the light of the column for Septuagintalism provided for us. Thus Luke has 23 Septuagintalisms in the material reviewed in his gospel and 27 in Acts, Matthew has 8 and Mark 3. This helps in part to explain the high percentage of Semitism in Luke/Acts and when account is taken of the use of Semitic sources, may still support the commonly-held view that Luke knew only Greek, though I have personal reservations on this subject. The absence of any Septuagintalisms in the material reviewed in John and the Johannines shows that while John draws on the Septuagint for his vocabulary in the main, he does not imitate its syntactical usage.

The evidence for Ephesians is interesting in view of the claims that it is not from Paul's hand and draws attention to the fact that any view of alternative authorship must take account of its more Semitic nature, as many who have advanced the view have failed to do. In the case of James the statistics may prove a counterblast to the view that the epistle is written in too polished Greek for a Jew from Palestine.

It is true that some of the so-called Semitisms may in fact be due to Greek usage coinciding with the Semitic and that the particular choice of material may have provided a certain degree of distortion which subsequent volumes will correct. On the other hand, the broad outlines appear to be in line with the impressions which we gain from reading through several of these individual books in the light of Greek and Semitic knowledge.

Choice of Aramaic:- The main difficulty which has confronted every scholar who attempted this Semitic approach has been the absence of Aramaic material contemporary in time and place to the language of Jesus, his disciples and the writers of the New Testament. Until recent times the material possible for use in reconstructing Jesus' original Aramaic speech was confined to documents of considerably earlier date, written in the so-called Imperial Aramaic or Reichsaramäisch of the Persian empire, and matter considerably later in date in all probability, whose exact dating is difficult to determine. This latter material includes Targums, Aramaic translations of Hebrew originals, and Midrashim, which expand on the Biblical text with popular anecdotes and explanatory material, drawing on the sayings of rabbis and the growth of oral law. That Jesus spoke

Aramaic is attested by the preservation of his original words in the gospel tradition even after the tradition had passed into a Hellenistic environment, but the transliterated Aramaic words such as ἀββά , ἐφφαθά , ταλιθὰ κουμ or κουμι and ραββουνι are scanty evidence on which to work in the absence of contemporary parallels.

The question arises whether or not it is permissible in the circumstances to draw from any kind of Aramaic without regard to date and place, taking account only of the differences in later writing between Eastern and Western Aramaic. This is basically the position of Beyer, who remarks (op.cit. pp. 13-16) on the amazing uniformity of Aramaic as making dating and localising difficult and treats the so-called Reichsaramäisch as a language in continuous use by the Jews for a long period of time both before and after the birth of Christ. He thus makes free use of all material which he believes to be devoid of Greek or Hebrew influence and reflecting Western Aramaic, including Aramaic papyri, Biblical Aramaic, Midrashim, Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds.

Other scholars have preferred to use one particular kind of Aramaic as their main source of reconstruction, this depending on where they felt that the most striking parallels to New Testament usage were to be found. Thus C.F. Burney in his work on the Fourth Gospel draws chiefly on Biblical Aramaic, and in particular on the Aramaic section of Daniel (2.4b - 7.28), since it is nearer in time to the 1st century than Ezra. Further the fact that the material in that section of Daniel has the character of popular stories, with the exception of Chapter 7, whereas the later Hebrew part of the work deals with apocalyptic visions, suggests

its kinship with the spoken language and a possible solution of the bilingual problem of Daniel on the basis of a lapse from literary Hebrew into spoken Aramaic, corrected when the subject matter was becoming too elevated for the use of Aramaic.

Most scholars would relate Daniel to the Maccabean period in the 2nd century B.C.; it certainly reflects a slightly later stage of Imperial Aramaic than the 5th century B.C. papyri from Elephantine in Egypt and the Aramaic portions of Ezra (4.8-6.18, 7.12-26).

Several scholars have preferred to use as their basic source for the Aramaic of Jesus' time some of the more abundant material from a date later than the 1st century A.D. In the 1st edition of his 'Words of Jesus' Dalman employed as his main source the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan, the official Aramaic translation of the Law and Prophets. In his second edition he admitted the inadequacies of this Targum with its over-literal renderings of Hebrew idiom and declared that account must rather be taken of the Galilean dialect found in the Talmud and Midrashim, whose stories 'bear the mark of their artless popular origin', as compared with the rabbinical tinge of the Targumic language. (See op. cit. ET pp. 79-88).

On p. 85 he lists as Hebraisms which have to be reckoned with in the language of the Targum:

(1) The frequent use of the construct instead of דְּ.

(2) The regular use of אֵת for the Hebrew accusative particle, whereas Aramaic consistently dispenses with it.

(3) The reproduction of Biblical כִּי in all its meanings by אֲנִי.

(4) The emphasising of the verb by the use of the infinitive absolute.

(5) The use of Aramaic לָהֵן for Hebrew לָכֵן, though this is foreign to pure Aramaic.

(6) The use of מַלְכָּא for Hebrew דָּבָר in all cases and of מִלְּתָא for Hebrew דָּבָר.

(7) The frequent use of the perfect as historic narrative tense, where Aramaic would have had a participle.

(8) The common use of the infinitive with prepositions where Aramaic would have used a subordinate clause with דִּי.

Thus we must be wary in arguing from the usage of the Targum for a certain construction or form as Aramaic. On the other hand, in Targum Jonathan to the Former and Latter Prophets there is a degree of paraphrase in places that is absent from Targum Onkelos to the Pentateuch except where it seeks to remove anthropomorphism of God. In such passages where the Targumist turns preacher and moralises and expands on the text we can see more clearly genuine Aramaic idiom uninfluenced by Hebrew. The main question is whether its Aramaic is pure Western and Judaean, as Dalman believes, or whether the fact of the transmission of these Targums in Babylon has resulted in their acquisition of considerable Eastern Aramaic idiom, as Black (op.cit. p. 20) and others believe.

Dalman afforded other lesser-known Targums such as the Pseudo-

Jonathan and Fragment Targums a secondary place, useful only in so far as we can find in them an early form of the Onkelos Targum and traces of the Galilean dialect. He likewise rejected the use of Christian Palestinian Syriac as employed by F. Schulthess and by A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson.

Black, following Kahle, on the other hand, argues (op.cit. p. 20) that recent discoveries have resulted in the reversal of Dalman's position and the establishment of these latter sources at the expense of Targum Onkelos/Jonathan. The discoveries to which he refers there were the fragments of a Palestinian Pentateuch Targum found in the Genizah lumber-room of a synagogue in Old Cairo, written in a language differing widely from Targum Onkelos/Jonathan. From study of these fragments by Paul Kahle,[3] as well as by Dr Black, the opinion was expressed in the first edition of the 'Aramaic Approach' that Targum Onkelos/Jonathan is "largely composed in the artificial Aramaic of the Jewish schools. It is a purely scholarly product, even if its ultimate basis was a Palestinian Aramaic Targum. It can therefore be regarded as a secondary authority only for the language of Jesus. The language of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum is, on the other hand, first century Aramaic." (op.cit. p. 22).

In favour of this early dating, Black points to the presence of a large number of borrowings in it from Greek as pointing to a period of composition when Palestinian Aramaic was spoken in a Hellenistic

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3. Cf. his work 'Masoreten des Westens' and 'Cairo Geniza' cited in Black op.cit. pp. 20ff.

environment, as well as to the presence of halachic material in it which is pre-Mishnaic (op.cit. pp. 22-3). In particular he notes that the transcription of the Aramaic word רבוני in the new Targum agrees with Gospel ραββουνι , ραββουνει against Onkelos רִבּוֹנִי - rabbouni instead of ribboni (pp. 23-4).

In his third edition Black adds a chapter dealing with more recent discoveries and developments in Aramaic, while leaving his earlier chapters as before, since he claims that the new discoveries necessitate only some minor modifications of his earlier conclusions. The chief of these discoveries was a full codex of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum in the Vatican library, Neofiti I, the published edition of which is appearing in stages under the editorship of Professor Alejandros Diez Macho of Barcelona. The other set of texts mentioned by Black in this third chapter are the fragments from Qumran, in particular the so-called Genesis Apocryphon or Genesis Midrash.

In the review of the third edition by J.A. Fitzmyer already alluded to (CBQ Vol. XXX), we find a number of criticisms made of Black's linguistic approach. On pp. 420-1 he declares that to speak of <u>the</u> Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch glosses over the basic problem of the existence of a number of Palestinian Targums. More important, the evidence for the early dating is not convincing. The presence of Greek borrowings in the targum is suggestive of a later date as indicative of 'a well-known phenomenon of Syriac, and of Aramaic in general, of the third and later centuries'; borrowings from Greek are non-existent in the material from Qumran in spite of the discovery of Greek translations

of the Old Testament in Cave IV. Further, the presence of halachic material which is pre-Mishnaic does not prove that the language in which it is expressed is pre-Mishnaic. Moreover, the argument based on vocalisation is a spurious one, since the vocalisation is a later addition to the bare consonantal form in which it would have been written at the time.

That there were targums in use in the 1st century A.D. has been shown by the discoveries of some fragments at Qumran, but their relationship to the later targums is uncertain. (p. 422). Black's belief that this and other more recent discoveries do not materially affect the views set forth in Chapter 2 is misplaced and more attention ought to be given to this earlier material. (p. 419).

Before examining the Aramaic approach of Fitzmyer, some further consideration must be given to the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum in its form in Neofiti I. In an article in VTS VII pp. 222-45 entitled 'The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the other Targums', A. Diez Macho makes a careful study of Codex Neofiti I, its interpretations and its language. He mentions the contention made by Kahle in the 'Cairo Geniza' that the Palestinian Targum is pre-mishnaic because its interpretations are contrary to those of the Mishna and the argument of Albeck in an article in Hebrew, 'Apocryphal Hᵃlakha in the Palestinian Targums and the Aggada', that anti-mishnaic need not mean pre-mishnaic, but only private opinions as opposed to more generally held views. It is not certain how far the Rabbis exercised control over the Bible and Liturgy.

In arguing in favour of an early dating for Neofiti, Diez Macho notes:

(1) In Codex Neofiti many of the passages contrary to the official interpretations in the Geniza fragments are likewise present. But there are some antihalachic passages in the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum that are not anti-mishnaic in Neofiti e.g. Leviticus 1.4, 4.15, 9.16 and 10.16. In particular the words found in Pseudo-Jonathan Deuteronomy 33.11 which are used by Kahle and others to argue for the antiquity of that Targum are not found in Neofiti. These are words relating to 'Yohanan the high priest', taken by Kahle as referring to Jonathan Hyrcanus and 135 B.C.

(2) Neofiti Numbers 24.17 contains a Messianic reference to the star rising from Israel which he believes to underlie Matthew's narrative of the adoration of the Magi. Jews, he argues, would not have embodied an interpretation so favourable to Christianity at a later date.

(3) Geographical names in Neofiti reflect an earlier date, there being, for example, no reference to Arabs.

(4) Several Greek and Latin loan-words are present, suggesting a dating in the imperial period.

(5) There are several parallels in phrasing to the New Testament. Among these is the use of רוחא דקודשא 'holy spirit' in Numbers 11 vv. 17, 25 (twice), 26, 28, 29; Chapter 14 v. 24, Chapter 24.2 and 26 v. 18, where Pseudo-Jonathan has רוח נבואה 'spirit of prophecy' of. πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης in Romans 1.4. Further the opening verse of Genesis 1 in

Neofiti helps to explain the idea of the λόγος in John 1 vv. 1, 14; though מימרא is missing, the text is meaningless without it and requires it to be supplied.

(6) The Hebrew text underlying Neofiti differs from the Massoretic text, whereas Onkelos and Pseudojonathan are based on the Massoretic text. The Palestinian Targum is related to another, pre-Massoretic text.

Turning to the relationship of the various Targums, which confront the scholar with a problem as complex as the New Testament synoptic question, he notes first that whereas the manuscripts of the Onkelos Targum show a fixed text, the various fragments of the Palestinian Targum and Codex Neofiti show a considerable degree of divergence at points. Neofiti has many variant marginal readings with differences in orthography, spelling, grammar and extent of paraphrase. Often Neofiti preserves a simpler, older text than its variant marginal comments, some of which depend on the influence of Onkelos.

Pseudo-Jonathan Targum can be shown to comprise a combination of Onkelos and the Palestinian Pentateuch Targums, probably reflecting a revision of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum in the light of Onkelos, as the presence of pure Palestinian Pentateuch passages such as Deut. 5 vv. 6-21 and the occurrence of colloquial Aramaic expressions tend to suggest. Examination of the language of Neofiti shows interchange and confusion of various consonants and a colloquial language that leads Diez Macho to the conclusion that this Targum precedes the more literary Onkelos. A date somewhere in the 2nd century A.D., he holds, satisfies the linguistic

situation and the midrashic content of this codex.

A proper assessment of these arguments would require a detailed study of the various Targums such as does not lie within the scope of this work. What I have personally found of interest in my reading of Neofiti has been the extent of paraphrase and midrashic expansion in that Targum as compared with Onkelos. In such expansions we have good evidence of what free Aramaic as used in Palestine was like, evidence to compare with Midrash and Talmud. Further, parallels in thought and expression with the New Testament can be drawn, as I shall show later in the body of my work. Variations in spelling too point to a transitionary state in the language.

J.A. Fitzmyer (op.cit. p. 420) is dissatisfied, however, with the use of this material, which in its present form has to be placed later than the 1st century A.D. He declares:

"There is no need - indeed, it is quite illegitimate - to appeal to later texts, be they from Palestine or elsewhere",

and concludes (p. 428) that a new appraisal of the Aramaic question is needed whereby the scholar will 'illustrate the New Testament usage from prior or contemporary Aramaic, not from later texts, save possibly for confirmatory reasons.'

The material which Fitzmyer speaks of as contemporary consists in large measure of archaeological discoveries made in recent years which have helped to fill in the gap in our knowledge of the Aramaic language between the time of Daniel and the rabbinical writings and to show the continuity and development within the language. Some of the material

comes from the caves of Qumran, although the Aramaic writings found there are fewer and more fragmentary than the Hebrew scrolls. Some of the material from Cave I is published in DJD Vol. 1, with material from the smaller caves being found in DJD Vol. 3. The material from Caves 4 and 11 has not yet been published and Fitzmyer takes exception to Black's description of the material (op.cit. p. 39) as 'miscellaneous bits and pieces.' The best-preserved and most important of the Aramaic discoveries at Qumran is the so-called 'Genesis Apocryphon', found in Cave 1. To this material we must add the ossuary inscriptions from Jerusalem, both the older discovered material such as we find in CIJ Vol. 2, and more recent discoveries such as the three grave inscriptions to the south-east of Jerusalem reviewed by J.T. Milik in 'Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus' 1956-7 pp. 232-67; these Milik dates to the 1st century A.D.

Among material that can be dated precisely within the first part of the 2nd century A.D. we have the Aramaic material from Masada, the caves of Murabba'at in Volume 2 of DJD, this comprising official documents in the main. From the period 131-135 A.D. too we have the private letters of Bar Kochba, or Bar Kosiba, the leader of a Jewish revolt against Rome, as found in IEJ Vol. 11 (1961) pp. 40-52 with the discussion of Y. Yadin and in Leshonenu Vol. 25 (1961) pp. 117-33 and 26 (1962) pp. 7-23 with a discussion in Hebrew by E.Y. Kutscher.

Of all this archaeological material the most interesting is the Genesis Apocryphon, which has been the subject of several careful linguistic studies, among them one by H.H. Rowley 'Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon' in 'Hebrew and Semitic Studies, presented to

G.R. Driver' pp. 116-29 and another by E.Y. Kutscher, 'The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon - A Preliminary Study' in 'Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls' Vol. IV pp. 1-35. J.A. Fitzmyer has published a text and commentary, 'Biblica et Orientalia' No. 18 (Rome 1966) and this affords a readable text, translation and exegetical [illegible]

Driver from the territory of the later Eastern Aramaic, these giving little information on the Aramaic of Palestine. The Nabataean inscriptions from the 1st century B.C.- 2nd century A.D. are certainly contemporary with the New Testament period, but do not come from Palestine; the influences of imperial Aramaic, later Western Aramaic and Arabic have to be reckoned with in assessing their evidence. The Palmyrene inscriptions from 1st century B.C.- 3rd century A.D. have unmistakeable traces of Eastern Aramaic. This leaves us with the origin of Biblical Aramaic to resolve. Was Reichsaramäisch uniform throughout the empire, as Baumgartner maintained, or can we trace dialectical differences and the origins of the East/West Aramaic distinctions back into that period? Kutscher believes the latter is the case and concludes:

"It is my belief that Biblical Aramaic shows indications of eastern origin. Be that as it may, Biblical Aramaic cannot be used as a source for the Aramaic of Palestine until this question has been solved." (op.cit. p.2).

Thus Kutscher holds that there existed an almost total vacuum in our knowledge of the Aramaic of Palestine until the period of the Targums and that this new scroll has helped to fill the gap.

He continues his article by listing some similarities and some differences between Biblical Aramaic and the language of the Genesis Apocryphon, from which it is possible to conclude that the scroll is written in a 'language in transition from Reichsaramäisch to Middle Aramaic' (op.cit. p. 6); by Middle Aramaic he means the later Aramaic of Targums and Midrashim.

Among the differences he notes that the demonstrative occurs in the form זי fifteen times and זנ three times in the scroll, whereas in Biblical Aramaic we find דנ constantly, the scroll preferring the usage of Middle Aramaic. Further, א is used as a prefix for the causative and reflexive/passive forms in line with Middle Aramaic and not ה as in Biblical Aramaic; thus we speak of Aphel, ithpeel and ithpaal forms in the scroll and not haphel, hithpeel and hithpaal, as in Daniel. The adverbs for 'there' and 'how' occur in the scroll with final num, תמא and תמכ, though המכ also occurs; in Biblical Aramaic the forms המא and המכ alone occur. Finally differences in word-order between Biblical Aramaic and the scroll have to be noted and these he develops on p. 33 of his article.

On the other hand, a number of similarities between Biblical Aramaic and the language of the scroll have also to be observed. Thus the so-called internal passive, the Peil form, is found in the scroll as in Biblical Aramaic, whereas in later Aramaic it is conspicuous by its absence. לא is used with the jussive to express negative wishes or commands in the scroll as in Biblical Aramaic, whereas later Aramaic used אל. The form of the pronoun of many functions is still predominantly 'ד as in Biblical Aramaic, rather than ד; only six instances of the later form occur to 60-70 of the older one. Thus too we find 'דכ rather than דכ for the temporal conjunction 'when'.

The noun for 'man' occurs in the form ושינ with initial נ as in Biblical Aramaic, and not in its later form וש. The temporal adverbs

for 'then' are אדין and באדין as in the Biblical material, and not כדין as in the Targums; their usage as connective particles too is in line with the usage of Biblical Aramaic. The form of the first person singular pronoun is אנה as in Biblical Aramaic, not אנא as in later times.

A number of expressions shared by Daniel and the scroll have also to be noted. Thus the phrase 'my mind was changed within me' in Gen.Apoc. 2.2.and 2.11 recalls Daniel 3.19, 'it grieved me' in Gen.Apoc. 21.7 recalls Daniel 6.15, בשמתי לגו בדבוהא in Gen.Apoc. 2.10 has a parallel in Daniel 7.15 and the phrase ב חזוא 'in a vision of the night' in Gen.Apoc. 21.8 recalls Daniel 2.19. Kutscher op.cit. p. 7 attributes these similarities in wording to knowledge and imitation of Daniel by the author of the scroll, while conceding that they could also indicate a wider currency for these particular expressions. He also notes some phrases and forms shared by the scroll and the Elephantine Papyri, as indicative of a knowledge by the author of non-Biblical Reichsaramäisch literature, citing קדם 'for the sake of' in 19.16, 19.20 cf. Cowley 38.5 and קדמת in 21.23 for Biblical Aramaic מן קדם as in these papyri.

He then turns to examine the scroll's Middle Aramaic tendencies and shows these to be Western in the main; Eastern elements in the scroll's language are to be attributed to the influence of Reichsaramäisch (pp. 13-4). Further, the Middle Aramaic element in the scroll's vocabulary has closest affinities with Christian Aramaic, whose origin was probably in

Judaea, and with Targum Onkelos. He thus champions the Western origin of Targum Onkelos with Dalman and opposes the views of Kahle. In grammar, he says, Targum Onkelos is closer to Western Aramaic and in vocabulary even more so; the eastern element is purely the product of its transmission in Babylon. He notes on pp. 9-11 some phrases and words which occur only in Targum Onkelos/Jonathan and the scroll. Among these are כ֫ן 'for' - 19.16, 20.22, 21.14, בֵּיתֵהּ שכֹן 'men of his household' 20.16, חלחל֫ן 'valley' in 22.4 and כ֫ן כלי֫ן 'cried out' in 19.16, as well as the use of ן֫ה as 3rd person singular feminine suffix and ך֫ה as 2nd person singular masculine suffix.

As a result of these arguments set forth by Kutscher as well as the work of Dr G.J. Kuiper on the relationships of the Targums, Principal Black has slightly modified his opinions on the worth of Targum Onkelos as a guide to Western Aramaic. He thus writes in his 3rd edition p. 42: "We need not 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-Onkelos 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 New Testament period."

Further on, Black refers to the controversy between Kutscher and Kahle resulting from Kutscher's methods of dating the Genesis Apocryphon. Having shown the language of the scroll as being in a state of transition between Reichsaramäisch and Middle Aramaic and with its tendencies towards

the Targum Onkelos, Kutscher concluded that the 1st century B.C. must be a terminus ante quem in dating and the probable date is 1st century A.D. His basis for dating is consideration of orthography rather than subject matter and takes account of the difficulties posed by the facts that the Nabataean and Palmyrene texts may well represent a slightly archaic style of language in view of their intention of preservation for posterity and that the other nearly contemporary writing, the Megillath Ta'anith, is official in character.

It is clear that a date in the 1st century A.D. for this scroll from Palestine, written in a language which differs in several respects from that of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum and which shows tendencies towards Targum Onkelos, is unfavourable to Kahle's early dating of the Pentateuch Targum. The personalities involved must be ignored and the tendency of discoverers to press the worth of their particular discoveries must be taken into account in any assessment of the dating and the methodology employed in obtaining it.

In my opinion, Kutscher's placing of the scroll in the 1st century A.D. must be regarded as essentially accurate in view of the possibility of comparing it with other archaeological discoveries. Thus in the material from Murabba'at, which can be dated with a fair degree of certainty to 111-135 A.D. in the main, with one document from 55/56 A.D. (DJD Vol. 2 No. 18), we find that the form אבן is still predominant then. Only in 27.4 and 66.1 (of DJD Vol. 2) is בן found, whereas אבן occurs in full form about 28 times. Further, אבנין occurs in 19.11, 19.24 and 20.14 and בנין is never found. In the Bar Kochba letters,

which can be dated exactly to 131-35 A.D., the form כ׳ is still very prominent, although כ is also found. In the Murabba'at documents a form כ׳ with כ for כ is also found. In the Qumran material in DJD Vol. 3 כ׳ occurs exclusively.

The temporal adverbs כ׳כמ and כ׳כמב can likewise be traced in other archaeological material. Among the Qumran material we find כ׳כמ used twice in DJD Vol. 1. 21 in fragment 11 line 1 and fragment 27, these forming part of an Aramaic Testament of Levi, and כ׳כמל twice in Number 23 fragment 20 line 2 and fragment 22 line 2, part of an Aramaic apocryphon. Further, we find the form כ׳כל with מ omitted in the Murabba'at material - DJD Vol. 2. 19 ll. 7, 8 and ll. 20, 21, the second copy of the same document helping us to be sure of the reconstruction of words and letters missing in the first copy. This document is datable to 111 A.D. and in its connective use of the adverb shows us its continued use into the 2nd century A.D.

The 1st person singular pronoun occurs in the form אנכמ , as in scroll and Biblical Aramaic, in the Murabba'at documents, 17 times in all. The adverb for 'there' is in form כתמ in DJD Vol. 2. 72.1.3 as in scroll and later Aramaic. On the other hand, in these documents הנכ is the form of demonstrative 6 times and הנכא 6 or 7 times and not דנ as in the scroll; אנכ also occurs, but only once in the Murabba'at material. In CIJ II. 1300 l. 1 הנכ is also the form. It may be that these documents prefer more archaic forms, but the scrolls use of a later form cannot set it earlier than the 1st century A.D.

CIJ II 1300 l.1 also shows us the use of the internal passive in a grave inscription עלת , while the Murabba'at documents show us several aphel and ithpeel forms, some of the latter with only the נ written and the ת omitted. Cf. N.T. εφφαθα.

Further, in the Qorban grave inscription datable to the 1st century A.D. (RB. LXV 409, JBL LXXVIII pp. 60-5) אנש is the form for 'man', and not אש , as in the scroll. This is a matter of importance in connection with discussions of the 'Son of Man' question in the gospels; any material quoted bearing the phrase in the form בר אש or בר אנש must be regarded as later than the 1st century A.D. and strictly irrelevant, since בר אנש was its 1st century A.D. form.

As a result of all these discoveries we are better able to trace the development of forms and usages in Aramaic and Kutscher's emphasis on the transitionary state of the language found in the scroll is vindicated. On the other hand, while he vindicates the Western origin of the Onkelos Targum, his use of orthography as a means of dating forces a later dating for that Targum where spelling is more fixed; on the other hand the Palestinian Targum as found in Neofiti still reflects a state of fluidity that suggests earlier dating. Kutscher's wariness in the use of Biblical Aramaic is a weakness in his argument. It is more likely that Reichsaramäisch was essentially uniform, but that some dialectical peculiarities began to assert themselves after the writing of Daniel, under the influence of contact with other languages. Word-order in Palestine may well have tended towards the more traditional Hebraic order,

but the scroll shows some differences here which I shall treat in the body of my work. The Biblical material cannot be wholly discounted in any picture of 1st century A.D. Aramaic, since the scroll shows a number of similarities with Daniel as well as differences which suggest a degree of development.

It is thus my intention in this work to use the Genesis Apocryphon as a major source for the Aramaic of 1st century A.D. Palestine, backing it with the earlier evidence from Reichsaramäisch and the slightly later Murabba'at material and using the later material chiefly as confirmatory of the continuing use of phrases and constructions already found in earlier times. I find it impossible, however, to accept the rigours demanded by Fitzmyer in his review to the extent of totally dismissing later material. The main reason for this lies in the internal testimony of the New Testament to phraseology and ideas which cannot yet be paralleled in the new archaeological discoveries, but which are clearly found in the Targums and Midrashim. Ideas like the 'age to come' and reverential methods of alluding to God, such as 'the voice from heaven', are not found in the earlier material, their origins in Aramaic speech are clear and the parallels in the later material are striking. It is thus permissible to use these parallels, recalling that an earlier form of these writings, whether written or oral, must be a definite possibility.

A further question which arises is how far we must restrict our attention to Aramaic idiom and how widely a knowledge of Hebrew was to be found in 1st century A.D. Palestine. This question has been posed from time to time by those who were dissatisfied with the characterisation of

the Hebrew of the Mishnah as an artificial blend of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic constructions, a language written by scholars, but never spoken nor used in everyday life. Beyer op.cit. pp. 12-13 affords the latest such statement of the artificial nature of Mishnaic Hebrew.

The recent discoveries of archaeology have served to reopen the question for scholarly discussion. Thus the richness of material in Hebrew from Qumran is to be noted by comparison with the paucity of the Aramaic finds and the fact that the majority of the Hebrew documents from there are written in a language close to that of the Old Testament shows that in certain circles Biblical Hebrew was still understood at the turn of the era. Further, Hebrew of a more Mishnaic character occurs in documents from Murabba'at alongside Aramaic and is used in public documents similar in character to those in which Aramaic is used. (See DJD Vol. 2). Among various ossuary inscriptions found in Palestine Hebrew occurs as well as Aramaic. Of the letters found in the 'Cave of the Letters' from Bar Kochba or Bar Kosiba to his associates three are definitely in Hebrew and two probably are. (See IEJ. 1961 pp. 36-52). This suggests a wider use of Mishnaic Hebrew in ordinary life.

It is questionable, however, how far we can lay it down as a rule, as E.Y. Kutscher does (IEJ. 1962 pp. 72ff), that Hebrew was the spoken language of Judaea and Aramaic the language of Galilee. What does appear certain is that Mishnaic Hebrew was in wider use than has sometimes been held, but in view of its greater affinity in syntax to Aramaic than Biblical Hebrew, it would be difficult to argue for the presence of a construction in the New Testament as due to Mishnaic Hebrew rather than Aramaic.

One of the more recent defences of Mishnaic Hebrew against the charge of artificiality occurs in a paper called 'The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew' by Chaim Rabin (Scripta Hierosolymitana pp. 144-61). This defence follows the lines of M.H. Segal's arguments in the introduction to his Mishnaic Hebrew Grammar, but substantiates the position from the recent discoveries. Thus he argues:

(1) Mishnaic Hebrew contains constructions and forms not derivable from Biblical Hebrew or Aramaic, some even demonstrably older than Biblical Hebrew.

(2) It is just as stable a language as Biblical Hebrew, which would not be the case if it were an artificial combination of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic.

(3) A distinct Mishnaic Hebrew influence is observable in some late Biblical books such as Jonah, Esther, Ecclesiastes and some of the Psalms, as well as in Ben Sira, this suggesting that Mishnaic Hebrew was the spoken vernacular of the authors.

(4) The Greek renderings of the Septuagint show traces of Mishnaic influence, while Christian Palestinian Aramaic and, to a lesser extent, Samaritan Aramaic borrow from Mishnaic Hebrew in spite of the lack of knowledge of the authors of Mishnaic literature.

(5) Among the Qumran material the Copper Scroll (3Q15) is written in colloquial, Mishnaic Hebrew, probably because it contains the verbatim

reports of eye-witnesses. In the other non-Biblical scrolls reference is made to a 'halting language', an 'uncircumcised language' and a 'tongue of blasphemies', which may well refer to the new-fangled Mishnaic tongue, while frequent involuntary Mishnaisms occur within the general Biblical Hebrew framework of these documents.

Thus Rabin suggests a gradual change in the linguistic situation beginning with Aramaic as the literary language and an old form of Mishnaic Hebrew as spoken vernacular, as witnessed by Ben Sira with its Biblical Hebrew grammatical framework and superimposed Mishnaic influence. By the time Esther was written we can speak of a Mishnaic Hebrew text with Biblical Hebrew influence and this is even more true for Ecclesiastes, which may be a translation from Aramaic, but if so it has been rendered into a strongly Mishnaic language. The reason for the use of Biblical Hebrew by the Qumran sect may well have been their desire to set themselves apart from the Pharisees and to symbolise their return to the pure religion of the desert days.

Rabin's picture of the linguistic development of Hebrew has much to commend it and helps to explain the Qumran use of Biblical Hebrew as a process similar to the Atticising movement in the Greek language. In the later Hebrew books there are traces of scribal alterations of Mishnaic elements and the substitution of more classical expressions, as for example the replacement of the later form of the relative שׁ by classical זשׁ אשׁ in Ecclesiastes 8.17 and Jonah 1 vv. 7, 8, 12. The form שׁ is that found in the Copper Scroll and the Murabba'at documents. In DJD Vol. III pp. 221-35 J.T. Milik provides us with a good inventory

of the language of the Copper Scroll, its uses of ש for relative and לש possessive and genitival, fondness for composite prepositions and לפנ, all in line with Mishnaic Hebrew. He notes how it diverges from Mishnaic practice in using prepositions other than ל with the infinitive, but follows Mishnaic syntax in its use of constructions according to sense.

While a picture of development within the Hebrew language is more consistent with the evidence than a view of an artificially constructed new language, the position must not be distorted to the point of placing Mishnaic Hebrew as spoken language and Aramaic as literary. The evidence from the sayings of Jesus with the quotation of Aramaic words and phrases and the need for the writing of Aramaic targums for those whose knowledge of Hebrew was becoming deficient act as correctives to any such position. The very fact of Aramaic as a spoken language may account for the absence of many literary works in that language from the 1st century A.D.

On the other hand, the fact that the Qumran community still cherished Biblical Hebrew, and even wrote in that language, suggests that it was still possible for those in Palestine who wished to read their Bible in Hebrew to do so. We cannot now say with the same certainty that all biblical Hebrew constructions in the New Testament were channelled through the use of the Septuagint or some other Greek version. Where long stretches of a writing testify to a language similar to that of the Septuagint we can speak of Septuagintalism, but where biblical Hebrew idioms occur only at times the writer may indicate his knowledge of biblical Hebrew. As Mishnaic Hebrew may well owe some of its developments to the contact of Hebrew with Aramaic over a period of time, so the

presence of Hebraisms in Aramaic of every stage suggests an influence in the opposite direction. Where two languages are in close contact with one another there is nothing surprising in such a phenomenon.

Recent archaeological discoveries in Palestine, however, pose the question whether there was not a third language also in widespread use there in the first two Christian centuries, namely κοινή Greek. The extent of knowledge of Greek in 1st century A.D. Palestine is the subject of a careful study by J.N. Sevenster in 'Do you know Greek? How much Greek could the first Jewish Christians have known?' (NTS. 19 - 1968). Sevenster takes his starting-point from the fact that many New Testament writings, among them James and I Peter, lay claim to apostolic authorship and thereby imply that ordinary Jews of Palestine could acquire sufficient knowledge of Greek to write in that language works of considerable stylistic attainment. In the case of James the use of words of better κοινή Greek, word-links, word-play and alliteration pose a serious question as to how far we can accept the ascription of this work to a brother of Jesus and son of a carpenter of Nazareth. For I Peter the question whether a Galilean fisherman could have written the epistle unaided has also been raised by scholarship.

Sevenster begins his survey of the evidence for a knowledge of Greek in Palestine with the New Testament and notes that no mention is made there of the need for an interpreter in discussions between Greek and Jew. In the case of Paul's speech to the masses in Acts 21.37ff it is shown that the fact he spoke τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ was not a matter of course, and it appears that his audience would have understood him in

whole or in part had he spoken in Greek. But when he spoke in their native tongue, they listened with greater attention. As regards Jesus' own knowledge of Greek we receive guidance only from the silence over any need for an interpreter in his dealings with Pilate, the Roman centurion in Capernaum, the Syro-Phoenician woman and the Gadarenes.

Turning to the Rabbinical writings (pp. 47-60), he notes that much of their evidence is from a date considerably later than the 1st century A.D. and that the presence of Greek loan-words in the Talmud does not of itself indicate a wide knowledge of Greek any more than the presence of Latinisms argues for a wide knowledge of Latin. He quotes an interesting passage from Mishnah Sotah IX 14 concerning a ruling forbidding fathers, in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., from teaching their sons Greek, which implies that at an earlier date this had been practised in Palestine.

Our other main literary source is Josephus, whose attainments in Greek are attested by his writings and whose comments on how he acquired his Greek (Ant. 20 262-5) are of considerable relevance to this question. While the passage in which Josephus speaks of his learning of Greek is not without difficulties in interpretation, his claim that any freeman or slave could learn Greek if he chose to, but that the Jews did not set so much store by this as by knowledge of the law, suggests that knowledge of Greek in Palestine was not confined to the upper classes and educated. Josephus' difficulties in mastering Greek appear to have been chiefly matters of pronunciation differences between Greek and his native Aramaic. Much effort has been expended in distinguishing how far Josephus made use of the assistants he speaks of in 'Contra Apionem' I.50 in the

composition of his work. What at least is shown is that a person who intended his work to be known by a wider circle of Greek-speaking people would make every effort to acquire a wider knowledge of Greek. Surely the Gospel writers too had similar aims in mind and those whose native tongue was Aramaic rather than Greek would have laboured to write as good Greek as they could.

Sevenster then proceeds to examine the archaeological material, beginning with an examination of the knowledge of Greek shown by Jews of the Diaspora before turning to the evidence from Palestine itself. He notes that Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora came to Jerusalem for the festivals and that in Palestine itself there were centres of Greek culture like Caesarea and Sebaste planted by the Herods, where Greek could be heard spoken. The excavations at the Hellenistic centre of Jaffa reveal a majority of Jewish funeral inscriptions in Greek and the occupations of the deceased, where they occur, show that many of these Greek speakers were ordinary people, not people of wealth or intellectual attainment.

Among many ossuary inscriptions unearthed in Palestine those in Beth Shearim in Galilee date from the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D. and are thus of limited value for the 1st century. On the other hand, those from Jerusalem can be dated before 70 A.D., since Jews were prohibited from entering the city after that date. These indicate that while Aramaic was the main language, Greek was fairly widespread in Jerusalem, the proportion of Greek inscriptions being high. (op.cit. pp. 148-9).

More important is the evidence from the caves of Murabba'at, revealing that the region was tri-lingual in the 2nd century A.D., with Greek in use alongside Aramaic and Hebrew for precisely the same kinds of document. The question is whether the same situation held good for the 1st century A.D. or if the small amount of Greek material from Qumran by comparison indicates a growing knowledge of Greek between the two periods. Against this latter conclusion Sevenster (op.cit. p. 153) points out that the material from Murabba'at is more of the nature of every-day life, whereas the Qumran material reflects the religious and social life of a special group. Although the official character of the documents suggests the possibility that they were drawn up by clerks or notaries on behalf of their clients, it must surely have been in the interest of the Jews in question to understand the Greek in which the contracts were drawn up.

Even more important is the fact that in the 'Cave of Letters' the letters sent by the Jewish nationalist leader, Bar Kochba or Bar Kosiba, to his associates have been found written alike in three languages. Of the 15 letters 8 are definitely in Aramaic, 3 are definitely in Hebrew, 2 are probably in Hebrew and 2 are definitely in Greek. Most striking is the fact that the letters in Greek concern the same subjects as those written in Aramaic and Hebrew and are addressed to the same people. (see IEJ 1961 pp. 36-52). While this material dates from the period 131/35 A.D. and Bar Kosiba appears to have made use of clerks in their composition, the fact that a Jewish nationalist leader had such letters put out in his name and that his associates who received them must have understood Greek shows that we cannot associate nationalist sentiment and

scorn for Hellenistic culture with contempt for the Greek language. It is to be noted too that the writer confesses his reason for writing Greek was that he did not feel like writing in Hebrew or Aramaic at that moment. Γεγραφη δ(ε) Ελληνιστι δια τ(ο υ)μαν μη ευρηθ(η)ναι εβραεστι γ(ρα)ψασθαι . (See comments of Lifshitz 'Aegyptus' 1962 p. 247).

As a result of this careful survey Sevenster states (pp. 176ff) that the evidence for knowledge of Greek in Palestine in a period very close to the 1st century A.D. has been shown with clarity and once we rid ourselves of the idea that 70 A.D. was decisive in the matter of Hellenisation, the evidence from the ossuaries receives its proper place. We cannot now regard as satisfactory Black's characterisation of 1st century Palestinian language distinctions in 'Aramaic Approach' pp. 15ff, 47-9:

"Greek was the speech of the educated 'hellenized' classes and the medium of cultural and commercial intercourse between Jew and foreigner", while "Aramaic was the language of the people of the land".

The clumsy ungrammatical Greek of some of the funerary inscriptions shows that ordinary people too used Greek and the distinction between Hellenised town-dweller and Semitic country-dweller fails to take account of the fact that in every district contacts with government officials and Jews of the diaspora made some knowledge of Greek necessary. The linguistic argument against the apostolic authorship of various epistles is thus not as strong as appears at first sight, since the testimony of Josephus is backed by archaeological discovery. (op.cit. p. 191).

In assessment of Sevenster's work it must be noted that he observes due caution in his use of evidence and weighs up both argument and counter-argument, providing us with material of varying type, but with a cumulative degree of probability. That a tri-lingual situation existed in Palestine is absolutely certain from the archaeological material, even though the exact extent of knowledge existent among various groups will remain a matter of dispute among scholars. It is true also that we must add to Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek the use of Latin by the Roman authorities and the knowledge of Latin terms by those who worked in their service. According to John 19.20 the inscription on Jesus' cross was in a Semitic language, Latin and Greek; the use of Latin will have been for the benefit of the Romans present and does not require the postulation of a fourth language of widespread use.

The bearing of the archaeological discoveries on our study of New Testament language is considerable. It now appears possible to find a Palestinian setting for at least some of the authors of these Greek writings without recourse to arguments of translation of their works from a Semitic language. With a tri-lingual linguistic situation some of the debate between Hellenists and Semitists over New Testament language may be resolved by accepting the position that while the authors write in Greek of the period original works of Greek, their native language of Aramaic is betrayed, either by use of idiom natural to that language or by insufficient attainment in Greek. This hypothesis of course requires to be tested for each writing separately, but I hope to establish its validity in at least one case in the chapters which follow.

Chapter 2

The problems of the language of St. Matthew's gospel.

The tendencies in the study of New Testament language in this century outlined in the last chapter can be traced in operation in the various grammars of New Testament Greek produced for the Biblical student. The existence of such grammars does not in itself imply that the language of the New Testament should be treated in isolation from other Greek writing. In fact, grammars such as Moulton's and Blass-Debrunner's have shown the kinship of New Testament Greek with the spoken Κοινὴ by means of citing parallels from the papyri and have outlined the development of the Greek language by comparing New Testament Greek with classical and modern Greek usage.

The main shortcoming of these various grammars has been their tendency to treat New Testament usage as a whole without regard to divergences in style between the various authors. The sole distinction they tend to draw is between usages confined to the more literary books such as Luke/Acts, Hebrews and I Peter and usages found in less literary writing. Moulton Vol. 2 pp. 18-34 does deal with some stylistic characteristics of the various authors, but does so briefly and in a very general way.

In the case of the gospels the comparative neglect of consideration of the writers' stylistic characteristics has been aided by the tendency of synoptic criticism to distinguish various documents within the gospels

with the consequent fragmentary picture of the process of composition of a gospel that emerges. The practitioners of form-criticism, while turning from documentary criticism to examine the growth of traditions, have been too intent on distinguishing kernel and husk, genuine words of Jesus from later beliefs, to regard the usages of the various writers as significant in themselves. In the case of the Pauline corpus various epistles ascribed to Paul have been declared to come from another hand than his, but no systematic account of regular Pauline usage has been undertaken to support these claims; too much attention has been focussed on words not found elsewhere in his letters and supposed differences in the use of words of theological importance.

To this general picture of neglect to examine stylistic usage there are a few exceptions to be noted. Thus the distinctive features of the style of Revelation receive good treatment in the 1st volume by R.H. Charles of the ICC on the text. Various characteristics of Mark's style receive treatment in a series of articles by C.H. Turner in JTS Vols. XXV - XXIX entitled 'Notes on Marcan Usage'. These are marked by a perceptiveness and practical bearing which are noticeably lacking in W.C. Allen's introduction to the ICC of Matthew, in spite of his detailed lists of stylistic changes that Matthew makes on Mark. For Luke's gospel H.J. Cadbury has done scholarship a similar service through his listing of characteristics of Luke's style in the second part of his 'Style and Literary Method of Luke' (1919-20), as well as by various articles contributed to the journals on Lucan usage. His work is supplemented by

R. Morgenthaler in Volume 1 of 'Die lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis', who examines Luke's use of a two-fold pattern as well as his grouping by fours, uses of alliteration, tautology and antithesis. For John's gospel we have the detailed work of E.A. Abbott in his 'Johannine Grammar' (1906).

Further, Sir John Hawkins in his 'Horae Synopticae' provides a good guide to some characteristics of the synoptic writers in his lists of words and phrases characteristic of each gospel writer and examination of their use of historic present and imperfect tenses. From many of the characteristic usages it is possible to discern where an editor's own hand is at work as distinct from the places where he follows the language of his sources. It is important to notice a widespread error in the arguments employed for and against the genuineness of various sayings of Jesus on the basis of the presence of editorial features. We must recall that the ancient world did not set so much store by the actual verbatim reporting of words as we do, preferring uniformity and evenness of style. It is only where a passage is cast so much in the author's style that it is impossible to discern any underlying source left after removal of the editor's vocabulary that we can speak with certainty of editorial creation. Thus, for example, the stamp of the original thinker which we uncover in the parables after removing the accretions of later church application and the editorial additions is good evidence against the more radical tendencies of scholarship and an indication that an extreme position in either direction is not as intellectually respectable or

scientifically based as might at first appear.

The purpose of this present work is to examine the style of Matthew's gospel in the way in which I believe all the New Testament writings should be examined. In itself such an inventory of usage could be regarded as serving little practical use for exegesis and hence it is my intention to centre the discussion on some of the problems posed by Matthew's language. Matthew's gospel is in fact a very good writing to submit to linguistic examination, since it poses the same problems which we have already noted in study of general questions and tendencies in the last chapter. This examination can thus serve as a particular example of these questions and a test of various attempted solutions.

The presence of several passages of almost identical wording in the first three gospels has forced scholars to accept some view of dependence between the gospels. The favoured view among Protestant scholars, as well as among German Roman Catholics, is that Matthew and Luke draw on Mark's gospel, which is the earliest of the three. Good linguistic arguments have been put forward to show that where Matthew and Luke have passages corresponding to Mark's the slight differences in wording can best be explained by a process of correction of Mark's Greek. This is demonstrated by C.H. Turner in the articles on Marcan usage already referred to and the ways in which Matthew and Luke tend to remove various features of Mark's style which are too colloquial, incorrect or awkward are noted. Turner notes too (Vol. XXVI pp. 225ff) that Mark's narrative is written from the viewpoint of one of the disciples, whereas Matthew and Luke write as Christian historians. He adduces this from the way in

which Mark distinguishes the disciples and Jesus by fluctuating from plural to singular without expressing the subject, this being a sign, he believes, that Mark is adapting the first person plural of Peter's memoirs and turning them into third persons. On the other hand, Matthew and Luke supply ὁ Ἰησοῦς and οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ as subjects. Further, Mark can speak of the disciples as οἱ δώδεκα simpliciter, whereas Matthew and Luke speak of οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ.

Then again (pp. 337ff) he points out how Mark is fond of giving us exact numbers, whereas Matthew and Luke tend to omit them. The natural tendency of an educated writer of ancient times was to omit numbers as insignificant and in this respect Mark shows himself free of literary pretensions.

The question posed by Turner's arguments in favour of the correction of Mark's rougher style by Matthew and Luke is whether Mark's lack of accomplishment in Greek derives from lack of education as such or from native Aramaic speech and hence whether Matthew and Luke are writing from the viewpoint of Greek speakers of a higher degree of education or as Greeks seeking to remove Semitic idiom.

The material afforded us by C.H. Turner is supplemented in the case of St. Matthew by the detailed introduction by W.C. Allen to the I.C.C. on Matthew. Allen points out the way in which Matthew abbreviates the Marcan narrative in various places, devotes a section (xix - xxx) to a number of characteristic changes made by Matthew on Mark's language and concludes with a list of theological changes, which reflect the growing

reverence felt for Jesus' person at the time of Matthew's writing as compared with Mark's time. While his linguistic section affords us a good deal of useful information, Allen makes no attempt to draw conclusions from language, since he regards the literary and theological changes as the most significant and interesting. It is for this reason that it bears the appearance of a catalogue of miscellaneous information.

Sir John Hawkins in 'Horae Synopticae' likewise favours the hypothesis that Matthew and Luke used Mark and on p. 152 expressly rejects the idea of an Ur-Marcus, an earlier form of Mark postulated by earlier scholarship as the document used by Matthew and Luke. He allows, however, for some later editorial additions to Mark not known at the time when Matthew and Luke were writing. He notes on pp. 158-60 Matthew's tendency to shorten narratives and on pp. 161ff the Matthaean method of compilation of his material.

On the basis of this hypothesis of Matthaean dependence on Mark it has then been customary for scholars to postulate a source *Q* to account for similarities of wording between Matthew and Luke. The exact extent of this document is not entirely certain, since a varying degree of similarity in wording between Matthew and Luke in different passages has led to the postulation by scholars like Bussmann and Bacon of two documents in this material. (See e.g. Bacon op.cit. pp. 91ff and G.D. Kilpatrick 'Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew pp. 8-14).

Apart from *Q* we have the question of the source of Matthew's peculiar discourses, whether in some document *M* or not, and of his

peculiar narratives, either a document N or a collection of oral traditions. The diverse nature of this last-mentioned material makes it difficult to accept the idea of a single document and makes more probable the view of G.D. Kilpatrick (op.cit. pp. 57-8) that the peculiar narratives derive from oral tradition and were first put into writing by the evangelist.

With this general picture of the composition of the gospel the question next occurs as to the nature of the Greek of Matthew's gospel, how far it is a pure specimen of κοινή Greek and how far it is influenced by Semitic idiom. W.C. Allen (op.cit. p. lxxxv) characterises it thus:

"The Greek of the gospel is not so full of Aramaisms and of harsh constructions due to translation from Aramaic as is the Greek of the second gospel. Nor, on the other hand, has it the Septuagintal and so Hebraic ring of the language of the third gospel. It has rather the lack of distinction which characterises any narrative compiled from previous sources by an editor who contents himself with dovetailing together rather than rewriting the sources before him."

This may be regarded as the typically unsympathetic picture of scholars who have become obsessed with the idea of documentary sources.

The fact that Mark is in Greek and that the other sources postulated for the gospel may well have been translated into Greek before they came into the editor's hands suggests that Greek was the mother-tongue of the evangelist. Thus B.W. Bacon declares ('Studies in Matthew' p. 134):

"However Jewish in feeling, origin and attitude toward Scripture, the

language in which he seems to feel most at home is that in which he writes, from whose written sources he draws, the language into which he translates for his readers' benefit words of Hebrew and Aramaic."

The question arises whether Greek was the evangelist's only language and here many scholars have implied that this was the case, while being wary of explicit statement. Thus G.D. Kilpatrick emphasises the fact that Matthew's church was Greek-speaking rather than bi-lingual (op.cit. p. 105), with a slight academic knowledge of Hebrew, and that the evangelist was a scribe in that community. He characterises Matthew's style thus:

"This style lacks the ruggedness of Mark or of St. Paul's Epistles, the brilliant mastery of Greek shown in the Epistle to the Hebrews, or the variety of imitation apparent in the Lucan writings. By comparison it is undistinguished, but neat, clear and direct, possessing the character of serviceability rather than distinction." (op.cit. pp. 136-7).

C.F.D. Moule, on the other hand, is more impressed by the good Greek of Matthew's gospel and characterises his style in these terms in his 'Birth of the New Testament' p. 219:

"The editor was an educated person commanding sound Greek with a considerable vocabulary; but he derived many Semitisms, and perhaps some Latin, from his sources; and he also had some feeling for Semitic 'atmosphere', occasionally introducing a Semitism on his own account, though less histrionically than Luke."

The editor's own Semitisms are 'deliberate and artificial', really Septuagintalisms. Among the sources Professor Moule reckons the Aramaic

writings of Matthew. Elsewhere (SE Vol. II p. 94) Professor Moule states: "There are very few solecisms in Matthew, and it looks as though, left to himself, the evangelist could write good, grammatical Greek. He handled a great deal of material that was Semitic in origin, and which, even if already translated, was in Semitic Greek. Here he generally smoothed away the worst barbarisms and sometimes introduced some of his own vocabulary."

The question posed by statements such as this one is whether they provide an adequate account of the Semitic strain in Matthew's gospel. If all the pure Semitisms can be shown to be due to sources and the editorial Semitisms to be pure Septuagintalisms, the situation is clear, but if we find Semitism that is more naturally traceable to the author's Aramaic usages, this solution must be regarded as unsatisfactory. It is important that we should examine more seriously an opposing viewpoint which sees in Matthew the original gospel from the hand of the Aramaic-speaking disciple Matthew. Such a view has been generally scorned as ultra-conservative and has been left on the whole to more traditionalist Roman Catholic scholars to argue, but it deserves to be considered on its merits as against a view based on a number of hypothetical documents.

The starting-point for this view has been tradition, which from a fairly early date associated the gospel with the disciple Matthew. In particular much has been made of the testimony of Papias as recorded in Eusebius 'Church History' 3.39 - "Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ'αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος." Discussion has centred on the words διάλεκτος, λόγια and ἑρμηνεύειν. If διάλεκτος means 'language', this tells us of a

writing of Matthew in the Aramaic language and if further ἑρμηνεύειν means 'translate', then we are told that the work was translated into Greek. The main question on this interpretation is whether in fact τὰ λόγια can refer to a gospel, and in particular whether in fact it really refers to this gospel. Conservative Catholic scholarship, with support from a few Protestants such as Theodore Zahn, has argued that this statement refers to the gospel of Matthew as we have it before us and attests that it is a translation from a Semitic language into Greek; dispute has further raged whether it is a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic.

On the other hand, it has been argued that τὰ λόγια cannot refer to a gospel, but only to a collection of sayings, and that what is attested is a sayings-source such as Q or the special Matthaean discourse-material. The puzzling statement about 'each translating as he could' might then be explained in terms of two different versions of Q such as we find in Matthew and Luke. Further questions arise over whether ἑρμηνεύειν does in fact mean 'translate' rather than 'interpret' and whether διάλεκτος means 'style' rather than 'language'. If ἑρμηνεύειν means 'interpret' the reference may be to a targumising process with traditions and if διάλεκτος means 'style' the idea of a 'Hebraic style' could imply a Semitic kind of Greek or a style similar to that of the Old Testament without reference to the kind of Greek.

It is clear that such a dubious external statement is completely insufficient as a basis for reversing the priority of Mark in favour of the originality of Matthew as a translation from a Semitic language. The

error of most Protestant scholars has been to dismiss this view out of hand solely on the basis of the unreliable nature of the tradition, without giving weight to the internal evidence adduced in its support. This evidence consists in the main of considering various ways in which Matthew is more Semitic than Mark and concluding from this that since in the spread of the gospel the process of movement was from the Aramaic to Greek language, the more Aramaic ways of speech are more original than the Greek ways.

The two chief modern Catholic writings to support the originality of Matthew are 'Matthew, Mark and Luke' by Dom Chapman edited by Mon. J.M.T. Barton (1937) and B.C. Butler's 'The Originality of St. Matthew' (1951). Chapman holds (op.cit. p. 184) that whereas Matthew has 'habitual Aramaisms', Luke and Mark have only the 'occasional' Aramaism; he lists some examples, to which J.M.T. Barton adds a few others. Butler admits inadequate linguistic knowledge for the argument of his case on that line and draws on earlier work. In order to see the case put best by one who is really well linguistically qualified we do well to look at the introduction to the commentary on Matthew by M.J. Lagrange (1st edition 1922, 3rd in 1927).

Among Lagrange's arguments in favour of the originality of Matthew we note:

(1) The unity of Matthew's style is as marked as that of Mark, which we would not expect to be the case if Matthew's gospel was a mere compilation.

(2) The need for defence of Christianity such as we find in the gospel must have been early felt and the presence of a gospel such as Matthew's was required for this purpose.

(3) Though the author gives no evidence of being an eye-witness, the tradition behind the gospel was assured.

(4) The schematic nature of Matthew's work is of a Semitic character. Thus we find recurring the Semitic device of 'inclusio' (Lxxxi), whereby a passage is terminated by presenting at the end of a section some words similar to those used at the beginning, in the prophetic manner. This occurs not only in the discourses, where it could be argued to go back to Jesus' manner of speech, but also in various narrative episodes without parallel usage of inclusio in Mark or Luke. The most significant of these examples are 12.39 γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς terminated in v. 45 by τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ ; 15.2 οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας with v. 20 τὸ δὲ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν φαγεῖν ; 16.6 προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης - v. 12 προσέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης and 18.1 τίς ἄρα μείζων with v. 4 οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ μείζων.

Further, we find in Matthew what Lagrange calls 'schematism', the use of repeated formulae without variation, in the Semitic manner, a feature of Matthew's style already noted in Hawkins op.cit. p. 188. We find too grouping by numbers as in Pirqe Aboth with fives, tens, sevens and threes (lxxxiv - lxxxvi), this suggesting a Semitic writing rather than a Greek one.

(5) Many of Matthew's usages reflect Jewish ideas.

(6) Finally, and most important, there are a number of Semitisms, not all of them capable of explanation in terms of Septuagintal imitation, and in a number of places Matthew's language is seen to be more Semitic in idiom than Mark's (XC following).

The evidence adduced by Lagrange is supplemented by the work of Adolf Schlatter in 'Der Evangelist Matthäus, seine Sprache, sein ziel, seine Selbständigkeit', the 3rd edition of which was published in 1948. In his introduction Schlatter outlines the method employed in this commentary and explains that, since this gospel has come down in Matthew's name, we would expect it to bear a Palestinian mark and reflect two sources of speech, Semitic and Greek. It is his aim to show that the language of the gospel is influenced by the speech-traditions of Palestine and that the author was bilingual. We note that he abandons the possibility that the gospel is a translation in favour of its being written in the kind of Greek a Semite would write.

His proof on the speech question depends on a series of negative and positive observations, namely that in various places we can see that this is not the manner in which a Greek would express himself, while on the other hand each sentence in Matthew can be precisely paralleled in Semitic speech. To prevent comparisons with Greek being purely negative and to allow further illumination on the meaning of the text, he uses as comparative material not Philo or any of the classical writers, but Josephus. He is a good parallel, he declares, since he deals with

Biblical history and contemporary events, while at the same time being ranked with the Greek writers, reflecting the literary pretensions of the Greek world. For comparative Palestinian material he draws widely, differing from Dalman and Strack-Billerbeck in their collections of material in that his interest is not solely with parallels of thought, but also with exact parallels in expression. These comparisons serve not only to illuminate the author's setting as regards speech, but also the church for which he writes. It is fitting too, he says, to consider Matthew's independence in his literary relationships to Mark and Luke, as this is what we would expect of apostolic writing.

On the basis of these principles outlined in his introduction Schlatter proceeds to go through the gospel phrase by phrase with parallels of expression for each from Jewish sources such as the Mishna, Tosefta, Mechilta, Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds along with his Greek parallels from the works of Josephus. It is to be noted that he does not confine himself to Aramaic, as can be seen from this list, but draws on Hebrew as well, since much of the Hebrew material is earlier than that from Aramaic. He notes stylistic features of Matthew in the course of the commentary, treating matters of word-order as well as favoured constructions, and shows Matthew's independence of Mark at various points by arguing from the consistency of a certain construction in Matthew as indicative of Mark's dependence on Matthew rather than the reverse. He gleans various pieces of information too about Matthew's church and these he brings together in the index at the end of the work. The case he presents is a strong one, in spite of his failure to distinguish Hebrew

and possible Septuagintalism from Aramaic, and his treatment of features of Matthew's style is of permanent value.

In view of the time that has elapsed since the first appearance of the works of Lagrange and Schlatter and the attempts of scholars such as Bacon to dismiss their work, it may appear strange to reopen the question now. Apart from the fact that I am dissatisfied with the summary dismissal of their case, I have received some encouragement in looking at this question again not only from the newer Aramaic discoveries mentioned in the last chapter, which provide some fresh and more contemporary parallels to Matthew's usages, but also from the conclusions of Beyer's work. As I indicated in the last chapter, Beyer shows us how Matthew in his proportion of Semitic syntax to purely Greek ways of expression has the highest proportion in favour of Semitic syntax of all the New Testament writings, while Mark trails somewhat behind. Since Beyer did not set out with any dogmatic presuppositions to establish the originality of Matthew, his evidence has an independent corroboratory function to play in this discussion. The argument from the use of Semitic sources is insufficient to account for these conclusions and the statistics demand a fresh look at this question in the light of our growing knowledge of 1st century Aramaic.

First problem.

The first problem which I wish to consider in this work can thus best be stated in the form of a question. How can we best explain the strong Semitic nature of Matthew's gospel as compared with that of Mark, while

at the same time taking account of the equally persuasive case for Matthew as a corrector of Mark's Greek?

There are two possible solutions to this problem.

(A) Matthew is a translation from Aramaic. This solution involves the explanation of a number of difficulties which it poses.

(1) How free a translation do we suppose it to be and how much latitude do we afford the translator for free rendering of the Greek and the addition of interpretation? It is to be noted in this connection that M.J. Lagrange believes that our Greek Matthew was not just a translation of an original Aramaic Matthew, but also an enlarged edition of it, comprising some additions from Mark. 'Sa manière est moins celle d'un traducteur exact que d'un Targum.' (cxliii).

(2) How can we detect translation Greek other than by the citing of dubious mistranslations? The practice of the Septuagint translators is of guidance here, provided we make allowance for differences between Hebrew and Aramaic idiom. From them we discover that systematic representation of one Hebrew word or idiom by the same Greek word or idiom on every occasion is not the universal practice.

(3) This solution requires the independence of Matthew with regard to the Greek gospel of Mark and the explanation of its contacts with Mark as due rather to Mark's dependence on Matthew. Such a position involves an explanation of the more structured form of Matthew as opposed to Mark.

It appears most natural to declare that Matthew used Mark as his basic framework, adding to his Marcan material matter which he found in other sources and gathering his sayings material into five main discourses on the basis of the Marcan outline. It is difficult to explain why Mark and Luke deliberately disarranged his material and omitted much valuable discourse material. Mark's work is shorter than Matthew's and most of his material recurs in Matthew. If Mark had been lost, we would have been able to recover most of his traditions from Matthew, whereas the reverse would not have been the case.

Dom Chapman seeks to provide an explanation of Mark's disarrangement of Matthew, while at the same time preserving the patristic tradition of Mark as recording in his gospel the memoirs of Peter. Thus he declares (op.cit. p. 21):

"Mark is Matthew conversationally retold by an eye-witness and ear-witness of what Matthew had set down, omitting all parts of Matthew where Peter was not present, and the long discourses which he would not remember with exactitude. Mark appears to be Peter's reading aloud of Matthew, taken down in shorthand by Mark."

This account of the situation may well appear fantastic and a tour de force of conservatism of tradition, but it does at least draw attention to the conversational or colloquial nature of Mark's writing. Thus Chapman has a case for saying (op.cit. pp. 83ff) that various features of Mark's style such as the constant use of καὶ , the historic present, parenthesis and redundancy of expression are all due to the gospel's

conversational nature. The more colloquial style and less ordered arrangement of Mark is probably what Papias is alluding to when he speaks of Mark in these terms:

"Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα." (Eusebius op.and loc. cit.).

One weakness of Chapman's argument lies in its failure to account for the presence of Petrine stories peculiar to Matthew including the saying about the giving of the keys in 16.18ff which one would have expected Peter to retell. Further, the orderly and memorable form of sayings, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, makes it difficult to accept that Peter would not have remembered them if he had known them from Matthew's gospel.

(4) How do we account for the basically Septuagintal nature of the Old Testament quotations in Matthew? We should have expected to find in the Old Testament citations the use of a form of text recoverable in some of the Targums or at least corresponding to Aramaic idiom throughout. It is interesting in fact that Lagrange does not attempt to prove an Aramaic origin for the quotations in his careful study of them (op.cit. pp. cxvii - cxxii), but emphasises the significance of the Septuagint for the whole of Matthew. When there was no question about the meaning of the original, the translator used the Septuagint, since it was his readers' Bible. This solution of the problem is in line with Lagrange's belief in the nature of Greek Matthew as a free translation in the manner of a targum

on Aramaic Matthew, as already described.

The Old Testament quotations form the basis of the study of Krister Stendahl in his book 'The School of St. Matthew' (Uppsala 1954). He begins with an examination of those Old Testament quotations which have a parallel in Mark (pp. 47-87) and notes that Matthew shows an even greater measure of agreement with the Septuagint here than Mark, in spite of the fact that Mark basically follows the Septuagint. The same situation holds true for the quotations with parallels in Luke (pp. 88-96). Among the quotations peculiar to Matthew those introduced by a formula such as "τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος." are of special interest, since they conform to no known text and are remarkably free for quotations purporting to be proof-texts. Stendahl believes these quotations reflect knowledge of the Septuagint as well as of a number of other text forms and are the product of a school of interpretation. Their failure to conform to any known Targum suggests that their peculiarity is due not to their translation nature, but to a process of scholarly reflection on the Greek and Hebrew texts. On the other hand, other quotations peculiar to Matthew without the introductory formula are in a middling position, closer to the Septuagint than the formula quotations, but not as close as the shared ones.

Whether or not Stendahl's characterisation of the formula quotations is an accurate one, their freedom is remarkable and their derivation from an Aramaic text uncertain as an alternative explanation. It is true too that Stendahl ought perhaps to have taken account of Old Testament

allusions as well as explicit quotations, since the Qumran scrolls on which he draws for his views reflect the use of allusion as well as explicit citation. On the other hand, it is not always easy to draw the line between allusion, echo of Septuagintal vocabulary and free composition, and as a result it is best to consider the quotations separately, if the intention is not to treat the linguistic situation as a whole.

