

The Fourth Gospel An Aramaic Source Part 1

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ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν
Salvation Arises From The Jews (John 4:22)

Imagine how different the western world would be if Jesus had been born a Jew. More precisely, imagine how different the western world would be if so many members of His Church had not forgotten that Jesus had been born a Jew. Amy-Jill Levine relates how “A friend on the school bus said to me “You killed Our Lord” “I did not” I responded with some indignation “Yes you did” the girl insisted “our priest said so”. Apparently she had been taught that “the Jews” had been responsible for the death of Jesus”.¹ Undoubtedly the priest had neglected to add, if indeed he realised it himself, that Jesus was Himself a Jew. Instead of recoiling from His Jewishness, the Church should have embraced the Jewish Jesus whose parents and grandparents, siblings and relatives were Jews and who conducted His ministry as a practising Jew speaking to Jews about matters which concerned Jews. If the crucifixion caused His immediate family and His senior disciples to break with Judaism there is no evidence of it. Until his death Our Lord’s brother James continued to live and worship in Jerusalem and Peter’s first recorded ministry was preaching to Jews in that very city. Right wing extremists who are currently engaged in fanning the flames of anti Semitism in Europe would do well to remember where Jesus came from, what His original message was and who, during His time on earth, His ministry was directed towards. He did not condemn Judaism and neither did His disciples condemn it. On the contrary He was trying to persuade Jewish leaders and the Chosen People to adopt a right relationship towards God and following His lead, after the crucifixion, His senior disciples could be found in Jerusalem preaching that self same message.

Although in recent years there has been some attempt to pay more than lip service to the Judaism that gave life to the New Testament, and online courses are currently available reminding Christians about the genesis of their Church, if today the announcement was made in almost any Christian congregation that Jesus was a Jewish rabbi who wore tsitsit, this would cause a certain amount of consternation, not to mention indignation, amongst those who should have been taught, along with matters of Christian worship and doctrine, about Jesus the Jew. Yet a careful study of its books reveals that finding Judaism in the New Testament is far easier than recovering the Semitic language or languages that underlie the Greek texts.

Girding up my loins therefore, I confess with some trepidation that this is the first in a series of papers which will seek to identify the original sources underlying the Greek text of the Gospel of John. The proposal will be made a) that at least one authoritative source can be identified which was originally compiled in Aramaic and which goes right back to the primitive community in Palestine before the destruction of the Second Temple b) that the Gospel is a compilation of different sources which have been arranged by a final redactor who has left the sources as he received them largely untouched c) that the principle sources pre-date any of the sources to be found in the Synoptic Gospels and that they shed light on the original community before Christianity was transformed into a Hellenistic religion by St Paul amongst others. The aim of this initial paper will be to make some general comments about the procedures for working on the Greek texts with a view to discovering any

¹ Amy-Jill Levine - Jesus The Misunderstood Jew The Church And The Scandal of the Jewish Jesus (Harper Collins 2009)

Semitic influences, an examination of the “answered and said” idiom, an explanation for the apparently excessive use of the particle οὐν which occurs 200 times in the Fourth Gospel will be suggested, the origin and development of the term “Nazareth” will also be explored. In the second paper a comparison across the four Gospels of principle clause structures as presented in the Passion Narrative will be attempted. Sentence structure may help to give some idea as to the origin of a given text and then other evidence can be looked for in future papers in the light of the results of the analysis when a more detailed breakdown of the verses to be attributed to each source may be possible. No attempt will be made to assign a date to the final redaction of the Gospel. Neither will there be any attempt to determine the principle language spoken by Jesus. The purpose of these papers is to examine and reach conclusions, if possible, about the sources used by the Evangelist. Any questions, comments or criticisms will be most welcome. My email address is included in the footnote below²

In 4017 a team of archaeologists made a very exciting discovery. Whilst excavating an area where the ancient city of Oxford was believed to be located, they unearthed the remains of a coat of arms bearing the words Sanctus Edmundus Huius Aulæ Lux³. They also discovered a cache of coins with the head of the monarch on the obverse surrounded by the letters ELIZABETH II D G REG F D⁴ alongside the date 2015, on the reverse was a coat of arms with the words ONE POUND and around the edge of the coins the inscription DECUS ET TUTAMEN⁵. Nearby a passing company of travellers had found some very fragile manuscripts which they sold to the archaeologists after lengthy negotiations – these were all very badly damaged although on one a complete sentence could be read “Mark Sylvester, whose alter ego Hector Kanellis is an eminent psychologist, is passionate about horticulture e.g. last Saturday at the football stadium during the Rhinos v Gladiators game he talked and talked ad nauseam about the criteria for cultivating rhododendron plants”. There were also scraps of other manuscripts which seemed to be in Latin, Greek, French and German. At about the same time another team of archaeologists, digging in an area around the ancient site of Jarrow, found a number of gravestones some of which had Latin and others English inscriptions. The most exciting find, though, was a slab bearing the Latin inscription DEDICATIO BASILICAE SCI PAUL VIII KL MAI ANNO XV EFRIDI REG CEOLFRIDI ABB EIUSDEM Q ECCLES DO AVCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII⁶

The remaining sentence of what must have originally been a complete manuscript written in English was puzzling. The English was filled with Latin and Greek words and idioms and even a Latin abbreviation. Initially the consensus amongst scholars was that the manuscript must have been written by either a Latin speaker or derived from a source which had been translated from Latin. Later a Hellenistic school arose which disputed the Latinists’ claims and a debate ensued with the

² philomena@bargaingites.co.uk

³ the motto of St Edmund Hall, Oxford: St Edmund Light Of This Hall

⁴ short for ELIZABETH II DEI GRATIA REGINA FIDEI DEFENSOR - Elizabeth II by the grace of God, Queen and Defender Of The Faith

⁵ an ornament and a safeguard

⁶ The dedication of the basilica of St Paul on the 9th day before the Kalends of May in the 15th year of King Ecgrith and in the fourth year of Abbot Ceolfrith founder, by God's guidance, of the same church. (This is the Dedication Stone dated 23 April 685 AD of St Paul's Church at Jarrow)

Hellenistic school insisting that the presence of words such as criteria, psychologist and the name Hector Kanellis clearly showed that Greek was the principle language spoken. The Latinists however disagreed and pointed out that the overwhelming evidence, including archaeological finds, pointed to Latin and the name Mark Sylvester and words and phrases such as alter ego, ad nauseam, horticulture and Saturday together with the abbreviation e.g. established Latin as the principle language underlying the English text. Whilst no one disputed that English, Greek, French and German were undoubtedly spoken in England during the 21st Century AD, everything so far discovered pointed to Latin being the mother tongue of the population. Mark himself must have been a Latin speaker. The Hellenistic school was outraged. Hector's first language was undeniably Greek – he probably spoke Latin as well as English and maybe even some French and German but his adoption of the name Hector Kanellis clearly demonstrated that his mother tongue was Greek. The conclusions of the Latinists, however, gained the approval of most scholars and Latin was accepted as being the language of the United Kingdom during the 21st century.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if there was some substance to any of this? Sadly, whilst today UK coins still carry mainly Latin inscriptions, this does not mean that the population at large speaks Latin. Anyone foolhardy enough to attempt to pay their fare in Latin on the 73 bus to Islington will be in very great danger of having to undertake their journey on foot and a trip to the local greengrocer will not secure you many vegetables if you ask for them in Latin.

A brief analysis of the fragment of “recovered manuscript” is as follows – Mark is derived from the Latin name Marcus, Sylvester is from the Latin word for a wood *silva* and means man of the woods, alter ego is a Latin phrase meaning other self that came into the English language verbatim (yet more Latin), Hector is the Greek Prince of Troy, Kanellis is a random Greek surname, eminent is a Latin participle from the verb *emineo* to stand out/be prominent, psychologist is Greek “study of the soul” from *ψυχή* soul/life and *λογος* word/discourse, passionate from the Latin *passio* meaning passion, horticulture is Latin meaning cultivation of a garden from *hortus* garden and *cultura* cultivating/agriculture which is a participle of the verb *colo* to tend/guard/cultivate, e.g. is an abbreviation of the Latin *exempli gratia* for the sake of example, Saturday – the day of Saturn the Roman god of agriculture, during derived from the Latin verb *duro* to endure meaning literally while the game endured, stadium is Latin meaning a measure of length/a course for foot runner borrowed from the Greek *stadion* a measure of length/race course/running track and even today is often found with the Latin plural *stadia*, Rhinos is an abbreviated form derived from the Greek *ρινοςκερως* “horned nose” *κερως* horn *ρις* nose, *v* is an abbreviation of *versus* which is Latin against, Gladiators is Latin meaning swordsman from *gladius* sword, ad nauseam is a Latin phrase literally meaning “to sickness” from *ad* to and *nausea* sickness, criteria is the plural of *criterion* deriving from the Greek *κριτηριον* “means from judging” ultimately derived from *κριτης* judge, cultivating derives from the Latin participle *cultus* care/labour/cultivation from the verb *colo* to till, rhododendron literally rose tree from the Greek *ροδον* rose and *δενδρον* tree and finally plants from the Latin *planta* sprout/shoot/cutting. And that really was a brief analysis. Did I miss anything out?

If the same set of criteria is applied to this sentence as is sometimes applied to Greek sentences in the New Testament what would the results be likely to show? Presumably that the writer had translated an original Greek or Latin sentence or that the writer was a native Latin or Greek speaker writing in a second or third language, further that the subject of the narrative was also a Latin or Greek speaker. There is, of course, no legitimacy to any such conclusion – the sentence simply demonstrates the very powerful influence that both Latin and Greek have exerted over the English language. The same is true of Hebrew and Aramaic and their incorporation within New Testament Greek. There was massive plagiarism between Hebrew and Aramaic in addition to the vast amount of vocabulary that

was derived from a common root so that all too often it becomes virtually impossible to identify Semitic words found in New Testament Greek as originating definitively from one or the other language. That these words, phrases and idioms are to be found in the Greek employed by the Evangelists to write their Gospels should surprise nobody.

The moral of this cautionary little tale is that infinite care needs to be applied when attempting to discover Hebrew or Aramaic vocabulary and idioms within the Greek texts of the Gospels and that any language attributed to the writers or sources of the Gospels should not necessarily be transferred to Jesus Himself. A Hebrew or Aramaic idiom used by one or more of the Evangelists during the writing of his narrative does not automatically point to the language that Jesus spoke. As an example the frequent use of καὶ ἐγένετο in Luke's Gospel indicates the narrative style of Luke – it does not necessarily provide evidence that Jesus spoke Hebrew and as it is more than likely that as a Greek speaker Luke was influenced by the LXX translation rather than an original Hebrew source, he may well have decided that imitating the well known style of the LXX would add weight to his own narrative.

This does not mean, of course, that the wonderful scholarship that has gone into analyzing the words and idioms contained in the Greek texts of the New Testament is without merit – quite the reverse. Studies such as Randall Buth's excellent examination of the use in the New Testament of the Greek adverb τότε⁷ is beautifully argued and a joy to read. Unfortunately not everyone is so circumspect. From Douglas Hamp we learn that "we see the root שבק attested in Jewish writings such as the Jerusalem Talmud which is where the Mishna is found" he continues "of the seven occurrences of shabak in the Mishna four are clearly couched in Hebrew prose" we are then given a reference from the Jerusalem Talmud which he chooses not to quote at all let alone in full and which I have found impossible to identify and where, we are told "the text contains certain grammatical structures and vocabulary which occur only in Hebrew and not Aramaic" unfortunately not having had a sight of the text in question nor having been treated to a careful analysis of the original to demonstrate how he has reached this conclusion, it is impossible to assess whether his argument holds any merit. He then goes on to say "Thus the word shabak, which Jesus spoke on the cross, we find situated in the midst of Mishnaic Hebrew words and grammar, and therefore, we can safely conclude that while this was originally a loan word from Aramaic, by Jesus' day, it had become commonplace in the Hebrew language"⁸ Having read through his argument carefully I have searched assiduously through the Hebrew of the Mishna and have found no evidence at all that this root is contained within its pages although it is found in M Gitin 9:3 ואיגרת שיבוקין "and a letter of divorce" which is Aramaic. It does, in addition, appear in the Aramaic sections of the Gemara which is, of course, a commentary on the Mishna and not the Mishna itself. This comprises two versions – the Jerusalem Talmud which is thought to have been compiled sometime between and 3rd and 5th centuries AD and the Babylonian Talmud which is thought to be slightly later than its brother. Douglas Hamp begins by confessing that he is citing the Jerusalem Talmud before transforming it into the Mishna and requiring of his readers a gigantic leap of faith which is presented as an established truth – a root identified as coming from an Aramaic Talmud centuries after the event undergoes an inexplicable metamorphosis providing proof that the very same root had entered spoken Hebrew in Palestine by the time that Jesus was crucified.

⁷ Distinguishing Hebrew from Aramaic in Semitized Greek Texts, with an Application for the Gospels and Pseudepigrapha (The Language Environment of First Century Judea – Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels Volume II Edited by Randall Buth and R Steven Notley Brill 2014)

⁸ Douglas Hamp – Discovering the Language of Jesus (Kindle Edition)

This kind of sweeping assumption for which no convincing corroborating evidence is supplied, and then declaring that this “proves” that this root was therefore attested in spoken Hebrew during the time of Jesus, does nothing to advance the cause of serious scholarship. Even Randall Buth has to admit that he can find no evidence of שבק entering the Hebrew language earlier than 845 AD in the Pesiqta Rabbati⁹ and Eliezer Ben Yehuda¹⁰ says that שבק first entered the Hebrew language as a loanword from Aramaic in the writings of Ahimaaz Ben Paltiel c1050 AD. Michael L Brown has written an excellent critique of David Biven’s and Roy Blizzard’s book Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus much of which can also be applied to Douglas Hamp’s book.¹¹

A trap which is very easy to fall into is identifying idioms as Hebrew or Aramaic which should be described as Semitic and identifying as Semitic idioms which might, in fact, be Greek. An example of the former surfaces in the David Biven and Roy Blizzard book¹² when they describe the idiom found in Luke 16:23 “ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὅρα” “he lifted up his eyes and saw” as “a beautiful Hebrew expression”. It is, however, a beautiful Semitic expression which is found at Ugarit KTU 1:10 Baal, The Heifer and Anat “and Valiant Baal lifted up his eyes, he lifted up his eyes and saw”¹³ and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon 1Q20 1:21 ושקול

עניך וחזי Raise your eyes and see. For the latter, it has long been thought that the idiom τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί “what have you to do with me” found e.g. in John 2:4¹⁴ and Mark 5:7 is a translation from Hebrew as found in Judges 11:12 & 1 Kings 17:18 מַה-לִּי וְלָךְ which the LXX renders as τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί. However this phrase is perfectly good Greek and as D R Streett has shown on his blog¹⁵ is attested by Epictetus Discourses 2.19.19 σὺ οὖν τίνα ταῦτα ἔλεγες; ‘τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ἄνθρωπε; What then did you use to say of these things?—‘What have you to do with me, man? The likelihood that Epictetus was influenced by a Hebrew idiom is virtually nonexistent (never say never of course – one day a manuscript may come to light showing that Epictetus took instruction from a Rabbi).

