

analysis in order to get at their earliest strata. Significant advances have been made by Waitz,⁹¹ Schmidt,⁹² Cullmann,⁹³ Rehm,⁹⁴ Schoeps,⁹⁵ and others.⁹⁶ It is now believed that the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, the two major works making up the Pseudo-Clementines, go back to an early third century *Grundschrift* which is itself a compilation of various works,⁹⁷ the oldest of which is the *Kerygmata Petrou*, or the *Preaching of Peter*.⁹⁸

The Pseudo-Clementines include the following negative record about John the Baptist.

1. Rec 1. 60. 1-3. An argument is reported from one of the disciples of John that John, not Jesus, is the Christ. "Jesus Himself declared that John was greater than all men and all prophets," the argument goes. "If, then," said he, he be greater than all, he must be held to be greater than Moses, and than Jesus himself. But if he be the greatest of all, then must he be the Christ."⁹⁹ The author of

⁹¹Hans Waitz, *Die Pseudoklementinen, Homilien und Rekognitionen, eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, TU 25/4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904); "Die Pseudoklementinen und ihre Quellenschriften," *ZNW* 28 (1929): 241-72; "Neues zur Text und Literarkritik der Pseudoklementinen," *ZKG* 52 (1933): 305-18.

⁹²Carl Schmidt, *Studien zur den Pseudoklementinen*, TU 46/1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929).

⁹³Oscar Cullmann, *Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-clémentin: Etude sur le rapport entre le Gnosticisme et le Judéo-Christianisme* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1930).

⁹⁴Bernhard Rehm, "Zur Entstehung der pseudoclementinischen Schriften," *ZNW* 37 (1938): 77-184.

⁹⁵Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1949).

⁹⁶For further bibliography see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum, 1966) 1:62-63.

⁹⁷For a discussion of the sources making up the *Grundschrift* see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Qumran Scrolls, the Ebionites and Their Literature," *TS* 16 (1955): 335-72; also published in Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Missoula MT: Scholars' Press, 1974) 435-80, esp. 450. Georg Strecker, "The Kerygmata Petrou," in Edgar Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965) 2:102-27; "On the Problem of Jewish Christianity," in Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 241-85.

⁹⁸A discussion of the use of the *Preaching of Peter* in ancient times may be found in Joseph N. Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter: The Beginnings of Christian Apologetic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923).

⁹⁹*et ecce unus ex discipulis Iohannis adfirmabat, Christum Iohannem fuisse, et non Iesum; in tantum, inquit, ut et ipse Iesus omnibus hominibus et prophetis maiorem esse pronuntiaverit Iohannem. si ergo, inquit, maior est omnibus, sine dubio et Moyse et ipso*

the *Recognitions* disagrees with the argument and attempts to prove it false. Jesus is the Christ, not John.

2. Rec 1.63.1. The passage reports that Peter taught "the disciples of John not to allow John to be a stumbling-block to them" (*discipulos Iohannis, ne scandalum paterentur in Iohannem*).

3. Hom 2.17.2. The author argues that among men the inferior comes first, then the superior (Hom 2.16). "Wherefore, also, he who was among those born of woman [=John] came first; then he who was among the sons of men [=Christ], came second" (διὸ καὶ ὁ ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν πρῶτος ἦλθεν, εἶτα ὁ ἐν υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος ἐπῆλθεν) (Hom 2.17.2).

4. Hom 2.23.1-4. Simon Magus is considered to be the archenemy of Christianity and the most esteemed disciple among the thirty chiefs of John the Baptist. Shortly after John's death, Simon assumes the leadership of the Baptist group.¹⁰⁰

These passages clearly demonstrate a polemic against John the Baptist in the Pseudo-Clementines. Since the Pseudo-Clementines occasionally quote from a Shem-Tob type text (see pp. 205-206, above), it is hard to escape the conclusion that the polemic against John the Baptist in these writings originated in the author's reaction to a Shem-Tob type text. It can hardly be doubted that the type of text reflected in Shem-Tob's reading of Matt 11:11 is what gave rise to the argument recorded in Rec 1.60.1-3.

Different Meanings in Shem-Tob's Matthew

Some passages in the Hebrew Matthew differ in meaning from the canonical Greek. A few instances will be noted below.

