2007

Jesus’ Use of the Old Testament in the Gospels

James Beuerlein

Follow this and additional works at: http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_interstp4

Recommended Citation

This Project is brought to you for free and open access by the College Scholars at Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Thesis Projects, 2007 by an authorized administrator of Trace: Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange. For more information, please contact trace@utk.edu.
FORM C
COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROJECT APPROVAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholar</th>
<th>Mentor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Benerle</td>
<td>Dr. Tom Heffernan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Project Title

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas J. Heffernan</td>
<td>Dr. Heffernan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethany K. Dumas</td>
<td>Bebe Wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johanna Stiebert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLEASE ATTACH A COPY OF THE SENIOR PROJECT TO THIS SHEET AND RETURN BOTH TO THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR. THIS PAGE SHOULD BE DATED AND COMPLETED ON THE DATE THAT YOUR DEFENSE IS HELD.

DATE COMPLETED 11/20/07
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

Introduction................................................................. i

1. Text and Context....................................................... 1

2. The Temptation of Jesus................................................ 11

3. Eyes and Ears............................................................ 22

4. Jesus Reads From Isaiah.............................................. 30

5. The Greatest Commandment........................................... 38

6. Conclusion................................................................. 46

Appendices................................................................. 49

Bibliography............................................................... 77
INTRODUCTION

It is out of a desire for honesty that I must begin by acknowledging that a large part of my motivation for beginning this study as a college scholar was for my own sectarian goals. I wanted to discover the way that Jesus viewed and made use of the scriptures. As a follower of Jesus and as a linguist, this subject is one that is very significant to me. My interest in Biblical languages began after achieving fluency in my second language, Spanish. One day, while living in Mexico, it finally "clicked," and I was able to think in something other than English. I was seeing the world through new eyes and noticing things I had never seen before. This breach in my mental wiring opened my mind to the possibility that truth lay outside the realm of my own culture and history. Suddenly, there was meaning and life in ways that could not be expressed in English. Being one who was involved in ministry – I was a missionary at the time – I had an inherent desire to understand the Biblical texts, and the struggle for their meaning was heightened by my constant need of translating the knowledge of the Bible that I had in English into the Spanish I was using to minister. At this time I became obsessed with languages and chief among them were Greek and Hebrew. I went to university to satiate this lust for knowledge, which has kept growing, and found that my mind continued to open the more I learned. Having spent the majority of my coursework in Greek, Hebrew, and Linguistics, I was equipped to approach the Bible I had known all my life with this newly discovered x-ray vision.
The fact that so much of the Biblical literature and the language of Jesus is surrounded in mystery became an irresistible temptation to me. Though it was not my first idea of a project to undertake, examining Jesus' understanding of scripture and the way that he used scripture is now clearly one of the most logical themes for me to investigate. To date, scholars continue to disagree about exactly which language Jesus spoke and read. Was it all Aramaic? Did he also know Greek? Was Hebrew still being used, or would it have only been reserved for the educated few or contexts of worship and liturgy? Scholars with impressive credentials have addressed these questions and done much more to answer them than I could hope to match at this time. This paper will, I trust, provide me with an introduction for future study.

There is one principal difficulty, however, of which I would like to remind the reader in regards to this matter. That is the degree of separation between Jesus' words and our ears. Let me explain. The New Testament of our English Bible is a translation based on Greek manuscripts of writings from the early Church fathers. Of principal interest to us here are the four gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The earliest records we have of these gospels are decades after the events took place (ca. 40-50 C.E.). Furthermore, the gospel writers did not write down the events as they happened. All of the gospel accounts make clear that the disciples were rather confused about the goals of Jesus during his life, and it was not until afterwards, perhaps retelling the stories amongst themselves and to new hearers, that the need to have a written record became apparent. Therefore, we have to assume that the gospel narratives circulated in oral form for some time. The Greek gospels, as it turns out, may not have been the originals. Many scholars attribute some or all of them to having a Semitic origin — first as oral collections, and then
being first written in either Hebrew or Aramaic (more of that in chapter 1). The next
degree of separation comes between the memories of the gospel writers (not all of whom
were actually disciples of Jesus) and the actual words of Jesus, which do differ. Another
issue to address is the language that Jesus was actually speaking. As I learned when I
gained fluency in Spanish, speakers of different languages (and particularly of different
language families: Indo-European for Greek and Semitic for Hebrew) have different
understandings of the world. Translating some idiosyncratic ideas from one language to
the next is a highly complex matter. The final separation, then, is from the accounts of
what Jesus said to the actual manuscripts that were available to Jesus (since my focus is
the examination of Jesus' use of scripture), which were possibly different from those that
the gospel writers had access to and could have conceivably been in a different language.
In sum, the degrees of separation involved are the following: 1. from the scriptures that
Jesus had available to him to the words that the disciples heard him speak, 2. from the
words Jesus spoke to the memories of the disciples decades later, 3. from the memories
of the disciples to the words of the gospel writers, and, as will be shown as likely, the
scriptures that the gospel writers had available to them when they copied them, 4.
(possibly) from the original accounts of the gospel writers to their Greek translations.

If we take all of this into account, making any judgments about the language of
Jesus invariably necessitates the acceptance of several assumptions about the history of
the gospels. For the sake of clarity, and for reasons I will explain later, I want the reader
to understand that I believe that Jesus was probably bilingual (at least) and principally
spoke and taught in Hebrew. This statement is, ironically, less important than the fact that
I believe that the gospels (or at least Matthew) were written in Hebrew\(^1\) as well and were later translated into Greek. I say that the latter is more important to this study because it is the words of the gospel writers that we have, since Jesus did not write his own biography.

In the first chapter I will give a brief history of the texts I am using, and I will provide all the linguistic information needed for those who do not read Greek or Hebrew. The following chapters will focus on a restricted set of scriptures that I wish to discuss. In these chapters I will begin with background information for the passages under examination (section entitled "Context") and then provide the Greek and Hebrew scriptures with my own translations. Following these will be an assessment of the grammatical and lexical items that are relevant to the discussion, followed by the conclusions that can be drawn from my readings of them. In the course of the discussion, my principal focus will be on Jesus' use of what are now in the Christian context called the Old Testament scriptures.

In doing this study I had hoped to find nuances in translation from the Hebrew to the Greek and in the accounts of gospel writers, which would provide interesting theological insights. While I was not disappointed in my findings, some of my conclusions, for reasons that will become clear, have taken a more linguistic than theological turn. To some extent, this is a result of my intensive study of Greek and Hebrew. Rather than conducting an investigation into doctrinal beliefs, I instead gravitated towards taking an integrated look at how Jesus used scripture in varying degrees of literalism. My goal, therefore, is to examine specific instances where Jesus quotes the Hebrew Bible, comparing the different textual traditions, and to see what sort of findings may surface in this approach. While the conclusions from these studies do not

\(^1\) For more information on this see Bivins and Blizzard in the bibliography, as well as George Howard.
aim at presenting new theological insights, they are certainly valuable and have provided me with the necessary scholarly foundation for any future study.
~1~

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

Introduction

Before getting into the passages I want to examine, I must first establish a certain amount of background information, which will help a great deal in understanding my perspectives and assumptions when approaching the texts. Beginning with the texts themselves, I will briefly explain what is known about the origin and state of each, also providing my understanding about the possible state of the texts for the readers in the early Church. I will also give some explanation for the terminology I use when discussing grammar and structure in the "original" languages.¹ The principal editions of the texts I used were: Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia for the Hebrew, the Septuagint Editio Altera for the Old Testament Greek, and the Greek New Testament Revised Fourth Edition (and to a much lesser extent, photocopies of the Great Isaiah Scroll found at Qumran – from Discoveries in the Judean Desert).

Hebrew Bible or Old Testament?

The first distinction I must make is between two names for essentially the same scriptures: the Hebrew Bible and the Old Testament. The reason for the two names is

¹ See Appendix D for a glossary of these terms.
relatively self-explanatory. For those who also consider the Christian New Testament canonical, these scriptures can rightly be called the "Old Testament," drawing a dividing line between the events that preceded and followed the life of Jesus of Nazareth. On the other hand, to those for whom the New Testament is not canonical (namely the Jewish people), calling it the Hebrew Bible is much more appropriate. Another equivalent name for the Hebrew Bible is the Tanakh. The word Tanakh is a Hebrew acronym for Torah-Nevi'im-Ketuvim, representing the three divisions of scripture: (the Law, Prophets, and Writings respectively). In order to be clear in my references, I will use the preceding names as follows. In reference to the scriptural books written in Hebrew before the life of Jesus, I will use the name "Hebrew Bible," (hereafter abbreviated HB). In reference to the scriptural books before the life of Jesus written (translated) in Greek, I will use the name "Septuagint" (hereafter abbreviated LXX – to be explained in the following section). To refer collectively to both the Hebrew and Greek versions of these scriptures as a whole, I will use the name "Old Testament," (hereafter abbreviated OT). For the Greek texts of the New Testament, I will use the abbreviation NT.

One last word that needs to be defined is a "canon." A canon is a normative religious text actively used by a religious community. There are three key elements in this definition of canon that bear emphasizing. The first is that it is a text, in the case of our present study a written document (a text need not be written, it can also be oral – as in the case of the Sanskrit Vedas). Secondly, a canon is authoritative for the community, meaning that is regarded as having authority, usually divine in nature. Finally, a canon is a closed body of sacred literature actively used by a religious community. Therefore, the canon of Judaism is the HB, the canon of Christendom is the OT and NT (and the
Apocrypha in the case of Catholicism and the Greek Orthodox Church), the canon of Islam is the Koran, etc.

Now that my meaning is clear, I wish to give a very brief history of the HB leading up to the edition of the text that I am using for this study. The HB is a collection of many kinds of literature (i.e. books of law, histories, hymns, poetry and prophecy) written over the course of literally hundreds of years. The story of how and by whom the texts were voted into the canon is one that is far too long and complex to describe here. Suffice it to say that which books were and were not considered canonical was hotly debated (to this day in some cases), but that the canon of the HB was closed – not all at once, but progressively – between the 2nd cent BCE and the 2nd cent CE. It is also important to note that these were not bound books (or codices) as we think of them today, but were scrolls of the individual biblical books or groups of books. Furthermore, they contained no punctuation or chapter/verse markers.

Though the evidence shows that the canon was decided at this time, we do not have a copy of the scrolls from this time period. In fact, until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see below), the oldest complete HBs were a mere 1000 years old. Though we know of a few selected fragments predating it by at least a century, the oldest complete Tanakh is the Leningrad Codex, dated by its colophon to 1008 CE. This codex is a bound book (not a scroll) and is a product of a tradition of Tiberian Jewish sages called the Masoretes. For this reason, the Leningrad Codex is also called the Masoretic Text. It was the Masoretes who introduced written vowels (since the Hebrew alphabet is made up

---

2 For more information on this, read about the Council of Jamnia.
3 This version is based on the same tradition that produced the Codex Aleppo (ca. 920 CE), though substantial portions of the Codex Aleppo have been missing since 1947. The Codex Aleppo was produced by the famous Ben Asher, and the Leningrad Codex was checked against it two generations later. It is still considered by some to be the more accurate version, despite it being incomplete.
only of consonants) and punctuation into the text. This codex has been faithfully preserved from the time of the Leningrad Codex on, with each new copy purposely repeating known errors out of the desire not to alter the text even further. Few recent versions include revisions from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The modern edition of this text, which I am using, was produced by the University of Leipzig in 1937, and is named the *Biblia Hebraica*. Its most recent, fourth edition is the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (hereafter BHS), completed in 1977. Though work has begun on a fifth edition, the Biblia Hebraica Quinto (BHQ), it is the BHS that I have used for this study. In it, the original notes in Aramaic written by the Masoretes are preserved in the margins, while the cross-reference apparatus below the text cites deviations found in Samaritan Pentateuch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Greek Septuagint, the Latin Vulgate, the Aramaic Targums, the Syriac Peshitta, and suggestions from the current editors.