As long ago as 1908 Adolf Deissmann was able to demonstrate in his book Light From The Ancient East¹⁶ that the repeated use of the conjunction καὶ was part of vernacular Greek in Egypt when he cites a letter of complaint from two pig merchants from circa 171 AD (p130) (my bold highlighting)

⁹ Randall Buth - The Riddle Of Jesus’ Cry From the Cross p417 (The Language Environment of First Century Judea – Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels Volume II Edited by Randall Buth and R Steven Notley Brill 2014)

¹⁰ Eliezer Ben Yehuda - Complete Dictionary of Ancient And Modern Hebrew Volume 14 p6860b

¹¹ http://askdrbrown.org/landing_page/resources/Review%20of%20Understanding%20the%20Difficult%20Words%20of%20Jesus%20.htm

¹² David Biven and Roy Blizzard – Understanding The Difficult Words of Jesus (Destiny Image Revised Edition 2008) (Kindle Edition)

¹³ Nick Wyatt – Religious Texts From Ugarit

¹⁴ C K Barrett – The Gospel According To St John Second Edition (SPCK 1978) p191

¹⁵ <http://danielstreett.com/2012/10/29/john-24-supposed-semitisms-and-the-usefulness-of-tlg/>

¹⁶ Adolf Deissmann – Light From The Ancient East (Translated by Lionel R M Strachan) (Hodder And Stoughton 1910)

.... ἐχθὲς ἥτις ἦν ἡ τοῦ [Θ]ντος μηνὸς Θῶθ ἀπερχομένων ἡμῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφείας Θεμίστου μερίδος ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπῆλαν ἡμεῖν κακοῦργοί τινες ἀνὰ [μ]έσον Πολυδεθκίας καὶ τῆς Θεαδελφείας καὶ ἔδησαν ἡμᾶς σὺν καὶ τῷ μαγδωλοφύλακι καὶ πληγαῖς ἡμᾶς πλείσταις ἥκισαν καὶ τραυματίζον ἐποίησαν τὸν [Πασίω]να καὶ εἰσανῆπα[ν ἡμ]ῶν χοιρίδι[ον] α καὶ ἐβάσ[ταχαν τὸν τοῦ Πασίων]ος κιτῶνα καὶ

.... yesterday which was the 19th of the present month Thoth, as we were returning about daybreak from the village of Theadelphia in the division of Themistes, certain malefactors came upon us between Polydeucia and Theadelphia and bound us and also the guard of the tower and assaulted us with very many stripes and wounded Pasion and robbed us of 1 pig and carried off Pasion's coat and

Deissmann also notes here an “incorrect” genitive absolute followed by a dative such as is found in John 4:51 and elsewhere in the New Testament

ἦδη δὲ αὐτοῦ καταβαίνοντος οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ζῇ

A second passage from after 138 AD (p132) shows the same characteristics with regard to the repetition of καὶ (again my bold highlighting)

Οὐαλεριῶ Ἄπρω στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐ χρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν αἷμα ἐξ ἀλεκτρυῶνος λευκοῦ μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ κολλύριον συντρίψαι καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιχρεῖσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ἀνέβλεπεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ηὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ

To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god revealed that he should go and take blood of a white cock, together with honey, and rub them into an eyesalve and anoint his eyes three days. And he received his sight, and came and gave thanks publicly to the god.

Earlier in the same chapter Deissmann writes “the language to which we are accustomed in the New Testament is on the whole just the kind of Greek that simple, unlearned folk of the Roman Imperial period were in the habit of using” (p54).

Similarly, the historic present and periphrastic imperfect¹⁷ which occurs surprisingly frequently in the New Testament is not unknown in Koiné Greek and whilst an Aramaic original may have influenced their appearance, this cannot be said with absolute certainty unless other evidence is forthcoming to back up this conclusion. In Attic Greek the periphrastic imperfect, which is by far the most common form of the periphrastic tenses found in the New Testament, is not, as far as I have been able to discover, attested. If it does occur then it is extremely rare. In Attic Greek periphrasis would usually only be found in the perfect and pluperfect and then only in the third person plural of liquid verbs (those verbs where the endings become impossible to pronounce) and whilst Egyptian has conjugated tenses, Coptic does not and the move towards periphrasis may have nothing to do with an Aramaic influence. Periphrasis is, after all, a far easier method of expression in the vernacular than battling through the various conjugations of a plethora of irregular verbs. The historic present is not unknown in Attic Greek although used sparingly and for particular emphasis. Its presence in the New Testament may, however, simply be a question of a progression of the vernacular from the more conservative Classical period.

¹⁷ C F Burney – The Aramaic Origin Of The Fourth Gospel (Clarendon Press 1922)

Few scholars today would deny that Hebrew continued to be written and spoken at the beginning of the Christian era although the preponderance of scholarly opinion supports the thesis that Aramaic was the everyday language spoken in most areas of Israel and that whilst the majority of educated individuals had command of Greek and/or Hebrew and were bi or trilingual, the population as a whole still carried on its life speaking Aramaic. Hebrew was, of course, the language of the Jewish sacred texts. It was read in the Temple and in synagogues, all strata of the population were exposed to it not just once a week but on a daily basis. It was a vital component of normal life so that it would be extraordinary if it had not made its presence felt everywhere - in work, commerce, worship, leisure, life and death, therefore the presence of Hebrew idioms, vocabulary and thought must have permeated the Greek of the New Testament if its Lord's ministry took place in Palestine. This does not mean, however, that Jesus and His disciples spoke and taught exclusively in Hebrew.

In Matthew Black's excellent book (p2)¹⁸ he refers to Wellhausen's proposal that in the Synoptic variants Mt xxiii 26 καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου "first cleanse the inside of the cup" and Luke xi 41 πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην "so give for alms the things within" Luke has read incorrectly and so mistranslated כֶּה to give/transfer a blessing or benefit for כֶּה to cleanse. This, however, could be down not to a mistranslation or misreading but to a correct translation of oral tradition where the initial consonant was misheard and the saying took on a different form in the source that came down to the Evangelist. This would be made even more likely by a heavy local accent such as Galilean – Matthew 26:73 where one of the bystanders says to Peter ἀληθῶς καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ, καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ "Of course you are one of them for your accent betrays you" Mark 14:70 ἀληθῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ, καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ "Of course you are one of them for you are a Galilean" Luke 22:59 ἐπ' ἀληθείας καὶ οὗτος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖός ἐστιν "Of course this man was with him for he is a Galilean" – presumably Jesus also had a strong Galilean accent. Many of Jesus' sayings would undoubtedly have been passed on by word of mouth and a Greek speaker or even an Aramaic or Hebrew speaker in Jerusalem listening perhaps to Peter repeating Jesus' teachings could well have misheard an Aramaic or Hebrew word spoken by Peter. So a "mistranslation" may not be a mistranslation at all but a faithful recording of the tradition which was handed down.

This would become even more problematical if an original hearer was trying to transcribe or translate Aramaic into Greek – if transcribing then which letter would be most appropriate? This can be illustrated by consonant and vowel shifts in Aramaic and Hebrew where for example z and d sounds often entered each language via different consonants and the long o did not make it to Aramaic as can be seen in the words for sacrifice זֶבַח (Hebrew) דְּבַח (Aramaic) good טוֹב (Hebrew) טָב (Aramaic).

A Town Called Nazareth – A Home In Capernaum The various forms of Nazareth found in the New Testament show the difficulties that the Evangelists must have encountered when transliterating names or titles from Hebrew or Aramaic into Greek. The term is not found outside the Gospels and Acts. The list below shows the variants in the nominative singular – some of the examples may have a different case in the texts themselves:

Ναζαρέτ Matthew 2:23, Mark 1:9, John 1:45, John 1:46
 Ναζαρά Matthew 4:13, Luke 4:16

¹⁸ Matthew Black – An Aramaic Approach to The Gospels and Acts (Third Edition) (Oxford University Press 1967)

Ναζαρεῖθ Matthew 21:11, Luke 1:26, Luke 2:4, Luke 2:39, Luke 2:51, Acts 10:38

Ναζωραῖος Matthew 26:71, Luke 18:37, John 18:5, John 18:7, John 19:19 Acts 2:22, Acts 3:6, Acts 4:10, Acts 6:14, Acts 22:8, Acts 24:5, Acts 26:9

Ναζαρηνός Mark 1:24, Mark 10:47, Mark 16:6, Luke 4:34

The final syllable ends in τ t, θ th or α a and the second vowel is either long α a or ω long o.

The interpretation of Nazareth is a thorny issue which could be due to nothing more sinister than the misinterpretation of received tradition. There is no need to assume some kind of conspiracy theory and conclude that if no town called Nazareth can be positively identified dating from the time of Jesus then Jesus Himself did not exist. Jesus is clearly an historical figure and not a mythological one although the interpretation of the meaning of His life and ministry will be open to discussion. In Acts 22:8 Ἐγὼ εἶμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος it is obvious that Nazareth is a religious title – and it would seem a powerful one – rather than the name of a geographical location. René Salm¹⁹ (his conclusions are challenged by Ken Dark²⁰ whose critique has been reviewed by Neil Godfrey²¹) gives a very good account of the history of archaeology in the region of “Nazareth” and writes “Already in the nineteenth century some liberal scholars wondered why the town was not mentioned in the Jewish scriptures, nor in the Talmud, not even once in the prolix writings of the first century Galilean general, Josephus. The latter had, after all, lived in Japhia, a town less than two miles from Nazareth The first writer to mention Nazareth (Julius Africanus c 200 CE)²² locates it in Judea. Again, why in the Acts of the Apostle (24:5) is Paul called a “ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans”? Certainly he was not the leader of onetime inhabitants of Nazareth!” He goes on to say with regard to proof of the existence or otherwise of “Nazareth” “Upon that determination depends a great deal, perhaps even the entire edifice of Christendom” Here he goes too far, Christianity was not built on an edifice resting on the foundation of the town where Jesus was raised being called Nazareth. It is completely irrelevant to the central core of the truth or otherwise of Christian Doctrine – the Incarnation and Resurrection are not dependent on Our Lord having spent his formative years in a town called Nazareth but as René Salm is an avowed atheist he can be forgiven for this particular lapse. There are very many Christians who would undoubtedly agree with him and would throw up their hands in horror at the very suggestion that a town called Nazareth may not, in fact, have existed.

The actual meaning of the term “Nazareth” as it was understood by Jesus and His immediate followers could well be buried in the mists of time although a look at possible Hebrew and Aramaic roots may be useful. The recovery of the true definition of Nazareth is not helped, unfortunately, by what this paper argues is the misinterpretation of the term by Matthew and Luke and the myths that inevitably arose around the supposed town itself. What precisely is the central consonant ζ supposed to represent? The Greek consonant ζ seems to have been utilized as a general dumping ground for many alien sounds which were not easily represented by the existing letters of the Greek alphabet.

¹⁹ René Salm – The Myth Of Nazareth : The Invented Town Of Jesus (American Atheist Press 2013) (Kindle Edition)

²⁰ Ken Dark - A Scholarly Review of Rene Salm's The Myth of Nazareth (Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society [BAIAS] Vol. 26, 2008)

²¹ Neil Godfrey - Reviewing a Scholarly Review of Rene Salm's The Myth of Nazareth (2009)
<http://vridar.org/2009/05/31/reviewing-a-scholarly-review-of-rene-salms-the-myth-of-nazareth/>

²² Eusebius Hist Ecc 1:7:14 Ναζάρων καὶ Κοχάβα κωμῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν Nazareth and Kochaba villages of Judea

(See Appendix A for “A Phonology of the Greek Letter Zeta” very kindly contributed by my husband Michael). Add to this the uncertainty as to whether the term originated from Hebrew or Aramaic and the difficulties are immediately compounded when added to the mistakes that can arise from an attempt to transliterate vowels from a language with an unpointed text – a problem which is, I am reliably informed, only too prevalent today due to the fact that Modern Hebrew is generally left unpointed and so mistakes can easily be made as to the correct interpretation of a consonant only original. Sadly I am not yet remotely competent in modern Hebrew and I was provided with this information by the great native Israeli language teacher Sigal Zohar.

Starting from the premise that the principle sources in John predate the sources in the Synoptic Gospels, it will be interesting to see if this proposition can be maintained by following any development that there may be in the Gospel traditions relating to Nazareth and what they have to say about Capernaum.

In the Fourth Gospel Nazareth is mentioned five times

1:45	ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὐρήκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ We have found the man of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph who is from Nazareth
1:46	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ναθαναὴλ· ἐκ Ναζαρέτ δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; And Nathanael said to him “Is it possible for anything good to come from Nazareth?”
18:5	ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον. λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἐγώ εἰμι. They answered Him “Jesus Nazoraios”. He said to them “I am He”.
18:7	πάλιν οὖν ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς· τίνα ζητεῖτε; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον So again He asked them “Whom do you seek?” And they said “Jesus Nazoraios”
19:19	ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον· Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. And so Pilate wrote a title and placed it on the cross. And it was written “Jesus Nazoraios The King Of The Jews

On three occasions Nazareth is unambiguously given to Jesus as a title John 18:5, 18:7 where He is twice identified by those who come to arrest him as Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον “Jesus Nazorean” and the charge affixed to the cross 19:19 Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων Jesus Nazorean, King Of The Jews.

John 1:45/6 εὐρίσκει Φίλιππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὐρήκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ναθαναὴλ· ἐκ Ναζαρέτ δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; λέγει αὐτῷ [ὁ] Φίλιππος· ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε “Philip found Nathanael and said to him “We have found the man of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph who is from Nazareth. And Nathanael said to him “Is it possible for anything good to come out of Nazareth”. Philip said to him “Come and see”.

This extraordinary response by Nathanael to the supposed information about the home of Jesus is explained by Raymond E Brown in the following terms “The saying may be a local proverb reflecting jealousy between Nathanael’s town of Cana and nearby Nazareth”.²³ The great Rudolf Bultmann opines “It seems incredible to Nathanael that obscure Nazareth could be the home of the promised

²³ Raymond E Brown – The Gospel According To John I-XII (The Anchor Yale Bible 1966) p83

one”.²⁴ To his eternal credit C K Barrett remains unconvinced although he does not seriously question the existence of a town call Nazareth “Nazareth is not mentioned in the Old Testament or in the Talmud, but various strands of New Testament tradition speak of it as the home of Jesus The words are a scornful question: Can there be any good thing (τι ἀγαθὸν is good Hellenistic Greek and quite unsemitic) which has Nazareth for its origin? They sound like a proverb, but no other evidence exists for such a saying. The suggestion that, since Nathanael came from Cana (21.2) the rivalry of two neighbouring towns might have produced the proverb, has little to commend it”.²⁵

Examining the meaning of verse 45 in more detail and looking elsewhere in the Gospel we find that John uses the preposition ἀπὸ 42 times. He uses it undisputedly in the sense of coming from a town or village on five occasions all of which carry a qualification – three times the place name referred to is clearly described as a town or village and on the other two occasions the place name mentioned is described as being “of” or “belonging to” Galilee. This does not apply to verses 1:45 & 46 where Nazareth is not described as being either a town or village or associated with Galilee.

1:44	ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου Now Philip was from Bethsaida the city where Andrew and Peter came from
7:42	οὐχ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ ἀπὸ Βηθλέεμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαβὶδ ἔρχεται ὁ χριστός; Does not Scripture say that the Messiah comes from the seed of David and from Bethlehem the village where David was?
11:1	Ἦν δέ τις ἀσθενῶν, Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας, ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς Now a certain man was ill, Lazarus from Bethany from the village of Mary and her sister Martha
12:21	οὗτοι οὖν προσῆλθον Φιλίπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἠρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες· κύριε, θέλομεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἰδεῖν Therefore these man went to Philip who was from Bethsaida in Galilee and they asked him saying “Sir, we want to see Jesus”
21:2	ἦσαν ὁμοῦ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο Together were Simon Peter and Thomas called The Twin and Nathanael who was from Cana in Galilee and the sons of Zebedee and two others of his disciples

In addition to the five examples cited above, ἀπὸ is used in the Fourth Gospel to describe e.g. coming “from God” John 3:2, 13:3 “from heaven” John 6:38 “from the beginning” John 8:44 and most frequently as an expression meaning speaking on one’s own authority John e.g. 5:19, 5:30, 7:17, 7:18, 7:28, 8:28, 8:42, 10:18 (x2) etc.