(5) A final objection to the nature of Matthew's gospel as a translation arises from the existence in places of Greek word-play, which is difficult to render back into Aramaic. Thus at 6.16 we read ἀφανίζουσι ... ὅπως φανῶσιν , in 21.41 κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς and in 24.30 κόψονται ... καὶ ὄψονται . Added to this is the presence of a number of composite words such as βαττολογεῖν and πολυλογία in 6.7, as well as less composite ones such as μαθητεύειν and παρουσία that will not translate easily back into Aramaic. How weighty these objections are depends on how freely we believe the translator to have acted. These may merely reflect the translator's abilities in Greek in using single words to render more complicated Aramaic expressions.

(B) Matthew is a work written originally in Greek, but by an author whose native language was Aramaic. On this view of a bilingual or trilingual writer we can either argue with Schlatter for Matthew's independence of Mark, or if we are convinced by the objections from Matthaean order and the assimilation of Marcan quotations to the Septuagint, can hold a

modified view of Matthaean dependence on Mark.

The fact that the work as we have it is in Greek only implies that the readers were Greek speakers who required a gospel in the Greek language, but tells us nothing about the author save his ability to write in Greek. That the gospel affords signs of being destined for Syria, as contacts with the Didache and references such as the one in 4.24 to the gospel's report reaching to Syria suggest, does not of itself imply that the author derived from that region rather than from Palestine.[1] His association with a certain church in his later years tells us nothing of his place of origin and earlier life. The evidence adduced in the last chapter indicates that a knowledge of Greek was more widespread in 1st century Palestine than has often been accepted. Thus we must consider seriously the case for a Palestinian origin for the author and for Aramaic rather than Greek as his first language.

Several scholars have attributed Matthew's gospel to a scribe and have seen in 13.52 an indication of his identity. Such a view is very speculative, as there is no special reason for laying weight on a verse which could well merely preserve a short parable from Jesus himself. There is an ambiguity in the term γραμματεὺς which admits of differing interpretations. In its technical Jewish sense of 'teacher of the law' it has little to commend itself as a description of the author, who does not reveal a particularly weighty knowledge of Jewish law. In its more

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1. On the Syrian origin of the gospel see G.D. Kilpatrick op.cit. pp. 131-4.

general Greek sense of 'scribe' or 'professional clerk', it can cover a wide range of occupations and Matthew the τελώνης of 10.3 is not precluded from consideration, since his work involved an ability to write and knowledge of Greek as well as Aramaic. Differing kinds of scribe must have differed in the extent of their knowledge of Greek and the frequent use of stereotyped formulae by the notary in drawing up legal contracts could have proved a hindrance to him in writing freer Greek. Thus we may well prefer to consider the author from the viewpoint of his level of education in Greek rather than from the vague idea of his scribal position.

In speaking of the 'author', however, we assume that a single writer was responsible for the production of this work. This assumption itself requires to be tested and constitutes the second problem which I intend to study in this work.

Second problem.

How far is this gospel the work of one person and how far does it reflect the work of a school of authors? How uniform in fact is the 'author's' style?

The possibility that more than one hand lies behind the framing of the gospel arises in the first place from the discrepancy in practice between Matthew's treatment of Old Testament quotations shared with Mark or Luke and those bearing an introductory formula and peculiar to himself. As we have seen, the former are more Septuagintal than their basically

Septuagintal parallels, while the latter diverge from all known texts. Hawkins op.cit. pp. 154-7 noted this phenomenon of Septuagintal and non-Septuagintal quotations and concluded (p. 156):

"This is a very broad distinction, and such as suggests prima facie that we have before us the work of more than one author or editor."

K. Stendahl pursues this line further by suggesting that we have a school of St. Matthew, whose interpretation of the Old Testament has links with the practices of the Qumran community. He draws a parallel between the formula quotations of Matthew and the Habbakuk commentary of Qumran with its 'pesher' manner of quoting Scripture, פשרו על, 'its interpretation bears on', being the usual introduction to such passages. (op.cit. pp. 183ff). He outlines, on pp. 191ff, 13 principles which Brownlee found implicit in this kind of interpretation and shows that Matthew's 'school' followed this practice. Thus in Matthew 27.9 the Peshitta reading ܓܙܪܐ and Massoretic יוצר, 'treasury' and 'potter' respectively, in Zechariah 11.12ff are both used to illumine the text in the Qumran manner. Editorial traits are found in the alterations from the standard Old Testament texts, such as the use of γῆ Ἰούδα and ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα in 2.6 in the rendering of Micah 5.2 and the presence of Matthaean vocabulary such as ἐκβάλλειν and κρίσις in the quotation from Isaiah 42.1-4 in Matthew 12.17-21. Such a situation suggests that the writer, or group of writers, has been responsible for the changes rather than the use of some other text and that their reason lies in whatever purpose they wished these quotations to serve.

A reading of Stendahl's work leaves me somewhat in doubt whether he believes in a number of authors working on the gospel or one man commissioned by his 'school' to produce the work. He declares (op.cit. p. 30):

"There is no a priori reason why the Matthaean revision of Mark was not the ingenious work of one man, 'the author', whether his name was Matthew or not ... Yet, for the understanding of the gospel and for our knowledge of the early church another question is of great importance: How does such a Christian scribe fit into the context of his church?"

He rightly rejects the idea that the formula quotations could derive from a testimony book, since they are not used in the New Testament outside Matthew nor by the Church Fathers, unlike some of the other recurring quotations in the New Testament. (op.cit. pp. 207ff). Whether his case warrants the idea of a school of people interpreting the Old Testament or whether it is possible to ascribe the work to a single individual depends on the general picture we adopt of the gospel.

The problem regarding individual authorship is a wider one, however, than confining attention to the Old Testament quotations would suggest. There are places in which Matthew appears to practise Septuagintalism and other passages in which he shows divergence from Septuagintal usage. Some of his characteristic usages appear to reflect imitation of the Septuagint, others require explanation in terms of an Aramaic background. Whereas Luke adopts in his gospel a style which can be characterised as Septuagintal throughout and Mark shows little contact in style with the

Greek Bible, Matthew by his middling position raises questions. As it is possible in the case of the Old Testament quotations to speak of a Septuagintalising of Marcan material and a greater freedom with peculiar matter, so if it could be shown that these differences are based on different treatment of material from various sources, some of the difficulty could be resolved. It is true that some of the changes which C.H. Turner shows Matthew as practising on Mark are not followed up by Matthew in material from other sources. On the other hand, the distinction of two groups of material does not in itself explain the presence of certain Matthaean characteristics throughout. It is clear that in the ensuing examination of Matthew's language attention must be given to the distribution of various linguistic features in order to gain some guidance on this issue. For this reason too I will introduce a chapter on the doublets in Matthew, asking why the same passage recurs more than once in this gospel and whether the passage is treated in two different ways, as we would expect from the presence of more than one hand at work.

We must be wary, however, of postulating too many different authors and keep in mind the question of probability involved in picturing a work of this length being passed from hand to hand for corrections and additions.

Structure.

In considering these problems some account must be taken of the structure of Matthew's gospel. Stendahl op.cit. pp.20ff outlines similarities of form between Matthew and both the Didache and the Qumran 'Manual of

Discipline' and declares that while Matthew bears the form of a gospel, the treatment distinctive of his work is that of a handbook. He rightly declares that B.W. Bacon went too far in attempting to divide Matthew into five books, each containing narrative and discourse material, and states that it is only in the case of the five discourses that we can talk of five books.

The recognition of five discourses derives from the presence of a recurring concluding formula such as καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους at 7.28, 11.1, 13.53, 19.1 and 26.1. The extent of the first three discourses is easy to see, but for the latter two there is some uncertainty as to where to begin. Stendahl characterises the discourses as (1) Ethics - Chapters 5-7. (2) Apostleship - Mission - Martyrdom Chapter 10 vv. 5-42. (3) Teaching on the Kingdom of God both in public and private - Chapter 13 vv. 1-52. (4) Church discipline as it concerned re-establishment within the church Chap. 17.24 - 18.35. (5) Eschatology and farewell addresses - Chap. 24. 1-25. 46. He regards Chapter 23 with its long discourse as an extension of the debate material found elsewhere in the gospel.

In considering this proposed understanding of structure, it must be noted that Matthew agrees in order with Mark more closely in the second half of his work than in the first. Apart from the discourses at the beginning, which afford evidence of arrangement, a case can be made for grouping in Chapters 8 and 9 to provide a total of ten healings (see Hawkins op.cit. pp. 163-7). If this is so, the case for Matthew's

dependence on Mark can be pressed and his rearrangement will be regarded as based on whatever purpose we assign to the gospel.

Consideration of the gospel's purpose is strictly outside the scope of this work and cannot be decided on linguistic considerations alone. Structure has been used as an argument in favour of the various purposes such as liturgical, catechetical and apologetic which have been emphasised by different scholars. To whatever class we assign this gospel it is impossible to argue for a style of writing or a vocabulary specially demanded by it. We know as little about liturgical style in the 1st century as we do about liturgical practice, while for catechesis or apologetic few distinctive linguistic traits are demanded.

It is necessary rather to turn to a detailed examination of Matthaean usage, using these introductory considerations as a basis in interpreting the linguistic phenomena we discern in the course of this study.

Chapter 3

The use of the verbal tenses, moods and voices in the gospel.

Since the life-blood of any language resides in its verbs, it seems appropriate to begin this survey of Matthew's language with an examination of his use of tenses, moods and voices of the verb.

(1) Tenses:- In Greek the tenses of the verb express both the time of the action - past, present or future - and its nature, whether 'linear', that is continuous, or 'punctiliar', confined to a single point of time. From the number of its tenses it is able to express a rich variety of different types of action, whereas Hebrew with only two tenses - perfect and imperfect - can only express the nature of the action, completed or incomplete. Aramaic adds to these two tenses a frequent use of the participle in narrative as equivalent to a tense. In assessing Semitic influence on the Greek of the New Testament writers, it is thus difficult to achieve definite conclusions as to which tenses would come most naturally to a Semitic writer. On the other hand, it is possible to see how each writer stands in relation to the Greek of his time and in the case of the Synoptists to see where one writer appears to correct another in the use of tense.

In classical Greek there were three tenses in use to express different modes of past action - imperfect for protracted, repeated or inaugurated action, aorist for once-for-all completed action and perfect for past action with present results remaining. Such at any rate is the

broad distinction of their usage, though it is difficult always to classify them in these terms. Thus W.B. Sedgwick in 'Some Uses of the Imperfect in Greek' (CQ 34 pp. 118-22) prefers to define the imperfect as 'expressing the abiding result of a single past act', which tends to give it a sense similar to that normally ascribed to the perfect. In addition we must note the use of the present tense as a vivid narrative tense to denote past events, the so-called 'historic present'.

(a) The Perfect:- In Hellenistic times the perfect was on the decline until it has now finally disappeared in Modern Greek, though its traces can be seen in the use of former perfect endings on aorists as, for example, ἐμπῆκα , 'I embarked'. The root cause of its disappearance was the blurring of distinctions between aorist and perfect so that, as Jannaris (op.cit. pp. 439-40) shows, even Atticist grammarians had lost the significance of these two tenses. The progress of the perfect in the Hellenistic period is well treated by P. Chantraine in 'Histoire du parfait grec' pp. 214ff, where he shows how the perfect active was on the decline in the κοινή , but the perfect middle/passive remained important and frequently used. Thus he notes that Mark has 26 active perfects to 39 middle/passives, Matthew has 36 actives to 59 middle/passives and Luke has 55 actives to 87 middle/passives. Of Mark's 26 actives, 19 are intransitive and 7 transitive, of Matthew's 36, 29 are intransitive and 7 transitive and for Luke the proportion is similar. On the other hand, John uses the perfect active much more frequently, with 100 examples of intransitive and 77 transitive. Thus the Synoptists are seen by Chantraine as reflecting the development of the language, whereas

John stands in contrast to them, appearing to use the perfect merely as a general past tense.[1]

Examining Matthew's usage more closely we find that of the intransitive perfects 6 are examples of γέγονα in the 3rd person singular, this being a form well attested in the papyri, 5 are of ἤγγικεν and 9 are forms of ἕστηκα either in indicative or in participle, ἑστώς . We note that at 19.8 D reads ἐγένετο for γέγονεν of the other MSS, in 24.21 ΝDΘ have ἐγένετο and in 25.6 ℵ has ἐγένετο ; thus all these examples are not certain. Among the transitive perfects we note πέπρακεν of 13.46, with the variant of D ἐπώλησεν , and ἡτοίμακα of 22.4, with the variant of WΧΛΘΠΦ ἡτοίμασα. Of the 59 middle/passives in Matthew 15 are indicative and the rest are in the form of a participle, this being in line with Hellenistic usage. Of these 15 indicatives γέγραπται accounts for 9, δέδοται for 3, βέβληται , ἐγήγερται and ἡτοίμασται for 1 each.

In considering Matthew's use of the perfect, the question arises whether he maintains a distinction between the perfect, as reflecting past action with present results remaining, and the aorist, of a single action in the past. While the full meaning of the perfect can be read into many of Matthew's examples, the fact that ὁ λαβών of 25.20, 25.22 (ΝDX) is followed by ὁ εἰληφώς in 25.24 without obvious difference of

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1. On Johannine usage we note too the discussion in Abbott op.cit. pp. 323-9 and 344-8.

meaning and that πέπρακεν in 13.46 (NB) is followed by ἠγόρασεν without obvious difference of nuance acts as a caution against importing Attic principles too rigidly into the gospel. On the other hand, γέγραπται does bear a 'true' perfect sense of what stands written for present needs, just as δέδοται in 13.11 and 19.11 denotes a past gift which is still possessed.

In assessing this matter a question hangs over which reading is to be preferred in certain cases. Did Matthew actually write πέπρακεν or is this the work of a scribe? Since we have no other example of this form nor of D's ἐπώλησεν and since both πιπράσκω and πωλέω are verbs elsewhere attested for Matthew, it is difficult to decide. It might be thought of this and the other perfects with aorist variants that the aorist was original and the perfect the work of an Atticist scribe seeking to restore the position of the decadent perfect tense. But it is equally possible that a later scribe decided to correct what he regarded as incorrect perfect usages. In support of this latter view I adduce the practice of Josephus in 'Antiquities' Book 11 in his treatment of the letter of Aristeas, as outlined in 'Flavius Josèphe, Adaptateur de la lettre d'Aristée' pp. 216-7. The author, André Pelletier, shows there how Josephus replaces perfects in Aristeas almost mechanically by aorists. Thus in Aristeas 173 a string of aorists followed by the perfect ἀποδεδώκαμεν becomes in Josephus 'Antiquities' XI. 86 a string of aorists only, with the change made to ἀπέδοσαν . It is noticeable that we have no evidence for Matthew employing this practice with Mark's

perfects and hence no reason for ascribing his perfects to a scribe rather than to the original author himself.

(b) The Imperfect:- The perfect was not, however, the only past tense which was giving way before the aorist. The same state of affairs appears to have operated in respect of the imperfect, though this is less widely realised. Thus Mayser op.cit. II.1 pp. 134ff takes issue with a statement made by L. Schlachter that 'from Homer to Xenophon the imperfect indicative was in retreat, but from then till the New Testament times it was on the increase again', and points out that the situation is one of a continuous decline; one can read whole stretches of the Ptolemaic papyri without encountering a single imperfect, as he remarks. Some examples are indeed found in the papyri with verbs of motion such as ἐπορεύομην 'I was on my way' and with verbs of asking, bidding and speaking, especially in question and answer, where the question is phrased in the imperfect and the answer in the aorist. There are further some examples of conative and iterative uses and some of its use in place of a pluperfect or as an epistolary tense for the present in place of the more common aorist. We note that in the Letter of Aristeas too the imperfect is used for question and the aorist for answer in the banquet scene, 187-300. (Pelletier op. cit. p. 215).

A similar situation of infrequency of usage confronts one on reading the Septuagint. Hawkins op.cit. p. 52 has noted the infrequency of ἔλεγεν and ἔλεγον in the Septuagint, with 23 examples of the one and 17 of the other providing a total of 40 to hundreds of examples of

εἶπεν/εἶπον ; further, 14 out of the 40 occur in IV Maccabees. In classical times both were used without much distinction of meaning, the imperfect being preferred at the beginning of a speech, the aorist at the end. (Sidgwick op.cit. pp. 119-120).

What Hawkins has said about ἔλεγεν/ἔλεγον is equally true of all imperfects in the Septuagint. It is difficult to provide figures for the whole Septuagint, but a random check of the first seven chapters of Genesis revealed only eleven examples of the imperfect to hundreds of the aorist, with the examples clustered together on the whole. A further check of various verbs in their total use in the Septuagint, as gauged from glancing through the lists in Hatch and Redpath, confirmed this picture. Thus for ἄγειν we find about 86 aorist indicatives to 11 imperfects in the Old Testament portion of the Septuagint, for ἐρωτᾶν 24 aorists to 3 imperfects and ἐπερωτᾶν 29 aorists to 2 imperfects. The sole examples of imperfect with κόπτειν and προσφέρειν are in the Apocrypha and for φέρειν in II Chronicles. With ἀκούειν and λαλεῖν the aorist preponderates, followed by the perfect, with the imperfect very rare; for ποιεῖν , πίπτειν and λαμβάνειν the aorist/imperfect situation is similar.

Against this background it is interesting to note the infrequency of the imperfect in Matthew's gospel. Thus, excluding ἔφη , which is imperfect only in form, and ἦν/ἦσαν , Matthew has 79 examples in the printed texts to Mark's 222, Luke's 252, Acts' 314 and John's 161. The only other writing of the New Testament with comparable infrequency in

proportion to its size is the Book of Revelation, which with only 34 examples, including 17 of ἦν , and a confinement of usage to 9 verbs (Charles ICC Vol. I cxxiv) affords an even more striking picture.

Allen op.cit. pp. xx-xxi has set down those places in which he believes that Matthew has removed Mark's imperfects and replaced them by aorists. He counts 31 in all, to which 10 examples of εἶπεν/εἶπον for ἔλεγεν/ἔλεγον have to be added; in about 187 other cases, he holds, Matthew avoids the imperfect by omission or paraphrase. This suggests Marcan priority and Matthew as a corrector of Mark's diffuseness with the imperfect. On the other hand, Septuagintal usage suggests that for a translation from a Semitic language the aorist is preferred to the imperfect and that Matthew reflects this situation most closely; Revelation with its strongly Semitic tinge further supports this view. In the light of the evidence from the papyri, however, it is also possible to state that Matthew merely reflects the popular Greek of his day. It is clear at any rate that in this respect Mark diverges from popular usage and that in interpreting Mark's gospel, too much weight cannot be laid on the use of an imperfect in preference to an aorist on the basis of classical rules.

Burney op.cit. p. 89 declares that the imperfect, along with the historic present, is the natural Greek equivalent for the Aramaic use of the participle as a narrative tense. The weakness in this argument lies in the impossibility of knowing what tense of a foreign language a writer or translator will adopt. Only the literal use of the participle in

Greek to continue narrative would provide conclusive evidence for a writer's Aramaic background and this is not the practice of the gospel writers, though a number of examples are evident in Revelation (see Charles loc.cit.). Matthew's frequency in use of the aorist, Mark's abundant use of the imperfect and John's fondness for the perfect may all indicate the writing of Aramaic speakers, whose unfamiliarity with the nuances of Greek usage led them to favour one particular past tense. The matter is incapable of proof and other considerations have to be taken into account before a judgment can be passed on this question.

Examining the imperfects in Matthew more closely, we find that there are 10 possible examples of ἔλεγεν/ον in this gospel as opposed to 50 in Mark, 23 in Luke and 46 in John; on the other hand, εἶπεν/ον occurs 135 times in Matthew to 80 times in Mark, 265 in Luke and 180 in John, according to the figures of Chapman op.cit. pp. 83ff. Of the 10 Matthaean examples, 5 are in dispute, 9.11 and 21.11 through the presence of a variant εἶπον , 12.23 and 27.41 by the variant λέγοντες and 9.34 by the omission of the verse in D a d k sy^{s} Phil . This leaves as certain 9.21, 9.24, 14.4, 26.5 and 27.47. Since εἶπεν/ον and λέγοντες are both in accordance with Matthaean usage, these readings may well be original.

Among Matthew's other imperfects we note 6 examples of εἶχεν/εἶχον which has a definite durative meaning as compared with ἔσχον , found only in 22.28. For some of the other examples an iterative or ingressive sense is possible. Thus ἐδίδασκεν in 5.1 could mean 'used to teach'

or 'began to teach'; ἐλάλει in 13.34 means 'was in the habit of speaking', as compared with ἐλάλησεν in the same verse, which denotes the particular occasion which has just been completed. In 18.28 ὤφειλεν denotes a prolonged state of debt, while ἔπνιγεν denotes ingressive action 'began to choke'. In 26.16 ἐζήτει indicates the beginning of Judas' action which led to betrayal, while in 27.30 ἔτυπτον means 'began to strike' of an inaugurated and prolonged action, as compared with ἔλαβον of a single, unrepeated action. In all these examples the usual sense of the imperfect to denote linear action has been maintained.

In two instances the ingressive nature of the tense is made clear by Matthew's use of an imperfect where Mark employs ἤρξατο with the infinitive. Thus ἐδίδασκεν of 13.54 corresponds to ἤρξατο διδάσκειν in Mark 6.2 and ἐξέβαλεν of 21.12 has as Marcan parallel ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν (11.15). C.H. Turner in his 'Notes on Marcan Usage' JTS Vol. 28. 352ff has noted as a feature of Mark's style this use of ἄρχομαι with the present infinitive as an auxiliary for the imperfect and the tendency of Matthew and Luke to correct and remove it. Allen op.cit. xxi-xxii also lists Mark's examples and indicates Matthew's treatment of them. Of Mark's 26 examples Matthew retains only 6 - 12.1, 16.21, 16.22, 26.22, 26.37, 26.74 - while he has in addition 6 examples not in Mark, 11.7 and 24.49 asin Luke, 4.17, 11.20, 14.30 and 18.24 in peculiar matter, both possible editorial material and material probably derived from sources.

Where Matthew has not retained Mark's usage, he has sometimes omitted

and sometimes changed to imperfect or aorist. Thus Matt. 8.34 παρεκάλεσαν, 10.5 ἀπέστειλεν, 14.35 προσήνεγκαν, 19.27 and 20.17 εἶπεν, 20.24 ἠγανάκτησαν, 20.30 ἔκραξαν, 24.4 εἶπεν, 26.67 ἐνέπτυσαν and 26.75 ἔκλαυσεν all correspond to Marcan ἤρξατο/ἤρξαντο with infinitive, the last one only in the ΔΘ text of Mark, which is to be pronounced original and indicating that scribes too disliked the usage. It is to be noted too that where Matthew uses an aorist in place of this construction, it is possible to understand it in a punctiliar and true aorist sense.

Various possible sources for the Marcan usage can be claimed. It may be regarded as natural Hellenistic Greek, in which ἄρχομαι with the infinitive took the place of the Attic usage with the participle. Examples of this in the Life of Aesop are ἤρξατο διαλεύειν in Chap. 4, ἀρξάμενος λαλεῖν and ἤρξατο σκάπτειν in Chap. 9. On the other hand, it is found in the Septuagint as translation of the hiphil of חחל or חנן in Hebrew and its presence in Mark may be due to that source. Finally, Aramaic uses שרי with infinitive as in e.g. Gen.Apoc. 12.13, 12.15, 19.18, 21.15. Thus Aramaic influence may be present, but cannot be stated with certainty.

The same question of possible Aramaic influence arises in connection with Mark's use of the imperfect of the verb 'to be' with the present participle as a periphrastic imperfect. Turner op.cit. pp. 349ff and Allen op.cit. xxii note this Marcan usage and Matthew's dislike of the construction. Moulton 'Prolegomena' pp. 225-7 notes that while the

periphrastic imperfect is possible in Greek, it is not as frequently used as in parts of the New Testament. Hawkins op.cit. p. 51 provides figures for its distribution, from which it is clear that it is found most frequently in Luke/Acts, then in Mark, then John and least often in Matthew.

Altogether with all participles Matthew has ἦν/ἦσαν 6 times, 4 of these being with the present participle, whereas Mark has 22, 16 of these with the present. Matthew's examples with the present participle are 7.29, 8.30, 19.22 in line with Mark and 12.4 ἐξὸν ἦν , where Mark and Luke have ἔξεστιν ; with the perfect he has examples at 26.43 and 12.4. That is the list of Allen, the one which Hawkins follows; but there is also an example of the periphrastic imperfect in 24.38 with a series of participles following ἦσαν , where the parallel in Luke 17.26 has a series of imperfects.

If the usage is declared to be due to the influence of Aramaic in its use of the participle to carry on narrative, then Luke/Acts with their large number of examples must be adjudged the most Aramaic writings. On the other hand, as Hawkins, op.cit. p. 51 points out, it is fairly frequent in the Septuagint and the Lucan use may then be a sign of his Septuagintalism; but if that is so, the same could be said for Mark and the case for Aramaic influence would be destroyed. It is clear at any rate that Matthew does not imitate the Septuagint here.

(c) <u>The Aorist</u>:- Among the frequent examples of aorist indicatives in Matthew the most interesting are those cited by Black op.cit. pp. 128-30

as renderings of the Semitic stative perfect. These occur at 6.12 ἀφήκαμεν , where the Lucan parallel, 11.4, and correcting variant readings in Matthew have ἀφίομεν or ἀφίεμεν ; at 10.25 ἐπεκάλεσαν with the v.l. of D καλοῦσιν ; at 13.24, 18.23 and 22.2 ὡμοιώθη ; 14:31 ἐστάσας ; 22.4 v.l. ἡτοίμασα and 23.2 ἐκάθισαν . The sense of these aorists is really present in force, expressing a general truth, rather than strictly past. To them we must add the use of εὐδόκησα in 3.17, as in Mark 1.11, with its repetition in the quotation in 12.18 for the LXX προσεδέξατο . In connection with these aorists two questions arise. (a) Are they impossible to construe as ordinary Greek? (b) Are they due to the use of sources or to the author himself?

In Greek from classical to modern times we find a usage called the gnomic aorist, with the aorist being used to express a general truth where we should expect to find the present tense employed. The usage can be explained grammatically as taking a particular instance in the past and broadening its application. On the basis of this usage and taking account of the confusion between aorist and perfect which we have noted as arising in Hellenistic times with the decline of the perfect, it would be possible to provide an explanation for these usages without positing the influence of literal translation of the perfect of Semitic stative verbs. The question still remains whether such an explanation is an adequate one.

Examination of distribution indicates that most of the occurrences

are in sayings attributed to Jesus. In the case of the three instances of ὡμοιώθη these are found at the opening of parables of Jesus where the use of Semitic sources can be postulated and for which we have parallels in the openings of Rabbinic parables. The fact that ἀφήκαμεν occurs in the Lord's Prayer, behind which there clearly lies a Semitic source, again favours literal translation of sources. In the case of ἐπεκάλεσαν we have an occurrence in a passage which could be targumic application of the tradition of Jesus as being called Beezeboul, an expansion of Marcan material. On the other hand, Jeremias in his 'New Testament Theology' p. 7 bids us read βεελξεβοὺλ and see a play on words with οἰκοδεσπότης and a genuine saying of Jesus.

In the case of 14.31 we are dealing with one of the Petrine stories peculiar to Matthew. ἐδίστασας reflects a favoured Matthaean verbal formation in -ξω and the verb itself occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in Matt. 28.17. Hence the wording of the story appears to owe something to the editor, whatever its actual origin, whether in oral tradition or written source. As regards 23.2 our view of the origin of the aorist ἐκάθισαν depends on what basis of traditions we believe that the chapter was constructed. It seems clear at any rate that whether or not these aorists derive from translation of sources, the author did not regard them as strange in Greek.

In connection with the relation of the Greek aorist to Semitic tense usage it is of interest to note the reading in the quotation from Isaiah 9.1 in 4.16 - ἀνέτειλεν where the Septuagint reads λάμψει and M.T.

has ἦλθ . If the Septuagint also read the Hebrew perfect and construed it as a prophetic future, while Matthew rendered it literally by an aorist, then we may find some further support for Semitic influence on Matthew's tense renderings.

(d) The Historic Present: Burney op.cit. p. 89 has claimed as due to the influence of an Aramaic participle the frequency of the historic present in John. The figures for its usage are, according to Hawkins op. cit. pp. 143-9, Mark 151, Matthew 93 Luke 9 or 11, Acts 13 and John 162. From this it is clear that Mark and John favour it most, Matthew adopts a middling position and Luke avoids it as much as possible. In fact variants in Luke/Acts which remove the historic present raise the question as to whether Luke ever used it.

Matthew and John stand together in the frequency with which they employ the tense with verbs of saying; in Matthew's case slightly more than ¾ of the examples are in this category, in John's slightly under ¾. On the other hand, less than ⅛ of Mark's examples are accounted for by verbs of saying and there is a wider range of usage.

In assessing the use of the historic present it is interesting to note its occurrence both in writers of κοινὴ Greek without any literary pretension, in which it is a sign of the vividness of the spoken language, and in literary writers seeking to imitate the Attic writers with whom it was a favourite usage. (Moulton op.cit. pp. 121-2, Mayser II. 1 pp. 130ff). Mayser provides illustrations from the Ptolemaic papyri of its use in a series of statements following an aorist, while I

have noted in my reading of the Life of Aesop that there are several examples there of λέγει or φήσιν following an aorist, e.g. Chapter 3 ἐπεξήτησε τὴν ὀπώραν καὶ φήσιν , Chapter 6 διεγέρθη καὶ φήσιν , Chapter 24 εἶπεν .. ἀπεκρίθη .. λέγει

Luke's infrequency of usage may well be due to his belief that it was vulgar Greek. On the other hand, he may have been influenced by the rarity of this usage in the Septuagint. Hawkins op.cit. pp. 143, 213-4 shows that of a total of 337 examples in the Septuagint, 232 occur in the four books of Kings and only 105 in the rest of the Septuagint. Of the 232 examples 151 are in I Samuel; hence we can regard it as a favourite construction of that particular translator, but not of the others. I Samuel is about a third longer than Mark, hence Mark has still a proportionately higher usage.

Of Mark's 151 examples Matthew has only 21, but he has in addition others both in the material shared with Luke and in peculiar matter. In parallel to Mark's use of a historic present Matthew has about 55 instances of an aorist, about 30 of a participle, especially λέγων/ λέγοντες , and 41 instances of no corresponding word, as we see from Hawkins' list. The question is whether he considered Mark's usage too colloquial and set out to remove his examples and if so, why he retained others and added many of his own.

Matthew's examples of a historic present other than with verbs of saying cover a number of different verbs. Thus we find φαίνεται in 2.13 and 2.19 in matter peculiar to Matthew, ἀφίησιν in 3.15 and 4.11,

the first in peculiar matter, the second in matter shared with Luke who does not have it, παραγίνεται in 3.1 and 3.13 to Marcan and Lucan ἐγένετο , παραλαμβάνει in 4.5, 4.8 and 17.1, only the last being in Mark, δείκνυσιν in 4.8, προσέρχονται in 9.14 and 15.1 where Mark has other historic presents, ἔρχεται / ἔρχονται in 9.28 as νℓ of D , 25.11, 25.19, 26.35, 26.40, 26.45, both in peculiar matter and in material shared by Mark, ὑπάγει, πωλεῖ and ἀγοράξει in the parable of 13.44 with ὑπάγουσιν as νℓ. in 25.10, ἀναφέρει in 17.1 as in Mark, ἀποστέλλουσιν in 22.16 as in Mark, συναίρει in 25.19 in non-Marcan matter, εὑρίσκει in 26.40 as in Mark and σταυροῦνται in 27.36 as in Mark. The fact that this amounts to 15 verbs in all and that the distribution over the different classes of material is fairly even suggests that Matthew did not wholly dislike this usage with verbs other then those of saying. Allen op.cit. xx and lx notes the presence of 9 historic presents other then λέγει in the section from Chaps. 2-4.11 and suggests Matthew's use of a source in 3.1 - 4.17 of which the historic present was a marked feature. It is noticeable too that a number of other non-Marcan examples occur in parables of Jesus. If the non-Marcan uses are indeed derived from sources, however, these must have been in Greek, since the use of a historic present for an Aramaic participle is not a required usage for a translator, if he elsewhere regards the use as colloquial. It seems to me very probable that Matthew chose to employ the historic present as a means of lending vividness to his narratives at various places and that while Mark with his over-diffuseness indicates

the colloquial nature of his narrative, Matthew by his more restrained and deliberate use sought to spotlight certain actions in an artistic manner.

Turning to verbs of saying, we find that this is Matthew's favourite use of the historic present, with λέγει or λέγουσιν . Particularly favoured by Matthew, as by John, is the asyndetic use of λέγει or λέγουσιν , there being at least 26, and probably 37, examples of this usage; John on the other hand has at least 67, Luke has only 2 in parables, while Mark has none. The usage must thus be regarded as a feature of Matthew's style, as it is of John's, and will be considered further in Chapter 5 under connectives and asyndeton, since it is on this latter basis that it can be pronounced Aramaic rather than on the basis of tense as such.

Apart from this we note 18 or 19 examples of λέγει or λέγουσιν following καὶ , which may or may not reflect Aramaic ܘܐܡܪ , and 13 examples of these historic presents with ΤΟΤΕ . There are a further 6 examples where a subject occurs at the beginning with δὲ and there are two possible examples of φησιν 13.29 and 14.8, both with variants, εἶφη in the first case, εἶπεν in the second. These may well be original in spite of the disappearance of φάναι in this period, since φησιν occurs with frequency in the colloquial Life of Aesop, as we have seen, though εἶφη does not; in view of other Matthaean usage, however, it is difficult to be certain.

(e) <u>The Future</u>:- The future tense was on the decline in this period, being the only tense expressing solely time and not mode of action. Thus

the future infinitive does not appear in Matthew, being confined to Acts and Hebrews, and the sole example of the future participle at 27.49, σώσων, with the sense of purpose, is uncertain; ℵΘ read σῶσαι and D καὶ σώσει , so that one or other of these may well be original and the reading of the majority of MSS can best be regarded as a sign of Atticist scribal activity. Elsewhere the future participle appears in Acts, Paul, Hebrews and I Peter, the more literary writings of the New Testament. (See Mayser II. 1 220ff for the use of the future participle in the papyri).

In the indicative, however, the future tense still enjoys a fairly full usage in Matthew without many traces of its later replacement by θέλω ἵνα , contracted to θὰ in Modern Greek, followed by subjunctive, (see further Chapter 6).

In places a present is used with future sense as e.g. ἔρχεται in 17.11, 24.43 and 27.49.

(2) <u>Moods</u>: Examination of the use of moods in Matthew's gospel reveals the absence of the optative, which was on the decline at that time and has now finally disappeared in Modern Greek, save for the literary μὴ γένοιτο . Hawkins op.cit. p. 53 shows that the only New Testament writers who employ the optative with frequency are Luke and Paul. Mark's sole example - 11.14 has a variant in W which probably reflects the true reading, while in the case of John 13.24 we are likewise confronted with textual improvement in spite of the evidence of P 66. Thus Matthew stands with Mark and John here in his absence of literary pretension.

In place of the optative to render a wish Matthew uses the 3rd person imperative, as we can see for example from the Lord's Prayer - 6 vv. 9-10 ἁγιασθήτω, ἐλθάτω , γενηθήτω . This last form is a favourite of Matthew's, occurring in his gospel 5 times - 6.10, 8.13, 9.29, 15.28 and 26.42 - and not in the other gospels at all. On three occasions we find a dative of the personal pronouns following it and twice it occurs in the phrase γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου . Its equivalence to an optative is shown by comparison with Luke 1.38 γένοιτό μοι . In 21.19 Matthew uses the subjunctive γένηται for a wish which ℵΘ have corrected to γένοιτο .

In place of the potential optative with ἄν Matthew uses δύναμαι with the infinitive in e.g. 7.18, and instead of an optative with ἄν in a question denoting possibility or uncertainty we find the future in e.g. 16.26 τί δώσει ἄνθρωπος;

A weakening of the distinction in the moods produces the use of the future indicative after μήποτε in 7.6 for the subjunctive, with ℵ ΔΠΦ correcting this. We note too the absence of verbal adjectives.

(3) Voices:- Matthew follows classical and Hellenistic usage in employing three voices, active, middle and passive, while reflecting to some degree the developments which led to the extinction of the middle voice in Modern Greek. Allen op.cit. xxiii lists places where he believes that Matthew has set out to change Mark's actives and middles to a passive, middles to an active, active to middle and passive to active. Pelletier op.cit. p. 213 shows the same phenomenon at work in Josephus' treatment of

the Letter of Aristeas with a variety of changes of voice, but with the general tendency to replace the middle by active or passive. Allen's list suggests this same tendency in Matthew as compared with Mark and this would substantiate Matthew's dependence on Mark.

It is disputed by grammarians exactly what significance the middle had, but the idea of action to or for oneself is very often present with reflexivity one of its chief senses; thus ἀμύνω 'I defend', ἀμύνομαι 'I defend myself', or 'resist'. Further a causative sense is also possible in certain cases; thus λύω 'I release', λύομαι 'I cause to be released', hence 'I ransom'. In this sense its use corresponds to the Aramaic aphel.

In certain cases it is difficult to make the distinction between active and middle and this accounts for a degree of variation. Thus we note with interest Matthew's use in 26.51 of ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ for Mark 14.47 σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, especially in view of the similar indiscriminate use of active and middle with this verb in the papyri. (Mayser II. 1 p. 111). Similarly Matthew's use of the middle αἰτήσηται in 14.7 for Mark's active 6.23 αἴτησόν is of interest in view of the usage of the papyri, in which private letters usually employ the active, official documents the middle (Mayser II. 1 pp. 109-110) with the distinction, if any, being dependent on subject-matter. It is to be noted that in spite of Matthew's use of the middle in 14.7 for the active of Mark, he prefers the active of this verb in proportion of 8 to 6, whereas Mark uses the active only 3 times, but the middle 6 times.

The middles replaced by actives in Matthew are 19.20 ἐφύλαξα for Mark 10.20 ἐφυλαξάμην and 26.23 ἐμβάψας for Mark 14.20 ἐμβαπτόμενος, together with the example in 26.51 already cited. In all these cases the distinction in meaning between active and middle is not great.

An interesting example of a middle with a different meaning from the active is ἀπήγξατο at 27.5 where the reflexive idea of 'hanged himself' fits very well and should not be watered down to 'choked'.

A contributory factor to the decline of the middle was the fact that only in future and aorist could it be distinguished by form from the passive. Hence in Hellenistic times the tendency was to replace the future middle forms of certain verbs by the future active and the aorist middle by the aorist passive form. Thus we find in Matthew, as in other New Testament writings, the predominance of the form ἀπεκρίθη/ἀπεκρίθησαν for 'answered', with the sole exception 27.12 ἀπεκρίνατο. On the other hand, ἐγένετο/ἐγένοντο still predominates over ἐγερθή/ἐγερθήσαν c.f. 7.28, 8.26, 9.10, 11.1, 11.20, 11.21 (vl), 11.26 with 11.23 (vl), 21.42, 28.4 (vl) for the latter form. Similarly we find both ἐδύνατο or ἠδύνατο at 22.46, 26.9 and ἠδυνήθησαν, ἠδυνήθημεν 17.16 (vl) and 17.19.

The largest list of changes in voice in Allen's lists is that from active to passive; the reasons which can be adduced for the changes are varied. In the case of Mark 13.20 ἐκολόβωσεν (twice) rendered in Matthew 24.22 by ἐκολοβώθησαν, κολοβωθήσονται, a reverential motive would

be at work. On the other hand, Matt. 4.1, as compared with Mark 1.12, makes Jesus the subject of the sentence and improves grammatical connection. Likewise reading Matt. 8.15 with Mark 1.31, Matt. 9.25 with Mark 5.40, Matt. 14.11 with Mark 6.28 and Matt. 16.26 with Mark 8.36 we sense an improvement in the sentence flow and avoidance of the awkward way in which Mark constructs his sentences with frequent change of subject. Most interesting of all the examples, however, are Matthew's treatment of Mark 10.13 and 15.27, since these are two examples of a favourite Marcan usage, the impersonal plural.

The Impersonal Plural:- C.H. Turner in his 'Notes on Marcan Usage' JTS Vol. 25 pp. 377ff first drew attention to Mark's fondness for the impersonal plural in his narrative and the tendency of Matthew and Luke to remove this usage, either by adding a subject or by turning into the passive or by omission. He regards this usage as due to Aramaic style where the impersonal plural is 'common as a substitute for the passive', and in this he is followed by Black op.cit. p. 126, who declares that the passive is less common in Aramaic than in Greek and that the impersonal plural in Greek is confined to λέγουσι and φασί.

Before assessing the validity of these claims and the implication of Matthew as removing Marcan Semitism, we must first examine the situation in Mark and Matthew more closely. Turner provides 21 certain examples of the usage in Mark with 3 other possible ones; it is interesting that he does not include 15.27, which appears in Allen's list of actives turned passive, and this shows that there are some more examples of this usage.

M. Black has listed 13.26, which is not in Turner's list, and I note 12.25 γαμοῦσιν . Turner's examples occur in 1 vv. 21-2, 29-30, 32, 45; 2 vv. 2-3, 18; 3 vv. 1-2, 31-2; 5 vv. 14, 35; 6 vv. 14, 33, 42-3, 53-5; 7 vv. 31-2; 8 v. 22; 10 vv. 1-2, 13, 49; 13 vv. 9-11; 14 v. 12 with possible extras at 3.21, 14.1, 15.10. Of the 21 certain examples, 3 have no Matthaean parallel and in 4 other cases the phrase in question is dropped. In 8 cases Matthew inserts a nominative, once turns into the passive and on 5 occasions he retains the construction.

Thus in parallel to Mark 1 vv. 21-2 i.e. 7 v. 28 Matthew inserts οἱ ὄχλοι as subject, as he does in 14.13 = Mark 6.33 with compression and in 15.30 ὄχλοι πολλοὶ cf. Mark 7.32. In 9.14 = Mark 2.18 οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου becomes the subject, in 8.34 = Mark 5.14 πᾶσα ἡ πόλις is added as subject, in 12.46 = Mark 3.32 τις , if the verse is accepted as part of Matthew, in 14.35 = Mark 6.54 οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου and in 19.3 Φαρισαῖοι or οἱ Φαρισαῖοι , assuming this to be absent from Mark's version and added by a later scribe. Those which are retained by Matthew occur in 4.24 and 8.16 προσήνεγκαν for Mark's ἔφερον, this being a case of a repeated expression in Matthew which displays a change in addition from imperfect to aorist and from simple to compound verb; 9.2 προσέφερον for Mark 2.3 ἔρχονται φέροντες ; 12.10 ἐπηρώτησαν for Mark 3.2 παρετήρουν; 14.20 ἦραν = Mark 6.43 and 10.19 and 24.8, a doublet of Mark 13.11, with παραδῶσιν ὑμᾶς . In addition there is 22.30 = Mark 12.25 γαμοῦσιν, not in Turner's list. It has to be noted here that Matthew's choice of

retention, on the basis of Marcan priority, cannot be attributed to his desire to leave his source as it was, since he appears to have altered verbs and tenses in his editorial work.

Further, while many of the examples are in place of passives, not all can be rendered into the passive and the result of doing this in some cases would be odd in Greek and pedantic in English usage. Those which cannot be turned into a passive, such as Mark 1.45 ἦρχοντο , 2.18 ἔρχονται , 6 vv. 54-5 ἐπιγνόντες περιέδραμον, are no different from the examples of an unexpressed subject cited by Turner in JTS Vol. 26 pp. 225ff in which the disciples are the implied subject. Turner declares these latter to reflect the memoirs of Peter with first person plurals changed to third person plurals, while Black op.cit. pp. 126-8 prefers to regard them as a sign of Aramaic influence, since Aramaic does not always take care to differentiate the subjects in a series of sentences. Distinction must, however, be drawn here between the more colloquial Aramaic of the Talmud and Midrash and more literary writing such as the Targums, just as we must differentiate colloquial and literary Greek; speech levels here are of importance and certain usages can be traced in various languages as used in a certain type of speech where they are absent in another context.

It has to be noted too that Matthew employs the impersonal plural for passive in Marcan passages where it is absent from Mark and in non-Marcan passages, these being generally in sayings of Jesus, but not always. Thus we note Matthew 5.15 οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν

αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον where Mark 4.21 has the passive and Luke 8.16 has οὐδεὶς ; if this had occurred in Mark it would have been cited as proof of Matthaean dependence, but as it is in Matthew it is disregarded by Marcan priorists. Similarly in 9.17 βάλλουσιν occurs twice impersonally, whereas in the first case Mark and Luke have οὐδεὶς and in the second case Mark has no verb, except in W which appears to be assimilation to Matthew (Mark 2.22), while Luke may have it, though most MSS have a verbal adjective (5.38). In 10.17b Matthew has μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς , which could be claimed to be influenced by the earlier impersonal, but which has as corresponding phrase in Mark 13.9 a passive δαρήσεσθε . These examples serve to show that the changes, if such they are, are not all in one direction.

The examples in non-Marcan material, whether in matter shared with Luke or in peculiar material, are as follows in order of occurrence. First there is the interesting example in the Old Testament quotation in 1.23 καλέσουσιν , which corresponds to neither LXX καλέσεις nor MT וְקָרָאתָ). This reading may either reflect a doctrinal or stylistic change made on the part of the author or indicate recourse to another text. That the latter is probably the case is suggested by the evidence adduced in J. de Waard's 'A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament' pp. 9-10. It is shown there that 1QIsa reads וְקָרָא) and De Waard construes this as impersonal 3rd person singular, citing P. Jouon's Hebrew Grammar for evidence of this as a Hebrew idiom. It would thus appear that Matthew's

gospel reflects a reading current in 1st century Palestine.

Then in 5.11 we note ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν, where Luke in his parallel in 6.22 has οἱ ἄνθρωποι as subject, and in 5.12 οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν, where Luke 6.23 has οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν as subject. In 7.16 μήτι συλλέγουσιν we have an example shared with the parallel in Luke 6.44. In 9.32 and 12.22 as vl. we have impersonal προσήνεγκαν where the Lucan parallel story has no corresponding phrase; since προσφέρειν is a Matthaean verb the phrase may well come from the editor's hand. In 10.23 in peculiar material we have impersonal διώκωσιν; in 10.25 also in peculiar matter occurs impersonal ἐπεκάλεσαν (BN), καλοῦσιν (D) or ἐκάλεσαν (θ). In 11 vv. 18, 19 we have impersonal λέγουσιν where Luke 7 vv. 33-4 has λέγετε, though the implied subject there could be ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη taken from v. 16. In 13.48 in a parable peculiar to Matthew we have συνέλεξαν and ἔξω ἔβαλον with unexpressed subject. Finally in peculiar matter in 24.26 we have impersonal εἴπωσιν. Although most of these examples are in sayings of Jesus, the fact that the author has not chosen to add subjects to them suggests that he did not regard the impersonal plural construction as alien.

The next question to be asked is whether or not the construction is un-Greek. It has generally been stated that apart from λέγουσιν or φάσιν it was unknown in Greek, but the evidence to back up this assertion was not given. Lars Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 27-45 has recently made an effective challenge to this statement by showing the occurrence of the

construction in a wide range of Greek authors with a wide range of different verbs. Thus in rhetorical passages of Thucydides we find the construction with verbs such as πάσχουσι (7.69) and κινδυνεύουσι (3.45.1), in Xenophon 'Hellenica' 2.1.8 with ποιοῦσι , in Plato's 'Theatetus' 176 D with ἀγάλλονται and οἴονται , in Aristotle 'Rhetoric' 1377b 22 with κρίνουσι , in Plutarch 'Alex.' 678 D with δεινύουσι and in Galen 14.17 with καίουσι , τὴν ἑστίαν ἐφ'ἧς καίουσι τὸ πῦρ providing a parallel usage to Matthew 5.15. Rydbeck also provides examples from Lysias, Pseudo-Demosthenes, Hippocrates, Strabo, Ptolemaeus and Dioscurides, in this last writer with δολίζουσι , ὑποκαπνίζουσι, μίσγουσι and ἀνατιλάσσουσιν. Thus while we may still regard its presence in the gospels as due to Aramaic influence, we cannot now claim that it is alien to Greek.

From the Aramaic side too the statement of Black op.cit. p. 126 requires scrutiny. The idea that the passive is not as frequent in Aramaic as in Greek and that the impersonal plural is a common substitute must be seriously questioned. It is true that we find the impersonal plural construction in various stages of Aramaic, e.g. Daniel 2.18, 2.30, 4.13, 4.22 (twice), 7.12, 7.13, Genesis Apocryphon 20.15, 20.25, 20.32(?) Targum Jonathan Isaiah 16.2, this either with a main verb or a plural participle. But in the Aramaic of Daniel, the Genesis Apocryphon and 1st century tomb inscriptions we find that the so-called 'internal passive', the *Pe'il* form, is in quite frequent use e.g. יְהִיב Gen.Apoc. 19.16 יְהִיבוּ Gen.Apoc. 20.10, יְהִב Gen.Apoc. 22.3 יְהִבְתְּ Gen.Apoc.

20.11 and ך'ץע Frey CIJ 1300. In Daniel we find the hithpael and in Genesis Apocryphon and the later Targumic Aramaic we find the ithpael in frequent use; though this form has at times a reflexive sense, it is also passive in function in very many places. It is interesting that while there are only two, or perhaps three, examples of the impersonal plural construction in the Genesis Apocryphon, there are eight examples of the *Pe'il* form and a good number of ithpaels. Thus the greater frequency of passives than of impersonal plurals in Matthew need not be due to Greek influence as opposed to Aramaic, since this accords with the situation in the Genesis Apocryphon.

It must be noted too that a number of Matthew's passives are in the category of reverential, God being the implied subject and the passive a means of avoiding mention of His name. Since this usage is found widely in sayings of Jesus, the possibility that it derives from sources has to be seriously considered. Dalman 'Words of Jesus' pp. 224-6 finds this usage rare in the Talmudic literature; much more commonly the rabbis used a 3rd person plural as a means of referring to God, a usage confined in the New Testament to Luke's gospel e.g. 6.38 δώσουσιν, 12.20 ἀπαιτοῦσιν 12.48c παρέθεντο, αἰτήσουσιν. Thus Dalman suggests that this latter was the original Aramaic form and that in Greek they were converted into passives.

As J. Jeremias points out, however, in his latest work, 'Neutestamentliche Theologie', Erster Teil pp. 21-4, (E.T. pp. 10-14) evenness of distribution over the synoptic gospels and the absence of

evidence for widespread change among the synoptists makes it more likely that this reflects Jesus' own manner of circumlocutory reference to God. Thus excluding intransitive passives, examples where God appears directly or indirectly as logical subject and formulae such as γέγραπται and ἐρρέθη , we find this usage 21 times in Mark, 23 times in sayings common to Matthew and Luke, 27 times in Matthew alone and 25 times in Luke alone in sayings.

In seeking an origin for the usage of Jesus Jeremias agrees that it is uncommon in the Talmudic literature; he notes that between them Dalman op.cit., Billerbeck I.443 and he himself in 'Eucharistic Words' (4th German edition pp. 194ff, E.T. p. 202) gathered around a dozen examples. He notes, however, that in apocalyptic writing from the time of Daniel the idiom is at home and that in Revelation there are several examples of this in addition to examples of other circumlocutory ways of describing God's actions such as in the use of agents. He thus argues convincingly for Jesus as entering into the style of apocalyptic writing and extending the use of the idiom to apply to God's present actions and not just those of the future apocalyptic end-time; this he believes to reflect the central nature of Jesus' message.

In this connection it is interesting to observe a number of examples of the reverential passive in the Codex Neofiti I. Thus in expansion of Genesis 4.7 we find תִּשְׁתְּבֻק וְתִתְעְבֵד 'it will be remitted and pardoned', in 4.8 אִתְבְּרִי 'it was created' and אִתְקַבִּילַת קֻרְבָּנִי 'my offering was accepted', in 4.24 אִתְעְכַּב עֲלוֹהִי 'judgment was suspended on him' and most

strikingly of all in 38.25 מ׳ידכ ל ךל 'it will be measured to him' in the saying which is the exact equivalent in form and content to Matthew 7.2 μετρηθήσεται. The fact that many of these examples are apocalyptic in reference is interesting as confirmation of Jeremias' thesis, though the fact that others are past in reference suggests a wider provenance for this usage.

Acceptance of the fact that Jesus used the reverential passive does not prove that all the occurrences of the form in sayings are original. Thus in the case of 24.22 ἐκολοβώθησαν/κολοβωθήσονται comparison with the Marcan parallel, 13.20, indicates that these instances are due to the editor on the basis of Marcan priority. In other cases such as 21.43 where we suspect Matthaean theology, the editor's hand may likewise be at work. What can be stated with certainty is that Matthew did not seek to eliminate the usage, but tended rather to increase the instances, and from this we may have evidence that he knew this usage as native to his own speech.

It thus appears from this survey of tenses, moods and voices of verbs in Matthew's gospel that we can derive some encouragement for the view that an Aramaic speaker was author of the gospel, while we must reserve final judgment till this evidence is co-ordinated with later findings.

As a further guidance to Matthew's acquaintance with Greek it is worthwhile at this point to examine how far he reflects the classical Greek idiom whereby neuter plural subjects are followed by a singular

verb. The places in which Matthew appears from our printed texts to observe the rule are 5.18, 6.33, 10.29, 11.27, 12.45, 13.4 (twice), 13.5, 13.7, 13.8, 13.26, 13.40, 15.18, 15.27, 17.2, 18.18, 23.36 and 24.34 and the places where he breaches it are 6.26, 6.28, 6.32, 10.21, 12.21, 13.16, 13.38, 19.13, 25.32, 26.31 and 27.51 (twice). Further textual examination reveals, however, that in places where the rule is breached in ℵB, other MSS seek to correct to the more classical idiom, while in places where the rule is observed in ℵB other MSS have a less correct reading which suggests that ℵB have corrected it. We have thus a clear case for adopting an eclectic approach in this matter.

Thus at 10.29 the reading of D πωλοῦντα is to be preferred to πωλεῖται of the other MSS. At 13.4b we shall prefer the reading of DLΣ ἦλθον καὶ κατέφαγον for ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ κατέφαγεν, especially as it also provides parataxis for subordination by participle. At 13.7 ἔπεσαν for ἔπεσεν has the support of minuscules 33, 243, 1279, 1355 and 1574., in 13.8 also of C and W. At 13.26 NO read ἐφάνησαν for the ἐφάνη of other MSS with τὰ ζιζάνια, while at 13.40 D has συλλέγονται καὶ καταικίονται, which is likewise to be preferred. At 15.18 FMWΘ have ἐξέρχονται, at 15.27 D has ἐσθίουσιν and at 17.2 HLOUΓΣΩ have ἐγένοντο. This leaves as the only certain examples the usage with πάντα in 5.18, 6.33 (with minuscule 243 alone correcting), 11.27, 23.36 and 24.34, with ἃ μέν in 13.4, ἄλλα δέ in 13.5, ὅσα ἐάν in 18.18 and πνεύματα in 12.45, unless we read εἰσελθών and understand κατοικεῖ of the first spirit. This

examination strongly suggests that Matthew only observed the rule with neuter plurals of adjectives when used as nouns and provides a more uniform usage than the printed texts suggest. It also points to Matthew's relative freedom from classical stylistic pretensions.

Chapter 4

Matthew's use of Prepositions.

We turn next to an examination of prepositions in Matthew's gospel, investigating his relation to contemporary Greek and the question of Semitic influence in his distinctive usages. The New Testament writings appeared at a time of transition in prepositional usage, with many of the old proper prepositions on the wane or reduced in scope and adverbs or nouns taking their place in their function of 'improper' prepositions. The dative case was on the decline with all prepositions except for ἐν. Combinations of preposition and adverb were on the increase. The need for prepositions was felt where the classical language merely used a case of the noun, this being noticeable in the case of the genitive of separation and the accusative of respect.

As a guide to κοινὴ usage we have Mayser's survey of prepositions in the Ptolemaic papyri (op.cit. II. 2 pp. 337ff) and the evidence of Modern Greek as reflecting the end-product of the development. On the Semitic side we have the comprehensive work of M. Johannessohn in 'Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta' (Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen - Berlin 1926 pp. 167-388), in which he shows which Hebrew prepositions underlie the Greek prepositions used by the Septuagint translators, and R. Helbing 'Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta' (Göttingen 1928) in which we see how they rendered Hebrew prepositions following on verbs where Greek did not use them. We have further to keep

in mind Aramaic usages as distinct from Hebrew ones and the possibility of their literal rendering in places.

As a guide to which prepositions are favoured by each New Testament writer we note the convenient table in R. Morgenthaler 'Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes' p. 160 with his figures for improper prepositions scattered among his general word-lists. From these figures we see that Matthew, in common with other New Testament writers, papyri and Septuagint, does not use ἀμφὶ and ὡς . Only with ἐν, ἐπὶ and παρὰ is the dative employed in Matthew, only ἐν having a really large number of examples. πρὸς occurs only with the accusative and never with genitive and dative.

Among prepositions on the wane we note:-

(1) ἀνὰ ;- It occurs only twice in a distributive sense - 20.9, 20.10 - in a parable peculiar to Matthew and once in the combination ἀνὰ μέσον , in 13.25, likewise in a Matthaean parable. There is no corresponding distributive preposition in Semitic languages, a favoured Semitic method of expressing distribution being the repetition of the noun. Mark reflects this idiom at 6.7 δύο δύο and 6.39, 40 συμπόσια συμπόσια and πρασιαὶ πρασιαὶ, while also employing κατὰ in a distributive sense in the same passage, κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα . Matthew in his version of the feeding in Chapter 14 does not have these Semitic phrases and may hence be regarded as removing them as un-Greek. It must be noted, however, that the method of expressing distribution by repeating the noun or numeral became a

regular method in later Greek, as witnessed in its continued use in Modern Greek; hence this may rather be a matter of different speech-levels within Greek itself.

ἀνὰ μέσον in the Septuagint renders Hebrew בֵּין , but it was also a Hellenistic replacement for μετάξυ . Thus we cannot say whether its use is due to native Greek speech, Septuagintal influence or Aramaic בֵּינַיִן . We note too that Matthew has two of the nine examples of μετάξυ in the New Testament - 18.15 and 23.35, the first peculiar, the second as in Luke 11.51.

(2) ἀντὶ + genitive:- In strict usage it means 'in place of', 'instead of', but in Hellenistic times it had become confused with ὑπὲρ + genitive, strictly 'on behalf of', and περὶ + genitive, 'concerning'. Of Matthew's five examples of ἀντὶ two are in the Old Testament quotation in 5.38 in the strict sense; another, in 2.22, βασιλεύει ἀντὶ , likewise bears the sense 'in place of'. The remaining two, 17.27 in peculiar matter and 20.28 as in Mark, signify 'on behalf of'. In connection with the latter we note the echo of that saying in I Timothy 2.6, where ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων stands for λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν , together with the similar use of ὑπὲρ in sayings in John 10.11 and 10.15. We must thus be wary of building theology on prepositional usage, paying heed rather to the relation of the writers to the κοινή .

(3) ὑπὲρ + genitive:- It is to be noted that ὑπὲρ + genitive is

infrequent in all the Synoptics, but more frequent in John, 13 times, Acts, 17 times, Paul 88 times and Hebrews, 10 times. In Matthew it occurs only once, at 5.44 - προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς ; Luke 6.28 in his parallel has περὶ , with ὑπὲρ as variant. Acts 8.24, Romans 8.27, 15.30 and James 5.16 provide parallels with ὑπὲρ after verbs of praying to denote the objects of one's prayer. In the Septuagint περὶ is usually used after προσεύχεσθαιin this connection, with only I Samuel 1.27, 2.25 and 12.19 having ὑπὲρ instead; thus Matthew does not follow the general Septuagintal practice in its rendering of Hithpael of פלל with ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ. In Aramaic we find התפלל with בעא in e.g. Gen.Apoc. 20.21, 20.22, 20.23, 20.26 and this may underlie the prepositional usage, with Matthew and Luke reflecting variant translations of a genuine saying of Jesus. In Greek the accusative expressed the object of one's prayers and a preposition was not employed.

(4) περὶ + genitive:- In the sense of 'on behalf of' περὶ + genitive is found in 26.28, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον , where Mark 14.24 has τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, Luke 22.20b, the longer text, has τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενονand I Corinthians 11.24 in its account of this Eucharistic word has τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν . The synonymity of περὶ and ὑπὲρ in this context is clear.

Elsewhere Matthew employs περὶ + genitive in the more classical sense of 'concerning'. Of interest is his use of περὶ with σπλαγχνίζεσθαι in 9.36 and 14.14 as v.l. of D; elsewhere in the

gospels the regular construction with it is ἐπὶ + accusative or dative, when it is notused absolutely cf. Matt. 15.32, 14.14 vl., Mark 6.34, 8.2, 9.22, Luke 7.13 for the ἐπὶ construction. Classical Greek did not use this verb and would have employed instead οἰκτείρω with the accusative of the person and genitive of cause. We may here have an example of Hellenistic case-usage with verbs or the influence of Semitic חוס underlying the construction. For περὶ with other verbs indicating concern such as φροντίζω and κήδομαι we note the examples in the papyri cited in Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 214-5, while noting that with ἐλέεω 'I pity' the accusative is used, op.cit. p.308.

(3a) ὑπὲρ + accusative:- With the accusative ὑπὲρ occurs only in 10.24 and 10.37, twice in each passage, the first as in the parallel in Luke 6.40, the second with Luke 14.26 having μισεῖ for Matthaean φιλῶν ὑπὲρ 'love more than'. Luke's version is more Semitic in its use of μισεῖν in the sense of 'love less', Semitic languages often providing comparison by sharp contrast. On the other hand, Matthew's use is not in accord with classical usage nor that of the papyri; more correct Greek would have used a comparative such as μᾶλλον followed by ἤ cf. ἀγαπᾷν πλέον in John 21.15.

(4a) περὶ + accusative:- This is used by Matthew 8 times, 5 of his examples being temporal denoting approximate time - 20.3, 20.5, 20.6, 20.9 and 27.46, all of these peculiar to Matthew. The first four of these are in a parable found only in Matthew, while the fifth has to be credited

to the editor on the basis of comparison with the parallel in Mark 15.34. This usage, which is found in classical writers, has also a Semitic equivalent in ב.

(5) σὺν + dative:- This preposition has disappeared in Modern Greek. Matthew has only 4 examples of its use, all with Marcan or Lucan parallels - 25.27, 26.35, 27.38 and 27.44. On the other hand, Luke in his gospel has 23 and in Acts over 50, clearly reflecting a desire to imitate classical usage where Matthew reflects instead the development of the language. Twice, 13.29 and 20.1, Matthew uses ἅμα instead, but most frequently he follows the trend of the language in using μετὰ + genitive = Modern Greek μὲ

μετὰ + genitive:- With 60 examples to Mark's 44, Luke's 51 and John's 40, Matthew leads the gospel writers in his use of this preposition. Among Matthew's usages we note the phrase μεθ' ὅρκου 'with an oath' in 14.7 and 26.72, not in the Marcan parallels nor elsewhere in the New Testament. While this reflects Hellenistic replacement of a dative ὅρκῳ by a prepositional phrase, as seen from Mayser II. 2. 443, the corresponding Aramaic נְשְׁבַּע , as in Gen.Apoc. 20.30, may have contributed to its usage by Matthew.

In line with Hellenistic developments we find μετά + genitive used in the sense of 'and' in 22.16 replacing Mark's καὶ - 12.13, a usage also found in 2.11, 4.21 and 20.20. On the other hand, in 17.3 we find καὶ used where Mark 9.4 has σὺν + dative, showing that the development is not all in one direction. In the Septuagint σὺν is

often used in this way where the Hebrew version has the copula) and this helps to break up a long string of καὶ . We compare Modern Greek Τὴ θάλασσα μὲ Τὰ κύματα.