1. In the Beelzebul (Hebrew: Baalzebub) controversy, recorded in Matt 12:24-28, the Greek reads:

Iesu maior habendus est. quod si omnium maior est, ispe est Christus.

¹⁰⁰Webb, who has written one of the latest full treatments of John the Baptist, does not discuss John's role in the Pseudo-Clementines. *John the Baptizer and Prophet*. Hollenbach recognizes Josephus as our only extrabiblical source for John. Paul W. Hollenbach, "John the Baptist," *ABD* 3:887. See also Hollenbach's treatment in "Social Aspects of John the Baptizer's Preaching Mission in the Context of Palestinian Judaism," *ANRW* II.19.1,852. Bammel recognizes the significance of John's negative position in the Pseudo-Clementines and gives the subject an interesting airing. Ernst Bammel, "The Baptist in Early Christian Tradition," *NTS* 18 (1971-1972): 116-18. For surveys of John in later writings see Carl H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York/London: Scribner's, 1951) 181-87; Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer*, 217-63; 363-84.

²⁴But when the Pharisees heard it they said, "It is only by Beelzebub, the prince of demons, that this man casts out demons." ²⁵Knowing their thoughts, he said to them, "Every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste, and no city or house divided against itself will stand; ²⁶and if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself; how then will his kingdom stand? ²⁷And if I cast out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judge. ²⁸But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you." (RSV)

The passage is commonly understood to mean: (1) Jesus rejects the Beelzebub charge as inappropriate to his ministry;¹⁰¹ (2) verse 27 refers to Jewish exorcisms. If Jesus casts out demons by the power of Satan, the same must be true of the Pharisees' own disciples;¹⁰² and (3) if Jesus casts out demons by the Spirit of God, in some sense the kingdom of God has already come.

The meaning is different in the Hebrew text because of two major variations. (1) Verse 27 reads: "If I cast out demons by Baalzebub, why do your sons *not* cast them out?"¹⁰³ instead of the Greek: "by whom do your sons cast them out?" (2) Verse 28 reads: "the *end* of [his] kingdom has come," instead of the Greek: "the kingdom of God has come."

The Hebrew text implies that: (1) Jesus accepts exorcisms by the power of Satan as appropriate. Turning Satan against himself is a sure way to bring Satan's kingdom to an end. Jesus asks why the Pharisees' disciples don't join in exorcising demons by the power of Satan. (2) Instead of using Baalzebub's power to defeat Satan, Jesus uses the Spirit of God, and this assures the end of Satan's kingdom. If the power of Baalzebub can bring Satan's kingdom to an end, how much more the Spirit of God.

¹⁰¹Cf. H. B. Green, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) 127: "If Jesus' exorcisms show him to be in league with the devil, he is using Satan's power against Satan's own agents, and this is a situation that cannot continue."

¹⁰²Cf. David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew* (London: Oliphants, 1972) 216: "The sons of the Pharisees (i.e., their disciples or pupils) would be the first to condemn the intransigent attitude shown to Jesus because it implied that they were in league with Satan."

¹⁰³Converse constructions such as this may be related to the targumic device of converse translation. See Michael L. Klein, "Converse Translations: A Targumic Technique," *Biblica* 57 (1976): 515-37. For other examples compare *el* in Mark 8:12 and *pars*, *el mi* in Mark 8:14 and *pars*, *δπισθεν* / *ἐμπροσθεν* at Matt 15:23^{ms}, *οὐκ* (Codex B) at Matt 12:32, and the absence of *οὐκ* in P⁶⁶ at John 9:27. For other examples in Shem-Tob vis-à-vis the Greek see 10:17 and 19:22.

2. The pericope on the Canaanite woman, found in Matt 15:21-28, presents the reader with a problem. Jesus' response to his disciples' plea to send the woman away is inappropriate. The text reads: "And his disciples came and begged him, saying, 'Send her away, for she is crying after us.' He answered, 'I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'" (vss 23-24). One expects Jesus to offer some justification for why he does not (or will not) send the woman away. But, the reason he gives is why he *should* send her away, namely he has been sent to the Jews, not the Gentiles. Jesus' answer is thus unresponsive.