What Nathanael most probably meant is not “can anything good come out of **the town of Nazareth**” but “can anything good come from “amongst” **the members of the sect of Nazareth**” - Nazareth being a religious movement, sect or community identified by its root letters and the title derived from it an indication of the authority of its holder. Nathanael is therefore very blunt in saying that he does not have a very high opinion of the Nazarenes. He was not alone as Acts 24:5 shows clearly when St Paul is denounced in derogatory terms as πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως “a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans”. In this passage Nazareth is clearly identified as a sect and not as a town.

²⁴ Rudolf Bultmann - The Gospel Of John A Commentary (translated by G R Beasley Murray) (The Westminster Press 1971) p103

²⁵ C K Barrett – The Gospel According To St John Second Edition (SPCK 1978) p184

Two examples of the use of ἀπὸ to mean from amongst or away from people rather than from or out of a physical location can be found in John 10:5 φεύξονται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ “they will flee from him” & John 12:36 ἐκρύβη ἀπ’ αὐτῶν “he hid himself from them”. As a precise equivalent of the interpretation in this hypothesis of ἐκ as used by Nathanael in John 1:46 no better example can be furnished than John 18:25 when Peter is asked μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἶ; “Are you not also out of (from among) his disciples?” Therefore the designation Ναζωραῖος would be the designation of someone who was a member, in the case of Jesus a very senior member or leader, of the religious sect of Nazareth and not a resident of the town of Nazareth. As this title was given to Jesus throughout His ministry – and reportedly applied by Jesus to Himself after His resurrection (see the passage from Acts 22:8 quoted above), then if Nazareth is indeed a sect He must have remained a member of it throughout His time on earth. This would make much more sense when declaring the identity of who was being sought in Gethsemane John 18:5 & 18:7 and when included as part of the charge on the cross John 19:19 than supposing that the title refers to a town where Jesus spent His childhood and moved away from during His adult years. This interpretation is made even more likely because in the Gospel it is pretty obvious that during His ministry Jesus lived at Capernaum and not at Nazareth. Capernaum is mentioned in the Gospel five times.

2:12	Μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ [αὐτοῦ] καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας After this He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples went down to Capernaum and they stayed there for a few days.
4:46	Ἦλθεν οὖν πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ὅπου ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον. Καὶ ἦν τις βασιλικὸς οὗ ὁ υἱὸς ἠσθένει ἐν Καφαρναοὺμ. Then He came again to Cana of Galilee where He had made the water wine. And in Capernaum there was a certain official whose son was ill.
6:17	καὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον ἤρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ. καὶ σκοτία ἦδη ἐγγόνει καὶ οὐπω ἐληλύθει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς So embarking in the boat they went across the sea to Capernaum. It was already dark and Jesus had not yet come to them.
6:24	καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ ζητοῦντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν And they went to Capernaum looking for Jesus.
6:59	Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδάσκων ἐν Καφαρναοὺμ He said these things while teaching in the synagogue in Capernaum.

John 1:43 records that Jesus wanted to go to Galilee. Τῇ ἐπαύριον ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν “The next day Jesus wanted to go to Galilee”. If, at the beginning of the Gospel, Jesus came from a town called Nazareth He certainly did not return there. The narratives in Galilee which immediately follow the calling of the disciples find Him at a marriage feast in Cana from where He goes on to Capernaum with a large number of people in tow and stays there for a few days. This suggests a permanent rather than a temporary arrangement. This is borne out by the verses in chapter six which show the disciples sailing across the sea to Capernaum, Jesus being searched for in Capernaum and Jesus teaching in the synagogue in Capernaum.

Mark refers to Nazareth four times.

1:9	Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου And in those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and He was baptised in the Jordan by John
1:24	τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ What have you got to do with us Jesus Nazarene? Have You come to destroy us? I know who You are, the Holy One of God.
10:47	καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνός ἐστιν ἤρξατο κρᾶζειν καὶ λέγειν· υἱὲ Δαυὶδ Ἰησοῦ, ἐλέησόν με And hearing that it was Jesus Nazarene he began to cry out and said “Jesus Son of David have mercy on me”
16:6	ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς· μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκεν αὐτόν And he said to them “Do not be distressed. You seek Jesus

	Nazarene who was crucified. He has risen, He is not here. See the place where they laid Him.
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In the Gospels of both John and Mark nowhere is Nazareth definitively identified as a town where Jesus lived. The only time that the identification might be made is when Jesus is first introduced and is there described as coming John 1:45 ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ “from Nazareth” Mark 1:9 ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας “from Nazareth of Galilee”. There is no indication anywhere else in either Gospel that Nazareth might be a town or city. On reading these accounts it is easy to see how the word Nazareth came to be confused and identified as a town where Jesus and his family lived. This error would be compounded by statements such as that found in Mark 1:9 Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας “and in those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee”. It is impossible to tell whether Mark thought of Nazareth as a geographical town or village or as a religious sect which originated from Galilee although one suspects the latter. The three other times that Nazareth is found in Mark it is as a title attributed to Jesus and in 1:24 by association it can be identified as being a title given to “the Holy One of God” and in 10:47 it is closely associated with the Messianic title “Son of David”. The fourth time it is a post resurrection story and the title is given to Him by a young man in a white robe waiting in the tomb.

1:21	Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ· καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν And they went to Capernaum and immediately on the Sabbath going into the synagogue He taught
2:1	Καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι’ ἡμερῶν ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν And after some days returning to Capernaum it was reported that He was at home
9:33	Καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ. Καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γενόμενος ἐπηρώτα αὐτοὺς· τί ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διελογίζεσθε; And they came to Capernaum. And when He was in the house He asked them “What were you discussing on the journey?”

Capernaum is mentioned by Mark three times. In 2:1 Capernaum is identified even more clearly than in John’s Gospel as the place where Jesus lived Mark 2:1 Καὶ εἰσελθὼν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ δι’ ἡμερῶν ἠκούσθη ὅτι ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν “And coming again to Capernaum after some days, it was reported that He was at home”. In Mark 1:21 as in John 6:59 he is described as teaching in the synagogue and His “house” is obviously located in Capernaum.

The transition from religious sect or title to geographical town is striking when examining the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. In the Gospel of Matthew Nazareth is found on four occasions.

2:23	καὶ ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέτ· ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται And He went and lived in a city called Nazareth so that the words of the prophets would be fulfilled that “He shall be called a Nazarene”
4:13	καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρά ἐλθὼν κατῴκησεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν ἐν ὁρίοις Ζαβουλὼν καὶ Νεφθαλίμ and leaving Nazareth He went and lived in Capernaum by the sea in the region of Zebulun and Naphtali
21:11	οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι ἔλεγον· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφήτης Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας and the crowd said “this is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee
26:71	οὗτος ἦν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου This man was with Jesus Nazoraios

In Matthew 2:23 we find an otherwise completely unknown prophecy which is only cited in this Gospel. In order to explain what must have been a well known tradition that Jesus lived in Capernaum and not in Nazareth Matthew 4:13 explains that Jesus moved from Nazareth to Capernaum. Matthew 21:11 shows how easily the tradition could be misinterpreted even if passed on correctly – Jesus from Nazareth of Galilee is transformed in the Gospel from a religious sect or title originating from Galilee into a geographical place name – there was no intention to mislead, it was

simply a misunderstanding. Anyone who has ever taken a foreign language examination will know the feeling well. In Matthew 26:71 Nazareth is correctly attributed to Jesus as a title.

Like Nazareth, Capernaum is present in the Gospel four times

4:13	καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέθ ἐλθὼν κατώκησεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν ἐν ὁρίοις Ζαβουλὼν καὶ Νεφθαλίμ And leaving Nazareth He went to live in Capernaum by the sea in the region of Zebulun and Naphtali
8:5	Εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατόνταρχος παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν And as He was entering Capernaum a centurion came to Him pleading
11:23	καὶ σύ, Καφαρναοὺμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθῇς; ἕως ᾧδου καταβῇς· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον And you Capernaum, will you be lifted up to heaven? You will go down to Hades. For if the mighty works done in you had been done in Sodom it would have remained until today.
17:24	Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ προσῆλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ εἶπαν· ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ [τὰ] δίδραχμα And when they came to Capernaum the collectors of the half shekel tax approached Peter and said “Doesn’t your teacher pay the tax?”

Matthew does identify Capernaum as the town where Jesus lived – although apparently a little reluctantly. Matthew 9:1 Καὶ ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον διεπέρασεν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν “and embarking by boat he crossed over and came to his own city” – the name of “his own city” is conspicuous by its absence. By the time Matthew wrote his Gospel perhaps the Nazareth tradition had gained such momentum that there was pressure to suppress Capernaum’s connection to Our Lord. The oracle of the destruction of Capernaum in Matthew 11:13 which is contained almost verbatim in Luke (Luke 10:15) is difficult to explain although this could be linked to the prophecy that a prophet is only without honour in his own home which was originally applied to Capernaum and which Luke widened to include Nazareth (see below) (John 4:44, . Mark 6:4, Matthew 13:57). This would also suggest a late date for both narratives as they are unlikely to have gained much credence if Jesus’ immediate followers were still alive and could testify a) that no town called Nazareth actually existed and b) Capernaum and Nazareth had not rejected Jesus and c) Capernaum was still alive and well. This oracle is not found in John or Mark. There is no evidence that Capernaum was involved in either the Jewish revolt of 66-73AD or the Bar Kochba revolt of 132-135AD and there is nothing to suggest that it was attacked or laid under siege by the Romans on either occasion. It suffered substantial damage following the devastating Galilean earthquake of 749 AD and was probably also damaged by the earthquake of 363 AD. It was not finally abandoned until the 11th century AD. Josephus mentions Capernaum in the Jewish Wars 3:519. He describes the fruit grown in the area, says it has a good climate and that it is watered by a fertile spring. Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὴν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καλοῦσιν “the people of the country call it Capernaum”. All in all it sounds like a pretty good place to live.

Luke’s Gospel contains seven references to Nazareth.

1:26	Ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀπεστάλη ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριὴλ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἣ ὄνομα Ναζαρέθ In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth
2:4	Ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέθ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυὶδ And so Joseph also went up from Galilee from the city of Nazareth to Judea to the city of David which is called Bethlehem because he was from the house and of the family of David
2:39	Καὶ ὡς ἐτέλεσαν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον κυρίου, ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς πόλιν ἐαυτῶν Ναζαρέθ And after they had completed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee to their own city Nazareth
2:51	καὶ κατέβη μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρέθ καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετήρει πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς So he went down with them and returned to Nazareth

	and he obeyed them and his mother treasured all these sayings in her heart
4:16	Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρέτ, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι And he came to Nazareth where he had been brought up, and as he was accustomed to do he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath
4:34	Ἔα, τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ Ah what do you want with us Jesus Nazoraios? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the holy one of God
18:37	ἀπήγγειλαν δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος παρέρχεται So they told him “Jesus Nazoraios is passing by”

In Luke’s Gospel the transformation of Nazareth is even more apparent than in the Gospel of Matthew and Nazareth is identified as a city on five separate occasions. By the time of Luke’s account it had even acquired its own synagogue in which Jesus taught Luke 4:16. This last verse makes it absolutely clear that Jesus was not thought to have lived during His adult life in Nazareth. It was supposedly the city where He was raised not the town where He was known to have lived in later years. As in Matthew’s Gospel Nazareth is not described as a mere hamlet, village or town – it is a full blown city. If this was the case then it is even more surprising that there is no mention of it by Josephus in his account of the Roman Galilean campaign. Surely the Romans would not have ignored a city called Nazareth.

On only two occasions is the title “Nazarene” given to Jesus in the Gospel. The inscription on the cross omits any mention of Nazareth Luke 23:38 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος. “This is the King of the Jews” as is the case in the other Synoptics Mark 15:23 has the same inscription as Luke. Matthew differs slightly 27:37 οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων “This man is Jesus the King of the Jews”.

4:23	καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν· ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα εἰς τὴν Καφαρναοὺμ ποίησον καὶ ὧδε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου and he said to them “Assuredly you will quote me this parable Physician heal yourself; all the things that we have heard about in Capernaum do also here in your own home town”
4:31	Καὶ κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας and He went to Capernaum a city of Galilee
7:1	Ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῦ λαοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ Because He had completed all His sayings in the hearing of the people, He entered Capernaum
10:15	καὶ σύ, Καφαρναοὺμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθῇς; ἕως τοῦ ᾗδου καταβῇς And you Capernaum, will you be lifted up to heaven? You will go down to Hades.

Capernaum appears four times in Luke. By the time that his Gospel was written it seems to have been forgotten that Jesus actually lived in Capernaum which is relegated to a location that He sometimes visits. Jesus is found teaching in the synagogue in Nazareth with startling results. This is a dramatic embellishment of the passages found in Mark 6:1ff and Matthew 13:54ff which could well have found their genesis in John 1:11 & John 4:44. In the version in Mark and Matthew Jesus’ “home town” is not named and Matthew follows Mark very closely. The variations can be traced to oral tradition – Joses in Mark changes to Joseph in Matthew, Jesus the carpenter in Mark becomes the son of the carpenter in Matthew. The last sentence in Matthew’s narrative being tidied up from Mark’s “he could not do many mighty works there” to “he did not do many mighty works there”. In Luke, however, Jesus’ home town is transformed into Nazareth and the story is fleshed out considerably. After speaking well of Him the local population inexplicably turns against Jesus and, unlike the other Synoptic Gospels where he simply does not work many miracles, the whole scene turns very ugly and erupts into mob violence when an attempt is made to throw Him off the mountain. The narrative is

rounded off nicely by a Johannine type Amen saying – which Luke uses very sparingly. He only includes six such sayings in his whole Gospel.

John 1:11	εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον He came to His own home and his kindred did not receive him
John 4:44	αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει For Jesus Himself bore witness that a prophet has no honour in his own homeland

Mark 6:1	Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ So He left there and went to His own home town and His disciples followed him
Mark 6:2	καὶ γενομένου σαββάτου ἤρξατο διδάσκειν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες· πόθεν τοῦτω ταῦτα, καὶ τίς ἡ σοφία ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι; And as it was the Sabbath He began to teach in the synagogue, and many who heard Him were amazed saying “Where did He get these things? And what is this wisdom given to Him? And what mighty works are accomplished by His hands?”
Mark 6:3	οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Σίμωνος; καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ὧδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ Is this not the carpenter, the sons of Mary and brother of James and Joseph and Judas and Simon? And are not His sisters here with us? And they were shocked by Him.
Mark 6:4	καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἀτιμὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ And Jesus said to them “A prophet is not dishonoured except in this own home town and among his kindred and in his house”
Mark 6:5	καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις ἀρρώστοις ἐπιθεῖς τὰς χεῖρας ἐθεράπευσεν And He could not do any mighty work there, except that He laid His hands on a few sick people and healed them

Matt 13:54	καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν, ὥστε ἐκπλήσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν· πόθεν τοῦτω ἡ σοφία αὕτη καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις; And coming to His home town He taught them in their synagogue so that they were amazed and said “Where did this man get this wisdom and these might works?”
Matt 13:55	οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; οὐχ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαρία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας Is this not the carpenter’s son? Is not His mother called Mary and His brothers James and Joseph and Simon and Judas?
Matt 13:56	καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσιν; πόθεν οὖν τοῦτω ταῦτα πάντα; And are not all His sisters with us? Where then did this man get all these things?
Matt 13:57	καὶ ἐσκανδαλίζοντο ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἀτιμὸς εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ And they were shocked by Him. And Jesus said to them “A prophet is not dishonoured except in his own home town and among his kindred and in his house”
Matt 13:58	καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις πολλὰς διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν And He did not do many mighty works there because of their disbelief.

