

THE BIBLICAL-SEMITIC BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT PART 1: LEXICAL SEMITISMS

חֲסֵדֵי יְהוָה כִּי לֹא־תִמְנוּ

**It is of the LORD'S mercies that we
are not consumed**
(Lamentations 3:22)

1. The History of Research in NT Semitisms: From Luther to Dalman

In the early 1530s, shortly after *Martin Luther* finished his German translation of the book of Daniel, he said the following concerning the Semitic background of the New Testament:

*"The wisdom of the Greeks, if it is compared to the wisdom of the Jews, is beastlike; for apart from God there can be neither wisdom nor understanding nor wit. [...] Therefore Daniel calls all kingdoms of the world beasts and insane animals."*¹

[...]

All languages are mixed and mingled² with each other, for all countries are neighbours and one borders with the other; thus one borrows several words from another. [...] The Hebrew language degenerated after the Babylonian captivity in a way that it could not be restored after. One commonly spoke Chaldaic³ and yet in a corrupt manner, mixed and unclean [...]

[...]

I learned more Hebrew when I compared one verse and saying with the other while I was reading, than when

*I only compared it with grammar. If I were younger, I would like to learn this language⁴, for without it one can never understand the Holy Scriptures correctly. **For the New Testament, although it is written in Greek, is full of Hebraisms and the Hebrew manner of speaking. Therefore they have said rightly: The Hebrews drink from the source, the Greeks from the little stream that flows from the source, but the Latins from the puddles.** I am not a Hebrew according to grammar and rules, for I never allow myself to be bound, but walk along freely. If someone has the gift of languages and understands them he still cannot easily bring one into the other and translate in a good manner. Translation is a particular grace and gift of God".*⁵

The completion of the German translation of the book of Daniel in 1530⁶ does not seem to be long finished before this table talk, for Luther still talks very vividly about "Daniel" and "translation". Presumably Luther also put some insights from his work of translating the book of Daniel into this table talk. Whoever has worked through the original text of the book of Daniel as Luther did, knows that the entire middle part of this prophetic book was written in Aramaic⁷. Luther likely understood the phenomenon of

language mixing to be a major part of Jewish history since the Babylonian captivity as it is also evident within the bilingualism of the book of Daniel. After having observed the corruption and mixture of the Hebrew language with Aramaic in his table talk, Luther moves on to the New Testament and says that also the original Greek text of the NT contains many “*Hebraisms and Hebrew manner of speaking*”. According to Luther, the Greek of the New Testament, therefore, is a language which is mixed with Hebrew. The book *Und Jesus sprach* by G. Schwarz also cites the end of this table talk and says that in light of recent research what Luther actually wanted to say is that New Testament Greek contains many “*Aramaisms and Aramaic manner of speaking*”⁸. However, this view is very one-sided when considering both Luther’s table talk and recent research in the field of New Testament Semitisms⁹. If one considers the context of this table talk, which touches on the topic of language mixing with Aramaic, one can hold at most that Luther’s statement “*Hebraisms and the Hebrew manner of speaking*” also means “*Aramaic and the Aramaic manner of speaking*”, but not exclusively. Luther does not talk about a single language, but about the phenomenon of language mixing; that is the joining and interweaving of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. Now if we try to take a closer look at the *Semitic background of the New Testament* or the *New Testament Semitisms* in this article, we actually ask the question: *Where can we grasp the language mixing of Hebrew and Aramaic within the Greek New Testament?* In my opinion Luther already recognized the problem of language mixing around 1530 as the foundational and formative phe-

nomenon of Jewish history since the Babylonian captivity, which continued until the time of Roman dominion over Palestine and the advent of Christ.¹⁰

In continuation of Luther’s foundational observations on language mixing in the NT, as well as through other similar observations by some Calvinists¹¹ since the end of the 16th century, serious endeavors were undertaken to research the influence of Semitic languages (especially Hebrew) on New Testament Greek.¹² The first work which was solely dedicated to the question of Semitisms in the New Testament was written by the Belgian *Johannes von den Driesche* (1550-1616), also called *Drusius* in Latin. His father had been disowned because of his protestant faith and fled to England. *Johannes Drusius* followed his father to England later on and there became professor for oriental languages in Oxford. After the peace treaty of Gent (1576) he returned home and became professor of oriental languages in Leiden. Afterwards he moved to Franeker where he became professor of Hebrew, a position he held until his death.¹³ In 1582 he published a 51-page work with the title *Ad Voces Ebraicas Novi Testamenti*¹⁴. In this work Drusius treats the very obvious lexical Semitisms in the New Testament such as *Abaddon*¹⁵ or *Abba*¹⁶ and explains them from the underlying root in the Hebrew OT or, where needed, through extra-biblical sources such as Syriac or Rabbinic literature.¹⁷