This problem does not exist in the Hebrew text. In it the disciples ask: "Why do you abandon this woman who is crying out after us?" Rather than requesting Jesus to send the woman away, the disciples inquire why he does not give her some attention. Jesus' response is now appropriate. "They did not send me except to the lost sheep from the house of Israel." Jesus does not give the woman attention, because he was sent only to the Jewish people.

There are many such passages in Shem-Tob's Matthew where the Hebrew text differs from the Greek. The following is a partial listing of these passages.

- | | | |
|-------|--------|--|
| 19:6 | Greek | What therefore God has joined together,
let not man put asunder. |
| | Hebrew | Whatever the creator has joined together
man is <i>unable</i> to separate. |
| 19:22 | Greek | When the young man heard this
he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions. |
| | Hebrew | It came to pass when the young man heard
he went away angry because he did <i>not</i> have much property. |
| 19:29 | Greek | And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or
fathers or mothers or children or lands, for my name's sake,
will receive a hundredfold, and inherit eternal life. |
| | Hebrew | Everyone who leaves his house (and his brothers), also his
sisters, his father, his mother, <i>his wife</i> , and his children for my
name will receive (a hundred) like them and will inherit the
kingdom of heaven. |
| 26:13 | Greek | Truly, I say to you, wherever this gospel is preached in the
whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of <i>her</i> . |
| | Hebrew | Truly, I say to you, everywhere this gospel . . . is proclaimed
in all the world, that which this one has done will be said in
reference to <i>my</i> memory. |
| 28:6 | Greek | Come, see the place where he <i>lay</i> . |
| | Hebrew | Come, therefore, and see the place where the lord <i>arose</i> . |

In some instances, a difference between the canonical text and Shem-Tob can be traced to Hebrew variants. Whether the variants reflect scribal error,

committed during the transmission of the Hebrew text, or to a primitive Hebrew substratum, echoed by the Greek, cannot be determined at this point in time.

In 8:21, the Greek reads: "Another [ἄλλος] of his disciples"; the Hebrew reads: "One [אחד] of his disciples." The Greek corresponds to אחד in Hebrew, differing from Shem-Tob's אחד by one letter. The confusion of א and ה is notorious in ancient Hebrew manuscripts.

In 11:5, the Greek reads: "and the poor have good news preached [εὐαγγελίζονται] to them." The Hebrew reads: "and the poor are acquitted [מחפשים]." The Greek corresponds to מחפשים, differing from מחפשים by only one letter. A list of other examples is given below.

- 3:11 I baptize you *with water* (ἐν ὕδατι) unto repentance
I baptize you *in the days of* (בִּימֵי) repentance
Greek: with water = במים
- 5:4 Blessed are those who *mourn* (οἱ πενθοῦντες)
Blessed are those who *wait* (החוכים)
Greek: mourn = הבוכים¹⁰⁴
- 7:4 *Allow* (ἄφες) me to cast the mote out
Wait (כחך) for me . . . and I will cast the straw out
Greek: allow = דחר
- 7:6 Do not give *that which is holy* (τὸ ἅγιον) to the dogs
Do not give *holy flesh* (בשר קדש) to the dogs
Greek: that which is holy = אשר קדש
- 7:11 If you being evil *know* (οἶδατε) to give good gifts
If you being evil *come* (חבוא) to give good gifts
Greek: know = חבינו¹⁰⁵
- 7:29 For he was teaching them as one having authority
and not *as* (ὡς) their scribes
For he was preaching to them with great power,
not *as the rest* (כשאר) of the sages
Greek: as = כאשר
- 8:26 Why are you *fearful* (δειλοί)
Why do you *look* (חראו)
Greek: fearful = חיראו

¹⁰⁴For πενθεῖν = בכח see Gen 23:2.

¹⁰⁵Shem-Tob mss DE read חבוא.