Luke 4:16	Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι And He came to Nazareth where He had been brought up, and as He was accustomed to do He went into the synagogue on the Sabbath
Luke 4:17	καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Ἠσαΐου καὶ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὗ ἦν γεγραμμένον And a book of the prophet Isaiah was given to Him and unrolling the book He found the place where it was written
Luke 4:18	πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμὲ οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέν με, κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφ᾽ ἑσέι The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor, he has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty the oppressed
Luke 4:19	κηρύξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord
Luke 4:20	καὶ πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον ἀποδοὺς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ἐκάθισεν· καὶ πάντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἦσαν ἀτενίζοντες αὐτῷ then rolling up the book and handing it back to the assistant He sat down and the eyes of all those in the synagogue were staring at Him
Luke 4:21	ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφή αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν ὑμῶν and He

	began to say to them “Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing”
Luke 4:22	Καὶ πάντες ἐμαρτύρουν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς χάριτος τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγον· οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ οὗτος; And everyone favoured Him and wondered at the gracious words that came out of His mouth and they said “Is not this Joseph’s son?”
Luke 4:23	καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην· ἰατρὲ, θεράπευσον σεαυτὸν· ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα εἰς τὴν Καφαρναοὺμ ποίησον καὶ ὧδε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου And He said to them “No doubt you will tell Me this parable Physician Heal Yourself All the things that we have heard You did at Capernaum do here also in Your home town.
Luke 4:24	εἶπεν δέ· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ And He said “Amen I say to you No prophet is welcome in his own home town”.
Luke 4:25	ἐπ’ ἀληθείας δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, πολλαὶ χῆραι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἠλίου ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Truly I say to you there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah when heaven was shut for three years and six months so there was great famine over the whole land
Luke 4:26	καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἐπέμφθη Ἠλίας εἰ μὴ εἰς Σάρεπτα τῆς Σιδωνίας πρὸς γυναῖκα χήραν and Elijah was sent to none of them except Zarephath in the land of Sidon to a woman who was a widow
Luke 4:27	καὶ πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ Ἐλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Ναυμᾶν ὁ Σύρος And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of the prophet Elisha and none of them was cleansed except Naaman the Syrian
Luke 4:28	καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες θυμοῦ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα And hearing these things all in the synagogue were filled with wrath
Luke 4:29	καὶ ἀναστάντες ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὄφρυος τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ’ οὗ ἡ πόλις ὠκοδόμητο αὐτῶν ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν And rising up they threw Him out of the city and led Him to edge of the of the mountain on which their city was built so that they could throw Him down
Luke 4:30	αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο but passing through the midst of them He went away

Luke 4:18 & 19

Luke: 4: 18 & 19 πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμὲ οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με κηρύξαι αἰχ μαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, **ἀποστεῖλαι** τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει, **κηρύξαι** ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν.

Isaiah 61:1 & 2a πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμὲ οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με **(ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ)** κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν (Isaiah 58:6 **ἀπόστελλε** τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει) **καλέσαι** ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν

The Isaiah quotation cited by Luke is an almost word for word copy of the LXX version of Isaiah 61:1 & 61:2a except for the removal of ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ “to restore the broken hearted” from the quotation of Isaiah 61:1 and the insertion of ἀπόστελλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει “free the oppressed” from Isaiah 58:6 with ἀποστέλλω modified from the imperative present active 2ms to the aorist infinitive active in order to fit in grammatically with the rest of the quotation. κηρύξαι the infinitive aorist active of κηρύσσω to proclaim or preach is substituted for καλέσαι the infinitive aorist active of καλέω to call although this may have simply been a scribal error as κηρύξαι is found earlier in the verse. This does not really suggest that Luke was translating from a Hebrew original but that he, or his source, was using the LXX and moulding it to fit his theology.

The traditions that associated Jesus with Capernaum were apparently still circulating but it had ceased to be described as Jesus’ home town. Luke did not believe He still lived in Nazareth either and presumably he thought that, like Paul, Jesus was an itinerant teacher with no permanent home. An

idea which, in many quarters, is probably alive and well to this very day. Luke 9:58 (Matthew 8:20)
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· αἱ ἀλώπεκες φωλεοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
κατασκηνώσεις, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει And Jesus said to him
“Foxes have dens and the birds of heaven nests but the Son of Man does not have a place to rest his
head”.

Moving on to Acts Nazareth is found eight times.

2:22	Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι’ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε Men of Israel hear these words. Jesus Nazoraios, a man avowed to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through Him in your midst as you yourselves know
3:6	εἶπεν δὲ Πέτρος· ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι, ὃ δὲ ἔχω τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου [ἔγειρε καὶ] περιπάτει but Peter said “I do not have silver and gold but what I do have I give you. In the name of Jesus Christ Nazoraios rise and walk.”
4:10	γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγιής let it be known to you all and to all the people of Israel that in the name of Jesus Christ Nazoraios whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, this man is standing before you healthy
6:14	ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθνη ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς for we have heard him say that this Jesus Nazoraios will destroy this place and will change the customs that Moses gave to us
10:38	Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ, ὃς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει, ὃς διῆλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν μετ’ αὐτοῦ Jesus the man from Nazareth whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and power, who went about healing all who were oppressed by the devil because God was with Him
22:8	ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπεκρίθην· τίς εἶ, κύριε; εἶπέν τε πρὸς με· ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, ὃν σὺ διώκεις and I said “Who are you sir?” and He said to me “I am Jesus Nazoraios whom you are persecuting”
24:5	εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον λοιμὸν καὶ κινεῦντα στάσεις πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως for finding this man a pest and stirring up rebellion amongst all the Jews throughout the world and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans
26:8	Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα ἑμαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου δεῖν πολλὰ ἐναντία πρᾶξαι therefore I myself imagined it was necessary to perform many hostile acts against the name of Jesus Nazoraios

Here, except possibly in Acts 10:38 Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέθ Jesus the man from Nazareth which bears a remarkable resemblance to John 1:45 Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, Nazareth is found only as a title for Jesus given to Him by others or on one occasion by Himself or used as a title for His followers Acts 2:22 Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον Jesus Nazoraios, 3:6 & 4:10 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου Jesus Christ Nazoraios 10:38 and 22:8 where of course Jesus gives the title to Himself ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος I am Jesus Nazoraios – here again there is an echo of the great ἐγὼ εἰμι sayings in John and which Luke only has Jesus applying to himself in the trial before the Chief Priests Luke 22:70 ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι “you say that I am” and Luke 24:39 which is another post resurrection appearance ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός “it is I myself”, Acts 24:5 quoted above and finally 26:8 where Paul talks about the name of Jesus Nazoraios τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου.

A careful study of the four Gospels and Acts suggests, therefore, that Nazareth did not start life as the name of a town or city but as a religious title given to Jesus – perhaps even a Messianic title. The movement from personal title to town or place caused by a mistranslation of the original traditions can be traced with Nazareth becoming a city in Matthew’s Gospel and information about the city being supplemented in the Gospel according to Luke. In Acts the term is only used, except possibly on one occasion, as a title for Jesus or his followers and there is little there to suggest that it is a geographical

place name. Embellishments tend to be added to rather than fall away from circulating stories and this is what seems to have happened in Matthew and even more so in Luke. Isolating the manner in which the term Nazareth was eventually transformed and following its progress through the traditions recorded in the four Gospels, this would give the order in which they were composed 1) John 2) Mark 3) Matthew 4) Luke. This proposition will be returned to and examined more fully in later papers.

So what does Nazareth mean? There can be no definitive answer but roots such as the Semitic נָזַר meaning to separate or consecrate oneself or as found in 2 Samuel 1:10 נָזַר & 2 Kings 11:12 it might even refer to a consecration or a crown. It certainly appears together with king in the inscription on the cross John 19:19 Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων “Jesus Nazoraios, the King of the Jews” so maybe it is meant to be a Messianic title. In John 1 it is found in the middle of a group of declarations where Jesus is accepted as the Messiah, King and Son of God. John 1:41 εὕρισκει οὗτος πρῶτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἴδιον Σίμωνα καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· εὕρηκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον χριστός. (Andrew) first found his own brother Simon and said to him “We have found the Messiah, which is translated Christ. John 1:45 ὃν ἔγραψεν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὕρηκαμεν, Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ. “We have found Him of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth.” John 1:49 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ· ῥαββί, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, σὺ βασιλεὺς εἶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Nathanael answered Him “Rabbi, You are the son of God, You are the King of Israel” This particular sequence of events being triggered by the Baptist’s second declaration 1:36 ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. “Behold the lamb of God” which caused two of his disciples to follow Jesus.

Joseph could well have undergone a similar transformation where Jesus started as a Son of Joseph – possibly a Messianic title originating from the Northern Kingdom. Afterwards He was designated a Son Of David by Paul and in the Synoptic Gospels. He is never called Son of David in the Fourth Gospel – indeed he is rejected because he is not descended from David and was not born in Bethlehem John 7:42 οὐχ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ ἀπὸ Βηθλέεμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαυὶδ ἔρχεται ὁ χριστός; Doesn’t the scripture say that from the seed of David and from Bethlehem the village where David was the Christ comes? Romans 1:3 τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα “descended from the seed of David according to the flesh” After being designated a son of David, Joseph could have been thought to be his actual earthly father. This idea will be examined in a later paper.

Before embarking on the hazardous venture of attempting to show that there is at least one Aramaic source contained in the Fourth Gospel, a few words on oral tradition would be in order as oral as well as written sources were undoubtedly used by the Evangelists. The longevity and overall reliability of the spoken word during the Second Temple period cannot be overstated. Writing materials were expensive and difficult to come by and books were not found in most households – the majority of the population being obliged to spend their days earning a living had little or no time for books or reading which were generally the preserve of the wealthy. Although the great Hillel was able to overcome the obstacle of poverty this remarkable man was an exception – and exceptional. Important narratives and dialogues were committed to memory and retained in the memory for a lifetime. In Palestine a rabbi with a group of disciples would have expected them to learn his teachings by heart. In the Gospels sayings are often grouped in a way which would make memorization easier.

The power of oral tradition can be illustrated by three examples from within my own family which have not been written down until now. Every family will no doubt have had similar tales passed down through the years by word of mouth.

The first story is the nearest in date to the present day and took place in about 1930 when my mother was a small child (she is still with us and has recently celebrated her 89th birthday). My grandparents lived in the South West of Ireland about 8 miles from Killarney at the Arbutus Cottage in the Gap of Dunloe which is a glacial valley lying between the Purple Mountains and MacGillycuddy's Reeks. As Private Frazer would have said "a wild and lonely place" (which will mean nothing whatsoever to anybody who has never watched Dad's Army). Every week my grandfather would take the pony and trap and go into Killarney to buy provisions. On this particular day my great grandmother went with him. Having spent as much of the afternoon as he dared in Christie Flynn's Bar in Killarney, on the return journey he called in at Kate Kearney's, which is at the entrance to the Gap, where he enjoyed a few more alcoholic beverages. Leaving Kate Kearney's he gave the pony her head and she galloped as hard as she could for home. It was pitch black by this time and the road was rough and unmade and full of twists and turns. About a mile from home there was a hump backed bridge. On hearing the trap arriving back at the Arbutus my grandmother and mother went outside and my mother's first question was "Where's granny?" "She's in the back of the trap" "No she isn't". Turning round grandad discovered that granny was, indeed, no longer seated demurely behind him. So they took some lanterns and set out on foot back down the road to be met after about half a mile by a terrifying figure with coat flying, hat askew and brandishing an umbrella which threatened serious injury to anyone who was foolhardy enough to venture within striking distance. The invective which accompanied this apparition will remain forever locked within the oral tradition of this tale. The pony racing at full pelt over the hump backed bridge had sent granny, hat and umbrella flying unceremoniously out of the back of the trap and deposited her onto a grassy knoll located by the side of the road. Her temper was not improved by my mother's polite enquiry "Did you enjoy your walk granny?"

The second story dates from the Irish Civil War of 1922-23. My grandfather was a military policeman in the Irish Free State Army and he was on duty in Killarney. Late one evening word was brought to my great grandmother that there was a plot to assassinate him and she walked 8 miles in the dark into Killarney to warn him not to go out on patrol. Grandad brushed this aside as nonsense and went out on patrol as usual. It was only when he noticed in a doorway the shadow of a man holding a gun that he realised that my great grandmother was right. When grandad died in 1970 that same man sat beside his coffin for a very long time. How the spoken word can be misinterpreted is illustrated on grandad's Death Certificate where his occupation is given as "gardener". He was, in fact, a policeman. After he left the army he joined the police force which in Ireland is called the Garda Siochana – generally shortened to "guards".

The final story dates from 17 April 1885. My mother often used to speak about "the royal signatures" and kept a very tattered piece of paper in a drawer. A couple of years ago I decided to examine the paper – not having paid much attention to it previously – and to my astonishment made out some faded signatures which read Alexandra Princess, Albert Edward, Edward, Spencer and C Spencer. On further investigation it turned out that the then Prince of Wales – later to become Edward VII – Alexandra Princess of Wales and their eldest son Albert Victor Christian Edward, who was known as Eddy and died in 1892, during an official visit to Ireland undertook, together with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Earl John Spencer and his wife Lady Charlotte Spencer, a tour of the Gap of Dunloe and Killarney in April 1885. My family ran an inlaying and wood carving business which had been moved to the Gap from Killarney by my great great grandmother in order to prevent her employees spending all day in the local bars. The work they made was exported all over the world and I wish I still had some of it. The royal party called in, ordered some items and signed my great great grandmother's guest book. In later years my great grandmother displayed the signed page of the book

in the shop window of the Arbutus and my mother had to chant the names of the signatories to visiting tourists including the line “Albert Victor Christian Edward who should have been king”. I tracked down a journal from 1885 called The Graphic on Ebay with a picture of the Royal Party in the Gap and a line saying that they visited “Mrs French” and “graciously agreed to sign her visitor’s book”. Mrs French was my great great grandmother.

These three stories help to demonstrate that even in modern times stories can remain in circulation for a very long time indeed – the last one for 130 years - without being formally written down. It is not necessary to give any of the Gospels an early date of composition or to attribute only written sources to them. The Evangelists undoubtedly made full use of oral tradition with which they were familiar. That such sources continued to circulate until a late date is evidenced by Eusebius c325AD when he quotes Papias c125AD *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Church History) 3:39:4 εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ὃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν “If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders— what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say”.