In line with Septuagintal practice we note too Matthew's use of μετὰ after a compound verb with σὺν as in 17.3 συνλαλοῦντες μετ'αὐτοῦ, where Mark has the dative, 18.23 συνᾶραι λόγον μετὰ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ , 20.2 συμφωνήσας μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν, 25.19 συναίρει λόγον μετ'αὐτοῦ and 28.12 συναχθέντες μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων in peculiar material. Behind these usages there may lie an Aramaic עם ; we compare 17.3 with Daniel 6.22 and Gen.Apoc. 5.25 for the idiom 'talking with'. On the other hand, μετὰ + genitive was in use in the κοινή as a substitute for the dative and Matthew does in fact use the dative with συμφωνεῖν in 20.13. Further συνᾶραι λόγον μετὰ may be a Latinism, reflecting 'rationes conferre cum'.

We also find μετὰ used of emotions in 13.20, μετὰ χαρᾶς , as in Marcan and Lucan parallels, and 28.8 μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης , only in Matthew; similarly in Modern Greek we say μὲ χύπη, μὲ χαρὰ . Then we find μετὰ used for the instrumental dative in 27.66 - μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας - in line with Hellenistic replacement of the dative.

Thus in his use of μετὰ + genitive Matthew in many ways reflects the development of the Greek language, while at the same time admitting the possibility of Semitic influence.

(ε) μετὰ + accusative:- Also in line with Hellenistic developments

is the infrequency of Matthew's use of μετὰ + accusative and his restriction of usage to time, as distinct from place. His 10 examples are distributed over shared and peculiar matter; the other gospel writers employ it with slightly greater frequency, but all reflect the state of the Greek language. The sole example of μετὰ with articular infinitive, 26.32, is shared with Mark, this reflecting Greek and Hebraic rather than Aramaic usage.

For the spatial sense of 'after' Matthew employs the improper preposition ὀπίσω five times and ὀπίσθεν once, while also employing them both on one occasion each as adverbs. We note 10.38 the usage of ὀπίσω + genitive after ἀκολουθεῖν in place of a dative, in line with its use with ἔρχεται in the Lucan parallel - 14.27. Elsewhere ἀκολουθεῖν , a favourite Matthaean verb, has the dative in line with classical usage.

In the sense of 'without' Matthew employs both ἄνευ and χωρὶς with the genitive. In his use of ἄνευ at 10.29 in the sense of 'without the knowledge of' he reflects contemporary usage as seen in the papyri, UPZ 69.4 - ἄνευ θεῶν οὐθὲν γίνεται (Deissmann 'Bible Studies' p. 86); Luke in his parallel, 12.6, has οὐκ ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον , which may well reflect the more original version as its Semitic cast suggests. Elsewhere ἄνευ occurs only in I Peter, on two occasions, in the sense of 'without'.

χωρὶς , the more common New Testament word, occurs 3 times in Matthew, two of these being in the phrase χωρὶς γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων

of 14.21 and 15.38 absent from the Marcan parallels and with all the appearance of being a Matthaean heightening of the miracle and a toning down of the political aspect of the crowd at the feeding. The sense of χωρὶς in that phrase is 'not including', 'irrespective of', an uncommon usage in classical times, but regular in Modern Greek. Hence once again Matthew reflects the development of the Greek language.

(7) πρὸ + genitive:- Also in line with contemporary usage is Matthew's infrequent use of πρὸ + genitive, a tendency observable in all New Testament writers. Of his 5 examples, all peculiar to their settings in Matthew, one is of πρὸ with articular infinitive - 6.8, a usage found elsewhere twice in Luke, three times in John, once in Acts and twice in Paul, but absent from Mark, the Catholic Epistles and Revelation. Again this is Hebraistic and Greek rather than Aramaic. Another use of πρὸ is in the phrase πρὸ καιροῦ in 8.29, which is found also in I Corinthians 4.5; while καιρὸς in Hellenistic Greek had lost its full significance of distinctive or critical time, the context suggests that in Matthew the phrase does in fact mean 'before the due time' rather than simply 'prematurely'.

The remaining uses are in the phrase πρὸ προσώπου in 11.10 in an Old Testament quotation and in 5.12 and 24.38 in a time significance.

Matthew's favourite substitute for πρὸ is ἔμπροσθεν, a word he uses 18 times to Mark's 2, Luke's 10, John's 5, Acts 2, Paul's 7, I John's 1 and Revelation's 3 examples. Clearly we can speak of this as a Matthaean word and we note with interest that it is this word which has

replaced πρὸ in Modern Greek. In verses such as 5.24, 7.6, 27.11 and 27.29 it is used in a literal, spatial sense, in 5.16, 6.2 and 23.13 in a more figurative, metaphorical sense. It is not always easy to determine which examples occur in editorial settings and which are due to the use of sources. 5.16 may be editorial and Targumic in character, 26.70, 27.11 and 27.29 would be editorial on the basis of Marcan priority; 23.13 may reflect the more original saying as compared with Luke 11.52.

The non-Greek usages of ἔμπροσθεν at 11.26 and 18.14 are the most interesting as reflecting the wider usage of the corresponding Aramaic preposition קדם or מן קדם than the Greek one. Thus as a parallel to 11.26 οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου we may cite Daniel 6.2 קדם מלכא 'it was pleasing to D' and as parallel to 18.14 οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς , לא רעותא קדם אבוכון דבשמיא - Targum Jonathan Judges 13.23, I Samuel 2.25 and in Isaiah 53.10 with מן קדם in place of simple קדם.

Thus in the 'Genesis Apocryphon' in the form לקדם we find it used in 19.25 with אמר in the sense of 'reading to them', in 21.3 of 'giving thanks to God' and in 22.9 with מן of 'fleeing from before him', 'fleeing from'. Greek and English idiom would not use 'before' in such cases, but Aramaic does.

The problem in Matthew is how far the undoubted Aramaic uses are due to sources. In the case of 11.26 the presence of a Lucan parallel, 10.21, shows the use of a source; in the case of 18.14 the phraseology betrays the editor's hand, while Luke 15 vv. 7, 10 χαρὰ ἐπί, χαρὰ ἐνώπιον

suggests the possibility of the parable having reached Matthew with some such moralising addition.

Whether or not ἐνώπιον of Luke 15.10 corresponds to ἔμπροσθεν of Matthew, it is to be noted that in the case of Luke 12.9 as compared with Matthew 10.33 ἐνώπιον of Luke is indeed equivalent to Matthew's ἔμπροσθεν.

ἐνώπιον is Luke's favourite preposition for 'before', being used in his gospel at least 22 times, and probably 27, his usage being in line with the author of Revelation and to a lesser extent the writers of the Epistles; in Matthew, as in Mark, the preposition is totally absent. In his use of ἐνώπιον Luke follows the Septuagint, in which it occurs 540 times as a preposition to the 365 examples of ἐναντίον for πρὸ and 110 examples of ἔμπροσθεν. Since these figures indicate a complete divergence from the usage of the papyri and later Greek, we must posit for ἐνώπιον the influence of the Hebrew Old Testament and the desire of the Septuagint translators for a word closer to Hebrew expressions like פְּנֵי, לִפְנֵי and עֵינֵי with the literal idea of 'to the face of', 'in the eyes of'.

In his rejection of ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον, the latter found only in Luke/Acts, Matthew reflects a divergence from Septuagintal practice, and in preferring ἔμπροσθεν chooses a word which can render the various significances of לִפְנֵי as a more appropriate literal rendering. Thus while we cannot deny the possibility of Matthew's usage as based on the developing κοινὴ and the Semitic uses as due to

sources, the alternative that as an Aramaic speaker he chose this preposition as the best rendering for the Aramaic דָּמִן remains a distinct possibility.

For 'before' of place we note two other prepositions of infrequent usage; the one is ἀπέναντι in Matt. 27.61 and as v.l. in 27.24, the other κατέναντι , which occurs in 21.2, 27.24 and as v.l. in 27.61. These two prepositions are also among less favoured renderings in the Septuagint, simple ἐναντι being preferred there, but absent from Matthew.

(8) παρὰ :- This is the first of three prepositions which we must now consider that have been engulfed by ἀπὸ in Modern Greek, the others being ὑπὸ and ἐκ . It is one of the few prepositions still employed with three cases by Matthew, but with each of its cases the number of examples is small and does not point to any distinctive usage. (i) With the accusative it occurs 6 or 7 times in the spatial sense of 'beside' and never in its sole surviving Modern Greek sense of comparison, 'than'. (ii) With the genitive it is employed five times denoting 'from' of people, as distinct from places. 3 of the examples, all in the nativity stories, follow verbs of 'ascertaining' - 2.4 ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν , 2.7 ἠκρίβωσεν παρ'αὐτῶν, 2.16 ἠκρίβωσεν παρὰ τῶν μάγων . In all these instances classical writers would have used a simple genitive, but Hellenistic writers felt the need of a preposition. (iii) With the dative it is employed 5 or 6 times in the sense of 'with' or 'among' of persons. Comparison of the usage of παρὰ in the other

New Testament writers indicates a similar general infrequency with all cases, though with the genitive John with 24 examples reflects an opposite tendency.

(9) ὑπὸ (i) with genitive:- In the use of ὑπὸ + genitive for the agent after a passive verb we find that Matthew and Luke, with 23 examples each, stand together, whereas Mark with 9 and John with 1 example reflect more closely the trends in the language. In the Septuagint it is infrequent, many examples having ἀπὸ as variant reading, and it renders מִן or בְּ with passive or intransitive verbs. In Matthew textual variation is not very noticeable on this point and his use of ὑπὸ is well attested.

(ii) With accusative:- ὑπὸ + accusative in the sense of 'under' is used 5 times by Matthew, but not distinctively. Its later Greek substitute ὑποκάτω, which has now become ἀποκάτω ἀπὸ, occurs in Old Testament quotation in 22 v. 44.

(10) ἐκ + genitive:- This third preposition to be displaced by ἀπὸ is still found more commonly than ἀπὸ in the New Testament as a whole, but in Matthew, Luke/Acts and Hebrews ἀπὸ is more frequent, as Morgenthaler's figures show.

(i) Among the non-classical usages of ἐκ we note a partitive use, whereas in classical times the simple genitive was sufficient. While the influence of Semitic מִן is possible in this connection, it has to be noted that such a usage is Hellenistic as well. On the other hand, it is

interesting that Matthew, in line with other New Testament writers, employs ἐκ partitively more frequently than ἀπὸ, whereas in the papyri the reverse is the case. His 15 examples of ἐκ partitive, as compared with 2 of ἀπὸ, are 6.27, 7.9, 10.29, 12.11, 18.12, 18.19, 21.31, 22.35, 23.34 (twice), 25.2, 25.8, 26.21, 26.73 and 27.48 for ἐκ and 15.27, 27.21 for ἀπὸ. The examples with ἐκ are distributed over shared and peculiar material alike.

(ii) In place of a genitive of separation we find ἐκ μέσου in 13.49 - ἀφορίσουσιν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων, this in an explanation of a parable in Matthaean phraseology. We recall the Semitic use of preposition and substantive to convey an idea. Its presence in Matthew may be due to imitation of the Septuagint, where ἐκ μέσου renders Hebrew מִתּוֹךְ, or to the Aramaic use of מִן לְגַוֵּ, as in Daniel 3.26.

(iii) ἐκ is found in 20.2 and 27.7 in place of the simple genitive of price, though in 20.13 the genitive alone is used with this significance.

(iv) It is used to denote source or origin in 3.17, 5.37, 12.35, 13.52, 15.11, 15.18, 15.19, 16.1, 17.5, 21.25, 21.26, 24.31 and 28.2 and in the phrases ἐκ δεξιῶν and ἐξ εὐωνύμων, both in shared material as 20.21, 20.23, 22.44, 26.64, 27.38 and peculiar - 25.33, 25.34, 25.41 in line with LXX Exodus 14 vv. 22, 29.

(v) In 12.37 it appears for the more classical instrumental dative and in 23.25 after γέμουσιν in place of the simple genitive. In view of the developments of the language we cannot affirm with certainty the

influence of]ⲛ in such examples.

ⲁⲡⲟ + genitive:- Turning to ⲁⲡⲟ + genitive, we note:-

(a) It is used in place of ⲡⲁⲣⲁ + genitive for 'from a person' at 11.29, 12.38 and 26.47; at 12.38 the Marcan and Lucan parallels have ⲡⲁⲣⲁ, while at 26.47 the Marcan parallel has ⲡⲁⲣⲁ and ⲁⲡⲟ as variants.

(b) It is used in place of ⲩⲡⲟ + genitive to denote the agent after passive verbs in 11.19 and 16.21 and to express 'by reason of' with emotions in 13.44 ⲁⲡⲟ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲭⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ, 14.26 ⲁⲡⲟ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲫⲟⲃⲟⲩ and 28.4 ⲁⲡⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲫⲟⲃⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ, these last three examples being peculiar to Matthew in their contexts. In this Matthew reflects the development of the language and counters the impression formed by examining ⲩⲡⲟ that he always favours the more classical usage.

(c) There are places in which Matthew favours ⲁⲡⲟ to Mark's ⲉⲛ, as 3.16 = Mark 1.10 (but with vl), 21.8 = Mark 11.8 and 24.1 = Mark 13.1, thus reflecting the tendencies of Greek.

(d) In line with contemporary usage, Matthew employs ⲁⲡⲟ + genitive in place of a simple genitive of separation in 1.21 ⲥⲱⲍⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲡⲟ, 1.24 ⲉⲅⲉⲣⲑⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲡⲟ, 6.13 ⲣⲩⲥⲁⲓ ⲁⲡⲟ, 14.2 ⲏⲅⲉⲣⲑⲏ ⲁⲡⲟ, 25.32 ⲁⲫⲟⲣⲓⲍⲉⲓⲛ ⲁⲡⲟ, 27.64 ⲏⲅⲉⲣⲑⲏ ⲁⲡⲟ and 28.7 ⲏⲅⲉⲣⲑⲏ ⲁⲡⲟ. Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 58-9 illustrates from writers of the 1st century A.D. the indiscriminate use of simple genitive and ⲁⲡⲟ + genitive to denote this idea of separation.

(e) ⲁⲡⲟ is used where Attic prose employed a double accusative after

ἁρύπτειν in 11.25 and ἁρπάζειν in 20.20. It also replaces an accusative after certain verbs such as φυλάσσεσθαι in 10.28 and φεύγειν in 3.7 and 23.33 in line with the Septuagintal renderings for נָגַף with יָרֵא and בָּרַח (see Helbing op.cit. pp. 29, 27 respectively); whether Semitic influence here is direct or indirect is uncertain.

(f) After προσέχειν in the sense of 'beware of' it occurs 5 times - 7.15, 10.17, 16.6, 16.11 and 16.12, as against Luke's twice - 12.1, 20.46; Mark uses βλέπειν ἀπό in a similar sense at 8.15 and 12.38. Helbing op.cit. pp. 290ff shows that προσέχειν in the Septuagint represents several different verbs, but most frequently the Niphal of נָשָׁמַר and the Hiphil of הִזְהִיר. It occurs most frequently in the form of imperative followed by reflexive dative, but at times with ἀπό and the reflexive dative omitted. Matthew has no example of the full construction with both dative and ἀπό, though Luke 12.1 does. Whether he imitates the Septuagintal idiom here or having a Semitic original as native usage or in his sources follows the Septuagintal translation practice is uncertain.

(g) We note the use of βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ in the doublet 5 vv. 29-30 and 18 vv. 8-9 where the Marcan parallel in 9.47 has ἔκβαλε αὐτόν. While Matthew is more Semitic than Mark here in his use of simple verb and preposition for the non-Semitic compound verb, it must be noted too that Matthew elsewhere employs ἐκβάλλειν and that it is one of his favourite words, both in the sense of 'cast out' and of 'produce', the latter sense in 12.35 and 13.52.

(h) In the linking of ἀπό with an adverb Matthew leads the gospel writers with 9 examples to Mark's 6, Luke's 6 and John's 3. Three of the examples are of ἀπ' ἄρτι - 23.39, 26.29 and 26.64, a phrase confined among the gospel writers to Matthew and John and condemned by purists. In the latter two instances Luke in parallel employs the more correct ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, which is also the form found in the Septuagint to render Hebrew [illegible] and at Daniel 4.34a Aram[illegible]

For מִיָּד in the sense of 'at once' we have adequate testimony from Daniel 3.6, 3.15, 4.30 and 5.5; the phrase also occurs in Neofiti Genesis 22.10 and 44.19 in midrashic expansions, in the first case in the form מִן יְדָא , in the second case as מִן יְדַי מִן. In both cases I would render it as 'at once', though Diez Macho in his translation gives 'at that time'.

The expressions with בְּ are most naturally rendered in Greek by ἐν with time phrase and hence for the ἀπὸ phrase we expect ἐκ to be used. Black op.cit. p. 110 provides the phrase מִן בְּדַי מִן from the Talmud, but it is unfortunate that no earlier evidence for the phrase than this can be attested. It is possible that Matthew did use the phrase in this form in his native speech or he may have felt that in Greek ἀπὸ was a preferable rendering at times for the well-attested form with ἐκ to denote the beginning of the action. Since the phrases are lacking in the parallels in Mark, we must either regard Matthew as original and Mark as removing un-Greek phrases or as adding these phrases, through native Aramaic speech, to an original Mark.

Although Matthew is the subject of this investigation, it is worthwhile to question how Luke came to use his phrases with ὥρᾳ . It is popularly held that Luke knew only Greek and his Semitisms are all Septuagintalisms. Luke would indeed have found αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ and ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ in his Greek Bible, but only in the Aramaic portions of Daniel. Do we then attribute Luke's use of these phrases in these forms to his wide knowledge of the Septuagint, while Matthew with

his native Aramaic idiom chose his own renderings for the phrase? This is a reasonable explanation with regard to Matthew, but not entirely satisfactory as an explanation of Lucan idiom.

(j) Among miscellaneous uses of ἀπὸ in Matthew we note its use in 3.4 of material and in 27.24 following the adjective ἀθῷος in the sense of 'innocent of', where we would expect a simple genitive.

(k) In particular we note as Matthaean the linkage of ἀπὸ and ἕως ; these occur together 12 times in Matthew to Mark's 3 times, Luke's twice and Acts' 3 times. Matthew's examples are 1.17 (three times), 11.12, 20.8, 23.35, 24.21, 24.27, 24.31, 26.29, 27.45 and 27.51 and these are distributed over the various classes of material. In the cases of 24.21, 24.31 and 27.51 the linkage is shared with Mark, but at 26.29 and 27.45 Mark in parallel has only ἕως . In parallel to 24.27 Luke has ἐν .. εἰς in its place (17, 24), just as Matthew on one occasion varies the construction with ἀπὸ .. εἰς 23.34 ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν . But elsewhere the linkage is always ἀπὸ ... ἕως . Comparison of 11.12 with the Lucan parallel, 16.16, indicates the symmetrical nature of]ג ..]ג Matthew's usage compared with Luke's. In this instance, as with 20.8, it is in sayings material. The linkage recalls Hebrew and Aramaic which the Septuagint regularly renders by ἀπὸ ...ἕως. The question of Semitic influence has thus to be considered, either as channelled through the Septuagint or as derived from native Aramaic speech, (see e.g. Gen. Apoc. 21.11 (twice) and 22.21 for Aramaic usage). Whether or not some of the examples are due to literal translation of sayings, it is clear that

the author too has made his contribution to their number and maintained the Semitic balance.

It has to be admitted, however, that Modern Greek uses ἀπὸ .. ὡς and that ἕως , in the form ὡς , has become a regular preposition of Modern Greek. Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 523-4 shows that the writers of the papyri employed this usage with frequency to denote termini. Hence while suspecting Semitic influence in its frequency in Matthew, we cannot assert it definitely.

ἕως is a favourite Matthaean word both as preposition and as conjunction. In its usage in the form ἕως οὗ it falls under both headings, but excluding these it is used by Matthew 28 times as a preposition as against Mark's 10, Luke's 13 and John's 6 examples. In Hellenistic Greek it was a favoured substitute for μέχρι as a preposition for 'until' or 'up to' in temporal and spatial significances. Thus we cannot be certain how much its use in Matthew owes to Greek and how much to Aramaic influence, עַד being a favoured Aramaic word in both prepositional and conjunctive uses.

Apart from the question of its linkage with ἀπὸ we note its use with adverbs. - ἕως ἄρτι in 11.12, ἕως ποτε twice in 17.17 as in the parallels, ἕως ἑπτάκις in 18 vv. 21-2, ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ in 18.22, both in peculiar matter, ἕως τοῦ νῦν in 24.21 as in the Marcan parallel, ἕως τῆς σήμερον in 27.8 and as v.l. in 28.15 in peculiar matter and ἕως κάτω in 27.51, as in Mark.

ἕως ἄρτι poses the same question of origin as ἀπ' ἄρτι,

being non-Septuagintal. It may reflect colloquial speech or Matthew's rendering of Aramaic עד כען as in Gen.Apoc. 19.8; its use three times in John - 2.10, 5.17 and 16.24 - is to be noted, as well as its occurrence in I Corinthians 4.13, 8.7 and 15.6 and I John 2.9. ἕως τοῦ νῦν may derive from the Marcan parallel.

ἕως τῆς σήμερον is identical in meaning to μέχρι τῆς σήμερον in 11.23 and as the reading of BDLΘ at 28.15. That μέχρι is confined to this phrase in Matthew indicates the way in which Matthew reflects Hellenistic developments. σήμερον is a word of Matthew and Luke's vocabulary, absent from John and found only once in Mark. The phrase ἕως τῆς σήμερον reflects a Septuagintal usage to render the Hebrew עד היום הזה; the corresponding Aramaic is עד יומא דנה. ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης would be the literal Greek rendering, σήμερον being more idiomatic Greek. In the Old Testament its occurrence suggests an aitiological purpose, the explanation of the origin of a name or custom, e.g. Joshua 4.9, 6.25, 9.27, 10.27. Matthew's examples likewise fit this context and may thus give some guidance on the use to which Matthew puts this material.

Examples of ἕως in a temporal sense are 2.15, 11.13, 13.30, 27.64 and 28.20, all peculiar to Matthew, and in a spatial sense 11.23 and 26.58. In this last case Matthew has merely ἕως, where Mark in his parallel, 14.54, has ἕως ἔσω εἰς, an example of later Greek strengthening of improper prepositions by εἰς as Modern Greek uses σ'. To an Aramaic speaker ἕως by itself would be quite natural, as עד

is sufficient for 'up to'; ἕως is used by Matthew in the same verse as an adverb instead.

As μέχρι is infrequent, so is ἄχρι + genitive, being confined to 24.38 in line with the Lucan parallel.

(11) ἐπὶ :- This preposition signifying 'upon' was also on the decline in this period. Even in classical times it is difficult to draw hard and fast distinctions between its uses with the three cases which it governs. Hence for Hellenistic times it must be regarded as fruitless to make the attempt; the variations between the Synoptists in the same passage, as noted by Allen op.cit. xxviii, and between the practice of the same writer in different places cannot yield definite results. Thus in Matthew 14 vv. 25-6 we find περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν followed by ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατοῦντα, where the use of the same verb and phrase forbids the drawing of distinctions on the basis of motion and rest.

What is of chief note is that the accusative is the favoured case with ἐπὶ in Matthew with 67 or 68 examples to 35 of the genitive and 17 of the dative. This accords with the usage of Polybius, but not with that of the Ptolemaic papyri, where the genitive is most frequent, as seen in these figures from Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 462:

Gen:	Dat:	Acc. in Polybius	1,5 : 1 : 3
Gen:	Dat:	Acc. in New Testament	1,2 : 1 : 2
Gen:	Dat:	Acc. in Ptolemaic Papyri	4,5 : 1 : 2,5

(i) Among the few dative usages we note its employment after ἐμπλήσσομαι in 7.28 and 22.33, after σπλαγχνίζομαι in 14.14 and after μακροθυμέω in 18 vv. 26, 29, in the senses of, 'be astonished at', 'be sorry for' and 'be patient with', as well as its use in 18.5 and 24.5 in the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου for the more usual ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου or εἰς τὸ ὄνομά 'in my name'. (See further under εἰς).

(ii) Of the genitive uses 11 are accounted for by the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 'on earth', especially as contrasted with 'in heaven'; on this use of γῆ more will be said in the chapter on vocabulary (Chapter 7). In 1.11 we have a sole example of a temporal usage, 'at the time of', the general use being spatial. Several of the examples of this latter usage are with καθίζειν or καθῆσθαι - 19.28, 23.1, 24.3, 25.31 and 27.19. The reading of D in 2.22, βασιλεύει ἐπὶ, may well be original and if so, we have an interesting verbal usage there. In 28.14 ἐὰν ἀκουσθῇ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος stands in most MSS, with BD reading the less unusual ὑπὸ; this majority reading may well reflect a later classical and Hellenistic usage 'in the presence of', like Latin 'coram', as found in Antipho 119.1 and thereafter with frequency in the Ptolemaic papyri, (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 466-7) as well as in Lucian and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The context in all these cases is a legal one involving a judicial hearing.

(iii) With the accusative we find no really distinctive uses, but a wide range of usage. How far the use of Aramaic לְ is in evidence is difficult to gauge here.

(iv) ἐπάνω + genitive: This improper preposition, in the form πάνω σε has now displaced ἐπί in Modern Greek. With 8 examples to Mark's one dubious example, Luke's 5, John's 1, Paul's 1 and Revelation's 2, Matthew reflects most clearly the development of the Greek language. In peculiar matter it occurs in 2.9, 5.14, 23.18, 23.20, 23.22 and 28.2, while in 21.7 it stands for ἐπί + accusative of the Marcan parallel and in 27.37 for the Lucan ἐπί + dative and Marcan compound verb with ἐπί. We note that ἐπάνω is found in the Septuagint likewise in this spatial sense of 'upon'.

(12) κατά : (i) With genitive:- While ἐπί can at times bear the hostile sense of 'against'as in e.g. 12.26, more frequent in this sense in Matthew is κατά + genitive. This usage in authors of classical and Hellenistic times has been replaced in Modern Greek by the use of ἐναντίον. With 16 examples of κατά + genitive to 7 in Mark, 6 in Luke and 1 in John , Matthew is seen to favour this usage above ordinary New Testament practice.

(a) In the hostile sense it is found 3 times in 10.35, where Luke in his parallel, 12.53, has 8 ἐπί ᵅ , 4 with the accusative and 4 with the dative, and twice in 12.25 where Mark and Luke have ἐπί + accusative; the Matthaean variant with ἐπί must be regarded as assimilation.

(b) In a more figurative sense of 'speaking against' we find it used with εἰπεῖν in 5.11 and twice in 12.32 with Luke in his parallel, 12.10, having ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς and βλασφημεῖν εἰς. We find it with γογγύζειν in 20.11 of 'grumbling against', with συμβούλιον

λαμβάνειν in 12.14 and 27.1 of 'taking counsel against'. In 5.23 ἔχει τι κατὰ σοῦ is used in the sense of 'bears a grudge against you'.

(c) In the spatial sense, 'down from', it occurs only in 8.32.

(d) It is used with ἐξορκίζω in the phrase ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, 'I adjure you by the living God' (26.63). This usage of κατὰ is paralleled in the papyri (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 304, 430), while we can compare the use of simple ὁρκίζω in the Septuagint with this construction (see Helbing op.cit. p. 72).

We note that κατὰ + genitive is distributed evenly over shared and peculiar material and is seen from parallels to be a Matthaean prepositional usage.

(ii) With accusative:- This occurs 21 times in Matthew, but since Luke has 37 examples, we cannot describe it as a favourite Matthaean usage.

(a) 6 examples are accounted for by κατ' ἰδίαν 'privately' - 14.13, 14.23, 17.1, 17.19, 20.17 and 24.3, the majority of these having parallels in Mark, who uses it 7 times. This phrase is a common Hellenistic replacement for classical ἰδίᾳ.

(b) There are 6 instances of the phrase κατ' ὄναρ 'in a dream', all in peculiar material - 1.20, 2.12, 2.13, 2.19, 2.22 and 27.19. The expression is interesting as being one condemned by purists - Rutherford 'New Phrynicus' sect. 395. In votive inscriptions it means 'in consequence of a dream', but in various writers cited by Bauer - Arndt - Gingrich pp. 572-3 it bears the Matthaean sense. Of interest is its use

in Strabo 4.1.4 of the appearance of the goddess Artemis to a woman in a dream, in view of Rydbeck's use of Strabo as one of the writers whose Greek resembles New Testament Greek most closely. In view of this we cannot be certain of an underlying Aramaic מן קדם, as in Gen.Apoc. 20.22, and even if there is an Aramaic base, its confinement to stories peculiar to Matthew could argue for the use of a special narrative source containing these usages.

(c) There are 6 examples of κατά in the good classical sense of 'in accordance with', all peculiar to Matthew - 2.16, 9.29, 16.27, 19.3, 23.3 and 25.15. That this is a Matthaean usage and not due to sources is suggested by its occurrence not only in special material, but also in passages paralleled in Mark which lack the phrases in question. Of these 19.3 κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, 'for any reason', with the use of αἰτία in the Latin sense of 'causa' is the most unusual; we might have expected διὰ there.

(d) There are 3 examples of a distributive sense, all shared with Mark, one of place κατὰ τόπους 24.7 and two of time - κατὰ δὲ ἑορτήν 27.15 and καθ' ἡμέραν 26.55.

We turn next to look at διά which Matthew employs with some frequency, both with accusative and genitive.

(i) διά + genitive:- Matthew has 26 examples to Mark's 11, Luke's 13 and John's 14.

(a) 13 of Matthew's examples are accounted for by the form τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, introducing an Old Testament quotation whose

fulfilment is being declared - 1.22, 2.5, 2.15, 2.17, 2.23, 3.3, 4.14, 8.17, 12.17, 13.35, 21.4, 24.15 and 27.19. διὰ in these cases is instrumental, replacing the dative of the agent after a passive verb, in line with contemporary usage in papyri, Polybius and Pausanias. We note in 1.22 and 2.15 that ὑπὸ Κυρίου precedes the διὰ phrase, showing that the words are God's, the prophet being only a mouthpiece. Such a usage of διὰ of heralds and interpreters is found as early as Herodotus and in Xenophon.

(b) Other examples of instrumental διὰ are 18.7 and 26.24, with Lucan parallels, and 11.2 πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. This last example is not absolutely certain as some MSS, such as EFGH, read δύο instead; since δύο is a favourite Matthaean word that may be original, on the other hand it may be assimilation to the parallel in Luke 7.18. Black op.cit. p. 115 discusses the claim that διὰ is a Semitism, but Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 422 affords parallels for πέμπειν διὰ in the papyri. The suggestion of Bauer - Arndt - Gingrich p. 647 that this usage came from the Old Testament is misleading, as the passages quoted there have בְּיַד of Hebrew literally rendered by ἐν χειρὶ in the Septuagint.

(c) In the sense of 'through' of place it occurs in shared material in 7.13 (twice), 12.1, 12.43 and 19.24 with verbs of motion. In the sense of 'by' or 'along' it occurs in the Matthaean phrase δι' ὁδοῦ 2.12 - δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ and 8.28 διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης. These may be examples of a substitution by Hellenistic Greek of a prepositional

phrase where the accusative case would have sufficed in classical Greek or they may reflect Semitic influence with ב being rendered by διά instead of the usual ἐν.

(d) There is an adverbial use in 18.10 διὰ παντός 'continually'.

(e) We find a temporal use in 26.61 διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν 'within three days', as in Mark.

(ii) διά + accusative:- Matthew has 33 examples to Mark's 21, Luke's 26 and John's 45.

(a) While it is most frequently used in the classical sense of 'because of' with past reference, there are 5 places where it appears to have prospective significance, 'for the sake of', as it does in Modern Greek in the form γιά . These are 15.3, 15.6, 19.12, 24.9 and 24.22; the first two are not in the Marcan parallel, the third is in peculiar material and the last two are shared with Mark.

(b) διὰ τί 'why?' occurs 7 times; in 9.11 and 17.19 Mark in his parallels has the vulgar ὅτι interrogative, which Matthew appears to have corrected.

(c) διά is used with the articular infinitive 3 times - 13.5, 13.6 and 24.12, the first two of these being shared with Mark and Luke.

(d) διὰ τοῦτο , 'therefore' occurs 10 times, as compared with Mark's 3 and Luke's 4 examples. In particular it is to be noted that it occurs at the beginning of the sentence as a stronger connective than οὖν . It is this initial position which suggests possible Semitic influence. In the Septuagint it is used in this way to render Hebrew

עַל כֵּן. In Daniel the Aramaic equivalent, עַל הָדְנָה is used in speech as here in this sense at 2.6, 2.9 and 4.24. In narrative at Daniel 2.12, 2.24, 3.7, 3.8 et passim we find כָּל קֳבֵל דְּנָה in initial position. Thus its use in Matthew in both shared and peculiar material in initial position - 6.25, 12.27, 12.31, 13.13, 13.52, 18.23, 21.43, 23.34, 24.44, with 14.2 the sole exception in a different position, may be due to Aramaic usage.

(e) For the significance 'for the sake of' we also find ΕΥΕΚΕΝ + genitive used 7 times by Matthew, 4 of these being in the form ἘΝΕΚΕΝ ἐμοῦ and all occurring in sayings of Jesus. It is always placed before its noun or pronoun, unlike the practice of papyri and Polybius with their preference for post-position. (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 520). ΧΆΡΙΝ + genitive is never used by Matthew.

There remain for consideration the three prepositions, ΠΡΟΣ, ΕΙΣ and ἘΝ which in Modern Greek are represented by a single preposition ΕΙΣ, generally in the form Σ'.

(1) ΠΡΟΣ :- Found only with the accusative in Matthew, ΠΡΟΣ denotes generally 'to' or 'towards' with a person as object, whereas ΕΙΣ is used with things. It is used only 41 times to Mark's 62, Luke's 164 and John's 97, this reflecting its decline most clearly.

(a) There are 5 examples with the articular infinitive - 5.28, 6.1, 13.30, 23.5, 26.12, a usage characteristic of Matthew, since elsewhere it occurs only once in Mark, once in Luke, once in Acts and 4 times in Paul. Though this is possible in good Greek, its use may also be determined by

Aramaic ל + infinitive construct, the only prepositional usage with the infinitive admitted in Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew, whereas in Biblical Hebrew other uses were frequent.

(b) We note the use of πρός + accusative in place of παρά + dative in 13.56 and 26.18b (πρὸς σε), the latter peculiar to Matthew's version. This usage is in line with the development of the language.

(c) Of motion towards a person we note its use with ἐλθεῖν in peculiar or editorial material in 3.14, 7.15, 14.28, 14.29, 21.32, 25.36, 25.39, 26.40, 26.45 and in shared material in 14.25, 17.14 and 19.14, a total of 12 times. On the other hand, we note Matthew's fondness for the compound verb προσέρχεσθαι with the dative and its use no less than 52 times. We note too that Matthew does not use λέγειν πρὸς + acc. in place of the dative of indirect object; of Luke's 164 usages, about 98 are accounted for by this usage with verbs of speaking. In this respect Matthew is less Semitic or else reflects the later language less closely; Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 268 notes the dative use as still preponderant over πρὸς + acc. in the Ptolemaic papyri.

(d) Of all usages the most unusual is 27.14 οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ πρὸς οὐδὲ ἕν ῥῆμα. Black op.cit. p. 117 discusses it, but reaches no definite conclusion. The commentators on this passage e.g. McNeile op. cit. p. 410 and Bauer - Arndt - Gingrich pp. 92-3 see it in terms of a classical usage of πρὸς , 'answering a question or charge', and translate, 'He made no answer to him not even to a single charge'. If this is the correct interpretation, it implies an emphasis on the words

of the accusers and a use of φέρω in line with the Old Testament citation in 18.16. On the other hand, it appears somewhat forced, and it may be that πρός is a substitute for an accusative of respect, (Mayser II. 2 p. 362 gives a possible example of this). We note too that 'answering one a word' is an idiom of Biblical Hebrew.

(2) εἰς :- Of all the prepositions by far the two most frequent in the New Testament are εἰς + accusative and ἐν + dative. Both appear to derive from an original Indo-European *ENS, so that in Greek their use is a matter of case-usage, movement into or position in. The Boeotian, Thessalian and North-West Greek dialects did not in fact distinguish εἰς and ἐν, using ἐν for both. With the disappearence of the dative ἐν was swept away, but in the papyri, Septuagint and New Testament it remains the most frequent of all prepositions. To this general picture Mark's gospel constitutes an exception with the use of εἰς with greater frequency than ἐν

One reason for this Marcan characteristic is the way in which he employs εἰς where ἐν is classically more correct. C.H. Turner in JTS Vol. 26 pp. 14-20 noted this usage and showed how the other synoptists, in particular Matthew, corrected these wrong usages. Thus Mark 1.9 ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην becomes in Matt. 3.13 παραγίνεται ..ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ..τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι ; Mark 4 v.7 ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας becomes in Matthew 13 v. 7 ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας cf. Mark 4.8 and Matthew 13.8. Mark 5.14 ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς

is eased in Matthew 8.33 by the insertion of ἀπελθόντες.

Most frequently, however, where there is a Matthaean parallel we find εἰς changed to ἐν. Thus Mark 1.39 κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν becomes in Matthew 4.23 διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν.
Mark 11.8 ἐστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν becomes in Matthew 21.8 ἔστρωσαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,
Mark 13.9 παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε has as parallel in Matthew 10.17 παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς,
Mark 13.10 εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη becomes in Matthew 24.14 ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ,
Mark 13.16 ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν is rendered in Matthew 24.18 ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ,
and Mark 14.20 εἰς τὸ τρύβλιον becomes in Matthew 26.23 ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ.

These instances adduced by Turner appear to demonstrate Marcan priority and to indicate Matthew as a corrector of Mark's Greek. On the other hand, we must note that if we are indeed dealing with correction, it is not a matter of removal of Semitism. In fact Semitic speech readily distinguishes movement into and resting within, having לְ and בְּ corresponding to εἰς and ἐν.

It must be noted too that Matthew must not be thought of as always

observing the classical canons of usage as regards εἰς and ἐν . Thus the expression εἰς ὄνομα occurs in 10.41 (twice), 10.42, 18.20 and 28.19, in all cases peculiar to Matthew, where we should expect ἐν ὀνόματι , as found in Old Testament quotation in 21.9 and 23.39. We may wonder too if these expressions differ in meaning from ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι of 18.5 and 24.5.

The main question as regards εἰς ὄνομα is whether, as Deissmann believed (New Bible Studies p. 25), we are dealing with the Hellenistic accountancy term found in the papyri or with a Semitic לְשֵׁם 'for the name', meaning 'for the person of', 'because of his person'. In Hebrew and Aramaic שֵׁם means more than just 'name', it denotes 'person'. Hence in the Aramaic of Ezra 5.4:

מַן־אִנִּין שְׁמָהָת גַּבְרַיָּא

means not so much 'What are the names of these men?' as 'What kind of people are they?', 'Who are they?'.

Thus 'to call on God's name' or 'to praise God's name', as in Genesis Apocryphon 21.2 (twice), means addressing and praising God Himself. On the basis of this Semitic usage εἰς ὄνομα in 10 vv. 41, 42 would mean 'in his capacity as prophet, righteous man, disciple', in 18.20 'gathered together to think about me' and in 28.19 'baptising them as belonging to Father, Son and Holy Spirit'.

The relationship of 10.42 with Mark 9.41 is a complex question. It might appear that Matthew derived ὄνομα from Mark, but it is noticeable that Matthew has εἰς ὄνομα to Mark's ἐν ὀνόματι ;

further if the reading ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε is original and not a later theological gloss, then Mark signifies 'on the grounds that', a slightly different usage. Even with the reading ἐν ὀνόματι μου the saying has a different slant, the emphasis being in Mark on Christ's name, not the capacity of a disciple. (Cf. Jeremias op.cit. pp. 258-9 on Matthew's as the earlier version).

Among other usages of εἰς we note:

(a) Verbal usages:- πιστεύειν εἰς is found in 18.6. Moulton op. cit. pp. 67-8 provides a table and discussion of constructions with πιστεύειν . With εἰς it occurs most frequently in the Johannine literature and not at all in Mark, who has instead one example with ἐν . In the Septuagint only ἐν is used and that rarely. Apart from the one example with εἰς Matthew elsewhere uses πιστεύειν absolutely, with a ὅτι clause or with the dative, with one example also with ἐπὶ + accusative, 27.42.

In 6.26 we find ἐμβλέψατε εἰς, where Luke in his parallel, 12.24, uses κατανοήσατε . In Isaiah 51.1-2 this construction is used to render הִבִּיטוּ אֶל , but it is also found in the papyri e.g. P. Tebt 28.15 (II cent. B.C.) and in classical writers such as Plato as a variant to the dative construction.

In 6.34 μεριμνᾶν εἰς occurs for the more regular μεριμνᾶν περὶ , found earlier in 6.28 as in Luke 10.41 and 12.26.

In 12.41, as in the Lucan parallel, 11.32, μετανοεῖν εἰς is used for 'repenting at'.

In all these cases we are dealing with uses which may owe something to sources.

(b) εἰς with the articular infinitive: This occurs 5 times, 20.19, 26.2 and 27.31, and comparison with the parallels suggests that they are editorial. As it was noted with πρὸς that this usage was possible in good Greek but derivable also from Aramaic usage of ל with infinitive, so it can be said of εἰς as an alternative rendering of ל

(c) It is possible too to detect the editor's hand in the use of εἰς in place of a simple accusative of apposition in 21.46 εἰς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον, DW correcting to ὡς, and 27.7 ἠγόρασαν..τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις. The quotation from Genesis 2.24 in 19.5, as in Mark, shows this may be Septuagintalism, but it may also derive from Aramaic usage as in e.g. Gen.Apoc. 20.9 נשׁנא ל, also 20.27.

(d) Of interest too is the phrase εἰς νῖκος in the Old Testament quotation in Matthew 12.20, since it corresponds to neither LXX nor MT. The situation is further complicated by Matthew's telescoping of Isaiah 42 vv. 3b-4, making it uncertain whether εἰς νῖκος stands for ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς of the ἕως clause or ἀληθείαν of 3b. νῖκος is a later form of νικὴ and in Greek means 'victory'. In the Septuagint, however, in a few cases it occurs as a variant rendering of εἰς τέλος for the Hebrew נצח ל and in Aquila this is the regular Greek rendering of that Hebrew phrase.

The other occurrence of εἰς νῖκος in the New Testament is I

Corinthians 15.54, in which Isaiah 25.8, the source of the quotation, has נֶצַח , even though the Septuagint renders by ἰσχύσας and not as Paul does. Paul takes νῖκος in the sense of 'victory' in the ensuing verses, but may be playing on the word and taking εἰς νῖκος in the sense 'for ever'.

The question as regards Matthew is whether or not he has imported a Septuagintalism into an Old Testament text. Lagrange op.cit. p. 240 and Stendahl op.cit. p. 113 understand νῖκος in the sense of 'victory' - 'bring justice to victory' and regard this as an Aramaism, the phrase being imported into the text from similar wording in Habbakuk 1.4 and then given its Aramaic sense. This is a tortuous and forced argument; it is true that there is no equivalent word from the root נצח in Aramaic in the sense of 'perpetuity' and that the Targums render the Hebrew phrase consistently by לעלם ועד , equivalent to Greek εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα . It is true too that Aramaic נצחא means 'victory' and not 'eternity', as its Hebrew cognate does. But if it means 'victory' here, it could just as well be regarded as Greek misunderstanding of Hebrew idiom.

J. de Waard in 'A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament' pp. 68-70 points to an interesting reading in IQH, which may be a quotation of Isaiah 42.3 and hence provide us with a variant text known to the evangelist in Hebrew. It is IQH. 4.25 and reads:

ולוא ישבר קנה רצוץ

Matthew's ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νῖκος τὴν πρίσιν is a perfect Greek rendering of just such a Hebrew reading. It is strange that de Waard, having made this interesting point, continues to follow earlier scholars in regarding פלג as an Aramaism (op.cit. p. 70). A Greek rendering of Hebrew it certainly must be, a specimen perhaps of a Jewish Greek, but evidence for an Aramaic גפלג with ה is absent from works of my knowledge. The reason for פלג → νῖκος seems clearly a case of seeking a Greek word with similar consonants to the Hebrew word it translates. The fact that such a reading as is used by Matthew occurs in a scrolls text from Judaea argues for the origin of the evangelist in just such a Palestinian sphere.

(e) εἰς is used in a metaphorical sense 'with a view to' in 3.11 εἰς μετάνοιαν, with no Marcan parallel, 8.4 and 10.18 εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς as in Mark, 10.21 εἰς θάνατον as in Mark, 24.14 εἰς μαρτύριον purely in Matthew's version, 26.13 εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς as in Mark and 26.28 εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, absent from Mark save as a variant. While this may owe its use to the influence of Semitic ל, it is also found in the papyri. (Cf. Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 409ff).

(f) We note εἰς τί in 14.31 and 26.8 in place of the more usual διὰ τί, this reflecting Aramaic למה more closely.

(g) In 5.39 we find εἰς used in place of the classical accusative of respect - σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα σου, where Luke in his parallel, 6.29, has ἐπὶ. While these may represent variant

readings of Aramaic לְ , it must be noted that such a usage has many parallels in the papyri cf. UPZ 122.15 λέπει με εἰς τὸ σπέλος , P.TEB. 39.22 ἐτρυμάτισαν τὴν γυναῖκά μου εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα. (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 361).

(h) Finally we note the use of εἰς in the phrases εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῷ (or τοῦ) Ιησοῦ with vl. of CEFGW and others συνάντησιν- 8.34, εἰς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ νυμφίου with ἀπάντησιν as vl. of DWΔ ΘEFG and others in 25.1 and εἰς ἀπάντησιν with vll. adding αὐτοῦ , replacing with ὑπάντησιν Θ/c or συνάντησιν ,C, in 25.6. In 8.34 the Marcan and Lucan parallels lack the locution, in 25 vv. 1, 6 it is in a parable peculiar to Matthew. Elsewhere this turn of phrase occurs in John 12.13 with εἰς ὑπάντησιν and variants συνάντησιν and ἀπάντησιν , followed by dative or genitive αὐτῷ or αὐτοῦ

In all these instances we might have expected εἰς with the articular infinitive. While these verbal nouns are found in later Greek, the fact that they occur with εἰς in the Septuagint to render Hebrew לִקְרַאת must be considered of greater influence for Matthew. Thus εἰς συνάντησιν occurs 70 times in the Old Testament and 13 times in I Maccabees, with ἀπάντησιν as variant in places, εἰς ἀπάντησιν occurs another 48 times apart from these variants and εἰς ὑπάντησιν occurs in a few instances as a variant reading. The case for Septuagintalism seems strong, but it has also to be noted that the idiom is found in contemporary Aramaic. Thus we find לקדמותהון 'to meet them', literally 'to their meeting' in Gen.Apoc. 21.31, where the Hebrew

of Genesis 14.8 lacks the phrase, as well as in 22.13, where it follows Genesis 14.17. In both Hebrew and Aramaic usage the idea of 'meeting' can be either hostile or friendly. That the phrase occurs in the editorial context in 8.34 as well as in parable is significant as regards the distribution of Semitism.

(3) ἐν + dative:- We find ἐν used in many places in the usual classical sense of being in a place or among people, as well as in the temporal significance of 'during' or 'in the course of' a period of time. But in Matthew, as in all New Testament writings, its use is also extended beyond strict classical canons. Thus we note the following interesting usages:

(a) ἐν is used instrumentally where the dative was sufficient in classical times in 3.11 (twice), 5.13, 6.7, 7.2 (twice), 7.6, 9.34, 12.24, 12.27 (twice), 12.28, 13.34, 17.12, 17.21 (DW), 21.23, 21.24, 21.27, 22.1, 22.15 and 26.52, some of these being in shared material, others in peculiar matter. An Aramaic ב may well underlie these usages, even though there are parallels for this use in the papyri. (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 p. 357).

(b) ἐν is used of point of time where classical usage required only the dative. Thus we find ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ in 26.34, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ϰ̅ε̅ and ἐν ὥρᾳ ϰ̅ε̅ in 24.50, the Matthaean phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως in 10.15, 11.22, 11.24 and 12.36 and ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ in 7.22, 13.1 and 22.23. These last 2 examples with their use of a time phrase as connective are to be linked with the use of

ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ in 11.25, 12.1 and 14.1 and ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ in 18.1 and 26.55 as connective, as well as in 8.13 and 10.19 in a later position in the sentence.

Some discussion of this question has already been given under ἀπὸ in the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης . ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ of 8.13 bears a similar sense of 'immediately' and renders the Aramaic phrase in its Daniel form בְּהַיְתָה בָּהּ more closely. On the other hand we have the phrase ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ , whose presence as a connective suggests the influence of an Aramaic time phrase such as בְּהַיְתָה בָּהּ in Daniel 3.7, 3.8, 4.33, as in Ezra 5.3.

(c) There are 4 examples of ἐν μέσῳ in Matthew to 2 in Mark and 8 in Luke. - 10.16 ἐν μέσῳ λύκων , 18.1 ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν , 18.20 ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν and 14.6 ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, the first two used as in the parallels, the others without a corresponding usage. In the Septuagint ἐν μέσῳ renders Hebrew בְּתוֹךְ and בְּקֶרֶב and Aramaic בְּגוֹ . Thus Semitic influence is possible, but since the papyri use ἐν μέσῳ in place of μεταξύ , we cannot be certain.

(d) With the articular infinitive ἐν occurs only 3 times in Matthew as against twice in Mark and 32 times in Luke. 13.4, 13.25 and 27.12 are Matthew's examples, the latter 2 peculiar to Matthew in their context. This usage is non-Aramaic, being both Greek and Septuagintal as rendering Biblical Hebrew בְּ with infinitive construct.

(e) We find ἐν used in phrases with a Semitic ring such as ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης in 21.32 and ἐν τῇ παραβολῇ τῆς γῆς of 12.40. The

former reflects the metaphorical sense which Hebrew נָגַד and Aramaic נֶגֶד can bear, as seen from a phrase like מִנֶּגֶד לִבְנֵי in Genesis 24.48, translated in the Septuagint ἐν ὁδῷ ἀληθείας . The latter recalls the Semitic use of substantives to enforce the preposition; in its form with ταῖς χερσίν it has no exact Septuagintal parallel, though we do find in Ezekiel 27 vv. 4, 25, 26, 27 and 28 vv. 2, 8 and Proverbs 23.34 ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης as translation of Hebrew בְּלֵב יַמִּים. Thus it is possible that the author imitates Septuagintal idiom here or else that he reflects the Semitic speech of his native tongue or of that of his sources.

(f) Among the verbal usages with ἐν we note in particular ὀμνύναι/ὀμνύειν ἐν of 'swearing by' something or someone. Helbing op.cit. p. 72 shows that this is the rendering in some passages in the Septuagint, such as Judges 21.7, I Kings 24.22, III Kings 1.17, 2.8, II Chronicles 15.14 and Jeremiah 5.7, as a literal translation of the Hebrew נִשְׁבַּע בְּ. More frequently the Septuagint translators used the accusative of the person by whom the oath was sworn and the dative of the person with whom the oath was being sworn, as ὀμόσον μοι τὸν θεόν in Genesis 21.23. At other times they used the periphrasis τῷ ὀνόματι , as in Leviticus 19.12 and Malachi 3.5, or ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι as in Deuteronomy 6.13, 10.20; on other occasions κατὰ with the genitive is employed, as in Genesis 22.16, 31.53, this being one of the alternative classical usages to the use of the simple accusative, as we see from Thucydides 5.47.

As against this divergence in practice in the Septuagint we note Matthew's amazing uniformity in using ὀμνύειν ἐν 3 times in 5 vv. 34-5 and no less than 13 times in 23 vv. 16-22, with the use of εἰς once in 5.35 as the sole exception to this practice. The only other place where ὀμνύειν is used with ἐν in the New Testament is in Revelation 10.6. Hebrews 6.13, 6.16 employs κατά with the genitive instead, while James 5.12 prefers the simple accusative. The passage in James is of very great interest as it reflects knowledge of the saying of Jesus in 5 vv. 34-5, but is a more idiomatic Greek rendering of it.

While it is clear that the usage can be attributed to sources in which the idiom occurred in its Aramaic form בְּ נָשַׁבָּ, as found in e.g. Gen.Apoc. 2.14, the fact that Matthew has chosen a literal rendering in each case suggests unfamiliarity with the more idiomatic Greek manners of expression and a native Aramaic speech that preferred to retain Semitic idiom in his sources. It is interesting too that he has repeated the preposition before each noun in the Semitic manner, as the Septuagint translators did in literal rendering of Hebrew idiom.

ἐν is also used with ὁμολογεῖν in place of the simple accusative in 10.32, as in the Lucan parallel, 12.8, this being regarded by Lagrange op.cit. civ as an Aramaism, reflecting the use of the Aphel of יָדָה followed by בְּ

It also follows σκανδαλίζεσθαι in the sense of 'being lured to sin by or because of' in 11.6 (as in Luke), 13.57 (as in Mark) and 26 vv. 31, 33 (the first only as variant in Mark, the second absent from Mark's

version). With this we compare Siracides 9.5, 23.8 and 32.15 where πονδαλίξεσθαι ἐν also occurs; the ithpael of ערש may underlie the usage. (Lagrange op.cit. cviii).

(g) Among phrases used with ἐν we note Matthew's fondness for the Semitic usage ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, as in the phrase ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, on which more will be said under vocabulary. We note too that in 22.16 in his use of ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, as compared with Marcan and Lucan ἐπ' ἀληθείας (Mark 12.14, Luke 20.21), he is closer than his parallels to Semitic usage. In Hebrew the phrase is בֶּאֱמֶת, in Aramaic it is בקשׁט, as found in Gen. Apoc. 2.5, 2.7, 2.10, 2.18, 2.22.

Likewise in 22.37 in his use of ἐν with ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου in the quotation from Deuteronomy 6.5 as compared with ἐκ in the Marcan version, 12.30, he is closer to the Hebrew בְּ, whereas Mark follows the Septuagint rendering with his ἐκ.

In that passage we note again that Matthew repeats the preposition before the second and subsequent objects in the Semitic fashion cf. 2.16, 6.2, 6.5, 12.32, 13.57 and 24.50. With other prepositions Matthew generally follows the Greek practice of using the preposition only with the first of a series of subjects or objects.

From this survey of prepositional usage in Matthew it can be seen that in several ways Matthew reflects the development of the Greek language and at several points diverges from Septuagintal usage. A number

of his uses can be traced to Aramaic idiom, while at other points it is impossible to decide in view of parallels in the papyri and other Hellenistic Greek.

In conclusion, some account must be taken of the use of compound verbs, since the prefixing of a preposition to a verb to produce a compound is completely alien to Semitic practice. Further, compound verbs were in vogue in Hellenistic times and several new compounds were created bearing the same significance as the simple verbs did in Classical Greek. Mayser op.cit. I. 3 pp. 207ff indicates the extent to which the writers of the Ptolemaic papyri employed these verbs, with a total of 248 new combinations among the compounds out of a total of 1275 compound verbs in use. He compares Polybius with his use of 689 compound verbs (op.cit. pp. 238-40). In Hellenistic times too, as he notes (pp. 240ff), there was a fondness for doubled compound verbs with two prepositions linked to a verbal form without particular emphasis being conveyed by this means.

R. Morgenthaler op.cit. p. 160 indicates the situation in the New Testament in this connection. Thus Matthew employs 243 compound verbs as against Mark's 239, Luke's 418 and John's 110. As regards doubled compounds he shows (pp. 161-2) that Matthew has 8 combinations to Mark's 10, Luke's 20 and John's 3. It is clear from these figures that John diverges most markedly of the gospel writers from contemporary usage and is most in line with Semitic non-use of compounds, while Luke most clearly reflects the contemporary trends. As regards Mark and Matthew, it is clear that in comparison of the length of their gospels Matthew uses fewer

compounds than Mark. This is reinforced by the facts set out by Morgenthaler on p. 16 of his book. Thus the total number of verbs in Matthew accounts for 35.3% of the vocabulary of the writer, compound verbs for 14.2%, for Mark 37.8%, with compound verbs making up 17.6%, for Luke 38.9% for all verbs, 20.5% for compounds, for John 34.4% for all verbs, 10.8% for compounds.

The reason for this more restricted use of compound verbs in Matthew as compared with Mark can in part be accounted for by the situation noted by W.C. Allen in ICC to Matthew pp. xxv-xxvi. Allen shows there that whereas Mark is fond of using a compound verb followed by the same preposition, Matthew either omits the compounded preposition or substitutes another verb. Thus Mark 1.21 εἰσπορεύονται εἰς becomes in Matthew 4.13 ἐλθὼν .. εἰς , Mark 2.1 εἰσελθὼν εἰς becomes in Matthew 9.1 ἦλθεν εἰς and Mark 9.42 περίκειται - περὶ becomes in Matthew 18.6 κρεμάσθῃ - περὶ, to select but a few of his examples. He then provides some figures for the use of particular compound verbs with the same preposition to show Matthew's tendency to avoid this clumsiness of expression. His distinction of narrative and sayings, however, is rather dubious; if the sayings were translated from Aramaic, they would not have this characteristic in the original and if he knew them in Greek, there was no reason to refrain from correcting this usage. We note too that not all the examples cited by Allen involve a change from compound to simple verb, several being instead a change from one compound to another.

On the other hand, Allen has made a valid point in favour of Matthew

correcting the clumsiness of Mark's Greek. Thus while ἀπέρχεσθαι is favoured by Matthew more than any of the other gospel writers, it does not occur with ἀπό following. Mark 1.42 ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα is omitted in the Matthaean parallel, 8.3, Mark 5.17 ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ becomes in Matthew 8.34 ὅπως μεταβῇ ἀπὸ and ἀπελεύσονται in Mark 6.28 followed by ἀπήνεγκαν disappears in Matthew 14.10. Thus in Matthew ἀπέρχεσθαι occurs absolutely or with εἰς , but not with ἀπό. On the other hand, as Allen admits, εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς occurs with some frequency; we note too that ἐκβάλλειν ἐκ is found 6 times, whereas βάλλειν ἀπὸ occurs 4 times. προσέρχεσθαι always occurs either absolutely or with the dative and never with πρός.

Of equal weight with Allen's argument, however, is the view expressed by Lagrange op.cit. cxvi that the compounds employed by Matthew are more dictated by the needs of Greek and the subject matter than are those found in Mark's gospel. Taking compounds of ἐν and πρός as examples, he shows that Mark has compounds such as ἐνθυμέομαι, ἐνθυμάξω, ἐξάγα , ἐξουδδω, προσεγγίζω, προσπορεύομαι and προστρέχω, in which the compound is superfluous and a simple verb would have sufficed, but that these are absent from Matthew. On the other hand, Matthew employs compounds more required by sense such as ἐνκόπτω, ἐνλάμπω, ἐνριζόω , προσάγω and προσέχω. The same can be said of Matthew's favourite usages; προσέρχεσθαι 'approach' is not the same in meaning as simple ἔρχεσθαι , nor does προσφέρειν 'bring near' or 'offer' signify the same as simple φέρειν.

What Lagrange has said about compounds with ἐν and πρός can be shown for other compounds as well. Thus ἀνά compounds found in Mark, but not in Matthew, include ἀναπράξειν, ἀνακυλίειν, ἀναμιμνήσκειν and ἀναστενάξειν, none of them required by sense; Matthew prefers simple μιμνήσκεσθαι. Matthew's favourite usages with ἀνά, ἀναγινώσκειν 'to read' and ἀναχωρεῖν 'to withdraw' are required by the sense and non-Marcan usages like ἀναβιβάζειν, ἀναιρεῖν and ἀναπάμπτειν are likewise verbs in which the preposition provides a different sense from that conveyed by the simple verb.

From this it follows that Matthew is not in accord with the practice of Hellenistic Greek writers of his day in their liberal use of compounds with no appreciable emphasis. Mark's Greek, on the other hand, is in line with colloquial usage here, as in a number of other ways. Luke, while not colloquial in style, reflects the wider use of such compounds in Hellenistic writing. Since Matthew affords but few signs of movement towards Attic standards and since he reflects a tendency observable to an even more marked extent in John, the conclusion that his usage in this matter is determined by his native Aramaic speech, in which this phenomenon of compound verbs was absent, seems to me the best conclusion to draw from this survey.

Chapter 5

The Use of Connecting Particles in Matthew's Gospel.

In any attempt to discover the extent of a Greek writer's knowledge of the language, an examination of his use of connective particles plays an important part. One of the chief characteristics of classical Greek prose style is its use of these particles to provide a firm linkage between sentences and clauses, and in the hands of a master like Plato their skilful use gives vividness to the thoughts expressed. Turning from Plato to the New Testament, one is at once struck by the lack of subtle variety in the use of particles and the smaller numbers in use. The reasons behind this difference are interesting and have produced some measure of dispute among scholars.

It is clear that in the classical period itself we can observe a more sparing use of emphatic particles than in Homeric Greek in which, to quote Denniston 'Greek Particles' lxv, 'particles of emphasis ... are heaped on in almost reckless profusion, and with but little definiteness of application.' Classical usage aimed at greater precision through the use of a smaller number of well-defined particles. On the other hand, the continuation of this process of reduction in the Hellenistic period provides a lack of subtlety in expression and is associated by M.E. Thrall in 'Greek Particles in the New Testament' p.6 with the decline in Greek literary achievement after the golden age. She illustrates the decline by a comparison of the number of particles employed in New Comedy, as

represented by Menander's 'Dyskolos', with the Old Comedy, as exemplified in Aristophanes 'Clouds'. (op.cit. pp. 5-6, 99).

J. Blomquist in 'Greek Particles in Hellenistic Prose' pp. 132ff disagrees with this picture of a decline in the use of particles in the Hellenistic period. We are misled, he believes, by using writers like Plato and the Attic orators as a guide to classical prose usage, since they reflect an extraordinarily rich variety of particles by comparison with their contemporaries . More attention must be given, he holds, to differing literary genres which require their own distinctive set of particles. Descriptive passages in certain scientific writings such as the mathematical works by their very nature use fewer particles and a more stereotyped method of expression than do Historians. Blomquist admits that there is a decrease in emphatic particles, but says this is not a question of decline in the use of particles as such; the change from a pitch to a stress accent and the unemotional character of the literary work of the Hellenistic period are adduced (op.cit. pp. 144-7) as reasons for the disappearance of emphatic particles. Polybius and Diodorus in fact use a greater number of particles than Xenophon, whom he takes as a more representative classical historian than Thucydides, whose figures are higher (op.cit. pp. 133-6).

Thus whereas Miss Thrall would explain the New Testament situation in terms of the development of the Greek language, Blomquist attributes the New Testament paucity to the similar situation in the Septuagint under Semitic influence (op.cit. p. 141). It is true that Semitic languages do

not have the wide range of particles found in Greek and that Aramaic in particular often dispenses with connectives altogether. But even if we do hold that Aramaic influence is at work in the New Testament, the fact that in Modern Greek we can discern a very restricted use of particles and the total disappearance of large numbers of classical and Hellenistic connectives suggests that in the spoken language the movement was one of decline in the numbers of particles in use. Attention must be given to differences between spoken and literary Greek and the level of a writer's culture as well as his genre is of importance. The way in which the Atticists multiplied their particles is shown by W. Schmid in 'Atticismus' I. 180-87 for Dio Chrysostom II. 299-309 for Aristides, III. 328-46 for Aelian and IV 546-66 for Philostratus. It is the differing combinations of various particles whose absence we note most in the New Testament and this holds true in varying degrees for Hellenistic writing. Blomquist confines his attention to the period 330-30 B.C. and thus fails to take account of material of a later stage in the process. While Epictetus employs a larger number of particles than the New Testament writers (Thrall op.cit. pp. 7-8, 99), his usage falls short of classical standards as imitated by the Atticists. Further, examination of the Life of Aesop, a work of more colloquial style, indicates a considerable monotony of expression, with a preponderance of δὲ , backed by καὶ , μὲν , οὖν and γὰρ , with only an occasional combination such as μὲν οὖν and the rare use of γοῦν or δή .

A study of the history of the Greek language too reveals the growing

tendency to replace postpositive particles by prepositive ones and to place former postpositives in the first position in the sentence. This accounts for the place καί holds in modern Greek, coupled with the growing fondness for parataxis in spoken Greek. In his examination of the position of particles on pp. 108-31, Blomquist pays too much heed to the postponement of particles from a second to later place and insufficient attention to the question of prepositive usage, which is more a reflection of Greek linguistic history.