- 9:34 By the *prince* (ἄρχοντι) of demons he casts out demons
By the *name of* (בשם) demons he casts out demons
Greek: by the prince = בשר
- 11:8 What did you go out to see?
A man clothed in *soft* (μαλακοῦς) clothing
What did you go out to see?
. . . a man clothed in *noble* (רבים) garments
Greek: soft = רכים
- 13:48 When it was full, they drew it up *on the shore*
(ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν)
When it is full they draw it *out* (לחוץ)
Greek: on the shore = לחוף
- 18:30 But going he *cast* (ἔβαλεν) him into prison
So he *brought him* (ויוליכו)—mss ABDEFG) to prison
Greek: cast him = וישליכו
- 22:23 On that day the Sadducees *came to* (προσῆλθον) him
On that day the Sadducees *met* (קראו) him
Greek: came to = קרבו
- 23:37 Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and *stones* (λιθοβολοῦσα)
those sent to her
Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and *removes* (ומסלקה) those who are
sent
Greek: stones = ומסקלה
- 24:6 See that you are not *alarmed* (θροεῖσθε)
Beware lest you become *foolish* (חזבלו)
Greek: alarmed = תבהלו
- 26:23 He who has dipped his hand in the dish with me *will betray me*
(με παραδώσει)
He who dips his hand with me in the dish *will sell me* (ימכרני)
Greek: will betray me = ימכרני
- 26:30 *And they sang a hymn* (καὶ ὑμνήσαντες)
and went out to the Mount of Olives
And they returned (וישבו, mss ABEF)
and went out to the Mount of Olives
Greek: and they sang a hymn = וישרו

- Do you think that I am not able to entreat my Father
(παρακαλέσαι τὸν πατέρα μου)
- 26:53 Do you not understand that I am able to meet my enemies (לפגוע באויבי)
Greek: to entreat my father = לפגוע באבי
- Come see the place where the Lord lay (ἐκεῖτο)
- 28:6 Come, therefore, and see the place where the Lord arose (עמד)
Greek: lay = קמד¹⁰⁶

Sometimes Shem-Tob's text provides suggestions for the cause of variation in the synoptic parallels. Again, it is impossible to determine whether true Hebrew variants stand in the background of the synoptic variation. Several examples follow.

Matt 12:50 μου ἀδελφός
Mark 3:35 ἀδελφός μου
Luke 8:21 ἀδελφοί μου
Shem-Tob אחי

Matthew and Mark, reading the singular, "my brother," differ from Luke who reads the plural, "my brothers." Shem-Tob can be either singular or plural depending on its vocalization, whether אחי "my brother" or אחי "my brothers." It suggests the possibility that the synoptic variation was caused by a Hebrew substratum, either written or oral, which received different vocalizations in the Greek tradition.

Matt 23:31 ὅτι υἱοὶ ἐστε
Luke 11:48 ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖτε
Shem-Tob שכנים אהם

According to Black (following Torrey) υἱοὶ ἐστε ("you are sons") and ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖτε ("you build") go back to Aramaic אהון בנין אהון ("you build") (understanding בנין and בנין respectively).¹⁰⁷ The variants may also be explained by Shem-Tob's text. If the reading is vocalized אהם שכנים, the meaning is "you are sons." If it is vocalized אהם שכנים, the meaning is "you build."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶In Jer 24:1 κειμένους renders מועדים.

¹⁰⁷Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 12-13; C. C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels* (New York: Harper, 1936) 104.

¹⁰⁸The subject pronoun following the participle is common in Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew. See 12:36, 14:2, 17:12, 18:10, 23. The variation of the roots בן and בנה occurs in Bab. Tal. Berakot 64a, a midrash employing an 'al tiqre reading based on Isa 54:13: "The disciples of the wise increase peace in the world, as it says, 'And all your children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of your children'." Read not 'your children' (בניך) but 'your builders' (בנין). The antiquity of the variant is confirmed by the occurrence in MT of Isa 54:13 and בניי in IQIsa. See further 185, above.