Perhaps some notes were made at the time recording the words of Jesus which one or all of the Evangelists made use of. In the Fourth Gospel mention is made of a written source which, as I hope to demonstrate, was probably Aramaic John 21:24 Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα “this is the disciple who is bearing witness concerning these events and who has written these things”. Luke also writes in his preface about previous attempts to record in writing the story of Our Lord Luke 1:1/2 ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληρορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου “Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a narrative of the things which have been accomplished among us, just as they were delivered to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word” (RSV translation) and his words would seem to indicate that some considerable time had passed since the events he intended to write about and that there were more than a few accounts already in circulation many of which he had undoubtedly read before embarking upon his own composition. The use of the aorist in verse 2 παρέδοσαν “they handed on” perhaps indicates that the original disciples were no longer handing on their accounts as they had by this time passed away.

It does need to be remembered however that Jesus did not draw his immediate disciples from scholars and intellectuals. He did, of course, have some very powerful supporters such as Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus but on the whole His followers were drawn from the “lower classes” – people who worked from dawn until dusk in order to put bread on the table. They did not have time for books and learning and many of them were probably unable to read let alone write. When Jesus called them this must have been a huge culture shock – this great rabbi, this highly educated (despite the observation in John 7:15 ἐθαύμαζον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες· πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;

“then the Jews wondered saying “how is this man learned when he has never studied” which probably only means that he had not studied formally under a leading rabbi in Jerusalem) intellectual and charismatic man was calling them. A world was being opened to them which would usually be the sole preserve of the wealthy. St Paul, who was a gifted intellectual and a prolific letter writer,

describes in 1 Corinthians how most “Christians” were from the “lower strata” of society. 1 Corinthians 1 26-28 Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά, καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός “For consider your call brethren, not many were wise according to earthly standards, not many were powerful, not many were well bred but God selected the foolish of the world in order to bring shame on the wise and God selected the weak of the world in order to put the strong to shame and God selected the low born of the the world and the despised” which sounds like a motley crew indeed. Peter may not even have been able to read and write, it is generally accepted by scholars that the epistles that bear his name are unlikely to have been written by him Acts 4:13 Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσιν καὶ ἰδιῶται “so noticing the confidence of Peter and John and realising that they were illiterate and ignorant men”. Many of the original traditions concerning Jesus were therefore passed on by men who were not gifted scholars and who would not have expected the great and learned to pour over their words two thousand years later. It is from an understanding that it arose from this background that the testimony recorded in the books of New Testament needs to be examined.

Even the most cursory reading of the Fourth Gospel in the original Greek will reveal wild swings in the style of the received text. Asyndeton gives way to καὶ which then gives way to asyndeton and the ubiquitous οὖν appears and disappears with astonishing regularity, all this in addition to the 212 manifestations of δὲ which are thrown in for good measure . This suggests that the Gospel is a collection of largely untouched sources which carried such authority that it was deemed to be inappropriate to alter them to any great extent. The poem which prefaces the Gospel has long puzzled and exercised the minds of scholars. And why precisely does the Baptist say John 1:29 & 1: 36 Ἴδε ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ “Behold the Lamb of God” before this expression disappears apparently without trace? If it refers to a sacrificial Lamb this is not obvious in the rest of the Gospel. Perhaps what we have here is an example of an attempt at transliteration gone awry. Maybe we should be looking at the Semitic root לָמַד and not the Greek word for lamb ἄμνός.

“Answered and said” – an idiom particularly evident in the Aramaic sections of Daniel and not found at all in the Aramaic passages of Ezra. It is described by David Biven and Roy Blizzard²⁶ as a Hebraism. It is, of course, a Semitism which is attested in the Aramaic²⁷ as well as the non Biblical Hebrew²⁸ scrolls from Qumran. This idiom occurs a whopping 30 times in the 6 Aramaic chapters of Daniel of which 24 are peal perfect participle following peal perfect participle, on 5 occasions a peal participle follows a peal perfect and on one occasion a peal perfect follows a peal perfect. (Apologies at this point that much of the following is very dry. Whilst the results can be really exciting, counting the number of times that δὲ and καὶ and the participle and indicative are present in a given group of clauses is not particularly conducive to spending a fun evening. In our house “Philomena’s counting

²⁶ David Biven and Roy Blizzard – Understanding The Difficult Words of Jesus (Destiny Image Revised Edition 2008)

²⁷ 11Q10 Targum of Job 37:3 ענא איוב ואמר קדם אלהא

²⁸ 1QS 2:5 וענו ואמרו 4Q286 Blessingsa f7ii 2 וענו ואמר

oŭvs again” has become a running joke). The expression is not present in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel.

	2 Peal Participles	Peal perfect + participle	2 Peal perfects
Daniel	24	5	1
	2:5, 2:8, 2:15, 2:20, 2:26, 2:27, 2:47, 3:14, 3:19, 3:24(x2), 3:25, 3:26, 3:28, 4:16 (x2), 4:27, 5:7, 5:13, 5:17, 6:13, 6:17, 6:21, 7:2	2:7, 2:10, 3:9, 3:16, 56:14	5:10

I have identified 145 occurrences of the idiom in the Hebrew Bible (I think I managed to find them all although somebody is bound to correct me). There are a handful of occurrences with ענה followed by the verb דבר which are not included in the analysis and which are found in Joshua 22:21 (1) I Kings 12:7 (1) and 2 Kings 1:10, 1:11, 1:12 (3). The idiom with אמר occurs 128 times in the construction qal imperfect waw consecutive following qal imperfect waw consecutive. There are just 13 with an infinitive construct, one with a qal imperfect followed by a perfect and two with two qal perfects. The expression is not distributed evenly and is found 109 times in 8 books - 28 times in Job and 26 in 1 Samuel being the most frequent then Genesis (13) Zechariah (12) 1 Kings (9) 2 Samuel (9) Deuteronomy (7) and Numbers (5) the rest being scattered between one and four times throughout 16 books Joshua (4), 2 Kings (4), Isaiah (3), Judges (3), Jeremiah (3), Haggai (3), Ruth (2), Exodus (2), 2 Chronicles (2), Ezra (2), Esther (2), 1 Chronicles (1), Joel (1), Amos (1), Habakkuk (1), The Song Of Solomon (1) (see Appendix B)

The translation of this expression into Greek by the LXX writers and, in the case of Daniel, by Theodotian and the LXX writers, is interesting – particularly when comparing it to the way it is presented in the Gospels. There are occasions when the LXX seems to go off on a frolic of its own but e.g. in Daniel 2:20 the text of the Dead Sea Scrolls agrees with the LXX against the Masoretes and Theodotian as both include “the name of the “great” god” whereas the Masoretes and Theodotian only have “the name of god” so it may be that the translators in Alexandria had a significantly different manuscript to the one which has come down to us via the Masoretes.

(WTT)	ענה דניאל ואמר להוא שמה די־אלהא מברך מן־עלמא ועד־עלמא די חכמתא וגבורתא די לה־היא:
	Daniel said let the name of God be praised forever and ever for wisdom and might are his
1QDan ^a Col II	ענה דניאל [וא]מר להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך [מן]עלמא ועד עלמא די חכמתא וגבורתא די לה [יא]
	Daniel said let the name of the great God be praised forever and ever for wisdom and power belong to him
(LXX)	καὶ ἐκφωνήσας εἶπεν ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεγάλου εὐλογημένον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη αὐτοῦ ἔστι
	And he cried out “let the name of the great God be praised for ever because wisdom and majesty are his”
(TH)	Δανιηλ καὶ εἶπεν εἴη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις αὐτοῦ ἔστιν
	And Daniel said let the name of God be praised forever and ever because wisdom and understanding are his

ἀποκρίνομαι occurs 231 times in the NT mainly in the Gospels and Acts. 148 times it is found as part of the expression “answered and said”. Outside of the Gospels and Acts the verb only occurs twice, once at Colossians 4:6 and once at Revelation 7:13 and of these only Revelation uses the answered and said expression. In Acts Luke uses this expression 7 times.

In the Fourth Gospel of the 32 times that this expression occurs asyndeton begins the clause on 27 occasions, the enigmatic οὖν is found four times and δὲ just once at John 12:23 where there is not only a departure from the usual formula but the expression appears in excellent Greek i.e. following the pattern

definite article → particle → subject → indicative → indirect object → participle

ὁ → δὲ → Ἰησοῦς → ἀποκρίνεται → αὐτοῖς → λέγων

On all but two other occasions that it appears in the Gospel i.e. 29 times it follows the pattern indicative followed by indicative with καὶ preceding the second indicative. 27 times in total it starts with no conjunction or particle, four times the second element of the clause is the particle οὖν

How closely this follows the Aramaic pattern in Daniel is demonstrated by comparing the simple constructions found in Daniel 2:5 and John 13:7 (for the purpose of this exercise the text from the Fourth Gospel should be read beginning from the right) with John substituting two indicatives for two participles – it would be impossible to use two participles in Greek even for a writer who might not be an expert in the use of the Greek language. See Appendix C for Daniel entries with the LXX & Theodotian translations.

ענה ← מלכא ← ו ← אמר ← לְכַדְיָא
participle ← subject ← conjunction ← participle ← indirect object/prepositional phrase
ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
Daniel 2:5 The king answered and said to the Chaldeans
John 13:7 Jesus answered and said to him

A total of 18 verses follow this pattern exactly

ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
John 1:48 Jesus answered and said to him
ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
John 1:50 Jesus answered and said to him
ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτοῖς
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
John 2:19 Jesus answered and said to them
ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
John 3:3 Jesus answered and said to him
ἀπεκρίθη ← Νικόδημος ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object
John 3:9 Nicodemus answered and said to Him
ἀπεκρίθη ← Ἰησοῦς ← καὶ ← εἶπεν ← αὐτῷ
indicative ← subject ← conjunction ← indicative ← indirect object

John 3:10 Jesus answered and said to him
αὐτῇ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 4:10 Jesus answered and said to her
αὐτῇ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 4:13 Jesus answered and said to her
αὐτῷ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← γυνὴ ἡ ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 4:17 The woman answered and said to Him
αὐτοῖς ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς [ὁ] ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 6:29 Jesus answered and said to them
αὐτοῖς ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 6:43 Jesus answered and said to them
αὐτοῖς ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 7:21 Jesus answered and said to them
αὐτοῖς ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 8:14 Jesus answered and said to them
αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 8:48 The Jews answered and said to Him
αὐτοῖς ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← ἄνθρωπος ὁ ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← ndicative
John 9:30 The man answered and said to them
αὐτῷ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 13:7 Jesus answered and said to him
αὐτῷ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 14:23 Jesus answered and said to him
αὐτῷ ← εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Θωμᾶς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 20:28 Thomas answered and said to Him

Three verses follow the same pattern minus a direct object

εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰωάννης ← ἀπεκρίθη
indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 3:27 John answered and said
εἶπεν ← καὶ ← ἐκεῖνος ← ἀπεκρίθη
indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative
John 9:36 He answered and said
εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indicative

John 12:30 Jesus answered and said

Four verses adhere to this pattern with no separately stated subject

αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← indicative
John 7:52 They answered and said
αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← indicative
John 8:39 They answered and said
αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← indicative
John 9:34 They answered and said
αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← indicative
John 18:30 They answered and said

Three verses place the particle οὖν second in the sentence following the same pattern, two with a direct object and one with no direct object

αὐτῷ ← εἶπαν ← καὶ ← Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ← οὖν ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← particle ← indicative
John 2:18 Then the Jews answered and said to Him
αὐτοῖς ← ἔλεγεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ὁ ← οὖν ← Ἀπεκρίνατο
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← particle ← indicative
John 5:19 Then Jesus answered and said to them
εἶπαν ← καὶ ← αὐτοῦ γονεῖς οἱ ← οὖν ← Ἀπεκρίθησαν
indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← particle ← indicative
John 9:20 Then his parents answered and said

Two verses, one with and one without οὖν, place the direct object before the subject

εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς ← αὐτοῖς ← ἀπεκρίθη
indicative ← conjunction ← subject ← indirect object ← indicative
John 6:26 Jesus answered and said to them
εἶπεν ← καὶ ← Ἰησοῦς [ὁ] ← αὐτοῖς ← οὖν ← ἀπεκρίθη
indirect object ← indicative ← conjunction ← indirect object ← particle ← indicative
John 7:16 Then Jesus answered and said to them

Finally one verse follows a different pattern of indicative followed by participle with no particle or conjunction

λέγων ← Ἰωάννης ὁ ← αὐτοῖς ← ἀπεκρίθη
participle ← subject ← indirect object ← indicative
John 1:26 John answered them saying

In one of the variations the indirect object immediately follows the first verb and precedes the subject which in turn precedes the second indicative. This occurs three times: John 1:26, 1:48 and 6:26 and whilst this pattern with the indirect object preceding the subject is not attested in Daniel the indirect object preceding the second participle is attested (the constructions with ל and קדם are treated as creating dative style indirect objects rather than as independent prepositional phrases)

Daniel 2:27 ענה דניאל קדם מלכא ואמר

Daniel 2:47 ענה מלכא לדניאל ואמר

In Daniel the indirect object, where it is present, precedes the second verb three times Daniel 2:10, 2:27, 2:47

The indirect object follows the second verb 12 times 2:5, 2:15, 2:26, 3:9, 3:14, 3:16, 3:24, 5:7, 5:13, 5:17, 6:14, 6:17, 6:21

Whilst the most widely used form of the “answered and said” idiom in Hebrew is very similar to the style of the Aramaic construction the presence of two waw consecutives and therefore of two conjunctions would mean that a translation into Greek would be likely to produce an initial καὶ or at the very least the particle δὲ at the beginning of the clause. It would not be likely to produce 27 out of 32 examples of anyndeton together with four examples of οὐν and a single δὲ.

לעשו	←	אמר	←	ו	←	יעקב	←	יען	←	ו
indirect object/prepositional phrase	←	qal imperfect	←	conjunction	←	subject	←	qal imperfect	←	conjunction
Gen 27:37 Isaac answered and said to Esau										

In the LXX the clauses generally start with an initial καὶ although sometimes, particularly in Job, δὲ is preferred with the aorist active participle (22 times). The Greek verb in the LXX ὑπολαμβάνω being preferred to ἀποκρίνομαι on 23 occasions and is included 26 times in the book as a whole and a verb which outside of Job is only found eight times in the LXX translation of the Hebrew Bible 2 Chronicles 25:8, Psalm 17:12, 30:2, 48:10, 50:21, 68:17, 73:16 and Jeremiah 37:9 none of which are associated with the “answered and said” idiom. It occurs just four times in the New Testament Luke 7:43 & 10:30 Acts 1:9 & 2:5 and 3 John 1:18. The LXX also uses it on two occasions to translate the “answered and said” idiom in the Aramaic section of Daniel 3:9 & 3:38.

Of 145 clauses examined καὶ begins the clause 100 times and καὶ γὰρ once with καὶ followed by the indicative + καὶ followed by the indicative being found in 73 clauses. A further seven clauses have two indicatives although two of these also contain a participle. Participles are only present in 53 clauses and the particle δὲ 35 times of which 23 are in Job. As shown in the table below asyndeton is only found five times. (See Appendix D for a full list of the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible together with the LXX translations)

Hebrew Bible Answered And Said Idiom LXX	No
καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative	73
καὶ γὰρ + indicative + καὶ + indicative	1
καὶ + participle + indicative	11
καὶ + εἶπεν	5

καὶ + indicative + participle	5
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη	2
καὶ + participle + καὶ + indicative	1
καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative + participle	2
participle + δὲ + indicative	29
indicative + δὲ + participle	3
indicative + δὲ + καὶ + indicative	2
ἔτι + δὲ + participle + indicative	1
τότε + εἶπεν	1
indicative + indicative	1
indicative + participle	1
infinitive + καὶ + indicative	1
indicative + καὶ + indicative	2

Turning now to the LXX and Theodotian translations of Daniel the following constructions are found.
See Appendix C

Theodotian Answered & Said Idiom Daniel	No
καὶ + εἶπεν	9
καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative	6
indicative + καὶ + indicative	6
not translated	5
καὶ + participle + indicative	1
καὶ + indicative + participle	1
τότε + indicative + καὶ + indicative	1
subject + καὶ + indicative	1

Theodotian's favoured translation is καὶ εἶπεν leaving out ענה completely, asyndeton and καὶ are evenly spread with 6 examples each and Daniel 6:14 translates בְּאֵדָיִן by τότε. The LXX opens the same verse καὶ εἶπαν. δὲ is conspicuous by its absence and there are only two occasions where participles are preferred to the indicative. On five occasions the expression is not translated.