**The Greek Septuagint**

The Septuagint is a Greek translation of the Tanakh which began in the 3rd century BCE in Alexandria, when, then king of Egypt, Ptolemy II Philadelphus commissioned the translation of the Torah (Pentateuch in Greek). According to legend, Ptolemy asked seventy-two translators to work on this translation, and they arrived at a unanimous version of the text⁴. For this reason, the text is often abbreviated LXX (the Latin numeral 70, for the seventy-two translators). Translation of the rest of the HB took

---

⁴ The source of this account is the pseudepigraph Letter of Aristeas. A later account by Philo of Alexandria (ca. 40 CE) states that the translators were kept in separate rooms, but emerged with identical translations in seventy-two days.
place book by book well into the 1st century BCE. Multiple translations into Koine Greek were produced from the same Hebrew scroll, creating variant readings. Later Greek translations were made from Hebrew manuscripts and compiled and revised, producing three principal textual traditions, which survive today as the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus (our earliest mostly-complete manuscripts date to the 4th century CE), and the Codex Alexandrinus (of which our earliest manuscript is from the late 4th century). Some scholars, however, believe that these three traditions are all based on one original LXX.

The Septuagint is important, principally because, up until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it predated the Leningrad Codex by around 700 years. The temporal gulf between these two traditions invariably raises questions as to which version was more reliable: a 10th century copy of the 'original' Hebrew version, or a much earlier translation into Greek from the older Hebrew tradition. However, after the discovery at Qumran, the LXX was found in a few places to resemble more closely the Dead Sea Scrolls than the Masoretic Text, confirming some of these suspicions that the LXX is likely more authoritative than the Masoretic Text, though generally the Masoretic text was confirmed by the Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX is still actively used by the Greek Orthodox Church, and its presence has had a profound impact on the history of biblical translation into many other languages; and of particular significance for my thesis it is the LXX that was frequently used by the composers of the NT and the early Church fathers.

The Dead Sea Scrolls
As stated above, until the discovery at Qumran between the years 1947-1956, the oldest complete Hebrew manuscript of the HB was the Leningrad Codex. Older versions of some of the texts were found in the late 1940s and early 1950s with the discovery of ancient scrolls in the 11 caves at Wadi Qumran in the West Bank. The caves were reportedly accidentally discovered by a Bedouin, and several of the scrolls were made known to scholars before a proper search of the caves could be conducted. Fragments of over 900 manuscripts were found in the caves, of which about 30% are texts from the Hebrew Bible. The only complete canonical book to be preserved was the prophet Isaiah – now known as the Great Isaiah Scroll. The remaining texts are written in Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic and a few are in Koine Greek. Of the surviving Biblical text fragments, all the books of the HB are represented (with the exception of Esther). Many non-canonical and sectarian texts (attributed to the Essenes, who also may have dwelt at Qumran), were also found.

Though much more can be said about this discovery, for the purposes of this study, it is important that the reader know that the Dead Sea Scrolls overwhelmingly confirmed the authority of the Masoretic Text, though there are a few instances in which the LXX is closer. The dates attributed to the composition of the Dead Sea Scrolls range from the 3rd century BCE to just before the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE. Therefore, they are now the oldest large body of biblical manuscripts available to scholars.

The New Testament
Unlike the textual tradition of the HB, which adopts the "single best text" approach, when deciding authority, the NT is an eclectic text, or a composite of the most credible versions. Though the autographs (or original versions) of all the NT books had been written during the 1st century CE, our earliest complete books are from the 2nd century CE and are themselves copies of copies.\(^5\) The earliest complete NT is the Codex Alexandrinus, dated to the late 4th century CE. After this time, the number of copies increases exponentially. Therefore, because of the existence of thousands of manuscripts of the New Testament texts, in Greek, Latin and other various ancient languages, many complex cataloguing systems have been implemented to organize them. The current and most stable version of the cataloguing system is the work of Caspar Rene Gregory and later Kurt Aland. The early Christian writings also showed an interesting proclivity to the form of the codex, rather than the scroll. This produced a revolution in literacy and promoted a particular type of Christian exegesis of the scriptures. The majority of the earliest manuscripts were written on papyri, which are well suited to preservation in the dry Egyptian climate, but sadly deteriorate rapidly elsewhere. While, again, the process of canonization of the NT is one of great interest, it is the four gospels (and three in particular) with which I am concerned in this study.

Throughout modern scholastic study, the emphasis has been on the collection and combination of these manuscripts, with scholars assuming that the entire NT was first written in Greek. Some recent scholars, however, (and I agree with them) suggest instead a Semitic origin of some of the gospels, especially Matthew, citing extra-biblical sources as well as examples from the text. These were discovered by translating the gospel of

\(^5\) Some of the earliest Papyri are P\(^{52}\) (containing John 18), P\(^{90}\) (containing John 18-19), P\(^{98}\) (containing Revelation 1), and P\(^{104}\) (containing Matthew 21) – all dating to ca. 150 CE.
Matthew back into Hebrew, revealing many difficult passages in the Greek to be common Hebrew idioms. One clear example is Jesus telling his disciples not to "resist evil" (or "one who is evil") in Matthew 5:39a. There is an apparent contradiction here between Matthews' gospel and the words of Paul ("Hate what is evil," Romans 12:9) and James ("Resist the Devil," James 4:7). This was not Jesus' point, however, and he was not even creating a new proverb. The true meaning is revealed when translated back into the Hebrew. In fact, he was quoting an HB proverb, which appears in different forms in Psalms 37:1,8, and Proverbs 24:19. The meaning of the Hebrew is "Do not compete with evildoers." Therefore, Jesus is not telling his disciples to sit idly by while murderers or rapists are on the loose. Instead, it is an injunction against taking revenge against someone who has wronged you.6

Accordingly, many of the early Church fathers such as Papias (bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, mid 2nd cent C.E.), Irenaeus (bishop of Lyons, 120-202 C.E.), Origen (early 3rd cent C.E.), Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea, ca. 325 C.E.), Epiphanius (bishop of Salamis, late 4th cent C.E.), and Jerome (late 4th to early 5th cent C.E.) have also acknowledged that the autographs of Matthew were in written Hebrew (see Bivin et al. 23-26). They must have been translated shortly thereafter to satisfy the demand of a largely Greek-speaking audience, with the Hebrew autographs being lost along the way.

This implies that Hebrew was, in fact, a living, spoken language in Israel during the 1st century, and, for reasons that Bivin details, Jesus probably spoke and taught in Hebrew, as at least one of his languages.

The scriptures that Jesus used, in view of the findings at Qumran, was probably also Hebrew, though many scholars suggest that it was Aramaic, or even Greek. Though

---

6 This example is summarized from Bivin, et al. 70-71.
the temptation exists to use evidence from the NT in firmly answering these questions, we must be reminded of the issue of separation referred to in the introduction. We can, however, be sure of one thing: in whichever language he read, the scriptures that Jesus used would have looked very different than ours (on the surface at least). Neither the HB nor the LXX had been bound into a single codex at this point in history. Therefore, Jesus would have read parchment scrolls of the individual books without any sort of punctuation or chapter/verse numbering system. There is also evidence from Qumran that different textual versions of the same book may have been in circulation at this time, adding to variations in the readings (as we will see in this study).

Another key concept, of which the reader need be aware, is that of the Synoptic Gospels. The name "Synoptics" refers to the first three gospels – Matthew, Mark, and Luke – which share the most in common and show much evidence of borrowing from each other. The word "synoptic" means "seen together," as these gospels can undeniably be seen as mutually influencing. The Synoptic Question is a centuries-old debate over which of these three was the first gospel to be written (and subsequently copied by the other two). The problem also falls along sectarian lines. For generations liberal Protestant scholars accepted the primacy of Mark, while the Catholics chose Matthew. Today, the Catholic scholars have accepted Mark but there has been a move on the part of some protestant scholars to lean more towards the old Catholic position of Matthean primacy. The popular view among modern scholars is that Mark was written first and that Matthew and Luke both drew from Mark and from another lost source known as "Q." However, some scholars such as David Dungan, conducting cross-sectional studies have come to hold the view of Matthean priority. I tend to agree with this view, both because of the

7 See pgs ii-iii
comparisons done of the synoptic texts and also because of the quantity of Hebraisms found in Matthew as detailed by Bivin (mentioned above). The gospel of John is clearly independent both in its content and language and is thought to have been written at least two generations after the Synoptics. I cite John's gospel only once in this study, and only then in reference to an OT scripture, which is remarkably quoted in all four gospels.

As stated in the Introduction, it is neither my purpose nor my expertise to prove either of the two points above (Hebraic origin and Matthean priority), yet it must be understood that these are the assumptions under which I am writing. However, I will make frequent reference to these two themes where they apply directly to the purpose of the study.8

Notes on Formatting

There are only a few formatting points to keep in mind when reading the analyses:

1. Parentheses ( ) indicate a restatement or expansion in my translation to enhance understanding of the original language.

2. Brackets [ ] indicate an insertion on my part, usually a periphrastic expression to capture the meaning of the original.

3. Italics indicate text (often discourse markers), which appears in the NT text, but are absent from the OT.

---

8 For more information on these two topics, see Bivin and Dungan in the bibliography.
THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS

Preface

In the next four chapters I will be examining parallel episodes in the Synoptic Gospels, which have some account of Jesus quoting the scriptures. This first chapter will deal with Matthew and Luke's accounts of the temptation of Jesus following his baptism. The following chapter will look at a passage from Isaiah 6, which is quoted in all four gospels, explaining why the teachers of the law do not listen to Jesus' message. Chapter 4 will examine Luke's account of Jesus' return to Nazareth, where he reads from the prophet Isaiah. Finally, Chapter 5 will deal with the three synoptic accounts where Jesus discusses the "Greatest Commandment."

In each of these chapters I will give a brief introduction to each passage that will outline historical and cultural background, as well as introduce some structural elements. I will then give both the Greek and Hebrew versions of the scriptures that Jesus has quoted, rendering my own translations beneath. Following each set of scriptures, I will comment on any elements in the text which are worth noting for the purposes of this study. I will end each chapter by reviewing the more important results of the textual comparisons and offering my own conclusions based on those results.

My aim with this approach is to discover what sorts of information may be deduced from the texts as we trace the progression of specific writings through the course
of scripture. The conclusions will be centered around Jesus' use of the OT scriptures and what can be revealed through these references to scripture about 1) the language of Jesus 2) the state of the scriptures he read, and 3) the original form of the gospels. It is not my goal to prove which language Jesus spoke or read, or even the original language of the gospels, but simply to examine the evidence afforded by these references to scripture. The aim is to gain a deeper understanding of how Jesus used scripture and how his use of scripture can affect our understanding of its meaning.