In the light of this background it is interesting to study New Testament usage and to note differences in usage between the various authors within the general framework. Since an author reveals his background and style in his use of particles to a greater degree than in certain other aspects of his syntax, the practice of Matthew here is of great importance for our study.

Among classical particles not found in Matthew we note γοῦν, δῆτα, δήπου (in Hebrews), καίτοι (once each in John, Acts and Hebrews), μήν (once in Hebrews), μενοῦν (once in Luke, 3 times in Paul), μέντοι (5 times in John, once in Pastorals, once in James, once in Jude), οὐκοῦν (once in John), τοιγαροῦν (once in Paul, once in Hebrews) and τοίνυν (once in Luke, once in Paul, once in Hebrews). Among the less frequent particles we note inferential ἄρα, but not interrogative ἆρα, together with γε, τε and perhaps δή.

Infrequent particles. (1) ἄρα inferential: It occurs 7 times in Matthew to Mark's twice and Luke's 6 times. Of these 7 examples, 2 are

in the combination ἀ'ρα γε , the only combination with ἀ''ρα used by Matthew. The two occur in 7.20 and 17.26, both peculiar to Matthew and summing up an argument by drawing an inference; in the first case we have Semitic inclusio, in the second case we find the conclusion in a discussion between Jesus and Peter on paying taxes. In both cases the combination of particles occurs in the prepositive position, whereas in classical times they were postpositive, and the order in Matthew is ἀ''ρα γε where classical order was γ'ἀ''ρα . Thus in Plato 'Philebus' 46A we read: "Συμμεικτὸν τοῦτο γ'ἀ'ρα, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἑ'οικε γίγνεσθαί τι καλὸν."

For examples of ἀ''ρα or ἀ''ρα γε in initial position in Hellenistic times we have the evidence from Epictetus cited by M.E. Thrall op.cit. p. 36 and from Pseudo-Aristotle and the Eudoxus papyri cited by Blomquist op.cit. p. 128, together with examples in the Septuagint with ἀ''ρα translating the Hebrew inferential particle ֵאִם and ἀ''ρα γε the combination אִם־לֹא , as in Genesis 26.9.

ἀ''ρα itself occurs at 12.28 in the initial position, as in the parallel in Luke 11.20, and following the interrogative Τίς , Τί at 18.1, 19.25, 19.27 and 24.45. In the case of 18.1 it is lacking in the Marcan and Lucan parallels and is not strictly inferential, but in line with the classical usage of forecasting the effect of the answer (see Denniston op.cit. pp. 39-40). In 19.25 it corresponds to Marcan and Lucan καὶ in the parallels and is inferential, while in 19.27 it occurs in a clause only found in N text of Mark and in 24.45 is shared with the Lucan parallel, 12.42.

(2) γὲ :- Apart from its combination with ἀρα twice, γὲ occurs twice in Matthew in the combination εἰ δὲ μὴ γε , at 6.1 in matter peculiar to Matthew and in 9.17, except in B, in matter shared with Luke. The construction is more common in Luke, occurring 5 times in his gospel - 5.36, 5.37, 10.6, 13.9 and 14.32; it also occurs once in Paul, at II Corinthians 11.16. The γε strengthens εἰ δὲ μὴ in the sense of 'otherwise', but its use is non-classical. Mayser II. 3 p. 124 provides examples from the papyri, while M.E. Thrall op.cit. p. 10 gives other examples from Epictetus and Polybius.

We note that Matthew does not use ἀλλά γε like Luke (24.21) or Paul (I Cor. 9.2) nor καί γε like Luke (19.42) and Paul (I Cor. 4.8) nor καίτοι γε like John 4.2, all of these Hellenistic combinations which occur in the Septuagint.

(3) δή :- Matthew's sole example of δή occurs in 13.23 ὃς δή καρποφορεῖ, but as D reads τότε in place of ὃς δή and τότε is a favourite Matthaean connective, its reading may well be the original one. We note that he does not employ δή after imperatives as the Septuagint does in translation of Hebrew נא and that in this respect he avoids Septuagintalism.

Apart from these rarer usages Matthew restricts his range of particles used from classical times to the more familiar such as καί , δὲ , μὲν , οὖν , γὰρ , ἀλλά , ἤ and οὔτε . Whereas Mark tends to repeat καί with monotonous regularity, however, Matthew displays a greater degree of variation in usage of particles.

One of the arguments indeed in favour of Marcan priority is based on the way in which Matthew and Luke improve and vary Mark's usages of particles and supply them where Mark has omitted to use any. This same process can be discerned in the work of scribes on the text of our gospels and readings require to be scrutinised to discover what the evangelist himself is likely to have written. Thus while we can gain guidance from Morgenthaler's 'Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes' on relative frequency, his figures require to be checked by reference to variant readings.

καὶ :- The figures given by Morgenthaler on p. 108 for καὶ are Matthew 1169 Mark 1078 Luke 1455 John 818 Acts 1108 Paul 1529. Thus proportionate to size, Mark has more examples than Matthew, while John has less, this being accounted for by John's more frequent use of asyndeton. Since καὶ can link individual words and clauses as well as standing at the beginning of the sentence as a link-word, these statistics require interpretation on the basis of examination of the texts. What distinguishes Marcan usage from classical is the way in which parataxis with καὶ is used in place of a subordinating clause or participle. Further the preference for καὶ at the beginning of a sentence rather than δὲ is also alien to classical use. On the other hand, in the papyri this is common and in Modern Greek too, under the influence of the spoken language, these phenomena are regular. Hence the observation of the frequency of καὶ in various books of the Septuagint as literal rendering of the Hebrew copula ו and the suggestion that Semitic influence thus underlies Mark's use are not so conclusive when viewed in

the light of colloquial Greek usage. It must be noted too that) is not so common in Aramaic as in Hebrew and while it is used in passages in the Targums where the Hebrew is being rendered literally, in the freer midrashic material variation with the use of asyndeton, other particles and subordinate clauses is often the practice.

Before examining some of Matthew's usages of καὶ , I note some additional examples which ought to be taken into account from variant readings as indicative of the fact that Matthew's superiority over Mark in the less monotonous use of καὶ may in fact be illusory, the result of scribal correction. The details of the manuscript support for these variants can be found in Legg's edition, many of them being from D, Θ, Ω or ℵ. Thus in place of δὲ , καὶ is found as variant in 3.16a, 8.8, 9.28, 12.14, 14.13, 14.26, 16.17, 17.24, 20.2, 20.9, 20.17, 21.3, 21.30, 22.7, 22.29, in place of οὐδὲ at 6.20 and in place of ἤ at 6.25, 25.38 and 25.44 (this in P45). καὶ is found linking two indicatives in place of the subordinating participle construction at 4.3, 5.13, 9.28, 13.1, 13.4, 14.19, 16.22, 17.7, 20.6, 20.30, 21.6, 22.13, 25.1, 25.25, 26.26, 26.51, 26.60, 27.3 and 27.58. In other senses such as 'also' or in the apodosis it occurs at 4.24, 12.40, 12.50, 13.29, 15.32, 22.27, 24.27, 24.37, 24.38, 25.17 (twice) and 26.71. Of these καὶ in 15.32 may well be held to remove a difficult sentence construction and not be original; the others have good reason to be considered original. Less certainly original are the cases removing asyndeton between imperatives at 8.13, 9.6, 10.8, and 18.15 or between participles in 3.2,

3.16b and 10.5. In favour of accepting the other variants is the fact that ℵB in these passages reflect a more correct form of Greek, less close to colloquial practice or Semitic usage.

Uses of καὶ :- (1) In a number of places in Matthew καὶ is used paratactically in place of a conditional clause. Examples are found in 4.19, 6.33, 7.7 (three times), 12.33a, 18.21, 18.26, 18.29 and 21.2, these being scattered over shared and peculiar material and occurring in the form of an imperative followed by καὶ with the future indicative. This usage is discussed by Beyer op.cit. pp. 238-55, who declares that only in a passage like 12.33a where the imperative is figurative can we be sure of Semitic influence; the majority are of concrete examples, which are possible in a more paratactic style of Greek. Further, whether the usage derives from the editor or his sources cannot be declared with certainty.

(2) More interesting is the use of καὶ in place of a purpose clause. Comparison of Matthew 5.15a καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν with Mark 4.21 ἵνα .. τεθῇ and Matthew 27.42 καὶ πιστεύσομεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν with Mark 15.32 ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν is illuminating in this connection with Mark's use of ἵνα where Matthew has καὶ . Thus Matthew could be regarded as more Semitic here than Mark and at least more colloquial.

We can compare too Matthew 5.15b καὶ λάμπει with Luke 8.16 ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι βλέπωσιν τὸ φῶς and Matthew 21.38 καὶ

σχῶμεν with Luke 20.14 ἵνα ἡμῶν γένηται ἡ κληρονομία in which Matthew has καὶ where Luke has a ἵνα clause. In the latter case Mark 12.7 has also καὶ , which may be either suppressed purpose or suppressed conditional.

(3) There are some examples of καὶ in a consecutive sense 'and then', 'the result being that', where we would expect a ὥστε clause. First we find καὶ ὁ πατὴρ σου .. ἀποδώσει σοι at 6.4, 6.6 and 6.18 at the conclusion of sayings peculiar to Matthew. Then in 7.13 and 7.14 in the sayings about the two ways we find:

καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι'αὐτῆς . . .
καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσιν οἱ εὑρισκόντες αὐτόν.

where Luke in his parallel, 13.23-4 employs totally different phrasing. In 7.27 καὶ ἔπεσεν provides a further example; Luke's parallel, 6.49, does not bring this out so clearly. Finally in 15.31 καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν Ισραηλ is a clause with consecutive sense added on to a ὥστε clause and affording an anacolouthon of expression, the clause with καὶ being absent from the parallel in Mark 7.37.

In all these instances καὶ bears its regular copulative sense of 'and'.

(4) There are several places in Matthew where καὶ has instead an adversative sense of 'and yet' or 'but'. This usage occurs in peculiar material in 1.25 (καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν), 3.14 (καὶ σὺ ἔρχῃ), 12.5 (καὶ ἀναίτιοί εἰσιν), 20.10 (καὶ ἔλαβον), 20.12 (καὶ ἴσους . . ἐποίησας), 21.29 (καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν), 21.32 (καὶ οὐκ

ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ), 22.3 (καὶ οὐκ ἤθελον), 23.3 (καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσιν), 25.42 (καὶ οὐκ ἐδώκατέ μοι), (καὶ οὐκ ἐποτίσατέ με), 25.43 (καὶ οὐ συνηγάγετέ με), (καὶ οὐ περιεβάλετέ με), (καὶ οὐκ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με). It also occurs in shared material in line with the parallels at 6.26 (καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ..τρέφει), 7.25 (καὶ οὐκ ἔπεσεν), 7.26 (καὶ μὴ ποιῶν), 10.29 (καὶ ἓν ..οὐ πεσεῖται), 11.17 (καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκόψασθε), 11.19 (καὶ ἐδικαιώθη), 12.43 (καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκει), 13.17 (καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν , καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν), 13.34 (καὶ ..οὐδὲν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς), accepting the B text of Mark 4.34 in place of δὲ , 17.16 (καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν), 23.23 (καὶ ἀφήκατε), 23.37 (καὶ οὐκ ἠθελήσατε) and 26.55 (καὶ οὐκ ἐκρατήσατέ με), as well as at 15.16 (ἀμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀδύνατοί ἐστε) and 17.12 (καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν) where the Marcan parallel does not have this usage and Matthaean editorial activity can be postulated. How far the editor's hand can be discerned outside these two passages is made difficult by the number of instances in parables for which derivation from a source can be claimed. At 3.14 and 12.5, however, it is possible that we owe the usage, as well as these passages, to the editor's activity.

In Hebrew and Aramaic) has this adversative sense in several passages. Examples from many that could be cited from contemporary Aramaic occur in the Genesis Apocryphon 20.7b, 20.9, 20.10, 20.20 and 20.22, all in free Aramaic. Thus there is a strong case for attributing the usage to the influence of Aramaic, in which) is used freely in both

positive and adversative senses.

The question arises whether the usage is also native Greek. Denniston op.cit. pp. 292-3 provides some examples, while others are to be found in Herman Ljungvik, 'Zur Syntax der Spätgriechischen Volkssprache' pp. 54-87 (drawing on Kühner-Gerth 'Grammatik' II. 2 pp. 246-8). Many of the examples they cite do not convey a very strong adversative sense, as for example, Sophocles 'Antigone' 332: πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει or Herodotus 3.115 τὸ οὔνομα ὡς ἐστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐχ βαρβαρικόν. In this connection too it is to be noted that καὶ οὐ in an adversative sense is closer to Greek idiom than καὶ alone. Even for the latter some examples can be found in the papyri as e.g.

P. Lond.II. 409. 22ff ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὁ ὀρφανὸς ἀπελθεῖν ..καὶ ἄχρεις δεῦρο ἐπέσχον τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Sammelb. 7249.3ff παρήγγειλά σοι ἐξερχόμενος ὅτι μὴ ἀπελθῇς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου καὶ ἀπῆλθες.

In spite of this evidence it still seems essentially alien to Greek usage to employ καὶ in an adversative sense.

It is of interest to note that in a case such as 3.14 classical usage would have employed ἐγὼ μὲν .. σὺ δὲ , while at 23.3 a classical writer would have sought to effect a favoured λίγᾳ μὲν .. ἐργᾳ δὲ contrast. The growing fondness for prepositives in the spoken language could thus be adduced as the background to these adversative uses, with καὶ taking over some of the functions of δὲ . But we would do well

not to minimise Semitic influence here on New Testament usage.

(5) A further usage to note is καὶ in apodosi after a conditional sentence in 6.14 ℵB and 18.21 in mss 2145 and after ὥσπερ..οὕτως in 12.40 (DELWΣ), 24.27 (MWΔΘΦΠΩ) and 24.37 (DWΔΘΠΣΦ). This usage is treated by Beyer op.cit. pp. 66-72 and is shown to be much more common in Hebrew than in Aramaic and in spoken Greek than in classical. His description of the καὶ following the genitive absolute in Matthew 9.10 as an example of this helps to explain the awkwardness of the construction and has Septuagintal parallels in its support.

(6) τε and καὶ :- In classical times the particle τε was used with καὶ in the sense 'both' .. 'and' to link two phrases closely together. In the New Testament in general τε is uncommon and in Matthew the only securely attested example occurs in 22.10 πονηρούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς. D omits the τε read by other MSS at 27.48 πλησθὰς τε ὄξους and at 28.12 συμβούλιόν τε λαβόντες, while in 23.6 ΝBDKLM read δὲ to the τε of other MSS.

Although τε has now disappeared as a particle, it still appears to have been very frequent in the Ptolemaic papyri; according to Mayser op.cit. II.3 pp. 148, 155ff it is one of the three most common particles in the papyri along with καὶ and δὲ . On the other hand, in the Septuagint it is infrequent, especially when account is taken of variant readings, and in the Life of Aesop I could detect only a few examples.

We also note the classical linkage of καὶ and γὰρ in the

sense 'for indeed' in 8.9, 15.27 and 26.73, in line with the parallels.

More significant for this study are the non-Greek combinations that can be attributed to Semitic influence, direct or indirect.

(7) Καὶ ἐγένετο :- This occurs in the concluding formula punctuating the 5 discourses at 7.28, 11.1, 13.53, 19.1 and 26.1, as well as in 9.10; in 18.13 too in Καὶ ἐὰν γένηται εὑρεῖν αὐτὸ we have a trace of the same idiom with a conversion into a conditional clause. This idiom is a literal rendering of Hebrew וַיְהִי and receives full treatment in H. St.J. Thackeray 'Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek' Vol. I pp. 50ff and K. Beyer op.cit. pp. 29-62. As an idiom it is more distinctively a mark of Luke's style, though Luke prefers the form ἐγένετο δὲ to Καὶ ἐγένετο on a number of occasions. Of about 400 Old Testament examples, 350 are translated literally in the Septuagint by Καὶ ἐγένετο and about 50, chiefly in Genesis and Exodus, by ἐγένετο δὲ . The classical equivalent for 'it came to pass that something happened' is συνέβη with the infinitive and this is what is found in books such as II - IV Maccabees which are not in the main translations of Hebrew originals.

The idiom is of Hebrew origin and is regularly regarded as a Hebraism when it occurs in Aramaic texts. Thus the literal rendering of the Hebrew by Aramaic וַהֲוָה in Targum Onkelos/Jonathan was one of the examples cited by Dalman op.cit. p. 83 of the inadequacy of the Targum as a guide to pure Aramaic. On the other hand, Black, drawing on the unpublished notes of A.J. Wensinck, draws attention (op.cit. p. 299) to

the occurrence of וְהָיָה כְּ in the free Aramaic of Genesis 4.16 in the Fragment Targum and this idiom recurs in the same place in Codex Neofiti. I have observed a further example in free Aramaic at Genesis 44.19 in Neofiti, which suggests others may well come to light with further publication of this codex. In this latter case it is followed by a temporal clause with וְ כְּ just as καὶ ἐγένετο is followed by ὅτε in five of its occurrences in Matthew. While this is insufficient evidence to establish it as a genuine Aramaic idiom, it suggests at any rate that Aramaic speakers influenced by Biblical Hebrew idiom could freely introduce it into their writing and makes it possible that Matthew might have acted in this way.

That the five discourses are a Matthaean construction and that the concluding formula is, therefore, due to Matthew rather than a source is suggested by comparison with Luke in the use of common sayings. Why he has virtually restricted the καὶ ἐγένετο construction to this formula, whereas Luke uses it constantly, is a question impossible to answer conclusively. It is at any rate indicative of his ambivalent position as regards the Septuagint and it is worth noting with Beyer that whereas the Septuagint always uses ἡνίκα or ὡς in temporal clauses after καὶ ἐγένετο, Matthew diverges from its usage with ὅτε.

In the case of 9.10 καὶ ἐγένετο could be regarded as a development from the parallel in Mark 2.15, where we find καὶ γίνεται with the infinitive. In this case a genitive absolute follows with a mixed καὶ ἰδού construction. Luke 5.12 provides a parallel to this

mixed construction, which could be regarded either as Septuagintalism or as a reflection of Semitic speech. In the case of 18.13 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται may well have resulted from the use of ἐὰν γένηται in the previous verse; the parallel in Luke 15 vv. 4-7 provides better-flowing Greek, but if Matthew's odd expressions are declared as due to more literal rendering of an Aramaic original, the admission that καὶ ἐγένετο reflects the possible free use in Aramaic of וְ ה) follows.

(8) καὶ ἰδοὺ :- The question of Semitic influence again arises from Matthew's use of καὶ ἰδοὺ as a connective in several places instead of simple καὶ . In any discussion of this question account has also to be taken of theuse of ἰδοὺ without καὶ in this same narrative usage, as well as of ἰδοὺ in the deictic sense of 'lo and behold'. A detailed examination of καὶ ἰδοὺ and the Hebrew וְהִנֵּה which underlies its use in the Septuagint has been undertaken by M. Johannessohn in Zeitschrift für Sprachforschung Vol. 64 pp. 145-260, Vol. 66 pp. 145-95, and Vol. 67 pp. 30-84.

In the first article he examines וְהִנֵּה after verbs of 'seeing' as an alternative to two other Hebrew constructions with verbs of 'seeing', namely accusative and participle and כִּי clauses, both of these with Greek equivalents. The construction וַיַּרְא .. וְהִנֵּה), 'and he saw .. and behold', occurs most frequently in Leviticus, 25 times, then in Genesis, 13, with smaller numbers in the other books of the law and former prophets. In original works of Greek in the Septuagint such as II - IV Maccabees καὶ ἰδοὺ is not employed, as there is no original וְהִנֵּה

construction. In Biblical Aramaic the construction occurs in the form וְהָא or וַאֲ, as in Daniel 2.31, 4.7, 4.10, 7.2, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8 and 7.13, following on the verb חֲזָה.

In Matthew the sole example occurs at 3.17, where the Marcan parallel, 1.11, has simple καὶ . Elsewhere with verbs of seeing Matthew uses the participial construction 15 times and the ὅτι clause 4 times. It is in Revelation that the καὶ ἰδοὺ construction occurs most frequently with verbs of seeing, the 9 examples there being 4.1, 6.2, 6.5, 6.8, 7.9, 12.3, 14.1, 14.14 and 19.11.

In his second article Johannessohn examines the use of וַיְהִי in narrative after verbs of motion, descriptive narrative, nominal clauses and וְהָיָה. He outlines the various ways in which the Septuagint translators rendered this Hebrew idiom and the clauses preceding and following it. He explains the usage of וַיְהִי in Hebrew as an attempt to break up the monotony of a long series of paratactic sentences in Hebrew each introduced by וְ. The Septuagint translators often rendered the Hebrew construction literally with a series of paratactic clauses and καὶ ἰδοὺ, but in the case of nominal clauses they preferred at times a genitive absolute preceding followed by simple ἰδοὺ

In his third article Johannessohn turns to New Testament usage and shows the same situation as in the Septuagint. Thus both examples of καὶ ἰδοὺ after verbs of motion or description and instances of simple ἰδοὺ after a genitive absolute in nominal clauses have to be treated in association, as the underlying Semitic idiom is the same and the

genitive absolute a better Greek translation in place of Semitic parataxis. From his survey the καὶ ἰδοὺ or ἰδοὺ construction is shown as a Matthaean and Lucan usage and not Marcan or Johannine.

In Mark there are 12 examples of ἰδοὺ and 6 of ἴδε and in John 5 ἰδοὺ and 19 ἴδε , but they occur in speech and have a deictic significance. Where Matthew and Luke stand apart from their usage is in their frequency of use of ἰδοὺ in narrative; thus of Matthew's 62 examples of ἰδοὺ , 33 are in narrative and of Luke's 57, 16 are narrative. It is clear that it is even more a feature of Matthew's style than it is of Luke's. Of Matthew's 33 narrative examples, 23 are of καὶ ἰδοὺ in parataxis and 10 of simple ἰδοὺ after the genitive absolute, while of Luke's 16 examples, 15 are of καὶ ἰδοὺ and 1 is of ἰδοὺ .

Examination of the distribution of Matthew's examples over his material reveals that it occurs in both peculiar and common matter. Thus we find ἰδοὺ after a genitive absolute in peculiar matter at 1.20, 2.1, 2.13, 2.19 and 28.11 and καὶ ἰδοὺ with parataxis at 2.9, 28.2 and 28.9. In matter shared with Luke ἰδοὺ occurs in 9.32, where Luke in his parallel 11.14 has καὶ . In matter shared with Mark we find καὶ ἰδοὺ at 3.16 (= Mark 1.10 εἶδεν), 3.17 (= Mark 1.11 καὶ), 4.11 (= Mark 1.12 καὶ), 8.2 (= Mark 1.40 καὶ , Luke 5.12 καὶ ἰδοὺ), 8.24 (= Mark 4.37 καὶ , Luke 8.23 καὶ), 8.29 (= Mark 5.7, Luke 8.28 καὶ or ἰδών), 8.32 (= Mark 5.13, Luke 8.33 καὶ), 8.34 (= Mark 5.14 καὶ , Luke 8.35 δὲ), 9.2 (= Mark 2.3 καὶ , Luke 5.18 καὶ

ἰδοὺ), 9.3 (= Mark 2.6, Luke 5.21 καὶ), 9.10 (= Mark 2.15, Luke 5.29 καὶ), 9.20 (= Mark 5.25, Luke 8.43 καὶ), 12.10 (= Mark 3.1, Luke 6.6 καὶ), 15.21 (= Mark 7.25 ἀλλ'εὐθύς), 17.3 (= Mark 9.4 καὶ , Luke 9.30 καὶ ἰδοὺ), 17.5b (= Mark 9.7, Luke 9.35 καὶ), 19.16 (= Mark 10.17, Luke 18.18 καὶ), 20.30 (a compressed version compared with Mark 10.46-7), 26.51 (= Mark 14.47 δὲ or καὶ (D) and Luke καὶ) and 27.51 (Mark 15.38 καὶ), and ἰδοὺ at 9.18 (= Mark 5.22 καὶ , Luke 8.41 καὶ ἰδοὺ), 12.46 (= Mark 3.31 καὶ , Luke 8.19 δὲ), 17.5a (= Mark 9.7 καὶ , Luke 9.34 δὲ) and 26.47 (= Mark 14.43 lacking it, Luke 22.47 ἰδοὺ).

From this list it is clear how often Matthew's καὶ ἰδοὺ corresponds to a simple Marcan καὶ and how only occasionally does Luke agree with Matthew against Mark in this usage - namely in parallel to Matthew 8 v.2, 9 v.2 and 17 v.3, with 9.18 and 26.47 for the ἰδοὺ itself. The question arises whether Matthew reflects the more original Semitic reading or a process of Septuagintalising the text of Mark. In this latter case Matthew would be regarded as more Septuagintal than Luke and as having carried over the usage into his other material. His reason could then be held to be a removal of the monotony of Marcan καὶ by resort to a Hebraic device.

This question depends too on whether we regard καὶ ἰδοὺ as based on a purely Hebrew idiom or whether we can trace a corresponding usage as natural Aramaic. The usage of Biblical Aramaic confines וְהָא to the construction with verbs of seeing to which I have already alluded. וְהָא

is in fact not regular for 'behold' in Aramaic outside the Biblical material. The literal rendering in the Targums of the Hebrew idiom is הא ל and there are examples of הא in the sense of 'behold' in various classes of Aramaic. Thus in the Elephantine Papyri it occurs in 6.7, 13.13, 25.4, 28.3, 28.5, 34.2, 34.4, 37.7, 38.5 and 54.2 (Cowley's edition) in the sense of 'note' this or that. In the Genesis Apocryphon הא occurs in a narrative sense followed by ויהא in 2.1, following a verb of 'seeing' at 19.14, in a deictic sense in 20.27 and 22.27 and with ו apparently in a narrative sense in 20.30. The evidence of these documents does not appear to be in favour of a widespread narrative use in free Aramaic as distinct from a deictic one, but this may be due to chance in the extent of material preserved for us. On the other hand, Beyer op.cit. pp. 69-70 affords a considerable number of examples from the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds and from the Midrashim in favour of the narrative usage. On p. 258 of his work he provides examples of the deictic use of הא from the Babylonian Talmud. This material serves as confirmation that the idiom is possible in free Aramaic and while this does not disprove the case for Septuagintalism, it suggests the possibility that in Matthew's case the idiom was familiar from Aramaic usage.

The examples of ἰδού in a deictic sense occur in Matthew at 1.23, 7.4, 10.16, 11.8, 11.10, 11.19, 12.2, 12.18, 12.41, 12.42, 12.47, 12.49, 13.3, 19.27, 20.18, 21.5, 22.4, 23.34, 23.38, 24.23, 24.25, 24.26, 25.6, 26.45, 26.46, 28.7 (twice) and 28.20, these again being scattered over

his material. In view of Mark's parallel usage this is not so significant or decisive as the narrative use in determining Semitic influence due to the editor as distinct from sources. Further, ἰδού in this sense is not unknown in classical or Hellenistic Greek and it is the extent of the usage which suggests its Semitic origin.

(9) While Matthew uses καὶ ἰδού for Marcan καὶ and thus appears to break the monotony of Marcan over-use of simple καὶ , it is to be noted that Mark too has a kind of composite particle in the form of καὶ εὐθὺς/εὐθέως. It has been frequently noted that εὐθὺς/εὐθέως in Mark appears to be a light particle and cannot always bear the full sense of 'immediately', (see e.g. G.D. Kilpatrick 'Some Notes on Marcan Usage' BT No. 7 pp. 2-3); its placing immediately following καὶ suggests this as a distinct possibility, but the source of this usage is not entirely clear. In most cases in which it is used without any strong sense of immediacy in Mark, we find that Matthew has either no similar passage or simple καὶ and only in cases where εὐθὺς has a full sense of immediacy does Matthew share the usage with Mark. This is an argument in favour of Matthew as a corrector of Mark's Greek and Marcan priority, while not entirely conclusive. Examples of this are Mark 1.29 = Matthew 8.14 καὶ for καὶ εὐθὺς , Mark 2.8 καὶ εὐθὺς = Matthew 9.4 καὶ , Mark 5.42 καὶ εὐθὺς = Matt. 9.25 καὶ , Mark 6.27 καὶ εὐθὺς = Matt. 14.10 καὶ and Mark 6.54 καὶ εὐθὺς = Matt. 14.35 καὶ , Mark 1.12 καὶ εὐθὺς = Matt. 4.1 τότε , Mark 7.25 ἀλλ' εὐθὺς = Matt. 15.21 καὶ ἰδού , Mark 15.1 καὶ εὐθὺς =

Matt. 27.1 δὲ.

The second most populer particle in Matthew to καὶ is δὲ, which we must now examine.

<u>δὲ</u> :- Morgenthaler's figures for its usage in the gospels are: Matthew 491 Mark 160 Luke 548 John 196. It is clear from this that Mark does not favour the use of δὲ and that in this disinclination he is followed by John. In Mark's case the over-use of καὶ in general accounts for the scarcity of examples, while in the case of John the practice of asyndeton is preferred. Hawkins op.cit. pp. 150ff notes as one of the most constantly recurring cases of agreement between Matthew and Luke against Mark their use of δὲ for Marcan καὶ. He compares the situation in the Septuagint, where different translators vary in their preference for δὲ or καὶ, with καὶ preponderating on the whole under the influence of the Hebrew copula).

In assessing the situation in the gospels we have to take care to give weight to variant readings. M.E. Thrall op.cit. p. 65 draws attention to the fact that there are 87 places in Mark where καὶ and δὲ are variant readings and where καὶ is to be presumed original in view of known scribal practice. This reduces the number of examples of δὲ in Morgenthaler's list. The question remains for Mark whether the certain examples of δὲ have any special significance and here we note Miss Thrall's criticisms (op.cit. pp. 50-67) of the theories of M. Zerwick that δὲ has psychological significance in Mark and of C.H. Turner that δὲ marks a turning-point in his narrative. While we do well not to emphasise

the purely adversative significance of δέ as Zerwick does, in view of its common use in Greek as a simple continuous connective, the fact that Mark chooses to use it instead of καί on occasions suggests that there may well be more in Turner's theories than Miss Thrall will allow.

The question as regards Matthew is whether Hawkins over-estimates the amount of agreement between Matthew and Luke in the substitution of δέ for καί and fails to account for the presence of scribal correction in Matthew, as in Mark. I have already noted under καί 15 places where a variant has καί for ℵB δέ. There are also some examples in which asyndeton is to be preferred to a reading with δέ, these including examples of asyndetic λέγει in 13.52 for ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, in 17.26 in place of εἰπόντος δέ and in 27.23 for ὁ δὲ ἔφη, as well as asyndeton with other phrases and verbs at 3.1, 9.16 and 19.22. At 19.24 it is probable that πάλιν alone serves as connective, while at 16.7 τότε of D is to be preferred to οἱ δὲ of ℵB. At 25.10 the reading of D ἕως ὑπάγουσιν in place of the genitive absolute with δέ, ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, is to be regarded as original, while the omission of δέ after ὅστις at 23.11 made by D and some minuscules may also well be original. This provides a total of 25 omissions of δέ. On the other hand we have to reckon with some possible additional examples of δέ, at 14.9 καὶ ἐλυπήθη ὁ βασιλεύς. διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους of ℵCWXΣ with parataxis in place of a subordinating participle, at 13.48 with ὅτε δὲ of D Θ for ἦν ὅτε of the other MSS and at 23.5 and 25.3 in place of γάρ.

Among usages of ὁ δὲ we note:

(1) The use of ὁ δὲ with the article as demonstrative to denote a change of subject, a usage common in Greek from classical times. From Bruder's concordance I gauge 68 examples of this in Matthew to 52 in Mark, 66 in Luke and 2 in John. Of Matthew's examples 53 are certain, 12 have variants with ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς and 3 are removed by variants with asyndeton. In the case of Mark there are 10 variants with καὶ in Codex Bezae alone, as gauged from Yoder's concordance. Thrall op.cit. p. 52 speaks of a total of 38 examples for Mark, but her description of Mark as 'particularly fond of the idiom' is misleading. What is clear is John's avoidance of the idiom and as it has no equivalent in Aramaic, this may account for his lack of it. Semitic idiom often leaves its subjects vague, whereas the Greek device of ὁ δὲ makes clear to whom the remarks refer. Where the Semite wishes to provide a pronoun subject, we would have וְהוּא , translated literally by καὶ αὐτὸς , this being chiefly in circumstantial clauses.

In Greek ὁ δὲ is not confined to the more classical writers, but occurs several times in non-literary papyri (see Mayser op.cit. II. 3 p. 128), as well as in works such as the Life of Aesop. Matthaean examples are 2.5, 2.9, 2.14, 2.21, 4.4 (v.l.), 4.20, 4.22, 8.32, 9.12 (v.l.), 9.31, 12.3 (v.l.), 12.11, 12.39, 12.48, 13.11, 13.28, 13.28b (v.l.), 13.29, 13.37, 13.52 (v.l.), 14.8, 14.17, 14.18, 14.29 (v.l.), 15.3, 15.13, 15.23, 15.24, 15.25, 15.26, 15.27, 15.34, 16.2, 16.7 (v.l.), 16.14, 16.23, 17.11 (v.l.), 17.20 (v.l.), 18.30, 19.4, 19.11 (v.l.), 19.17, 20.5, 20.13,

20.21 (v.l.), 20.31, 21.25, 21.29, 21.30, 22.5, 22.15, 22.19, 24.2 (v.l.), 25.12, 26.15, 26.18 (v.l.), 26.25, 26.57, 26.66, 26.67 (v.l.), 26.70, 27.4, 27.21, 27.23 (v.l.), 27.23b, 27.66, 28.9 and 28.15; in 28.17 οἱ δὲ means 'but some'.

This usage of ὁ δὲ covers both the transitional narrative function 'and he' and the adversative function 'but he'; 2.14 and 2.21 are examples of the first, 13.29 and 14.17 examples of the second. Throughout Matthew, as in all Greek writings, the continuative sense 'and' and adversative 'but' both find expression in δὲ.

(2) Adversative δὲ :- This usage is particularly noticeable in the Sermon on the Mount, where δὲ with personal pronouns effectively marks the contrast of the new teaching with the old. Thus ἠκούσατε is picked up by ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν in 5 vv. 21-2, 27-8, 33-4, 38-9, 43-4 and the practice of the hypocrites is contrasted with σοῦ δὲ ποιοῦντος at 6.4 and σὺ δὲ in 6.6 and 6.17. Likewise μὴ with an imperative is followed by imperative with adversative δὲ in 6.19-20, 6.31-3. Other examples of a strong adversative δὲ outside the Sermon are 8.12 οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας and 10.6 πορεύεσθε δὲ μᾶλλον.

(3) μὲν ... δὲ :- In classical times one of the main ways of effecting a contrast was in the use of the correlatives μὲν .. δὲ, 'on the one hand' ... 'but on the other hand' and masters of Greek prose style set out to provide striking contrasts in this way between individual words or ideas. The figures given us by Morgenthaler for the distribution

of the correlative particle μὲν are:

Matthew 20, Mark 6, Luke 10, John 8, Acts 47, Paul 63, Hebrews 19, Catholic Epistles 8, Revelation 0.

This suggests that Matthew reflects a wider knowledge of Greek usage than the other gospel writers. Lagrange op.cit. xc is aware that co-ordination of μὲν and δὲ suggests a Greek original, as there is no corresponding Semitic usage and Matthew has practically the same number of examples as in the whole of the Pentateuch in the Septuagint version. In reply to this objection he notes that Matthew's examples are chiefly found in common discourse material where Q is generally posited and that supporters of the Q hypothesis too must explain the usage as due to the freedom of the translator.

Further examination reveals that not all the examples are certain and the presence of textual variants suggests that scribal improvement has been at work in places. Thus the examples at 10.13, 13.32, 16.3, 16.14, 23.27 and 25.33 have variants in favour of omission, leaving as certain 3.11, 9.37, 13.4, 13.8, 13.23, 17.11, 20.23, 21.35, 22.5, 22.8, 23.28, 25.15, 26.24 and 26.41, 14 examples in all. This still presents us with a picture of Matthew as a writer more intent on stylistic effect in this respect than any of the other gospel writers. Apparent differences in Luke's practice in the Gospel and Acts on the basis of Morgenthaler's figures are resolved when we note that in Acts a large number of the examples occur in the combination μὲν οὖν, serving as a transitionary narrative particle. In the Ptolemaic papyri μὲν . . . δὲ is confined to

writers of the more stylised public documents rather than private letter writers and there is a considerable contraction in usage compared with classical times (Mayser op.cit. II. 3 pp. 128-9).

Matthaean stylistic superiority over Mark is well illustrated in 13.8 and 13.23 where Matthew employs ὃ μὲν ἑκατὸν , ὃ δὲ ἑξήκοντα , ὃ δὲ τριάκοντα for 'some' .. 'other' .. 'other' in place of Marcan εἰς ..καὶ ἓν.. καὶ ἓν (4 vv. 8, 20). This linkage of one μὲν to a δὲ with the relative as demonstrative where the article was used in classical times occurs again at 21.35 ὃν μὲν ἔδειραν , ὃν δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν δὲ ἐλιθοβόλησαν; an apparently parallel use with the relative in Mark 12.5 of οὓς μὲν ..οὓς δὲ is textually uncertain and unlikely to be original. A further example of this usage occurs in 25.15 with ᾧ μὲν .. ᾧ δὲ .. ᾧ δὲ where Luke's version of the parable lacks it; this suggests it is a Matthaean characteristic and perhaps an embellishing detail to the original parable. The fact that one μὲν is balanced by two δὲ α in 16.14 in the ℵB text suggests that this may in fact be the original reading on the basis of Matthaean style, contra DW.

Among other examples with simple contrast we note ὃς μὲν .. ὃς δὲ, with correcting reading ὁ μὲν .. ὁ δὲ , 'the one' .. 'the other' at 22.5 where Luke 14.18ff has ὁ πρῶτος..καὶ ἕτερος and an expanded version of the story, Matthew again reflecting idiomatic Greek usage. In the other cases the contrasts are ἐγὼ μὲν .. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος (3.11), ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς ..οἱ δὲ ἐργάται (9.37), Ἠλείας μὲν .. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν (17.11), τὸ μὲν ποτήριόν μου...

τὸ δὲ καθίσαι (20.23), ὁ μὲν γάμος .. οἱ δὲ κεκλημένοι (22.8), ἔξωθεν μὲν .. ἔσωθεν δὲ (23.28), ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου .. οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ (26.24) and τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα .. ἡ δὲ σάρξ (26.41). **Some are contrasts of words, others of the ideas in the clauses.**

In all these cases, as with virtually all usages of postpositive particles, the particle occurs in the second place in the sentence and there is little or no trace of the postponement described by J. Blomquist op.cit. pp. 108ff. **In the papyri too the second position is regular** (Mayser op.cit. II. 3 p. 121 on γάρ , 125 on δέ , 149 on οὖν).

There are occasions when Matthew appears to balance δέ **with one or other of his more frequent particles,** γάρ **or** οὖν.

γάρ : **For this particle Morgenthaler provides the figures:**

Matthew 124 Mark 64 Luke 97 John 64.

Thus Matthew uses γάρ **more than any of the other gospel writers and** γάρ **has third place among Matthew's particles; in Polybius it is fourth most frequent and in the papyri fifth after** καί , δέ , τε **and** οὖν . **(Mayser op.cit. II. 3 p. 121). When allowance has been made for variants, many supported only by minuscules, there remain about 100 certain examples attested in the Greek manuscripts.**

The regular sense of γάρ **is 'for' causal and explanatory and its position is always after one or more words in the clause. Its Aramaic equivalent is** ארי , **which occurs in the Genesis Apocryphon 3.3, 19.16, 20.20, 20.22 and 21.14, as well as later in Targum Onkelos/Jonathan; in**

Aramaic this particle is always first word in the clause.

In a few passages in the New Testament the Grimm-Thayer Lexicon attempts to discern an asseverative usage for γάρ of 'assuredly'; the examples in question in Matthew are 9.5, 16.26, 23.17, 23.19 and 27.23. Thrall op.cit. pp. 44ff points out, however, that all the examples occur in questions and can thus be understood as explanatory in a broad sense. She takes issue, op.cit. pp. 41-50, with the view of C.H. Bird based on this supposed usage that γάρ clauses in Mark sometimes have an assertive significance and point to the presence of Old Testament symbolism. In fact γάρ in Bird's examples usually introduces a parenthetical clause and reflects a similar failure to develop an argument logically to that which we find in Herodotus' writings.

Thus frequency in the use of γάρ is not a sign of good style. Denniston op.cit. p. 58 provides examples of successive clauses strung together by γάρ which show no proper logical connection, among them Homer B 12-14 (three), Λ 66-70 (four), Herodotus 3. 80-82 (18 in all), 4.1 (6 sentences) cf. Plato 'Apology' 39E - 40A, Aristotle 'Politics' 1261a 24-6. Good New Testament examples of this occur in Galatians 1 vv. 10-13 and 4 vv. 24-7, manuscript correction in the second case seeking to remove the awkwardness of successive γάρ. In Matthew on the whole this is not found; two γάρ are used in successive clauses in most MSS of 3.2-3, 6.32, 10.19-20, 14.3-4, 24.6-7 and three in 26.10-12, but Marcan parentheses appear in general to have been removed, as we shall see later.

The distinction between a principal clause with γάρ and a

subordinate clause introduced by ὅτι in a causal sense for the more Attic διότι is a rather fine one in the New Testament. Thus while ὅτι is reserved for the next chapter, for several of its examples a γάρ could be readily substituted.

Where two clauses express opposing ideas we find on occasion the first with γάρ followed by a balancing δέ in the second. This occurs with certainty in 13.12 ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει..ὅστις δ'οὐκ ἔχει 16.25 ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ..ὃς δ'ἂν ἀπολέσῃ and 22.14 πολλοὶ γὰρ..ὀλίγοι δὲ and less certainly in 6.14 ἐὰν γὰρ..ἐὰν δὲ μή.

Further γάρ is used in the combination καὶ γάρ 'for indeed' in 8.9, 15.27 and 26.73, with 15.27 not in B.

οὖν :- For this particle Morgenthaler provides the figures:

Matthew 57 Mark 5 Luke 31 John 194.

From this it is clear, even taking account of about 12 variants, that Matthew uses this particle more than the other Synoptists, but with considerably less frequency than John. While Denniston op.cit. pp. 415ff shows that οὖν can be used either for inferential 'therefore' or for a simple transition to a new stage in events or as a resumptive after a parenthesis, the discrepancy between Johannine and Synoptic usage suggests that John and the Synoptists understood the particle differently. Thus the inferential usage can be accepted for most of Matthew's examples, whereas for John it cannot be pressed. Abbott's attempt op.cit. pp. 164-70 and 470-80 to press the sense of 'therefore' in John indicates how strained such an argument must be.

In the Septuagint οὖν is infrequent outside the books of Genesis and Exodus, as there is no corresponding Hebrew particle. In Aramaic לכן or הלכן can signify 'therefore', but if the inference is not emphatic these would not be employed.

Among Matthew's examples we note a number following an interrogative particle - 12.12, 12.26, 13.27, 13.56, 17.10, 19.7, 21.25 (as v.l.), 22.43 and 26.54, all of these either in peculiar material or with Marcan asyndeton, suggesting we have a Matthaean usage. A number of examples too follow on an imperative, as in the papyri. (Mayser op.cit. II. 3 p. 150) - 3.8, 9.38, 10.16, 22.9, 22.17, 22.21 (v.l.), 24.42, 25.13, 25.28 and 27.64, these both in shared and peculiar material. At 6.22 and 10.32 οὖν appears to be balanced by ἐάν , but there are variants in favour of its omission.

In all but two cases οὖν occurs as second word in the clause; the two exceptions are 22.28 ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει οὖν , where WΥΓΔΠΕΦ𝔥 place οὖν before ἀναστάσει and 25.27 ἔδει σε οὖν , where ΑΒWΧΓΔΠΕΦ𝔥 read οὖν before σε in the normal second position.

In 27.8 διὸ is used as a particle for 'therefore' in the initial position in place of οὖν , while ὅθεν is likewise found in 14.7 (cf. Mayser II. 3 p. 158).

ἀλλά :- For this, the other frequent classical prepositive particle apart from καὶ , Morgenthaler provides the figures:

Matthew 37 Mark 43 Luke 35 John 101.

In this case it is Mark among the Synoptists who favours it and John who

has the largest number of examples among the gospel writers as a whole. C.H. Turner in JTS Vol. 29 pp. 275ff considers Mark's examples and the way in which he believes the other Synoptists deliberately change some of his usages of it. Thus:

Mark 9.8 οὐδένα εἶδον ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον becomes in Matthew 17.8 οὐδένα εἶδον εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον.

Mark 9.13 ἀλλὰ λέγω ὑμῖν becomes in Matthew 17.12 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν.

Mark 11.32 ἀλλὰ εἴπωμεν corresponds to Matthew 21.26 ἐὰν δὲ εἴπωμεν

Mark 13.20 ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς is in Matthew 24.22 διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.

Mark 13.24 ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις corresponds to Matthew 24.29 εὐθέως δὲ

Mark 14.28 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με becomes in Matthew 26.32 μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με.

Mark 14.29 εἰ καὶ πάντες .. ἀλλ'οὐκ ἐγώ is in Matthew 26.33 εἰ πάντες .. ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε.

Mark 14.36 ἀλλ'οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σύ is in Matthew 26.39 πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ .. ἀλλ' ὡς σύ.

Mark 14.49 ἀλλ' ἵνα is in Matthew 26.56 τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα

and Mark 16.7 ἀλλὰ ὑπάγετε is in Matthew 28.7 καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι.

Thus Matthew on several occasions appears to change an ἀλλὰ at the beginning of the sentence in his Marcan source to δὲ just as he does with καὶ , while in the first instance in the middle of the sentence he chooses εἰ μὴ as more correct in the sense of 'except'

than ἀλλά . In the case of Mark 14.36 πλήν appears in the Matthaean parallel for the purpose of avoiding a clumsy repetition of ἀλλά , Luke in 22.42 agreeing in this with Matthew against Mark, while in the case of Mark 14.49 an ellipse is removed by the addition of a clause.

Examination of Matthew's examples shows that he prefers to use ἀλλά in the middle of a sentence rather than at the beginning and to use it after a phrase or clause with οὐ or μή , thus making ἀλλά a weightier particle of contrast than adversative δέ . Thus, for example, in peculiar matter at 5.17 we find: οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι and in shared material, but absent in the parallels, we find 5.39 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει..στρέψον 6.13 μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ... ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι . 7.21 οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων ... ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν (Luke τί ..καὶ οὐ) and 10.20 οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ... ἀλλὰ **τὸ** πνεῦμα .

Other examples in peculiar matter are:

16.12 οὐκ εἶπεν προσέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης..ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς
16.17 σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς .

and 18.22 οὐ λέγω σοι ἕως ἑπτάκις ἀλλὰ ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτά .

This usage of ἀλλά accords with the use of]אלא in the Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon 5.4 and 22.34 following a negative. The particle]אלא found at the beginning of sentences in Biblical Aramaic in the sense of

'but' as in e.g. Daniel 2.28 does not occur there.]ΠΠ can also bear the sense of 'except', hence Matthew's use of εἰ μή for ἀλλά in 17.8 could be regarded as the removal of a Marcan Semitism; on the other hand ἀλλά = 'except' also occurs in the papyri (Mayser op.cit. II. 3 p. 118), hence the question could be regarded as dependent on the different levels of Greek culture between the writers.

ἤ :- This particle to which we turn next means 'or', as well as 'either' .. 'or' when used as correlative. From Morgenthaler's figures we see its usage in the gospel writers as:

Matthew 59 Mark 28 Luke 36 John 10,

with Matthew favouring the usage above the other gospel writers. In Aramaic) frequently supplies the sense of 'or' and hence Matthew diverges here from its usage; for that reason we should prefer the reading of ℵ* at 6.25 with καὶ for ἤ , presuming the reading with the phrase τί πίητε to be original and omitted by homoioteleuton. Similarly at 25.38 the reading of D καὶ γυμνὸν is to be preferred to ℵB ἤ γυμνὸν and at 25.44 καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ is to be read with P45 in place of ἤ. In this last verse we find a string of ἤ ... ἤ ... ἤ ...

οὔτε :- For the negative sense 'neither', 'nor' οὔτε is infrequent in Matthew, as in the other gospel writers, and confined to three passages - 6.20 οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις, 12.32 οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, and 22.30 οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίσκονται.

μήτε :- This too is infrequent, being confined to the string of 4 examples in 5 vv. 34-6 - μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.. μήτε ἐν τῇ γῇ.. μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα..μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ and the 2 in 11.18 μήτε ἐσθίων μήτε πίνων. In all these instances οὔτε and μήτε express correlative 'neither', 'nor'.

οὐδὲ, μηδὲ :- While these are slightly more frequent, they are no longer used as correlatives in Matthew, this being in line with Hellenistic usage as shown in the Ptolemaic papyri. (Mayser op.cit. II. 3 pp. 172ff). Thus we find that either only one οὐδὲ/μηδὲ is used with a preceding οὐ/μη or if 2 οὐδὲ/μηδὲ s are used, only one is copulative and the other bears the sense 'not even'; examples of the first practice can be seen at Matthew 5 vv. 14-5, 6.26, 6.28, 10.24 and 22.29 and of the second 24.36, with 6.29 as an example of a single οὐδὲ in the sense of 'not even'.

Morgenthaler's figures are for οὐδὲ - Matthew 27 Mark 10 Luke 19 John 15 and for μηδὲ Matthew 11 Mark 6 Luke 7 and John 2, which suggests a comparative fondness of Matthew for these usages. Account has to be taken of the variant of ℵ with καὶ for οὐδὲ in 6.20, which is more in line with Semitic practice, and with simple οὐ at

21.32, but the usage is elsewhere well attested. Of interest is the example at 25.45 where οὐδὲ is found in the apodosis after a relative clause.

Questions:- The interrogative particle ἆρα is never used in Matthew to introduce a question. If the question expects an affirmative or negative answer, Matthew follows Greek usage from classical times with οὐ and μὴ respectively.

Of 24 examples of the use of forms of οὐ for an affirmative answer we find 9 or 10 in Matthew introduced by the emphatic form οὐχί 5.46, 5.47, 6.25, 10.29, 12.11, 13.27, 13.55b (v.l.), 13.56, 18.12 and 20.13. This form, in use from earliest times, became the basis of the Modern Greek negative ὄχι ; it is confined in Matthew to this interrogative usage, whereas Luke uses it also in the Modern Greek sense of 'no'. Mark does not use it at all.

Of 8 usages of μὴ in a question expecting a negative answer, 4 are in the form μήτι - 7.16, 12.23, 26.22 and 26.25, a usage found in all four gospels to a limited extent.

We turn next to observe the non-classical usages of adverbs in Matthew as connectives:-

(1) πλήν :- This is found as a connective 5 times in Matthew and 15 times in Luke. New Testament usage is discussed in the light of Hellenistic Greek and the Septuagint by Thrall op.cit. pp. 20-4 and by Blomquist op.cit. pp. 75-100. Its regular sense in Hellenistic prose is

adversative 'but', as found in Matthew 18.7, with the Lucan parallel having δὲ and πλήν as variants, and in 26.39 in line with Luke, but in place of Marcan ἀλλά.

The main problem arises over the use of πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν in 11.22, 11.24 and 26.64; the first corresponds to the usage of πλήν in Luke 10.14, but the other two are not paralleled. Comparison of Matthew 10.15 and 11.24, one of Matthew's doublets, suggests that for Matthew πλήν could be used as a synonym for ἀμήν 'assuredly' and hence in an affirmative sense such as fits best the three passages in question. Thrall and Blomquist can find no parallel in κοινή usage for this affirmative sense and hence suggest the influence of the Septuagint, where πλήν renders Hebrew אֲבָל, which can bear this affirmative usage as well as an adversative one. This appears the best explanation of the difficulty and helps us to give due weight to the pronouncement in 26.64. As regards ἀμὴν, with λέγω ὑμῖν, it is one of Matthew's 'habitual Aramaisms' in Chapman's list, occurring 31 times in Matthew to 13 times in Mark and 6 in Luke. In view of the greater amount of discourse material in Matthew than Mark and Luke's apparent dislike of it as un-Greek, the weight laid by Chapman on it cannot be pressed, especially as it appears to preserve a manner of speech peculiar to Jesus and to derive from his sources rather than from the evangelist.

(2) πάλιν :- C.H. Turner in JTS Vol. 29 pp. 275ff notes that πάλιν is used by Mark 28 times, by Luke 3 times, by Matthew 17 times and by John 43 times. He argues that for Mark and John πάλιν is merely a

light particle of transition and does not bear the full sense of 'again' and that for this reason Matthew and Luke remove the Marcan usages. Mark's examples of πάλιν occur at 2.1, 2.13, 3.1, 3.20, 4.1, 5.21, 7.14, 7.31, 8.1, 8.13, 8.25, 10.1 (twice), 10.10, 10.24, 10.32, 11.3, 11.27, 12.4, 14.39, 14.40, 14.61, 14.69, 14.70 (twice), 15.4, 15.12 and 15.13. Further examination of these examples suggests that Turner is in error in regarding πάλιν as a particle in Mark, since on 10 occasions it follows immediately on its verb as we should expect of an adverb, instead of following καὶ immediately as εὐθὺς does, while on 6 other occasions it follows the subject and immediately precedes the verb. C.D. Kilpatrick in BT Vol. 7 p. 3 has thus presented a good case for Marcan πάλιν as an adverb rather than a particle and has contrasted Marcan usage with that of Hero of Alexandria, who employs it at the beginning of his sentence in place of the Atticist αὖ or αὖθις.

On the other hand, for Matthew a good case can be made out for πάλιν being used as a connective. The examples in question are:

4.7 πάλιν γέγραπται, with differing phrasing in Luke.

4.8 πάλιν παραλαμβάνει, where Luke 4.5 has καὶ

5.33 πάλιν ἠκούσατε, in peculiar matter.

13.45, 13.47 πάλιν ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία.

18.19 πάλιν λέγω ὑμῖν.

20.5 πάλιν ἐξελθὼν (omitting δὲ with BWΘEFG et alia)

22.4 πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν - all these in peculiar matter, 19.24 πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, where it is more clearly connective than in Mark

10.24 and perhaps 21.36 πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν, where Mark 12.4 has καὶ πάλιν , and 26.42 πάλιν for Mark 14.39 καὶ πάλιν . The first e of these examples are the most convincing with initial placing of πάλιν and absence of other connectives such as καὶ or δὲ , even although they immediately precede their verbs.

(3) ἔτι :- There are two passages in which ἔτι appears to be used as a connective - 19.20 τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ and 26.65 τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν , the first without parallel, the second with Marcan and Lucan parallels. The usage of ἔτι as a connective in the papyri is illustrated by Mayser op.cit. II. 3 pp. 136-7, where we see that it is found both alone and with δὲ or καὶ or both.

(4) τότε :- Most significant of all Matthew's uses of adverbs as connectives is that of τότε 'then'. The fact that τότε occurs at least 90 times in Matthew as compared with 6 in Mark, 14 in Luke and 10 in John at once suggests that Matthew is employing τότε in a different manner from the other evangelists and its frequent initial placing supports the view that it is being employed as a connective. We search in vain for a comparable usage in native Greek literature and must conclude with scholars like McNeile JTS Vol. 12 pp. 127ff and Lagrange op.cit. pp. cix - cx that we are dealing with the influence of Aramaic בֵּאדַיִן and בֵּאדַיִן דְּנָה that occur so frequently in Daniel and are regularly rendered in the Greek versions by τότε . In Hebrew אָז is much less frequent in the Old Testament than are בֵּאדַיִן and בֵּאדַיִן דְּנָה in the Aramaic

sections and these display the required combination of function as adverb and connective to explain Matthew's usage.

It is strange that the standard modern work on the Aramaic substratum of the gospels, Black's 'Aramaic Approach', takes no account of the decidedly un-Greek ΤΟΤΕ and does not note in its usage clear Aramaic influence. The reason for this omission appears to be that in the later Aramaic which Black uses as his main source the usage is not so common or so marked, with וְאֲדַיִן and וְאֲדַיִן דְּ being replaced by וְכַד and asyndeton being more frequent in preference to this monotonous usage. It is thus the Biblical Aramaic usage to which scholars had to point in explanation of Matthaean practice. While this could suggest that Matthew took the usage from the Greek versions of Daniel, it seems quite improbable that he should show such interest in this usage in the absence of consistent imitation of Daniel's language.

The new discoveries have been of aid here in showing the continued use of וַאֲדַיִן and וַאֲדַיִן דְּ as connectives after the period of Reichsaramäisch and their usage in Aramaic from Palestine up to the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. can now be affirmed. Thus in the surviving passages of the 'Genesis Apocryphon' we find one or other of these adverbs 10 times in all; at 2.1 וַאֲדַיִן דְּ is used as connective with וְהָא and at 2.3, 2.19, 20.21 and 22.18 alone as connective, in 2.13 it follows a כַּד clause as correlative and in 22.2 וְ and subject precede it. וַאֲדַיִן occurs as pure connective in 2.8 and 22.20 and following on וְ and a few words at 2.11. In the case of the

examples in sections 2 and 20 we are dealing with usage in free Aramaic, while in 22.18 and 22.20 we have striking examples in passages which follow the Hebrew very closely, but deliberately substitute ךָתַנְא or ךָתַא for the Hebrew) . From the fragments in DJD Vol. 1 we cannot be sure if ךָתַא and ךָתַנְא were used similarly in these scrolls as connectives in view of their preservation alone, but the presence of the forms acts as support to the evidence from the 'Genesis Apocryphon'. Further, in the contract of repudiation of marriage from about 111 A.D. in DJD Vol. 2 No. 19 we find in ll. 7, 8 (20, 21) that ךָתַנ is used to introduce a new clause in the agreement and thus continues to perform a connective function even at that date.

In the light of this Aramaic background we look now more closely at Matthew's examples and at their distribution. We note first 3 instances where ἀπὸ τότε is used in place of simple τότε ; these are at 4.17, 16.21 and 26.16, all in shared material. In the case of 16.21 the Marcan parallel, 8.21, has ἀπό , while at 4.17 Mark has in parallel a subordinating participle (1.14). In the case of 26.16 ἀπὸ τότε follows ἀπό as a composite connective where Mark and Luke have merely ἀπό . This usage recalls ךְמִן as found in Ezra 5.16.

τότε itself occurs as connective in Matthew in peculiar material at 2.7, 2.16, 2.17, 3.15, 13.36, 13.43, 15.12, 18.32, 22.13, 25.1, 25.7, 25.34, 25.37, 25.41, 25.44, 25.45, 27.3, 27.9 and 28.10 and in sentences peculiar to Matthew which could be explained as editorial additions to Mark or to a Q saying at 11.20, 16.12, 17.13, 18.21, 22.15 and 26.3. In

matter shared with Mark or Luke it occurs at 3.5 (Mark καὶ), 3.13 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 4.1 (Mark καὶ ἐγένετο , Luke δὲ), 4.5 (Luke καὶ , δὲ as vll), 4.10 (Luke καὶ), 4.11 (Luke καὶ), 8.26 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 9.6 (Marcan, Lucan asyndeton), 9.14 (Mark καὶ), 9.29 (Mark, Luke καὶ), 9.37 (Luke δὲ), 12.13 (Mark, Luke καὶ), 12.22 (Luke καὶ), 12.38 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 12.44 (Luke καὶ), 12.45 (as in Luke but v.l. of D omits it there), 13.23 as v.l. for ὃς δὴ (Mark, Luke καὶ), 15.1 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 15.28 (Mark καὶ), 16.7 v.l. for οἱ δὲ (Mark καὶ), 16.20 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 16.24 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 17.17 v.l. for δὲ (Mark καὶ , δὲ vll), 17.19 (Mark καὶ), 19.13 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 19.27 (Mark asyndeton, Luke δὲ), 20.20 (Mark καὶ), 22.8 (as Luke), 22.21 (Mark καὶ , δὲ as vll, Luke δὲ), 23.1 (Mark καὶ , Luke δὲ), 24.9 (Mark asyndeton), 24.23 (Mark καὶ τότε), 24.40 (Luke asyndeton), 26.14 (Mark, Luke καὶ), 26.31 (Mark καὶ), 26.36 (Mark, Luke καὶ), 26.38 (Mark καὶ), 26.45 (Mark καὶ), 26.50 (Mark οἱ δὲ), 26.56 (Mark καὶ), 26.65 (Mark δὲ), 26.67 (Mark καὶ), 26.74 (Mark ὁ δὲ), 27.13 (Mark δὲ), 27.26 (Mark and Luke δὲ), 27.27 (Mark δὲ), 27.38 (Mark καὶ) and 27.58 (Mark καὶ).

We also find καὶ τότε as connective at 7.23 for Lucan καὶ , 16.27 as possible editorial material, 24.10, 24.14 both probably editorial and 24.30 twice to Mark and Luke's once. τότε in a more clearly temporal sense occurs as correlative to ὅτε in 13.26 in peculiar

material and in 21.1, where it is absent from the Marcan parallel, as well as with ὅταν in 24.16, as in Mark and Luke, and in 25.31 in peculiar material. Likewise καὶ τότε follows πρῶτον at 5.24, 7.5 and 12.29, while in 27.16 it clearly bears a temporal sense of 'at that time'. In all these usages it corresponds to Aramaic ׳אדין or ׳אדיין.

As regards its connective usage the distribution over the different classes of material, narrative and sayings, shared and peculiar material, is to be noted. This indicates that it is a distinctive editorial usage and not one purely to be attributed to sources. In particular, the regular pattern whereby in shared material Matthew has τότε to Marcan καὶ and Lucan καὶ or δὲ is of great interest as regards the question of synoptic relationships. That a writer whose native language was Greek and who wrote for Greek-speaking people should alter καὶ, a perfectly normal Greek connective, to τότε, which is totally un-Greek in this usage, is completely improbable. Even if he found the usage in his sources, as could be argued for the examples from the parables, it is quite inconceivable that he should have extended the usage so widely over his narrative passages as to alter Mark's language in this matter from a purely artificial motive of creating Semitic atmosphere. The case for Matthew as original and Mark as a corrector of τότε to καὶ thus requires to be considered, while the possibility that we see in the gospel the work of an Aramaic speaker writing Greek remains an alternative view.

It is important to note too that there is one other book of the New Testament with a similar usage of τότε as a connective carrying on

narrative, the Book of Acts. In the ℵB text there are 21 examples of this usage, while in the Western text there are a further 17, as Yoder indicates. This reflects a discrepancy in usage between Luke's gospel and Acts and suggests for the writer of Acts a similar native Aramaic speech, since the imitation of Daniel in Greek is not in question for the language of Acts and ΤΟΤΕ is not as frequent elsewhere in the Septuagint, since ϽΝ is less frequent than ϽϽ7Ν. Even compared with the usage of Acts, however, Matthaean usage must be regarded as distinctive. Matthew uses ΤΟΤΕ over twice as often as Acts, even when account is taken of variants in Acts, and this repetitiveness of expression is indicative of an Aramaic speaker rather than a Greek.