LXX Answered & Said Idiom Daniel	No
not translated	7
participle + δὲ + indicative	7
καὶ + indicative	5
καὶ + participle + indicative	5
indicative	2
καὶ + indicative + participle	1
infinitive	1
participle	1
οὕς + καὶ + participle + indicative	1

The LXX translation of the expression is not homogeneous with ענה being dropped six times 3:19, 3:24, 3:26, 5:7, 6:14, 6:21 and אמר twice 2:10, 5:17. It is not translated at all seven times 3:25, 4:16 (x2), 3:24, 5:10, 6:17, 7:2. Of the remaining 16 times the most popular rendition is participle + δὲ + indicative which is the second most used construction when translating the expression from Hebrew and is here found seven times 2:5, 2:7, 2:26, 2:27, 3:16, 3:28, 6:13. The most popular construction in the Hebrew Bible καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative is not found here which must be due to the differences between the Hebrew and Aramaic constructions being taken into account. I could not find any examples of asyndeton.

The idiom is found in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts and Revelation Mark (18) Matthew (50) Luke (40) Acts (7) Revelation (1). The complete texts can be found in Appendix E.

For each Gospel the breakdown is as follows:-

Mark Answered & Said Idiom	No
definite article + δὲ + participle + indicative	6
6:37, 10:3, 9:19, 10:24, 15:2, 15:12	
definite article + δὲ + indicative + participle	1
15:9	
definite article + δὲ + indicative + καὶ + indicative	1
7:28	
καὶ + participle + indicative	8
9:5, 11:22, 3:33, 12:35, 10:51, 11:14, 14:48, 11:33	
καὶ + indicative + indicative	1
12:34	
participle + indicative	1
8:29	

Mark includes the “answered and said” expression 18 times. He prefers to start with a participle with the second verb in the indicative. Only once does the participle follow the indicative and only twice are there two indicatives. There is one case of asyndeton with no following conjunction. Mark prefers to start the clause with a conjunction or particle (17 times) with an almost even distribution of δὲ (8 times) and καὶ (9 times). The indirect object follows the second verb 10 times and precedes it 6 times. Once it precedes the subject.

The idiom lacks a second conjunction in all but one verse Mark 7:28. Whilst the expression itself is Semitic there is no real indication that in Mark these are direct translations from either a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Aramaic would expect asyndeton followed by a conjunction before the second verb, Hebrew would expect two conjunctions. The expressions are not mirrored by the LXX or Theodotian – the most popular construction in the LXX καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative is not mirrored in Mark. When using δὲ Mark uses the very good Greek construction of placing the nominative definite article before the participle. This is not found in the LXX or Theodotian.

Matthew Answered & Said Idiom	No
definite article + δὲ + participle + indicative	19
4:4, 12:39, 12:48, 13:11, 13:37, 15:3, 15:13, 15:24, 15:26, 16:2, 17:11, 19:4, 20:13, 21:29, 21:30, 24:2, 25:12, 26:23, 26:66	
participle + δὲ + indicative	16
3:15, 14:28, 16:16, 16:17, 17:4, 17:17, 20:22, 21:21, 21:24, 22:29, 25:26, 26:25, 26:33, 27:21, 28:5, 15:15	
indicative + δὲ + participle	1
25:9	
καὶ + participle + indicative	7
8:8, 11:4, 22:1, 24:4, 27:25, 25:40, 21:27	
τότε + indicative + participle	3
12:38, 25:37, 25:45	
τότε + participle + indicative	2
15:28, 19:27	
τότε + indicative + καὶ + participle	1
25:44	
Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ + participle + indicative	1
11:25	

“Answered and said” appears in Matthew 50 times, more than in any of the other Gospels, καὶ only starts the clause 7 times τότε 6 δὲ 36 and Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ 1. The first verbal element is overwhelmingly the participle. The indicative only starts the clause 5 times, four of these after τότε and once preceding the particle δὲ. Matthew is very consistent in his structure of the idiom with 15 following the formula participle + δὲ + indicative and 19 definite article + δὲ + participle + indicative. The first construction appears in the LXX translation of this idiom 29 times, the definite article preceding δὲ does not appear in the LXX in this idiom. As with Mark the absence of asyndeton and a second conjunction points away from a direct translation from a Semitic source although as this is a Semitic turn of phrase it obviously derives ultimately from Semitic. The presence of τότε six times may also point to Aramaic as no such adverb is present in the known Hebrew constructions of this phrase. The indirect object follows the second verb 23 times and precedes it 5 times. It precedes the subject 3 times. As in Mark the most popular construction in the LXX καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative is not represented.

Luke Answered & Said Idiom	No
participle + δὲ + indicative	17
Luke 3:11, 9:41, 9:49, 10:41, 11:45, 13:14, 13:15, 17:17, 20:3, 22:51, 24:18, 23:40, 20:39 Acts 5:29, 8:24, 8:34, 19:15	
definite article + δὲ + participle + indicative	7
Luke 8:21, 10:27, 13:8, 15:29, 9:19, 23:3 Acts 4:19	
subject + δὲ + participle + indicative	1
Luke 9:20	
Μετὰ δὲ + indicative + participle	1
Acts 15:13	
καὶ + participle + indicative	15
Luke 1:19, 1:60, 1:35, 4:8, 4:12, 5:5, 5:31, 6:3, 7:22, 7:40, 13:2, 13:25, 14:3, 17:37, 19:40	
Indicative + καὶ + indicative	1
Luke 17:20	
καὶ κεῖνος + participle + indicative	1
Luke 11:7	
participle + indicative	
Luke 5:22, 7:43 Acts 25:9	3
indicative + participle	1
Luke 3:16	

There are 47 “answered and said” idioms in Luke/Acts καὶ starts the clause 15 times δὲ 25 and καὶ κεῖνος 1. Asyndeton occurs 5 times so Luke has the highest example of asyndeton after John. Luke 17:20 ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν has the same construction as that found in the Fourth Gospel and it is possible that this “primitive” construction may have “crept” through with the other examples of this expression which have undergone an “improved” translation into Greek. As in Mark and Matthew the overwhelming preference is for the participle to begin the clause which it does 44 times with the indicative only starting it on three occasions. The indirect object follows the second verb 24 times and precedes it 8 times. It precedes the subject 4 times. The most popular construction in the LXX καὶ + indicative + καὶ + indicative is not represented.

The structure of these verses suggests a common source across the three Gospels with, in nearly all cases, the original underlying them not immediately apparent. The very marked preference for the participle rather than the indicative to start the idiom in all three Gospels may point to an Aramaic original where the first element of the idiom, the participle, is retained and the second is turned into an indicative to create a grammatical Greek construction. In all three Synoptics there is an almost complete absence of a second conjunction which would seem to indicate that this does not come from a Hebrew original as there should be evidence of two conjunctions. It is found in Mark 7:28 and might also be said to be present in Matthew 25:44 τότε ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγοντες “Then

they also replied and said” when it follows the adverb τότε “then” recalling the Aramaic construction with ܐܬܝܪܐ or ܐܬܝܪܒ. The preference for the particle δε in Matthew and Luke as opposed to καὶ also suggests that this expression does not have a Hebrew original as it would be expected to retain the καὶ rather more often than is the case. Only Mark has an almost even number of δε and καὶ when καὶ would be expected to be much more dominant and Matthew and Luke, particularly Matthew, use καὶ even more sparingly and in both Gospels δε has by far the upper hand.

There is only one other example of this idiom in the New Testament which is found in Revelation Revelation 7:13 Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἓκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων
Here there is an initial καὶ followed by an indicative with a participle as the final element.

This accounts for all 148 examples of this idiom. Two indicatives occur 33 times – John 30, Mark 2, Luke 1 = 22%, the participle precedes the indicative 104 times – Mark 15, Matthew 45, Luke 44 = 70% and the indicative precedes the participle 11 times – John 2, Revelation 1, Mark 1, Matthew 5 = 8%. Thus the overwhelming number of double indicatives is found in the Fourth Gospel, the Synoptic Gospels preferring a participle followed by the indicative. Where the participle follows the indicative this only occurs in the Johannine writings in John (2) and Revelation (1), Mark (1) and Matthew (5) and never in Luke.

This leads to the perplexing question of the particle οὖν. As mentioned above, out of the 499 times this particle is found in the New Testament 200 occur in the Fourth Gospel – a far higher proportion than in any other New Testament book. Its frequency in John is unique in Greek literature. No other writer uses οὖν to anything like the extent that John does. In the New Testament after John’s Gospel surprisingly οὖν is found most frequently percentage wise in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans where it is used 48 times, after that we find it in Acts 61, Matthew 56, Luke 33, 1 Corinthians 19, Hebrews 13, 2 Corinthians 10, Ephesians 7, Mark 6, Revelation 6, Galatians 6, James 5, Colossians 5, Philippians 5, 1 Titus 4, 2 Titus 3, 1 Peter 6, 1 Thessalonians 2, 2 Thessalonians 1, 3 John 1, Philemon 1, 2 Peter 1.

So why is it so often the particle of choice in the Fourth Gospel? The way it is used in the “answered and said” clauses may provide a hint. Here it is most likely to be a translation of ܐܬܝܪܐ or ܐܬܝܪܒ which is used much less frequently than the Hebrew ו and so in these passages its usage is more in line with the use of the Aramaic particles as they are found in Daniel with frequent asyndeton at the beginning of clauses.

Daniel 5:17 begins with ܐܬܝܪܒ which is translated by Theodotian and the LXX as τότε Daniel 6:14 begins with ܐܬܝܪܒ which is translated by Theodotian as τότε. The full idiom does not appear in the LXX which starts the clause καὶ εἶπεν. On four other occasions ܐܬܝܪܐ or ܐܬܝܪܒ 3:19, 3:24, 3:26 6:17 is strongly associated with the ענה אמר expression. The subject remains the same although another verbal action precedes the “answering and saying” idiom

In the LXX translation of the Hebrew Bible οὖν is only found 136 times spread over 17 books Genesis 42, Exodus 29, Job 12, Esther 11, Daniel 9, Joshua 6, Proverbs 4, Ezra 2, Numbers 5, Deuteronomy 4, Judges 3, Isaiah 3, 1 Samuel 2, 2 Samuel 1, 2 Kings 1, 2 Chronicles 1, Psalms 1. In Ezra it is found at Ezra 4:16 & 18 which are in the Aramaic passages. In Daniel it is found twice in Hebrew passages Daniel 2:3 & 12:6 and seven times in Aramaic passages Daniel 2:8, 2:9, 3:23, 3:24, 3:93, 3:97 & 5:6. It is used to translate a variety of words and phrases into Greek and sometimes it is introduced without any corresponding Hebrew expression. 40 times (including once in the Aramaic section of Ezra 4:13 where it translates ܐܬܝܪܒ) it is found in the expression οὖν usually to translate

הַעֲתִידָהּ or sometimes עֲתִידָהּ e.g. Gen 21:3, 30:30 Ex 9:19 Proverbs 7:24. Elsewhere oŭv without vŭv is found translating a variety of Hebrew terms such as נָא Ex: 5:3, Job 4:7 אֲפֹכָן Job 17:15 כֵּן Ex 8:13 וְ Ex 8:15 so the translation into Greek is not uniform. In the Greek apocryphal and deuterocanonical books of the LXX oŭv is found 117 times of which in Codex Vaticanus 19 are directly following the adverb vŭv. Turning to the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel similar variations in translation are apparent. ܐܝܬܝܢ is found in Ezra seven times where it is translated once by τότε Ezra 4:9 and on the other 6 occasions by τότε Ezra 4:23, 5:4, 5:9, 5:16 (x2), 6:13, while in Daniel ܐܝܬܝܢ appears 20 times the figures are the LXX: τότε 11 (Daniel 2:15, 2:17, 2:19 (x2), 2:25, 2:48, 5:9, 6:7, 6:19, 6:22, 7:19) καὶ 7 (Daniel 3:24, 5:6, 5:8, 6:4, 6:6, 6:12, 6:15) δὲ 2 (Daniel 4:16, 6:5) Theodotian: τότε 7 (Daniel 2:19, 2:25, 4:16, 5:6, 6:7, 6:12, 6:15) καὶ 12 (Daniel 2:17, 2:19, 2:48, 3:24, 5:8, 5:9, 6:4, 6:5, 6:6, 6:19, 6:22, 7:19) δὲ 1 (Daniel 2:15). The variety of translation is rather less for ܐܝܬܝܢ although still apparent. On the three occasions it is present in Ezra (4:24, 5:2, 6:1) the LXX always chooses τότε. In Daniel where it is found 26 times there is less uniformity. Where there is a LXX translation the figures are τότε 15 (Daniel 2:14, 2:35, 2:46, 3:13 (x2), 3:19, 3:21, 5:15, 5:17, 5:29, 6:13, 6:24, 6:26, 7:1, 7:11) καὶ 5 (Daniel 3:3, 3:26, 6:14, 6:16, 6:20) oŭv 2 (Daniel 3:26, 3:30) δὲ 1 (Daniel 6:17) Theodotian: τότε 17 (Daniel 2:14, 2:35, 2:46, 3:13, 3:19, 3:21, 3:26, 3:30, 5:17, 6:14, 6:16, 6:17, 6:20, 6:24, 6:26, 7:1, 7:11) καὶ 8 (Daniel 3:3, 3:13, 3:26, 4:4, 4:5, 5:13, 5:29, 6:13) διὰ τοῦτο 1 (Daniel 5:24).

The adverb ܐܝܬܝܢ which appears 5 times in Ezra and 5 times in Daniel might also be examined. In Ezra the LXX has five different translations 4:13 vŭv oŭv 4:14 καὶ 4:21 καὶ vŭv 5:15 τότε 6:6 vŭv In Daniel the LXX: 3:15 καὶ vŭv 6:9 καὶ (the other three LXX verses being much longer than the Aramaic text no translation is identified) Theodotian uses vŭv oŭv for all five verses Daniel 3:15, 4:34, 5:12, 5:16, 6:9. The variety of translations for these adverbs shows that no single adverb in the New Testament can be identified with certainty with any adverb found in Hebrew or Aramaic. The translation will be the choice of the writer and might be completely unexpected. τότε as Randall Buth²⁹ has shown does not always convey the meaning of ܐܝܬܝܢ or ܐܝܬܝܢ – this does not mean, of course, that it never does so. Twice oŭv is found in the LXX as a translation of ܐܝܬܝܢ and there is no reason to suppose that this particle should not be the preferred option of the author of one or more sources found in the Fourth Gospel to translate this particular Aramaic adverb and then extending its use to that of a more widely used particle. After all the LXX translates וְ by oŭv on more than one occasion e.g. Ex 8:15, Joshua 23:6, Job 22:25.