Introduction

The first passages I am going to deal with are cited by Jesus (and the Devil) when Jesus goes into the desert to be tempted after having just been baptized by John. From the very beginning of the NT, it is apparent that evil, now personified in the figure of the Devil (διάβολος), has a much more overt role in the story of God's interaction with mankind than in the HB. In fact, the Devil figure only appears named as such in a handful of OT passages (Genesis as the serpent, Job as "the accuser," etc.). In fact, the only place where "Satan" is used as a proper noun is in 1st Chronicles. However, in the NT and especially in the gospels, his role in the sinfulness of mankind is made more overt and represents an alteration in thinking about the nature of sin and evil. Whether these temptations are meant to be seen as literal or symbolic, the series of temptations that I am about to discuss (regardless of their order) can be seen typologically as mirroring the trials of the people of Israel in the desert. Where Israel has failed, Jesus succeeds.
This account of the meeting with Satan is told twice in the Synoptic Gospels, once in Matthew 4 and again in Luke 4. In both of these accounts, the Devil tempts Jesus with three different tests. The account of Jesus' temptation is only mentioned briefly in the gospel of Mark, but there the story is not told (as it is in Matthew and Luke). This could be due to either of two reasons: 1) Matthew and Luke, though borrowing heavily from Mark, also borrowed from the source Q, in which the temptation story was originally told. 2) It is Matthew who had priority, and for some reason Mark chose not to include this passage (along with others), possibly because he wanted his gospel to have a different focus. The order of those tests varies within the two accounts, but most of the content remains the same. Jesus has been fasting for forty days and both Matthew and Luke begin the account with the Devil approaching Jesus and tempting him with food. Matthew's account then continues with a second opportunity for Jesus to prove that he is the "Son of God" by casting himself down from the top of the temple and letting the angels catch him. In the final testing, the Devil takes Jesus to the top of a high mountain and offers him dominion over the earth in exchange for his worship. The order of the two latter temptations is reversed in Luke. If we assume Matthean priority, then it is Luke who has changed the order (some scholars would say that this is evidence of both Matthew and Luke borrowing from Q, and winding up with slightly different versions). Whichever the case may be, Jesus refutes all of these demonic testings by quoting the Torah, and the Devil himself once uses scripture to try and tempt Jesus. Let us follow the order of events preserved in Matthew.

Interestingly, however, many theologians have pointed out, that the Lukan order of the temptations parallels 1 John 2:16. Others, however, think that this comparison is misguided, because Luke's gospel was written first.
The Bread

The first desire with which Satan tempts Jesus is the very thing which his human body must be craving most, since he has been fasting for forty days: bread. Jesus responds to his ploy by quoting Deuteronomy 8:3. His response shifts the focus from the physical temptation of eating while fasting to the spiritual temptation of relying on anything other than God for sustenance. This temptation contrasts Israel's grumbling over food while being supplied with manna and dew in the desert. By seeing through to the larger issue at hand, Jesus makes it clear that even our mundane physical actions have spiritual consequences. Here are the pertinent passages as quoted in Matthew, Luke and the OT.

Oὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.

Mankind will not live on bread alone, but on every (spoken) word proceeding out through the mouth of God.10 Matthew 4:4.

Oὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

Mankind will not live on bread alone. Luke 4:4

Oὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι τῶ ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ ζήσεται ὁ ἀνθρώπος.

Mankind will not live on bread alone, but on every (spoken) word which proceeds out through the mouth of God will Mankind live. LXX Deuteronomy 8:3

לא על- mensen לאו יוהי אתו ביעי-ים כי על-人们-ים מורה יוהי יוהי השם.

10 All English translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
Mankind will not live on bread by itself, but on every thing-which-comes-out of the mouth of Yahweh will Mankind live. BHS Deuteronomy 8:3

Textual Matters

The differences between the various versions of the texts here are minor, and amount to simply truncating the end of the verse. Yet, it behooves us to remember that these scriptures were not originally given chapter and verse numbers; therefore, the ending place of a verse was left to the discretion of the one reciting it. The only finite verb in the Greek ζητεῖν is a simple future tense and the only verbal ἐκπορευόμενος is a simple present participle. These are faithful translations of the Hebrew, which has the simple imperfect (here future) verb ידני along with the participle נָלָּל. Therefore, we have an example of the faithful transmission of a scripture from the Hebrew to the Greek Septuagint and into the NT without significant alteration. Such accuracy will not always be the case, however.

The Temple

In the following test, according to Matthew, the Devil again asks Jesus to prove that he is "the Son of God." He tells Jesus to jump from the temple and prove his divinity by landing unharmed. In order to better persuade Him, the Devil quotes Psalms 91:1, and Jesus responds with Deuteronomy 6:16.
Τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μὴποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

He will command his angels concerning you, and they will raise you on their hands lest you ever strike your foot against a rock. Matthew 4:6

Τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε,

καὶ ὅτι

'Επὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μὴποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

He will command his angels concerning you to protect you, and that, they will raise you on their hands lest you ever strike your foot against a rock. Luke 4:10-11

Τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε ἐν πασαῖς ταῖς ὀδοῖς σου· ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μὴποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου.

He will command his angels concerning you to protect you on all your paths; they will raise you on their hands lest you ever strike your foot against a rock.

LXX Psalms 90:1

עַל-כָּפָיָם תֶּשֶׁבֶךָ לְשֵׁמְךָ בֶּקֶר-חָרְנֶךָ:

For He will command his angels concerning you to guard you on all your paths.

They will lift you up on their palms lest your foot injure-itself-by-striking on the rock. BHS Psalms 91:1

Textual Matters
While there are only minor differences between the Matthew and Luke passages (namely "to protect you"), there is quite a significant omission in the NT from the OT. Both the LXX and the BHS include the phrase "on all your paths," which is absent in the NT. Though this phrase is small and perhaps only circumstantial information, I feel it does accomplish a subtle alteration in meaning. By removing this single phrase in the Devil's application of the verse, the original context is lost. Perhaps the Devil figure intentionally de-contextualizes this verse in order to make it seem more plausible and, therefore, a more potent temptation. The promise in the Psalms pertains to a common metaphor about walking the path of life and God keeping us from being tripped up – not about jumping off buildings. This change in context is the subtle hook of the deception.

**Jesus' Response**

Jesus' response is quoted rather consistently, being only a short phrase:

Oὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.
You shall not test the Lord your God. Matthew 4:7; Luke 4:12

Oὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου, ὃν τρόπον ἐξεπειράσασθε ἐν τῷ Πειρασμῷ.
You shall not test the Lord your God, in the way that you tested [him] at Massah (which means "the Trial"). LXX Deuteronomy 6:16

עַלְּאָכְכֶם לֹא תְּהִא יַעֲשֶׂהוּ לְיוֹהֵה אֶלֶּה בִּמְשָׁה
You shall not test Yahweh your God, as when you tested [him] at the Trial.
Textual Matters

The rest of the sentence, which is present in both OT texts but not quoted by Jesus, also reveals something about the context. This time, however, the context simply recalls a previous time when God's people tested him and the results of that mistrust.

The Mountain

The final test according to Matthew (second according to Luke), involves an offer which the Devil makes to Jesus. He shows him the kingdoms of the earth (presumably the very thing that Jesus came to earth to reclaim) and offers him everything in exchange for worship. This is an offer of a way out: an escape from the suffering that he will otherwise endure. Jesus responds once more with scripture:

Կյրիուς τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνη λατρεύσεις.

You will *worship the Lord your God and him alone will you serve.

Matthew 4:10; Luke 4:8

Կյրիοւ τὸν θεόν σου φοβήθηση καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολλήθησῃ καὶ τῷ δνόματι αὐτοῦ ὅμι.

You will fear the Lord your God and him will you serve to him will you cling and in his name will you swear. LXX Deut 6:13
You will fear Yahweh your God and you will serve him and you will swear by his name. BHS 6:13.

Textual Matters

The variants in these scriptures do tell us some interesting things about the text. First, there is a significant semantic difference between προσκυνήσεις, literally meaning "to prostrate oneself before and kiss the feet of," and φοβηθήση, meaning "to fear, be afraid of." The BHS also reads "to fear," leaving the reader to wonder if it is a different type of fear, or if the semantic range of the verb φοβηθήση allows for more than one interpretation. Secondly, the existence of these variants gives the close reader some clue as to the textual tradition which was available at the time of the recording of these gospels and a possible omission in the BHS. The substitution of προσκυνήσεις for φοβηθήση points to a precursor to the Codex Alexandrinus manuscript of the LXX as the text which was available to the writers of Matthew and Luke. Likewise, the presence of μόνον gives evidence of this same manuscript. Moreover, "you will cling to him" in the LXX implies that it is from a manuscript slightly different than the BHS from which the LXX was translated. The textual note in the Masoretic texts here confirms that multiple manuscripts exist with this insertion (or perhaps more correctly lack of omission). Moreover, it was a manuscript tradition other than the BHS which the gospel writers (or possibly Jesus himself) had available to them.

Conclusion
From these seemingly small differences in the texts, it is already possible to see a certain degree of semantic fluidity which was in process at the time of the advent of the early Christian church. Therefore, it is likely that there were variants among the Hebrew scrolls, with which Jesus and to his disciples came into contact. Though the degree of separation between the gospel writers and Jesus himself has already been acknowledged (Introduction), those who profess Jesus as being omniscient (i.e. divine) must here concede that he may have had knowledge of these textual differences and made a conscious choice of which reading to follow. As to that separation, one must wonder who originally recorded this story and under what circumstances did they hear it? Did Jesus later recount the story to his disciples after returning from the desert? Was someone else there to witness it? – the NT never says here that Jesus was alone in the wilderness.

These questions aside, it is the possible consciousness of, interaction with, and manipulation of the varying traditions of scripture on the part of Jesus that I wish to explore (i.e. using scripture out of context, or extracting non-literal meanings). De-contextualizing scripture and using it towards one's own needs is a potentially dangerous practice (as evidenced here by the Devil). However, it seems that Jesus was prone to the same practice, one which by modern standards is a much more Judaic than Christian approach, and Jesus was reportedly a skilled rabbi. In that regard, I believe the scriptures that Jesus chooses to quote are also significant. They are all from Deuteronomy and are all within two chapters of one another. Did Jesus take a scroll of Deuteronomy with him into the wilderness? This is possible, but not necessary. Rabbinic training involves extensive memorization, even to this day, and it is likely that Jesus simply had
memorized this text. Several more questions arise now: Where exactly is this vague destination called "the wilderness?" Was Jesus alone, or was he with others? Could he have gone to a "wilderness" community like the one at Qumran? The answers to these questions may be lost to the modern scholar. However, one thing is clear: Jesus was certainly not daunted by interpretation of the Torah, nor did he neglect to acknowledge its seventy faces.

**Conclusion Summary**

1. Jesus had intimate knowledge of the scriptures, and he may have committed large portions of them to memory.

2. Jesus may have been aware of variations in the text and may even have taken advantage of them.

3. Jesus used verses of scripture out of their original context and applied them to his own situation.
EYES AND EARS

Introduction

The following scriptures concern a passage from the OT which is quoted in all four gospels. In the case of each of the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus uses the following scripture from Isaiah 6 as part of his explanation for using parables when teaching: In each of these occasions, the disciples question Jesus directly about this teaching technique after he has finished telling the parable of the sower.