Apart from these adverbs serving as connectives there are a number of prepositional phrases which perform that function in a strictly un-classical fashion. In the last chapter I noted some time phrases used as connectives, namely ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ καιρῷ in 11.25 (= Luke 10.21 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ), 12.1 (Mark 2.23 καὶ ἐγένετο, Luke 6.1 ἐγένετο δὲ) and 14.1 (Mark 6.14 καὶ, Luke 9.7 δὲ), ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ in 13.1 (Mark 4.1 καὶ πάλιν Luke 8.4 δὲ), ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ in 22.23 (Mark 12.18 καὶ, Luke 20.27 δὲ), and ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ (vl. ἡμέρᾳ) in 18.1 (Marcan, Lucan compressed forms with καὶ and δὲ as equivalents) and 26.55 (Mark 14.48 καὶ, Luke 22.52 δὲ). The essentially un-Greek and Semitic nature of this usage has been recognised by Professor Moule (Birth of the New Testament loc.cit.), when he lists them as part of the artificial Semitic

flavouring due to the editor. It is true that the editor could have derived these uses from the Septuagint, where they render Hebrew time phrases such as וַיְהִי בַּיָּמִים, and could have preferred to mark new beginnings of narrative in this way rather than by a repetitive καὶ . It is also possible, however, that they corresponded to the writer's manner of expressing himself in Aramaic and that it is an Aramaic phrase like וַיְהִי כְּ of Daniel 3.8 which underlies his usage. While we do not find phrases corresponding to these in the surviving passages of the 'Genesis Apocryphon', we do find time phrases as connectives there at 21.5 and 21.23

Then we note the use of διὰ τοῦτο 'therefore' as a connective, as mentioned in the last chapter, at 6.25, 12.27, 12.31, 13.52, 18.23, 21.43, 23.34 and 24.44 (with καὶ = 'also' following) and at 13.13 with ὅτι in the sense of 'it is for this reason ... namely'; in 14.2 διὰ τοῦτο is linked with καὶ . As pointed out before it is a Matthaean usage and may reflect Aramaic בגין דנה, though there are also some examples of this in Epictetus e.g. 1.2.12, 1.6.14. In Matthew distribution is over both shared and peculiar material.

Asyndeton:- After making due allowance for these non-classical methods of connection, we still find a number of passages in Matthew with asyndeton and thus the tendency of Matthew to supply connectives to remove Marcan asyndeton mentioned by Hawkins op.cit. pp. 137-8 must be regarded as only half the story. The chief survey of Greek asyndeton occurs in Denniston 'Greek Prose Style' pp. 99-123 and this treatment can be checked by

reading passages from the various classical and Hellenistic writings.

Distinction in this connection has to be drawn between the absence of connectives linking nouns, adjectives, verbs or clauses within a sentence for the purpose of rhetorical effect and the use of asyndeton between sentences. The former is a common device of Attic orators such as Demosthenes, while the latter is much less common in classical writing. When Pseudo-Longinus in 'On the Sublime' sects. 19ff speaks of asyndeton, it is the former he has in mind, as his examples show.

A good New Testament example of this former is in Luke 17.28 ἤσθιον, ἔπινον, ἠγόραζον, ἐπώλουν, ἐφύτευον, ᾠκοδόμουν, with which we contrast the Matthaean parallel 24.38. The practice is also found in Aramaic, Genesis Apocryphon 20.8-9 being an example of asyndeton between verbs.

In the case of asyndeton between sentences in classical writings, we often find pronouns, and especially demonstratives, used to supply some kind of link. Thus we find in e.g. Herodotus 1.38.1 ἐμείβετο Ἀρτοῦσος τοιῇδε, Thucydides 3.20.3 τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, πλίμος ἐποιήσαντο, with the earlier sentence containing a pronoun looking forward, and Plato 'Theognis' 130A τοῦτο ποτε ἔπαθεν Ἀρτοτείσης with the later sentence containing a pronoun looking back (see Denniston op.cit. pp. 109-110 for further classical examples).

I note a similar usage in the Life of Aesop, where we find τοῦτον and τούτῳ serving as connectives in Chapter 2 with backward reference, the latter after speech, and τοῦτον in Chapter 9. This usage is

found too in Epictetus e.g. 3.15.8 οὕτως, 3.15.12 ταῦτα cf. 3.24.103, 3.24.115, οὕτως in 4.1.91, ταύτην τὴν μελέτην in 4.1.111 and ταύτην in 4.1.114.

It is thus possible to understand in the light of this Greek usage the examples in Matthew of τούτους in 10.5, οὗτος in 11.10 and 27.58, ταῦτα in 13.34 and 15.20, τοῦτον in 27.32, ἐκεῖνον in 17.27 and οὕτως in 5.16, 7.17, 12.45, 13.49, 18.14 and 20.16 as serving at the beginning of the sentence a quasi-connective function in the absence of other connectives. Likewise too ἐκεῖ in the repeated formula ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων at 8.12, 13.42, 13.50, 22.13, 24.51 and 25.30 fulfils the function of a connective. The large majority of the demonstrative usages are peculiar to Matthew, whether in his own material or in shared material where they are absent from parallels, while the repeated formula occurs only once in Luke 13.28, but is taken up by Matthew and repeated in Semitic fashion.

The other possible Greek usage of asyndeton with a bearing on Matthew is that which is exhibited well in Herodotus 3.53.3-4 and Isocrates 2.17ff and 3.48ff, whereby a series of short precepts is enunciated without the use of connecting particles, this being particularly noticeable with imperatives. There are several examples of this practice of asyndeton in Epictetus, from whose work we can cite as striking 3.3.14-15, 3.7.20-23 and 3.21.5-6. The question is whether this usage is sufficient to explain the passages of asyndeton in the Sermon on the Mount at 5.3-17 and 6.9-11 as well as the series of statements Ἠκούσατε ὅτι in 5.21,

27, 38 and 43 and the commands in 7 vv. 13, 15. The same situation arises in Chapter 10, especially vv. 8-10 and 39-41.

The other possibility is that the usage is Aramaic, which admits of asyndeton more regularly and more naturally than does Greek. It is true that these examples are in sayings material for which we can readily posit an Aramaic source. On the other hand, the fact that we have reason to believe the discourses in Matthew to be composite creations means that in arranging the sayings, the author could well have provided connectives lacking in the originals if he had felt asyndeton to be unnatural.

Among the gospel's usages of asyndeton that can be more readily traced to the author himself we note the introduction of parables by ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς in 13 vv. 24, 31, ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς in 13.33 and ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἀκούσατε in 21.33, with ἄλλος serving as a quasi-connective.

But most striking of all his usages is the frequency of λέγει/λέγουσιν and ἔφη in asyndeton. Our printed texts show a combined total of 36 of these usages and variant readings bring this total to 45.

Asyndetic λέγει occurs at 8.7 in B, 13.29 as v.l. of D for ὅς δὲ φήσιν of the other MSS, 13.51a in all MSS except ℵBD which omit λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς before συνήκατε, 13.52 as vl. of D 892. 1424. 1675 for ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, 16.15, 17.25, 17.26 as vl. of CL for εἰπόντος δὲ, 18.22, 19.8, 19.18, 19.20, 19.21 as v.l. of βθ for asyndetic ἔφη, 20.7b, 20.21, 20.23, 21.31, 21.42, 22.20 v.l., 22.43, 26.25, 26.35, 26.64, 27.22a and 27.23 as v.l. of DL with λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμών

for ὁ δὲ ἔφη , - a total of 24 times including the variants.

Asyndetic λέγουσιν occurs at 9.28, 13.28 as v.l. of D which has λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ δοῦλοι , the more Semitic order than ℵB, 13.51b, 19.7, 19.10, 20.7a, 20.22, 20.33, 21.31, 21.41, 22.21, 22.42 and 27.22b - a total of 13 times.

Asyndetic ἔφη occurs at 4.7, 17.26 in CL, 19.21 with B Θ λέγει more likely to be original, 21.27 (καὶ being with αὐτὸς and not connective in sense), 22.37 as v.l. of D, 25.21, 25.23, 26.34 and 27.65 - a total of 8 (or 9) times.

The only other gospel writer with such a marked usage is John, who has a total of 67 asyndetic openings with λέγει or λέγουσιν . (Burney op.cit. p. 55). Black op.cit. p. 57 notes two examples of asyndetic λέγει in Luke in the ℵB text; as both occur in parables they could be attributed to source rather than to Luke's own usages. For Mark he notes only one instance of asyndetic λέγουσιν and none of asyndetic λέγει . He declares that Mark has several examples of asyndetic ἔφη , but further textual examination reveals that all have a variant with ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν linked by καὶ or δὲ ; it is unlikely, therefore, that Mark ever used ἔφη , a verb of better Greek, and more likely that scribes have removed the Semitic idiom 'answered and said'.

Thus it is clear that we are dealing in Matthew with a usage of asyndeton unparalleled outside John's gospel. Like John too Matthew has a significant number in narrative and this indicates it as a Matthaean

usage not drawn exclusively from sources. This can be seen most clearly in verses where there is a Marcan parallel with Καὶ or δὲ , or in verses which appear to be editorial additions to Mark. Thus comparison of 19.7, 19.8, 19.10 with Mark 10.2ff; 19.18, 19.20, 19.21 with Mark 10.20ff; 20.21, 20.22, 20.23 with Mark 10.37ff; 21.41, 21.42 with Mark 12.9ff; 22.42, 22.43 with Mark 12.35; 26.34, 26.35 with Mark 14.30ff and 27.22 (twice), 23 (v.l.) with Mark 15.12 is in favour both of Marcan originality and of this as Matthaean usage. But if, as seems likely, this is an Aramaic form of expression rather than native Greek, then we are attributing the introduction of an Aramaism into a Greek text rather than the removal of Aramaism usually associated with a view of literary dependence. In the passages which I have just mentioned this appears more strange in view of the parallelism of Matthew and Mark in their narrative than it does in 9.28 and 20.33 where the story in Mark 10.46ff could be regarded as more freely rendered and rewritten.

As regards distribution it is to be noted that the idiom occurs in the various classes of Matthew's material; thus apart from the appearance in passages paralleled in Mark to which I have just referred, it occurs in matter shared with Luke in 4.7, 8.7, 18.22, 25.21 and 25.23, with Luke having a parallel asyndetic usage only in the last case, which is in a parable. In parables peculiar to Matthew the usage occurs in 13.28, 13.29 as v11 and 20.7a and b, in stories peculiar to Matthew in 13.51, 13.52, 17.25, 17.26 (v.l.) and 27.65 and in narrative appended to a parable peculiar to Matthew in 21.31 (twice).

The question arises of the origin of the usage. ἔφη in asyndeton is more regular in Greek than λέγει or λέγουσιν, but even with it the position at the beginning of the sentence and the word order in general is decidedly un-Greek. On this matter more will be said in Chapter 8 when we examine word order more closely. From the Aramaic view-point, however, the usage does not appear at all strange. Many examples could be cited from the popular anecdotes in Midrashim and Talmud for the use of the participles ‏אָמַר‏ and ‏וְאָמַר‏ in the same way as Matthew uses λέγει and λέγουσιν asyndetically. A rabbi's pronouncement is frequently prefixed by ‏וְאָמַר לֵיהּ‏ or ‏וְאָמַר לְהוֹן‏ 'he says to him', 'he says to them', followed by ‏וְאָמְרִין‏ 'they say', of their reply. The way in which Matthew uses λέγει in a similar manner in dialogue with λέγουσιν is very striking, especially when αὐτῷ or αὐτοῖς is used immediately following the verb. Examples of asyndetic ‏אָמַר‏ are likewise to be found in the Targums, as for example in Targum Jonathan Isaiah 21.2, 21.8, 21.12, 22.14, 24.16 in the phrase ‏נְבִיָּא אָמַר‏ 'said the prophet'.

It is true that these examples are all from later times than the New Testament in their present form and that in Biblical Aramaic and the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum ‏אָמַר וְאָמַר‏ is the favourite asyndetic opening. It must also be admitted that ‏אָמַר‏ in the Genesis Apocryphon and other fragments from Qumran is almost always prefixed by ו, although the fact that it is frequently linked as second verb to another verb in that material makes it more difficult to judge what would be the practice in a shorter pronouncement. On the other hand, from earlier

material we have the Elephantine Papyri with a number of examples of asyndetic ΓΙΝ, the most striking being (Cowley's collection) 38.10 and 49.1-2, where it stands at the very beginning without a time phrase preceding as in the other examples. Thus we can trace a continuous usage in Aramaic, and this, coupled with John's use of both asyndetic ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν and asyndetic λέγει/λέγουσιν, favours the idea of a degree of variety of expression in Aramaic with asyndeton as a continuous practice with verbs of saying.

In spite of the non-Greek nature of this usage it lends a degree of vividness to the narration which flows on the whole more smoothly in Matthew than in Mark. This greater smoothness of Matthew can be attributed in part to the fact that Mark contains a number of parenthetical clauses which break the narrative and which Matthew and Luke in general set out to remove, according to C.H. Turner JTS Vol. 26 pp. 145ff.

Parenthesis and anacolouthα:- The most striking examples of parenthesis in Mark are 2.15 ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ, totally absent from the Matthaean parallel, 9.10; 6.14-15 from φανερὸν γὰρ ἐγένετο to ἐξ τῶν προφητῶν, likewise unparalleled in the more compressed version of the story in Matthew 14.1ff; and 7.25-6 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἦν Ἑλληνίς, Συροφοινίκισσα τῷ γένει, a supplementary addition in Mark which is brought forward to its correct place in Matthew 15.22. These examples illustrate well Mark's failure to weave together his narrative in places and his addition of after-thoughts, a feature that is not so marked in Matthew's style.

Another set of Turner's examples relate to supplementary information for Gentile readers, which could be regarded as absent in Matthew by reason of the Jewish destination of his writing, if we accept the traditional view. These occur in Mark 7.2 - τοῦτ'ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις and 7.19 καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα together with the whole of 7.3-4.

On occasions Matthew agrees with Mark in his use of parenthesis, as in Matthew 9.6, which has λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ as in Mark 2.10 but with the addition of τότε and Matthew 24.15 which shares with Mark 13.14 the phrase ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω. From his non-Marcan material I do not note any striking examples.

Hawkins op.cit. pp. 135-7 provides a list of some different kinds of broken construction in Mark which Matthew and Luke alter or avoid, these being in the nature of anacoloutha rather than parenthesis. Thus the mixed construction of Mark 4.31ff is absent from Matthew 13.31ff, the confusion created by the double ἵνα in Mark 5.23 does not appear in Matthew 9.18 and the awkward construction of Mark 6.8ff is not found in Matthew 13.9ff. Likewise comparison of Mark 11.32 with Matthew 21.26, Mark 12.19 with Matthew 22.24 and Mark 12 vv. 38-40 with Matthew 23.6ff points in favour of Marcan priority and the correction by Matthew of Mark's ungrammatical usages. Mark in these passages begins with one construction and ends his sentence with another in a manner which recalls the practice of Thucydides. The main difference, however, between Mark and Thucydides is that in the latter it is the writer's eloquence and desire for effective expression which results in confusion of construction, whereas in Mark's

case it is unfamiliarity with Greek.

Matthew himself is not entirely free of anacolouthon, as we see from 5.39 where μὴ + infinitive is followed by an imperative and 15.31 where ὥστε + infinitive is followed by καὶ with the indicative. Whether 9.10 καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐλθόντες συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ is to be regarded as an anacolouthen or as an imitation of Semitic usage with καὶ for) , it is unusual Greek as it stands. Likewise 7 vv. 9-10 ἢ τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος, ὃν αἰτήσει ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσει, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; is peculiarly phrased, as it is also in Luke 11.11ff. In this case while the irregularity of construction would derive ultimately from a Semitic source such as Q, the authors bear some responsibility for their inability to render it into good grammatical Greek.

This examination of Matthew's methods of connection provides us with perfect examples of the problems of Matthew's language. Thus at times Matthew appears to improve Mark's Greek by the use of μὲν . . . . δὲ contrasts and the replacement of καὶ by δὲ , at other times he could be regarded as practising Septuagintalism in his uses of καὶ ἐγένετο and καὶ ἰδοὺ , while at other times he is more Aramaic than Mark in his use of ΤΟΤΕ in place of καὶ and of asyndeton with verbs of saying. In any final analysis his use of particles must hence play an important rôle.

Chapter 6

Methods of subordination practised in Matthew's gospel and the use of conjunctions.

In view of what has been said in the last chapter on the use of parataxis in both Semitic languages and colloquial Greek, it is worthwhile to examine next the kinds of subordination practised by Matthew with a view to determining how far Semitic influence is at work in his gospel.

(1) The Subordinating Participle:- The comparative rarity of the non-Semitic aorist subordinating participle in John is one of the proofs adduced by Burney op.cit. p. 57 in favour of his view that John is a translation from Aramaic. The figures he gives us for the distribution of the construction are:

Matthew 68 pages in WH has 338 examples i.e. 5 per page.

Mark 41 pages in WH has 224 examples i.e. 5⅓ per page.

Luke 72 pages in WH has 324 examples i.e. 4½ per page.

John 53 pages in WH has 58 examples i.e. 1 per page.

The interesting fact that emerges from these statistics is how 'synoptic' the first three gospels are, how uniform they are in their frequency of this construction. We should have expected on the basis of the favoured solution to the synoptic problem that Mark would have made little use of this participle and that Matthew and Luke would have practised it more frequently. This is what M. Black implies op.cit. p. 63 when he speaks

of the paratactic construction as 'most characteristic of Mark', but in fact Burney's figures indicate that Matthew and Luke are more sparing in their use of this construction than Mark in consideration of the relative sizes of the gospels. As such statistics may, however, be misleading, it is necessary to examine the situation somewhat more closely as it concerns Matthew's gospel.

We note first that Burney's figures relate only to aorist participles and that taking account of present participles, there are 505 examples of a participle subordinate to a main verb in Matthew in the WH text. Two categories can be distinguished of participles reflecting the possibility of Semitic influence, namely the uses of forms of λέγων and the use of ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν. Discounting these for the moment we are left with 320 undisputed examples of subordinating participle, with 28 others in the ℵB text with variants, many of these variants providing parataxis with καὶ ; these were listed in the last chapter in the treatment of καὶ . Of these 320 examples, 260 are of the aorist participle and only 60 of the present. This proportion accords with the usage of aorist and imperfect as indicated earlier, since the present participle represents the imperfect as well as the present tense.

Returning to the two special categories of participle, we find that forms of λέγων account for 112 or 113 examples and forms of ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν for 45 or 46. The former reflects Hebrew אָמַר, which is translated by λέγων in the Septuagint; though the Targum of Onkelos and Jonathan renders it in Aramaic by אָמַר it is in fact a Hebraism.

It is to be noted that the Genesis Apocryphon uses ו and parataxis and does not resort to this construction, which depends on the Hebrew use of the infinitive construct. Thus we must attribute the frequent use of the form by Matthew either to a knowledge of Biblical Hebrew or to Septuagintalism.

In making comparisons between the gospel writers we find that Mark has only about 31 examples of λέγων in ℵB, Luke has from 83 to 90, depending on readings, and John has 21. Thus Matthew leads the field in this usage. Schlatter op.cit. pp. 16-17 notes it as a Matthaean characteristic and shows how in passages with a Marcan parallel, sometimes Mark also has λέγων , sometimes Mark has parataxis and sometimes Mark has no parallel verb of saying at all. He argues from this that Matthew's usage is not derived from Mark's, but is a consistent Semitic feature of his language. The main difficulty in arguing for Matthaean priority from this usage, however, lies in those passages in which Matthew appears to remove Marcan parataxis by this participle. These are 8.3, 8.25, 9.14, 14.27, 20.20, 21.2, 26.27, 26.36 and 26.68. We note too 8.29, 14.15 and 24.65 where for Marcan participle followed by main verb λέγει Matthew has a main verb followed by λέγων

It is to be noted that λέγων is used in non-Marcan as well as Marcan material. 1.20, 1.22, 2.1, 2.13, 2.17 and 2.19 are examples from the purely Matthaean opening chapters, while 3.14, 4.14 and 5.2 are others from purely Matthaean material. In counting 112 examples I have treated ἀπεκριθὴ λέγων and the like as examples of λέγων , but they could

also be regarded as the same usage as ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, to which we turn next. These border-line cases for classification purposes are 12.38, 25.9, 25.37, 25.44 and 25.45.

ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν reflects an idiom frequent in Hebrew whereby the two verbs ענה and אמר are linked to introduce speech; in Greek the usage appears odd since to the Greek mind one either answers or says and one verb is sufficient. The situation in the gospels as regards its usage is complicated by the fact that scribes have tended to remove the construction, either by removal of ἀποκριθεὶς or by replacing with ἔφη. Thus all Mark's examples of ἔφη have a variant reading with an ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν which must be taken as original. Mark has suffered more than the other gospel writers from this scribal alteration and hence it is difficult to speak of one or other gospel writer as more Semitic in this respect. Matthew has about 46 examples of ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν plus 5 of ἀπεκρίθη λέγων or the like. Mark has at least 30 examples and perhaps over 40, while Luke has about 48.

The question as regards the gospel writers is how far the idiom is Aramaic as well as Hebrew and whether or not we are dealing with Septuagintalism. Burney op.cit. pp. 49ff distinguishes between the Synoptic use of ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν introduced by καὶ, ὁ δὲ or the like and the Johannine use of asyndetic ἀπεκρίθη or ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν. He argues that the former is Hebraic and Septuagintal, the latter is Aramaic. His basis for this is the fact that while in Hebrew the construction is regularly ויען ... ויאמר, in Biblical Aramaic it is

asyndetic וְהָיָה כִּי. The absence of this latter construction from the Talmud, which was the basis of Dalman's Aramaic approach, led that scholar to state op.cit. ET p. 25 - 'Probability supports the view that the formula in question was unknown in genuine Aramaic'. Apart from the question of how we are to determine what is genuine Aramaic, we must seriously question Dalman's view in consideration of the difference in form which the formula has in Daniel compared with the Hebrew books of the Old Testament.

The evidence of Codex Neofiti I is interesting in this connection in indicating its continued use in Aramaic. Thus in several long stretches of that targum which are of the character of pure midrash we find the asyndetic form וַהֲוָה כַּד, whereas in those passages which translate the Hebrew literally it is the Hebraic form with וְ which is employed. This suggests a continued use of this construction in Aramaic and serves as confirmation of the evidence of Daniel. The passages from Genesis which I would note in this connection from my own reading of the targum are the expansions to Chapters 3 v. 18, 4 v. 8 (four times in the debate between Cain and Abel), 22 v. 10 and 44 v. 19. Burney's view on John is thus borne out, while the synoptic usage uniformly conforms with the Septuagintal translation practice.

Turning from this usage to the 320 certain examples of other subordinating participles in Matthew, it is interesting to note a certain degree of repetitiveness of usage. Thus forms of ἐλθών account for 25 examples, προσελθών for 24, ἰδών for 24, ἀκούσας for 19,

ἐξελθών for 13, together with 2 of ἐξερχόμενοι, λαβών for 15, together with 2 of παραλαβών, πορευθείς for 11 together with 1 πορευόμενοι, ἀπελθών for 10 and ἐγερθείς for 8. Many of these more frequent participles appear on the basis of Marcan priority as editorial additions providing a link in Matthew's narratives.

Schlatter op.cit. pp. 23ff, 34 has noted it as characteristic of Matthew's style to employ an aorist participle followed by an aorist indicative to denote two actions related to one event. It is interesting in this connection to note that Matthew in general prefers to use only one participle to each main verb. This accords with the practice of the Septuagint translators, who at times break the monotony of parataxis with the use of an aorist participle. On the other hand, it is at variance with the practice of Mark, who tends at times to heap up participles. J. Schmid 'Matthäus und Lukas p. 40 has drawn attention to this feature of Mark's style and has shown Matthew and Luke as omitting one or more of Mark's participles by a pruning process which suggests to him the priority of Mark. The following are some examples of this, not all of them mentioned by Schmid:-

Mark 1.31 προσελθών ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τῆς χειρός cf. Matt. 8.15 καὶ ἥψατο . . καὶ ἀφῆκεν . . καὶ ἠγέρθη.

Mark 1.41 σπλαγχνισθείς (v.l. ὀργισθείς) ἐκτείνας . . ἥψατο. cf. Matthew 8.3, Luke 5.13 which omit the first participle.

Mark 3.5 περιβλεψάμενος . . συλλυπούμενος λέγει Matthew 12.13 has neither participle, Luke 6.10 has only one.

Mark 3.31 ἔρχονται . . καὶ ἔξω στήκοντες ἀπέστειλαν . . καλοῦντες αὐτὸν

Matthew 12.46 compressed - εἱστήκεισαν ἔξω ζητοῦντες . . .

Mark 5.25-8 οὖσα . . καὶ παθοῦσα . . καὶ δαπανήσασα . . καὶ μηδὲν ὠφεληθεῖσα . . ἀλλ' ἐλθοῦσα, ἀκούσασα . . ἐλθοῦσα, ἥψατο: a remarkable series of participles which in Matt. 9.20, Luke 8.43 are greatly reduced.

Mark 7.25 ἀκούσασα γυνὴ . . ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν Matthew has a shortened version of this story and Luke does not have it.

Mark 14.3 ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα . . συντρίψασα κατέχεεν cf. Matt. 26.7 which omits συντρίψασα .

Mark 14.66-7 ἔρχεται . . καὶ ἰδοῦσα . . ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ λέγει cf. Matt. 26.69 προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ . . λέγουσα .

and Mark 15.43 ἐλθὼν . . τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν cf. Matt. 27.57 ἦλθεν . . προσελθὼν ἐτήσατο.

Though these examples suggest Marcan priority, it must be noted that they do not imply Semiticidiom corrected to less Semitic. A string of participles such as the one in 5.25-8 reflects colloquial Greek as distinct from Semitic style. The fact that in Aramaic participles are used to carry on the narrative does not explain the linkage of more than one subordinating participle to one main verb, except in so far as it would reflect the clumsiness of a writer not very familiar with good Greek.

On the other hand, there are about 37 or 38 places where Schmid believes that Marcan parataxis has been removed by Matthew with his subordination, this comparing with a figure of 43 for Luke. Several of

the examples involve the use of λέγων as already mentioned, but others occur in Matt. 9.7, 9.19, 9.23, 9.36, 10.1, 10.5, 13.54, 14.3, 14.12 (twice), 14.13, 21.2, 21.6, 21.20, 21.22, 22.25, 26.37, 26.39, 26.51, 26.68, 26.71, 27.27, 27.30, 27.32, 27.33, 27.35 and 28.7.

Account too has to be taken of the participles already mentioned which have no corresponding place in Mark. Among these is the redundant use of ἐλθών with a finite verb which Dalman op.cit. pp. 20ff speaks of as a Semitic idiom, corresponding to a usage of Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, קום and אזל in Hebrew and אתי in Aramaic. Schlatter op.cit. p. 38 notes this as a Matthaean usage not constantly derivable from Mark or Luke. Excluding the uses of ἐλθών followed by εἰς + accusative, which are not redundant uses, there are 18 occurrences of this idiom altogether - 2.8, 2.9, 2.23, 5.24, 8.7, 9.10, 9.18, 12.44, 13.4 (with v.l.), 14.12, 15.25, 18.31, 20.9, 20.10, 24.46, 25.27, 27.64 and 28.13. Of these examples 2 have parallels in Mark and 3 in Luke, the rest are in peculiar matter or editorial contexts. While a case can be made for examples such as 24.46 and 25.27 using the participle to emphasise the second coming, in the majority of other cases the participles are strictly superfluous.

Among other superfluous participles we note καθίσαντες in 13.48 and ἐγερθείς in 2 vv. 13, 14 and 9.19 from Dalman's list and the fact that these are only in Matthew, though they may derive from his use of sources in these passages.

It is interesting to note that the distribution of the subordinating

participle is fairly uniform and that it is found equally in the parables as in editorial narrative.

(2) The Genitive Absolute:- The rarity of this non-Semitic and purely Greek usage in John's gospel was a further proof adduced by Burney op.cit. pp. 59ff in favour of John's gospel being a translation from Aramaic. In classical times this usage of a noun or pronoun and participle in the genitive was confined to cases in which the noun of the genitive absolute construction agreed neither with subject nor object, direct or indirect, of the principal clause. In Hellenistic times, on the other hand, the construction was very popular and was used in many cases where strict grammar would not admit it.

In the gospels we find that Matthew uses it 52 times, including one example in which two participles are linked, with 2 other possible examples in variant readings; Mark uses it 37 times, Luke 62 and John probably only 15 times, as 2 other examples have dubious support. When account is taken of the respective lengths of the gospel writings, it is remarkable how uniform the first 3 gospels are in their usage as compared with the fourth. It is interesting too that except for the concessive use in 26.60, where D's variant reading lacks the construction, all Matthew's examples are of temporal usage and that the same rule of predominant temporal sense holds good for Mark and Luke; John, on the other hand, with his few examples has a wider range of meaning with causal and concessive senses alongside the temporal. Abbott op.cit. pp. 83-4 outlines this distinction and notes that John never uses the genitive

absolute in recording Jesus' words.

Mayser II. 3 pp. 66ff distinguishes the following types of genitive absolute in the Ptolemaic papyri:

(a) The use of a redundant pronoun.

(b) Use of genitive absolute followed by a dative.

(c) Genitive absolute with dative preceding.

(d) Genitive absolute with accusative following.

(e) Genitive absolute with accusative preceding.

(f) The very popular, unclassical use of the genitive absolute in agreement with the subject of the sentence.

He notes too that the pronoun of the genitive absolute construction is often omitted.

The following is a list of the genitive absolutes in Matthew with the type from Mayser's list appended after those examples which are incorrect from classical standards - 1.18 (type f), 1.20 (type b), 2.1, 2.13, 2.19, 5.1 (type b), 6.3 (type a), 8.1 (type b), 8.5(a and b), 8.16, (8.23 Ξ), 8.28 (type b), 9.10 (type b, but an odd formulation), 9.18 (type b), 9.32, 9.33, 11.7, 12.46 (type a), 13.6, 13.19 (twice), 13.21, (14.6 ϹϵΙΝΕΨΧ ΓΔΠΦ), 14.15, 14.23, (16.2 DW@), 17.5, 17.9 (type b), 17.14 (omitted pronoun), 17.22 (type b), 17.24, 17.26 (omitted pronoun but CD have λέγει αὐτῷ more in line with Matthew's style), 18.24 (type b), 18.25 (type d), 20.8, 20.29, 21.10, 21.23 (type b), 22.41 (type d), 24.3 (type b), 24.5, 25.10 (but D it have ἔως ὑπάγουσιν which may well be original), 26.6 (type b), 26.20, 26.21, 26.26, 26.47, 26.60, 27.1, 27.17 (type b), 27.19 (type d), 27.57, 28.11 and 28.13.

We note from this the considerable numbers of type (b), incorrect usage with a dative, a few of type (d) with incorrect use with accusative and the interesting lone example in 1.18 of failure to agree with a nominative. The absence of types (c) and (e) is accounted for by the fact that, except in 26.60 and 28.13, the genitive absolute phrase always stands before the main verb. This is a fact of some interest when we consider that behind the genitive absolute clause there may lie an Aramaic temporal clause or parataxis whereby this order would be followed. In the Septuagint the genitive absolute is used by the translators to render various Hebrew constructions.

Examining distribution of the construction we find that 21 have no corresponding phrase in the other gospels. Of these 5 occur in the purely Matthaean birth stories, 12 in other passages peculiar to Matthew as the Sermon on the Mount, parables and resurrection story and 5 are examples of a genitive absolute clause tagged on to a story found in one or other of the Synoptics. Of the remaining examples 14 are also genitive absolutes in Mark and regularly the same ones, while 7 have a corresponding construction in Luke, but often the verb and noun used differ from those in Matthew. In the remaining cases Mark has a main verb where Matthew has a genitive absolute, this accounting for a small number of examples.

Once again the fairly even distribution over the material, narrative and parable alike, is of interest in view of the claims that have been made for the sayings as more Semitic than the narrative. We note that Matthew, like Mark, uses the phrase ὀψίας γενομένης, which Luke

avoids as vulgar Greek. From the viewpoint of Semitic influence we note the use of ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος which M. Johannessohn treats in an excursus at the end of his articles on καὶ ἰδοὺ to which I have already referred. This phrase is to be found in the Septuagint of Genesis 29.9, III Kings 1.22, Esther 6.14, Job 1 vv. 16, 17 and 18 rendering Hebrew:

עוֹדֶנּוּ מְדַבֵּר

In line with this usage we find the phrase in Matthew 12.46, 17.5 and 26.47 followed by ἰδοὺ ; while the other gospel writers also have this genitive absolute, only Matthew uses it with ἰδοὺ . Thus we appear to have a case of Septuagintalism here. We note that a similar phrase is found in the Aramaic of Daniel 4.28:

עוֹד מִלְּתָא בְּפֻמָּהּ מַלְכָּא

which shows it to be possible in Aramaic, though it is not followed there by אִיל or אִלֵּין.

It is interesting in this connection that the ten instances of ἰδοὺ in narrative, as distinct from καὶ ἰδοὺ , are all preceded by a genitive absolute, 6 of these with present participle and 4 with the aorist. In Matthew as a whole, however, the aorist participle preponderates over the present by about 32 to 20.

(3) Subordinate clauses:- The various kinds of subordinate clause employed by Matthew, together with their introductory conjunctions, merit being reviewed in the light of Aramaic and contemporary Greek usage.

(a) Conditional clauses:- Various methods of expressing a condition have been examined by Beyer op.cit., among them clauses with εἰ and ἐάν ,

conditional or indefinite relatives and conditional participles; there is no need to repeat the examination here. That Matthew reflects Semitic usage most closely has been well demonstrated, but that in any of these examples he is un-Greek is quite impossible to demonstrate. (See further my discussion of word-order in conditional clauses in Chapter 8.)

(b) Temporal clauses:- (i) ἕως - Just as Matthew uses ἕως as a preposition with the greatest frequency, so he uses it as a conjunction for 'until' with the indicative of definite time and subjunctive of future and indefinite time more than the other Synoptists. With 20 or 21 examples he outnumbers Mark, with 5, and Luke, with 15. Sometimes ἕως alone is used, at other times ἕως οὗ, with variants in the MSS adding and omitting the relative pronoun. The papyri display similar variation between simple ἕως and ἕως οὗ (Mayser II. 3 pp. 77ff) and thus we cannot attribute the latter form with certainty to the influence of Aramaic עד די. The presence or absence of ἄν with ἕως in Matthew for indefinite time is likewise the subject of considerable manuscript variation. Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 119ff shows how in 1st century writers there is a similar degree of variation under the influence of Ionic on the κοινή.

(ii) In the sense of 'before' πρίν ἤ + infinitive is used in 1.18 and simple πρίν in 26.34 and 26.75. In 6.8 πρὸ τοῦ + infinitive is used for 'before' (cf. Mayser II. 1 pp. 152-3).

(iii) ὅτε : In the sense of 'when' ὅτε occurs 13 or 14 times in all, several of these in passages peculiar to Matthew. In particular it

follows καὶ ἐγένετο in 7.28, 11.1, 13.53, 19.1 and 26.1.

The total absence of temporal ὡς from Matthew is interesting in view of its greater frequency in the Septuagint, particularly with καὶ ἐγένετο (Beyer op.cit. pp. 29ff). Nor does Matthew use ἡνίκα, another favoured Septuagintal conjunction. On the other hand, Luke uses ὡς 19 times in his gospel and 29 times in Acts in this temporal sense. That Luke thus reflects Aramaic כְּ , as argued by Black op.cit. pp. 89-90, is uncertain in view of the practice of the Septuagint, which appears to have influenced Luke so deeply. On the other hand, the 16 examples of temporal ὡς in John can less readily be attributed to Septuagintalism, except in so far as John draws heavily on the Septuagint for his vocabulary.

(iv) ὅταν :- This conjunction, used in classical times with the subjunctive to convey an indefinite and future temporal significance, 'whenever', is found 19 times in Matthew. Moulton Proleg. p. 168 cites some examples from Mark of its incorrect usage with the indicative in line with its later usurpation of the place of ὅτε in Modern Greek. Matthew appears from the printed texts to be free of this uncultured usage, but examination of textual variants makes clear that scribal correction has removed incorrect usage and created a false impression of attention to classical standards. Thus at 5.11, 6.2, 10.19, 10.23 and 15.2 we should prefer the variant reading with the indicative.

We turn next to clauses which are introduced in Aramaic by the favourite conjunction דְּ . Its wide range of usage has led to various

attempts to discern its mistranslation in Greek in the gospels. (See e.g. Burney op.cit. pp. 75ff, Black op.cit. pp. 70ff). The extent to which this occurs will depend on the relative familiarity of the authors with Greek and the comparative absence of error in this respect need only indicate a higher level of education.

(c) Purpose clauses:- (i) ἵνα :- The frequent usage of ἵνα in John, and to a lesser extent in Mark, in cases where no sense of purpose is present has led to the postulation of Aramaic influence. The figures for this conjunction are:

Matthew 41 Mark 65 Luke 46 John 147.

On the other hand, it has to be borne in mind that ἵνα was used in a broader sense in the κοινή and that in Modern Greek we use νά + subjunctive in place of an infinitive and θά , a contraction of θέλω ἵνα , + subjunctive for the future.

Comparison of Matthew and Mark in this connection tends to support the view of Marcan priority. On this hypothesis can be explained the disappearance of many of Mark's examples of ἵνα through abbreviation, change of indirect to direct speech, substitution of an infinitive, or relative clause or some other form of stylistic improvement. On the other hand it must be noted that Matthew himself uses ἵνα only 16 out of 41 times in the strict purpose sense - 1.22, 2.15, 4.14, 9.6, 12.10, 12.17, 14.15, 18.16, 19.13, 19.16, 21.4, 23.26, 26.4, 26.16, 26.56 and 27.26. Of these 6 are accounted for by the Matthaean phrase ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν . P. Nepper-Christensen 'Das Matthäusevangelium. Ein

Judenchristliches Evangelium?' pp. 136ff argues that we have here an example of the confusion of purpose and result clauses which derives from Semitic inattention to this distinction; he thus attempts to give these the sense 'and so was fulfilled'. But this is an unwarranted dogmatic attempt to remove predestinarian teaching, using language to justify doctrinal beliefs.

The non-purpose uses of ἵνα are found with verbs of speaking and commanding and with impersonals as substitutes for an infinitive construction. Thus we find it with Matthaean συμφέρει in 5.29, 5.30 and 18.6 and with other verbs in 4.3, 7.12, 8.8, 10.25, 14.36, 16.20, 18.14, 20.21, 20.31, 20.33, 26.63, 27.20, 27.32 and 28.10, some but not all of them found also in Mark or Luke.

(ii) ὅπως : As an alternative to ἵνα it is interesting to note Matthew's fondness for ὅπως . Of his 17 examples of this conjunction only 3 have a variant - 6.18 (ἵνα), 8.34 (ἵνα) and 22.15 (πῶς). By comparison Mark uses it twice, Luke 7 times and John once. Thus we are justified in speaking here of a Matthaean usage and note that only twice - 8.34 and 9.38 - is it used in a non-purpose sense as a substitute for an infinitive of indirect command. His other examples are 2.8, 2.23, 5.16, 5.45, 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.16, 6.18 (with v.l.), 8.17, 12.14, 13.35, 22.15 (v.l.), 23.35 and 26.59.

The striking fact is that ὅπως was on the wane in Hellenistic times. Thus W. Schmid 'Atticismus' 3.87 and Jannaris op.cit. pp. 416-7 show us that Aristotle uses ἵνα almost exclusively with only a few

examples of ὅπως , in Polybius Books 1-5 ἵνα occurs 62 times and ὅπως not at all and only in the Atticists do we find its resurgence. Further, in the Septuagint ὅπως is less frequent than ἵνα and confined to a few places in Pentateuch, Psalms, Ezra and Daniel, while only in Jeremiah among the prophetic books has it any frequency. Matthew's fondness for this conjunction must thus be set down to a certain degree of literary pretension.

(d) Result clauses:- For expressing result classical Greek employed ὥστε followed by the indicative to denote the actual result or by the infinitive to denote the intended one. In later Greek ὥστε was on the wane and was eventually replaced by ἵνα . In Matthew we find it with the indicative in the sense of 'itaque', 'and so' in 12.12, 19.6 and 23.31, the first two of these examples following a question. This usage is found also in Mark, but not in Luke. The parallel to 23.31 in Luke 11.48 has ἄρα , which indicates a similarity in meaning between ὥστε and inferential ἄρα . (Cf. Mayser II. 1 p. 300 for a similar usage in the Ptolemaic papyri.)

With the infinitive ὥστε occurs in 8.24, 8.28, 10.1, 12.22, 13.2, 13.32, 13.54, 15.31, 15.33, 24.24, 27.1 and 27.14. Incorrect usages are those in 27.1, where we expect a purpose clause, as D makes clear with its correcting reading ἵνα , and in 27.14 where we expect an indicative after ὥστε.

(e) ὅτι clauses:- Another set of clauses rendered in Aramaic by ד are those which are rendered in Greek by ὅτι.

(i) ὅτι causal accounts for 43 examples in Matthew, 10 in Mark and 67 in Luke. The interesting feature of many of Matthew's examples is the looseness of the clause's connection with the principal clause. Thus ὅτι is virtually equivalent to γάρ in passages such as 5.3ff, 5.34ff, 6.5, 11.29, 12.41 and 12.42.

(ii) ὅτι recitativum:- C.H. Turner in JTS Vol. 28 pp. 9ff has noted the use of ὅτι to introduce direct speech as a favourite usage of Mark, found about 40 times in all in his gospel. He shows there how Matthew and Luke correct this feature of Mark's language as too colloquial. All but the last 3 examples in Mark - 14 vv. 71, 72 and 16 v.7 are removed by Matthew, 26.74, 26.75 and 28.7 being the Matthaean equivalents of these last 3 examples.

(iii) ὅτι for oratio obliqua:- In classical times a ὅτι clause was an alternative to the use of the accusative and infinitive with verbs of saying and thinking to render an indirect statement; with verbs of perception accusative and participle were used. In Hellenistic Greek, however, ὅτι was in more frequent use and was even usurping the place of the participle after verbs of perception, while the accusative and infinitive construction was becoming confined to more literary usage.

Matthew in this respect reflects a less literary style than Luke or Paul who employ the accusative and infinitive with greater frequency. Matthew's examples are scattered ones such as 16 vv. 13, 15 and 22 v. 23, all with Marcan parallels. On the other hand, ὅτι is used frequently with various verbs, such as λέγειν in the phrase λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι or

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι, ἀκούειν in the phrase in the Sermon on the Mount - ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (5.21, 5.27, 5.33, 5.38, 5.43), πιστεύειν in 9.28, νομίζειν in 5.17, 10.34 and 20.10, γινώσκειν in 21.45, 24.32, 24.33, 24.43 and 25.24, εἰσέρχεσθαι in 6.32, 9.6, 15.12, 20.25, 22.16, 25.26, 26.2, 27.18 and 28.5, συνήκειν in 16.12 and 17.13, νοεῖν in 15.17 and 16.11 and ἀναγινώσκειν in 12.5 and 19.4. We note from this its broad usage beyond classical canons.

(f) Relative clauses:- Classical Attic Greek distinguished definite and indefinite relative clauses by the use of different pronouns, ὅς and ὅστις respectively. H.J. Cadbury in JBL Vol. XLII pp. 150ff examined New Testament usage on the basis of Luke's practice and concluded that 'the indefinite relative is merely a synonymous substitute for the simpler form in many Koine writings'. He adduced three lines of evidence in favour of the view that the distinction had been lost.

(1) There is limitation in the forms used, ὅστις forms being confined to the nominative save for the stereotyped ἕως ὅτου.

(2) Some forms of the simple relative have been ousted, so that while ἥτις is frequent, ἥ is comparatively rare.

(3) Comparison of usage within a single author shows that the distinction is a matter of declension rather than sense. Thus for Luke/Acts he says the declension is:

ὅς ἥτις ὅ οἵτινες αἵτινες ἅ
οὗ ἧς etc. οἷς etc.

with some exceptions to this general rule.

Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 98-118 supports this view by showing that:

(1) Ionic writers like Herodotus never made the distinction between ὅς and ὅστις a binding one in the way that Attic did.

(2) Thucydides, under Ionic influence, and Demosthenes do not draw hard and fast lines between them.

(3) Various technical prose writers like Dioscurides, Aspasios and Ptolemaeus follow the same declension as Luke/Acts, whereas Atticists like John Chrysostom and Libanius attempt to restore the Attic distinction.

Since Cadbury's study was confined to Luke, Paul and Hebrews, I examined Matthew's usage to see how it fitted into this picture. I found that as in Luke ὅστις forms are confined to the nominative save for ἕως οὗ (5.25), but that unlike Luke, Matthew uses ὅστις with some frequency, 15 or 16 times in all, some of these bearing generic or indefinite significance. ἥτις is infrequent compared with Luke, occurring only once (27.62), but this is less remarkable when it is noted that ἥ does not occur at all. ὅς occurs alongside ὅστις and its use with ἄν suggests their indistinguishability. οἵ and αἵ are never used, always being replaced by οἵτινες and αἵτινες. ὅσος occurs 16 times, but often with πᾶς forms, showing that it lacks its full Attic force, and always in nominative or accusative case. Thus we find πᾶν ὃ ἐάν in 7.12 (with ἐάν), 13.44 as v.l., 13.46, 18.25, 21.22 (with ἄν), 23.3 (with ἐὰν) and 28.20.

In view of the situation in Hellenistic Greek it is difficult to assess Aramaic influence here. We note that in Aramaic distinction can be drawn between definite and indefinite, ד or די being used

respectively. The use of πᾶς with the relative pronouns ὅς and ὅστις recalls Aramaic ד ... as found in e.g. Daniel 6.8, Ezra 7.21, 7.23, Genesis Apocryphon 22.29. Since ד , like Hebrew זְ , is a sign of the relative clause rather than relative pronoun we find some instances of anaphora with the oblique cases of αὐτός following the relative as in 5.39 with αὐτῷ , 5.41 with μετ' αὐτοῦ , 10.33 αὐτόν 10.42 D αὐτοῦ , 12.32a and b αὐτῷ and 13.12b ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. As these instances are all in sayings, the literal translation of an Aramaic source could be postulated and little guidance is afforded on the author's native speech.

We note that the indefinite relative is used alongside the articular or conditional participle with a ringing of the changes between different synoptists and even within the same writer both in the treatment of doublets and within a series of sayings, as e.g. 5.21ff - ὃς δ' ἂν ... πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος ... ὃς δ' ἂν ... ὃς δ' ἂν.

The articular participle is a non-Aramaic construction with Greek and Hebrew origins and this acts as a complicating factor in assessing Aramaic influence.

(r) The negative in subordinate clauses:- Matthew follows the regular Greek practice of using μή as negative with the subjunctive in subordinate clauses and οὐ with the indicative. Thus we find ἐὰν μή + subjunctive, 'unless', at 5.20, 6.15, 10.13, 11.6, 12.29, 18.3, 18.16, 18.35, 21.21 and 26.42 and εἰ οὐ + indicative at 26.24 and 26.42, ἵνα μή + subjunctive at 5.29, 5.30, 7.1, 12.16, 17.27, 24.20, 26.5 and

26.41 and ὅπως μὴ at 6.18.

μὴ too is used regularly by Matthew with infinitive and participle, as e.g. ὥστε μὴ + infinitive in 8.28 as compared with ὥστε οὐκέτι + indicative in 19.6, μὴ + infinitive of indirect command in passages such as 2.12, 5.34, 5.39 and 6.1 and μὴ with articular participle at 7.26, 12.30 (twice) and 25.29. In Hellenistic times the use of μὴ had in fact become regular with all infinitives and participles irrespective of their nature.

For the negative purpose clause 'lest' Matthew employs, in addition to ἵνα μὴ and ὅπως μὴ, the conjunction μήποτε, this occurring with subjunctive at 4.6, 5.25, 13.15, 13.29, 15.32 and 27.64 and with future indicative at 7.6 with v.l.; at 25.9 it occurs with οὐ or οὐ μὴ with the possible sense rather of 'perhaps'. This non-classical use of μήποτε was common in Hellenistic times, (see Mayser II. 1 pp. 237ff for examples from the Ptolemaic papyri and Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich's Lexicon on general Hellenistic use). The influence of an underlying Aramaic נ מ ח ד cannot thus be stated with certainty. In 4.6 and 13.15 it occurs in Old Testament quotations in line with the LXX of Psalm 90 (91).11-12 and Isaiah 6.9-10 respectively. In these and other passages LXX used μήποτε as a translation of Hebrew פֶּן. In 5.25 its use corresponds to that of the parallel in Luke 12.58, in 7.6 it occurs in a saying peculiar to Matthew, in 13.29 in a parable peculiar to Matthew, in 15.32 it corresponds to the Marcan use of a conditional clause in his parallel in 8.3, while in 27.64 it is found in a story peculiar to Matthew.

The distribution of the construction over the various classes of material is thus noteworthy.

In 25.9 in a parable peculiar to Matthew the manuscripts vary over the use of μήποτε οὐ ℵ et alia or μήποτε οὐ μή BCDWΔΦ. If the former is correct and original reading, the sense will be 'perhaps' in line with another Hellenistic usage of μήποτε. If the latter reading is original, the fact that οὐ μή is a strong negative 'certainly not' will cancel out the idea of 'perhaps' in μήποτε. It could then be given the sense 'lest' with the assumption of an ellipse; this would be in line with 13.29 where we find an ellipse with μήποτε with the idea 'I do not want this done in case'.

The example in 25.9 raises the question of the significance of οὐ μή in Matthew's gospel. In classical times οὐ μή signified a strong assertion or command, but in the New Testament it is difficult to read this significance into its usage on every occasion. Moulton op.cit. pp. 187-92 discusses the situation and distribution in the New Testament and notes that it is in the gospels and in Revelation that the bulk of the examples occur. Within the synoptics most of the examples occur in sayings of Jesus or in sayings addressed to Jesus where the possibility of translation Greek can be brought forward. In the Septuagint he notes that οὐ and οὐ μή are used indiscriminately as translations of Hebrew לא. Thus it would be possible to account for the gospel examples on this basis. If any strong force is intended by the usage, it must be that of the authority of Jesus in his pronouncements.

Matthew's examples of οὐ μή are with aorist subjunctive at 5.18, 5.20, 5.26, 10.23, 10.42, 12.32 v.l., 13.14 (O.T quot), 16.28, 18.3, 21.19, 23.39, 24.2, 24.21, 24.34, 24.35, 25.9 v.l. and 26.29 and with future indicative 15.6, 16.22 and 26.35. The Marcan examples recur in Matthew, while he has others not in Mark both in Q and peculiar material.

From this examination of subordinate clauses employed by Matthew, we can see that while many fit an Aramaic origin, it is difficult to state what is un-Greek about any of them. I shall return to these clauses in Chapter 8 in my examination of word-order; this survey will provide a starting-point for that discussion.

(4) The use of the articular infinitive:- Another possible method of subordination in Hellenistic times was in the use of prepositions with the articular infinitive. The prefixing of the article to the infinitive was a product of later Attic writing and was popular in the κοινή, as Moulton shows, op.cit. pp. 213ff. Its distribution in the New Testament is outlined by Moulton on p. 216 and from his figures it is clear that it is more characteristic of Luke and Paul than of Matthew, Mark and John.

(a) With prepositions:- This usage accounts for 16 of Matthew's examples, with 3 examples of διὰ τό, 3 of εἰς τό, 1 of πρὸ τοῦ, 3 of ἐν τῷ, 1 of μετὰ τό and 5 of πρὸς τό. By comparison Luke has 32 examples of ἐν τῷ + infinitive alone. In view of Luke's imitation of Septuagintal idiom the source of this frequency may well lie in the Greek Old Testament where it is used to translate the Hebrew use of the infinitive construct with prepositions in place of a subordinate clause.

Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew diverge here from Biblical Hebrew idiom in their confinement of prepositions with the infinitive to ל and their use of clauses in a manner more resembling Greek. Thus it is of interest that the most frequent of Matthew's uses of articular infinitive with preposition is πρὸς τὸ which would translate ל, while this with εἰς τὸ reckoned as variant rendering of ל accounts for half his total with all prepositions. This usage, purposive in sense, corresponds to the usage of ל in e.g. Genesis Apocryphon 2.22, 19.15, 20.16 and 21.15.

(b) Simple τὸ + infinitive:- This occurs once, as subject of the sentence, in 20.23 - τὸ δὲ καθίσαι.

(c) τοῦ + infinitive:- The use of the genitive of the articular infinitive in the sense of purpose occurs 6 times in Matthew - 2.13, 5.13, 11.1, 13.4, 21.32 and 24.45, though 21.32 is epexegetic rather than purposive in its sense. On the other hand, Luke has 23 examples in his Gospel and 21 in Acts, while Paul has 13. 13.4 and 24.45 have parallels in Luke where the same construction is used, the Marcan parallel in the first case lacking the usage. The other examples are in peculiar matter and in editorial passages. Aramaic has no corresponding articular usage. Matthew must thus be credited with a degree of knowledge of Hellenistic Greek not found in Mark but less marked than in Luke in this respect.

Chapter 7

The vocabulary of Matthew's gospel: favoured and noted uses.

Apart from the syntactical constructions employed by an author, his vocabulary can provide us with a further guide to his background and culture. To some extent vocabulary depends on subject-matter, and all the words peculiar to a particular writing cannot in themselves give us equal guidance about the author. On the other hand, where a number of synonyms are found in a language and the author makes a deliberate choice in favour of one of them, and in particular where he shows a preference for certain words as compared with others writing in his genre, we can speak of these as characteristic of his style. Thus Hawkins op.cit. pp. 1-51 provides lists of words and phrases characteristic of each of the Synoptic gospel writers, while Morgenthaler op.cit. pp. 67ff affords statistical tables of all words in the New Testament with their number of occurrences in each author as indicative of the favourite vocabulary of each writer.

On p. 164 Morgenthaler indicates the total number of different words used by each writer. For the gospel writers his figures are:

Matthew 1691 Mark 1345 Luke 2055 John 1011.

This table gives a clear indication of the poverty of John's vocabulary and the richness of that of Luke. Matthew's vocabulary is seen to be wider than Mark's, but by comparison of size the difference is not as striking as might have been expected.

On pp. 48-9 he affords a table of the percentage of the vocabulary of each writer which is to be found in the non-Apocryphal Septuagint, as an indication of the relative familiarity of the different writers with the Septuagint. The figures for the four gospels are:

Matthew 89% Mark 87% Luke 88.2% John 91.7%

These figures might suggest that John and Matthew were the two gospel writers most influenced by the Septuagint, but they can also be interpreted to mean that these authors did not possess a wide knowledge of Greek apart from what they had learnt by reading the Septuagint. In this case vocabulary cannot be separated from considerations of style and general Septuagintal imitation.

Thus Hawkins op.cit. p. 198 declares that the characteristically Lucan expressions are in very much more frequent use in the Septuagint than the Matthaean and these again are in more frequent use than the Marcan. This fact, coupled with his examination of the number of words peculiar to each Synoptist which are found in the Septuagint, suggests that Luke was most familiar with the Septuagint, Mark least familiar and Matthew in a middling position. Of Mark's 71 peculiar words, 31 or 5/12 are not found in the Septuagint, of Matthew's 112, 36 or slightly less than 1/3 are absent from LXX, while of Luke's 261 in his gospel only 73 or 2/7 are non-Septuagintal. This accords with the general impression gained by reading Luke that he is the most prone of the gospel writers to imitate the idiom of the Greek Old Testament.

Turning to a more detailed examination of some characteristic words

of Matthew's gospel, we begin with the noun οὐρανὸς , found 82 times in Matthew to 18 in Mark, 34 in Luke and 18 in John. Most significant is the frequency of its plural usage, 55 times in all to 27 of the singular (see Hawkins op.cit. p. 53). This is at variance with the usage of the Septuagint, as well as with normal Greek usage. It is clear that direct Semitic influence is at work from Hebrew שָׁמַיִם and Aramaic שְׁמַיָּא which are always plural; the matter of dispute is whether the usage derives from translation of sources or the evangelist's own hand.

(a) ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν :- This is one of the distinctive phrases in which it occurs. The 32 occurrences of this phrase are scattered over shared and peculiar matter, always in sayings material. In peculiar matter it is found in 5.10, 5.19 (twice), 5.20, 13.24, 13.44, 13.45, 13.47, 13.52, 16.19, 18.23, 19.12, 20.1, 22.2 and 25.1, a large number of these examples in introductions to parables of Jesus. In matter with parallels in Mark or Luke it occurs in 3.2, 4.17, 5.3, 8.11, 10.7, 11.11, 11.12, 13.11, 13.31, 13.33, 19.14 and 19.23, where Mark or Luke in parallel has ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ and in 7.21, 18.1, 18.3, 18.4 and 23.13 where the Marcan or Lucan parallels have no reference to the kingdom and editorial activity can be postulated. Matthew has also 4 examples of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ in the printed texts, namely 12.28, 19.24, 21.31 and 21.43; of these 19.24 has a variant with ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in Z and some minuscules and 21.31 has this variant in 𝔪𝔰 13 and the versions.

The Marcan and Lucan parallels to Matthew make it clear that οὐρανοὶ

in this phrase is merely a reverential substitute for the divine name. Dalman op.cit. pp. 91ff distinguishes the Mishnaic Hebrew use of מלכות in this sense without the article from the Aramaic usage in the definite form with נ and thus declares that the presence in Matthew of the translation equivalent with the article is a sign of Aramaic rather than Hebrew provenance. The earliest occurrence of מלכותא in this sense in Aramaic is Daniel 4.23 and this usage recurs with frequency in later Aramaic writing. The gap between Daniel's use and later Aramaic use has now been bridged by the interesting examples in Genesis Apocryphon 2.5, 2.16 and 5.4 of בני שמיא 'sons of heaven' as the equivalent of the 'sons of God' in Genesis 6 vv. 2, 4. The fact that the absolute form is used there suggests that Dalman's distinction of Hebrew and Aramaic usage may not be of completely universal application. We note too that this phrase occurs in the Hebrew scrolls, 1QS. 4.22, 11.8, 1QH 3.22.

The main question of dispute is whether Matthew has preserved for us, alone among the evangelists, the expression in Greek most literally rendering the expression originally used by Jesus or whether he has altered an original ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ from reverential and Judaising motives. Dalman op.cit. holds that the former is the case and that Mark and Luke with the Gentile audience in mind have translated Jesus' Aramaic into terms more easily comprehensible to a Greek-speaking audience and in line with the Greek Bible.

If Matthew's gospel is a translation from Aramaic, the phrasing ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν can be understood as literal translation into

Greek. If it is not a translation and was originally written for Greek speakers, it is strange that a usage liable to misinterpretation in Greek has been employed in place of the more ordinary Greek, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ . θεὸς in Greek does not bear the aura of sanctity conveyed by the divine name in Hebrew and Aramaic. Further, if Matthew used Mark's gospel as one of his sources, as is commonly held, then it is necessary to explain why he has changed Mark's perfectly ordinary Greek expression into extraordinary Greek; this requires an explanation from those who favour Marcan priority. The use of the plural too must be noted. It is interesting that in I Maccabees, which has been pronounced a translation from a Hebrew original, the frequent reverential use of οὐρανὸς for God is always found in the singular - 3.19, 3.50, 4.10, 4.24, 4.40, 4.55, 5.31, 9.46, 12.15, 16.3.

Possible explanations of this phenomenon are:

(1) Matthew knew a form of Mark containing this expression - an Ur-Marcus.

(2) Matthew found this form in one of his non-Marcan sources, Q or M, and spread the usage over the rest of his material in the interests of uniformity of style. The examples of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in his gospel will then be regarded as places where he has failed to bring sayings into line with his general practice.

(3) Matthew, being himself an Aramaic speaker, felt that Jesus would not have used the divine name and instinctively changed θεὸς to οὐρανοὶ in line with a usage natural to his native idiom. If he knew Jesus' manner of speech, then this will reflect his knowledge of the original

form. On the other hand, Jesus could have used נ ה ש and still avoided God's personal name and for this θεὸς was the normal Greek equivalent. In that case, Matthew would reflect a later stage in the growth of Jewish reverential circumlocutions in describing God and in removing the anthropomorphic ideas of God's attributes. This question depends on the extent to which we impute a reverential motive to Matthew in his editorial work. At any rate Matthew's phrase is more Semitic than that of his fellow-Synoptists.

We note that Jeremias op.cit. ET p. 97 suggests that the actual phrase 'kingdom of heaven' does not appear in Jewish literature until c. 80 A.D. and that it must hence be regarded as later and secondary. The weight of evidence and its confinement to Matthew would certainly point in this direction, though we would do well to consider that a certain degree of hesitation was felt even earlier in using נ ה ש ן , contra Jeremias, in view of the evidence I have adduced from the scrolls for מ ל כ ו ת ה ש מ י ם and from I Maccabees, where God's name does not occur and οὐρανὸς takes its place.

(b) ὁ πατὴρ (μου)(ὑμῶν) ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς :- A similar question of originality arises in connection with Matthew's use of the term 'heavenly father', whether in the form ὁ πατὴρ (μου) (ὑμῶν) ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς as found in 5.16, 5.45, 6.1, 6.9, 7.11, 7.21, 10.32, 10.33, 12.50, 16.17, 18.10, 18.14 and 18.19 or in the form ὁ πατὴρ (μου) (ὑμῶν) ὁ οὐράνιος of 5.48, 6.14, 6.26, 6.32, 15.13, 18.35 and 23.9, several of these with variants reading the former phrase. These usages

occur chiefly in peculiar matter or in sayings shared with Luke where Luke has a different turn of phrase. In 12.50, however, it corresponds to the θεὸς of Mark 3.35. In Mark the phrase occurs only in 11.25.

The preservation of Aramaic ܐܒܐ in Mark 14.36, Romans 8.15 and Galatians 4.6 suggests that this was the original form of Jesus' address to God and that ὁ πατὴρ or ὁ πατήρ μου by itself is the proper translation of Jesus' Aramaic. The addition of ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς or ὁ οὐράνιος can then be regarded as editorial, adjusting the phrase to fit the more usual rabbinical phrase used when seeking to avoid the divine name. Dalman op.cit. pp. 184-94 considers this question and favours Matthew's form as original in spite of the evidence of the other evangelists and epistles. In so doing he gives inadequate weight to the question of stylistic usage which is in favour of these plural usages of οὐρανός as editorial. If it is editorial, it is probable that Matthew knew such a phrase in Hebrew or Aramaic and imported it into his Greek. (Aramaic example - Neofiti Exodus 1.19.)

(c) A third notable Matthaean use of οὐρανοῦς, this time generally in the singular, is of 'heaven' as opposed to γῆ 'earth'. The most notable examples of this contrast, behind which may well lie an Aramaic contrast of ܫܡܝܐ and ܐܪܥܐ are 6.10, 6.19-20, 16.19, 18.18 and 28.18. The two terms are also linked in 5.18, 5.34-5, 11.25 and 24.35.

γῆ too is a favourite Matthaean word, found 42 times to Mark's 20, Luke's 26 and John's 9. Apart from its usage in contrast to οὐρανός, often in the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, we note as distinctive of Matthew

its use to denote a particular land - 2.6 γῆ Ἰούδα , 2.20 γῆν Ισραηλ 2.21 εἰς γῆν Ισραηλ 4.15 γῆ Ζαβουλων καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλειμ, 10.15 γῆ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων , 11.24 γῆ Σοδόμων 14.34 v1. εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρετ.

Of especial interest are its use in Old Testament quotations in 2.6, where its use diverges from that of both LXX and M.T., and in 4.15 where it is nearer the M.T. than LXX, suggesting in both cases the possibility of editorial activity by one familiar with Semitic usages. We compare Genesis Apocryphon 19.11, 19.13, 19.14 and 21.11 with Matthew's usage as an indication of its Aramaic roots.

Among other phrases with γῆ we note in 5.5. κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν , which appears to reflect the Septuagint rendering of Psalm 37 (36) v.11, 12.40 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς with its Semitic turn of phrase and 17.25 οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς , for which there is an Aramaic parallel ארעא מלכי in Genesis Apocryphon 20.13, 20.15-6.

Apart from these the most interesting occurrence is 5.13 τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς followed in 5.14 by τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου . C.F.D. Moule in SE Vol. II p. 95 suggests the possibility of variant sayings here and alternative renderings of an original ארעא or עלמא . That these are variants of a single saying I regard as doubtful, but that there is Semitic parallelism I would accept. In the first case ארעא may have been used and in the second case עלמא.

κόσμος : With 8 examples in Matthew to 2 in Mark and 3 in Luke,
κόσμος is favoured by Matthew, but not to the same extent as in John

with 78 examples in all. Dalman op.cit. pp. 162-79 is correct in stating that Hebrew and Aramaic have no word corresponding to Greek κόσμος with its idea of the whole ordered universe, both heaven and earth. But in gospel usage κόσμος signifies the earth and thus has a due parallel in Aramaic ארעא or עלמא. We note that in parallel to 4.8 Luke uses ἡ οἰκουμένη, in 13.38 it occurs in an editorial explanation of the parable of the wheat and tares, while in 18.7 comparison with the parallel in Luke 17.1 suggests it is editorial. In 24.21 it replaces πτίσις of the parallels, in 16.26 and 26.13 has Marcan parallels for the usage, while in 13.35 usage suggests it should be read with אתדוע in view of the use of the same phrase again in 25.34 in purely Matthaean material.