Matt 21:12 ἐξέβαλεν
Mark 11:15 ἐκβάλλειν
Luke 19:45 ἐκβάλλειν
John 2:14-15 εὔρεν . . . ἐξέβαλεν
Shem-Tob מצא

In the pericope on cleansing the temple, the three synoptics read "cast out." Shem-Tob reads "found." The Gospel of John reads "found" and "cast out." The duplicate form in John may be explained as a conflation of similar Hebrew words that stood in a hypothetical oral or written substratum of the gospel tradition. ἐκβάλλειν, "to cast out," corresponds to מצא in the hiphil binyon¹⁰⁹ and closely resembles Shem Tob's מצא, "found." In diagram form, the variants appear as follows:

מצא "found"	Shem-Tob, John ^a
ויצא "cast out"	Matt, Mark, Luke, John ^b . ¹¹⁰

The Divine Name

Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew employs the Divine Name, symbolized by ה (apparently an abbreviation for השם, "the Name"). The Name occurs 19 times in the text. (Fully written השם occurs at 28:9 and is included in the nineteen.)

Usually, the Divine Name appears where the Greek reads κύριος, but twice (21:12 mss, 22:31) the Greek reads θεός, and three times the Divine Name has no correspondent in the Greek (22:32; 27:9; 28:9).

The Divine Name occurs in the following situations: (1) In quotations from the Hebrew Bible where the MT contains the Tetragrammaton. (2) In introductions to quotations. For example: 1:22, "All this was to complete what was written by the prophet according to the LORD"; 22:31, "Have you not read concerning the resurrection of the dead that the LORD spoke to you saying." (3) In such phrases as "angel of the LORD" or "house of the LORD": 2:13, "As they were going, behold, the angel of the LORD appeared unto Joseph saying"; 2:19, "It came to pass when King Herod died the angel of the LORD appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt"; 21:12, "Then Jesus entered the house of the LORD"; 28:2, "Then the earth was shaken because the angel of the LORD descended from heaven to the tomb, overturned the stone, and stood still."

¹⁰⁹Cf. LXX and MT in 2 Chron 23:14, 29:5, 16. In Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew, the hiphil of מצא frequently occurs where ἐκβάλλειν stands in the Greek. See Matt 7:4, 5, 22, 9:25, and so forth.

¹¹⁰For the apocopated hiphil ויצא, see Gen 15:5; Deut 4:20.

The appearance of the Divine Name in a Christian document quoted by a Jewish polemist is interesting, to say the least. If this text were a translation of the First Gospel by Shem-Tob himself, we would expect to find *adonai* in the text where the Greek or Latin reads "the Lord." We would never expect to see the ineffable Divine Name used as a translation equivalent of κύριος or *Dominus*. I have no hesitancy in saying that the occurrence of the Divine Name in places where the canonical text lacks any reference to the Lord at all, eliminates Shem-Tob as the author of this text. *No pious Jew of the Middle Ages would have dignified a Christian text by inserting the Divine Name.*

The ineffable Divine Name is the most sacred word in the Jewish language. In medieval times, a debate arose about what to do with a heretical book that contained the Divine Name. T.šabb. 13.5 reads: "The margins and books of the minim do not save." R. José suggested that the Divine Name should be cut out and the rest of the document burned. R. Tarphon and R. Ishmael said that the books in their entirety, including the Divine Name, should be destroyed.¹¹¹

Shem-Tob makes it clear that the Gospel of Matthew is a heretical writing. In the preface to his Matthean text, he writes as follows:

The author, Shem-Tob ben-Isaac ben-Shaprut, says: I have chosen to complete this my treatise which I have called Even Bohan by transcribing the books of the gospel in spite of the fact that the books are forbidden for us to read, lest the disciples should come without having sufficient practice and should drink from those waters. Nevertheless, I have chosen to transcribe them for two reasons: The first is to answer the Christians from them and especially proselytes who speak in regard to their faith but do not know the meaning of faith and explain the Scriptures of our holy law in regard to that which is contrary to the truth and contrary to their faith. In this way glory will come to the Jew who debates with them whenever he captures them in their own pit.

The second is to show to the faithful the degree of defect in these books and the errors that occur in them. By this they will know and understand the superiority and virtue of our faith to the other religions. Since the greatness of the virtue of the word is not known except by an examination of that which is contrary to it, I depend on God, blessed be He, that there come from this nothing but good since I have aimed at that which is good.

Shem-Tob recorded the Hebrew Matthew, which he considered heretical, only because he wished to teach his people how to answer questions regarding

¹¹¹See Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 155-57.

the Jewish religion in face of opposition from the Christian public. Using the Divine Name in this heretical text could only have caused confusion and doubt in the minds of his people. They could only have wondered what they should do with it: preserve it, destroy it? That Shem-Tob created such a problem for his people is beyond belief.