John's reference to this passage differs from the Synoptics, however, in two main ways: the point of view of the speaker and the context. In John's gospel, it is the gospel writer himself (not Jesus) who uses the scripture in explanation for the unbelief of the people. In other words, the context of the Johannine version is a discussion about unbelief in the face of miracles – not misunderstanding of parables, as it is in the synoptics. Despite these differences, I have included John's version due to the extensive use of the prophet Isaiah in John's gospel, and the fact that this passage is referred to by all the gospel writers.

The passage from Isaiah is taken from the commissioning of Isaiah and God's instructions to him concerning the people of Israel. The main theme of the instructions to Isaiah deals with Israel's ability (or lack thereof) to perceive beyond what they see and
hear. I will begin with the gospel of Matthew, since it is exactly equivalent to the text of the Septuagint, and follow with the other gospels, which have abbreviated references.

**Matthew and the LXX**

Not all of the gospel writers quote the passage verbatim. In fact, only Matthew's version is paralleled with the LXX. While on the one hand, this passage is consistently attested by all four gospel writers, each of the writers quotes it with varying degrees of faithfulness to the OT. This is most likely due to summarizing or repeating from memory, rather than copying the scripture.

'Ακοή ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε.
ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὀσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν, μὴποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀσίν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνώσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἱάσομαι αὐτοῖς.

In hearing you will hear and you did not at all understand, and seeing you will see and you did not at all perceive. For the heart of this people became dull (fat), and with their ears they heard with difficulty, and they closed down their eyes, lest they ever [come to] perceive with their eyes and [come to] hear with their ears and [come to] understand in their heart and they [come to] turn, and I will heal them. Matthew 13:14-15; LXX Isaiah 6:9b-10

**Textual Matters**
According to Matthew’s version, whose fidelity to the LXX indicates that it is a direct copying of the LXX, the Isaiah passage is a description of the people of Israel, albeit an unflattering one. The verb scheme in Matthew is unique indeed, being comprised mainly of three principal categories: future indicative verbs with present participles, aorist indicatives, and aorist subjunctives. The first curious syntactic combination is that of the present participle preceding the future indicative as in \( \beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\varepsilon\varsigma \beta\lambda\epsilon\psi\epsilon\tau\varepsilon \). This construction must be an attempt to render the Hebrew infinitive absolute (described below), and it imitates an idiomatic expression not readily accessible in Greek. The second is the joining of a future indicative with an aorist indicative with the simple conjunction \( \kappa\alpha\iota \). This conjunction usually links only items which are syntactically parallel, as in "I have a dog and a cat." Whereas these two verbs may be parallel logically, they are not grammatically. Lastly, the use of the aorist subjunctive in the series of fear clauses is striking. I have inserted the English phrase "come to" in order to capture the finite sense of the aorist aspect. In other words, the verbs are not continuous and so are not accurately translated with the English present, nor are they temporally past and so are not accurately translated with the English past (the most common translation of the aorist). I emphasize here instantaneous sense in the change that is the object of the fear clause. All told, in the verbal construction alone, this translation from the Hebrew is quirky and awkward in the Greek. The references from the other gospels are less so. One final note is the use of the double negative "οὐ μὴν," which I have rendered "not at all."

Mark, Luke, and John
The three references to the Isaiah passages found in the remaining gospels are not cited directly. This could be that they simply summarized for convenience while quoting the OT, or that they simply approximated the OT from memory. Therefore, each of them is different, having its own unique syntactic qualities.

βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν,
μὴποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.
Seeing they may see and not perceive and hearing they may hear and not understand lest they ever turn; and He forgive them. Mark 4:12

βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν.
Seeing they may not see and hearing they may not understand. Luke 8:10b

Τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ ἱάσομαι αὐτοῖς.
He has blinded their eyes and He (has) petrified their heart, so that they would not [come to] see with their eyes and [come to] think (or perceive) in their heart and [come to] turn, and I will heal them. John 12:40

Textual Matters

To begin with, the subjunctive construction in the Mark version is due to the fact that this quotation is introduced by a purpose clause with ἵνα. The juxtaposition between the present and aorist, however, is reminiscent of the Matthew version. Another
The interesting aspect is the substitution of "heal" in the Matthew's account with "forgive."
The verb used instead, ἀφεῖναι, has a wide gamut of meanings, including "to forgive, pardon, release (from bondage), and send out or away." Though limited to one choice for my English rendition, I believe it is a synthesis of these meanings (not one from among them) that is most appropriate. Luke's version is very brief and contains present aorist verbs for the same reason as Mark's (introduced by a purpose clause with ὑπό), but here the present tense is retained instead of utilizing the aorist. John's version has its own idiosyncrasies and yet is ironically closest to the Hebrew (as we will see later). Here the action begins very differently with "He" (i.e. God), as the agent of the action, rather than a simple description of the people. Their inability to "see" and "perceive" then is a direct result of God's action. Puzzlingly, the third person pronoun for God, "He," shifts to the first person "I" at the end of the quote. This is probably best explained as a gradual transition by the gospel writer from indirect to direct statement. John's version also features an abrupt change in tense – from the aorist subjunctive to the future indicative of the final verb ἑλκύειν. Perhaps some of the answers for these oddities lie in the Hebrew.

The Hebrew

As stated above, the following passage from Isaiah 6 is set in the context of God commissioning Isaiah as a prophet. After purifying his mouth with a coal from the altar, God gives Isaiah his first assignment:

שָׁמְנוּ לִשְׁמֹת אֶלְלִים עַבְרֵי分布式 רָאִים לֵאמָרLEARALHIN.
Keep on hearing and you will not understand, and keep on seeing and you will not know (perceive). Cause the heart of this people to grow fat and its ears to weigh heavily (become dull) and its eyes to stick shut, lest it (i.e. this people) will see with its eyes and hear with its ears, and its heart will understand and turn back, and He will heal it. BHS Isaiah 6:9b-10

Textual Matters

This passage is God's direct speech and is preceded by the phrase "say to this people..." The differences worth noting here are many, and I will address them as systematically as possible. First, the infinitive absolute construction is here used to express continuing action, which can be rendered as I have here: "keep on [X]ing..."

Second, the verbs, which were rendered in the future indicative in the Matthew and LXX versions, are actually imperatives in the Hebrew. God is telling Isaiah to command the people to hear and see without fruit. The result here is stated using the Hebrew imperfect (here future) tense, which is logical for a result which will happen in the future, contrasting the present subjunctive in the Greek (though both are appropriate for their context). God then issues further commands, ordering Isaiah to inflict the various afflictions upon the people's senses. In this case, it is Isaiah who will be performing the transitive action, rather than a description of the people's state. As in John's passage, there is also a shift of person in the final verb. Strangely though, this shift is the reverse of
John's, changing from the first person narrative of the overall context to the third person masculine pronoun "He." Accordingly, the reverse explanation is appropriate: here the narration is shifting from God giving Isaiah instruction to Isaiah declaring to the people what is to happen. Finally, an alternative reading of one clause found in many Hebrew manuscripts would change the above translation to read: "...and will understand in its heart..." While the Hebrew helps to explain many of the questions that are raised in the Greek, it is not itself without quirks.

Conclusion

Though the differences brought up here are principally grammatical, they are not without significance. Perhaps the most important variant is in the area of agent. All of the Greek versions, including the synoptics and the LXX, (with the exception of John's) have the people themselves as the subjects of intransitive verbs. This construction recounts a description rather than an action. The image portrayed is one of a people willingly, though almost certainly unconsciously, at fault for the state in which they find themselves. The Hebrew and the Johannine version make it abundantly clear that God is the author of this affliction and that Isaiah is his instrument. The imperative verbs doom the people to futility in their seeing and hearing, preventing them from experiencing the change of heart that will dissuade God from decimating (literally) the people and starting over with a remnant. 11 Now that we are informed of these two strikingly different viewpoints, our question transitions to whether the translators of the Septuagint, the synoptic writers, and Jesus himself were aware of the differences or not. Therefore, the

11 This possibly refers more immediately to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 722 BCE.
issue of which language Jesus spoke and read is of great importance here\textsuperscript{12}. Perhaps the translators of the Septuagint were trying to make a point with this change of perspective. Is the Greek somewhat less harsh towards the people of Israel, making their condition a result of their own actions rather than a punishment from God? In any case, that the change is intentional seems clear.

Conclusion Summary

1. The verbal structure of the Isaiah passage greatly affects the meaning of the passage as a whole.

2. The translators of the LXX made a conscious choice to affect this change.

3. The language of Jesus (and of the gospels) is of great importance to the literal meaning of these passages and to understanding their significance.

\textsuperscript{12} Refer to Chapter 1 and Bivin.
Introduction

Mark and Luke both record the event of Jesus' homecoming to Nazareth, though only Luke expands the story. Luke adds to the homecoming narrative the story of Jesus in the synagogue. However, the account of Jesus' reading from the scroll of Isaiah in the synagogue is totally absent from Mark, implying that Luke's information comes from his own knowledge or his private source. In Luke's gospel this event takes place almost immediately after Jesus' baptism at the beginning of his public ministry (though Luke acknowledges his ministry both in Galilee and Capernaum before coming to Nazareth). Jesus enters the synagogue and stands up to read. He is handed the scroll of Isaiah and he intentionally seeks out the passage which is now Isaiah 61:1-2. After reading the passage he announces, "Today this scripture is fulfilled in your hearing" (NKJV Luke 4:21). At first the people are impressed with his words, but after his subsequent teachings, which foreshadow his being rejected by those in Nazareth, they sought to throw him off of a cliff.

Some suggest that Jesus' reading of Isaiah was simply the assigned prophetic reading for that day. This is a possibility; however, the Isaiah Anchor Bible commentary states regarding this verse that, "the evidence for a cycle of prophetic readings in first-century Palestine is debatable, despite the claims that have been made for it" (Fitzmyer
531). In reading the scroll of the prophet Isaiah, we have evidence both of Jesus' literacy and of his familiarity with Isaiah ("he found the place where it is written"). The implications of the passage that he chooses to read are profound. The passage opens with the prophet stating is that he has been "anointed" by God, and Jesus applies this to himself. No gospel writer records a story of Jesus being anointed for ministry with oil, and many conjecture that his baptism was a type of anointing. The idea of someone being "anointed with the Spirit," however, is not one without OT (Elijah, Elisha, David, Saul, etc.) precedent, and will come to have a prominent role in Christianity. Therefore, this anointing can rightly be viewed as a prophetic anointing, in reference to the teaching that follows, in which Jesus refers to himself as a prophet.

**Luke and the LXX**

The two Greek texts of Luke and the LXX are very similar in their structure and in wording, with only one main verb being different. The big difference, however, lies in content. Both versions omit portions which the other includes. This makes it almost impossible to assume that Jesus was reading a Greek text (a precursor to the LXX). Furthermore, the author of the Anchor Bible commentary indicates, in reference to this passage, that the text points to a Hebrew text, as no reference to a targum is made here. Moreover, it states:

> Fragmentary written copies of pre-Christian targums have been discovered in Qumran caves, but so far none of Isaiah. However, the Isaiah Scroll A from Qumran Cave 1, which is
complete and dated paleographically ca. 100 B.C., would be a good example of the sort of scroll that might have been used in a synagogue (Fitzmyer 531). 13

What makes the source of this Isaiah reading even more enigmatic is the fact that it is a direct quotation neither of the Greek nor of the Hebrew of Isaiah 61:1-2. Many believe, rather, that it is a conflation of Isaiah 61:1a,b,d; 58:6d, and 61:2a. Here are the two texts from Luke and the LXX:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me wherefore he anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to make known release* to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to send out in release* those who have been broken; to make known the acceptable year of the Lord. Luke 4:18-19.