On the German side research was biased towards a more grammatical approach in the question of NT Semitism research. Luther had already outlaid such an approach through his sporadic

notes on Hebraisms in his New Testament lectures.¹⁸ It was not, however, until *Salomo Glaß* (1593-1656), an orthodox Lutheran from Sondershausen in Thüringen, that this grammatical approach could be brought to maturity through his monumental work *Philologia Sacra*¹⁹. Glaß studied theology in Jena and Wittenberg and then became professor for Hebrew and Greek in Jena.²⁰ In his *Philologia Sacra* he treats Hebrew grammar in book III+IV²¹ and in this context also points out linguistic parallels in the Greek NT. For example, he discusses the various usages of word repetitions in the Hebrew OT and then also lists the duplicate use of *symposia symposia*²² in Mark 6:39 as an example of Hebrew word repetition in the Greek NT.²³

Through the works of Drusius and Glaß two important examples were set which shaped the research of the newly formed school of *Hebraists* until the end of the 18th century.²⁴ However, in this time during the Thirty-Years-War (1618-1648) the enlightenment also gained influence in Germany and Europe and people started to question the authority of the church. Amidst this time of spiritual change a dispute broke out in Hamburg concerning the purity of the language of the New Testament. Pastor *Jacob Grosse* (1592-1652) stood up against *Joachim Jungius*, the headmaster of Hamburg's Gymnasium, basing himself on a work about the purity of the Greek language of the New Testament²⁵ which had appeared in 1629 in Amsterdam. Jungius had voiced his opinion in the Greek lessons at the Gymnasium, that the Greek of the NT is not classical, but Hellenistic. It was this remark which Pastor Grosse counted as an insult against the *purity, inspiration* and

dignity of the New Testament and against its importance as the foundational literature for Greek instruction at school. Thus he rebuked the headmaster of the Gymnasium.²⁶ Although this dispute was very intransparent and fruitless in itself, it still has to be regarded as the birth of the school of the *Purists*, who since then tried to research the *purity* of NT Greek by disproving Semitisms through the comparison with Greek literature which was uninfluenced by Jews. However, it took until the 18th century before the first thorough works of the Purists appeared in Germany.²⁷ Who would have thought that this little, at first sight very unimportant dispute, would prove to be a forerunner for the greater changes lying ahead in the age of enlightenment.

The Swiss high school teacher *Caspar Wyss* († 1659) was the first who tried to harmonize the diverging schools of Hebraists and Purists in his work *Dialectologia Sacra*²⁸. He endeavored to separate Greek²⁹ from Hebrew elements in the NT. However, the section on Hebraisms in his work is seemingly short (only 29 of 324 pages), which shows that Wyss, being a Greek instructor, was mainly at home in the Greek language and its literature. Only later on his work became important because of his very moderate estimation of Semitisms in the NT.

A few years later *Johann Vorst* published a very solid work under the previously coined title *Philologia Sacra*³⁰ in order to reprove Wyss. In this work Vorst summarizes earlier observations of Hebraisms in the NT and extends them especially in the area of lexicography. For example, he discusses the Greek word *cheilos*³¹ "*lip*", which also

appears in the sense of “*language*” in the NT³² and in the Septuagint^{33,34} Vorst explains that the, in classical Greek, unusual usage is an imitation of the underlying Hebrew word *safah*³⁵ which can mean “*lip, language, edge/shore*”. The thorough study of Vorst remained un-disproved until the end of the 19th century. The reason for this was probably that, besides his occasional comparisons with other writers in pure Greek, he had a very broad knowledge of Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic/Syriac and Arabic) for his time. After his work was published it became common consensus that Hebraisms are an integral part of the Greek New Testament.³⁶