The conclusion that seems inescapable is that Shem-Tob found the Divine Name already in his gospel text, having received it from an earlier generation of Jewish tradents. He *permitted* the Divine Name to remain in the text perhaps because he was unsure himself about what to do with it.

The occurrence of the Divine Name in Shem-Tob's Matthew supports the conclusions I reached in an earlier study of the Tetragrammaton in the New Testament,¹¹² basing my observations on the use of the Divine Name in the Septuagint and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some pre-Christian copies of the Septuagint, for example, contain the Divine Name written into the Greek text. These include: (1) P. Fouad 266 (=Rahlfs 848), 50 BCE; the Tetragrammaton occurs in Aramaic letters;¹¹³ (2) a fragmentary scroll of the Twelve Prophets in Greek from Nahal Hever (= 8 Hev XIIgr), 50 BCE-50 CE; the Tetragrammaton occurs in paleo-Hebrew letters;¹¹⁴ (3) 4QLXX^{Lev} (=Rahlfs 802), first century BCE; the Tetragrammaton occurs in the form of ΙΑΩ.¹¹⁵ In my previous study, I concluded that the New Testament writers, who had access to such copies of the Septuagint, may have preserved the Tetragrammaton in their biblical quotations from the Septuagint.¹¹⁶

Now Shem-Tob's Matthew testifies to the use of the Divine Name in the New Testament. As argued above, it is very unlikely that Shem-Tob inserted the

¹¹²George Howard, "The Tetragram and the New Testament," *JBL* 96 (1977): 63-83; idem, "The Name of God in the New Testament," *BAR* 4 (1978): 12-14, 56; "Tetragrammaton in the New Testament," in *ABD* 6:392-93.

¹¹³Françoise Dunand, *Etudes de Papyrologie* (Cairo, 1971). W. G. Waddell, "The Tetragrammaton in the LXX," *JTS* 45 (1944): 158-61. George Howard, "The Oldest Greek Text of Deuteronomy," *HUCA* 42 (1971): 125-31.

¹¹⁴Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8 Hev XIIgr)*, The Siyal Collection 1, DJD VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990). See the earlier work by D. Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," *RB* 60 (1953): 18-29; idem, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du text des fragments du Dodecaprophète*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

¹¹⁵P. W. Skehan, "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956*. VTSup 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1957) 148-60.

¹¹⁶See further P. W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14-44; A. Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint," in *De Septuaginta. Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox (Toronto: Benben Publications, 1984) 85-101.

Divine Name into his text. No Jewish polemist would have done that. Whatever the date of this text, it must have included the Divine Name from its inception.

One final note regarding the Divine Name: Shem-Tob's Matthew shows a very conservative attitude toward its usage. The author of this text was not a radical Christian, arbitrarily supplying his gospel with the Tetragrammaton. His attitude was one of awe and respect. In fact, his use of the Divine Name corresponds to the conservative practice found in the Septuagint and in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Other Interesting Readings in Shem-Tob's Matthew

As a conclusion to this profile, I append here other interesting readings in Shem-Tob's text. These, contrasted with the Greek, give further indication of the differences between the two text forms.

- 3:11 Greek He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire
Hebrew He will baptize you with the *fire of the Holy Spirit*
- 8:20 Greek And Jesus said to him: Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head.
Hebrew Jesus answered him: The foxes have holes and the birds have nests; but the Son of Man, *the Son of the virgin*, has no place to enter his head.
- 13:23 Hebrew [At the end of the parable of the sower, the following plus reading appears.]
As for the hundred, this is the one purified of heart and sanctified of body. As for the sixty, this is the one separated from women. As for the thirty, this is the one sanctified in matrimony, in body, and in heart.
- 19:12 Greek For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.
Hebrew Because there are eunuchs from their birth; *these are those who have not sinned*. There are eunuchs made by man and there are self-made eunuchs *who subdue their desire* for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; *these are those who enter into great prominence*.