13 In another minor note, the comparison between the BHS and the photocopies of the Isaiah Scroll from Qumran at this passage did not demonstrate any differences between the two texts.

14 Some versions also include ἱάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτους ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἐνιαυτῶν κυρίου δεκτών καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως, παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me wherefore he anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to heal those crushed in heart, to make known release* to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to summon the
acceptable year of the Lord and the day of recompense, to comfort all who are
grieving. LXX Isaiah 61:1-2

άπόστελε τεθραυσμένους ἐν αφέσει

...he sent out in release those who have been broken... LXX Isaiah 58:6d

Textual Matters

It is clear, looking at these passages, which portions have been omitted and added (underlining mine). The underlined portion of the Luke passage is clearly an insertion of Is. 58:6d into Is. 61:1-2, though the purpose of the juxtaposition is unclear. The omission in Luke of the underlined portion of the LXX passage, as has been said earlier, can be understood as Jesus ending the reading after the desired passage has been spoken. However, such an explanation is not credible here when we look at the Hebrew (explained below).

Returning now to the transposed portion of 58:6 ("he sent out in release those who have been broken"), though there is little hard evidence upon which to base an understanding of its placement within the context of 61:1-2, we must assume that Jesus (or perhaps Luke) had a purpose in doing so. The Anchor Bible commentator also addresses this issue by making note of the use of the Greek word ἀφέομαι, which literally means "a sending away" (see above translation). The commentators state that this is a catchword for Luke, and though here translated "release" in the context of bondage and affliction, it is later used by Luke to mean "forgiveness" (Fitzmyer 533). It is also proposed as a thematic addition, highlighting one of the primary groups on whom Jesus will focus his ministry. Since it is Luke and not Jesus, who writes the account, there are
three possible explanations. First, Jesus read the passage as recorded with the
transposition in place. Second, Luke puts words in Jesus' mouth that he did not actually
read in order to establish a thematic motif. Third, and I think most likely, Jesus read a
longer portion of scripture than what is recorded here, and Luke chooses this selection to
highlight, placing 58:6d within it for the thematic reasons mentioned. It could also have
been copied this way from Luke's source.

One noteworthy lexical substitution that takes place here is κηρύξας for καλέσας in
the NT. The difference being that while Second Isaiah is "summoning" the favorable year
of Yahweh, Jesus is "declaring" its presence. This change could be deliberate either on
the part of Jesus or of Luke, further underscoring the idea that Jesus is fulfilling the
words of the prophet. I believe that it was Jesus who made this choice, and I would
expect this change to have been interposed into the Hebrew reading. Though interjecting
a new word while reading scripture may not be usual, the statement, which Jesus makes
following the reading, makes it more plausible. Another interesting lexical feature is the
understood claim of Jesus as the Christ. While the etymological connection between
ἐκθριστόν and Christ (χρίστος) – both are from the root χρίσμα meaning "anointing" – is
evident in the Greek, the image is arguably stronger in the Hebrew.

The Hebrew

The Hebrew passage itself in Isaiah 61 is a poem of Second Isaiah addressed to a
post-exilic Israel. Though the phrases "poor," "broken-hearted," and "imprisoned" do not
apply to the whole of Israel at this time, they refer to a faithful remnant that is here promised restoration. The acknowledgement of this context is essential to understanding the effect of Jesus' use of the passage. As his ministry plays out, it is not the whole of the nation of Israel that responds to his message and enters into this promise. Instead, it is the poor and broken upon whom he focuses his miracles, and the theme of a remnant being saved continues throughout the theology of the early church.

וַהֲקָם הַרְוחָם יְהֹוָה לָתֶּנִּי וַתְּאָמַן לָנָני בַּשַּׁעֲרֵי יְהֹוָה
לַבָּשׁ שְׁלֵתָה לְשַׁבֵּה הָרָּדָה
לָשַׁבֵּה לְשַׁבֵּה הָרָּדָה אֲלֵמֹרִים כְּפָרָדוֹת
לְהָרָּדָה שַׁעִיתָּה לְשַׂמֹת לָוָּה וֹזֵק לָאָלָדָה
לָוָּה כְּלָאָמָלִים

The Spirit of my Lord Yahweh is upon me because Yahweh anointed me to herald good news [to] the meek (poor, weak, afflicted); He sent me to bind up those who have been broken in heart, to declare emancipation to those who have been taken captive and deliverance from jail to those who have been imprisoned; to declare the favorable year of Yahweh and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all those in mourning. BHS Isaiah 61:1-2

ושָלָה רַנוֹזַיְיוּ הָשְׁמִים

…and to send out crushed-ones (having been) freed… BHS Isaiah 58:6d

---

15 See McKenzie 181.
Textual Matters

The LXX tends to follow the Hebrew rather closely with one interesting interpretation made in translation: Where the Hebrew reads "deliverance from jail to those who have been imprisoned," the LXX translates the phrase as "recovery of sight to the blind." This interpretation is not impossible, but is also by no means obvious. The blindness in the Greek is neither explicitly literal nor figurative, though it could be redemption of the people's ability to perceive, echoing Isaiah 6 (see Chapter 3). As mentioned above, the claim of Jesus as the Messiah is heard in the word מְשָׁיָךְ (mashach — like meshiach "Messiah"). Though many argue that this claim is never expressly made on the part of Jesus, I would argue that we have evidence of it here.

As stated above, the place chosen to end the quotation is conspicuous. While the Greek translation makes the stopping-point excusable as simply convenience, the Hebrew poetic line is incomplete without its completing half. The part of the passage in question is "...and the day of vengeance of our God." While it seems likely that Jesus read a longer portion of the scripture and that Luke chose a part to highlight, the choice to end on this half-line also seems deliberate. The end of the reading would also be an ideal portion for Luke to emphasize, considering Jesus' statement immediately after finishing. Though the vengeance of God being fulfilled is very much a part of the Christian doctrine of Armageddon, it is expressly not a part of the Christ's first coming (see Luke 9:56 and John 12:47). Therefore, the decision to not read the last half-verse of the poetic line (as the evidence suggests he was reading the Hebrew) is significant.

16 "to comfort all those who mourn" actually begins the next line, though it is included in the verse numbering
Conclusion

Understanding this passage in Luke is not only an integral piece of this paper, but is perhaps the genesis of it. It is the one recorded example of Jesus actually reading the scriptures, and the conclusions we can discern from it are extremely important to understanding his use of scripture as a whole. Here we have strong evidence both of Jesus' literacy and fluency in Hebrew and also his application of prophetic texts to himself. In this reading of Isaiah, and its claim of fulfillment, Jesus' claim of being the Messiah is clearly implicit, and the purpose and object of his ministry is rather explicit. Again we have evidence of Jesus' manipulation of the text both in his deliberate omission of the second half of a poetic line, and in his substitution of "declare" for "summon," underscoring his fulfillment of the prophecy.

Conclusion Summary

1. Jesus was reading a Hebrew scroll – not an Aramaic targum.
2. Jesus was familiar with Isaiah, and deliberately sought the desired reading.
4. Jesus' claim to be the Messiah is implicit in his statement that he is fulfilling the prophecy.
5. In reading scripture here (and assumedly in quoting it elsewhere) Jesus interjects his own authorial voice to adapt the scripture to his use.
Introduction

The original context of the final episode examined in this study is difficult to deduce. The account is one in which Jesus is questioned concerning the most important commandments that a believer is to follow. He responds (or, in the case of the Lukan passage, he questions and another responds) by quoting both Deuteronomy 6 (the Shema') and Leviticus 19 (the Holiness Code). While the incident is reported in all three of the Synoptic Gospels, Mark and Matthew agree on the context and timing but disagree on the details, whereas Matthew and Luke agree on more details but disagree on setting. Many scholars who assume Markan priority, take his account as first-hand, while Matthew and Luke depend upon Q. On the other hand, assuming Matthean priority, Luke may have borrowed from Matthew and changed the placement of the incident to suit his own needs (further evidence of Luke's editorializing as seen the in the previous chapter).

The Greek

While the following Greek passages are similar, none of them agree completely. The discrepancies in most cases are minor; however, it makes the idea of a common Greek source of the event unlikely at best. If we assume, on the other hand, a Hebrew
Matthean priority, both Mark and Luke may plausibly have borrowed from it with slightly different results in translation. This theory also leaves room for slight syntactic divergence between the LXX and Matthew. Only this perspective seems to account for all variations.

As mentioned, the contexts of each of the NT accounts also differ. In Matthew's account, the event occurs after Jesus has silenced the Sadducees and before Jesus dialogues about the descendant of David being his "Lord." The Pharisees are upset and come to him, a lawyer among them asks which commandment is the "great" commandment, and Jesus responds by quoting Deuteronomy and Leviticus. Afterwards, there is no discussion and the narrative proceeds to the next topic. Mark's passage is placed within the same context as Matthew's, but it is a scribe who questions Jesus, asking which commandment is "first." Jesus responds with the scripture references, and the scribe agrees with him. Jesus commends the man's wisdom and the episode ends. Luke's account occurs chronologically much earlier than the other two, after the seventy are sent out and return. Luke agrees with Matthew that it is a lawyer with Jesus; however, Jesus responds with a counter-question, and it is the lawyer who quotes the same two passages of scripture. Afterwards, the lawyer tries to justify himself by asking "Who is my neighbor?" Jesus then responds with the parable of the Good Samaritan. Again, the discrepancy of context is best understood as Mark borrowing from Matthew, and Luke (also borrowing from Matthew) changing the placement of the event to introduce the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Though Luke's account does not report Jesus as the one who quotes the scripture, it would not be prudent to omit the textual analysis of the Lukan passage (as with the
Devil in the Temptation account). There is also sufficient reason to believe that Luke changed speakers so that he could more smoothly lead into the parable. I have here underlined the version in question to distinguish it as not being attributed to Jesus.

Matthew 22:37

You shall love (agape) the Lord your God in your whole heart and in your whole spirit and in your whole understanding. Matthew 22:37

Mark 12:29b-30

You shall love the Lord your God out of your whole heart and out of your whole spirit and in your whole strength and in your whole understanding and out of your whole strength and in your whole understanding, and your neighbor as yourself. Luke 10:27

*The Greek lacks the word "neighbor".*
Keep hearing, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one. And you shall love (agape) the Lord your God out of your whole heart and out of your whole spirit and out of your whole power. LXX Deuteronomy 6:4c-5.\textsuperscript{17}

'Αγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

You shall love your neighbor* as yourself. Matthew 22:39; Mark 12:31;

LXX Leviticus 19:18

Textual Matters

The first distinguishing feature of the NT versions is the unanimous inclusion of "understanding" (διανοία) in the quotation. The editor of this version of the Greek NT italicizes this portion (and rightly so) as not being a part of the OT passage. Interestingly, this interpolation is also absent from the LXX. Perhaps this is the gospel translator's attempt to render the Hebrew word for "heart." Lev בֵּן (or levav בֵּן interchangeably) is famous for having the dual meaning of both the center of emotion and prominently also the center of rational thought. It appears that the translator of Matthew, cognizant of this duality, chose to render both meanings of the Hebrew, rather than restricting the application to a choice between the two. The presence of this double-rendering (and, again, its absence from the LXX) is further evidence for the primacy of a Hebrew original of Matthew, which was later translated into Greek, allowing for the differences found in Mark and Luke.

