

View show with Effects

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I counsel thee to
buy of me gold
tried in the fire...
Revelation 3:18



Ozarks Hebrew Heritage Association

June 8, 2013

<http://hodf.org>

3

Last Night

- Some people whom I trusted mis-informed me... (I do not hold them accountable)
- I realized it was **MY** responsibility to know why I believe what I believe
- Put **all that I thought I knew was true** in the pile and started taking them out one at a time, realizing that 1Th 5:21 is the key for this covenant... (still ongoing)

The Plan

- House of David Fellowship (HODF.ORG)
- TWAS continued...
- Speed Bumps
- The Role of the Dead Sea Scrolls
- The Star of Bethlehem
- The worst case of all

The Plan

- **TWAS continued...**
- Speed Bumps
- The Role of the Dead Sea Scrolls
- The Star of Bethlehem
- The worst case of all

TWAS

- Colossians 2:14, 16-17
- Matthew 5:17
- Acts 15 with Intro to Speed Bumps
- But first, my understanding about the covenant we walk in and how that impacts me as regards understanding the Scriptures.

This Covenant

- Why am I going to all this trouble?
- I understand that the Scriptures are the revelation of my Heavenly Father, who sent His son to reveal how to walk.
- As we are seeing, there are obstacles that need to be overcome in studying His word.
- In addition, I need to understand about the covenant I walk in.

This Covenant

- To be in this covenant, I need to be conformed to the image of His son
- We see this in 1 John 2; Ephesians 1:4, 4:13; Romans 8:29 (verses tonight)
- In this revelation is the demonstration of what a **Spirit Led Life** looks like.
- This is always my goal, where my focus is, where my example is, etc.

This Covenant

- He gave us James 5:19-20 and 1 Th. 5:21 so we could get it right.
- The reason: He does the calling but we do the choosing **by our actions...** (tonight)
- That's why I never approach the situation as though I can't be wrong.
- So it's the Scriptures, not necessarily my English translation. (**Jeremiah 16:19**)

This Covenant

- As I go forward, I always keep this in mind...
- Luke 20:35 But they which shall be **accounted worthy** to obtain that age, and the resurrection from the dead...
- I want to be found **“Worthy”** and I know that understanding the revelation of the Scriptures is a key, as well as implementing the management tools He provided.

TWAS

- Colossians 2:14, 16-17
- Matthew 5:17
- Acts 15 with Intro to Speed Bumps

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- How did Paul's communities reckon time?
- In Colossians 2:14, what does the "handwriting of ordinances" *χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν* mean?
- Some translations of 2:16-17
- Who is the "no one" in vv. 16 and 18?
- Protestant Christian Scholarship

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Biblical
- Pagan
- None

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Jewish Believers after Yeshua continued to observe the Torah in it's entirety.
- New believers were considered a sect of Judaism and granted freedoms as such.
- How would this play out if they didn't follow any of the Biblical calendar?

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Paul in 1 Corthinians 5:6-8 [8]
“Let us keep the feast”.
- Why if shadows filled?
- Why if the “substance” is Christ?
- Why if Christ “fulfilled” the law?
- How can that verse mean “If you keep the feast, you lose your salvation?”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

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Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- In Colossians 2:14, “handwriting”
χειρόγραφον

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- χειρόγραφον [Fri] strictly, a handwritten document; in legal matters a promissory note, a record of indebtedness, bond;
- fig. in Col 2.14, not as the law itself, but as the record of charges (for breaking God's law), which stood against us and which God symbolically removed by "nailing it to the cross."

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Hymn *It Is Well* (1873-1876)
- My sin, oh, the bliss of this glorious thought!
- My sin, not in part but the whole,
- is **nailed to the cross**, and I bear it no more....

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

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Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Therefore let **no one** act as your judge in regard to food or drink or in respect to a festival or a new moon or a Sabbath day—
- things which are a **mere** shadow of what is to come; but the **substance** belongs to Christ. [NASB]

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Therefore do not let anyone judge you by what you eat or drink, or with regard to a religious festival, a New Moon celebration or a Sabbath day.
- These are a shadow of the things that **were** to come; the **reality**, however, is found in Christ. [NIV]

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Therefore, let no one judge your eating or drinking as part of a festival or a new moon or Sabbaths...
- which are a shadow of what is to come, but the Body of the Messiah. [LMM]

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Parenthetical statement **Removed**
- 16 Therefore, let no one judge your eating or drinking as part of a festival or a new moon or Sabbaths –
17 which are a shadow of what is to come but the Body of the Messiah. (Box)

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Protestant Christian Scholarship
- Journal for the Study of the NT, Supplement Series #118, 1996, pp. 125-127
- Author: Dr. Troy Martin, Professor of Religious Studies, Saint Xavier University
- *"By Philosophy and Empty Deceit"*
Colossians as Response to a Cynic Critique

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- He begins by asking the following question:
- “How did Paul’s communities reckon time?”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “Only by avoiding time-keeping altogether or by adhering to the Jewish calendar [could] the Pauline communities escape idolatrous alternatives.

