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SOME ARAMAISMS IN THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.¹

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MT. 1 19: 'Joseph her husband being *δίκαιος* and not willing to make an example of her.' It is to be objected against the usual translation of *δ.* as 'righteous' that the husband *qua* righteous should have made an example of his erring wife. But the term means, after its later peculiar development, 'kind, merciful, benevolent'; cf. Ⲅ *ελεος* — *ⲡⲣⲧⲥ*, and s. Skinner, *DB* 4, 281 b, *Ropes*, *JBL* 1903, 216 ff., both of whom give other references. Note also Arabic *ṣadīk* 'true friend.' Translate therefore: 'Joseph being a kind man.'

Mt. 21 41: *κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς*. I had diagnosed the first two words as — Syr. *ܫܒܝܫܒܝܫ* 'very ill,' and so I find all the Syr. VSS translating, through their divination of the true background of the Greek idiom. Possibly original *κακὸς κακῶς* as barbarous was early changed to the present form.

Mk. 1 24: Variant text between *οἶδα* and *οἶδαμεν*. The latter may be based on reading of *ⲠⲚ(ⲛ)Ⲯⲧ* as *ⲠⲚⲮⲧ*; cf. *ⲠⲚⲮⲧ* Dan. 2 33, translated by Θ with *ἠξιώσαμεν*, but by Ⲅ with *ἠξίωσα*.

Mk. 1 43: *ἐμβριμησάμενος* = Mt. 9 30. A case of the exaggerated translation of the original verb, which was probably *ⲠⲠⲘ* with sense 'bid one shut up.' The same verb lies behind *ἐπιτιμῶν* at 8 30, 32, 33, where the Standard Version translates 1° with 'charge,' 2° and 3° with 'rebuke.' (In the first case it is an injunction of silence about Jesus' Messiahship, not a rebuke of the claim.) The Syriac translators translate both verbs with

¹ In presenting these few notes the writer takes pleasure in acknowledging his great indebtedness to Professor Torrey's several distinguished contributions to the general subject.

ΚΝΔ. The difficulty of ἐπιτιμᾶν was felt by one tradition of text of Mt. 16 20, which replaced it with διαστέλλειν.

Mk. 4 8, 20: WH reads εἰς τριάκοντα κ. ἐν ἑξήκοντα κ. ἐν ἑκατόν, with variants in marg. proposing εἰς or ἐν throughout. At v. 20 WH reads ἐν . . . [ἐν] . . . [ἐν] . . ., with marg. variant ἐν in all three cases. Of the VSS OLat. and \mathfrak{H} read ἐν, *unum*, consistently in both citations. In the first case there is required either *eis* or *en* throughout, like the consistent *en* in the second. These variations of tradition indicate that the idiom of the original text in the repeated passage was not immediately sensible, however plausibly we may explain any one of the several readings. I would propose that in the original Aramaic there was the multiplicative expression known in the BAram., Dan. 3 19, 'one seven' — seven times. (For the continuance of this idiom in later Aram., I note its occurrence in the Syr. to Dan. 11 8, 13.) This would equally explain both *eis* and *en* as — Aram. ܦܝ, the former possibly having been original in v. 8.

Mk. 6 8: παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν . . . ἀλλὰ ὑποδεμένους σανδάλια, κ. μὴ ἐνδύσασθαι δύο χιτῶνας. In this case of syncretism of construction the second clause is the easily recognized nominal participial clause of the Semitic. In the third is the resolution of the finite construction into the infinitive, common in late Heb. and Aram.; cf. Dan. 2 16, 5 15, and the interplay of these constructions in Dan. 1 5, 2 17 f.

Mk. 6 48: ἤθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς. The sense is fairly well met by AV, 'he would have passed by them,' or better 'he was for passing by them'; but θέλειν hardly has this meaning. The original verb is to be found in ܟܘܒܐ, used in Targ. to Jonah 1 4, where the interesting Heb. idiom ܩܘܒܐ ܠܗܫܒܪܐ 'the ship calculated to break up' is translated with ܟܘܒܐ ܠܐܬܪܒܐ, 'the ship was seeking to break up.'

Mk. 8 24: βλέπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅτι ὡς δένδρα ὁρῶ περιπατοῦντας. The sense is perfectly clear: 'I see men walking like trees.' The original idiom is evident from the Syr. here, 'I see men as trees that [they are] walking,' or as it might also be put, 'I see men that as trees [they are] walking.' The verb ὁρῶ appears to have been introduced to give construction to the bald participle of the original.

Mk. 9 15: 'All the multitude seeing him ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. We are naturally puzzled by a verb which means 'were scared.' And the same verb is used of the Lord's anguish in the Garden, 14 33, along with ἀδημονεῖν. It is a case of translation of some Semitic psychological term with several shades of meaning. Thus the usually very strong root ܥܘܒܐ has in Dan. 4 22 (19) the mere sense of being 'embarrassed.' (Cf. the French development in 'désolé'.) I suggest that the original Aram. was ܦܘܬܐ or ܦܘܬܐ, used here in the sense of being 'surprised,' and that ἐκθαμβεῖν was chosen for its assonance with the Sem. root, as frequently in the Gr. translations.

Mk. 12 6: ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν. The Standard Version's translation, 'he had yet one, a beloved son' is literal but clumsy, correcting the AV, which treats ἓνα as an indefinite article. The numeral doubtless represents the Heb. and Aram. ܕܘܚܕ, with its Gr. translation μονογενής for the only son or daughter (e. g. Jud. 11 34), even as in the Syr. VSS of the Gospels the same word is used to translate the Johannine μονογενής, epithet of the Lord, the Sem. background of which is necessary to the exegesis of it. The original form may have been ܕܘܚܕ ܕܘܚܕ ܕܘܚܕ. The translator nicely separated the two appositives, or else the numeral would have been taken as merely the indefinite article.