ἡ βασιλεία :- This noun too occurs most frequently in Matthew among the Synoptists, with 55 examples to 20 in Mark and 46 in Luke; in John there are only 5 examples. Apart from its usage in the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, to which we have already referred, we find that it occurs in other phrases peculiar to Matthew. Thus we find οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας in 8.12 and 13.38 reflecting a Semitic sense of υἱὸς as 'heir', a usage both Hebraic and Aramaic, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας in 4.23, 9.35 and 24.14 cf. its occurrence only as v.l. in Mark 1.14, ὁ λόγος τῆς βασιλείας in 13.19 and ἡ βασιλεία itself in 25.34. All these usages peculiar to Matthew lacking τοῦ θεοῦ or τῶν οὐρανῶν are reckoned by Dalman as due to an editor writing in Greek (op.cit. pp. 91ff, 115ff), since in Jewish literature מלכות by

itself always denotes the secular government of the time, that being the Roman government. On the other hand ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός αὐτῶν and ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός μου of 13.43 and 26.29 respectively he regards as authentic expressions of Jesus. In 13.41 and 16.28 the use of ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ of the son of man's kingdom implies a permanently established kingdom, this being again peculiar to Matthew cf. 20.21 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

This evidence of Dalman weighs against the idea of Matthew's gospel as translated from Aramaic and suggests a development of later ideas about the nature of the kingdom as compared with Mark.

βασιλεὺς too occurs most frequently in Matthew with 22 examples to Mark's 12, Luke's 10 or 11 and John's 16. A number of these examples occur in peculiar material such as the birth stories and parables. Among the examples we note the use in 5.35 of τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως as a periphrasis for God, a usage based on that of the Psalms e.g. Psalm 48 (47).3.

Apart from οὐρανοὶ we have to note some other plural usages in Matthew:

(1) ὕδατα :- This is found in 8.32, 14.28 and 14.29, these all being peculiar to Matthew. In Mark it occurs only once, in 9.22, in John once, in 3.23, and elsewhere only in Revelation, where it is found 12 times in all. We recall Hebrew and Aramaic מַיִם and מַיָּא as the possible origin of Matthew's usage and certain origin for that of Revelation, while admitting that it does also occur in Greek.

(2) ἀργύρια :- This is found in 25.27, 26.15, 27.3, 27.5, 27.6, 27.9, 28.12, 28.15 - 8 times in all, to only one singular usage - 25.18. In all other New Testament writers - Mark, Luke/Acts, Paul and I Peter, ἀργύριον is used in the singular only. In Matthew the plural usage designates both 'money' and 'silver coins'. Lagrange op.cit. c holds the latter to be more remarkable, whereas Liddell and Scott suggest the former to be unusual, as they cite examples such as Aristophanes 'Birds' 600 for the plural sense 'silver coins'.

In the Septuagint ἀργύριον is always singular for silver in general and the genitive is used with a number of shekels before it; likewise in Xenophon 'Oeconomicus' 19.16 the singular is used for the collective. The problem is that in Aramaic כסף the collective is singular and hence when Lagrange declares it to be well translated by a Greek plural, he is really on conjectural ground. On the other hand, the fact that it was used as a loan-word by the rabbis for 'silver coins' suggests knowledge of the Greek word in a Palestinian setting.

(3) ὅλοι :- Matthew prefers the plural to the singular ὅλος by 30 to 19 as against Mark's almost, if not, exclusive use of singular - 37 out of 38 with 10.1 having a variant, John's complete use of singular - 20 times and Luke's use of singular 25 times to 16 plural. In this case Matthew reflects the usage of later Greek most closely, the other writers the more classical practice and Semitic influence is not in question. In the Septuagint the singular is more common and the plural occurs only in the Apocrypha; altogether it is very infrequent in LXX as there was no

corresponding Hebrew word for it to translate.

Another interesting set of usages in Matthew can be classed in general as moral vocabulary:-

The reader of the Targums is aware of the way in which their authors drew from the Hebrew text moral lessons which they proceeded to expand in the manner of preachers, speaking of rewards in the age to come for the righteous נְצַדִּיק and punishment for the wicked נְרַשִּׁיעַ e.g. Targum Jonathan Isaiah 21.12, 24.16. It is thus of some interest that the corresponding Greek terms δίκαιος and πονηρὸς along with the noun δικαιοσύνη are favoured by Matthew above the other evangelists. The question remains whether this is their meaning in Matthew.

(1) δικαιοσύνη :- Much work has been done on the relations of δικαιοσύνη in Septuagint and New Testament with the Hebrew usage of צְדָקָה and cognate words. C.H. Dodd 'The Bible and the Greeks' Chapter 3 and David Hill 'Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings' Chapter 4 have examined this matter in detail and shown that while in Greek usage δικαιοσύνη tends towards the meaning of strict justice, under the influence of Hebrew צְדָקָה it comes to mean righteousness which includes mercy. Hill has devoted a section of his chapter (pp. 127-9) to Matthew's usage and has suggested a uniform meaning of 'righteousness of life through obedience to God's will'. Others have laid emphasis on δικαιοσύνη in the Sermon on the Mount as reflecting God's saving activity, again on the basis of Hebrew usage (see e.g. A.M. Hunter 'Design for Life' pp. 37-8, 40-1).

The question in 5.6 revolves on whether we believe Luke 6.21 more original and Matthew as adding the moral emphasis to the saying, as usage suggests, or whether we hold Matthew to reflect the more Messianic language. In 5.10 too we may have a persecution for the cause of right beatitude created from 5.11 as the Lucan parallel suggests. In 21.32 ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης could mean 'teaching righteous living', in 3.15 πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην could mean 'to establish in full righteous living'. The moral meaning fits 5.20 well, while in 6.33 we can speak of 'the kingdom and the moral demands its presence makes'. In all these cases I question whether in fact the influence on δικαιοσύνη is through the Septuagint and Hebrew or whether it may not rather be from Aramaic.

Only 6.1 does not fit very well into this general meaning and even here we have a possible Aramaic parallel usage in Daniel 4.25, where 'almsgiving' may be its meaning, as it may also be for Matthew. On the other hand, the more general meaning 'religious observance' is perhaps more likely for Matthew in view of the use of ἐλεημοσύνη in 6.2 and the role of verse 1 as introductory to the section up to v. 18.

The fact that δικαιοσύνη occurs 7 times in Matthew, not at all in Mark, only once in Luke and twice in John and that it is found not only in peculiar matter (3.15, 5.20, 6.1) but also in matter shared with Luke or with contacts with the same traditions though absent from Luke (5.6, 5.10, 6.33, 21.32) suggests usage derived from the editor and not purely from sources. If this usage is indeed derived from Aramaic and

bears the moral significance on most occasions, as I have suggested, then we are dealing with direct Aramaic influence from the writer's native speech. While Paul is the writer who uses δικαιοσύνη with the greatest frequency in the New Testament, we would do well not to interpret Matthew's usage on the basis of Paul's, but to look at each author separately in his own right.

(2) δίκαιος :- This occurs 18 or 19 times in Matthew, only twice in Mark, 11 times in Luke and 3 times in John. There are a number of interesting usages of this adjective as a substantive. Thus its linkage with προφήτης in 10.41, 13.17 and 23.29 suggests a use as a quasi-technical term. Hill makes this suggestion op.cit. and develops it in an article in New Testament Studies Vol. 11 pp. 296-302. He begins with 13.17 and 23.29 which refer to people of the past and argues that the reference is to teachers and martyrs who witnessed for their faith. He then declares that 10.41 may well refer to their heirs in the early Christian church, the teachers of the community. He assembles evidence from Daniel, Enoch and Qumran for a technical usage of צדיק and suggests from this a similar usage in the community which Matthew addressed for those who witness, instruct and teach. The suggestion is interesting, though it must remain conjectural until some further light from early Christian work is uncovered.

On the other hand, in 13.43, 13.49, 25.37 and 25.46 the sense of οἱ δίκαιοι is rather that of the Targums. The former two usages occur in material which bears the stamp of the editor's hand throughout,

the latter two are in a parable which may owe some of its phrasing to the editor even though it has the hallmarks of genuine teaching of Jesus. 13.43 has been held to echo Daniel 12.3, but if so, it is not very close to either of the Greek versions or the Hebrew. It is better rather to seek its origin in Aramaic speech such as we find in the Targums.

As simple adjective δίκαιος is found in the sense of 'innocent' in 23.35 (twice), 27.4 as v.l., 27.19 possibly and 27.24 as v.l. (see Hill op.cit. and G.D. Kilpatrick in JTS Vol. 43 pp. 34ff). In 1.19 and 23.28, on the other hand, the sense is rather that of 'upright', 'a man of integrity'. It is clear that no one significance will adequately fit all Matthew's examples and that account must be taken of context.

(3) πονηρὸς :- This occurs 26 times in Matthew to 2 in Mark, 13 in Luke and 3 in John. Only in 13.49 do we find a sense parallel to the Targumic use of נ'ע'ש. On the other hand, Matthew's most distinctive usage is of ὁ πονηρὸς as a term for the devil - 5.37, 5.39, 6.13, 13.19, 13.38; in parallel to 13.19 Mark has ὁ σατανᾶς and Luke ὁ διάβολος. Neither Greek nor Aramaic writings provide us with a parallel usage here, but it is understandable in terms of Matthew's emphasis on the distinction of righteous and wicked with God leading the righteous and the devil the wicked; thus the devil becomes the epitome of evil, not just Satan the tempter.

(4) μισθὸς :- Good and bad each receive their due reward in the Targums. Thus we read of the נ ג ל נ of the righteous in e.g. Targum

Jonathan Isaiah 24.16, Targum Neofiti Genesis 4.8, 15.1. Similarly Matthew uses μισθὸς of a reward from God in 5.12 (as in Luke), 5.46 (absent from Luke's parallel), 6.1, 6.2, 6.5, 6.16 and 10.41 (twice), all in peculiar matter, and 10.42 as in Mark. Only in 20.8 does it signify 'pay' in the sense of hard cash. To Matthew's 10 examples of μισθὸς Mark has only 1 and Luke only 3. Since μισθὸς can bear the figurative as well as the literal sense in Greek, we cannot say that the usage of Matthew is un-Greek, though it is clear that it is in Aramaic writing that we find the closest parallels to his expressions.

(5) ὁ κάμινος τοῦ πυρὸς :- This reward threatened for the wicked is found in 13.42 and 13.50 in passages bearing the mark of the editor and is Aramaic, and not Greek, in origin. Only in Revelation 1.15 and 9.2 is κάμινος used outside Matthew. In its Matthaean form the phrase reflects the Greek translation of Daniel 3.6ff of the 'burning fiery furnace', the אתון נורא. The question is thus whether Matthew took the phrase from Daniel in the Greek version or whether he knew the phrase in its original Aramaic form. It is interesting in this connection to note the phrase אתון נורא in Neofiti Genesis 11.31 as an interpretation of Ur cf. 15.7, 16.5 in the same targum where it is used as a term of future punishment, showing its continued use in Aramaic by people familiar with the original.

(6) The punishment of the wicked takes place in Jewish thought in the 'age to come'. Targum Neofiti Genesis 4.7, 4.8, 15.1, 38.25 and 39.10

illustrates well the later Jewish distinction of עולם הזה and עולם הבא . Matthew 12.32 reflects this same distinction in the phrase οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι and comparison with the parallels to this saying in Mark 3.29 and Luke 12.10 indicates that its presence there is due to the editor. Mark 10.30 reflects the same idea in ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ .. καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ In view of difference in wording and context Matthew's dependence on Mark for the phrasing is unlikely.

(7) ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος :- This distinctive phrase of Matthew is employed to denote the end of the present age 5 times in all - 13.39, 13.40, 13.49, 24.3 and 28.20, all in contexts where editorial activity can be postulated. The phrase does not derive from the Septuagint, the closest parallel there being ἕως συντελείας τῶν καιρῶν in Daniel 12.13. Hebrews 9.26 is the sole other place in the New Testament to use a phrase like Matthew's, although αἰών is there used in the plural - ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων. In Matthew and Hebrews συντέλεια bears the Hellenistic Greek sense of 'end', found in Polybius, papyri and LXX, as compared with its classical sense of 'joint contribution'.

Underlying Matthew's phrase there may be an Aramaic phrase such as סוף עלמא, Targum Jonathan II Samuel 21.1 in midrash. Dalman op. cit. pp. 147-56 examines the question of whether Jesus used this phrase and leaves it open to dispute.

(8) ἡ παρουσία :- Against the translation nature of the phrase ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος can be urged its linkage in 24.3 with Hellenistic Greek παρουσία . This latter word occurs also in 24.27, 24.37 and 24.39, but in none of the other gospels. In Paul it is found 14 times, in James twice, in II Peter 3 times and in the Johannine epistles once. Comparison of Matthew's examples with their Marcan parallels suggests editorial work on the part of Matthew and in view of the impossibility of finding an equivalent term in Aramaic and the abundant use of the term in the Greek papyri to denote the coming of a king or great personage we must presume the confinement of the term to a Greek-speaking environment. We note that while Paul uses the word freely of the arrival of any person, including his own coming and the visits of his Christian brethren, Matthew restricts the term to Christ's second coming and an eschatological context - τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας addressed to Jesus and ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

The presence of παρουσία in Matthew can be attributed to the currency of the term in the Greek-speaking church to which the gospel was addressed and does not destroy the case for Matthew's own native tongue as Aramaic. It is, however, an argument against the gospel as a pure translation from Aramaic. Examples in Greek of παρουσία as a technical term are P.Par. 26 l.18, P.Grenf.II. 14b l.2, P.Teb. 48. 9ff and P.Teb. 116.57.

(9) ἡμέρα κρίσεως :- With Christ's second coming there occurs the day of judgment, ἡμέρα κρίσεως. This phrase, peculiar to Matthew

among the gospel writers, occurs in 10.15, 11.22, 11.24 and 12.36, while κρίσις alone appears in 5.21, 5.22, 12.18, 12.20, 12.41, 12.42, 23.23 and 23.33. Mark does not have κρίσις at all except as variant reading, Luke has it 4 times and John 11. In frequency Matthew thus stands with John over against his fellow synoptists. The full phrase with ἡμέρα is only found in LXX in Proverbs 6.34 and this suggests a possible Aramaic origin as translation of נ]טל נא as found in Neofiti Genesis 4.7 midrash.

(10) To ensure a favourable verdict on judgment day it is necessary to 'keep the commandments' - τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς (19.17). τηρεῖν occurs 6 or 7 times in Matthew, both in the sense of 'observing' commandments as 19.17, 23.3 and 28.20 and of 'keeping watch' - 27.36, 27.54 and 28.4, both being Hellenistic Greek usages. In LXX it is infrequent outside the book of Proverbs. In Aramaic the equivalent verb נ]ט is found in the sense of keeping commandments in Targum Neofiti Genesis 3.15 midrash. We compare too here the Johannine use in e.g. John 8.51, 8.52, 8.55, 14.15, 14.21, 15.10, I John 2.3, 2.4, 3.22, 3.24, 5.3.

(11) ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημα :- Keeping God's commandments is 'doing God's will', the phrase occurring in 7.21, 12.50 and 21.31, only the second of these having a Marcan parallel. That this is the mark of an obedient son is clear from its use with τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in 7.21 and 12.50 and with τοῦ πατρὸς in 21.31 of the father in the parable who is the equivalent of God, the heavenly Father.

The other two occurrences of θέλημα in Matthew are in prayer that God's will be done - γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου - 6.10, 26.42.

In accord with this emphasis we find the verb θέλειν used in Matthew 42 times to Mark's 24, Luke's 28 and John's 23. The most significant of Matthew's examples as showing the possible editorial hand are 5.40, 5.42, 11.14, 12.38, 15.28, 15.32, 17.4, 19.17, 19.21, 23.4, 26.15, 27.15, 27.21 and 27.34.

For the noun θέλημα the corresponding Aramaic is רעוא as found in e.g. Gen.Apoc. 2.23, DJD Vol. 2. 19 l.2 and Targum Jonathan Isaiah 53.6.

(12) τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον :- This is the threat for those who do not do God's will. The phrase occurs at 8.12, 22.13 and 25.30 and nowhere else in the Greek Bible. In terms of the later use of comparative for superlative this is probably to be construed as the 'outermost darkness'. The same idea appears to be conveyed by ἔξοφος τοῦ ζόφου of II Peter 2.17 and Jude 13. The origins of the phrase clearly lie in Jewish eschatology.

(13) Adjectives used in a figurative and invective manner:- (a) τυφλός:- Of 17 examples of this adjective in Matthew, 7 are metaphorical of spiritual blindness - 15.14 (twice), 23.16, 23.17, 23.19, 23.24, 23.26. In this case the influence may well be from LXX use of τυφλός for Hebrew עור as metaphorically employed in Isaiah Chapters 42 and 43. From 12 vv. 17ff we see Matthew's familiarity with that section of scripture.

(b) μωρὸς :- This adjective is found 6 or 7 times in Matthew and not in the other gospel writers. In 23.17 and 23.19 as vl. of ℵB it is found linked with τυφλὸς . Lagrange op.cit. ciii provides Aramaic נטפש of Targum and Talmud as the source of the usage, but it has to be borne in mind that it is perfectly good Greek.

(14) ὑποκριτὴς :- Matthew uses this noun 14 or 15 times to Mark's once and Luke's 3 or 4 times. In particular we note its use as a term of invective in the vocative at 15.7, 16.3 as v.l., 22.18, 23.13, 23.14 (Θ0138 28 565), 23.15, 23.23, 23.25, 23.27 and 23.29, in most cases in verses with Marcan or Lucan parallels which lack the term. We note too that in 24.51 Matthew has μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν where Luke 12.46 in parallel has μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων. This suggests that Matthew may have understood ὑποκριτὴς in the sense of 'unbeliever'.

In normal Greek usage, classical and Hellenistic, the word denotes a 'play-actor'. In the Septuagint, however, it is twice used to render Hebrew חנף 'profane' or 'wicked' - Job 34.30, 36.13, while Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion employ it also in Proverbs 11.9 and Isaiah 33.14, where LXX translates ἀσεβοὶ . In Aquila and Theodotion it is used in Job 15.34, in Aquila in Job 20.5, in Symmachus at Hosea 6.9 and in Theodotion as LXX at Job 36.13. Since these are the sole usages in the Greek versions, we cannot speak of close imitation, but it does seem that ὑποκριτὴς was regarded as an appropriate rendering for חנף. Aramaic חנפא is used in the Talmud of flatterers, men who claim to know the Bible but do not, though no early usage for this can be quoted.

Choice of verbs:- In assessing any writer's familiarity with a language his choice of verbs is of some interest, since nouns tend to be more used as loan-words without awareness of origin than verbs.

Examination of the list of words peculiar to Matthew in Hawkins op. cit. pp. 199-200 reveals a number of verbs, and among them quite a few formations in -ξω . Thus we find ἀναβιβάζω in 13.48, διστάζω in 14.31 and 28.17, διυλίζω in 23.24, σικάζω in 10.35, ἐξορκίζω in 26.63, εἰνουλίζω twice in 19.12, καταθεματίζω in 26.74, καταποντίζομαι in 14.30 and 18.6, παραβολίζω in 23.27, προβιβάζω in 14.8, ῥαπίζω in 5.39 and 26.68 and σεληνιάζομαι in 4.24 and 17.15 in the sense of suffering from epilepsy, literally 'moon-struck'. The presence of such verbs suggests a fondness of the editor for this formation, spread as they are over shared and peculiar material.

To translate some of these verbs literally back into Aramaic would be difficult, though for some an Aphel form would provide the required meaning. Similarly Dalman op.cit. pp. 104ff speaks of the difficulty of rendering Matthaean μαθητεύειν of 13.52, 27.57 and 28.19 into Aramaic, since Aramaic lacks a corresponding verb. While taking due account of such verbs and their absence from or rarity of appearance in the Septuagint as an indication of the author's familiarity with Greek, we must on the other hand note an opposite tendency to repeat a stock of favourite, simply conjugated verbs such as suggests a Semitic writer at work. Among these verbs we observe both compound and simple verbs, noting that where the compounds occur they are not superfluous uses where a simple verb would suffice.

Aramaic is well supplied with verbs of motion, אתא 'to come', אזל 'to go', סלק to 'go up' and נפק 'to go out' being of common occurrence. We note too that Matthew leads the synoptists in the use of ἔρχεσθαι , the gospel writers as a whole in the use of ἀπέρχεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν and μεταβαίνειν , (for figures see Morgenthaler) and that many of the occurrences of these verbs bear the mark of the editor's hand. This is clearly so with ἀναχωρεῖν in 4.12, 9.24, 14.13 and 15.21 and with μεταβαίνειν in 11.1, 12.9 and 15.29, as the parallels indicate.

For the sense of 'approach' we find προσέρχεσθαι used by Matthew no less than 52 times to Mark's 5, Luke's 10 and John's 1 instance, with usage scattered over both shared and peculiar material. In the shared material there are several examples where there is no corresponding verb in the parallels and editorial activity can be posited e.g. 4.3, 4.11, 8.5, 8.19, 13.10, 15.30, 18.21, 24.1, 24.3, 26.17, 26.50 and 26.73. In other cases the verb is found in substitution for another verb or in editorial expansion on a story found elsewhere, while in peculiar material its presence in the introduction to stories similarly suggests the editor's hand. In the vast majority of cases Jesus is object of the approach which others undertake; on only 3 occasions, 17.7, 26.39 and 28.18, does Jesus himself make an approach. The corresponding Aramaic verb קרב is found in Genesis Apocryphon 22.18 as an editorial addition to the Hebrew text of Genesis along with an editorial קדם representing another Matthaean characteristic, the use of τότε . Thus if we hold

that Matthew used Mark, we can regard his use of προσέρχεσθαι as very much in line with the practice of an Aramaic writer expanding on his text.

Lagrange op.cit. cviii, in drawing attention to the frequency of προσέρχεσθαι as representing Aramaic קרב, also noted that Matthaean προσφέρειν of 'bringing near' or 'offering' sacrifices represents the Aphel of this same Aramaic verb. We can take Genesis Apocryphon 21.2 as an example of this latter usage. He noted too (op.cit. cii) that Matthew's noun δῶρον represents Aramaic קרבן and that we thus have a word-play in Aramaic in 2.11, 5.23, 5.24b and 8.4. A parallel use of קרבן to that of the New Testament has been found in a grave ossuary inscription near Jerusalem (J.A. Fitzmyer JBL LXXVIII 1959 pp. 60-5), about which more will be said further on in this chapter. Of the language of the sanctuary we note too as Matthaean θυσιαστήριον representing Aramaic מזבח.

For worship Matthew favours the verb προσκυνεῖν, using it 13 times, with only Revelation's 24 examples exceeding his in number. It is spread over peculiar and shared material and Lagrange well suggests as an Aramaic equivalent סגד, as found in Daniel 3.6 et passim. We note in particular the use of πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν in 2.11 and the similar linkage of πίπτειν and προσκυνεῖν in 4.9 and 18.26 in line with Daniel's use of נפל with סגד; πίπτειν too is a word of Matthew and Revelation.

For assembly Matthew favours the verb συνάγειν, particularly in a passive, intransitive usage which recalls the use of the (h)ithpe'el of

ψ]] in Aramaic, as found frequently in Daniel and in Genesis Apocryphon 12.16. Of his 24 usages to Mark's 5, Luke's 6 and John's 7 some are in peculiar material, but others are in shared material where the verb may well be editorial. We note especially 22.34 συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ an editorial verse with the Greek expression corresponding to the Aramaic one in the above-cited passage of the Genesis Apocryphon - נ ג ש ג כ ל נ נ ג נ ת ג - 'we gathered together'.

For rising or arising Matthew favours the simple verb ἐγείρειν rather than the more complex ἀνίστανει , using it 36 times to Mark's 19, Luke's 18 and John's 13; the corresponding Aramaic verb is ק ו ם . It is to be noted that in the Septuagint ἀνίστανει is twice as common as ἐγείρειν and that ἐγείρειν is not much more frequent in the whole Septuagint than in Matthew. Matthew too alone uses the noun from this verb - ἔγερσις - 27.53.

For the sense of 'take' or 'receive' Matthew employs λαμβάνειν, using it at least 53 times to Mark's 20, Luke's 22 and John's 46 and with a degree of repetitiveness. Among the phrases in which he uses it is συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, which may be a Latinism, representing 'consilium capere'; the 5 examples of this are 12.14, 22.15, 27.1, 27.7 and 28.12.

For the giving of commands Matthew uses κελεύειν , a verb confined to Matthew and Luke/Acts. It is of some interest that this was a later loanword in Aramaic. At 27.58 it stands for the more complex Marcan δωρεῖσθαι , at 14.19 for ἐπιτάσσειν , a verb absent from Matthew.

We note too θεραπεύειν, used by Matthew 16 times to Mark's 5, Luke's 14 and John's 1. ἰᾶσθαι, the more difficult verb, is on the other hand infrequent compared with Luke. The distribution of θεραπεύειν in editorial summaries is interesting in setting a measure of emphasis on Jesus' healing ministry. Again we note ἰᾶσθαι as more frequent in the Septuagint and Matthew's divergence from its practice. ἰᾶσθαι too is more classical, θεραπεύειν in classical times meaning rather 'serve' or 'worship'.

ἐκβάλλειν is used by Matthew 28 times to Mark's 18, Luke's 20 and John's 6. It is found not only in the weakened Hellenistic senses of 'remove' and 'produce' but also in its full classical sense of 'cast out'; 12.35 and 13.52 are examples of its use in the sense of 'produce'. For the Hellenistic uses of ἐκβάλλειν as well as the use of βαστάζειν in the sense of 'remove', as in 8.17, and 'carry' as in 3.11 we note the parallels produced by Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 154ff from the medical writers.

Among other Matthaean verbs we note παραλαμβάνειν, used interchangeably with λαμβάνειν in the sense of 'take', παραδίδοναι of 'handing over' and 'betraying', ἀποδίδοναι 'to pay' or 'repay', ἀφίεναι 'to permit', 'leave' and ἀκολουθεῖν 'to follow'. All of these are normal Greek verbs, whose frequency in Matthew is to be noted against his usage of unusual verbs. The manner in which he repeats these verbs instead of seeking to vary his expressions is a really noticeable stylistic characteristic.

The 'fulfilment prophecies' which are a feature of this gospel

necessitate the frequent use of πληροῦν , a verb which can mean both 'fill' and 'fulfil', like the Hebrew verbs מלא and שלם which are rendered by πληροῦν in the Septuagint and like these same verbs as found in Aramaic. There are 16 or 17 instances of this verb in Matthew to Mark's 3, Luke's 10 and John's 15.

Scattered over peculiar and shared material we find the verb φαίνεσθαι in the sense of 'appear', 'be seen' or 'seem'. Behind this usage may lie an Aramaic נפק in the ithpael cf. Gen.Apoc. 21.8, 22.27, neither of these as in the Hebrew text of Genesis.

While suspecting the influence of Aramaic in the use of these favourite verbs, we have to admit that they are all perfectly good Greek verbs. One or two non-Greek uses of verbs have, however, to be noted.

First there is the use of κρατεῖν and λύειν in 16.19 and 18.18 of 'retaining' and 'forgiving' sins. That this is a reasonable way of interpreting these verbs is confirmed by the discovery of שבק, literally 'to open', in the sense of 'forgive' with great frequency in Codex Neofiti I. Thus we note the expansion to Genesis 4.7 with שבק (פתיא) of pardon in the world to come and תיב] of sin retained till the day of judgment cf. Gen. 4.13, 18.24, 18.26 and the passages cited in Diez Macho's article from Leviticus and Numbers. In connection with 16.19 we note too the metaphorical use of 'keys' κλεῖς with its parallel in Genesis 30.22 of Neofiti in which mention is made of מפתחא דבית עקרתא. Since we are dealing with a saying of Jesus in the two passages of Matthew, it is possible that these Aramaisms derive from

sources. Cf. John 20.23 for another version of this saying.

Further the use of στρέφεσθαι in 18.3 is difficult to understand in terms of ordinary Greek. The middle and passive of στρέφειν regularly denote in Greek 'to twist about' or 'turn round'. The Authorised Version renders στραφῆτε by 'be converted', but as Jeremias rightly points out (op.cit. p. 155), this translation receives no support from either secular Greek or Septuagint and has only the example in John 12.40 in its favour. There is much more to be said in favour of the view that we are dealing with a Semitic idiom, 'turn and become' meaning 'become again' and στρέφειν being used in the sense of the suffix 're'. This suggestion first made by P. Jollon in 1928 is referred to by Black op.cit. p. 126 and discussed by J. Dupont in 'Neotestamentica et Semitica' pp. 50-60 and by Jeremias op.cit. pp. 155-6.

Dupont rejects Jollon's view that στρέφειν renders Hebrew שוב and Aramaic תוב and declares that in the Septuagint it is rather a translation of Hebrew חלף 'to change'; he would thus give στραφῆτε in Matthew 18.3 the intransitive sense of 'change' (op.cit. p. 53) and would explain the verb as a Septuagintalism derivable from the Greek editor. It has to be noted, however, that the examples which he cites do not argue in favour of a close imitation of the Septuagint and do not present us with στρέφειν used absolutely as in Matthew but as regularly followed by some expression with εἰς of X changed to Y. The examples cited by Jeremias, on the other hand, from the Septuagint are closer in form to Matthew's, though it is the compound verbs

ἐπιστρέφειν and ἀναστρέφειν which are more regularly used in this connection than the simple στρέφειν . The view of στρέφειν as signifying 're' cannot thus be lightly dismissed.

Another point of divergence between Dupont and Jeremias lies in the fact that the former argues for Matthew 18.3 as a revision of Mark 10.15 by a Greek editor, while the latter favours the originality of Matthew's form as more Semitic; for the one the Semitic nature is secondary and Septuagintal, for the other direct and due to Aramaic. Even if v. 3 is regarded as breaking the flow between vv. 2 and 4, as Dupont argues, the saying can still be regarded as an independent one on a similar theme, drawn in by the catch-word principle; its origin need not be from another place in Mark rather than from independent tradition.

In assessing this question we note that στρέφειν is used 6 times in all by Matthew, but not by Mark who uses only ἐπιστρέφειν . In passages such as 9.22, 16.23 and 27.3 it is editorial, as it may also be in 5.39. In spite of Matthew's fondness for the verb, it is not used in any of the other passages either in the sense 'change' or 'again'. Except for 27.3 where it is used in the active transitively for 'return', 'give back', it elsewhere signifies 'turn' or 'turn round'. In view of Matthew's ambiguous position towards the Septuagint, a motive for introducing a Septuagintalism in 18.3 in revising Mark 10.15 cannot be substantiated. Literal translation of a Semitic original remains a distinct possibility. While Matthew might have been expected to use πάλιν for 'again', it is to be noticed that he uses it frequently

initially as a connective, as we saw; hence consideration of usage could support the absence of πάλιν in this particular place in the sentence. The Aramaic verb underlying would be either ךלמ or רמא or רמא, as Jeremias indicates (op.cit. p. 155) and the source a saying of Jesus with ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν substituted for ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. We note in this connection the examples of this construction cited by R. Le Déaut in Biblica Vol. 49 p. 390 from Codex Neofiti I of Genesis - 2.10, 4.16, 26.18, 27.41, 30.31, 32.3, 36.39 (in T), 44.18 and 49.1 (in M).

Among Matthew's verbs the most interesting from the stylistic viewpoint is φάσκω, regularly in the 3rd person imperfect ἔφη. At this period it was on the decline and used only by those with some measure of literary pretensions. That Mark used it at all is unlikely, as each of his examples has a variant reading with ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν or the like which is to be considered original, with ἔφη the sign of an Atticist scribe. Even Luke in his gospel has no certain example of ἔφη, as all have a variant εἶπεν. He does, however, appear to use φησίν in 7.40, while in Acts there are some certain examples of ἔφη. On the other hand, of Matthew's 18 examples of forms of φάσκω in the printed texts - 16 of ἔφη and 2 of φησίν - at least 9 examples of ἔφη are certain - 4.7, 13.28, 17.26, 21.27, 25.21, 25.23, 26.34, 27.11 and 27.65. The most characteristic usage is the asyndetic one, though it is not the only one. The use of φησίν in 13.29 and 14.8 is uncertain. It is possible that ἔφη in 26.61 is

also original, since the reading of D appears like an assimilation to Mark.

Thus we may take this usage of ἔφη as a sign of some literary pretension, linking this with his use of ὅπως and his employment of μέν . . . δέ . On the other hand, we have to take account of a number of words employed by Matthew which are faulted by the Atticists. Lagrange op.cit. cxvi-vii lists them, drawing there on E. Norden's 'Die Antike Kunstprosa' Vol. 2.

Among these we note the use of κερδαίνω 6 times with the un-Attic aorist ἐκέρδησα - 16.26, 18.15, 25.16, 25.17, 25.20 and 25.22, only 16.26 having Marcan and Lucan parallel uses. Further, διαπορεύω is used in 25.24, 25.26 and 26.31, κρατεῖν is used with the accusative as in Mark, τρώγειν is used in 24.38 and elsewhere only in John, 5 times, whereas Luke 17.27 prefers the more elegant and classical verb ἐσθίειν . ἀγγαρεύειν , a verb of Persian origin, is used twice - 5.41 and 27.32 to Mark's once, whereas Luke avoids it.

Among nouns and adjectives condemned by purists but used by Matthew we note κολλυβιστής , κορδίον and ὀψία , all used as in Mark, πτῶμα of a corpse in 14.12 and 24.28, the latter having σῶμα as its Lucan parallel (17.37), ῥαφίς as in Mark rather than βελόνη and συνέδριον of 24.49, whereas Attic preferred ἐκκλησία (Moeris p. 373).

Adverbial usages: (1) ἄρτι :- Matthew shows a fondness for this adverb that is shared by John, whereas Mark and Luke avoid it altogether.

In strict classical usage it occurs with past and present, but not future - 'am just' or 'have just', but not 'shall just'. Thus 9.18 ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν (past) and 3.15 ἄφες ἄρτι (present in significence) are correct, but not 26.53 - παράστησει μοι ἄρτι.

More significantly unclassical are the uses of ἀπ'ἄρτι - 23.39, 26.29, 26.64, whereas Luke prefers classical ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν - and ἕως ἄρτι - 11.12, both uses found also in John. These are Hellenistic and popular expressions and do not necessarily imply the influence of Aramaic]ע כ מ and]ע)]ע, though such is not to be ruled out altogether. It is to be noted at any rate that the Septuagint with its infrequent use of ἄρτι, only 13 times including the Apocrypha, and absence of ἀπ'ἄρτι and ἕως ἄρτι altogether has exercised no influence here.

Abbott op.cit. pp. 22-6 attempts to distinguish for Johannine use ἄρτι as signifying 'this moment' and νῦν 'this present time'. How far this distinction holds in general for New Testament usage is somewhat dubious.

(2) ὀφθρα :- Apart from Matthew's 7 usages of this adverb, it occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only 4 times, once in Mark, once in Luke, once in Acts and once in Revelation. Whereas in Mark, Luke and Revelation it governs adjectives, in Matthew it regularly governs verbs, except at 2.10 where it may well be governing the adjective. In 17.6, 17.23, 18.31, 19.25, 26.22 and 27.54 it appears with verbs like φοβεῖσθαι and λυπεῖσθαι and betrays the editor's hand. In the Septuagint it is

the regular rendering of Hebrew ⁊ולא, qualifying both adjectives and verbs, and the writer of 'Joseph and Asenath' likewise employs both e.g. 1.5, 1.6, 1.16 for adjectival and 8.8, 24.1, 24.12 for adverbial uses. The phrase of Matthew 2.10 ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα has a parallel in Joseph and Asenath 9.1. Outside Jewish influence σφόδρα is not very common in Greek with verbs and when it occurs means 'vehemently' rather than 'very much'. Thus Matthaean usage may derive from that of the Septuagint or from the corresponding Aramaic adverb נ ל ש. The fact that σφόδρα is employed with such comparative frequency whereas λίαν is used less frequently, 2.16, 4.8, 8.28 and 27.14 being examples of this latter, accords with Septuagintal usage with 250 of the first to 20 of the second.

(3) εὐθὺς /εὐθέως/παραχρῆμα:- The distribution of these three adverbs for 'immediately' in the gospels is an interesting matter. The first of these appears from the printed texts to be Mark's favoured adverb, though all his examples have variants with εὐθέως. The second is Matthew's favourite, while the third is Luke's in both gospel and Acts. H. Pernot thus concluded in 'Etudes sur la langue des Évangiles' (Paris 1927) that εὐθὺς was vulgar Greek, εὐθέως uncommon at the time and παραχρῆμα recherché, the sign of literary pretension. Rydbeck op.cit. pp. 167-76 has, however, taken issue against Pernot's position and has shown that εὐθέως was the customary form in Hellenistic spoken literature as shown by Polybius and the papyri, εὐθὺς was the form favoured by the Atticists and παραχρῆμα was the popular adverb

of the papyri. Thus in Polybius εὐθέως occurs 207 times, εὐθὺς 13 times and παραχρῆμα 43 times. In two different sets of papyri we find παραχρῆμα 168 times to 71 εὐθέως and 10 εὐθὺς in the first set, with 223 examples of παραχρῆμα to 57 εὐθέως and 11 εὐθὺς in the second set. In Philo and Josephus, on the other hand, εὐθὺς is more frequent than εὐθέως. As regards the Septuagint εὐθέως occurs 14 or 15 times, εὐθὺς 4 times and παραχρῆμα 20 times, rarely with Hebrew equivalents. Thus he concludes that it is παραχρῆμα, not εὐθὺς, that is vulgar Greek and that in his use of παραχρῆμα Luke stands closer to the Septuagint and to vulgar Greek.

The situation as regards Matthew is that παραχρῆμα occurs only twice - 21 vv. 19, 20, εὐθὺς occurs 7 times in the printed texts - 3.16, 13.21, 14.27, 21.2, 21.3, 26.74, all with variants in other MSS with εὐθέως except for 3.16 where only Hippolytus provides us with a variant. εὐθέως occurs 11 times - 4.20, 4.22, 8.3, 13.5, 14.22, 14.31, 20.34, 24.29, 25.16, 26.49, 27.48, only 13.5 and 14.31 having variants with εὐθὺς. It thus looks as if Matthew may not have used εὐθὺς, though he certainly used εὐθέως, εὐθὺς being the work of an Atticist editor. This would set Matthew in line with Hellenistic Greek and Polybius. Aramaic favours time phrases for the sense of 'immediately' מִיָּד and the like.

Matthew thus favours a Hellenistic form while avoiding the over-usage of Mark and employing it in the strict sense of immediacy. At the same time we recall his use of time phrases such as ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας

ἐκείνης in this sense, as earlier mentioned, in indication of Aramaic influence.

(4) ὕστερον :- This adverb signifying 'later' or 'finally' occurs 7 times in Matthew - 4.2, 21.30, 21.32, 21.37, 22.27, 25.11, 26.61. In Mark it is found only in the suspect longer ending, in Luke only as a variant once, in John once and in Hebrews once. Lagrange op.cit. cx suggests אחרית as the source of this usage; one could also suggest the dubious reading of Daniel 4.5 לאחרין. But all this is conjecture since ὕστερον is perfectly good classical and Hellenistic Greek in the sense of 'afterwards' or 'later'. In the Septuagint ὕστερον occurs with great infrequency both in Old Testament and Apocrypha, sometimes rendering אחר and sometimes no corresponding Hebrew at all. In Matthew it is scattered over material shared with Luke (4.2), material shared with Mark (21.37, 22.27, 26.61) and peculiar material (21.30, 21.32, 25.11), with other expressions found in the parallels, ἔσχατον among them.

There are one or two other Matthaean usages worthy of notice before we turn to an examination of loan-words. First there is the choice of noun for 'tomb' or 'grave'. The Septuagint, like the New Testament, uses 3 different Greek words for Hebrew קבר - μνῆμα, μνημεῖον and τάφος. Of these τάφος is most frequent altogether, but is confined to certain books; thus Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy use μνῆμα instead. μνημεῖον in the sense of 'grave' rather than 'memorial' is not good Attic, whereas μνῆμα is. τάφος in

earliest times meant 'burial' but later came to bear the significance of 'grave'. Matthew never uses μνῆμα as Mark does and Luke appears to do, but he uses μνημεῖον and more important he alone among the gospel writers uses τάφος which can thus be regarded as his particular favourite term. His 6 examples of τάφος occur in 23.27, 23.29, 27.61, 27.64, 27.66 and 28.1. In Aramaic the corresponding word is קבר as found in many of the ossuaries unearthed by archaeology. Matthew's reason for choosing τάφος is uncertain, as he uses μνημεῖον with a similar frequency - 8.28, 23.29, 27.52, 27.53, 27.60 (twice) and 28.8. Further both are distributed over peculiar and shared material and in 23.29 the use of separate words appears deliberate for the sake of variety.

A similar question arises over the combination of νόσος and μαλακία in 4.23, 9.35 and 10.1, always in the phrase θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. νόσος of illness or disease is regular in all stages of Greek, but μαλακία regularly means 'softness', 'weakness' or 'weakliness' in classical and Hellenistic usage rather than 'sickness'. It is clear that Matthew has been influenced here by the Septuagint where μαλακία is used to render Hebrew חלי and is found in the form with πᾶς in Deuteronomy 7.15 and 28.61; further in II Chronicles 21.15 νόσος and μαλακία occur together.

The phrase τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος of 16.16, 26.63, found only in Matthew among the gospel writers, also reflects its Septuagintal use in Deuteronomy 5.26, IV Kings 19.4 and 19.16 for Hebrew אלהים חיים.

Use of loan-words (1) Latinisms:- The presence of Latinisms in the gospels is no proof of a wide knowledge of Latin in view of the widespread use of Latin terms connected with government and commerce throughout the Roman empire. Writers of some measure of literary pretension preferred to remove the Latinisms and use pure Greek terms, hence Luke and the correcting scribes of Mark and Matthew tend to replace the Latinisms that are to be regarded as original. Mark's use of Latinisms cannot prove the Roman origin of his gospel, as C.H. Turner and others have held, and may well rather reflect the popular nature of his language, though it could indicate contacts with the Roman authorities in any part of the Roman sphere of influence, including Palestine. Thus the Latinisms of Matthew too are of some interest if we value the tradition that connects Matthew the tax-collector with this gospel and consider that a man of his position would be acquainted with certain Latin terms in his work.

Matthew's position as regards Latinisms is that he lacks some of those found in Mark, but has some of his own. Thus for Mark's κεντυρίων 3 times - 15.39, 15.44, 15.45 Matthew has ἑκατόνταρχος or ἑκατοντάρχης once in 27.54 and also in 8.5, 8.8 and 8.13 as in Luke's version of the story of the centurion's son or servant. Pilate is referred to by Matthew as ὁ ἡγεμών and not as procurator, a Latinism not in fact found in the New Testament. It is of interest that Matthew uses ἡγεμών 11 times in all to Mark's one, Luke's 2, Acts 7 and I Peter's one. He uses it in the account of the trial in passages where Mark has the proper name ὁ Πιλᾶτος or no subject at all; thus we

find it in 27.2, 27.11, 27.14, 27.15, 27.22, 27.23 and 27.27, as well as in peculiar material at 28.14. Elsewhere, in the plural it occurs in 2.16 and 10.18, the former being of interest in that it is in an Old Testament quotation and reflects the reading of neither Septuagint nor Massoretic text. It is of interest that ἡγέμαν is a frequent loan-word in Targum and Talmud as suggesting Matthew's acquaintence with the word in a Palestinian setting. He seems too to emphasise the governor's position rather than his name.

Matthew lacks too Mark's term for Herod's executioner, σπεκουλάτωρ - 6.27, but has no equivalent Greek term in his version. On the other hand, he does use κάϊσαρ of the emperor in 22.17, 22.21 (twice) and in this is in line with all the other gospel writers. Likewise he accepts πραιτώριον for Pilate's residence in 27.27 as do Mark 15.16, John in 18 vv. 28, 33 and 19.9, Acts in 23.35 and Paul in Philippians 1.13.

λεγιών in a metaphorical sense occurs in his special material in 26.53, though Mark's two instances and Luke's one in the story of the demoniac are missing. Clearly Matthew regarded it as more appropriate to speak of legions of angels than of evil spirits, reflecting the contrast between the power of God and the civil authorities.

Another Latinism concerned with authority, κουστωδία for 'guard', is peculiar to Matthew and his special material - 27.65, 27.66 and 28.11 - and is another later loan-word in Jewish literature. Rylands Papyrus 189.2 is of some interest here in its use of this (128 B.C.) in reference to a campaign in Judaea.

The other Latinisms of Matthew are related to measures or money. Though ξεστης of Mark 7.4, which is generally reckoned to be a corruption of Latin sextarius of a liquid measure, is missing in Matthew, ασσαριον a clearer loan word is found in Matthew 10.29, as in Luke 12.6, but not in Mark. μοδιος is used in Matthew 5.15, as in Marcan and Lucan parallels. κηνσος is used 3 times - 17.25, 22.17 and 22.19 to Mark's once - 12.14. κοδραντης , found in Mark in the story of the widow's mite that is missing from Matthew, occurs in Matthew instead in 5.26 whereas Luke uses λεπτον , unless D is correct and not an assimilation to Matthew.

μιλιον appears in 5.41 in a verse not paralleled elsewhere in the gospels and this is the sole usage of this particular loan-word in the New Testament, one which is found also in later Jewish writings.

Matthew's favourite loan-word is σηνδριον , used 6 times to Luke and Mark's 3 each and John's 2 - 18.28, 20.2, 20.9, 20.10, 20.13 and 22.19. Here of course subject-matter has to be taken into account.

From Latin too come φραγελλοῦν in Matt. 27.26 as in Mark 15.15, συμβουλιον λαμβανειν in the sense of 'consilium capere', as already mentioned, and δικη in the sense of Latin 'causa', 'case' or 'relationship', in 19.10 in peculiar material added on to shared matter. Cf. its use in P. Ryl. 63.2.

It is surely of some significance that the terms of Latin origin in Matthew are chiefly those which a tax-collector would be in the habit of employing, and if it is contended that many others too knew these terms,

at least a Palestinian setting is very possible for this particular series of loan-words.

(2) Semitic terms:- Turning to the use of Aramaic and Hebrew words, we note that Matthew does not, like Mark, preserve certain of the Aramaic expressions used by Jesus. Thus ταλιθα κουμ and its interpretation in Greek - Mark 5.41 - is not found in Matthew's shorter version of the story - 9.23ff. The curious βοανηργες of Mark 3.17 does not recur in Matthew nor is εφφαθα of Mark 7.34 found, as the story of the deaf and dumb man which occasions it does not occur in his gospel. Likewise αββα of Mark 14.36 is replaced in Matthew 26.39 by πατερ μου.

κορβαν of Mark 7.11 does not recur in Matthew's parallel in 15.5, where the translation δῶρον occurs alone, δῶρον being a favourite Matthaean word as we saw earlier in this chapter. On the other hand κορβαν is found in 27.6, given a Greek accusative ending in most MSS but left indeclinable in ℵ* , and used of the place for gifts and offerings, the 'treasury'.

This word is one of those which has been illuminated by recent discoveries and the discussion in Black op.cit. p. 139 is now outdated. J.A. Fitzmyer in JBL LXXVIII pp. 60-5 has discussed its occurrence in a 1st century A.D. ossuary inscription from Jerusalem and has taken issue with Milik's translation of it in RB LXV p. 409, in which it is rendered 'accursed' as the equivalent of the later קרבן. In fact its meaning in that inscription is 'offering', a meaning that fits better with the syntax of the inscription and which is confirmed by the discussion

in Josephus 'Antiquities' IV sects. 72-3 and 'Contra Apionem' I sects. 166-7. A further parallel to the use of קרבן in the sense of 'offering' occurs in the Aramaic material from Qumran in 2Q 24. 4. 2 (DJD Vol. 3) in the description of the New Jerusalem, where the phrase: לקרבן רעוא 'for a pleasing offering' occours. It is the sense of 'offering' too which it bears in Codex Neofiti I e.g. Genesis 4.4, 4.5, 4.8. Thus 'offering' must be regarded as its regular 1st century A.D. sense.

Μαμωνᾶς is used in Matthew 6.24 as in its parallel in Luke 16.13 and earlier in Luke in 16 vv. 9, 11. M. Black op.cit. pp. 139-40 speaks of its occurrence in the Targums and Babylonian Talmud in the sense of 'profit' or 'money'. R. le Déaut in Biblica Vol. 49 p. 391 supports this with a citation from Neofiti of Genesis 34.23, while preferring the more general sense of 'wealth'. J.A. Fitzmyer in CBQ XXX p. 424 mentions its occurrence in Qumran Hebrew, 1QS §6.2, 1Q 27.1 ii 5 and CD 14.20, and declares that the word may be later Hebrew rather than Aramaic.

The form ραββουνι of Mark 10.51 does not occur in Matthew's parallels, where the form Κύριε is preferred. Black op.cit. pp. 23ff, p. 46 has made much of the vocalisation of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum as according with New Testament usage in this matter. In view of the nature of pointing in Aramaic and Hebrew as scribal addition to provide the vowel sounds lacking in the consonantal text we must be wary of such arguments.

In place of ραββουνι we find simple ραββι used 4 times to

Mark's 3 and John's 8. Two of these are in his peculiar material in 23.7-8 in which the Pharisees like to be styled master but the disciples should not. The other two instances are placed on the lips of Judas, the first at 26.25 being in a verse peculiar to Matthew, the second 26.49 in a verse shared with Mark in which Mark also has the noun, 14.45.

Other Semitic terms include ὡσαννα of 21.9 (twice), 21.15 and ἀμην , whose usage in Matthew is considerably more frequent than in Mark or Luke - 32 times to Mark's 12 and Luke's 6. These are to be noted as Hebrew, and though Chapman op.cit. speaks of ἀμην as one of Matthew's 'habitual Semitisms' the greater amount of discourse material and Luke's dislike of the term could account for this feature of Matthew's language. Apart from this we have the disputed ῥακα of 5.22 and the possibility that μωρε of 5.23 translates it (see the commentaries on this passage), as μαθητης of 23.10 may explain ῥαββι of 23.10 and οὐ μὴ ἑστα of 16.22 may explain ἱλεως σοι taken on the lines of the Septuagint as equivalent to Hebrew חלילה (see C.F.D. Moule in SE Vol. II (1964) pp. 94ff, also Blass-Debrunner-Funk p. 127). We have also the cry of Jesus from the cross in 27.46 ηλει ηλει λεμα σαβαχθανει, if that is indeed the form in which it occurs, this as in Mark 15.34.

When all this evidence is taken together it may not seem to indicate much interest in or knowledge of Aramaic on the part of the editor. Mark, it can be contended, being an Aramaic speaker, retains the Aramaic words of Jesus more frequently while providing a translation for Greek-

speaking readers. Matthew, on the other hand, being purely a Greek speaker, would use only a few Aramaisms which were found in his sources together with some Hebraisms and in a way no different from that in which he and his fellows used Latinisms. Against this I would contend that it is the Greek readers in whom the author is interested and for them the Greek equivalent is sufficient. Aramaic and Hebrew terms they may well have regarded as uncultured, especially if they were living in close proximity to Semitic speakers.

All the cases mentioned by C.F.D. Moule in his article are doubtful. ἵλεώς σοι is perfectly good Hellenistic Greek for 'God forbid'. διδάσκαλος is a more natural translation of ῥαββι than ἀθανατης and does in fact occur immediately following it. There is no certain case of Matthew's use of both Aramaic and an explanatory Greek translation except in 27.46, though ample evidence of repetition in Matthew. Literal translation of Aramaic does occur, as we saw in the case of οὐρανοὶ and as is also the case with ὀφειλήματα in 6.12 with 'debt' = 'sin' in line with Aramaic חוֹבָה (see Black op.cit. p. 140, also R. le Déaut op.cit. p. 391 with examples from Neofiti Leviticus 4.3 and 11Q Tg. Job at Job 42.10; I note too Neofiti Exodus 10.17, 20.13-17, 32.21, 32.30).

A single principle of writing Greek for Greek readers underlies the gospel writing as a whole. It is still in the way in which the author handles the Greek language rather than in an exhibition of Aramaic knowledge that we will best judge the question, unless the work is to be

regarded as a translation, in which case only words affording difficulty of translation such as κόρβαν in the usage of 27.6 or μαμμωνᾶς of 6.24 would be left untranslated.

Chapter 8

An examiration of Matthew's word-order.

In a circular letter which I received from Louvain in French-speaking Belgium commending a new journal I found the following sentences which betrayed the 'translation English' of the writer:

"This new publication will have three characteristics really peculiar, at least by their union in a such challenge ... More of the topics studied in the 'Revue Théologique de Louvain' will be very actual."

In this passage two types of error indicate the hand of a French-speaking writer striving to write English. First there is error in the use of words, in idiom - the use of 'actual' in the sense of French 'actuel', 'of the present day', 'up to date' and 'peculiar' where 'distinctive' would be more idiomatic, this probably reflecting 'particulier'. The second type of error is that of word-order - the placing of 'such' between indefinite article and noun as with French 'tel' instead of before the indefinite article and of 'really peculiar' after the noun instead of before.

The first type of error, that of idiom, has been, as we saw, a popular subject of inquiry by Aramaic scholars as proof of the 'translation Greek' of the gospels and many mistranslations, of varying degrees of probability, have been adduced in support of various theories. On the other hand, the study of word-order as a means of discerning translation Greek has been much less assiduously carried out. Thus Black op.cit.

devotes less than two pages to this subject of word-order (pp. 50-1) as against about 50 pages to mistranslation of idiom. In his two-page discussion of word-order he emphasises the difficulty of determining what is non-Greek order, but concludes that the extent of initial placing of the verb is such 'that no native Greek writer, uninfluenced by Semitic sources or a Semitic language, would have written it'. (p. 51).

In his conclusions on pp. 271ff he declares that the Semitisms of the Gospels occur chiefly in the sayings of Jesus. From this we should expect the initial placing of the verb to be most prominent there, whereas examination of its distribution does not bear this out. Further the placing of the verb in the sentence is only one of several aspects of word-order which ought to receive consideration. The examples which I quoted of mistranslation of English word-order concerned the position of adjective and noun and this too is the kind of problem which merits examination. Thus I intend in this chapter to look at the whole question of word-order in Matthew from the Greek and Aramaic angles, trying to weigh the evidence as objectively as possible.

In an article in JBL for 1933 pp. 244-52 J.M. Rife speaks of 'The Mechanics of Translation Greek'. After outlining a number of ways of determining translation Greek on the basis of the fixities of Semitic word-order, he presents the reader with a table based on 10 examples from Greek writings of various periods, these being in main declarative clauses where subject and object are both nouns. The results of his survey are striking; with an amazing uniformity the various books of the Septuagint

show a preponderance of the Hebraic order of Verb - Subject - Object (VSO), while classical authors in the list show a degree of variation, but with no examples of VSO save for Xenophon's 'Anabasis' with three. The Modern Greek writers show the preponderance of SVO order, as does Biblical Aramaic, while to a somewhat lesser extent the gospel writers reflect this same tendency.

This survey spotlights the difficulties confronting an Aramaic approach to the gospels on the basis of word-order. Since the Biblical Aramaic order and that of Modern Greek, as reflecting the end-product of the development in the Greek language, are so similar, the task seems impossible. Examples of initial position of the verb could be attributed to imitation of the Septuagint and the whole matter considered as quite incapable of proof. It has to be noted, however, that the word-order of Biblical Aramaic is not entirely followed by the newer discoveries of Aramaic documents more contemporary with the New Testament. Thus E.Y. Kutscher in his examination of the 'Genesis Apocryphon' (Scripta Hierosolymitana Vol. 4 pp. 1-35) makes use of divergence in word-order between Biblical Aramaic and the Scroll (op.cit. pp. 33ff) to discredit the use of Biblical Aramaic as a source for the Aramaic of Palestine and as indicating its eastern origin.

Three points of difference are noted by Kutscher:

(1) Subject generally precedes verb in the verbal clause in Biblical Aramaic, but in the 'Genesis Apocryphon' subject generally follows verb in line with Semitic order, the proportion being 3:1 in favour of initial verb.

(2) While the object of the finite verb stands either before or after the verb in Biblical Aramaic, the accusative object generally follows the verb in the scroll, the proportion being 7:1 in favour of the Semitic type. For the dative object the picture is slightly different, with the proportion being only 3:1 in favour of the postposition of the object.

(3) While in Biblical Aramaic the object of the infinitive mostly precedes it, in the scroll the accusative object always follows the infinitive, the sole exception being in 19.19; the same applies to the dative object.

While Kutscher has presented a strong case for the tendency towards the more usual Hebrew order in Aramaic from Palestine almost contemporary with the gospels, he has not taken full account of what struck me most on reading the 'Genesis Apocryphon', namely the internal divergence in word-order. Thus I observed that column 2 has a less Hebraic order than the other columns, with subject preceding verb in principal clauses, whereas in the later columns verb generally precedes subject. Column 2 is pure midrash on the biblical account, columns 19-21 are a blend of targum and midrash, but the same order is found in the targumic and midrashic sections there. Thus I would conclude that we should not be surprised to find divergences in word-order in different sections of our gospels and that while excessive use of the initial position of the verb may well suggest Septuagintal influence, the presence of a mixed order with a moderate use of initial position may well reflect Aramaic usage in 1st century A.D. Palestine.

It has still to be considered, however, whether there is anything unusual about the word-order in the gospels which necessitates the postulation of Semitic influence, in particular as it concerns Matthew. In this case we look to the work of Greek philologists and the more examples they gather, the more accurate we can regard their results; thus Rife's use of 10 examples is inadequate for classical Greek order where so much divergence is observable.

The latest work on Greek word order, that of K.J. Dover, concludes that the presence of too many exceptions to any rule laid down on syntactical grounds necessitates the use of criteria such as logic and style in explanation of a certain word-order in classical authors. In later Greek, however, order became more syntactical than logical, partly through colloquial practice; the Atticists sought to reassert logical rules.

Earlier philologists were not so wary about laying down rules based on syntax. Thus Ernst Kieckers, the German philologist, declares in his work 'Die Stellung des Verbs im Hauptsatze im Griechischen und in anderen indogermanischen Sprachen' (Strassburg 1911) that the middle position of the verb is the regular one in principal clauses in all periods of Greek. On the basis of 20 pages each from Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius and Theophanes 'Chronicle', 10 pages each from Xenophon's 'Anabasis' and 'Hellenica' and 5 pages each from Matthew, Mark, Luke and John he produces this table:

	Verb in Initial Position		Verb in Middle Position		Verb in Final Position	
Herodotus	47		165		71	
Thucydides	54		149		82	
Xenophon	50	(34 ANAB. +16 HELL.)	184	(95 ANAB. 89 HELL.)	93	(45 ANAB. -48 HELL.)
Polybius	22		127		29	
Matthew	37		51		20	
Mark	40		66		24	
Luke	63		55		31	
John	71		48		25	
Theophanes	50		167		77	

From this table it is clear that initial position is more marked in the gospels than in classical or Hellenistic writers and that it is Luke and John who show the greatest degree of initial placing, while Matthew and Mark are closer to Greek order. Kieckers does not, however, regard this larger ratio as due to Semitic order, but rather to the predominance of verbs of saying in the gospels. This is an argument which I shall examine later. It is to be noted in assessing Kieckers' statistics that by initial position he means that the verb comes first or immediately after a particle like καὶ or ἀλλὰ ; thus even if it follows immediately after an adverbial expression or genitive absolute it is regarded as being in middle position (op.cit. p. 6). The table concerns only principal clauses, as in subordinate clauses the verb more commonly occurs at the beginning, he says.

The other main work of importance on the subject of Greek word-order is that of Hjalmar Frisk - Studien zur griechischen Wortstellung - Goteborgs Högskolas Årrskrift XXXIX 1933 pp. 1-179. In his work he deals not only with principal clauses but also with subordinate ones, and takes a larger number of examples of the authors he is considering; all this inspires greater confidence in his results. Thus he collects 900 examples from each writer and 1225 each from Xenophon's 'Anabasis' and 'Hellenica'. For Lysias, Antiphon and the gospels he could not reach that number. Thus for Matthew he takes the whole gospel, excluding the genealogy of 1 vv. 1- 16. The table he produces for principal clauses on p. 16 is based on the relation of subject and object respectively to the predicate and is as follows:-

	SP	PS	% SP - PS	OP	PO	% OP - PO
Herodotus	667	233	74.1 - 25.9	446	454	49.5/50.5
Thucydides	688	212	76.4 - 23.6	555	345	61.7/38.3
Xenophon 'Anabasis'	887	338	72.4 - 27.6	436	464	48.4/51.6
Xenophon 'Hellenica'	981	244	80.1 - 19.9	484	416	53.8/46.2
Plato	664	236	73.8 - 26.2	633	267	70.3/29.7
Antiphon	219	49	81.7 - 18.3	96	45	68.1/31.9
Lysias	641	95	87.1 - 12.9	382	120	76.1/23.9
Demosthenes	641	259	71.2 - 28.8	607	293	67.4/32.6
Polybius	754	146	83.8 - 16.2	450	450	50/50
Plutarch	679	221	75.4 - 24.6	490	410	54.4/45.6
Philostratus	682	218	75.8 - 24.2	487	413	54.1/45.9
Matthew	541	298	64.5 - 35.5	94	329	22.2/77.8
Legal Papyri	62	24	72.1 - 27.9	28	56	33.3/66.7

With regard to the subject/predicate relations Frisk remarks (pp. 17ff) on the considerable degree of unity between Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Plutarch and Philostratus with 23.6 - 26.2 % inversion, the slightly higher amount of inversion in Xenophon's 'Anabasis' and Demosthenes and the considerably higher proportion in Matthew. On the other hand Xenophon's 'Hellenica', Antiphon, Lysias and Polybius reflect a much lower proportion of inversion. The uniformity he declares to be remarkable in view of the different literary genres of the various writers, history, philosophy and rhetoric. For Matthew he accepts Kieckers' conclusions on the frequency of verbs of saying requiring inversion.

On the object/predicate relations he holds that we can observe a development in the Greek language whereby the verb fast lost its end position to the middle one that it habitually has in Modern Greek. It is interesting that here his figures are not in accord with Kieckers; whereas Kieckers holds the middle position to be the normal one in all stages of Greek, Frisk shows that in classical times the final position was more common and the middle one a later development. Plutarch and Philostratus, being Atticists, followed classical word-order. He takes for comparison private letters from among the papyri. In Witkowski's collection from the time of the Ptolemies we find 17 OP to 38 PO i.e. 31%-69% and from Olsson's collection from the 1st century A.D. 35 OP to 69 PO (34%-66%). Thus he discounts Semitic influence.

Since it is in the subject/verb relations that we shall best be able

to gauge the presence or absence of Semitic influence, I examined this question more closely as it concerns Matthew. The first problem was how to regard the non-Semitic subordinating participles. Since they are used in the Septuagint to render Hebrew parataxis, the important point to note is their position; in the Septuagint we have participle-subject-verb for Hebrew verb-subject+verb. Hence I would regard participle-subject-verb as reflecting an initial verbal idea, whereas for an initial subject I would expect subject-participle-verb. This is not Frisk's method of working nor does he state whether he takes account of variant readings, giving preference to the verb-subject order over subject-verb as reflecting the more Semitic order. But I have made this my procedure as a means of examining the translation hypothesis for Matthew and I have sought to examine distribution by chapters to see how uniform is Matthew's usage. I have separated off the examples of the verb εἶναι 'to be' and treated these as a separate group. I was able to reach Frisk's total of 839 examples only by including ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι , though these are strictly subordinate clauses. The result of my survey was:

Chapters 1-2	17 SV to 6 VS	(excluding, like Frisk, the 39 SV in the genealogy of the first 16 verses)
Chapter 3	10 SV to 7 VS	
Chapter 4	5 SV to 13 VS	
Chapters 5-7	26 SV to 15 VS	
Chapter 8	16 SV to 18 VS	
Chapter 9	18 SV to 27 VS	
Chapter 10	10 SV to 7 VS	
Chapter 11	15 SV to 7 VS	
Chapter 12	24 SV to 7 VS	
Chapter 13	13 SV to 17 VS	

Chapter 14	12 SV to 16 VS
Chapter 15	21 SV to 14 VS
Chapter 16	8 SV to 9 VS
Chapter 17	6 SV to 20 VS
Chapter 18	4 SV to 14 VS
Chapter 19	11 SV to 10 VS
Chapter 20	10 SV to 11 VS
Chapter 21	19 SV to 16 VS
Chapter 22	10 SV to 19 VS
Chapter 23	8 SV to 4 VS
Chapter 24	19 SV to 17 VS
Chapter 25	10 SV to 22 VS
Chapter 26	32 SV to 31 VS
Chapter 27	26 SV to 26 VS
Chapter 28	9 SV to 7 VS
Total	359 SV to 360 VS
Verb εἶναι	55 SV to 49 VS
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι	13 SV to 3 VS
	427 SV to 412 VS

427 + 412 = 839. Frisk 541 + 298 = 839.