The spread of enlightenment in 18th century Europe did not help to advance the research of NT Semitisms. The orientation away from biblical philology towards classical philosophy had the effect that the Purists, who had formerly accepted Hebraisms in the NT to a certain degree, started to completely deny them again.³⁷ The increasingly more rationalistic direction of the enlightenment, which declares the human intellect as God, did not allow anymore the strictly philological observation of the Bible text, as in the previous century, without also questioning its transmitted original. Still there were some who continued in researching NT Semitisms throughout the 18th century. One of them was *Johann August Dathe* (1731-1791), professor in oriental languages and theology. He edited a new edition of the grammatical part of *Glaßes Philologia Sacra*, which he shortened and revised according to the new questions that arose through the enlightenment³⁸. The other major Semitism researcher was *Gottlob Christian Storr*

(1746-1805), a child of the pietistic movement in Württemberg. His father *Johann Christian Storr* (1712-1773), who was the minister of the Stuttgart Stiftskirche for some time, was already known to represent the older pietistic movement in Württemberg in the line of *Johann Albrecht Bengel* (1687-1752). Thus, it is no wonder that the young Gottlob Christian attended the monastery school in Denkendorf where Bengel had served before as teacher for future students in theology.³⁹ After finishing his theological studies, Gottlob Christian Storr travelled to England, France and the Netherlands before becoming professor of philosophy in 1775 and professor of theology in 1777 in Tübingen.⁴⁰ After his first two years as professor of theology he published a detailed study on the Hebraisms in the New Testament under the title *Observationes ad Analogiam et Syntaxin Hebraicam Pertinentes*.⁴¹ In the introduction of his work Storr also cites the newly published *Philologia Sacra, his temporibus accomodata* from Glaß and Dathe.⁴² It is obvious that the grammatical arrangement of his work is inspired by Glaß. However, one innovation is the frequent argument with examples from exilic/post-exilic writers in the OT, especially from the book of Daniel. Another specialty is his in-depth, often hard-to-follow discussion of grammatical details.⁴³

In the beginning of the 19th century, when the blossoming of the enlightenment was already over, another instrumental work on NT Semitisms appeared. *Philipp Heinrich Haab* (1758-1833), minister of the city of Schweigern in the rural district of Heilbronn, wrote the first *Hebrew-Greek Grammar*⁴⁴ in German. In the foreword prelate Süskind writes about

this even then outstanding work: “*May it help especially in our home country to keep and extend the spirit of close bible-study, which [...] has not been extinguished among us yet*”⁴⁵. From its structure Haab’s work is very dependent on Storr, but he managed to simplify and shorten it in several places. In contrast to Storr, Haab often extends the list of biblical references through further examples from Chronicles⁴⁶ and the New Testament.

The other most important representative of NT Semitism research in the 19th century was *Franz Delitzsch* (1813-1890), born in Leipzig. He grew up with a Jewish book-trader as neighbour, through whom his interest for the Jews and their books was already awakened in his youth. After having been educated into a complete rationalist at the boys’ school which he attended in his youth, he decided to study philology and philosophy. But during his university years he had a conversion experience stirred by one of his believing university friends.⁴⁷ From his conversion on, Delitzsch joined Christian gatherings of believing families in Leipzig where he also met two missionaries to the Jews, who were able to newly lay the Jewish people on Delitzsch’s heart. In 1844 Delitzsch became Professor of Old Testament in Leipzig.⁴⁸ Beside his lectures at the university, Delitzsch was occupied since 1838 with the question of how the New Testament could be translated into Hebrew.⁴⁹ In 1877 he finished the first edition⁵⁰ of his Hebrew New Testament, which he had worked on over the years out of his keen missionary interest for the Jews.⁵¹ In 1886 he founded the *Institutum Judaicum* in Leipzig to train missionaries for serving among the Jews. His

translation of the NT into the Hebrew language of the time of Jesus (as far as it could be reconstructed from the known sources of his time) is an important tool for identifying and checking NT Semitisms even up to this day. In the course of his translation work Delitzsch came to the conclusion that there are more parallels between NT Greek and Hebrew existing than with Aramaic.⁵² Delitzsch showed through his tedious work how important the translation of the Greek text into Hebrew is not only for advancing NT Semitism research, but also for missionary outreach.