As it is used in the Fourth Gospel oŭv would, of course, not be a translation of one of these Aramaic particles in every instance – or indeed in most of them. It would, however, make sense if it was the particle that an Aramaic speaker would feel comfortable with and who would find it much more natural to use as a binding particle at the beginning of a clause than, say, δὲ. In the Gospels and Acts δὲ is used as a binding particle Acts 5:4, Luke 5:37, Matthew 4:8, John 2:12 and Mark 1:16 – in percentage terms based on the length of the two Gospels Mark's usage is more frequent than John's. This series of papers will propose that the oŭv and δὲ particles help to point to different sources within the Gospel – this will be explored in much greater depth in a future paper. A preliminary

²⁹ Randall Buth – Distinguishing Hebrew from Aramaic in Semitized Greek Texts, with an Application for the Gospels and Pseudepigrapha (The Language Environment of First Century Judea – Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels Volume II Edited by Randall Buth and R Steven Notley Brill 2014)

indication of this is shown in John 12:23 above which is written in a good Greek style which is not characteristic of the rest of the “answered and said” constructions in the Gospel. When it comes to τότε this adverb can stand first in a clause and is most commonly thought to be a translation of בְּאַתָּה or אֲתָּה. It is found 90 times in Matthew, 21 in Acts, 15 in Luke, 10 in John and 6 in Mark. See Randall Buth’s interesting paper on the use of τότε in the New Testament where he questions this conclusion and his analysis is for the most part undeniably correct as in Matthew in particular it is used far too frequently to be due in all instances to a translation of either of the Aramaic particles³⁰.

“The Gospel of John with its repeated use of the word “Jew” seemed a litany of hate.³¹ The answer to this conundrum, which has troubled Christians particularly over the last century, might well have been furnished by the great Professor Shmuel Safrai.

“Hebrew speakers commonly referred to Jews as yisrael, Israel, in contrast to Ioudaioi, Jews used by Greek speakers and yehuda’in, Jews used by Aramaic speakers. In literary works written in Hebrew, Jews refer to themselves as yisrael, Israel or bene yisrael, sons of Israel, while non Jews refer to Jews using the Aramaicized yehuda’in, Jews.”³²

The term “the Jews” appears in the New Testament in the following books John (71), Acts (79) Galatians (4) Romans (11). If one of the main sources behind John was from an Aramaic speaker then he would naturally refer to the people of Judea as “Jews” whether he was himself Jewish or not and would not expect this term to be interpreted in any derogatory or accusatory sense. Daniel 3:12 אִתֵּי גְבָרִין יְהוּדָאִין “these are Jewish men” provides an example of the term used in this sense. This is yet another example of how easily when translating from one language to another difficulties not envisaged by the original author can be produced. When he wrote “the Jews” the term carried no greater implication than that conveyed by a writer today using the terms English, French or Americans.

Just to recap – it is not the purpose of this series of papers to argue that only an Aramaic source is found in the Fourth Gospel. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that there may also be a Greek source (this will be examined in more detail in a future paper) e.g. John 12:23 cited above and John 6:55

ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν βρῶσις,
καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν πόσις

“For my flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed” While this is obviously influenced by Semitic parallelism, there is nothing to suggest that a translation “back” into Hebrew or Aramaic would serve any useful purpose. The couplet is a very nice Greek rhyme and the vocabulary works very well in Greek which would not be the case if it was cited in Hebrew or Aramaic. On further investigation, it may also be possible to identify a Hebrew source in a future paper although at the

³⁰ Randall Buth – Distinguishing Hebrew from Aramaic in Semitized Greek Texts, with an Application for the Gospels and Pseudepigrapha (The Language Environment of First Century Judea – Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels Volume II Edited by Randall Buth and R Steven Notley Brill 2014)

³¹ Jesus The Misunderstood Jew – The Church And The Scandal of the Jewish Jesus Amy-Jill Levine (Harper Collins ebooks 2009)

³² Professor Shmuel Safrai - Spoken Languages In The Time Of Jesus (1991)

present time this is not immediately apparent. It is, however, proposed that at least one principle source is Aramaic and that this is found in the Fourth Gospel largely untouched, apart, of course, from being translated into Greek. This source could have been either written or oral although the testimony of the Fourth Gospel itself would suggest it was written John 21:24.

The second paper of the current series will continue with an investigation into the differences between the structure and presentation of the Passion Narrative in the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Gospels.

It is hoped that this series may prove in some small way to be useful to anyone who is interested in the origin of the books of the New Testament and is offered in all humility with that aim in mind. I am mindful that I am following in the footsteps of very many distinguished academics and that my own limited contribution can only pale into insignificance when compared to their outstanding scholarship.

Appendix A

Phonology of the Greek letter Zeta

M D Pound

Zeta is a simple z in modern Greek, but it must have been a compound sound in ancient Greek as perfects of verbs beginning with zeta augment instead of reduplicating..

The ancient Greek alphabets inherited all the four sibilants of the ancestral Phoenician alphabet, zayin tsadhe sin and samech, and called them zeta ksi sigma and san, with only san in a different position in the sequence

Zeta is in the place of zayin in the alphabet, but its name clearly relates it to tsadhe, which is vocalized as some form of an emphatic ts

Such a pronunciation is also suggested by the consonant grid:

Voiced	Unvoiced	Aspirate	Sibilant
β b	π p	φ ph	ψ ps
γ g	κ k	χ kh	ξ ks
δ d	τ t	θ th	ζ

The symmetry of the grid requires zeta to be a ts

However Ζεύς genitive Διῖος corresponds to the Sanscrit Dyaus genitive Diwas

Here zeta represents the Sanscrit dy

The Latin JUPITER is from an ancestral dyus-pater, gen diowis: again dy

This same dy occurs in the present tense of verbs ending in a d followed by the present formant yo.

Thus the noun komide gives the root of the verb komidyo, to carry, which is spelt κομιζω

In these forms zeta is a development of a structural dy

Similarly verbs with a g root like κραζω for kragyo represents gy

The verb νιζω with a b root represents nibyo

The enclitic de particle is used to denote motion towards following an accusative.

Thus to Athens is Athenasde, yet it is spelt Ἀθηναζε showing a sd form.

The same occurs in words like ἵζω hisdo from the reduplicated ablaut root that occurs in the Latin sedeo, the English set

There is also ζυγόν which is Sanscrit yuga, Latin iugum, English yoke.

Even Celtic Cornish has iorch for ζορκας so this zeta represents a development of the ancestral y retained in the other Indo-European groups.

However only half the words beginning with y of the ancestral I-E became zeta in Greek, the other half became aspirates, thus hepar Latin iecur, hora, Sanscrit yama, English year.

Either there was already two divergent vocalization of the I-E y which came into Greek as different sounds, or the Greek diverged due to other causes in two different ways.

In either case this zeta must represent some development of that ancestral y, maybe something like the German ch

So zeta shows connections with at least z, dy, gy, by, sd, and some form of y

APPENDIX B HEBREW BIBLE “ANSWERED & SAID”					
Book	2 Qal imperfect waw consecs	2 Qal perfects	Qal imperfect + Qal perfect	waw consec + inf constrect	Participle + inf constrect
Genesis	9			4	
	18:27,24:50,27:37,27:39,31:14,31:31,31:36,31:43,40:18			23:5,23:14,41:16,42:22	
Exodus	2				
	4:1,19:8				
Numbers	4			1	
	11:28,22:18,23:12,23:26			32:31	
Deuteronomy	7				
	1:14,1:41,21:7,25:9,26:5,27:14,27:15				
Joshua	3			1	
	7:20,9:24,24:16			1:16	
Judges	3				
	7:14,18:14,20:4				
Ruth	2				
	2:6,2:11				
1 Samuel	24			2	
	1:15, 1:17, 4:17, 9:8, 9:12, 9:19, 9:21, 10:12, 14:12, 14:28, 16:18, 18:7, 20:32, 21:5, 21:6, 22:9, 22:14, 23:4, 25:10, 26:6, 26:14, 26:22 29:9, 30:32			21:12,29:5	
2 Samuel	8			1	
	4:9,13:32,14:18,14:19,15:21,19:22,19:44,20:20			13:12	
1 Kings	9				
	1:28,1:36,1:43,2:22,3:27,13:6,18:24,20:4,20:11				
2 Kings	4				
	3:11,7:2,7:13,7:19				
1 Chronicles	1				
	12:18				
2 Chronicles	2				
	29:31,34:15				
Ezra	2				
	10:2,10:12				
Esther	2				
	5:7,7:3				
Job	28				
	1:7,1:9,2:2,2:4,3:2,4:1,6:1,8:1,9:1,11:1,12:1,15:1,16:1,18:1,19:1,20:1,21:1,22:1,23:1,25:1,26:1,32:6,34:1,35:1,40:1, 40:3,40:6,42:1				
Song Solomon		1			
		2:10			
Isaiah	2	1			
	14:10,21:9	58:9			
Jeremiah	1			1	1
	11:5			44:15	44:20
Joel	1				
	2:19				
Amos	1				
	7:14				
Habbakuk	1				
	2:2				
Haggai	3				
	2:12,2:13,2:14				
Zechariah	9		1	2	
	1:10,1:11,1:12,4:4,4:5,4:11,4:12,6:4,6:5		4:6	3:4, 13:9	

APPENDIX C – Theodotian/LXX/Daniel “Answered & Said”

ἡ ἀπάντησις 22 times

ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 2:5
ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε LXX
ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 2:8
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς LXX
Not Present Theodotian Daniel 2:15
καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ λέγων LXX
Δανιηλ καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 2:20
καὶ ἐκφωνήσας εἶπεν LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 2:26
ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Δανιηλ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγει Theodotian Daniel 2:27
ἐκφωνήσας δὲ ὁ Δανιηλ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπεν LXX
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 2:47
καὶ ἐκφωνήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Δανιηλ εἶπεν LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ναβουχοδοноσορ καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 3:14
οὗς καὶ συνιδὼν Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν LXX
καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 3:19
καὶ ἐπέταξε LXX
καὶ εἶπεν LXX Daniel 3:24
Not Present Theodotian
καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 3:25
Not Present LXX
καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 3:26
ἐκάλεσεν LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ναβουχοδοноσορ καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 3:28
ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 4:16a
Not Present LXX
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Βαλτασαρ καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 4:16b
Not Present LXX
ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 4:27
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν LXX
καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 5:7
ἀπαγγεῖλαι LXX
καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 5:13
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν LXX
ἀπεκρίθη Δανιηλ καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 5:17
ἀπεκρίθη LXX
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Theodotian Daniel 6:13
ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν LXX
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Theodotian Daniel 6:17 (no LXX)
λέγων LXX 6:21
Not Present Theodotian

7:2 Not Present LXX or Theodotian

עֲנֵת מֶלֶכְתָּא וְאַמְרָתָא

καὶ εἶπεν Theodotian Daniel 5:10

Not Present LXX

עֲנֵי וְאַמְרֵי

ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπαν Theodotian Daniel 2:7

ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες LXX

ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ λέγουσιν Theodotian Daniel 2:10

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν LXX

καὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπον LXX Daniel 3:9

Not Present Theodotian

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες Theodotian Daniel 3:16

ἀποκριθέντες δὲ εἶπαν LXX

τότε ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ λέγουσιν Theodotian Daniel 6:14

καὶ εἶπαν LXX

עֲנֵי וְאַמְרֵי

καὶ εἶπαν Theodotian Daniel 3:24

Not Present LXX

Appendix D Hebrew Bible/LXX Answered & Said

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר

Gen 18:27, Numbers 11:28, 22:18, 23:12, Joshua 7:20, Judges 20:4, Ruth 2:6, 1 Samuel 22:9, 22:14, 2 Samuel 15:21, 2 Kings 7:2, 7:19
Job: 1:7, 1:9, 2:2, 2:4, 3:2, 4:1, 6:1, 8:1, 9:1, 11:1, 12:1, 15:1, 16:1, 18:1, 19:1, 20:1, 21:1, 22:1, 23:1, 25:1, 26:1, 32:6, 34:1, 35:1, 40:1, 40:3, 40:6, 42:1, Zechariah 1:10, Zechariah 1:12
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Gen 18:27, Num 11:28, Job: 1:7
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν Num 22:18, Joshua 7:20, Judges 20:4, Ruth 2:6, 1 Samuel 22:14, 2 Samuel 15:21, 20:20, 2 Kings 7:2, 7:19, Job: 1:9, 40:1, Zechariah 1:10, Zechariah 1:12
καὶ ἀποκρίνεται καὶ εἶπεν 1 Samuel 22:9, 2 Samuel 20:20
καὶ εἶπεν Num 23:12
τότε εἶπεν Job: 2:2
ὑπολαβὼν δὲ εἶπεν Job: 2:4, 32:6
ἔτι δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν Job: 40:6
ὑπολαβὼν δὲ λέγει Job: 4:1, 6:1, 8:1, 9:1, 11:1, 12:1, 15:1, 16:1, 18:1, 19:1, 20:1, 21:1, 22:1, 23:1, 25:1, 26:1, 34:1, 35:1, 40:3, 42:1
καὶ κατηράσατο λέγων Job: 3:2

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר Jeremiah 11:5, Zechariah 4:4, 4:11, 4:12, 6:4

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπα Jeremiah 11:5, Zechariah 4:11, 6:4
καὶ ἐπηρώτησα καὶ εἶπον Zechariah 4:4, 4:12

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר

Isaiah 58:9
εἰσακούσεται ἔρει Isaiah 58:9

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר

Gen 27:37, 27:39, 31:31, 31:36, 31:43, 40:18, Exodus 4:1, Numbers 23:26
Joshua 24:16, Judges 7:14, Ruth 2:11
1 Samuel 1:17, 4:17, 9:19, 9:21, 10:12, 14:28, 16:18, 20:32, 21:5, 21:6, 25:10, 26:6, 26:14, 26:22, 29:9
2 Samuel 4:9, 13:32, 14:18, 19:22, 19:44, 1 Kings 1:28, 1:36, 1:43, 2:22, 3:27, 13:6, 20:4, 20:11,
2 Kings 3:11, 7:13, 1 Chronicles 12:18, 2 Chronicles 29:31, 34:15, Ezra 10:2
Isaiah 21:9, Joel 2:19, Amos 7:14, Haggai 2:14, Zechariah 4:5, 6:5
ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν Gen 27:37, 27:39, 31:31, 31:36, 31:43, 40:18
ἀπεκρίθη δὲ καὶ εἶπεν Ex 4:1
καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Numbers 23:26, Joshua 24:16, Isaiah 21:9
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν Judges 7:14, Ruth 2:11, 1 Samuel 1:17, 4:17, 9:19, 9:21, 10:12, 14:28, 16:18, 21:5, 21:6, 25:10, 26:6, 26:14, 26:22, 2 Samuel 4:9, 13:32, 14:18, 19:22, 19:44, 1 Kings 1:28, 1:36, 1:43, 2:22, 3:27, 20:4, 20:11, 2 Kings 3:11, 7:13, 2 Chronicles 29:31, 34:15, Ezra 10:2, Joel 2:19, Amos 7:14, Haggai 2:14, Zechariah 4:5, 6:5
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη 1 Samuel 20:32, 29:9
καὶ εἶπεν 1 Kings 13:6, 1 Chronicles 12:18

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר לְאַמֵּר Zechariah 3:4, 4:6