- 23:33 Greek You serpents, you brood of vipers, how are you to escape being sentenced to Gehenna?
Hebrew Serpents, seed of vipers, how will you escape the judgment of Gehenna *if you do not turn in repentance?*
- 24:40 Greek Then two men will be in the field; one is taken and one is left.
Hebrew Then if there shall be two ploughing in a field, *one righteous and the other evil*, the one will be taken and the other left.
- 24:41 Hebrew [At the end of this verse the following plus reading appears.]
This is because the angels at the end of the world will remove the stumbling blocks from the world and will separate the good from the evil.
- 25:13 Greek Watch, therefore, for you know neither the day nor the hour in [Mss] which the Son of Man comes.
Hebrew Be careful, therefore, because you know neither the day nor the hour when the *bridegroom* will come.
- 26:23 Greek He answered them: He who has dipped his hand in the dish with me will betray me.
Hebrew He answered them: He who dips his hand with me in the dish will *sell* me. *All of them were eating from one dish. Therefore, they did not recognize him; because if they had recognized him, they would have destroyed him.*

Summary and Conclusion

A Remarkable Hebrew text of the Gospel of Matthew appears in the fourteenth-century Jewish polemical treatise, *Even Bohan*, authored by Shem-Tob ben-Isaac ben-Shaprut. Traditionally, this text was thought to be a translation of the Latin Vulgate. It was also equated with the Hebrew versions of Matthew published in the sixteenth century by Münster and du Tillet. In neither case is this true. A comparison of Shem-Tob's Matthew with the Latin Vulgate reveals its independence from the Vulgate. A similar comparison with Münster and du Tillet shows that they are not the same.

From earliest times, the Christian community believed that Matthew was written in Hebrew/Aramaic and translated into Greek. Papias (ca. 60–130 CE) was the first to make reference to a Hebrew Matthew, and later writers, such as Irenaeus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome allude to it or quote it. A comparison of these allusions and quotations shows that little or no relationship

exists between the Hebrew/Aramaic Matthew preserved by the Christian Church and Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew.

Jewish writings of the Middle Ages allude to or quote a Hebrew Matthew of the Shem-Tob type. These writings include the Talmud, the Book of Nestor, the Tol'doth Yeshu, the Milhamot HaShem by Jacob ben Reuben, Sepher Joseph Hamekane by Rabbi Joseph ben Nathan Official, and the Nizzahon Vetus.

A conclusion that can be drawn from these comparisons is that Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew predates the fourteenth century, being preserved primarily by the Jewish community.

Further evidence that Shem-Tob did not create his Matthew is as follows:

1. His text as a whole is unlike the Byzantine Greek text current in his day (or any Greek text known) and unlike the Latin Vulgate. If Shem-Tob had made a fresh translation, he would most certainly have rendered one of these text forms.
2. Shem-Tob's polemical comments, scattered throughout his text, suggest that he did not create it. He criticizes the text's selection of vocabulary and the mistakes it has accrued during transmission. He also bases some of his arguments on the text's unique readings.
3. His Hebrew Matthew has a sporadic relationship with some texts that were lost in antiquity, then rediscovered since the fourteenth century. These include Q, Codex Sinaiticus, the Old Syriac version, and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. Shem-Tob hardly had access to these sources.

Stylistically, Shem-Tob's text of Matthew is written in Biblical Hebrew with a healthy mixture of Mishnaic Hebrew and later rabbinic vocabulary and idiom. It is unpolished in style and contains a number of later scribal revisions. It is characterized by puns, word connections, and alliteration. These devices are numerous—the text is saturated with them—and belong to the structure of the Hebrew.

In regard to theology, Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew is heretical according to the standard of traditional Christianity. It never identifies Jesus with the Messiah. John the Baptist is given an exalted role (even takes on messianic traits), similar to the one polemized against in the Gospel of John and the Pseudo-Clementine Writings. Shem-Tob's text envisions the salvation of the Gentiles only in the Messianic era. It reflects a lesser disparity between Judaism and Christianity than the Greek or Latin canonical texts. Finally, Shem-Tob's text employs the Hebrew Divine Name, symbolized by "ה" (apparently an abbreviation for יהוה, "the Name") where the canonical version simply uses the word "Lord."

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