A younger contemporary of Delitzsch was the theologian and orientalist *Emil Kautzsch* (1841-1910), from Plauen in Saxony. Today Kautzsch is mainly known for his revision of the *Hebrew Grammar*⁵³ of Gesenius. From 1879 on, Kautzsch temporarily was Professor of Theology in Tübingen, where he also published his *Grammar of Biblical-Aramaic: with a critical discussion of the Aramaic words in the New Testament*⁵⁴ in 1884. In the introduction of his grammar Kautzsch lists all Aramaic words, as for example *Rabbouni*⁵⁵, as well as the few Aramaic sentences⁵⁶ found in the NT, and explains them from a text-critical and philological point of view. It is important to note that already then he voiced the assumption that *Rabbouni* could be a word of Galilean-Aramaic⁵⁷ origin.

This hint at the Galilean-Aramaic influence in the New Testament was picked up by the well-known Old Testament scholar and explorer of Palestine, *Gustaf Dalman* (1855-1941), who made the Galilean-Aramaic dialect of the Jews newly accessible in his *Gram-*

*mar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic*⁵⁸. Dalman was born in Niesky near the German-Polish border. From 1874 on he attended the Theological Seminary of the Moravians in Gnadefeld (Oberschlesien).⁵⁹ In 1887 Dalman was called by Delitzsch to become a teacher at the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig. There he held introductory lectures in the literature of Rabbinic Judaism and thus equipped interested theologians for the missionary ministry among the Jews.⁶⁰ In 1895 Dalman became professor at the University of Leipzig. From 1902 on he was the first director of the German Protestant Institute of Archeology in Jerusalem. After the beginning of the First World War in 1914, Dalman stayed in Germany where he became Professor of Old Testament and Archeology of Palestine in Greifswald in 1917.⁶¹ As a colleague of Delitzsch Dalman also knew the difficulties of translating the NT into Hebrew. Thus he soon tried to establish his own approach in NT Semitism research based on the Aramaic literature of Rabbinic Judaism. Dalman's most extensive work on NT Semitisms is the *The Words of Jesus*⁶². The background of this influential work are his *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* as well as his *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*. In his grammar Dalman justifies his solely Aramaic approach in the research of NT Semitisms with evidence from Josephus and the Gospel of John where Aramaic words are labeled Hebrew.⁶³ In *The Words of Jesus* he goes one step further and voices his broader thesis, "that Aramaic must have been the language of popular speech [in the time of Jesus]"⁶⁴. With this thesis Dalman distinguishes himself from all previous scholarship, which at

least reckoned with some Hebrew influence in the popular speech of the time of Jesus. With his solely Aramaic approach Dalman responded to a new problem that was posed to NT Semitism research in 1895 by the New Testament scholar *Adolf Deissmann* (1866-1937) in his *Bibelstudien*. He showed through newly published Greek papyri from Egypt that many un-Greek word usages in the NT (which so far had been explained as Hebraisms) should rather be regarded as common features of Koine-Greek, which had conquered the Middle East with Alexander the Great (356-323 BC).⁶⁵ Through Deissmann's study the firmly established Hebrew foundation of NT Semitism research was dangerously wounded. As an answer to this changed research situation Dalman writes: "*About the Hebraisms of the New Testament not a few things have been written since their first editors [...]. But from the beginning it has not been grasped clearly enough that the Greek of the Jewish Hellenists must have been affected by Semitic languages in various ways. Firstly one has to hold, that the Greek spoken from Syria to Egypt must have been affected considerably by the local Aramaic language, [...]. Also the mutual contact which Jewish Hellenists and Hebraists had all the time in Palestine meant a continuous exchange of Greek and Aramaic diction, not of Hebrew diction. Hebrew influence existed only indirectly, as there lay a Hebrew past behind the Aramaic present of the Jewish people*"⁶⁶. Thus Dalman postulated a transnational Aramaic influence on Koine Greek from Syria to Egypt in order to secure his Aramaic approach to NT Semitisms against the changed research situation since Deissmann.