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν λέγων Zechariah 3:4, 4:6

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר Habakkuk 2:2

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν Habakkuk 2:2

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר 1 Samuel 9:8

ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ εἶπεν 1 Samuel 9:8

וַתֵּעֲנֶנּוּ וַתֹּאמְרוּ Deut 1:14, 1:41

καὶ ἀπεκρίθητέ καὶ εἶπατε Deut 1:14, 1:41

וַתֵּעַן וַתֹּאמֶרְנָה

Gen 31:14

καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπαν Gen 31:14

וַתֵּעֲנֶינָה וַתֹּאמְרֶנָּה 1 Samuel 9:12

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγουσιν 1 Samuel 9:12

וַתֵּעֲנֶינָה וַתֹּאמְרֶנָּה

1 Samuel 18:7

καὶ ἐξῆρχον καὶ ἔλεγον 1 Samuel 18:7

וַתֵּעַן וַתֹּאמֶר

1 Samuel 1:15, 2 Samuel 14:19

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν 1 Samuel 1:15

καὶ εἶπεν 2 Samuel 14:19

וַתֵּעַן וַתֹּאמֶר

Esther 5:7, 7:3

καὶ εἶπεν Esther 5:7

καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπεν Esther 7:3

וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמְרוּ

Gen 24:50, 1 Samuel 30:22, 1 Kings 18:24

ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπαν Gen 24:50

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπαν 1 Samuel 30:22

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον 1 Kings 18:24

וַיַּעֲנֶהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר 1 Samuel 23:4

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν 1 Samuel 23:4

וַיַּעֲנֶנּוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ Ex 19:8, Joshua 9:24, Judges 18:14, 1 Samuel 14:12, Ezra 10:12, Isaiah 14:10,

Haggai 2:12, 2:13, Zechariah 1:11

ἀπεκρίθη δὲ καὶ εἶπαν Ex 19:18

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες Joshua 9:24

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπαν Judges 18:14, Ezra 10:12, Haggai 2:12, 2:13

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον Zechariah 1:11

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ λέγουσιν 1 Samuel 14:12

πάντες ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ ἐροῦσίν Isaiah 14:10

וַעֲנִיתָ וְאָמַרְתָּ Deut 26:5

καὶ ἀποκριθήσῃ καὶ ἐρεῖς Deut 26:5

וַעֲנֶתָּהּ וְאָמַרְתָּ Deut 25:9

καὶ προσελθοῦσα καὶ ὑπολύσει Deut 25:9

וַאֲמַרְוּ Deut 21:7, 27:14, 27:15

καὶ ἀποκριθέντες ἔροῦσιν Deut 21:7, 27:14

καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔροῦσιν Deut 27:15

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא Gen 23:14, 41:16, 42:22

ἀπεκρίθη δὲ λέγων Gen 23:14

ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν Gen 41:16, 42:22

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא 1 Samuel 29:5

ἐξῆρχον λέγοντες 1 Samuel 29:5

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא

Gen 23:5, Numbers 32:31, Joshua 1:16, 1 Samuel 21:12, Jeremiah 44:15

ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ λέγοντες Gen: 23:5

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες Numbers 32:31

καὶ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν Joshua 1:16

ἐξῆρχον λέγουσαι 1 Samuel 21:12

καὶ ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες Jeremiah 44:15

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא Jeremiah 44:20

καὶ εἶπεν λέγων Jeremiah 44:20

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא 2 Samuel 1:16

ἀπεκρίθη λέγων 2 Samuel 1:16

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא Song Of Solomon 2:10

ἀποκρίνεται καὶ λέγει Song Of Solomon 2:10

וַיַּעַן לְאִמְרָא Zechariah 13:9

καὶ ἔρω Zechariah 13:9

APPENDIX E Synoptic Gospels/Acts/Revelation Answered & Said

Matthew 3:15 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν.

Matthew 4:4 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· γέγραπται· οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.

Matthew 8:8 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος ἔφη· κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου.

Matthew 11:4 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ὃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε·

Matthew 11:25 Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἐξομολογοῦμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις·

Matthew 12:38 Τότε ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ τινες τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἀπὸ σοῦ σημεῖον ἰδεῖν.

Matthew 12:39 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωάνᾳ τοῦ προφήτου.

Matthew 12:48 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ λέγοντι αὐτῷ· τίς ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου;

Matthew 13:11 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὅτι ὑμῖν δέδοται γινῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται.

Matthew 13:37 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ὁ σπείρων τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,

Matthew 14:28 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν· κύριε, εἰ σὺ εἶ, κέλευσόν με ἔλθειν πρὸς σε ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα.

Matthew 15:3 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν;

Matthew 15:13 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκρίζωθήσεται.

Matthew 15:15 Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· φράσον ἡμῖν τὴν παραβολὴν [ταύτην].

Matthew 15:24 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.

Matthew 15:26 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔστιν καλὸν λαβεῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων καὶ βαλεῖν τοῖς κυναρίοις.

Matthew 15:28 τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· ὦ γύναι, μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις· γεννηθήτω σοι ὡς θέλεις. καὶ ἴαθη ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.

Matthew 16:2 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· [ὀψίας γενομένης λέγετε· εὐδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός·

Matthew 16:16 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος εἶπεν· σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος.

Matthew 16:17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· μακάριος εἶ, Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Matthew 17:4 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· κύριε, καλὸν ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι· εἰ θέλεις, ποιήσω ὧδε τρεῖς σκηνάς, σοὶ μίαν καὶ Μωϋσεὶ μίαν καὶ Ἠλίᾳ μίαν.

Matthew 17:11 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· Ἠλίας μὲν ἔρχεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα·

Matthew 17:17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἕως πότε μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετέ μοι αὐτὸν ὧδε.

Matthew 19:4 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι ὁ κτίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς;

Matthew 19:27 Τότε ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι· τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν;

Matthew 20:13 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐνὶ αὐτῶν εἶπεν· ἐταῖρε, οὐκ ἀδικῶ σε· οὐχὶ δηναρίου συνεφώνησάς μοι;

Matthew 20:22 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· οὐκ οἶδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· δυνάμεθα.

Matthew 21:21 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν καὶ μὴ διακριθῆτε, οὐ μόνον τὸ τῆς συκῆς ποιήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ὄρει τοῦτῳ εἰπητέ· ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, γενήσεται.

Matthew 21:24 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ λόγον ἓνα, ὃν ἐὰν εἴπητέ μοι καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.

Matthew 21:27 καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶπαν· οὐκ οἶδαμεν. ἔφη αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.

Matthew 21:29 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω, ὅστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.

Matthew 21:30 προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ εἶπεν ὡσαύτως. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ, κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν.

Matthew 22:1 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν εἶπεν ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λέγων·

Matthew 22:29 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Matthew 24:2 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐ βλέπετε ταῦτα πάντα; ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ καταλυθήσεται.

Matthew 24:4 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· βλέπετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ.

Matthew 25:9 ἀπεκρίθησαν δὲ αἱ φρόνιμοι λέγουσαι· μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν· πορεύεσθε μᾶλλον πρὸς τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράσατε ἑαυταῖς.

Matthew 25:12 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς.

Matthew 25:26 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· πονηρὲ δοῦλε καὶ ὀκνηρὲ, ἦδεις ὅτι θερίζω ὅπου οὐκ ἔσπειρα καὶ συνάγω ὅθεν οὐ διεσκόρπισα;

Matthew 25:37 τότε ἀποκριθήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγοντες· κύριε, πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν, ἢ διψῶντα καὶ ἐποτίσαμεν;

Matthew 25:40 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.

Matthew 25:44 τότε ἀποκριθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγοντες· κύριε, πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα ἢ διψῶντα ἢ ξένον ἢ γυμνὸν ἢ ἀσθενῆ ἢ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ οὐ διηκονησάμεν σοι;

Matthew 25:45 τότε ἀποκριθήσεται αὐτοῖς λέγων· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.

Matthew 26:23 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ οὗτός με παραδώσει.

Matthew 26:25 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· μήτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, ῥαββί; λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶπας.

Matthew 26:33 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐν σοί, ἐγὼ οὐδέποτε σκανδαλισθήσομαι.

Matthew 26:66 τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν· ἔνοχος θανάτου ἐστίν.

Matthew 27:21 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τίνα θέλετε ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· τὸν Βαραββᾶν.

Matthew 27:25 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἶπεν· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

Matthew 28:5 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν ταῖς γυναῖξιν· μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὑμεῖς, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ζητεῖτε·

Mark 3:33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει· τίς ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ μου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί [μου];

Mark 6:37 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· δότε αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους καὶ δώσομεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν;

Mark 7:28 ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε· καὶ τὰ κυνάρια ὑποκάτω τῆς τραπέζης ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ψιγίων τῶν παιδίων.

Mark 8:29 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπηρώτα αὐτοῦς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ· σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός.

Mark 9:5 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ῥαββί, καλὸν ἐστὶν ἡμῶς ὧδε εἶναι, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς, σοὶ μίαν καὶ Μωϋσεὶ μίαν καὶ Ἡλίᾳ μίαν.

Mark 9:19 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσομαι; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; φέρετε αὐτὸν πρὸς με.

Mark 10:3 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί ὑμῖν ἐντείλατο Μωϋσῆς;

Mark 10:24 οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτοῖς· τέκνα, πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν.

Mark 10:51 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ῥαββουνί, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω.

Mark 11:14 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγοι. καὶ ἤκουον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

Mark 11:22 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ.

Mark 11:33 καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν· οὐκ οἶδαμεν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.

Mark 12:34 καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν [αὐτὸν] ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.

Mark 12:35 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυὶδ ἐστίν;

Mark 14:48 Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὥς ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλθατε μετὰ μαχαίρων καὶ ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με;

Mark 15:2 Καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Πιλᾶτος· σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ λέγει· σὺ λέγεις.

Mark 15:9 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγων· θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

Mark 15:12 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· τί οὖν [θέλετε] ποιήσω [ὃν λέγετε] τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων;

Luke 1:19 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ εἰμι Γαβριήλ ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπεστάλην λαλῆσαι πρὸς σέ καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαι σοὶ ταῦτα.

Luke 1:35 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν αὐτῇ· πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοί· διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννῶμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ.

Luke 1:60 καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· οὐχί, ἀλλὰ κληθήσεται Ἰωάννης.

Luke 3:11 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ὁ ἔχων δύο χιτῶνας μεταδότω τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι, καὶ ὁ ἔχων βρώματα ὁμοίως ποιείτω.

Luke 3:16 ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων πᾶσιν ὁ Ἰωάννης· ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς· ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί·

Luke 4:8 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· γέγραπται· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

Luke 4:12 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι εἴρηται· οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.

Luke 5:5 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σίμων εἶπεν· ἐπιστάτα, δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιᾶσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματί σου χαλάσω τὰ δίκτυα.

Luke 5:22 ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς· τί διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν;

Luke 5:31 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς· οὐ χρειᾶν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἰατροῦ ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.

Luke 6:3 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε ὃ ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ ὅτε ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ [ὄντες],

Luke 7:22 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ ὅτι εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε· τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν, νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται·

Luke 7:40 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· Σίμων, ἔχω σοί τι εἰπεῖν. ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλε, εἰπέ, φησὶν.

Luke 7:43 ἀποκριθεὶς Σίμων εἶπεν· ὑπολαμβάνω ὅτι ὧ τὸ πλεῖον ἐχαρίσατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ὀρθῶς ἔκρινας.

Luke 8:21 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες.

Luke 9:19 οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπαν· Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἡλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι προφήτης τις τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη.

Luke 9:20 εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; Πέτρος δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Luke 9:41 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη, ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; προσάγαγε ὧδε τὸν υἱόν σου.

Luke 9:49 Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· ἐπιστάτα, εἶδομέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐκβάλλοντα δαιμόνια καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Luke 10:27 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης [τῆς] καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Luke 10:41 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ κύριος· Μάρθα Μάρθα, μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά,

Luke 11:7 κἀκεῖνος ἔσωθεν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπη, μή μοι κόπους πάρεχε· ἤδη ἡ θύρα κέκλεισται καὶ τὰ παῖδιά μου μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν· οὐ δύναμαι ἀναστὰς δοῦναί σοι.

Luke 11:45 Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ τις τῶν νομικῶν λέγει αὐτῷ· διδάσκαλε, ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζεις.

Luke 13:2 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· δοκεῖτε ὅτι οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι οὗτοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἐγένοντο, ὅτι ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν;

Luke 13:8 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε, ἄφες αὐτήν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος, ἕως ὅτου σκάψω περὶ αὐτήν καὶ βάλω κόπρια,

Luke 13:14 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος, ἀγανακτῶν ὅτι τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐθεράπευσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἔλεγεν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὅτι ἐξ ἡμέραι εἰσὶν ἐν αἷς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι· ἐν αὐταῖς οὖν ἐρχόμενοι θεραπεύεσθε καὶ μὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σαββάτου.

Luke 13:15 ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος καὶ εἶπεν· ὑποκριταί, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τῷ σαββάτῳ οὐ λύει τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν ὄνον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει;

Luke 13:25 ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν καὶ ἄρξησθε ἔξω ἐστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν λέγοντες· κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ.

Luke 14:3 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς νομικοὺς καὶ Φαρισαίους λέγων· ἔξεστιν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεῦσαι ἢ οὐ;

Luke 15:29 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἰδοὺ τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐντολήν σου παρῆλθον, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐδέποτε ἔδωκας ἔριφον ἵνα μετὰ τῶν φίλων μου εὐφρανθῶ·

Luke 17:17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ;

Luke 17:20 Ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως,

Luke 17:37 καὶ ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ποῦ, κύριε; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὅπου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοὶ ἐπισυναχθήσονται.

Luke 19:40 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κρᾶξουσιν.

Luke 20:3 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς κἀγὼ λόγον, καὶ εἰπατέ μοι·

Luke 20:39 Ἀποκριθέντες δὲ τινες τῶν γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.

Luke 22:51 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἔατε ἕως τούτου· καὶ ἀψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου ἴασατο αὐτόν.

Luke 23:3 ὁ δὲ Πιλᾶτος ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν λέγων· σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ ἔφη· σὺ λέγεις.

Luke 23:40 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτῷ ἔφη· οὐδὲ φοβῆ σὺ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ;

Luke 24:18 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἷς ὀνόματι Κλεοπᾶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· σὺ μόνος παροικεῖς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνως τὰ γενόμενα ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις;

Acts 4:19 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον πρὸς αὐτούς· εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ, κρίνατε·

Acts 5:29 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἶπαν· πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις.

Acts 8:24 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Σίμων εἶπεν· δεήθητε ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὅπως μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὧν εἰρήκατε.

Acts 8:34 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ Φιλίππῳ εἶπεν· δέομαί σου, περὶ τίνος ὁ προφήτης λέγει τοῦτο; περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἢ περὶ ἐτέρου τινός;

Acts 15:13 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγῆσαι αὐτοῦς ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων· ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου

Acts 19:15 ἀποκριθὲν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τὸν [μὲν] Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες ἐστέ;

Acts 25:9 Ὁ Φῆστος δὲ θέλων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χάριν καταθέσθαι ἀποκριθεὶς τῷ Παύλῳ εἶπεν· θέλεις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀναβὰς ἐκεῖ περὶ τούτων κριθῆναι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ;

Revelation 7:13 Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἷς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι· οὗτοι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς τίνες εἰσὶν καὶ πόθεν ἦλθον;