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Other time-keeping systems name the days and the months after pagan deities and mark out the seasons by pagan rites.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “In contrast, the Jews distinguish the seasons by festivals that obviously have no pagan connotations. They recognize the months by new moons and name these months using agricultural terms.

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- They designate the week by Sabbaths, and beginning from the Sabbath, they number, instead of name, the days of the week one through six.
- The only options available to Paul and his communities are Jewish, pagan, or no time-keeping system at all, and the evidence indicates they opt for the former.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Journal of NT Studies, #42, 1996, pp. 108-109
- Author: Dr. Troy Martin, Professor of Religious Studies, Saint Xavier University
- *Pagan and Judeo-Christian Time-keeping Schemes in Galatians 4:10 and Colossians 2:16*

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “The references to time in Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians exclusively reflect the adoption of a Jewish calendar.
- He builds an elaborate argument based upon the festivals of Passover and unleavened bread (1 Cor. 5:6-8) to exhort the Corinthians, ‘Let us keep the festival’ (1 Cor. 5:8).”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “Although the temporal references in Paul’s letters are sparse, 1 Corinthians provides strong evidence for the Pauline adoption of the Jewish practice that marked time by festivals and Sabbaths.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- *Sabbath to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation*
- Editor: Donald A. Carson, 1982
- *"The Sabbath/Sunday Question and the Law in the Pauline Corpus"*
- Author: D. R. De Lacey

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “The judge is likely to be a man of ascetic tendencies who objects to the Colossians’ eating and drinking. The most natural way of taking the rest of the passage is not that he also imposes a ritual of fast days, but rather that he objects to certain elements of such observation.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- He concludes by saying...
- “Here again (Col 2:16), then, **it seems that Paul could happily countenance Sabbathkeeping . . .**”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- *God's Festivals in Scripture and History*
- Author: Samuele Bacchiocchi

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “Presumably the ‘judge,’ that is, the false teachers, wanted the community to observe these practices in a more ascetic way (‘severity to the body’ - 2:23, 21); to put it crudely, the false teachers wanted the Colossian believers to do less feasting and more fasting.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “By warning against the right of the false teachers to ‘pass judgment’ on how to observe Holy Days, Paul is challenging not the validity of the Holy Days themselves, but the authority of the false teachers to legislate on the manner of their observance.

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- The obvious implication is that Paul in this text is expressing not a condemnation but an **approbation** of the mentioned practices, which included the Holy Days.”
- **Approbation**: an act of approving formally or officially, official approval or sanction

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “Paul’s warning against the stringent ‘regulations’ of the false teachers can hardly be interpreted as a condemnation of Mosaic laws regarding food and festivals, since what the apostle condemns is not the teachings of Moses but the false teachers attempt to regulate their observance through the perversions that included a more ascetic lifestyle.”

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- Journal of Biblical Literature, #114/2, 1995, p. 255
- Author: Dr. Troy Martin, Professor of Religious Studies, Saint Xavier University
- *“But Let Everyone Discern the Body of Christ (Colossians 2:17)”*

Colossians 2:14, 16-17

- “The preceding grammatical and syntactical investigation of the clause **το δε σωμα του Χηριστου** [but the body of Christ] in Colossians 2:17 suggests that the practices mentioned in 2:16 are those of the Colossian Christians and not the opponents. . . . early Christians observe both feasts and Sabbaths.”

TWAS

- Colossians 2:14, 16-17
- **Matthew 5:17**
- Acts 15 with Intro to Speed Bumps

Matthew 5:17

- Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. [KJV]
[? interpret correctly ?].

John 8:31

- Yeshua, therefore, said unto the Jews that had believed in him (perfect), “If you hold to my teaching, you are really my disciples.” [LMM]

After the Resurrection

- Teaching them to guard [observe, obey] all that I have commanded you. [LMM]

Issue of Duration

- Matthew 5:18 For verily I say unto you, until heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, until all things [spoken of in the Scriptures] take place. [LMM]

Personal Comment

- What do some of the leading scholars of P.C. say about this?