2. The Lexical Semitisms in the NT according to the Bauer-Aland Lexicon

To this day one commonly used NT lexicon in theology is the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian Literature* by Walter Bauer (1877-1960) and Kurt and Barbara Aland, also known as BDAG.⁶⁷ This lexicon processes the history of research in NT Semitisms (mostly until the time of Dalman) which becomes evident in the introduction of the older 2nd edition from 1928. There W. Bauer writes: „*When in the 17th century the scholarly dispute about the purity of NT Greek began, many of the so-called Hebraists wanted to explain the peculiarity of this Greek through the influence of Hebrew. Even if some of them exaggerated greatly, still their acknowledgement of the peculiarity of NT diction had a strong part of the truth on its side against their opponents the Purists. [...] But this changed, when in the 90s of the previous century in an almost too great abundance the volumes began to appear which provided the scholarly world with the Greek papyri found in Egypt. [...] The fame, to be the explorer and way-maker in this area belongs to Adolf Deissmann*”⁶⁸.

With this introduction Bauer made clear that the most important new development in research at the time when he wrote his lexicon were the newly found and published papyri from Egypt and the related works of Adolf Deissmann. Since then at least one such important new development in research has taken place, which is the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls from 1947 onward.⁶⁹ Unfortunately this new discovery

which greatly extended our knowledge of literary sources in New Testament times has not found its way into common standard works of NT scholarship such as the BDAG lexicon. Thus the following table of lexical Semitisms in the NT, which originated while working through the BDAG lexicon, is mostly outdated. However, this table still can serve as a means to call to memory the nowadays forgotten topic of NT Semitisms and it may guide the reader further into the topic. The two columns *Hebrew* and *Aramaic* try to accommodate the more recent research since Dalman, which again regards Hebrew beside Aramaic as a living language that also influenced New Testament Greek.⁷⁰

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ENDNOTES

¹ Cf. Dan 7.

² Cf. Dan 2:41+43 in the German Luther-Bible from 1984.

³ = Aramaic; cf. Dan 2:4 in the German Luther-Bible from 1912.

⁴ Luther speaks here as if he didn't know Hebrew, but what he means is that he didn't know Hebrew according to Grammar. He rather learned his Hebrew from reading and comparing the Bible text (cf. also a bit further: "I am not a Hebrew according to grammar...").

⁵ *D. Martin Luthers Werke (WA), Tischreden 1. Band*, p. 524f.

⁶ Cf. *WA, Die Deutsche Bibel, 2. Band*, p. 484.

⁷ Dan 2:4-7:28; the other Aramaic passages in the Old Testament are Esr 4:8-6:18; 7:12-26; Jer 10:11 and two words in Gen 31:47.

⁸ *G. Schwarz, Und Jesus sprach*, p. 1 (published in 1985).

⁹ Already in 1954 *Harris Birkeland* showed in his article *The Language of Jesus* that many Semitisms which are usually regarded as surely Aramaic since *Dalman* can also be seen as Hebraisms, even the absolutely Aramaic sounding word *Abba* (cf. pp. 24-27). Likewise, *Isaac Rabinowitz* also showed in his article "Be opened" = *Εφφαθα* (Mark 7 34): *Did Jesus speak Hebrew?* how, under consideration of recent linguistic research from the Qumran scrolls, the word *Εφφαθα* (which was until then understood to be Aramaic) could only be Hebrew. Furthermore in 1974 *E. Y. Kutscher's* in-depth study on Qumran-Hebrew *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa^a)* became available to all English readers.

¹⁰ Cf. the *one* image in Nebukadnezar's dream (Dan 2:29-45), whose body parts symbolize the different rulers/kingdoms until the advent of the kingdom of God.

¹¹ E.g. *Theodor de Bèze* (1519-1605) in his annotations to the NT. Cf. *Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, p. 5.

¹² A helpful compilation of the older literature on NT Semitisms (until the beginning of the 19th century) can be found in *P. Schmiedel, Georg Benedict Winer's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, pp. 4-15. The older 7th edition of this book (which is less complete in its bibliography) can be found under <http://www.google.de/books?id=_YIR0ah9uhwC> (12.06.2012).

¹³ Cf. *Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, Art. "Drusus"*, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL) Vol. 1* (1990), 1397-1398, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/d/drusus_j.shtml> (12.06.2012).

¹⁴ First edition Antwerpen 1582; second enlarged edition Franeker 1616, <<http://www.google.de/books?id=kdg2AAAAMAAJ>> (12.06.2012).