\textsuperscript{17} The LXX begins 6:4 with "These are laws and rules – the kind that the Lord left the children of Israel in the desert, while they were coming out of the land of Egypt." This is evidence that the Nash Papyrus was used in this instance as the vorlage of the LXX (Weinfeld 331).
The difference between the prepositions "out of" and "in" can be owed to different renderings of the inseparable Hebrew preposition -ב, and are of little consequence. The semantic variation of "strength" vs. "power" (Mark and Luke vs. LXX, respectively), is also minor, but the fact that the difference occurs between NT and LXX could also be evidence of borrowing from a source rather than citing the LXX, though the phrase is absent in Matthew. The truly significant semantic shift occurs between the Hebrew and the Greek in the word "neighbor" (discussed more fully below). The Greek πλησιός means "neighbor" or "someone who is nearby," meaning that the term applies to all with whom you might come into contact, regardless of origin. Luke has even quoted Jesus earlier in his gospel, extending the principle to loving one's enemies (Luke 6:27-35).

Some translators render this word as "fellow man;" this connotation will be extremely significant when compared with the Hebrew.

**The Hebrew**

The Deuteronomistic passage quoted by Jesus (and the lawyer) as being the chief commandment is arguably the most famous in Judaism: The Shema'. Ironically, both Matthew and Luke omit the first verse. The second scripture quoted comes from the Holiness Code in Leviticus, and the Greek texts unanimously omit the end of the verse: "I am Yahweh."
Hear, O Israel, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one. And you will love Yahweh your God with all of your heart, and with all of your soul, and with all of your power. BHS Deuteronomy 6:4-5.

You will love your comrade as yourself, I am Yahweh. BHS Leviticus 19:18

Textual Matters

There has been much said by scholars about the ambiguity in syntax in the first verse of the Deuteronomistic passage; namely, that two renderings are possible: "Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God, the LORD is one" as well as, "Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God is one LORD." This is possible because the copula is understood (rather than expressed) in Hebrew, allowing its placement to be variously interpreted by the hearer or reader. The result is that the two readings could be either a claim of monotheism or simply of exclusivity in Israel's worship, respectively. It is my stance that rendering the tetragrammaton as a name, which it is, makes the ambiguity impossible (as illustrated by my translation above).

Lexically, as mentioned above, both the idea of "heart" and "understanding" are condensed in the Hebrew לבב. The more relevant item here comes from the Leviticus passage: עירא ("neighbor"). The semantic range of the Hebrew for "neighbor" עירא is more restricted than the Greek πλησίον, having the sense of "fellow countryman." The Mosaic
laws describing proper conduct towards one's "neighbor" apply only to those of the nation of Israel – not to foreigners, and certainly not to enemies. The Anchor Bible's commentary on Luke's version of this passage agrees: "In Leviticus 'neighbor' stands in parallelism with 'the children of your own people,' i.e. fellow Israelites. The love is eventually extended in Leviticus 19:34 to the 'sojourner' (gēr) in the land (cf. Deuteronomy 10:19), but not to others, e.g. gōyîm" (Fitzmyer 880-881). This backdrop gives the following discussion of "neighbor" in Luke and the parable of the Good Samaritan a stronger punch, especially since Luke most likely composed in Greek.

Conclusion

The textual study of this passage has revealed many interesting findings, which are highly relevant to the theme of this study. As it turns out, the discrepancies in the synoptic accounts of the "Greatest Commandment" teaching possibly reveal more – not less – about the sources and development of the gospels. The idea that a Hebrew Matthew is the subsequent gospel writers' source for this account is the theory that best accounts for the variations in the synoptics. Moreover, the juxtaposition of time and place in the gospel of Luke is not without precedent. Lastly, as to the meaning of "neighbor," there is no indication that Jesus was monolingual, nor is there an indication as to which language framed the discussion in Luke. Lukan Jesus, however, is clearly aware of the distinction, and makes it the very focus of his teaching.

Conclusion Summary
1. The existence of a Hebrew Vorlage for Matthew (and the subsequent borrowing by Mark and Luke) best explains the variation between the synoptic accounts, based on the evidence from the analysis of these references to scripture by Jesus.

2. The discrepancy in the context of Luke's account can be plausibly credited to the gospel writer's personal editorial decisions.

3. The cultural impact of the meaning of "neighbor" as it is used in these passages (regardless of the language of the discussion) was apparent to Jesus, and he used it to support his doctrine of loving all one's fellows – including enemies.
The course of this study has been a huge growing experience for me. Not only is it the largest project I have undertaken to date, but it has also challenged my language skills and my beliefs about the Bible. When I began studying at the University of Tennessee, I knew immediately that I wanted to focus on languages – particularly Greek and Hebrew. Having experienced the nuanced expansion in understanding that comes from gaining fluency in another language, I desperately wanted that same experience when it came to reading the Christian Bible. I'll admit I was more than a little naïve about the sheer volume of scholarship that has gone into studying the texts of the Bible, and I thought every idea I had was unprecedented. Now, though I still have a compelling desire to be a force of positive change in my own spiritual community, I have great respect for those that have come before me.

At the outset of my collegiate studies I thought myself open-minded when it came to other cultures and worldviews, but I was not. It has only been through encountering those cultures and belief-systems first hand and through being awakened to my own cultural biases that I have left my fundamentalist origins, or at least have begun to do so. Though the majority of my beliefs about the person of Jesus of Nazareth have not changed, nor do I expect them to, I have allowed my mind to be opened to new truths and pray that this process will continue throughout my life.
Beginning this project, I had hopes that my beliefs about scripture would be confirmed and enhanced, and they have been – but ironically so. In fact, my scholarly transformation has mirrored my spiritual one to a large degree. By this I mean that during my college career I had begun to see much more humanity in the Bible, and I have come to grips with the fact that it was written by real people, any of whom I could have been, had I been born several thousand years earlier. Likewise, in my studies I have come to regard the human-ness of the document that is the Bible, without diminishing its spiritual weight. In short, I have come to take a much more rational and sober view of the scriptures, which I consider to have heightened, not squelched, my own spirituality.

The results of this current study have similarly been enlightening to me. As I have faced head-on the raw texts, I have become acutely aware of the implications of the fact that they are canonical. In examining the gospels, it is clear (from examples such as Luke's editorializing), that the gospel writers did not know they were writing texts that would go on to be canonized. They were simply biographers, setting down traditions about the account of the life of Jesus in writing so that it could be more easily conveyed across distance and language. In this situation, the considerations that would inevitably assail anyone who was intentionally writing a canonical text, are absent from them – meaning that which was most important to them to convey is not necessarily the same information that scholars would emphasize. Furthermore, the notion of discovering what Jesus "really said" is greatly clouded by a veil of language. If his primary language was indeed Hebrew, as I have argued that it was, then we have no first-hand accounts of his actual speech. The language gap is also instrumental in our lack of understanding of Jesus' recorded.
With these important considerations in mind, the focus of my study has been Jesus' use of scripture. In some ways my expectations have been met, such as Jesus' knowledge of the scriptures and of the Hebrew language. My study has also confirmed that his use of scripture (and moreover of language itself) is intentional and dynamic. On the other hand, Jesus does not treat scriptures with the same reverent distance that is common among most of modern Christian theological teaching. While most Christians regard the texts as perfect, with it being a sin to alter or manipulate them, Jesus has here been shown to adapt scripture to new contexts that are different than those for which they were originally intended and even insert his own authorial voice when quoting them. Apart from this, the records of Jesus' use of scripture (i.e. the gospels), are greatly influenced by the needs and purposes of the gospel writers themselves.

Fortunately, this study has opened the door to me for much further inquiry. I now think it important to do a much more intentional investigation of Matthew as an originally Hebrew text. I also would like to gain a greater understanding of the research that has gone into the Synoptic Problem. In my present study, the limitations of time have also prevented me from investigating all of Jesus' references to scripture. This is an avenue that I believe will be useful to pursue as well. In regards to the issue of separation between the words of Jesus and the Bible reader, which has been discussed in this study, I believe there is also merit to be found in further cross-sectional studies of the use of scripture by the gospel writers. Though not included in the body of this research, I have begun investigation into some of these matters, two of which are presented briefly in Appendices A and B.
APPENDICES

Appendix A: Lip Service
Appendix B: Stumbling Stone
Appendix C: Index Verborum
Appendix D: Linguistic and Grammatical Terminology

The following appendices are included as an aid to the reader both in further understanding of the study and in acknowledgement of the research done that was not evidenced in the final draft. Appendices A and B were originally chapters in the rough draft but were left out due to lack of definitive evidence. They are included here as suggestions for further inquiry. Appendix C gives the verbal parsings of all Greek and Hebrew verbs used in the study (including Appendices A and B). Appendix D is a glossary of technical terms, which may be unfamiliar to the reader.

The following is a list (in no particular order) of passages that were likewise investigated and translated but were later rejected. They, too, are possible areas of further research:

More than a Prophet - Matthew 11:10, Mark 1:2, Luke 7:27 (Mal 3:1)
Marriage - Matthew 19:4-5, Mark 10:6-8 (Gen 1:27, 5:2; Gen 2:24)
Introduction

The following set of scriptures comes from an incident where Jesus scolds the Scribes and Pharisees for valuing tradition above the Law. They rebuke his disciples for not washing their hands before eating bread (an act of ritual purification), and Jesus responds to them by saying that though they follow the tradition, they lose sight of the law itself. The passage here is repeated identically in Matthew 15 and Mark 7. Interestingly, there is a slight difference between the BHS and the Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran.

The Greek Versions

The version quoted in Matthew and Mark is almost identical, though both vary from the LXX (though only slightly). This is possible evidence of borrowing by one of the gospel writers (in my opinion Mark, for it is his, whose opening word order also varies).

'Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἄνθρωπων.
This people honors me with their lips but their heart is far away from me; and in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines (lit. teachings), [as] the commandments of men. Matthew 15:8-9; Mark 7:6b-7 (opens Οὕτως ὁ λαός...) 'Εγγίζει μοι ὁ λαός οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμώσων με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκουντες ἑντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας.

This people draws near to me, honoring me with their lips, but their heart is far away from me; and in vain they worship me, teaching commandments of men and doctrines (teachings). LXX Isaiah 29:13

Textual Matters

The variations among these versions are minor, though worth noting in light of the Hebrew. The first verb, according to the gospels' version, is singular with "this people" as its subject. The LXX, however, renders the honoring as a participle. The gospel writer begins later, leaving out "draws near to me," and in doing so has changed the participle to a finite verb agreeing with "this people." Another variation comes in the phrasal object of the final participle διδάσκοντες, which modifies the plural subject of "worship:" they (i.e. the people). In the two NT versions we have two accusatives as potential objects with no conjunction linking them. This must mean (as other translators have agreed) that one of them is in apposition to the other. Grammatically, "commandments of men" is in apposition to "doctrines," though logically I prefer the reverse: "teaching the commandments of men as their teachings." The verb I have simply translated as "worship" here actually has to do with "being in awe." For expediency in
English I have retained the popular translation, though the true meaning is closer to the Hebrew.