Thus in place of Frisk's figures of 64.5% to 35.5% I would suggest a proportion of roughly 50% SV to VS. This accords too with the 26 VS to 26 SV in the position of verb and subject in genitive absolutes, a figure which does <u>not</u> correspond to the aorist/present participle distinction, as Schlatter op.cit. p. 11 suggests.

What is striking about the above figures is the degree of variation between the chapters. That it is not in the sayings that VS preponderates

can be seen from the figures for the Sermon on the Mount - Chapters 5-7 - and from Chapter 10. The first two chapters are notable here for their preponderance of SV and this may be attributed to the evangelist writing as a Greek, whereas in other parts of the narrative sections he could be following Mark. This conclusion would not, however, be necessarily correct in view of what I have said of the divergence in the 'Genesis Apocryphon' between column 2 and columns 19-21. It is noticeable that where Matthew has a subject ὁ Ἰησοῦς or οἱ μαθηταὶ that is not expressed in Mark, it is sometimes after the verb and sometimes before; if this is attributed to the evangelist's addition to a Marcan narrative, then there is no uniformity of practice.

In presenting the above figures I am well aware of the misleading nature of statistics devoid of consideration of the material, the subjects and verbs in question. Certain passages strike one by their preponderance of initial position of the verbal idea; in the Temptation narrative of Chapter 4 vv. 1-11, for example, we note twelve examples of VS in NB, two other possible examples, in verses 1 and 4, where variants have VS, and only the καὶ ἰδοὺ of verse 11 reflecting a different order. Then in Chapter 7 vv. 25-7, the parable of the two builders, we have a remarkable series of VS whereby Matthew preserves the Semitic rhythms absent in Luke's version. Account has to be taken too of the differences between verbal and nominal sentences in Semitic languages. In the nominal or circumstantial clause, describing circumstances and not action, SVO is the normal order in Hebrew as well as Aramaic. Thus in e.g. 3.4 αὐτὸς

δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης εἶχεν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ we would have SVO in Semitics as well as Greek. This point has to be made to prevent the vague idea that the verb ought always to come first in a Semitic sentence or clause.

Among the subjects preceding verbs 68 are examples of ὁ δὲ in the ℵB text, this being a Greek way of providing a subject link where Semitic languages would use) and leave the subject vague. Of these 68, 5 are in doubt through omission, while 10 others have a variant ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς . Then again SV is the regular order with ἰδοὺ or καὶ ἰδοὺ of narrative, there being 27 examples of this order as against only 3 of VS i.e. 3.16, 8.32, 17.3; this accords with the Hebrew and Septuagintal order with this construction. With ἰδοὺ in the deictic sense we have 7 SV to 4 VS, including among the SV Old Testament quotations and ἰδοὺ ἐγώ . A similar situation is observable in 'Joseph and Asenath' where long stretches of καὶ with VS are broken by SV order with ἰδοὺ both deictic and narrative.

After the narrative connective τότε we have 13 examples of SV to 30 of VS in the ℵB text and 9 to 34, if variant readings are treated as VS. By comparison, with the corresponding Aramaic וְאָמַר or וַאֲמַר we have 28 examples of SV to 11 of VS in Daniel and 5 SV to 3 VS in the 'Genesis Apocryphon'. Thus the tendency to the initial verb after τότε is more pronounced in Matthew than in these Aramaic writings.

Apart from the nature of the connective and word order the nature of the verbs which are most commonly used in VS order requires to be examined.

In particular the argument of Kieckers and Frisk that the preponderance of verbs of saying in the gospel writers accounts for the high proportion of VS in the gospels has to be scrutinised to see how valid it is. The phenomenon of the initial verb of saying is most noticeable as far as Matthew is concerned in the use of asyndetic ἔφη , λέγει and λέγουσιν in the passages cited in the fifth chapter, this usage being a feature of the style of Matthew and John as we saw there. The use of a verb of saying at the beginning of a sentence is, of course, more widespread than this, but it is in these examples in the Matthaean style that we can best see it as a mark of the editor as well as of any sources he has used.

The main question to be asked of Kieckers and Frisk is how many of the examples they have in mind of inversion with verbs of saying occur at the beginning of a portion of direct speech. Many Greek writers prefer to insert the verb of saying after a few or all of the words of direct speech and in that case inversion is normal. Thus in Plato's 'Symposium' we have phrases like εἶπον ἐγώ , ἦν δ' ἐγώ , ἔφην ἐγώ in the middle or at the end of a speech, but καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον at the beginning, with subject preceding verb. A glance at Xenophon's 'Memorabilia' or 'Oeconomicus' will reveal the same phenomenon - inversion after part or whole of a piece of direct speech, initial subject before verb at the beginning. In a writing of the Hellenistic period like the Vita Aesopi in the G Recension in which a preference is shown for placing the verb of speaking at the beginning of direct speech, the order of words

is SV as e.g. ὁ δὲ Ζηνὰς φήσιν . (Chap.13), ὁ δὲ ἔμπορος εἶπεν . (Chap.15), ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος φήσιν (passim). Turning to the Modern Greek war novel Ἱερὰ ΟΔΟΣ by Giorgos Theotacas, we find in the first chapter inversion with verbs of saying always following words of direct speech e.g.

"κυρὰ νὰ", ξεφώνισε μιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς μητέρες του . . .
"Ὁ στρατὸς δὲ σεφτίσει σὲ ὥρα πολέμου", ἀπορίθηκε ὁ ἄλλος.

The continuity revealed by this phenomenon is very striking. Comparison with English reveals much the same situation. 'Said I' or 'said John' is much more in order in the middle of a speech than at the beginning. Thus inversion used at the beginning of a speech, as in Matthew and the other gospel writers, must indeed be attributed to Semitic influence.

An objection to this conclusion could be raised, however, on the basis of studying Herodotus. In his work inversion before speech does occur. Thus in Book 3.1 λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ πάϊς , 3.63 εἴρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε . 3.73 λέγει Γωβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα. 3.134 λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε and Ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος. Kieckers op.cit. p. 64 gives other examples from other books of Herodotus of verbs in initial position, while on pp. 70-3 he shows several in end position, especially in Thucydides. It would appear from this that in Ionic the above rule for Attic did not hold. It could thus be maintained that Ionic influenced the κοινὴ in this respect of word order as well as the others shown by Rydbeck's work and that the New Testament reflects this

influence. The fact that asyndetic λέγει figures in some of the examples from Herodotus could be in favour of this. On the other hand, there is little evidence known to me that this was the case, Modern Greek does not provide support for it and no κοινή evidence has been adduced to challenge effectively the argument just put forward for Semitic influence.

The other main type of verb with which inversion of subject and verb is found is the verb of motion. With the Matthaean verb προσέρχεσθαι we find inversion regularly, either in its participial form or as a main verb, except when it follows ἰδοὺ or καὶ ἰδοὺ . The same situation applies with ἀκολουθεῖν of the crowds in e.g. 4.25, 8.1, 8.23, 12.15, 19.2, with ἀπελθεῖν in 4.24 and ἐξελθεῖν in 9.26, these all bearing the stamp of the editor's hand. Then again in editorial phrases emphasising the immediacy of Jesus' cures we find inversion - 8.13, 9.22, 15.28 and 17.18. Apart from these examples it is difficult to categorise the remaining examples of inversion. It is to be noted that in no stage of Greek is there any such tendency towards inversion with verbs of motion. Only in Semitic languages does the emphasis on the next step in the narrative result in any such practice.

Subordinate clauses:- Turning from principal clauses to subordinate ones we find once again that Frisk provides us with good comparative material (op.cit. pp. 27ff). Three types of clause receive treatment - relative, temporal and conditional; in splitting them up he admits the difficulty of classification and tells us that he has treated ἀφ' οὗ , ἐξ οὗ

and μέχρι οὗ under relatives, though they are partly temporal, he has treated all clauses with ἐπεί and ὅτε as temporal, even though some are causal, and has taken εἰ of indirect question along with conditionals. He deals first with relative clauses, providing the following table:

	Subj/ Pred.	Pred/ Subj.	% SP	PS	OP	PO	% OP	PO
Herodotus	389	128	75	25	154	81	66	34
Thucydides	372	112	77	23	118	50	70	30
Xen. 'Anab.'	142	68	68	32	51	27	65	35
Xen. 'Hell.'	142	53	73	27	31	24	56	44
Plato	300	88	77	23	91	32	74	26
Antiphon	70	15	82	18	16	8	67	33
Lysias	161	17	90	10	69	13	84	16
Demosthenes	286	133	68	32	115	43	73	27
Polybius	133	96	58	42	42	66	40	60
Plutarch	173	71	71	29	74	40	65	35
Philostratus	271	103	72	28	81	50	62	38
Matthew	14	17	45	55	4	23	15	85
Mark	7	7	50	50	5	18	22	78
Luke	14	23	38	62	7	29	19	81
John	41	41	50	50	3	16	16	84
Acts	38	35	52	48	5	31	14	86
Legal Papyri	75	132	36	64	31	27	54	46

Although the material from the New Testament is small by comparison with that from the classical and Hellenistic writers, the tendency towards inversion is clear for the subject/verb relations and even clearer for the object/verb relations. Here Polybius shows that the language was developing away from the classical order to the Modern Greek one of

placing the verb immediately after the introductory conjunction. Consideration of the individual groups of relative pronouns in Matthew shows more clearly the extent of inversion with verb and subject. Frisk's figures include ὅτιοὖ , with which we find 5 examples of SV to only 3 of VS. With ὅς forms, however, the figure is of 15 VS to 5 SV, taking account of the fact that in 13.3f, 13.33 and 13.44 the relative pronoun is dependent on the participle which follows immediately with subject then verb then object, this being equivalent to VS + VO in terms of parataxis. To what extent we can show Semitic influence here is uncertain in view of the tendencies of the language.

The tendency towards inversion is even clearer with temporal clauses, as we see from this table of Frisk's (op.cit. p. 30):

	SP	PS	SP %	PS %	OP	PO	OP %	PO %
Herodotus	62	50	55	45	41	49	46	54
Thucydides	54	13	80	20	16	23	41	59
Xenophon 'Anab.'	69	37	65	35	25	21	54	46
Xenophon 'Hellen.'	53	17	76	24	22	11	67	33
Plato	58	29	67	33	23	18	56	44
Antiphon	20	5	80	20	11	4	73	27
Lysias	22	2	91	9	11	4	73	27
Demosthenes	13	7	65	35	8	2	80	20
Polybius	26	13	67	33	9	12	43	57
Plutarch	103	40	72	28	34	43	44	56
Philostratus	63	22	74	26	34	29	54	46
Matthew	4	14	22	78	4	11	27	73
Mark	3	6	33	67	4	6	40	60
Luke	3	11	21	79	4	19	17	83

John	3	11	21	79	1	9	10	90
Acts	6	15	29	71	2	7	22	78
Legal Papyri	17	7	71	29	17	3	85	15

It is clear from this table that inversion is regular for the gospel writers, but not for classical ones. Even Polybius shows here no marked tendency to inversion of subject and verb nor so strong a tendency to invert object and verb. Thus either the gospel writers display Semitic influence or they reflect more accurately the tendency towards Modern Greek.

Splitting up Matthew's examples, we find that with ὅτε we have 8 examples of VS and none of SV and 6 of VO and none of OV. Likewise in the Genesis Apocryphon VS is regular with כד - 2.12, 2.21, 5.24, 20.8, 20.11, 20.24, save in 5.26 where subject follows immediately after כד but verb is missing by a break in the manuscript. We note too that only in 12.3 does Matthew place the ὅτε clause after the principal clause; in this he follows the same practice as the Genesis Apocryphon in which only in 20.11 does כד in a temporal sense follow the principal clause.

With ἕως or ἕως οὗ we have 4 examples in Matthew of VS to 3 of SV, but with a variant reading in 5.18(b) with D and d reading γένηται πάντα. This and the example of SV in 24.34 are with πάντα, whose presence could account for the different order. In 17.9 it is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου which is the subject preceding the verb. With ἕως we have 10 examples of VO and none of OV, though in 17.9 ἐκ νεκρῶν precedes the verb. With עד or עד די in Aramaic

we find that in the Genesis Apocryphon VO is regular save in 2.5 and 2.7, though in these instances the conjunction appears to be equal to ד in the sense of 'that' and not 'until'; subjects are never expressed. In Daniel we find variation with SV in 2.9, 4.30, 7.9 and VS in 2.34, 7.11 and 7.22.

In Matthew we find that 20 out of the 21 ἕως clauses follow the principal clause, the sole exception 5.18(a) being occasioned by the linking of two such clauses to one principal clause. In the Genesis Apocryphon clauses with עד always follow the main clause.

With ὅταν Matthew has 4 examples of VS to 2 of SV, these being 12.43, 24.32 and 7 examples of VO to 3 of OV, these being 15.2 (ἄρτον), 24.32 (τὰ φύλλα) and 26.29 (αὐτὸ). There are 15 examples to 4 in favour of the precedence of the ὅταν clause to the principal clause.

With πρίν + infinitive in the sense of 'before' we have VS in 1.18 but SV in 26.34 and 26.75, these being ἀλέκτωρ φωνῆσαι.

The evidence would thus appear to be favourable to the idea of Semitic influence, while incapable of complete proof in view of Modern Greek usage.

Conditional clauses:- In the case of conditional clauses the tendency towards inversion is much less marked in the gospels, especially with the subject/verb relations, as Frisk shows op.cit. p. 31:-

	SP	PS	% SP	% PS	OP	PO	% OP	% PO
Herodotus	30	12	71	29	19	8	70	30
Thucydides	34	12	74	26	32	16	67	33
Xenophon 'Anab.'	20	6	77	23	22	8	73	27
Xenophon 'Hell.'	10	0	100	0	10	4	71	29
Plato	69	41	63	37	67	30	69	31
Antiphon	15	8	65	35	11	4	73	27
Lysias	18	6	75	25	26	7	79	21
Demosthenes	21	13	62	38	19	8	70	30
Polybius	20	17	54	46	26	20	57	43
Plutarch	27	12	69	31	22	13	63	37
Philostratus	41	14	75	25	38	20	66	34
Matthew	15	15	50	50	6	16	27	73
Mark	9	7	57	43	2	10	17	83
Luke	12	5	71	29	4	10	29	71
John	16	6	73	27	23	19	55	45
Acts	9	4	69	31	4	5	44	56
Legal Papyri	23	39	37	63	23	14	62	38

This table suggests that Luke and John have a higher proportion of SV to VS than Matthew and Mark and that all gospel writers have a much higher proportion than that of the legal papyri. In fact my examination of Matthew does not agree with Frisk's; I count 21 SV to 15 VS, a higher proportion than his figures suggest. For verb/object relations I count 22 VO to 8 OV. These split into 14 SV to 6 VS for εἰ , three of the VS being negative, one εἰ μή 24.22 and 2 εἰ οὐ - 26.24, 26.42. For ἐάν it is 9 VS to 7 SV, 2 of the VS being in negative clauses - ἐάν μή . For εἰ we have 9 VO to 4 OV and for ἐάν 13 VO to 4 OV.

With these higher figures for SV to VS it might seem that we must discount any Semitic influence. Even taking account of the fact that ΤΙΣ is subject with εἰ in 16.24 and with ἐάν in 21.3, 22.24 and 24.23 the proportion is still high. It is to be noted, however, that in Semitic languages there is a higher degree of variety possible with conditionals than with main verbal clauses. Thus even in Hebrew, in the section of laws of Exodus 21-3 we find a variety of word order in Hebrew reflected in a similar variety in the Greek in rendering the laws prefixed by כי or אם . In the Aramaic documents from Murabba'at we find that there is a noticeable variety of word-order even with the phrase 'If I (or you) go to the house of eternity before you (or me)', which could be regarded as a set formula cf. DJD Vol. 2 20.7, 20.9, 21.12, 21.14 for אם אנה ואזל בית עלמא קדם and its variations, also 18.7 for a different clause. In the Greek documents from Murabba'at too there is variation, but with a tendency to SOV, this in Greek from Palestine - DJD Vol. 2. 116 ll. 4, 5, 8 cf. 113a 7.

Thus the case for a Semitic writer at work cannot be disproved any more than it can be proved for this category of clause. With regard to the placing of clauses we note Beyer's remarks, op.cit. pp. 73ff. Protasis generally precedes apodosis in Semitic languages; Matthew's sole exceptions are 9 out of 78, a lower proportion than Mark's. With εἰ they are 18.28, 24.24, 26.24, 27.43, with ἐάν 4.9, 16.26, 18.35 and with ἐάν μή - 12.29, 26.42; this last is a special case as we have there a double conditional, a conditional clause dependent on another

conditional. We note too 15.14 where subject and object precede ἐάν , this being the exception to the usual custom of placing the conditional conjunction at the beginning of the clause, usual for both New Testament and Semitic languages. Then 24.24 reflects also the very infrequent practice in Semitic languages and the New Testament of inserting a conditional clause into the principal clause.

Among other types of subordinate clause in Matthew not treated in Frisk's survey we note various groups rendered in Aramaic by ד . Thus with purpose and result clauses we find the following situation. With ἵνα in the pure purpose sense there are 8 examples of VS and none of SV; many of these are ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν . There are 3 examples of VO to 3 of OV or 4 VO to 2 OV taking the reading of D in 19.13. With ὅνα in a non-purpose sense we find 7 VS to 3 SV and 4 VO to 1 OV. With ὅπως there are 5 examples of VS to 1 of SV and 5 VO to 3 OV, one of the VOs being in a non-purpose sense. With ὥστε + infinitive of result we have 4 SV to 4 VS and 4 VO to no example of OV. The total of these groups is 24 VS to 8 SV and 16 VO to 7 OV (or 17 to 6). Again the tendency towards inversion is notable, but as I have not taken comparative material here I simply note this again as due either to Semitic influence or to the development of the Greek language.

Finally, as regards ὅτι clauses we find that for those in a causal sense the proportion is of 13 SV to 2 VS and 11 VO to 3 OV. For clauses of indirect statement with ὅτι , excluding λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι , we have 13 SV to 1 VS and 10 VO to 5 OV. With λέγω ὑμιν ὅτι we

have 13 SV to 3 VS and 12 VO with no OV. With ΠΙΟΤΌΣ ἘΣΤΙΝ..ὍΤΙ in 8.27, difficult to classify, we have 5SVO. This provides us with a total for ὍΤΙ clauses of 40 SV to 6 VS and 34 VO to 8 OV and a reverse tendency away from inversion in the subject/verb relations.

Personal pronouns:- In this whole matter of subject-verb-object relations within the sentence, one group of objects merits separate consideration, namely the personal pronouns. In Semitic languages, Aramaic as well as Hebrew, the ordinary practice is to append the pronouns to the verbs in the form of suffixes; for special emphasis Aramaic uses ʾ with suffixes for the object and this can occur either before or after. Thus a high proportion of personal pronouns immediately following the verb may well be an indication of Semitic influence. It is to be noted in particular that in Modern Greek the regular order for the personal pronoun is immediately before the verb, except with imperatives in which case it follows. Thus we say ΤΗΝ ΕΊΔΑ 'I saw her', ΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΔΩΣΕ 'he gave it to him' Ο'ΑΓΑΠΩ 'I love you' but ΠΑΡΕΤΑ ΜΕ 'leave me alone'. An opposite tendency would then suggest influences opposed to the development of the spoken language.

The results of my survey of Matthew showed just such a reverse tendency. In tabulated form the situation is as follows:-

	Total	Preceding verb (or separated from it)		Without variant
με or ἐμέ	31	10	(4 ἐμέ, 6 με)	10
μοι or ἐμοί (obj.or ind.obj.)	30	5	(2 ἐμοί, 3 μοι)	5
σε	24	12		10
σεαυτὸν	3	1		1
σοῦ (with verbs gov. gen.)	3	3		2
σοὶ (as obj. or ind. obj.)	27	4		3
αὐτὸν , αὐτὴν	133	12	(11 + 1)	6
αὐτὸ ,				
αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, ἑαυτῆς (as obj.)	6	0		0
αὐτῷ , αὐτῇ	157	5	(4 + 1)	2
ἡμᾶς	7	0		0
ἡμῖν	12	1		1
ἐμᾶς	23	4		3
ἐμῶν (as obj.)	1	0		0
ἐμοῖν	86	7		4
αὐτοὺς , αὐτὰς , αὐτὰ , ἑαυτοὺς.	52	1		1
αὐτῶν.	5	0		0
αὐτοῖς , αὐταῖς , ἑαυτοῖς	95	4	(1 + 3)	0
Total	695	69	i.e.1/10	48

The examples preceding the verb are for ἐμὲ 10.40 (twice), 18.5 and 26.11 and for με 15.8 (O.T.quot), 19.17, 22.18, 26.23, 27.46 (O.T. quot) and 28.10. In the case of all the examples of ἐμὲ there is emphasis on the pronoun and this is the case too with με in 19.17 and 22.18.

With ἐμοὶ the examples are 25.40 and 25.45 and with μοι 11.27. 25.20 and 25.22; the two examples of ἐμοὶ and the example of μοι at 11.27 all bear distinct emphasis.

With σὲ the examples are 5.25, 5.39, 5.41, 18.33, 25.21, 25.23, 25.37, 25.38 (but D Θ place after verb), 25.39 (but Θ 124 place after verb), 25.44, 26.35 and 26.73; in the cases of 18.33, 25.37, 25.38, 25.39, 25.44 and 26.35 there is emphasis on the pronoun. With σεαυτὸν it is 8.4, with σοῦ with verbs governing a genitive 18.15, 26.62, 27.13 (with v.l.), with σοὶ 4.9, 16.18 (v.l.), 21.23 and 22.17.

For αὐτὸν , αὐτὴν , αὐτὸ we have 10.33 reflecting a separation of verb and object but CLAYΓΠΦ ℏ preserving the more Semitic and original order and we have preceding pronoun in 12.14, 12.16 (v.l. in minuscules), 14.5 (v.l. in minuscules), 21.13 (v.l. NO), 21.46, 22.15 (v.l. in minuscules), 26.16, 26.29, 26.42 (v.l.), 26.59 (v.l. AW ΓΔΠℏ 28.692.697) and 28.7. With αὐτῷ , αὐτῇ we have 4.10, 8.27 (but all MSS except ℵBWG have Semitic order), 13.28 (v.l. ℵ DLΘWΞΨ), 14.4 (non-Semitic separation but MSS other than ℳBZ have the Semitic order) and 21.33.

With ἡμῖν we have 26.63, with ὑμᾶς 3.11 (but COLΓΔΠΕℏ have v.l.), 3.11(b), 24.4 and 28.14 and with ὑμῖν 18.12, 21.3 (variant in 692), 21.24 (v.l. 33.349.517.659.1574.1675), 21.28, 22.42, 24.23 (v.l. in L) and 26.66.

With αὐτοὺς only 20.12, with αὐτοῖς separation of verb and object in 14.27, 19.15 and 22.1 but all with uncial support for non-

separation and αὐτοῖς λαλῶ in 13.13 with λαλῶ αὐτοῦ as v.l. in ℵ C Θ Ε.

The third person pronouns are the most noteworthy in their high proportion of postposition. I admit that several of the variants have only minuscule support for the postposition of the pronoun, but even without taking account of the variants the result is fairly striking. Several of the examples of prepositive pronouns can be accounted for by their placing beside interrogative τίς or a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause. Thus 2 examples of μέ come after τί, 2 of σοὶ after τίς or τί and 4 of ὑμῖν after τί, 2 with σέ follow ὅστις and 4 ποτε, 1 with σοῦ after ἐάν, 7 with αὐτοῦ, αὐτήν, αὐτό come after either ἵνα, ὅπως, ὅταν or ἐάν and 1 with ἡμῖν follows ἵνα. It is thus in the principal clauses rather than the subordinate ones that we can see Semitic influence more clearly.

It is interesting in this connection to look at the remarks of C.H. Turner in JTS Vol. 29 pp. 346ff. with regard to Mark's word-order. Turner notes what he terms an odd word-order in Mark on quite a number of occasions whereby the verb comes at the end after its object; he notes this to be particularly the case with ἄπτεσθαι, but gives many other examples with other verbs. Several of the examples which he gives concern the placing of pronoun objects before the verb. He attributes this phenomenon to the influence of Latin word-order on Mark as resident in Rome, but in fact this is highly improbable. The word-order is not so

odd for Greek as Turner believes and in fact the situation with pronouns reflects the trend to Modern Greek. In many cases the other synoptists have no parallels, in other cases we find Matthew or Luke effecting changes, as Turner believes, to more normal Greek order. The interesting point that emerges is that Mark is in this case less Semitic than Matthew and more in line with the development of the language.

A further question allied to this concerns the placing of objects to the infinitive. I investigated this matter for Matthew in view of Kutscher's remarks in his article on the divergence here between Biblical Aramaic and the Genesis Apocryphon; in the former the object mostly precedes the infinitive, in the latter, as in Hebrew, it always follows. The result of this survey was that out of 123 examples the object follows the infinitive 91 times, precedes for certain 21 times and there are 11 examples with variation between MSS. Thus the more Semitic type prevails. With personal pronouns 24 follow the infinitive immediately and 6 come before, one of these being με , one αὐτὴν , one ἑαυτὸν and 3 αὐτὸν , (see remarks of Schlatter op.cit. p. 14).

Apart from these links with Semitic usage in the relations of subject, verb and object in the sentence, a number of other questions of word-order arise in the relationships of words within phrases or units of the sentence. One such is the placing of the genitives of personal pronouns with regard to the nouns on which they are dependent. In Aramaic, as in Hebrew, suffixes attached to the noun are used to denote personal relationships and thus we expect a Semitic writer or a translator of a

Semitic writing to place the genitives of the pronouns regularly after the noun. A problem arises here, however, in detecting Semitic influence in view of the fact that in Modern Greek this is the universal practice. Thus we say now ἡ μητέρα του 'his mother', τὰ μάτια της 'her eyes'. A glance through the 'Life of Aesop' reveals in a Hellenistic writing a considerable preponderance of this later order, whereas the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 64-74) reflect quite a large number of genitives of pronouns placed before the noun.

Thus I present the following table of my findings as striking, but not conclusive.

	Total of genitive pronouns dependent on nouns	Non-Semitic in printed texts	Non-Semitic without variant
μου	77 (+2 in D, both Semitic)	7	2
σου	93	9	5
αὐτοῦ	209 (+12 in Western text all Semitic)	10	5
αὐτῆς	20 (+1 possible with Semitic order)	0	0
ἡμῶν	10	0	0
ὑμῶν	60	11	7
αὐτῶν	56 (+2 possible in D, both Semitic)	3	0
ἑαυτῶν	6	2	2
Total	531	42	21
		c 1/12	c 1/25 i.e.4%

We have to note too as non-Semitic the use of ἐμός twice, but once with variant, and σός 6 times, once with a variant - this separating

the article from its noun. Likewise we note the non-Semitic ἴδιος, a Hellenistic development as replacement of the reflexive pronoun, this being found in 9.1, 22.5, 25.14 and 25.15. An interesting point is that the non-Semitic order occurs quite often in sayings of Jesus.

The list of preceding genitives is:

μου - 7.24, 7.26 (v.l.), 8.8 (with v.l.), 12.50, 16.18 (with v.l.), 17.15 (v.l.), 24.48 (v.l.) ἐμοὶ 18.20, 19.29 (v.l.).

σου - 5.30 (v.l.), 6.4 (v.l.), 6.17 (v.l.), 9.2, 9.5, 9.6, 12.13 (v.l.), 15.28, 19.21.

σοὶ - 7.3, 7.22 (3 times), 13.27, 24.3 (v.l.).

αὐτοῦ - 2.2 (v.l.), 3.4 (with separation, but v.l.), 7.24 (v.l.), 7.26 (v.l.), 8.3, 13.25 (v.l.), 22.13 (v.l.), 26.51, 27.60, 28.9 (but probably genitive + accusative of respect).

ὑμῶν - 5.16, 5.20 (v.l.), 10.30 (v.l.), 12.27 (separation but v.l.), 13.16, 20.26, 20.27, 23.8, 23.9 (twice but second with v.l.), 23.11.

αὐτῶν - 9.30 (v.l.), 23.30 (v.l.), 26.43 (v.l.).

ἑαυτῶν - 8.22, 21.8.

The question of how far the predominance of the postpositive position depends on Semitic influence is best seen on examination of the placing of attributive adjectives with these nouns and dependent genitives, as G.D. Kilpatrick shows in NT Vol. 5 pp. 111-4. Thus Hebraic order as adopted by the Septuagint produces:

Isaiah 2.20 τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ.

and 3.25 ὁ υἱὸς σου ὁ κάλλιστος,

while normal classical Greek usage is

Τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα.

In the New Testament we find the Semitic order and scribes by their attempts at removing it show us the need to regard the reading with Semitic order as original.

Turning to Matthew we find that in 5.29 most MSS have the Semitic order ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς but that D reads ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ δεξιός σου in line with classical order. In 5.30, omitted by D Sy^{s} Bo^{pt}, most unciales and minuscules read ἡ δεξιά σου χείρ which is the Modern Greek order, but Θ 13.124.543 Sy^{c} $Pesh.$ $Hl.$ $Diat$ preserve the Semitic order ἡ χείρ σου ἡ δεξιά . In 5.39 we find in ℵB τὴν δεξιάν σιαγόνα σου , the classical order, in LΔΘΠ^{1} τὴν δεξιάν σου σιαγόνα , the Modern Greek order and only in minuscule 471 the Semitic order τὴν σιαγόνα σου τὴν δεξιάν . In 5.48, 6.14, 6.26, 6.32 we have ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος, in 15.13 and 18.35 ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος and in 23.9 MSS other than ℵBUΣ have ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος , which should be considered original in view of the earlier examples. Thus in this purely Matthaean editorial phrase we find Semitic order. The same is true when ὁ οὐράνιος is replaced by adjectival phrase ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς , as in τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in 5.16, 5.45, 6.1, 7.11, 18.14, πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in 6.9 and ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς in 7.21, 10.32, 10.33, 12.50, 16.17, 18.10, 18.19, generally in the genitive case.

In 6.11 we have Semitic order in τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον as in Luke. In 6.4, 6.6 (twice) and 6.18 (twice) we have ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, τῷ πατρί σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ and similar phrases with Semitic order, all confined to Matthew. In 11.20 αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ reflects classical order, while in 27.60 ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ reflects Modern Greek order in a phrase differently formulated in Mark and Luke. In 17.5 Matthew, like Mark, has the Semitic order with ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός as also in 3.17; in 23.35 ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἅβελ τοῦ δικαίου we may have a similar kind of Semitic order without a personal pronoun.

From the above survey it is clear that we have a considerable degree of Semitic order both in sayings and in probable editorial material, but also a few non-Semitic examples. It follows from this to enquire how far we can discern Semitic order with noun and adjective when the personal pronoun is absent. At once we are confronted with the question of what is regular Greek order. In a study of classical usage entitled 'Zur Stellung des Attributs im Griechischen' (Arsbok of Lund 1961 pp. 1-31), Jonas Palm concludes that no rule can be formulated. Neither the nature of the adjective nor the nature of the noun can be shown to be a determining factor. On the other hand, Mayser II. 2 pp. 51-9 shows that with the article ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ is preferred in the Ptolemaic papyri to ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός, while in Modern Greek the placing of the adjective before the noun is regular both with and without the article. Thus the tendency in the language was towards that position, though Hellenistic

writers still use the other position. In Epictetus we thus have in 1.1.4 ἡ δύναμις ἡ λογικὴ alongside 1.1.5 ἡ χρηστικὴ δύναμις and in 1.1.7 τὴν χρῆσιν τὴν ὀρθήν . In Theophrastus 'Characters' from the 3rd century B.C. we find a number of adjectives placed after the noun when it does not have the article e.g. 2.1 ὁμιλίαν ἀσχρὰν 21.6 ἀσπίδιον ἀλλοῦν , 21.7 στέμμασι μεγάλοις but 21.11 λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον , 29.6 ἐπὶ πονηροῖς πράγμασιν. There are a number of examples of adjectives placed after anarthous nouns, especially in lists, in Dioscurides, as Rydbeck suggests in his list of aspects for investigation at the close of his work.

Against this background Matthew's word-order does not appear un-Greek apart from the phrases with pronouns. For literal Semitic rendering we would expect a considerable degree of postposition of adjectives against the trends of the language. The situation is that, excluding ὅλος and πᾶς which are to be expected to precede the noun, as Semitic כל does, unlike other Semitic adjectives:

Out of 108 anarthous nouns with adjective, 25 adjectives i.e. c 23% precede the noun they qualify.

Out of 57 nouns with the article 29 adjectives i.e. 50% precede the noun they qualify.

This is excluding adjectival phrases like ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

The figure for nouns with article is particularly high, the more so when we exclude the Semitic phrases with pronoun already mentioned. This leaves us with τὸ ἑκάτερον τὸ ἕτερον, the Matthaean phrase in

8.12, 22.13 and 25.30, τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον in 18.8 and 25.41 and τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος of 16.16, 26.63 and few other examples. On the other hand, in non-Semitic order we have phrases with a Jewish ring like εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν in 4.5 and 27.53 and τοῦ Ἁγίου πνεύματος in 28.19. ἄλλος always comes before the noun, unlike הָאֶחָד - 2.12, 4.21, 13.24, 13.31, 13.33, 21.36, 21.41, 22.4, 27.61, 28.1, many of these being anarthous but 27.61 and 28.1 ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία having the article.

With ἔσχατος we have τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην in 5.26 and ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη in 27.64, with καλός - ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα in 5.16, with μέγας - πόλις τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως in 5.35, with ἀγαθός and πονηρός 4 examples in 12.35. Other examples with the article are 7.13 διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, 7.17 τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον, 12.43 τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, 13.23 ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν ℵBCLNOΔΣ but with τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν in DWΧΥΓΘΠΦ, 13.37 τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα, likewise 13.38; 21.8 ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ὄχλος, 22.38 ἡ μεγάλη καὶ πρώτη ἐντολή, 24.45 ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος, 24.48 ὁ κακὸς δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, 25.11 αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι and 25.30 τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον. It is to be noted that several of these occur in sayings and parables of Jesus, both in Q and in Matthew's special material. They reflect an awareness of Greek usage and non-literal rendering of Semitic tradition.

When the noun is anarthous we note a stronger tendency towards postposition of the adjective. Apart from the examples of ἄλλος

already cited, those which precede are 4.24 ποικίλαις νόσοις , 9.10 πολλοὶ τελῶναι (but ω inverts), 10.31 πολλῶν στρουθίων, 12.43 δι'ἀνύδρων τόπων, 13.17 πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ ζηλῶται, 13.24, 13.27 καλὸν σπέρμα , 13.28 ἐλεύθερος ἄνθρωπος 13.45 καλοὺς μαργαρίτας 13.46 ἕνα πολύτιμον μαργαρίτην , 14.13 εἰς ἔρημον τόπον , 14.14 πολὺν ὄχλον (ΟΣ invert), 15.20 ἀνίπτοις χέρσιν , 15.34 ὀλίγα ἰχθύδια , 24.11 πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, 25.6 μέσης νυκτὸς and 27.52 πολλὰ σώματα . Thus several are accounted for by πολὺς and a few others by compound adjectives, with only a few scattered examples which cannot be explained by the nature of the adjective used. It is to be noted, however, that πολὺς is often found after the noun, especially in the editorial ὄχλοι πολλοὶ in e.g. 8.1, 13.2, 15.30 and 19.2 and that two of the examples of πολὺς cited above have variant readings giving them postposition.

Turning to the placing of demonstrative adjectives οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος we note that in classical times one can say either οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος or ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος but that in Modern Greek ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος or αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος is the order of the day. In the papyri attributive οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος are not at all common, as Mayser declares op.cit. II. 2 pp. 79-80 for the Ptolemaic papyri and as a glance through Olsson's collection for the Roman period shows. Burney op.cit. pp. 83ff has thus used the frequency of demonstratives in John as a sign of Aramaic origin, Aramaic having a

fondness for their usage. Colwell op.cit. pp. 55ff, while agreeing with Burney that demonstratives are scarce in the papyri, has sought to show that in Epictetus they are more common than in John. It is to be noted, however, that the argument turns mainly on the pronominal use of the demonstratives, not the attributive use. It is interesting, however, that in the 'Genesis Apocryphon' the demonstrative]7 or N]7 'this' occurs at least 30 times attributively, always placed after the noun, and only about 3 times pronominally in the portion preserved for us. The number of demonstratives in this document is to be noted in support of Burney's case, but for attributive use rather than pronominal.

We note that in Matthew ἐκεῖνος occurs 54 times as against Mark's 23, Luke's 33 and John's 70. Of the 54, 51 are attributive, whereas of John's only 18 are in this class. Hence we can speak here of a Matthaean usage. As regards οὗτος Matthew uses it 147 times to Mark's 78, Luke's 230 and John's 237 and of these 147 only 51 are attributive; hence the situation is not so remarkable.

In assessing Semitic influence we note that of 51 instances of attributive ἐκεῖνος 40 or 41 follow the noun and only 10 or 11 precede. The example where variation occurs is 27.63 where NBDLWΓΔ have ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάνος but CGΘ ὁ πλάνος ἐκεῖνος which is more Semitic and more in Matthew's style. Of further interest is the fact that the exceptions are all of time phrases, several of them editorial and serving as connectives, a usage which we have already suspected of bearing Aramaic influence. The prepositive examples are in 7.22, 10.19, 11.25,

12.1, 14.1, 18.1, 22.23, 22.46, 24.19 and 26.55. The use of similar time phrases in Genesis Apocryphon 21.23 and 22.21 where Hebrew lacks these phrases supports the case for Aramaic influence. We note too that with such time phrases the demonstrative does precede the noun in various classes of Aramaic. For Aramaic fondness for a demonstrative we note Gen. Apoc. 21.10 where Hebrew זה הנער becomes in the Aramaic הדא הוא זרעא

For οὗτος the situation is that at least 37 of the 51 attributive uses are postpositive. The exceptions are in ℵB for τοῦτο 24.14, τούτου - 26.29, τούτῳ - 12.32 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ διαθήκῃ, but v.l. of ℵCYΔθΠ read τῷ διαθήκῃ τούτῳ which preserves the Semitic order as well as the Semitic ring of the phrase. 20.14 τούτῳ τῷ ἐθνει, but D reads τῷ ἐθνει τούτῳ; ταύτῃ in 16.18 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ but ℰ* has ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ 26.34 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ but minuscules 238.1295.1391 τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ; οὗτοι in 20.12, 20.21 τούτων in 6.32, 25.40, 25.45; ταύταις in 22.40, τούτους in 10.5. We have to take account too of the fact that in 12.45 though ταύτῃ follows τῇ γενεᾷ it is not in Semitic order in most MSS - τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ; only the minuscules 33.253.349.517.700.954.1194 preserve the Semitic order τῇ γενεᾷ τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ. Likewise in 5.19 τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων does not preserve Semitic order cf. 25.40 ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων; Semitic order in the Greek would have required ἑνὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων τούτων. The situation with regard to οὗτος is thus of a high

proportion of Semitic order, but not as striking as with ἐκεῖνος.

At this point it seems appropriate to consider the use of ἑἷς for τὶς claimed by Lagrange op.cit. p. xcviii, Black op.cit. pp. 104-5 and Schlatter op.cit. p. 316 as an Aramaism. This occurs in Matthew 6 times, all of these peculiar to himself. It is held to reflect Aramaic חד and may indeed do so, but it has to be borne in mind that εἷς in Modern Greek serves as indefinite article and that the papyri reflect the beginnings of this usage. Here word order could help the problem since in Modern Greek it always precedes. Unfortunately there is a variation here in Aramaic; while in the earlier material חד always follows, in the later Talmudic material it can either precede or follow. In Matthew we find both; εἷς γραμματεὺς - 8.19, εἷς ὀφειλέτης in 18.24, inverting αὐτῷ and εἷς with MSS other than ℵB and μιᾶ πανδίσκῃ in 26.69 show εἷς preceding the noun, while in 21.19 συκῆν μίαν and in 9.18 ἄρχων εἷς it follows; in 19.16 it is without a noun. Thus we cannot affirm Aramaic influence with the same definiteness as Lagrange and Black, but we would not dismiss it either.

From adjective relationships we turn next to genitive ones. In Aramaic this is expressed by a noun in the construct case followed by a noun or a noun with ד followed by a noun. The corresponding Greek type is ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, with the dependent genitive following the noun immediately, and this is the predominant type in Matthew's gospel. Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 143-5 distinguishes 4 types

in the Ptolemaic papyri. (1) οἱ τῆς χώρας νόμοι (2) οἱ νόμοι οἱ τῆς χώρας (3) οἱ νόμοι τῆς χώρας (4) τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Of these types (1) and (3) predominate, the proportion of type 1 to type 3 being 3:4 in the 3rd century B.C. and 1:2 in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Thus the tendency towards type (3) is clear and more and more type (1) came to suggest literary influence, till in Modern Greek type (3) is regular. Thus it is difficult to be certain whether to ascribe its predominance in Matthew to Semitic or Hellenistic tendencies.

The exceptions are as follows. Examples of type (1) with the genitive standing between the article and noun are 4 in number - 12.31 ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία, 13.55 ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός, 23.2 ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας (but D θ fam 13 place Μωϋσέως after καθέδρας) and 27.56 ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσὴφ μήτηρ. These are all Matthew's formulations except for the last one, which has its equivalent in Mark 15.40.

Examples of type (4) with the genitive preceding the noun are 1.18 τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις, 10.2 τῶν δὲ δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τὰ ὀνόματα, 11.19 τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν, 13.33 εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία (as Luke), 14.33 θεοῦ υἱός, 27.33 κρανίου τόπος and 27.54 θεοῦ υἱός - 7 in all.

Other examples of non-Semitic word-order are the separation of noun and genitive by an attribute in the phrase τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα

οἴκου Ἰσραήλ in 10.6, 15.24 (see Schlatter op.cit. p. 329) and the separation of noun and genitive by the verb 'to be' in 4.3, 4.6 εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, 5.34 ἐρίνεος ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ 5.35 ὑποπόδιον ἐστιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ and πόλις ἐστιν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, 12.8 κύριος γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ σαββάτου, 12.27 κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν (but Θ reads the more Semitic order), 23.31 υἱοὶ ἐστε τῶν φονευσάντων, 27.40 εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ (but B has Semitic order), 27.43 θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός cf. 3.4 ἡ δὲ τροφὴ ἦν αὐτοῦ - 11 examples in all, including 2 uncertain and 2 which are strictly connected with suffixes in Aramaic, the genitives of personal pronouns already treated.

As regards the use of an adverbial phrase with a noun we note that only in 7.3 is this found between article and noun - τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δόκον and that ℵ* NΞ have the more Semitic reading τὴν δὲ δόκον τὴν ἐν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ. This is interesting in view of the fact that Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 161-8 declares the type ἡ παρὰ Φιλῶνος ἐπιστολή to predominate over ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ παρὰ Φιλῶνος in the Ptolemaic papyri.

In weighing up Semitic influence in the case of genitives we have to take account of those phrases in which the phrase itself has a Semitic ring as well as being in Semitic order. Thus we note the use of υἱοὶ in 9.15 οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος as in Mark and Luke and in Matthew's own phrasing in οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας - 8.12, 13.38, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ 13.38 and υἱὸν γεέννης in 23.15, υἱὸς in the

sense of 'belonging to' or 'destined to'. We note too the use of a genitive where Greek and English would use an adjective, this in line with Semitic usage - εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς - 13.42, 13.50 'into the fiery furnace' and ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ in 19.28, 25.31 'on his glorious throne'. This could derive from Septuagintal imitation, but more probably reflects Aramaic speech.

Apart from the non-Semitic nature of separating the article and noun by a genitive we have to note too the instances in which a participle stands between article and noun. These are 2.2 ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς, 2.7 τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος, 3.7 τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆ, 17.27 τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρῶτον ἰχθύν, 25.34 τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν and 27.52 τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων. Of these, 5 are in matter peculiar to Matthew and 1 i.e. 3.7 is in material shared with Luke.

Then we must note, as Schlatter does (op.cit. p. 19), the non-Semitic cases of separation of an adjective from its noun by a verb. These are 1.20 ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου, 4.16 φῶς εἶδεν μέγα - Old Testament quotation cf. LXX ἴδετε φῶς μέγα, 12.9 χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν (as Mark), 15.14 τυφλοὶ εἰσιν ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν, 19.30 πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι (as Mark), 25.24 σκληρὸς εἶ ἄνθρωπος, 26.60 πολλῶν προσελθόντων ψευδομαρτύρων 28.2 σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγα - 8 examples in all, 6 of them in matter or phrasing peculiar to Matthew and 2 shared with Mark.

Schlatter also speaks (op.cit. pp. 18-19) of the insertion of an

object or adverbial phrase between article and participle, but without providing a full list. I count here 17 out of 100 examples in which this occurs - 1.20 Τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν 3.11 ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος , 10.40 ὁ ἐμὲ δεξάμενος, 11.8 οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες , 13.19 ὁ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σπαρείς , 13.20 ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη σπαρείς, ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων, 13.22 ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπαρείς , ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων, 13.23 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν καλὴν γῆν σπαρείς , ὁ τὸν λόγον ἀκούων καὶ συνιείς, 17.24 οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες, 24.19 τοῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις , 25.16, 25.20 ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα λαβών, 25.18 ὁ δὲ τὸ ἓν λαβών, 25.24 ὁ τὸ ἓν τάλαντον εἰληφώς,

Many of these examples are thus found in the explanation of the parable of the sower and in the parable of the talents. It is to be noted, however, that the articular participle is not an Aramaic idiom, but a Greek and Hebrew one, hence it is only in so far as this reflects the precedence of object before verb that we can speak of non-Semitic usage, while admitting too variations in Aramaic word-order.

In summing up these various aspects of word-order reflecting separation of the article from its noun in various contexts, I note with approval the way in which Schlatter in his work has made use of such questions of word-order in phrases to argue for the Semitic background of the author. We must, however, concede that even where the exceptions are comparatively few, as in the placing of a participle between the article and its noun, the fact that many are in matter or phrases peculiar to

Matthew suggests a familiarity of the author with Greek usage. On the other hand, when we observe that even a fairly simple narrative account of the κόλυβος such as the Life of Aesop has a considerably larger number of examples of phrases placed between article and noun, we appreciate more clearly the Semitic nature of the author. Thus in Chapters 3-5 of Aesop's life I note Chap.3 τὸ ἐμοὶ ἑτοιμασθέντα σῦκα, διὰ τὸ τῆς γλαύτης ἐμπόδων Chap.4 τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀγνοοῦσα τύχην, τὸ τῆς θεοῦ ὀργῆς and Chap.5 τῆς τοῦ Αἰσώπου φιλοφροσύνης, all these within fairly close proximity.

A final question of word-order which presents itself is the placing of adverbs with respect to the verbs they modify. Mayser op.cit. II. 2 pp. 180-4 shows a preponderance of adverbs placed before the verb in classical authors, but with a degree of variation dependent on rhythm. For Plato's 'Apology' the proportion is 5:1, for Xenophon's 'Hellenica' Book 1 it is 3.5:1, in Thucydides Book II 2.5:1 and in Demosthenes 'Olynthiacs' Book I 2.1:1 in favour of the earlier position. For the Ptolemaic papyri we find that in the 3rd century B.C. 30 adverbs are only placed before, 28 only placed after and 21 are placed both before and after, giving a total of 79. In the II-I centuries B.C. 40 adverbs are always placed before, 25 always after and 21 vary, giving a total of 86.

In seeking to classify them he declares that adverbs generally follow words with emphasis, especially imperatives. Adverbs of time like ἀεί, βραχύ, εὐθέως and πολλάκις generally follow the verb, as do adverbs of manner with intensive sense such as ἀληθῶς, ἀσφαλῶς,

ἐπιμελῶς, σαφῶς and φιλοτίμως ; other adverbs follow from rhythmical or logical grounds, for the sake of entithesis or emphasis. On the other hand, adverbs of place such as ἀλλοθεν, ἀνω, ἐκεῖ or ἐκεῖθεν stand before the verb, as do most adverbs of manner, such as εὖ, καλῶς, καλῶς, λάθρα, μάλιστα, νῦν, ἐμοίως and the like. He admits, however, that there are exceptions to all these rules.

Turning to Matthew, we note that Blass-Debrunner-Funk 474(3) lays down as his practice the placing of adverbs before the indicative, but after the imperative. Thus we have ἴδε νῦν - 26.65, καταβάτω νῦν - 27.42, ῥυσάσθω νῦν - 27.43 and ἄφες ἄρτι - 3.15, but ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν in 9.18. On the other hand, 26.53 παράστησει μοι ἄρτι shows that this is not a universally applied rule, as does the use of σφόδρα always following the indicative.

In Semitic languages adverbs generally follow the verb and hence a high proportion of this placing would suggest Aramaic influence. It is to be noted, however, that Aramaic admits of more variation here than Hebrew. Thus in the 'Genesis Apocryphon' 𐡀𐡌 'there' is placed before the verb in 2.23 but after in 21 ll. 1, 2, 3, 20 (twice), reflecting the same divergence between column 2 and the later columns on which I have already remarked. 𐡎𐡂𐡀 'very much' in its one occurrence in 20.8 comes before the verb, whereas Hebrew מְאֹד follows. Thus the use of σφόδρα always following the verb could be a sign of Septuagintal imitation. On the other hand, as an adverb of manner with intensive sense its position after the verb could be due to Hellenistic practice, just as λίαν also follows in 2.16 and 27.14.

Then, whereas כבר 'already' follows the verb in 'Genesis Apocryphon' 22.23, כבר in Matthew precedes in 3.10, 5.28, 14.15 (except in NCZ), 14.24, 17.12 and this is in line with the two examples in Olsson's collection (50.21 and 68.4) in which it likewise precedes.

On the other hand Matthew's favourite adverbs ἐκεῖ and ἐκεῖθεν in general follow both indicative and imperative, though with some exceptions, this being in line with the usage of the 'Genesis Apocryphon' and not in line with the Ptolemaic papyri.

Adverbs of manner like λίτρα (1.19, 2.7), καλῶς (4.24, 8.17, 9.12, 15.22, 17.15, 21.41), καλῶς (12.12, 15.7), σεινῶς (8.6), συμβόλως (19.23) and ὁμοίως (26.35) precede the verb in line with the papyri, but ὡσαύτως follows - 20.5, 21.30 but cf. 25.17.

The picture which emerges from this is not a clear one and the variation in Greek order does not permit too definite conclusions of non-Greek practice in this connection.

In any general assessment of word-order as a means of discerning translation Greek, it is the cumulative evidence of the various aspects reviewed in this chapter on which conclusions have to be based. That the evidence is striking but not conclusive derives in part from the difficulty of pronouncing a certain word-order un-Greek, in part from the greater variation in Aramaic word-order than in that of Hebrew. What is at any rate certain is that we are not dealing in Matthew with a word-for-word translation from Aramaic, but with a work which combines awareness of Semitic order with a knowledge of Greek order, as we would expect of a Semite writing a work in Greek.

Chapter 9

An examination of Matthew's doublets.

Hawkins in 'Horae Synopticae' pp. 80ff draws attention to a number of doublets, passages found twice over, in each of the Synoptic Gospels and indicates that this is a feature of Matthew's gospel more than of the others. He notes that some of these doublets in Matthew and Luke suggest the use of two sources, Mark and Q, with similarly worded passages occurring in the two sources. Others appear to imply the use of the same source twice over, while others may be attributed to the freedom of editors in using their own phraseology on more than one occasion. These doublets are of importance for their bearing on the Synoptic problem and are used by Hawkins in favour of the view of Marcan priority.

Lagrange op.cit. xlix-lviii, on the other hand, examines the doublets from his differing viewpoint of the priority of Aramaic Matthew. G.D. Kilpatrick 'Origins of Matthew' pp. 84ff takes up the doublets accepted by Hawkins, together with some others which Hawkins rejects, to see how satisfactorily source criticism can explain the various phenomena of the gospel. He concludes rightly (op.cit. p. 92) that the appearance of the same passage in two sources is not an entirely adequate explanation of the appearance of doublets in Matthew's gospel and that the evangelist must have had some other purpose in mind. Whether or not his view of liturgical custom is the correct explanation, it does at any rate seem certain that the needs of the church for which he was writing demanded the

repetition of important sayings and narratives.

In this chapter I intend to examine these doublets from a linguistic view-point to see if they can offer any guidance on the problem of divergences in Matthew's style and on the question of single or multiple authorship. The first fourteen of these doublets are of sayings of Jesus and examination of their relative positions in the gospel indicates the importance of recognising the structure of Matthew with its five discourses. Thus in a number of cases one occurrence is in a discourse and it is possible that this is the result of deliberate abstraction of material from its place in his sources to fit into the discourse, on the basis of the view that Mark is prior to Matthew.

Doublet No. 1 occurs at Matthew 5 vv. 29-30 and 18 vv. 8-9; the Marcan parallel is 9 vv. 43, 45, 47 and the subject is offensive limbs.

In its second occurrence in Matthew it is closer to Mark in context, order and language, but is more compressed, with hand and foot being linked and three conditional clauses being reduced as a result to two. The first of these protases opens εἰ δὲ , the second καὶ εἰ , whereas Mark uses καὶ ἐὰν three times. The first apodosis in Chapter 18 is rendered ir most MSS by ἔκκοψον αὐτὸν καὶ βαλε ἀπὸ σοῦ , the second by ἔξελε αὐτὸν καὶ βαλε ἀπὸ σοῦ , but ℵ* seeks to assimilate the wording in verse 8 to that of verse 9 and there is a vl. with αὐτὰ in verse 8 which may reflect a correction to suit the joint subject. In Mark ἀποκόψον is used twice in place of ἔκκοψον and ἔκβαλε αὐτὸν is found for ἔξελε καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ.

The use of this latter phrase by Matthew is, as we saw, a sign of Semitic influence whereas the compound verb used by Mark is more Greek.

In both 18.8 and 18.9 we find καλόν σοί ἐστιν ..... ἤ with the positive in a comparative sense 'better .. than'. Mark likewise employs καλόν , but with σε in place of σοι . The description of the place of condemnation is a subject of much scribal variation in Matthew and Mark. Mark 9.43 has εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον in most MSS and this recurs as variant in v. 45 and in the simple form εἰς τὴν γέενναν or εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός in v. 47. The phrase εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον is no doubt an explanation of the word γέενναν , which Gentiles would not understand. In Matthew 18.8 we find εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον as the reading of most MSS with εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς as variant, this latter being the reading of most MSS in v.9 with τοῦ πυρὸς omitted by D . Support for the reading τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον in v. 8 can be gained from 25.41. On the other hand at v. 9 the reading γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς is to be preferred, comparison being made with the phrase τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς of 13.42, 13.50; its occurrence in v.8 will be regarded as a scribal assimilation.

Thus on the whole the second occurrence of the doublet is fairly close to Mark in wording. On the other hand, in its first occurrence the foot is not mentioned and the hand too is omitted by D 59.238.243 Sy^{s} Bopt. In its context of teaching on adultery this is appropriate, as the eye and hand are the limbs involved in lustful look and action. It is a matter of

dispute whether v. 30 is a creation on the basis of v. 29 or whether the manuscripts favouring omission do so from homoioteleuton or rationalisation deliberately undertaken. I incline to favour the originality of v. 30. It is interesting that in both verses 29 and 30 ἐὰν δὲ is added to limit the eye and hand in question, just as it is found in v. 39 with the cheek in the saying. In v. 29 in most MSS and in Θ of v. 30 Semitic word order is found with the phrase, as noted in the last chapter.

ἔξελε, ἔκκοψον and βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ occur in Chapter 5 as in Chapter 18. On the other hand, καλόν σοί with the infinitive is replaced by συμφέρει γὰρ σοι with a ἵνα clause. συμφέρει is found only in Matthew among the Synoptists and we can compare its use with ἵνα in 18.6 for καλὸν ἐστιν αὐτῷ of Mark 9.42 and with the infinitive in 19.10 in a peculiar passage added on to material found also in Mark. We compare John 11.50 and 16.7 for συμφέρει . . ἵνα and 18.14 for συμφέρει with infinitive as another point of contact between Matthew and John. τὰ μέλη of the limbs occurs only here in the gospels, while the phrasing with καὶ μὴ and ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου suggests further rewriting of Mark. γέενναν occurs alone here as the description of the place of condemnation.

From this detailed examination of the language of this doublet we can conclude that there is no evidence for the work of more than one hand on this saying, provided we accept the priority of Mark. In the one case the language can then be seen as more tied to Marcan wording, in the other as

more freely developed in Matthew's own language.

Doublet No. 2 occurs in Matthew 5.32 and 19.9 with parallels in Mark 10 vv. 11, 12 and Luke 16.18. The theme is Jesus' teaching on divorce.

Hawkins op.cit. pp. 83-4 notes that the wording of 5.32 is closer to Luke, while that of 19.9 is closer to Mark, as is its context. He thus suggests the possible use of a similar saying occurring in two sources, Mark and Q, while admitting that this view has its difficulties. The whole question is complicated by a considerable degree of textual variation. Thus the phrasing πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων in 5.32, which is found also in Luke 16.18, as contrasted with ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ of 19.9, is supported by ℵ B K L M W Δ Θ Π Σ and minuscules, but has as variant ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ in DEGSUV.28.346. The question arises whether we accept the reading with articular participle and regard the other as assimilation to the second passage in Matthew or accept the reading which conforms with 19.9 and regard the other as assimilation either to v. 31 or to the Lucan form. Even if we accept the reading πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων, however, we need not regard it as due to Luke's version, since Matthew elsewhere rings the changes between πᾶς ὅ + participle and relative conditional clause, as in 5.21-2, and πᾶς with articular participle has already occurred in 5.28 in the preceding pericope.

Further, while the saying in Luke stands alone, in both Matthaean passages as in Mark it is preceded by the teaching from Deuteronomy 24.1 which Jesus calls in question. Thus in 5.31 Matthew explicitly cites the Deuteronomic passage in line with his other citations in that chapter,

while in 19.7, as in Mark, the words are alluded to in the form of a question. In 5 vv. 31-2 the teaching follows naturally on from the subject of adultery, while in 19 vv. 3-9 it is in the Marcan context of confrontation with the Pharisees.

The two Matthaean passages share two features of their teaching in common against Mark's version. The first is a modification of the teaching of no divorce to exclude πορνεία , phrased in 5.32 παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας and in 19.9 in most MSS μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ , but in BD in the form it has in 5.32. The second is a limitation of the situation to the man, with all reference to the woman initiating proceedings, as in Mark 10.12, being totally absent from both Matthaean versions. In place of Mark 10.12 καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ .. γαμήσῃ ἄλλον, μοιχᾶται , we find in Matthew 5.32 καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται, except in D which omits this clause altogether and P which reads ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας, and in 19.9 in MSS other than ℵBDLS καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας(or γαμῶν) μοιχᾶται . Whichever reading we accept the general drift of thought in both Matthaean passages is similar and the work of more than one editor behind the doublet is unlikely. It is to be noted that the completely male viewpoint continues in the additional peculiar matter in Matthew 19.10ff with ἡ αἰτία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς and the Matthaean συμφέρει with an implied ἀνθρώπῳ following; αἰτία has already been used in 19.3 in the phrase κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν lacking in the Marcan parallel and this indicates its editorial provenance.

From the linguistic view-point too we note the common prefixing of λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι to the saying in 5.32 and 19.9, with ἐγὼ strengthening the λέγω in 5.32 in line with the general structure of that chapter; the phrase is absent from both Mark and Luke.

Doublet No. 3 occurs in Matthew 7 vv. 16-18 and 12 vv. 33-5 with parallel in Luke 6.43-5 and concerns trees and their fruits as parabolic of the fruits of human personalities. In its earlier setting in Matthew it is closer to Luke's setting, which is in his Sermon on the Plain, but the teaching is set in the context of Matthew's church with the presence of false prophets. In the second case the setting is in controversy with the Pharisees and declares the importance of one's words. In Luke the sayings serve merely as general maxims.

In Chapter 7 Matthew uses the material found in Luke 6 vv. 43, 44, but not v. 45, while in Chapter 12 he uses the matter of vv. 43, 44a and 45, but not the saying of 44b. In the first case he provides Semitic 'inclusio' with ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτοὺς in v. 16 rounded off in v. 20 by ἄρα γε ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς . In the second case we find ἐκ in place of ἀπὸ , the singular καρποῦ for the plural and the form τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται with the passive, all this being closer to Luke's wording.

On the other hand, 7 vv. 17-18 more closely resembles Luke 6.43-4 in the use of statements, whereas 12 vv. 33-5 employs imperatives and a more Semitic and less Greek manner of expression, with a figurative conditional

sense being conveyed. The reason for this differing method of expression in the two passages is not certain, but it is clear from our survey of καὶ in place of a conditional clause that Matthew employs other examples of this usage and that the presence of two sources or two editors is not a necessary explanation.

It is clear at any rate that the use of ἐπιγνώσεσθε for γινώσκετε and καρπῶν for καρπού in 7.16ff reflects an editorial adaptation of the saying to the church setting with 'fruits' becoming more clearly metaphorical of 'actions'.

Doublet No. 4 is found in Matthew 10.15 and 11.24 with parallel in Luke 10.12 and concerns judgment for rejecting Jesus and his disciples. In the first instance it occurs in the discourse on the sending of the twelve, as it occurs in Luke on the occasion of the sending of the 70 or 72. In the second case it occurs in a polemic against cities that did not repent when they saw Jesus' mighty works.

On the first occasion it opens with ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν , on the second with πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν . We have already noted under connectives that ἀμὴν is one of Matthew's 'habitual Semitisms' and that πλὴν in an affirmative sense occurs also at 11.22 and 26.64, the former with a Lucan parallel. Hence it is possible to see this opening as an example of ringing the changes, with πλὴν in 11.24 used under the influence of its previous use in v. 22.

Sodom is found alone in 11.24, as in Luke, but is linked with Gomorrah in 10.15; in both cases the form is γῆ Σοδόμων for Lucan

Σοδόμοις and under vocabulary we noted this use of γῆ as a Matthaean feature. Likewise on both occasions we find ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, another mark of Matthaean style, in place of Lucan ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. In 10.15 the reading of C γῇ Γομόρρας or N γῆ Γομόρραων is probably to be preferred to simple Γομόρραων of most MSS, since the repetition of γῆ is more in line with Semitic practice and emphasises the Semitic nature of the phrase. The unity between these two passages in phrasing is noticeable and once again the use of two sources or the activity of two editors appears unlikely.

Doublets 5 and 6 in Hawkins' list are best treated together and examined in their context, along with a further doublet I will call 6(a). Number 5 is καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου of 10.22a, 24.9b with parallels in Mark 13.13a and Luke 21.17. Number 6 is ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται of 10.22b, 24.13 and Mark 13.13b, while my doublet 6(a) is 10.17-18 and 24.9a with Mark 13.9.

Examination of 5 and 6 on their own reveals almost exactly similar wording in both Matthaean versions and in the parallels, except that in Matthew 24.9b ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν occurs in place of simple ὑπὸ πάντων in most MSS. In Chapter 10 doublets 5 and 6 are linked together as in Mark Chapter 13, but in Chapter 24 three verses of peculiar matter are placed between them, possibly concerned with the situation in Matthew's church. Matthew 10 in fact follows the order of Mark more closely, although Matthew 24 is the corresponding apocalyptic discourse.