¹⁵ Ἀβαδδὼν

¹⁶ ἄββα

¹⁷ Cf. *Ad Voces Ebraicas Novi Testamenti*, pp. 1-5.

¹⁸ For example Luther explained the present tense meaning of ἐὼν εἶπωμεν ὅτι οὐχ ἡμαρτήκαμεν in 1 Joh 1,10 as follows: "For the Hebrew manner of speaking explains a verb in the past tense through a verb in the present tense. Indeed, it is my understanding that John himself often uses Hebraisms.", *Luther's works, vol. 30: The Catholic Epistles*.

¹⁹ This 1495 page long work appeared in three parts: book I+II (*Generalia de S. Scripturae Stylo & Sensu*, Jena 1623), book III+IV (*Grammatica Sacra*, Sondershausen 1634) and book V (*Rhetorica Sacra*, Sondershausen 1636). For this article I used the complete edition Frankfurt & Leipzig 1691 (published by Christoph & David Fleischer), <<http://www.google.de/books?id=fSdBAAAACAAJ>>

(12.06.2012).

²⁰ Cf. *Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz*, Art. "Glassius", *BBKL Vol. II (1990)*, 252-253, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/g/glassius_s.shtml> (12.06.2012).

²¹ *Glaß, Philologia Sacra*, pp. 186-1023.

²² συμπόσια συμπόσια = "in tables/groups".

²³ Cf. *Glaß, Philologia Sacra*, pp. 387-391.

²⁴ Cf. *Denis Thouard, "His temporibus accomodata: Über die Grenzen der Anbequemung der Philologia Sacra des Glassius in der Aufklärung"* In: *Christoph Bultmann; Lutz Danneberg (Hrsg.), Hebraistik - Hermeneutik - Homiletik: Die „Philologia Sacra“ im frühneuzeitlichen Bibelstudium*, pp. 557-568.

²⁵ *Sebastian Pfochen, Diatribe de Linguae Graecae Novi Testamenti Puritate*, <<http://www.google.de/books?id=ThoPAAAQAAJ>> (12.06.2012).

²⁶ What actually triggered the dispute was a previous change in the curriculum through which reading the Greek NT was moved from weekdays to Saturdays. For a more detailed description of the dispute from the perspective of Jungius cf. *Johannes Geffcken, Joachim Jungius: Über die Originalsprache des Neuen Testaments vom Jahre 1637*, pp. 10-31.

²⁷ E.g. *Christian Sigismund Georgi, Hierocriticus Novi Testamenti*, Wittenberg 1733, <<http://www.google.de/books?id=TUrsa7jsPYC>> (12.06.2012).

²⁸ Published in Zürich 1650 (324 pages).

²⁹ In his time it was still unknown that the New Testament was written in the transnational dialect of *Koine-Greek*. Thus he still distinguished between Atticisms, Ionisms, Dorisms, Aeolisms etc.

³⁰ Published in Leiden 1658 (412 pages), <<http://www.google.de/books?id=yD9EAAAACAAJ>> (12.06.2012). This work was enhanced by Vorst until 1665. In 1778 it was

published again in Leipzig by *Johann Friedrich Fischer* together with other small works under the title *Johannis Vorstii De Hebraismis Novi Testamenti Commentarius*.

³¹ χεῖλος

³² Cf. 1 Cor 14:21: ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ.

³³ Cf. Gen 11:1: καὶ ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἓν.

³⁴ Cf. *Vorst, Philologia Sacra*, pp. 4f.

³⁵ ἡδῶ

³⁶ Cf. *Winer's Grammatik*, p. 6.

³⁷ E.g. *Christian Sigismund Georgi, Hierocriticus Novi Testamenti*, Wittenberg 1733, <<http://www.google.de/books?id=TUrsa7jsPYC>> (12.06.2012), who argues for strict purism. Likewise *Johann Conrad Schwarz, Commentarii Critici et Philologici Linguae Graecae Novi Foederis Divini*, Leipzig 1736, <<http://www.google.de/books?id=SMIAAAACAAJ>> (12.06.2012). Cf. *Winer's Grammatik*, pp. 6f.

³⁸ Cf. *Denis Thouard, His temporibus accomodata*, pp. 559f.