The Hebrew

As mentioned above, the NT version is slightly truncated from the OT. Its context in Isaiah is somewhat obscure, simply falling in the midst of an extended prophetic invective describing the waywardness of the people. However, there is a small introduction in verses 11-12, which establishes a metaphor of the people's inability to see the visions of God and gain knowledge because of their disobedience and subsequent blindness.

And Adonai said, "Because this people has drawn near with its mouth, and with its lips they have honored me, but its heart was far away from me, and their fear towards me is a commandment of men which was learned.

BHS Isaiah 29:13

And fear of me was by a commandment of men which was learned.
Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran \(\approx\) Isaiah 29:13.

**Textual Matters**

The Hebrew reads much the same as the Greek until the last line. There we have a difference in meaning due to the placement and agreement of the final participle. Whereas the Greek participle modifies the people (who were teaching), in the Hebrew the last phrase is all modifying the fear (or *awe*). The Qumran version leaves off the possessive ending "their" from the fear, and it adds the preposition "in/by" to the commandment.

**Conclusion**

The variation in these passages between the Greek and the Hebrew is not due to a difficulty in translation because of Hebrew idiom. Instead, the translator of the LXX has (whether intentionally or not) shifted the focus, placing the emphasis of the blame on the teachers rather than on the fear on the part of the people (as it is in the Hebrew). This application is appropriate to Jesus' objective of criticizing the teachings, which the Scribes and Pharisees consider more important. Though evidence is not available for either side, I would expect to find that emphasis retained (i.e. different from the BHS) in the Hebrew Vorlage of the gospel of Matthew.

**Conclusion Summary**
1. The wording of the Greek versions shifts the blame of this accusation more
towards the teachers of the law than to the quality of the people's worship.

2. Jesus use of this emphasis was intentional, scolding the teachers of the law for
losing sight of what is important.

3. Either Jesus was here quoting a Greek source or there is a lost Hebrew version
of the gospel which retains this emphasis.
Introduction

Our next passage deals with a quotation from Psalms which Jesus cites in all three synoptic gospels. It occurs, in all three accounts, immediately after the telling of the parable of the wicked vinedressers, a parable concerning the stubbornness of the leaders of Israel. He cites the scripture in the Psalms about the cornerstone that the builders rejected. Afterwards he warns that "whoever falls on that stone will be broken; but on whomever it falls, it will grind him to powder" (NKJV Luke 20:18). The implication is that Jesus is the cornerstone (and the vineyard owner's son) and that the chief priests and the scribes are the vinedressers. The parable prophesies Jesus death and punishment of the vinedressers (namely that they will be destroyed and the vineyard will be given to others). Realizing this underlying message, the leaders seek to kill Jesus but are thwarted by the fear of his popularity with the multitude. The passage he quotes comes from Psalms 118:22-23.

Stumbling Stones

One of the interesting features of this series of passages is their similarity. As stated above, the contexts in all three passages are identical. The passage itself is identical
in all three gospels and the LXX, except that Luke's version only quotes 118:22 and
omits verse 23. In this case, it also turns out to be a rather faithful translation of the
Hebrew. The context for the OT passage is in the midst of a praise Psalm, and it seems to
have almost nothing to do with the verses surrounding it. It is preceded by "I will praise
You, for You have answered me, and have become by salvation" (NKJV Ps 118:21). And
it is followed by "This is the day that the LORD has made; we will rejoice and be glad in
it" (NKJV Ps 118:24). If there is a greater significance related to its placement here, it
will take a more skilled exegete than myself to render.

Δάθος ὃν ἀπεδόκιμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομῶτες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλήν γωνίας·
παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη καὶ ἐστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.
A stone, which the builders rejected, itself became a head of corner (cornerstone);
This happened from the Lord and it is wonderful in our eyes. Matthew 21:42;
Mark 12:10b-11; LXX Psalms 117:22-23
Δάθος ὃν ἀπεδόκιμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομῶτες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλήν γωνίας·
A stone, which the builders rejected, itself became a head of corner (cornerstone);
Luke 20:17b

A stone the builders rejected has become a head of a corner (cornerstone); this
was from-proximity-with Yahweh, it was wonderful in our eyes.
Textual Matters

The Greek translation of the Hebrew here is almost word for word. Even the morphological forms match up in most cases. The "builders" are participles with definite articles in both cases, the verbs are of mostly equivalent tenses, and the two-word phrase "head of corner," is also identical. Another interesting literal translation comes with the word παράτατος in Greek. With the genitive here, it simply means "from," though the Hebrew is slightly more involved. The Hebrew word is נַגְּדָה, meaning "from with" or "from proximity with." It is a combination of two Hebrew prepositions: וַ, meaning "from," and נַגְּדָה, meaning "with" in the sense of accompaniment. This seems to suggest some sort of locative sense, which is lost on both the Greek and English reader. Many translators attribute a causal sense to it (i.e. "Yahweh has done this..."). Others simply leave it "from." In either case, the Greek is clearly imitating as literally as possible.

Conclusion

This set of texts illustrates two key things: 1) the tendency towards literal Greek translation when meaning is unclear, and 2) the importance of the Septuagint in the formation of the final versions of the synoptic gospels. As we saw above in chapter 2 with the Hebrew infinitive absolute, the translators of the LXX try to copy the form of the Hebrew as closely as possible in cases that present difficult Hebrew, or idioms for which
there is no convenient equivalent in Greek. I believe we have a similar case here with the word "from." Next, as we have seen in the other passages studied so far, the tendency to variation, even if only minimal, between the gospels is normal, if not to be expected. It is the lack of divergence here that is curious to me. There seem to be two possible explanations for this. Either 1) all three of the gospel writers (assuming they composed in Greek) had the LXX text before them when setting down this particular passage and copied it exactly, or that one of them did this and the other two copied his exactly; or 2) the translator of the gospels (assuming they were composed in Hebrew) found this passage difficult and reverted to the LXX to supply the most accurate rendering that he could. I am in favor of this latter view.

Conclusion Summary:

1. In many cases, when translating from the Hebrew, ancient translators chose a literal, rather than idiomatically-based, approach, when the meaning was unclear.

2. At some point, whether during translation or afterwards, the gospels were edited – in one way by comparing scripture references to the LXX.

3. Uniformity, rather than variation, is often grounds for suspicion.
~ APPENDIX C ~

VERBAL PARSINGS

HEBREW

Leviticus

19:18

רָאָהָה - 2nd masc sing Qal perf + WC - אָהֲבָּה - to love

Deuteronomy

6:4-5

שָׁמֵעַ - sing masc imperative Qal - שָׁמֵעַ - to hear

רָאָהָה - 2nd masc sing Qal perf + WC - אָהֲבָּה - to love

6:13

רָאָה - 2nd masc sing imperf Qal - רָאָה - to fear

שָׁבַע - 2nd masc sing imperf Qal - שָׁבַע - to serve

שָׁבַע - 2nd masc sing imperf Niphal - שָׁבַע - to swear

6:16

נַשְׁמַה - 2nd masc pl imperf Piel - נַשְׁמַה - to put to the test, try, train

נַשְׁמַה - 2nd masc pl perf Piel - נַשְׁמַה - to put to the test, try, train
8:3

- 3rd masc sing imperfect Qal - לֹּא - to be
- masc sing part Hiphil - יֹצֵאת - to go out
- 3rd masc sing imperfect Qal - לְדוּ - to be

**Psalms**

91:11-12

- 3rd masc imperfect Piel - מָצָא - to command
- inf cons Qal + 2nd masc sing pronominal suf - שָׁמַּרְתָּ - to guard, keep
- 3rd masc pl imperfect Qal + 2nd masc sing pronominal suf - שָׁמָּה - to lift, raise
- 3rd fem or 2nd masc imperfect Qal - נָא - to injure, strike

118:22-23

- 3rd masc pl perfect Qal - מָאָס - to reject, refuse
- 3rd fem sing perfect Qal - וַיהָ - to be, become
- 3rd fem sing perfect Qal - וַיהָ - to be, become
- 3rd fem sing perfect Niphal - מִשְׁלָל - to be hard, difficult; to be wonderful, marvellous

**Isaiah**

6:9-10
- masc pl imper Qal - to hear
- inf abs Qal - to hear
- 2nd masc pl imperf Qal - to understand
- masc pl imper Qal - to see
- inf abs Qal - to see
- 2nd masc pl imperf Qal - to know, perceive
- masc sing imper Hiphil - to grow fat
- masc sing imper Hiphil - to weigh heavily, become dull; honor
- masc sing imper Hiphil - to shut, stick shut
- 3rd masc sing imperf Qal - to see
- 3rd masc sing imperf Qal - to hear
- 3rd masc sing imperf Qal - to understand
- 3rd masc sing perf + WC Qal - to return
- 3rd masc sing perf + WC Qal - to heal

29:13

- 3rd masc sing imperf + WC Qal - to say
- 3rd masc sing perf Niphal - to draw near
58:6d

- 3rd masc pl perf Piel + 1st sing pronominal suf - to make heavy; honor

- 3rd masc sing perf Piel - to be distant

- fem sing part Pual - to be instructed, well-versed

58:6d

- inf cons Piel - to send

61:1-2

- 3rd masc perf Qal - to anoint

- inf cons Piel - to announce, bear good news

- 3rd masc sing perf Qal + 1st sing pronominal suf - to send

- inf const Piel - to wrap around, bind, saddle

- 3rd masc pl part Niphal - to be broken down, smashed

- inf cons Qal - to call, proclaim, declare

- masc pl pass part Qal - to take captive

- masc pl pass part Qal - to imprison, fetter

- inf cons Qal - to call, proclaim, declare
- inf cons Piel - בָּרֵא - to have compassion on, comfort, console

**GREEK**

**Old Testament**

**Leviticus**

19:18

'Αγαπήσεις - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic - ἀγαπάω - to love

**Deuteronomy**

6:4-5

ἀκούε - sing pres act imperative - ἀκούω - to hear

ἐστιν - 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing pres indic - εἰμὶ - to be

'αγαπήσεις - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic - ἀγαπάω - to love

6:13

φοβήσῃσα - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic mid dep - φοβέω - to fear

λατρεύσεις - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic act - λατρεύω - to serve, carry out religious duties

κολλήσῃσα - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic pass - κολλάω - to join closely, glue

ὁμῆ - 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing fut indic mid - ὁμήμει - to swear, make oaths

6:16
ἐκπειράσεις – 2nd sing fut indic act – ἐκπειράζω - to tempt, put to the test

ἐξεπειράσασθε – 2nd pl aor indic act – ἐκπειράζω - to tempt, put to the test

8:3

ζηρεται – 3rd sing fut indic mid dep – ζαω - to live

ἐκπορευομένῳ - masc sing dat part pres indic act – ἐκπορεύω - to proceed, come, go out

ζηρεται – 3rd sing fut indic mid dep – ζαω - to live

Psalms

90:11-12

ἐντελείται – 3rd sing fut indic mid dep – ἐντέλλω - to command,
give orders

διαφυλάξαι – 1st aor inf – διαφυλάσσω - to guard, protect

ἄροσιν – 3rd pl fut indic act – αἴρεω - to lift, raise

προσκύψῃς – 2nd sing fut subj act – προσκόπτω - to strike

117:22-23

ἀπεδοκίμασαν – 3rd pl aor indic act – ἀποδοκιμάζω - to reject,
declare useless

ἐγενήθη – 3rd sing aor indic pass – γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐγένετο – 3rd sing aor indic act - γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐστιν – 3rd sing pres indic act – εἰμί - to be
Isaiah