Thus too Mark 13.9-12 appears in a compressed form in Matthew 24.9a with παραδώσουσιν preceded by a Matthaean τότε and the rest of the passage reduced to εἰς θλῖψιν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς. On the other hand, in Chapter 10 we have προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων corresponding to Mark 13.9 βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς and παραδώσουσιν with a γὰρ inserted in most MSS; εἰς appears to have been corrected to ἐν, but D preserves εἰς in line with Mark. The rest of the passage continues in general as in Mark, but without πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον of Mark 13.10, which has its corresponding phrase in Chapter 24.14 instead.

It is clear that Matthew has chosen to divide the material found in the so-called 'little apocalypse' between the two chapters and that this can adequately account for the situation without any recourse to the theory of the work of more than one hand.

Doublets 7 and 8 can similarly be examined together, the first being 10.38, 16.24, the second 10.39, 16.25 with the parallels in Mark 8.34-5, Luke 9.23-4, 14.27. The first saying concerns cross-bearing, the second saving and losing one's life.

In the case of 10.38 and 16.24 the possibility of the use of two sources derives from comparison of the first with Luke 14.27 and the second with Mark 8.34, Luke 9.23. Thus in the case of 10.38 we have a form with negative conditional relative clause as in Luke 14, while in 16.24 we find a conditional clause with εἴ τις as in Mark 8 and Luke 9. The clause on self-denial, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν, occurs only

in the second form, again as in Mark. The second form occurs in a similar setting to its Markan counterpart, while the first is set within the framework of the second discourse on discipleship and martyrdom; thus Matthaean arrangement may well play its part in the repetition, whether or not the saying was found in two sources.

In the setting of 10.38 it is interesting to observe the use of ὃς οὐ with particular participles in vv. 37, 39-41 and to note that the use of ὃς (ἐὰν) μή + participle is coincident with proper Hebrew idiom which does not admit of a negative with the conditional particle, as Moyer shows op.cit. pp. 196ff. We note too the presence of favourite Matthaean verbs, λαμβάνειν and ἀκολουθεῖν, as well as the adjective ἄξιος, which is confined to Matthew and Luke among the Synoptists, but is not present in the Lucan parallel; the Matthaean variant μαθητής I regard as a case of assimilation to Luke. ἄξιος has already occurred twice in the previous verse in Matthew, 10.37, for Lucan μαθητής, while earlier in the chapter at 10.11, 10.13 (twice) we find this same adjective used without parallel, suggesting that 'being worthy' is an important theme of the discourse. This may derive from the saying of 10.10, which has a Lucan parallel in 10.7, but the theme is taken up and repeated in Matthew. We note too that ἄξιος is used in the parable in Matthew 22.8 where the Lucan form, 14.21, lacks it.

The form at 16.24 is exactly similar to Mark 8.34 and the only differences in that verse arise in the introductory narrative, with Matthaean τότε to Markan καί and a more compressed opening for

the more verbose Marcan one. Thus 'taking' the cross is αἴρειν instead of λαμβάνειν in this passage. The differing forms of the doublet can thus be easily explained on the hypothesis of Marcan priority, while the presence of Matthaean vocabulary in the first passage could favour the use of only one source together with adaptation to context, though not ruling out the possibility of a second source.

In the case of 10.39 and 16.25, we find similarly that the latter follows Mark more closely with ὃς γὰρ ἐάν and ὃς δ'ἄν, conditional relative clauses, while the former fits into the framework of the mission discourse with the conditional articular participle. In 16.25b εὑρήσει is found for the Marcan and Lucan σώσει, but σῶσαι is used in 16.25a. In 10.39 εὑρεῖν occurs in both limbs - in forms ὁ εὑρών and εὑρήσει respectively, this providing a better parallel word to ἀπολλύναι 'to lose'. In both cases ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ occurs alone without the phrase καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου of Mark 8.35; Luke 9.24 likewise omits it. The explanation for this may either be as Hawkins suggests (op.cit. p. 88) that Matthew and Luke knew a form of Mark lacking it, or as is more possible that Matthew did not favour Marcan absolute usage of εὐαγγέλιον. Matthew prefers τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας or τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο, while Luke chooses to drop the noun in favour of the verb.

Thus once again this doublet favours Marcan priority and the author's consistency on the basis of his use of Mark.

Doublet No. 9 occurs in 12.39 and 16.4 with parallels in Mark 8.12 and Luke 11.29 and concerns the sign of the prophet Jonah. The introductory narrative is treated by Hawkins as doublet 18.

We note first that in both Matthaean passages it is the sign of Jonah, as in Luke 11.29, and not no sign at all as in Mark 8.12. The Hebraic εἰ of Mark for ΔΝ rendering a strong negative 'none at all' does not recur in either Matthaean version, οὐ δοθήσεται εἰ μὴ taking its place. In the first case we have Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου as general reading, in the second case Ἰωνᾶ alone in ℵBDL with τοῦ προφήτου added in the other MSS. The use of the prophet's name followed by τοῦ προφήτου is frequent in Matthew, especially in the introduction to fulfilment prophecies as at 2.17, 4.14 and 8.17, but also in the editorial addition at 24.15. The order is a Semitic one and it is probable that in the second case the variant is original and omitted by scribes from carelessness or the feeling of redundancy, while the case on the other side for assimilation must also be considered. In the first passage the sign is explained as a typology of the resurrection and this may explain its repetition again, though it is without explanation on the second occasion.

In both cases the saying opens with the phrase γενεὰ πονηρά, to which καὶ μοιχαλίς is added in 12 v. 39 as general reading and in 16.4 as the reading of most MSS, but not of D. πονηρὸς is a Matthaean word, as we noted under vocabulary, but also occurs in the Lucan form of the saying, though absent from the Marcan. This fact, coupled

with the use of καὶ οὐ 'but not' and the reference to Jonah, suggests the primacy of the Lucan or Q form for Matthew's version on both occasions, while the similarities between the two Matthaean versions indicate the same hand at work.

Doublet 10 occurs at 13.12 and 25.29 with parallels in Mark 4.25, Luke 8.18 and Luke 19.26. In the first case this saying appears in the context it bears in Mark, following the parable of the Sower, while in the second case it is inserted into the Parable of the Talents, just as in Luke 19. This suggests that Matthew found this saying in two different sources and that this accounts for the repetition.

Further, in the first instance the phrasing of the protases is in the form of relative clauses ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει, ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἔχει, as in Mark 4.25, but with the substitution of δὲ for καὶ and ὅστις for ὅς . In the second instance, on the other hand, the articular participle occurs as in Luke 19.26, τῷ γὰρ ἔχοντι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντος , with a non-Semitic negative with the participle (Beyer op.cit. pp. 200ff). Common to both forms, however, is the addition of καὶ περισσευθήσεται after δοθήσεται αὐτῷ , which indicates the presence of a common hand at work.

Doublet No. 11 occurs in 17.20 and 21.21 with parallels in Mark 11.23 and Luke 17.6 and concerns the power of faith.

In the first case it is closer to Luke in the idea of faith ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, but while in Luke the saying is loosely fitted into

a collection of sayings, in Matthew it is appended to the story of the healing of the boy possessed by an evil spirit in commentary on it, the story being found also in Mark 9.14ff in an extended version. In Matthew the saying takes the place of the dialogue on belief in Mark 9.23-4 in which Jesus tells the man that everything is possible for the believer and thus evokes his well-known cry - Πιστεύω· βοήθει μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ.

In the second case the saying occurs in a similar context to Mark 11.23 following the story of the cursing of the fig tree as commentary on that action.

In both cases Matthew prefixes the saying with ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν which occurs in Mark's version and is also one of Matthew's favoured phrases. In both versions Matthew employs a conditional clause, ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν, as in Luke's version. In the second version καὶ μὴ διακριθῆτε is added, as in the Marcan passage. On both occasions it is a mountain that is addressed - ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ, and not a sycamine tree as in most MSS of Luke. In the second case ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν occurs as in Mark 11.23, while in the first instance we find μετάβα ἔνθεν ἐκεῖ in place of Lucan ἐκριζώθητι. μεταβαίνειν is a Matthaean compound, found also at 8.34, 11.1, 12.9 and 15.29, but absent from Mark and in Luke only at 10.7 and as assimilating variant of D in the parallel passage. Further, ἐκεῖ is a favourite Matthaean adverb. The saying ends in 17.20 with καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσει ὑμῖν with the verb ἀδυνατεῖν occurring only here in Matthew and elsewhere in the New Testament only in Luke 1.37.

Differences between the two sayings here can best be explained on the basis of two versions of the saying known to Matthew, one the Marcan, the other from Q material, together with editorial changes.

Doublet No. 12 occurs in 19.30 and 20.16 with Marcan parallel at 10.31. In the first case it occurs in the same context as in Mark, while in the second case it has been appended to the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, peculiar to Matthew, as commentary on it, οὕτως in 20.16 indicating this connection. We can regard this doublet as essentially similar to Matthew's repeated formulae.

Doublet No. 13 occurs in 20.26-7 and 23.11 with parallels in Mark 9.35, 10.43-4 and Luke 22.26. It can be accounted for by the use of Mark with his two forms of these sayings on humility, but the order of occurrence in Matthew is different, with the first saying corresponding to Mark 10.43-4 more closely and the second to Mark 9.35. The fact that the second occurrence is in a long discourse passage of invective against the scribes and Pharisees has also to be borne in mind and this may mean that the second passage is merely a compression of the first to fit the new context.

Doublet No. 14 occurs in 24.42 and 25.13 with its parallel in Mark 13.35 and concerns the need for watchfulness.

In the first case it appears in the same setting as in Mark, in the so-called 'little apocalypse', while in the second case it is used as the moral to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. In both cases it

opens γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, as in Mark, and continues ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε for Marcan οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ. In the first case οἴδατε is followed by the clause ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ (v.l. ὥρᾳ) ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται, with ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ for Marcan ποίᾳ and ὑμῶν for τῆς οἰκίας. In the second case οἴδατε is followed by τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδὲ τὴν ὥραν with a v.l. adding the clause ἐν ᾗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται after ὥραν, probably under the influence of 24.44. The fact that ἡμέρᾳ (or ὥρᾳ) is common to both versions indicates a common hand at work; a similar manuscript variation between ἡμέρᾳ and ὥρᾳ can be seen in 18.1 and we have already noted Matthew's fondness for phrases with ὥρᾳ.

Thus examination of these fourteen doublets of sayings of Jesus strongly favours the priority of Mark and Matthew's use of Mark twice on occasion when this suits a need demanded by the general structure of his gospel. More important for this survey these doublets argue strongly against the presence of more than one hand at work behind their shaping. Differences between the forms in which they occur on each occasion can usually be explained by a more conservative treatment of Mark in one place and a freer rendering in another, especially when matter is being fitted into one of Matthew's longer discourses. We noted too the possibility on occasion of recourse to two sources, Mark and Q, and saw that the differences in phrasing could be adequately explained in these cases on that basis.

We turn next to examine the doublets of narrative passages in

Matthew to see if a similar principle can be seen at work. The first of these, doublet 15, consists of a summary of Jesus' ministry found in 4.23 and 9.35 with partial parallels in Mark 1.39 and 6.6b and Luke 4.44 and 8.1.

In both cases Matthew begins καὶ περιῆγεν , as in Mark 6.6b; περιάγειν occurs elsewhere in Matthew only at 23.15 and not elsewhere in Mark. In 4.23 it continues ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ with v.l. assimilating to Mark 1.39 εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ; we have noted under prepositions Matthew's use of ἐν for Marcan εἰς . In 9.35 we find as object τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας , in line with the use of τὰς κώμας in Mark 6.6b and κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην in Luke 8.1.

In both cases in Matthew we find Jesus' ministry summarised as διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ . In Mark 1.39 we find κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν .. καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλων and in 6.6b κύκλῳ διδάσκων. Matthew can thus be regarded as using Mark, correcting his wrong use of εἰς to ἐν in line with his usual practice and then building up a more concise three-fold statement of Jesus' ministry as teaching, preaching and healing. διδάσκειν and κηρύσσειν are also linked in 11.1. Matthew's distinction between Jesus' teaching of the law and preaching about the kingdom is noted by Bornkamm in 'Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew' p. 38. The object of the preaching, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας , is expressed in a Matthaean formulation found also in 24.14.

By his placing of the statement in 4.23 and 9.35 Matthew is enabled to enclose this summary with lengthy examples of Jesus' teaching and healing in practice. Thus Chapters 5-7 provide the teaching material, while Chapters 8 and 9 collect 10 examples of Jesus' healing ministry. θεραπεύειν, as we saw, is one of Matthew's favoured verbs, while the use of μαλακία for illness reflects the usage of the Septuagint. In its Matthaean formulation we recall the usage of Deut. 7.15 and 28.61 where the connection is shown between the removal of all illness and keeping the covenant and between the onset of all illness and breach of the covenant. Thus we may infer that Matthew is setting out to show Jesus as the inaugurator of a new or renewed covenant in word and deed. In all the gospel accounts we find this same twofold emphasis on Jesus' words and actions and we recall the prophetic sign, ΛΙΝ, which accompanied the word as its second witness. (See further on this subject Van Vliet 'No Single Testimony' pp. 3-4, 73.)

We note too that the phrase θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν recurs in 10.1 of the mission given by Jesus to his disciples and that in the same chapter they are commissioned - κηρύσσετε (10.7).

The single hand at work behind the doublet 4.23, 9.35 is clear, as is its purpose in the framework of the first half of the gospel. Whether or not the phrase ἐν τῷ λαῷ occurs at 9.35 as well as 4.23 is uncertain since it appears in the latter passage only as variant; that Jesus' activity relates to God's λαός, the Jews, is at any rate certain in both cases.

The next narrative doublet, Number 16, occurs in 9.27-31 and 20.29-34 with Marcan parallel in 10.46-52 and Lucan at 18.35-43.

In the second case its context is similar to the Marcan in that Jesus and his disciples are coming from Jericho followed by a crowd, when they come upon the blind men seated by the roadside. In the first case the setting is much vaguer and the blind men follow Jesus instead of sitting. It would thus appear that in the first case we are dealing with the story deliberately abstracted from its setting to fit into the framework of the ten miracles of which Chapters 8 and 9 are composed and in the second case with the same story retained in its Marcan setting. The awkwardness of the phrasing in Mark 10.46 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰερειχὼ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ is improved in Matthew 20.29, in which most MSS read καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἰερειχὼ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ ὄχλος πολύς; the reading of FHΔ and minuscules with the singular in the genitive absolute is probably to be accounted assimilation to Mark. On the other hand the reading of ℙ¹⁷⁵ and D ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί may well be original, since the plural of ὄχλος is more frequent than the singular in Matthew's usage, as we saw.

It is interesting that in both 9.27 and 20.29 ἀκολουθεῖν is used, though absent from the Marcan parallel, and in spite of the difference of subject for the verb on each occasion the fact that we are dealing with a favoured verb of the gospel points to a uniformity of usage. In place of ἐκπορεύεσθαι of 20.29 we find παράγειν at

9.27 and the fact that this latter verb is employed in a different place in the doublet, in 20.30, again reflects a remarkable agreement against the Marcan version. It is governed at 9.27 by the adverb ἐκεῖθεν , which is found 12 times in all in Matthew to 5 times in Mark and 3 in Luke.

Most remarkable of all the agreements between the two Matthaean versions against Mark, however, is the fact that in both cases we find δύο τυφλοί where Mark has only one τυφλός , a beggar called Bartimaeus. On the basis of Marcan priority, this means that Matthew required to convert Mark's singular verbs to plurals, while the fact that the story occurs twice in this form argues against the presence of two as being due to the conflation of two stories. In fact, further examination reveals that δύο , with no less than 40 occurrences, is one of his favourite numbers. In particular we find the same phenomenon of δύο for εἷς in 8.28ff as compared with Mark 5.1ff, the story of the δαιμονιζόμενοι with Matthaean rewriting and compression of Mark, (on which see further H.J. Held in 'Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew pp. 172ff). Further, in 26.60 Matthew makes clear that the false witnesses who secured Jesus' condemnation were δύο , not just τινες as in Mark 14.57, and thus makes clear his knowledge of Jewish legal procedure, cf. 18.16ff and Van Vliet op.cit. on this law. Even in the description of Jesus' call of the disciples Matthew makes clear that the first two groups of disciples to be called were δύο ἀδελφούς - 4.18, 4.21, where Mark does not employ δύο in his account.

Returning to the doublet under consideration, we note in the second

case the use of καὶ ἰδού , which we have seen from consideration of connective particles to be a Matthaean idiom. The use of connective is demanded by the phrasing in this case, whereas the difference in treatment in the earlier version does not require the idiom. Its use in place of a simple καὶ adds vividness in terms of the narrative in Chapter 20 and helps to stress the subject and their position relative to Jesus and the crowd.

20.30 and 9.27b reflect a progressive compression of Mark's story. Both follow Mark in the use of the verbs κράξειν and λέγειν and in the phrasing ἐλέησον and υἱὸς (or υἱὲ) Δαυίδ - υἱέ probably being a correction of nominative used for vocative. In both cases the Marcan construction with ἤρξατο and infinitive is absent, while the participle λέγοντες is common to both Matthaean versions. 20.30 follows Mark in the use of a subordinating participle ἀκούσαντες in most MSS, but D reads ἤκουσαν . . καὶ ἔκραξαν which may be original. κύριε occurs in most MSS at 20.30 but is absent from ℵBD it recurs in 20.31 and 20.33, in this last case corresponding to Marcan ῥαββουνί and a replacement of an Aramaic expression by a Greek one. In this last instance too there is a corresponding κύριε in 9.28.

In both cases the cry for mercy precedes the title 'son of David', a Matthaean peculiarity, as Held observes, op.cit. p. 220.

20.31 corresponds to Mark 10.48 and reflects Matthaean style in the use of aorists ἐπετίμησεν and ἔκραξαν for Marcan imperfects ἐπετίμων and ἔκραζεν , as well as in the use of λέγοντες. .

The earlier version has omitted the verse in the interests of focussing the scene on the relations between Jesus and the two men and removing subsidiary characters and inessential details. This is in line with a common practice of the evangelist in his treatment of the miracle stories, a point well illustrated by Held op.cit. pp. 165ff. Thus in 9.28 Jesus is depicted as entering a house and being approached there by the blind men, not in full view of the crowd as in 20.32.

This difference of setting in 9.28 occasions the use of ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ τυφλοὶ . Held op.cit. p. 220 notes this as Matthaean in its basic construction. The variant of D καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ . . . provides a historic present, which we saw to be not very common in Matthew outwith verbs of saying. On the other hand, there are 5 other examples of this verb in Matthew in the historic present, this reading provides καὶ for δὲ and parataxis for hypotaxis and hence there is a possibility that it reflects the original wording of Matthew. We note too in this verse the use of the favoured Matthaean verb προσέρχεσθαι and the Semitic order with it, as well as the fact that Jesus is the object of the approach.

In 20.32, on the other hand, we find Matthew following Marcan wording with καὶ στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . In the succeeding compression of Mark's version, however, we find Jesus taking the initiative personally in calling the men rather than leaving this to the crowd. Thus Matthew has ἐφώνησεν αὐτοὺς for Marcan εἶπεν· φωνήσατε αὐτόν. καὶ φωνοῦσιν τὸν τυφλόν . We note that in the process a historic

present in Mark disappears from Matthew's version, while the whole descriptive verse, Mark 10.50, does not recur. The same desire to concentrate on essentials and to centre action on Jesus can thus be seen in this second telling of the story, though it has not been carried out as radically as in the first version.

In the dialogue between Jesus and the blind men the version in 9.28-9 emphasises the element of faith involved in the cure with πιστεύετε in v. 28 and κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν in v. 29, as compared with Mark 10.52 ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. The version in 20.32ff follows Mark 10.51 with the question τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν and emphasises Jesus' pity with σπλαγχνισθείς, not present here in Mark; the faith involved can thus be regarded as implicitly rather than explicitly expressed. We note that γενηθήτω is a Matthaean expression, occurring 5 times and regularly with the dative, that 16.27 provides a parallel use of κατὰ + accusative and 8.13 a parallel combination of πιστεύειν and γενηθήτω and that faith is a common theme in Matthew's retelling of miracle stories (see Held op.cit. pp. 178-81, 193-200, 219-25).

In both 9.28 and 20.33 we find asyndetic λέγουσιν followed by αὐτῷ, a notable agreement of the two versions against Mark. In the first case it is preceded by καὶ λέγει, in the second by καὶ εἶπεν

In 20.33 the request ἵνα ἀνοιγῶσιν (vl. ἀνοιχθῶσιν) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν replaces Marcan ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. ἀνοίγω is a Matthaean verb with 11 examples to 1 in Mark and 6 or 7 in Luke, who uses

the compound διανοίγω in addition. ἀνὰ βλέπειν occurs, however, in the next verse in line with the Marcan parallel - καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψαν . Comparison with the parallel phrase in 9.30 shows the use of ἠνεῴχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί with the phrase that is found earlier in Chapter 20 being postponed in that version to this later position. The similarity in wording and the agreement of the two versions in the use of this phrase against Mark is once again remarkable.

Further, in both cases ἥψατο is used, governing either τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτῶν or τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν , depending on which reading we pronounce original in each case. In the first case Matthaean τότε is used, in the second δὲ with στιλνγχνιστέω preceding, the divergence being due to the slight difference in treatment. In 9.29 λέγων occurs, unless D with καὶ εἶπεν is original. The ending of this form of the story is interesting in its use of the motif of the 'Messianic secret', the enjoinder to silence. The motif occurs in 8 v. 4 in the form ὅρα μηδενὶ εἴπῃς in a story based on Mark 1.40ff. It appears that Matthew had this story of the healing of the leper in mind as he wrote this ending, since ἐνεβριμήθη of 9.30 recalls ἐμβριμησάμενος of Mark 1.43 and the verb occurs nowhere else in Matthew. Further διαφημίζειν of 9.31 describing the activity of the healed in defiance of Jesus' instructions is found in Mark 1.45 and nowhere else in Mark's gospel; its only other occurrence in Matthew is 28.15. It is to be noted that the object of διαφημίζειν is Jesus himself and not the gospel, τὸν λόγον , which is used in this

absolute sense chiefly in Mark. The ending of the story in 9.31 οἱ δὲ ἐξελθόντες διεφήμισαν αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ is also influenced by the concluding expression of the previous story at 9.26 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ φήμη αὕτη εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην, and indicates the repetitive nature of Matthew's language. In 20.34 the story ends καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ which follows Mark in the use of the verb, but with the aorist in place of the imperfect, as often in Matthew.

Thus detailed examination of this doublet enforces the view that there is an essential unity of style in Matthew after allowance is made for the influence of Mark.

We turn to another doublet, Number 17, which may well be due to Matthew's abstraction of material to provide 10 miracles in Chapters 8 and 9. It is the story of the dumb demoniac in 9.32-4 and 12.22-4 with Lucan parallel at 11.14-15.

Comparison of the two forms of this story is instructive as regards the attempt to discern more than one hand at work in the gospel. Thus in the first case we find a genitive absolute with δὲ and ἰδοὺ as connective, in the second case τότε and we could declare from this that the first gives evidence of Septuagintalism and the second of an Aramaic speaker at work. Closer examination reveals, however, that the presence of ἰδοὺ can be accounted for by the use of the genitive absolute, which is employed to link this story to the preceding one. In the second case the story follows a fulfilment quotation and the intention is merely to continue the narrative. Since throughout Matthew's gospel we

find ΤΟΤΕ used as first word in a sentence and ΙΔΟΥ following a genitive absolute, there is no divergence of practice between the two occurrences of the story such as points to the work of two authors.

In both 9.32 and 12.22 the verb προσφέρειν is employed; this we have seen to be a favoured Matthaean compound. In the first case we have definitely an impersonal plural, in the second the passive occurs in most MSS with B reading προσήνεγκαν. Again the question of difference in style occurs in view of Matthew's apparent removal of Marcan impersonal plurals countered by his use of impersonals of his own on other occasions, as we saw. In this case later scribal alteration may have been at work in the second passage, though it is to be noted that the passive προσηνέχθησαν occurs in Matthew at 19.13 following ΤΟΤΕ, where Mark 10.13 in the parallel has προσέφερον with active and impersonal plural.

A further difference arises over the fact that in the first case the demoniac is κωφὸν καὶ δαιμονιζόμενον in the second case δαιμονιζόμενον τυφλὸν καὶ κωφόν. Thus in the first case the story is closer to the Lucan one with only one ailment in question, while in the second the additional affliction of blindness is to be noted. In the first description too we are closer to Luke with a genitive absolute describing the casting out of the demon followed by the clause ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. In the second case we have no mention of the expulsion of the demon, but in its place a principal clause καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, followed by a ὥστε clause with the infinitives λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. Since

θεραπεύειν is a favoured Matthaean verb, the wording here may indicate the editor's hand.

Similarities between Matthew's earlier version and that of Luke continue with the common phrasing καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι. When account is taken in Luke of his editorial ἐγένετο δὲ in 11.14, the resemblance in wording is seen to be such as suggests the use by Matthew and Luke of a common source in Greek. Matthew's second version may then be a more freely developed version of this story, with blindness added to deafness by reason of the metaphorical significance given to them in confrontation with the spiritually blind and deaf Pharisees (cf. Matt. 15.12-14 for the Pharisees' spiritual blindness as taken up in 23.16, 23.17, 23.19, 23.24, 23.26).

In 12.23 ἐξίσταντο takes the place of ἐθαύμασαν in description of the crowd's astonishment at the healing. Since this verb occurs nowhere else in Matthew, its presence may be due to reminiscence of Mark's use at 2.12, 5.42 and 6.51. οἱ ὄχλοι here is qualified by πάντες, thereby distinguishing them from the Pharisees and removing the idea found in Luke's version that some of the crowd were not impressed.

The expression of astonishment by the crowd takes the form of direct speech in both Matthaean versions, this distinguishing them from Luke's version. In the first case this is introduced by λέγοντες, which we have noted as Matthaean, in the second case by the much less frequent καὶ ἔλεγον, except in ΝΥΣ which read λέγοντες. In both cases the question of Jesus as Messiah is brought up, in the second case

more explicitly than the first.

The phrasing in the first case is distinctly Matthaean. Thus οὐδέποτε is found 5 times in Matthew to twice each in Mark and Luke. φαίνεσθαι occurs 13 times in Matthew, regularly in the passive, but only once in Mark and twice in Luke. οὕτως occurs 32 times in Matthew to 10 in Mark, 21 in Luke and 14 in John. Ἰσραήλ is used 12 times in Matthew to twice in Mark and 12 in Luke, while 8.10 affords a similar usage in the phrase ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ . In the second case we find a question introduced by μήτι , a form found also in 7.16, 26.22 and 26.25, followed by demonstrative οὗτος in its regular Matthaean pronominal use and Matthaean υἱὸς Δαυίδ , used elsewhere in 1.1, 1.20, 9.27, 15.22, 20.30, 20.31, 21.9 and 21.15, as compared with Mark's three examples at 10.47, 10.48 and 12.35. The two versions can thus be regarded as editorial variations in expressing the sentiments of the onlookers in direct speech.

The next problem is whether the declaration of the Pharisees belongs to the original text of 9.34 or whether that verse should be omitted with the Western text. In this earlier position it comes in more intrusively into the text and blunts the force of the pronouncement in verse 33; in its later position in 12.24, as securely attested by all the MSS, it follows on to a debate on the theme of the source of Jesus' authority. The wording of 9.34 could be due to scribal recollection of the Marcan or Lucan versions of the saying except for the subject οἱ Φαρισαῖοι which is shared in common with 12.24 against Mark and Luke.

In the case of 12.24 the editor's hand is indicated in the use of aorist subordinating participle with aorist indicative - ἀκούσαντες εἶπον - and pronominal οὗτος . For the use of οὐ.. εἰμὴ , absent from Mark and Luke, we compare 12.39, 16.4. βεεξεβουλ recurs here as in Mark and Luke, but not in 9.34.

While the two versions of the story in 9.32-4 and 12.22-4 reflect some divergences in expression, they are insufficient to establish the work of more than one hand and can be accounted for by recollections of Marcan language and difference of position in the gospel structure.

The fourth of the narrative doublets cited by Hawkins with regard to its bearing on the Synoptic problem is 12 vv. 38-9, 16 vv. 1, 2 as compared with Mark 8 vv. 11-12, Luke 11.16, 11.29. This consists of the introductory narrative to the sayings doublet No. 9 and constitutes No. 18 of Hawkins' list.

In this case the setting in the second instance corresponds to the Marcan one, while the first has a setting closer to the Lucan one, although the introductory narrative there has no special points of contact with the Lucan and must rather be regarded as also dependent on Mark. In the second case the demand for a sign is expressed in indirect speech, as in Mark and Luke, but in the first we find direct speech introduced. The use of direct speech for indirect to provide a clearer dialogue or a greater degree of symmetry can be seen as characteristic of Matthew's treatment of Mark and results in the use of λέγοντες here. Other Matthaean examples of direct speech for Marcan indirect include 10.5

(cf. Mark 6.8), 14.26 (cf. Mark 6.49), 15.22-5 (cf. Mark 7.26), 17.9 (cf. Mark 9.9) and 26.27 (cf. Mark 14.23).

The introduction of the direct speech is rendered in most MSS by ΤΌΤΕ ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λέγοντες. B omits καὶ Φαρισαίων and ℵΔΧΥΓΠΦ omit αὐτῷ , these omissions probably being due to scribal error. ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες is found elsewhere in Matthew in this form in 25.9, 25.37, 25.44 and 25.45 in peculiar narratives in place of the more regular forms with ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν , as we saw. ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν occurs in the answer in both cases, 12.39 and 16.2, without a parallel in Mark in this passage, this providing an agreement of Matthew's two passages against Mark. The use of ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες can then be accounted for as extending this usage in the freer rendering of 12.38ff in the way in which Matthew phrases in passages free of Marcan influence. The idea of 'answer' can be seen in terms of the earlier dialogue of Jesus on the importance of words, which the Pharisees and scribes counter by demanding instead some action in the form of a sign. ΤΟΤΕ is used here to mark a new stage in the discussion.

The speech of the scribes and Pharisees in 12.38 opens with ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΕ , a term of address used by all the synoptists, but by Matthew with greater strictness, being confined to non-disciples and the traitor Judas. (See Bornkamm op.cit. p. 41.) It continues with a favourite Matthaean verb, ΘΕΛΕΙΝ , and concludes in a manner demanded by the subject matter, except that it is a ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ἀπὸ τοῦ and

not a σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, with emphasis being laid on the work of Jesus rather than on the sign's divine origin.

In 16.1 the narrative agrees with Mark in the use of indirect speech, in the use of πειράζοντες and in the sign's divine origin, but with ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ for the reading ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ of most Marcan MSS. The subject in most MSS is οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι where Mark has only Φαρισαῖοι. Apart from this, in spite of its greater closeness to Mark, it too reflects signs of rewriting by the editor. Thus the participle προσελθόντες brings into the story a favoured Matthaean compound and serves to introduce the new subject in place of Marcan ἐξῆλθον. The phrasing in Mark ἤρξατο συζητεῖν αὐτῷ ζητοῦντες is replaced by ἐπηρώτησαν, which reflects the comparative dislike of Matthew for this use of ἤρξατο / ἤρξαντο and the removal of a clumsy juxtaposition of the compound and simplex from the same root. The verse concludes with the use of the verb ἐπιδείκνυμι as in 22.19 and 24.1, both of these other occurrences likewise being found in passages with Marcan parallels where we can posit Matthaean rewriting of Mark. This verb occurs elsewhere only in Luke 17.14, Acts 9.39 and 18.28 and Hebrews 6.17.

Once again the differences between the doublet can be explained by reference to Mark and a respectively freer and closer use of the same source.

The next two doublets in Hawkins' list are concerned with the association of the missions of John the Baptist and Jesus more closely by

the attribution of common sayings to them. The first, Doublet 19, occurs in Matthew 3.2 and 4.17 with Marcan parallel in 1 vv. 4, 14, 15. Thus we find in Matthew the words μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν on the lips of both John and Jesus. Mark 1.4 speaks of John κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν and we note how Matthew has turned this phrasing into direct speech with λέγων. In Mark 1.15 the second part of Jesus' message is declared to be μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ and we see how Matthew, with his usual compression, has retained only one of these phrases. Likewise the first part of Jesus' message in Mark - πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ - has become in Matthew ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, with only the second limb retained. This phrase is then attributed also to the Baptist as indicating his similar message. In both cases, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, the Matthaean reverential form, replaces Marcan ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

Doublet 20 occurs in 3.10 and 7.19 with Lucan parallel in 3.9. The wording in both cases is identical except for the addition of οὖν in 3.10 as demanded by the context. In this case Luke's parallel suggests this saying was originally one of the Baptist's, though in Matthew it is addressed more specifically to the Pharisees and Sadducees. He then takes it up again and inserts it into the portion of the Sermon on the Mount warning against false prophets and observing the fruits individuals produce. It is of interest too to notice how he has taken the saying at

3.12 and echoed it in the parable of the wheat and tares at 13.30.

The final two doublets admitted by Hawkins are sayings without parallels in the other Synoptic gospels. The first, doublet 21, is the quotation from Hosea 6.6 inserted at both 9.13 and 12.7 - ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν . The phrasing with καὶ οὐ reflects the Hebrew and occurs as a variant in the Septuagint in place of the alternative, better Greek reading ἢ . In the first passage, 9.13, it is introduced by πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστιν , which Stendahl op.cit. p. 129 shows to be pure rabbinic, reflecting Hebrew הלך למד את. This phrase and the quotation are lacking in the Marcan context and comparison with Mark 2.17 suggests this is an editorial addition. In the second case, it is introduced by εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε τί ἐστιν followed by an apodosis οὐκ ἂν κατεδικάσατε τοὺς ἀναιτίους . The difference in this phrasing is dependent on the context, but both the direct command and the conditional clause convey a similar idea of indictment for failure to understand the Old Testament. In its second quotation, a comparison with Mark 2.25ff indicates that Matthew has added a further example to the one in Mark and summed up the teaching with reference to this passage of Hosea. Thus in both cases it could be regarded as editorial and the hand of the same editor can be seen at work.

Doublet 22 is the saying in 16.19 and 18.18 on 'binding' and 'loosing'. Comparison with John 20.23 suggests that a genuine saying of Jesus may well lie behind this saying. As indicated in the chapter on vocabulary,

Codex Neofiti of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum has provided several Aramaic parallels for סלח 'to forgive' as literally rendered in Matthew by λύειν . In the first case the saying is addressed to Peter after the confession at Caesarea Philippi and is hence in the singular, whereas in the second case it is addressed to all the disciples in the context of community discipline and is in the plural. In John the saying, though with differing wording, has also a plural reference. It is thus possible that the saying was in fact originally cast in the plural, but was given a singular reference in the first instance by the evangelist in view of his known interest in relating stories of Peter. At 18.18 it bears the form indicative of sayings of Jesus in Matthew ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν , while in 16.19 it is added to a saying giving Peter the 'keys' with καὶ as connecting link. In both cases the phrasing brings out the comparison of γῆ and οὐρανὸς , which we have noted under vocabulary as distinctive of Matthew and hence perhaps written in to the saying, as comparison with John might suggest. In the first case the plural ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς is securely attested, but in the second case ἐν οὐρανῷ is the reading of ℵB Θ with τῷ οὐρανῷ as variant of NDWXΓΔΠΣΦ and τοῖς οὐρανοῖς as reading of the other MSS. Matthaean usage would favour this latter, but the question of assimilation with the first passage has to be taken into account. Whichever reading we adopt, the similarity of wording between the two is to be noted as compared with the Johannine version.

We must note too a number of verses which Hawkins op.cit. p. 99 lists

for resemblances in wording without considering these sufficient to constitute doublets as such.

The first of these is the reference to swearing by heaven in 5.34 and 23.22. In the first case it is set in the context of the Sermon on the Mount with Jesus' teaching on the superfluity of oaths. On the second occasion it occurs in the diatribe against the Pharisees with their attitude to the swearing of oaths being called in question. It is noticeable that in both passages ὀμνύειν is used with ἐν in the Semitic manner, as already noted, in both cases οὐρανὸς is in the singular and in both cases there is reference to heaven as θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ . In the first case λέγω ὑμῖν with μὴ and infinitive of indirect command governs the construction and a ὅτι clause offers the reason for the prohibition. In the second case the teaching is phrased in the form of a statement with the articular participle serving a conditional role. The variation between indefinite relative with ὅς ἄν at the opening of the section - 23.16 - and the articular participle in this and the preceding verse is a phenomenon we have already noted earlier in this chapter. The difference in the respective contexts, audience and style of address in 5.34 and 23.22 accounts adequately for these differences in phrasing between the two verses, while the points of similarity in phrasing are very striking.

The second verse in Hawkins' list, 10.17-24.9a, has already been treated as doublet 6(a). The third, at 10.40 and 18.5, is slightly different in its two forms, since in the first case it is the receiving

of the disciples that is equivalent to receiving Jesus, in the second case it is the acceptance of a child. On the other hand, the theme of the child and the child-like believer is developed in Chapter 18 with the call not to despise the least of those who follow Jesus' way, so that the difference is not after all so great. In both cases δέχεσθαι is used and the apodosis is worded ἐμὲ δέχεται. In the first case we find the articular participle preceding in its regular conditional significance, in the second case a conditional relative clause with ὃς ἐάν. We have already seen a similar variation at work in Matthew in other passages and thus the desire for ringing the changes will adequately explain this difference.

The fourth verse in Hawkins' list, 11.27a-28.18 concerns the granting of all power by God to Jesus. In the first case it is πάντα as in Luke 10.22, in the second case πᾶσα ἐξουσία, in the first case, as in Luke, παρεδόθη, in the second case the simple ἐδόθη, both being reverential passives. In the second case the ideas of heaven and earth are linked, ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, a feature of Matthaean style. Thus the first reflects a Q saying which has good claim to be a genuine saying of Jesus, while the second could be regarded as Matthaean rewriting for his epilogue, depending on our general opinion of the closing section and of Matthew's purpose.

There remain for consideration some verses in close proximity to one another where Matthew could be setting down two versions of the same saying or deliberately repeating in differing form. The first of these is

24.23, 24.26 in which the first verse occurs also in the Marcan and Lucan parallels, while the second is without parallel. Closer examination shows that the second is more particularised than the first and reflects specific Jewish Messianic beliefs current in 1st century A.D. Palestine. In the second case we find the impersonal third person plural, in the first ΤΙΣ and third person singular. In the first case we find ΤΟΤΕ , in the second case ΟΥΝ and in both cases ΙΔΟΥ . From these linguistic facts little can be concluded except that the first shows use of Mark, the second recourse to some other tradition or a process of editorial creation and that in this second case the Jewish nature of the saying is clearer than in the first.

Of even greater interest is the last set of verses in Hawkins' list, 28.7 and 28.10, with the reference ΕΙΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ followed by ΑΠΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΜΟΥ, the first being a saying of the angel to the women at the tomb, the second a saying of Jesus. In both cases there is reference to a future resurrection appearance of Jesus in Galilee. The first reflects the narrative of Mark 16.7 in the words ΕΙΠΑΤΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ and ΠΡΟΑΓΕΙ ΥΜΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑΝ . It differs from that narrative in the specific mention of Peter, in the insertion of ΗΓΕΡΘΗ , with or without ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ, immediately following ΟΤΙ and the use of ΚΑΙ ΙΔΟΥ before ΠΡΟΑΓΕΙ , this being in Matthaean style. Further ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΥ ΠΟΡΕΥΘΕΙΣΑΙ replaces Marcan ΑΛΛΑ ΥΠΑΓΕΤΕ , though ΥΠΑΓΕΤΕ occurs later, in v. 10; this use of the aorist subordinating participle

of πορεύεσθαι we have already noted as Matthaean.

In the second case, since Jesus is speaking μου replaces αὐτοῦ and πάρεστε με ὄψονται takes the place of αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε. The injunction μὴ φοβεῖσθαι recalls Mark 16.8 ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ and Matt. 28.8 μετὰ φόβου. ἀπαγγεῖλατε takes the place of εἴπατε, this verb having already occurred in v. 8 and the phrasing takes the form of a command with ἵνα clause and verb ἀπελθεῖν for statement with προρεύεσθαι.

The question as to whether in fact this is a doublet, or at any rate a repeated saying, depends on the interpretation we place on ἀδελφοί in v. 10 and this raises an interesting question of usage. Matthew employs ἀδελφός 38 times, Mark 19 times, Luke 23 times and John 14 times; thus it is clearly a favourite word in Matthew's vocabulary. In ordinary classical Greek usage ἀδελφός denotes a natural or half-brother and infrequently in a looser way a close kinsman. In the Septuagint too ἀδελφός regularly bears this significance as the rendering of Hebrew אח. On the other hand, it is clear that in some passages in the New Testament this stricter literal sense cannot be pressed and that it must rather bear the significance of 'friend' or 'fellow-believer', just as we find that in the papyri from Egypt ἀδελφός was used for members of a religious brotherhood. For this transferred significance of ἀδελφός in the New Testament we can see the origin in the saying of Jesus in Mark 3.33-5 with its parallels at Matthew 12.48-50 and Luke 8.20-21, in which Jesus sublimates the whole concept of human relationships.

In Mark, apart from that passage and the one in 10.29-30 with its similar ideas, ἀδελφὸς always bears the literal sense of kinship. Examination of John too indicates that ἀδελφὸς for him bears the natural significance of blood-relationship. In 2.12 John clearly distinguishes ἀδελφοὶ and μαθηταὶ and when he designates Jesus' brothers John means his natural brothers and not his disciples. Hence in 20.17 Jesus' commission to Mary is to go to his natural, unbelieving brothers; that this is the significance of ἀδελφὸς in that passage is indicated by its clear echo of 7.8. Only in 21.23, which is in the postscript to the gospel and often attributed to another hand, does ἀδελφὸς signify a member of the Christian community in John. The Johannine equivalent of Jesus' saying in Mark 3.33ff indicates that Jesus called his disciples φίλοι 'friends' and the idea of 'brother' does not occur in this connection. (John 15.14.)

In Luke 17 of his examples have a clear literal significance, but in passages such as 6.41ff, 17.3 and 22.32 it is metaphorical in significance, these being found in sayings of Jesus. In Matthew 21 examples are clearly literal, but there are a number of figurative usages, again in sayings of Jesus - 5.22 twice (peculiar matter), 5.23-4 (cf. Mark 11.25 which lacks this usage, having τις instead), 5.46 (with v.l. φίλους and Lucan equivalent 6.33 τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς), 7.3-5 (as Luke), 18.15 (as Luke), 18.21 (only by implication in Luke), 18.35 (parable peculiar to Matthew) and 23.8 (peculiar material). Thus the evidence for interpreting 28.10 is not unambiguous. ἀδελφοῖς could mean the

natural brothers of Jesus, as it clearly does in John, and the passage would then not be a doublet, but an injunction to tell a second group about the resurrection. On the other hand, as it is found on Jesus' lips, this could be classed with the sayings of Jesus in Matthew and 28.10 could then be regarded as a doublet with Jesus reinforcing the instructions of the angel to tell his disciples, but using a favourite description in terms of sublimation of relationships.

Another interesting example of a possible doublet, though it is not mentioned by Hawkins is 5 vv. 10, 11 with two beatitudes on the persecuted. The second of these has a parallel in Luke 6.22 and refers specifically to the persecution of the disciples, whereas the first has the general ring characterising the earlier beatitudes. In both cases διώκειν is used, as it is in vv. 12 and 44 of this chapter where Luke does not employ the verb; similar uses of the verb are also found in 10.23 and 23.34. In the first verse a Matthaean δικαιοσύνη occurs, followed by the Matthaean ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in the second part of that verse. Thus a case can be made out for v. 10 as a creation on the basis of v. 11 to round off the set of beatitudes as they began with the promise of the kingdom.

With these verses we conclude our survey of the doublets in Matthew, as well as our survey of Matthew's language. It remains to draw together the results of the extended linguistic examination in a concluding chapter.

Chapter 10

Conclusions.

The preceding examination of Matthew's linguistic usages and style against the background of contemporary Hellenistic and Semitic writing has left the question of synoptic relationships as open as possible. The case for Matthaean priority has been afforded a sympathetic hearing, but in the final analysis it cannot be considered as a probable solution to the synoptic question. It is clear that Matthew's level of attainment in Greek is higher than Mark's and that the arguments put forward by C.H. Turner, J.C. Hawkins, W.C. Allen and Josef Schmid in favour of Matthew as a corrector of the ruggedness of Mark's Greek are very weighty. The fact that Luke too adopts a similar procedure with regard to Mark and agrees with Matthew in places in the corrections he makes strongly favours the generally accepted view of Marcan priority.

Chapman's ingenious attempt to explain the more colloquial and unpolished Greek of Mark in terms of a conversational retelling of Matthew cannot stand in the light of linguistic examination. Lagrange, in pressing the priority of Aramaic Matthew, has to adopt a modified position in respect of the dependence of Mark on Matthew, as we saw. Thus since Matthew's gospel gives evidence of being dependent on the Greek gospel of Mark, it cannot be a translation from an Aramaic original. As we noted in the second chapter, the external evidence from tradition is very ambiguous on this point and the acceptance of the historical worth of this tradition

does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the traditionalist position on Matthaean priority.

The weightiest of the linguistic arguments in favour of Matthew's dependence on Mark were seen to be the ways in which he removes Marcan parenthetical clauses and redundancies of expression, the manner in which he prunes Mark's diffuseness in the use of subordinating participles in places while at other times using these participles to remove parataxis with καὶ and his corrections of the incorrect use of εἰς for ἐν and of εὐθύς/εως as a light particle rather than as an adverb signifying 'immediately'. Other arguments in support of Matthew as corrector concerned the treatment of Marcan impersonal plurals, the correction of ἵνα in a non-purpose sense, the removal of imperfects and historic presents, of ὅτι recitativum, ἤρξατο with the infinitive and of the periphrastic imperfect, and the changes of compound verbs followed by the same preposition. These were seen to bear varying degrees of additional weight to the other stronger arguments.

On the other hand, we noted that the case of Lagrange and Schlatter for the more Semitic nature of Matthew than Mark, with the support it received from Beyer's work, was a weighty one which could stand the test of examination. Thus we observed that it was possible to draw parallels in a number of places between Matthew's usage and that of Aramaic writings such as the Genesis Apocryphon, the documents from Murabba'at and the midrashic expansions of the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum preserved in Codex Neofiti I and that the idioms thus uncovered were either absent from or less frequent in Hellenistic Greek usage.

Allowance was made for the possibility that the writer derived a number of his Semitic idioms from the 'Septuagint', since we noted that a Greek version of the Old Testament would necessarily be used by the purely Greek-speaking readers of the gospel. We noted, however, that at least two of the unusual fulfilment quotations - 1.23 and 12.17ff - suggested recourse to another Hebrew text apart from the Massoretic one, in both cases with Qumran parallels. Thus the possibility that the writer knew Hebrew and had recourse to a Hebrew Old Testament makes it quite conceivable that his Hebraic idioms were due only indirectly to Septuagint translation practice and derived rather from Biblical Hebrew itself. Even when we allow for the fluid state of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Old Testament in the 1st century A.D., it is clear from our examination that Matthew in no way cultivated a consistent 'Septuagintal' style in the manner in which Luke did and that his practice frequently diverged from the methods of the Greek translators of the Old Testament.

Idioms which could be attributed to the influence of the Septuagint include ἰδοὺ and καὶ ἰδοὺ , καὶ ἐγένετο , λέγων/λέγοντες, the use of μαλακία for 'sickness', phrases such as εἰς ἀπάντησιν and ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ , the latter as connective, the use of ἀπὸ .. ἕως and τρόφιμα , as well as the ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν idiom shared with the other Synoptists.

Other idioms were seen to derive from Aramaic rather than Hebrew usage and the question arose whether these could be attributed to the use of sources such as Q or M. If this could have been shown, it would have

indicated that Matthew himself knew no Aramaic or was at least more familiar with Greek, as is commonly believed. Some of the Aramaisms could in fact come under this category, such as the use of ἐν with ὀμνύειν, irregular uses of ἔμπροσθεν, the employment of the reverential passive and the use of λύειν in the sense of 'to forgive'.

Other Aramaic usages such as ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς are certainly found in sayings of Jesus, but raise the question of the relationship to Mark in whose gospel they do not occur. The same difficulty arises with usages which must clearly be credited to the editor on the basis of Marcan priority, such as the frequent use of τότε as connective for Marcan καί, the use of λέγει, λέγουσι and ἔφη in asyndeton, with the Aramaic initial position for these verbs, where Mark has a connective, the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης for 'immediately' and the repetition of verbs such as προσέρχεσθαι and συνάγειν. The passages where Matthew has an impersonal plural for Marcan passive have also to be considered in this connection, if we accept the Aramaic origin of that construction.

One possibility posed by these usages is that the author of Matthew's gospel had an earlier abbreviated form of Mark before him which contained these Aramaic idioms, an Ur-Marcus. The theory of an Ur-Marcus has fallen into complete disfavour; Hawkins op.cit. p. 152 admits a few editorial additions to Mark unknown to Matthew and Luke, but those he cites are of minor importance for our study and not wholly convincing. It is possible

too that sayings found in Mark were also known to Matthew in another and more Semitic form. But the postulation of some form of Mark in which τότε , asyndetic λέγει and ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν originally stood is highly improbable. We would have expected the corrector of such a work to be more thorough in his improvement and our present Mark is too uniform in its colloquial style to admit such a possibility. A view of Matthew and Mark as variant translations of a common Aramaic work is likewise opposed to the linguistic evidence, in which the spread of these usages over the diverse material in Matthew is noticeable.

Another possibility is that Matthew found in one of his other sources, Q or M or some narrative source N, these usages derived from literal translation of that document from Aramaic into Greek and that in the interests of evenness of style he spread the idioms over a wider area, while anxious to preserve the flavour of the Aramaic original in these sources. This sounds a very complicated procedure and cannot in fact survive critical scrutiny, since Matthew is prepared at times to rewrite Marcan narratives, as we saw in the chapter on his doublets, and cannot be regarded as especially anxious to conserve the language of his sources, where the interests of improving the Greek and clarifying expressions are at issue. Besides, the very fact that he displays a repetitiveness of expression argues in favour of the editor as an Aramaic speaker rather than a Greek, since native Greek writers strive to vary their expressions to a greater degree than Semites.

I would thus urge the case that Matthew's gospel indicates the work of an Aramaic speaker with Greek as his second, acquired language. I would further argue that the author was brought up in an area where Aramaic and Hebrew were both known and that this will account best for the presence of so-called Septuagintalisms alongside Aramaisms on the basis of the interaction of Hebrew and Aramaic on one another in such a setting. The area which best suits this trilingual situation is Palestine itself and the contacts we have noted with Palestinian Aramaic writings and with the Qumran scrolls add weight to this view of the gospel writer. We saw in our first chapter that Greek was known more widely in 1st century A.D. Palestine than has often been believed and this makes it possible that the author acquired his knowledge of Greek too in that setting.

His mastery of the Greek language was clearly greater than that possessed by Mark and this enabled him to avoid serious grammatical error and to bind his sentences together in a smoother flowing narrative. He possessed a degree of knowledge of what constituted better Greek style and usage, as we saw from his employment of μὲν and δὲ in contrast, of ὅτως and ἔφη . On the other hand, he can in no way be thought of as an Atticist, since he avoided the use of the optative, the future infinitive, future participle in all probability and variety in connective particles and combinations of connectives. He employed too, as we saw under vocabulary, a number of words and phrases frowned on by purists. He reflects rather the contemporary spoken Hellenistic Greek in his use of verbal tenses, in several of his prepositional usages, in the frequent and

incorrect use of the genitive absolute and in various features of his vocabulary, while diverging from its usage in his comparative dislike for compound verbs with no specially compounding force.

In word-order within clauses and groups of words he reflects some trends in the development of the language, while diverging from these trends in other places in favour of a more 'Semitic' order, as we saw. This Semitic trend was noted most clearly in initial placing of verbs of speech and motion within the principal clause, in the placing of demonstrative adjectives, in the position of personal pronouns as objects to verbs and in the placing of clauses relative to one another.

With regard to our second problem we observed an even distribution of favourite words and constructions over the various classes of material such as suggested the work of a single author. Thus the preference for aorist rather than imperfect tense, the confinement of historic present to a few verbs outside λέγει/λέγουσι and the use of an aorist subordinating participle followed by aorist indicative are stylistic characteristics which recur throughout the gospel. The genitive absolute is used in peculiar narratives and parables to the same extent as in Marcan material, while favoured particles such as καὶ ἰδού and τότε are evenly spread. The same is true of favourite Matthaean verbs such as προσέρχεσθαι, λαμβάνειν, θέλειν and συνάγειν, phrases such as ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and γῆ with the name of a country following and terms of moral vocabulary such as δικαιοσύνη and ἡμέρα κρίσεως.

As a result of this evenness of distribution it is impossible to discern or delimit the work of more than one author. This possibility was first raised in connection with the assimilation of Marcan Old Testament quotations to the Septuagint coupled with the greater freedom shown towards non-Marcan quotations in the gospel. It was then extended to the language of the gospel as a whole with its apparent Septuagintal imitation in places countered by divergence from Septuagintal practice in favour of Aramaic idiom or regular κοινή in other places. Our examination has indicated the impossibility of dividing the linguistic phenomena in such a way as to speak of the work of a Septuagintalist and the work of a native Aramaic speaker or to attribute the editing of Mark to one hand and the work on the rest of the material to another's exertions.

It must be admitted that there are some divergences in treatment, the use of the impersonal plural with respect to Mark being a case in point. Our examination of the doublets in the gospel indicated a difference in treatment even of the same material when used on separate occasions, context and application having their part to play in this matter. Thus both conservatism and freedom in the use of sources are found in this gospel. In general it can be seen, however, that the author has left his imprint at every stage in his work to a greater or a lesser extent and that his usage has to be reckoned with in any attempted reconstruction of his sources.

The necessity for redaction criticism to supplement the methods of

synoptic and form criticism in the study of the gospels has emerged clearly from this study. The old idea that the gospel writers merely collected together a number of source documents from various quarters has been shown from our study of Matthew's language to do less than justice to the striking unity in composition of this work.

Whether the author wrote at the dictates of a 'school' or on his own initiative, he can be seen to have worked on his own guided by the written compositions of his predecessors in the faith. Throughout his work his aim was to produce a clear, readable and memorable account of the words and deeds of Jesus. By careful arrangement of his material, abbreviation and expansion of traditions received, the use of repeated formula, direct speech and dialogue he achieved this aim with noted success.

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Thesis Abstract.

In the first chapter of this work the language of St. Matthew's gospel is set in the context of general New Testament linguistic study in this century. The differing emphases of Semitists such as Torrey, Burney, Dalman and Black on the extent of Semitic influence on New Testament Greek are set side by side with the work of Hellenists such as Moulton and Deissmann in placing the New Testament language with the spoken Greek of its period. Account is taken of the contributions to this debate made by Lars Rydbeck in his isolation of a group of technical prose writers of the 1st century A.D. with linguistic affinities to the New Testament writers and by Klaus Beyer in examining New Testament Greek syntax on the basis of possible and impossible methods of expression in Aramaic and Hebrew.

The problem of finding Aramaic contemporary in time and place to the New Testament writings is considered and the different kinds of Aramaic used by various scholars as source material for an Aramaic approach are assessed. The Aramaic discoveries from Qumran, in particular the Genesis Apocryphon, and the material from Murabba'at are regarded in this thesis as the Aramaic closest to that employed by Jesus and his followers, while the use of later Targumic material, especially in a confirmatory rôle, is not excluded. Among the various Targums used in this work the contribution to the Aramaic approach made by the discovery of Codex Neofiti I of a Palestinian Pentateuch Targum is regarded as important. The extent to which Hebrew and Greek were known in 1st century A.D.

Palestine is also discussed and a tri-lingual situation is favoured on the basis of the latest archaeological discoveries.

In narrowing the field of discussion to Matthew in the 2nd chapter it is noted that inadequate attention has been paid to the stylistic characteristics of individual New Testament writers as compared with discussions of New Testament writing as a whole. This work seeks to fill the gap by providing a guide to Matthaean usage, while centring discussion on specific problems to avoid providing a mere catalogue.

The first problem that is examined is how we can best explain the strong Semitic nature of Matthew as compared with Mark, while at the same time taking account of the strong case for Matthew as a corrector of Mark's Greek. The work of Lagrange and Schlatter in emphasising the Semitic strain in Matthew's language has been reinforced by the conclusions of Beyer, who shows that Matthew's gospel reflects the highest proportion of Semitic syntax to Greek syntax of all New Testament writings. These conclusions, together with the evidence from the latest Aramaic discoveries, are regarded as justification for re-examining the question of Synoptic relationships and affording more weight to the Semitic background of Matthew as contrasted with the prevailing view of the author as most at home in the Greek language.

The second problem submitted to scrutiny is the question of uniformity of style. Stendahl has spoken of a 'school' of St. Matthew behind the production of this work. The idea of a group of writers at work on this gospel is thus examined to see whether it affords a possible

solution to explain the apparent divergences in Matthew's gospel between his imitation of Septuagintal idiom in places coupled to his avoidance of Septuagintalism in favour of Aramaic idiom or Hellenistic Greek usage in other places.

The main section of this work consists of a detailed examination of Matthew's syntactical usages and their distribution. In assessing Aramaic influence distinction is drawn between usages in meterial which may derive from sources and matter that can be attributed to the editor, with a view to determining how far the author himself knew Aramaic. The case for Aramaic influence is set side by side with an examination of the debt of the writer to contemporary non-literary Greek as gauged from the papyri and from Modern Greek as the end-product of the development of the Greek language. The discussions on each point seek to avoid both the over-emphasis of Aramaic scholars on the presence of Aramaic idiom where a knowledge of Hellenistic Greek indicates that such idiom is not un-Greek and the forced nature of certain attempts by Hellenists to avoid postulating any unusual features in the Greek of the gospels.

The linguistic examination begins, (Chapter 3), with a consideration of the tenses, moods and voices of verbs in the gospel. In the use of the perfect tense he is seen to reflect the development of the language with a declining and not always correct use of it in the active, while in his fondness for the aorist and very restricted use of the imperfect he reflects both Hellenistic and Septuagintal practice. In his use of the historic present he restricts himself chiefly to verbs of saying and in

this respect stands apart from Mark, whose usages he appears to correct.

In his use of moods he reflects the development of the Greek language in the absence of the optative, while in his use of voices his apparent removal of Marcan impersonal plurals by supplying definite subjects and by conversion to the passive is countered by the presence of impersonal plurals peculiar to himself. Discussion of this question counters the usual views that the impersonal plural is non-Greek and that such plurals are common substitutes for a rare use of the passive in Aramaic.

The next chapter, 4, discusses Matthew's use of prepositions and relates his practice to the developments of his time in the decline of proper prepositions and growth of improper ones. Note is taken of his fondness for ἔμπροσθεν for πρὸ and avoidance of Septuagintal ἐνώπιον, his use of ἀπὸ and ἕως as correlatives, his use of ἐν for Marcan incorrect use of εἰς and of ἐν with ὁμνύειν in line with Semitic idiom. In his use of compound verbs he is seen to stand in opposition to Hellenistic practice and in line with Semitic usage by his avoidance of superfluous compounds where the simple verb suffices, in contrast to Mark.

This survey is followed (Chapter 5) by an examination of Matthew's use of connective particles. He is seen to avoid Mark's over-use of καὶ while restricting himself to a comparatively small number of particles by classical standards. In his use of μὲν and δὲ as correlatives he shows some measure of stylistic pretension, but indicates his non-attention to classical usage by the use of καὶ ἰδοὺ and καὶ

ἐγένετο in line with the Septuagint and the adverb τότε in line with Aramaic idiom. Among his uses of asyndeton he makes clear his Aramaic background by the use of λέγει , λέγουσι and ἔφη without connectives in places where Mark and Luke employ connectives, while indicating his ability to write Greek in his freedom from Marcan parentheses and anacoloutha.

An examination of his use of subordination follows (Chapter 6). In his use of the subordinating participle the case for his removal of Mark's over-use of these participles in places coupled with his resolution of a string of Marcan καὶ by the use of such participles is noted, while a certain degree of repetitiveness suggests the possibility of an Aramaic speaker in spite of the idiom's non-Aramaic nature. In the frequent, incorrect use of the genitive absolute he is seen to reflect contemporary Greek usage, while its distribution over both narrative and sayings is noted with interest in view of its absence from Semitic idiom. In his use of conjunctions to introduce subordinate clauses he is seen to avoid Marcan over-use of ἵνα and to suggest a degree of stylistic pretension in his use of ὅπως . In general the clauses which he employs fit in with an Aramaic background without being in any way un-Greek. In his infrequent use of prepositions other than εἰς or πρὸς with the articular infinitive in place of a clause he is in line with Aramaic as distinct from Biblical Hebrew, Septuagintal and Hellenistic Greek idiom.

A study of various features of his vocabulary follows (Chapter 7).

His use of ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς is examined in view of their Aramaic nature and absence from the other gospel writers. A number of terms of moral vocabulary are considered in the light of the Targums, while his use of unusual verbs is seen to be balanced by his frequent use of simple verbs with a Semitic-like repetition. Adverbial uses such as ἀρτι , σφόδρα and εὐθέως are considered in the light of Septuagintal and Aramaic idiom. His apparent stylistic pretension in the use of ἔφη is seen to be countered by his use of words frowned on by purists. His choice of Latinisms suggests a possible Palestinian origin, while the smaller numbers of Aramaic terms in use as compared with Mark's gospel is held to reflect the Greek readers' distaste for Aramaic rather than the author's own ignorance of the language.

The stylistic examination continues (Chapter 8) with a detailed consideration of various features of his word-order with a view to determining how far these suggest an Aramaic speaker's work and the presence of translation Greek. The initial placing of verbs of saying and motion in principal clauses is noted as in line with Semitic rather than Greek order, while the case based on initial placing in subordinate clauses is found to be inconclusive as a result of the development of Greek word-order. The placing of personal pronouns as objects to verbs immediately after the verb is seen to occur with a frequency opposed to the tendencies in the language, while the placing of genitives of the pronouns immediately after the nouns they govern is shown to be

inconclusive evidence in view of the trends towards Modern Greek. An exception is when an adjective follows noun and pronoun in such a way as to produce a clearly Semitic order. Apart from this the placing of adjectives with respect to nouns is seen to be in no way un-Greek, whereas the predominant postposition of demonstratives is opposed to the development of Greek and in line with Aramaic usage. Thus there is a degree of ambiguity in the evidence in this chapter together with the presence of some striking evidence for Aramaic influence.

The following chapter (9) examines the various doublets of sayings and narratives in Matthew to see whether divergences in language between the same passage when used twice over favour the theory of multiple authorship. From this survey it is seen that there is little difficulty in the ascription of both occurrences of the doublet to the same hand provided we accept a theory of Marcan priority and a respectively more conservative and freer treatment of the same saying or narrative in its different settings in the gospel. The structure of the gospel with its five discourses and with the grouping of miracles in Chapters 8 and 9 is seen to have an important bearing on this question, while the needs of Matthew's church are regarded as having carried some weight in determining the repetition.

The concluding chapter (10) draws together the threads of the argument and indicates that in spite of Matthew's familiarity with the Greek language he betrays his Aramaic origin at various points. It is suggested that the author derived from Palestine and received there a knowledge of

the three languages whose imprint we can trace in his work. The use of Aramaic sources cannot adequately account for the linguistic phenomena of this gospel and the distinction of sayings and narrative by Aramaic scholars is considered somewhat doubtful in view of the presence of both good Greek and Aramaic idiom in both classes of material. Marcan priority is vindicated and the apparent divergences in style in the gospel are considered to be explained adequately by a degree of difference in treatment of the different sources. The essentially uniform nature of the style is noted in the presence of favoured words and constructions in all classes of the material and the work is attributed to the hand of one person, a native Aramaic speaker with a good grasp of Greek. The case for regarding Matthew as an author rather than as a mere compiler of traditions is also vindicated.