³⁹ Cf. *Martin H. Jung, Art. "Johann Albrecht Bengel"*, *RGG⁴ Vol. 1 (1998)*, 1299-1300.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Hans-Martin Kirn, Art. "Johann Christian Storr/Gottlob Christian Storr"*, *RGG⁴ Vol. 7 (2004)*, 1749.

⁴¹ Published in Tübingen 1779 (475 pages), <<http://www.google.de/books?id=VqAwAAAAYAAJ>> (12.06.2012).

⁴² *Storr, Observationes*, p. VI.

⁴³ Cf. also *Winer's* evaluation of the works of this time as "spiritless empiricism", *Winer's Grammatik*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ *Philipp Heinrich Haab, Hebräisch-griechische Grammatik*, Tübingen 1815 (360 pages), <<http://books.google.de/books?id=bqIsAAAAYAAJ>> (12.06.2012).

⁴⁵ *Haab, Hebräisch-griechische Grammatik*, p. XVI.

- ⁴⁶ E.g. Haab, *Grammatik*, § 18, p. 56.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. Jean Carmignac, *Die vier Evangelien ins Hebräische übersetzt von Franz Delitzsch*, pp. V-VII (= Delitzsch's autobiography according to *Saat auf Hoffnung* 27 (1890), pp. 147-151).
- ⁴⁸ Cf. Rudolf Smend, Art. "Franz Delitzsch", *RGG⁴ Vol. 2* (1999), 642-643.
- ⁴⁹ Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 5.
- ⁵⁰ *Sifre ha-berit ha-Hadaša*, Leipzig 1878.
- ⁵¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *The Hebrew New Testament*, p. 31.
- ⁵² "The Shemitic woof of the New Testament Hellenism is Hebrew, not Aramaic. Our Lord and his apostles thought and spoke for the most part in Hebrew", Delitzsch, *The Hebrew New Testament*, p. 31.
- ⁵³ Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 22nd edition Leipzig 1878; 28th edition Leipzig 1909.
- ⁵⁴ Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen: mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament*, Leipzig 1884.
- ⁵⁵ ῥαββουὶ
- ⁵⁶ E.g. *eli eli lema sabachthani* ἤλι ἤλι λεμα σαβαχθάνι in Mt 27:46.
- ⁵⁷ Or more literally "Galilean provincialism", cf. Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, p. 10.
- ⁵⁸ Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd edition Leipzig 1905.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, Art. "Gustaf Dalman", *BBKL Vol. 1* (1990), 1197-1198, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/d/dalmann_g.shtml> (12.06.2012).
- ⁶⁰ Cf. Julia Männchen, *Gustaf Dalmans Leben und Wirken in der Brüdergemeinde, für die Judenmission und an der Universität Leipzig 1855-1902*, pp. 48f.
- ⁶¹ Cf. Julia Männchen, *Gustaf Dalman als Palästinawissenschaftler in Jerusalem und Greifswald 1902-1941*, pp. 63ff.
- ⁶² Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 2nd edition Leipzig 1930.
- ⁶³ Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, p. 1.
- ⁶⁴ Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 6.
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Adolf Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 80ff.
- ⁶⁶ Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 13.
- ⁶⁷ Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6. völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage Berlin 1988 (cf. the English translation by Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, Chicago ³2000).
- ⁶⁸ Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 2. Auflage Gießen 1928, p. XII.
- ⁶⁹ The completely changed research situation since Deissmann has, for example, been explained by Albert L. Hogeterp, "New Testament Greek as Popular Speech: Adolf Deissmann in Retrospect: A Case Study in Luke's Greek", *ZNW* 102 (2011), pp. 178-200.
- ⁷⁰ As for example Klaus Haacker, "Hebraica Veritas im Neuen Testament: Das hebräisch-aramäische Substrat der neutestamentlichen Gräzität als exegetisches und übersetzungsmethodisches Problem" In: Haacker, Klaus; Hempelmann, Heinzpeter. *Hebraica Veritas: Die hebräische Grundlage der biblischen Theologie als exegetische und systematische Aufgabe*, pp. 19ff. The latest trend e.g. of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research is to go back to primarily researching the Hebrew-Jewish background of the NT, cf. Guido Baltes, *Hebräisches Evangelium und synoptische Überlieferung*, pp. 65ff.

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