6:9-10

ἀκούστε - 2nd pl fut indic - ἀκούω - to hear
συνήτε - 2nd pl 2nd aor act indic - συνίηται - to understand
βλέποντες - masc pl pres indic part - βλέπω - to see, look
βλέψτε - 2nd pl fut indic - βλέπω - to see, look
ἵστε - 2nd pl 2nd aor indic - ὁράω - to see, perceive
ἐπεχύνθη - 3rd sing 1st aor pass indic - παχύσω - to become fat, dull
ἡκουσαν - 3rd pl 1st aor indic - ἀκούω - to hear
ἐκάμψασαν - 3rd pl 1st aor indic - καμμύω -> καταμύω - to close,
shut down
ἵδωσιν - 3rd pl 2nd aor subj - ὁράω - to see, perceive
ἀκούσωσιν - 3rd pl 1st aor subj - ἀκούω - to hear
συνώσιν - 3rd pl 2nd aor subj - συνίηται - to understand
ἐπιστρέψωσιν - 3rd pl 1st aor subj - ἐπιστρέφω - to turn
ἰάσομαι - 1st sing fut mid dep indic - ἱάσομαι - to heal

29:13

ἐγγίζει - 3rd sing pres indic act - ἐγγίζω - to approach, draw near
τιμῶσιν - 3rd pl pres indic act - τιμῶ - to honor
ἀπέχει - 3rd sing pres indic act - ἀπέχει - to be distant
σέβονται - 3rd pl pres indic mid - σέβο - to worship
dιδάσκοντες - masc pl pres indic act part - διδάσκω - to teach

58:6d
Matthew

4:4

ζῆσαι - 3rd sing fut indic mid dep - ζάω - to live
ἐκπορευομένω - masc sing dat part pres indic act - ἐκπορεῦω - to proceed, come, go out

4:6
ἐντελείται - 3rd sing fut indic mid dep - ἐντέλλω - to command, give orders
ἀροῦσιν - 3rd pl fut indic act - αἴρέω - to lift, raise
προσκόψῃς - 2nd sing fut subj act - προσκόπτω - to strike

4:7
ἐκπειράσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - ἐκπειράζω - to tempt, put to the test

4:10
προσκυνήσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - προσκυνέω - to prostrate oneself and kiss the feet or hem of garment; worship
λατρεύσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - λατρεύω - to serve, carry out religious duties

13:14-15
ἀκούστε - 2nd pl fut act indic - ἀκούω - to hear
συνήστε - 2nd pl 2nd aor act indic - συνήσατε - to understand
βλέποντες - masc pl prest act indic part - βλέπω - to see, look
βλέψετε - 2nd pl fut act indic - βλέπω - to see, look
ιδότε - 2nd pl 2nd aor act indic - ὁράω - to see, perceive
ἐπαχώρηθη - 3rd sing 1st aor pass indic - παχύνω - to become fat, dull
ἐκούσαν - 3rd pl 1st aor act indic - ἀκούω - to hear
ἐκάμψαςεν – 3rd pl 1st aor act indic – καμψάω – to close, shut down

ζῶσεν – 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj – ζώσω - to see, perceive

ἀκούσωσιν – 3rd pl 1st aor act subj – ἀκούω - to hear

συνῆσιν – 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj – συνέσθη - to understand

ἐπιστρέψωσιν – 3rd pl 1st aor act subj – ἐπιστρέφω - to turn

λάσομαι – 1st sing fut mid dep indic – λάσομαι - to heal

15:8-9

τιμάω – 3rd sing indic act – τιμάω – to honor

ἀπέχει – 3rd sing indic act – ἀπέχω – to be distant

οἴβονταί – 3rd pl pres indic mid – οἴβω – to worship

διδάσκοντες – masc pl pres indic part – διδάσκω - to teach

21:42

ἀπεδοκίμασαν – 3rd pl aor indic act – ἀποδοκιμάζω - to reject, declare useless

ἐγένθη – 3rd sing aor indic pass – γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐγένετο – 3rd sing aor indic act - γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐστιν – 3rd sing pres indic act – εἰμί - to be

22:37

'αγαπήσεις – 2nd sing fut indic – ἀγαπάω – to love

22:39

'αγαπήσεις – 2nd sing fut indic – ἀγαπάω – to love

Mark
4:12

βλέποντες – masc pl pres act indic part – βλέπω - to see, look

βλέπωσιν – 3rd pl pres act subj - βλέπω - to see, look

ϊδοσιν – 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj - ὑράω - to see, perceive

άκουόντες – masc pl pres act part - ἀκούω - to hear

άκουώσιν – 3rd pl 1st aor act subj - ἀκούω - to hear

συνώσιν – 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj - συνίστιμι - to understand

ἐπιστρέψωσιν – 3rd pl 1st aor act subj – ἐπιστρέφω - to turn

άφεθη - 3rd sing 1st aor pass subj – ἀφίημι - to send away, pardon

7:6-7

τιμᾷ – 3rd sing pres indic act – τιμάω – to honor

ἀπέχει – 3rd sing pres indic act – ἀπέχω – to be distant

σέβονται – 3rd pl pres indic mid – σέβω – to worship

διδάσκοντες – masc pl pres indic act part – διδάσκω - to teach

12:10-11

ἀπεδοκίμασον – 3rd pl aor indic act – ἀποδοκιμάζω - to reject,

declare useless

ἐγένηθη – 3rd sing aor indic pass – γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐγένετο – 3rd sing aor indic act - γίνομαι - to happen, become

ἐστιν – 3rd sing pres indic act – εἰμί - to be

12:29-30

άκουε – sing pres act imperative – ἀκούω – to hear

ἐστιν – 3rd sing pres indic act – εἰμί - to be
'αγαπήσεις - 2nd sing fut act indic - ἀγαπάω - to love

12:31
'αγαπήσεις - 2nd sing fut act indic - ἀγαπάω - to love

Luke

4:4
ζησεῖται - 3rd sing fut indic mid dep - ζάω - to live

4:8
προσκυνήσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - προσκυνεῖ - to prostrate oneself and kiss the feet or hem of garment; worship

λατρεύσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - λατρεύω - to serve, carry out religious duties

4:10
ἐντελέσει - 3rd sing fut indic mid dep - ἐντέλλω - to command,

give orders

dιαφυλάξει - 1st aor inf - διαφυλάσσω - to guard, protect

ἀροῦσιν - 3rd pl fut indic act - ἀρέω - to lift, raise

προσκόψεις - 2nd sing fut subj act - προσκόπτω - to strike

4:12
ἐκπειράσεις - 2nd sing fut indic act - ἐκπειράζω - to tempt, put to the test

4:18-19

ἔχρισεν - 3rd sing 1st aor act indic - χρίω - to anoint
εὐαγγελίσασθαι - 1st aor mid inf - εὐαγγέλλω - to proclaim good news

ἀπέσταλκεν - 2nd sing perf act indic - ἀποστέλλω - to send out

ἰάσασθαι - 1st aor act mid-dep inf - ἰάσμαι - to heal

συντετριμένος - perf pass part acc masc pl - συντρίβω - to crush completely

κηρύξας - 1st aor inf - κηρύσσω - to proclaim, make known

ἀποστέλλω - 1st aor act inf - ἀποστέλλω - to send out

τεθραυσμένος - perf pass part acc masc pl - θραύσω - to break

κηρύξας - 1st aor act inf - κηρύσσω - to proclaim, make known

10:27

ἀγαπήσεις - 2nd sing fut act indic - ἀγαπάω - to love

8:10

βλέποντες - masc pl prest act indic part - βλέπω - to see, look

βλέπωσιν - 3rd pl pres act suj - βλέπω - to see, look

ἀκούοντες - masc pl pres act part - ἀκούω - to hear

συνώσων - 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj - συνίσταμαι - to understand

20:17

ἀπεδοκίμασαν - 3rd pl aor indic act - ἀποδοκιμάζω - to reject,

declare useless

ἐγενήθη - 3rd sing aor indic pass - γίνομαι - to happen, become

John

12:40
τετυφλωκεν - 3rd sing perf act indic - τυφλώ - to blind

ἐπωρωσεν - 3rd sing aor act indic - τωρόω - to petrify, turn to stone,

harden

ἰδωσιν - 3rd pl 2nd aor act subj - ὡράω - to see, perceive

νοησώσιν - 3rd pl aor act subj - νοεω - to perceive, think

στραφώσιν - 3rd pl aor pass subj - στρέφω - to turn, turn oneself around

ἰάσομαι - 1st sing fut mid dep indic - ἰάσομαι - to heal
~ APPENDIX D ~

LINGUISTIC AND GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY

The following words may be unfamiliar to many and are used in the grammatical assessments of the passages in this study. I will give as concise and brief a definition as I can, often shortening to only what is relevant for this study.

Glossary

*Aspect* – the nature of how, not when, a verbal action takes place, i.e. a singular vs. continuous event, or completed vs. incompleted

*Greek* – Aspect and tense in Greek are sometimes hard to distinguish, I only mention those which come up in the study.

*Imperfect* – continuous action, i.e. "the door was in the process of closing"

*Aorist* – a singular event, i.e. "the door slammed shut"

*Perfect* – a past action that results in a present state, i.e. "the door has been shut, and is now closed"

*Hebrew* – There are only two aspects in Hebrew finite verbs, one referring to completed action, the other to incomplete. It is context in Hebrew which helps determine the actual time of the action.

*Imperfect* – continuous action, i.e. "he was saying"

*Perfect* – completed action, i.e. "he has said"
Direct Speech – the exact words of someone's speech, i.e. "God said, 'Let there be light.'"

Imperative – a verbal command, i.e. "give me the tablet"

Indirect Speech – a rephrasing of someone's speech, i.e. "God said that there would be light."

Inflection – a verbal affix denoting person, number, and gender

Morphology – referring to the smallest units of meaning in a word, i.e. the word smaller has two morphemes: "small" + "-er" (meaning "to a greater degree, more")

Mood – denotes degree of likelihood of an action; expressed in English with a modal auxiliary like "may," "might," "could," etc.

Prefix – a morpheme attached to the beginning of a word

Semantics – meaning

Semantic range – range of meaning

Suffix – a morpheme attached to the end of a word

Syntax – the logic of the grammatical structure

Tense – the time of a verbal action

Greek – Greek has many ways of expressing past tense. Future and present are relatively simple, however.

Present – an even happening at the present moment, i.e. now

Future – an event that will happen in the future, i.e. tomorrow

Hebrew – Tense in Hebrew is largely determined by context, though generally perfect tense is past action and imperfect is future.

Voice – The voice of a verb is a quality, which denotes who receives or performs the action of the verb. The issue of voice, in this study, only applies to Greek.
Active – subject performs the action of the verb, i.e. "I took the ball."

Middle – subject performs the action of the verb to its own benefit, i.e. "I ran off with the ball."

Passive – subject receives the action of the verb, i.e. "I was hit by the ball."

Vorlage – German for "original," generally used to mean "previous version" of a text.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


**Though many of the works in this Bibliography are not cited in the thesis, they were either influential in its formation or are suggestions for further reading.**