Mk. 15 22: Γολγοθὰν τόπον. The appositive τ. has given trouble; s. a long discussion on it by Vincent, in his *Jérusalem*, 2, 92 f. It is simply the Aramaic ܟܘܠܟܐ 'place' used after place-names. See a discussion of the term in my monograph, *Origin of the Gospel According to St. John*, 1923, 15.

Lu. 12 20: Ἄφρων, ταυτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου αἰτούσω ἀπὸ σοῦ. The indefinite pl. act. (n. b. also the present tense) is the construction common in BAram. in place of the passive; e. g. notably Dan. 4 22, 'with the dew of heaven they (will) wet thee,' ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܕܘܫܒܘܢ ܕܘܫܒܘܢ. There is no need therefore with some to postulate here avenging angels or demons as subject.

Jn. 4 6; 13 25: 'Jesus was sitting so (οὕτως) by the well;' 13 25 'He reclining so (οὕτως) upon Jesus' breast.' The adverb has always given trouble. Cf. a mere suggestion of mine in the monograph on St. John, p. 21, where I proposed that it —

Aram. ܕܐܘܪܐ (kadû) in the sense, 'as he was.' But in reading the 14th century text of the Life of Mar Yaballaha III (ed. Bedjan, 1896), I have come upon another sense of *kadû* which might be applicable here. There, always with the conj., *lâ wêkadû* frequently appears in adversative clauses as 'not only,' opposed to 'ella' 'but also;' and this idiom is noticed by Payne Smith, *Theo.*, s. v. But I find an instance in Mar Yaballaha where *kadû* is used absolutely, as 'only,' p. 105, l. 5 *ab inf.*: 'Two questions he asked him, Whence art thou, and, What is thy name, only (*wêkadû*).' Now this sense of 'only, alone' would capitally suit the Gospel cases: Jesus sitting *alone* by the well, the disciple reclining *alone* upon Jesus' breast. The particle will then have developed from the sense of 'just as it is' to 'only so.' The chief objection to this explanation would be that the Syriac example is taken from a late document. I may notice the similar Arabic vocable *fakat*, used also at the end of the phrase in the sense 'only' and 'alone.'

Acts 5 4: οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ ἔμενον καὶ κραθὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχεν; I am inclined to think that in this perplexing passage *μένον* represents an abs. inf. in the original, i. e. ܕܠ ܡܢܬ ܡܢܬܘܢ ܡܠ (ܡܢܬ often = *μένειν*), the abs. inf. appearing abundantly in early Syriac literature. The meaning appears to be: 'Did it not remain yours and even when sold continue in your power?'. By some kind of casuistry, comparable with the process with the *kurbân*, the guilty pair tried to evade the communistic appropriation of their real estate by turning it into cash.

Acts 5 12: διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγένετο. The prepositional phrase probably represents ܕܒ = 'through,' *per*, and does not involve physical contact.

Acts 6 5: ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους. The idiom is that in Dan. 6 2 (1) ܫܪܪܝ ܕܩܡ ܪܫܐ, and Θ translates as here.

Acts 9 19: ἐγένετο μετὰ τῶν . . . μαθητῶν ἡμέρας τινάς. I. e., he 'remained with them.' The nuance is different from Lu. 2 13, 'there came to be with the angel.' *γίνεσθαι* here translates ܡܢܬ; s. note on 5 4.

Acts 10 3: ὥσει περὶ ὥραν ἐνάτην. Why *about* the ninth hour? Time, *per se*, was not taken in those watchless days. Now the

ninth hour was significant in the case of both Cornelius' and Peter's prayers because it was the great prayer-time of the day ('the time of the evening oblation' Dan. 9 21); and in 10 30 we have the exact ritual expression, τὴν ἐνάτην προσευχόμενοι, 'praying the nine o'clock prayers.' And so in our verse we expect time *at which*. The original evidently had this, expressing it after common Heb. and Aram. use with ׁ, the very prep. which is found in the passage cited from Dan., which most translators erroneously render 'about.' And so Θ translates there, ὡσεὶ ὥραν θυσίας ἐσπερινῆς, even as our translator renders here with ὡσεὶ περὶ.

Acts 13 39; ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε . . . δικαιωθῆναι . . . πᾶς . . . δικαιούται. The clumsy relative clause is cleared up if we take ὧν as representing the indefinite relative conjunction ׁ (and so ׁ in Heb.), *anglice*, 'and from all things, as you could not be justified in the law of M., every one is justified.'

Acts 15 27: ἀναγγέλλοντας. Ppl. with future sense, as common in Aram., and so e. g., 2 47 τοὺς σεζόμενους. Cf. my monograph on St. John, p. 18, and add to instances cited there Jn. 13 11, τὸν παραδίδοντα αὐτόν.

I may add here a note on a Gr. verb in Acts 13 48: ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Translators and commentators have felt bound to stick to the usual meaning of τάσσειν 'order,' and so Ⓜ with a theological touch, *praeordinati*, followed with a fortunate amelioration by the EVV 'ordained.' But τάσσειν appears as the translation of ׁׁׁ 'inscribe, sign' in Θ to Dan. 6 13 (12), and that it is not an error is evident from its repetition in a Hexaplaric plus in the same verse, e. g. in Cod. A. We have here some Hellenistic use of τάσσειν, doubtless with ἐν-τάσσειν 'register' (e. g. Θ Dan. 5 24) in mind. Translate here, as we might expect, 'those who were registered for eternal life;' cf. Dan. 12 1; Phil. 4 3; Rev. 13 8, etc.