7. A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching

“Our starting point for uncovering Matthew’s understanding of the passage must be the context in which he has placed it.”

7. A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching

It serves as a preface to the antitheses (vv. 21-48), which present Christ as the God-authorized interpreter of the law.”

6. Matthew 5:17-20

Form/Structure/Setting of WBC - Davies

- “Christ’ corrections of the mistaken understandings involve the presentation of the true meaning of the Torah, not its cancellation as might at first seem to be the case.”

5. The Broadman Bible Commentary of the Bible

- In contrast to the Pharisees, Christ brought out the true and deeper meaning of the Law.

4. The Greatest Texts of the Bible by James Hastings

- “It is not the Law or the Prophets that Christ proposes to abolish, but the traditional misinterpretations of these authorities.” (Quote of A. Plummer)

4. The Greatest Texts of the Bible by James Hastings

- “The πληρῶσαι of the law and the prophets is their fulfillment by the re-establishment of their **absolute** meaning . . .”
- (Quote of H. A.W. Meyer)

3. The Anchor Bible by F. A. Albright and C. S. Mann

- Much hangs on the meaning of the verb (to fulfil). The verb can and frequently does convey the meaning of 'to clarify the true meaning of something'.

3. The Anchor Bible by F. A. Albright and C. S. Mann

- Certainly, it can be argued that what Christ is doing in this legal material of Matt 5-7 is trying to restore the original meaning of the Law where this seemed to be obscured by the accretions of commentary.

2. Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 33A

“Do not think that I came’ presupposes the existence of the opinion that is denied.”

2. Word Biblical Commentary Vol.

33A

“Here it is fair to assume that Christ’s sovereign interpretation of the law was so out of step with contemporary interpretation that it seemed to many that he was going against the law.”

2. Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 33A

“It is best to understand πληρῶσαι here as ‘fulfil’ in the sense of ‘bring to its intended meaning’.

2. Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 33A

This view is consonant with the expectation that the Messiah would not only preserve the Torah but also bring about its meaning in a definitive manner (see Davies, Settings, 161-72).”

2. Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 33A

“In other words, the law, as interpreted by Christ, will remain valid until the close of this age.”

1. The International Critical Commentary

“The meaning of the words is clear. Christ did not come to overthrow the authority of the Mosaic Law, which was to be eternally binding upon the hearts and consciences of men.

1. The International Critical Commentary

So long as the world lasted its authority was
to be permanent.

1. The International Critical Commentary

Commentators have exhausted their ingenuity in attempts to explain away this passage, but it's meaning is too clear to be misunderstood."

Now. Lets re-look at Matthew 5:17

[LMM] Do not suppose that I have any intention of undermining the Torah and the Prophets [through misinterpretation].

Now. Lets re-look at Matthew 5:17

My purpose is rather to place them on a firmer footing by interpreting them correctly in terms of God's ultimate will as He originally intended for His commandments to be obeyed.

TWAS

- Colossians 2:14, 16-17
- Matthew 5:17
- **Acts 15 with Intro to Speed Bumps**

TWAS

- Acts 15 – What happened and what was at stake?
- Acts 15 – James delivers the final doctrinal reasoning for why the Gentiles coming in do not have to become proselytes first.
- Try to find it in your OT.
- Why?



The Plan

- TWAS continued...
- **Speed Bumps**
- The Star of Bethlehem
- The Role of the Dead Sea Scrolls
- The worst case of all

Speed Bumps

- When you come into this Hebrew Roots Awakening, you hope the degree of difficulty (speed bumps) for studying to get the truth is relatively minor.



Speed Bumps

- When you come into this Hebrew Roots Awakening, you hope the degree of difficulty (speed bumps) is relatively minor.
- But sometimes it might look more like this



Speed Bumps

- House of David Fellowship helps by identifying these and suggesting solutions
- We provide training in critical thinking
- We provide resource materials
- In the following slides we're going to mention several speed bumps and comment on them

Speed Bumps

- A-Train vs B-Train and the *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* by Emmanuel Tov (DSS)

In the New and the Old

- **Interpolations**
- A good example is 1Cor 14:34-35
- Not in Paul's original writing but added by someone at a later date.
- Certainly this did not happen to the Hebrew...

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE HEBREW BIBLE



SECOND REVISED EDITION

Title: Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible
Author: Emanuel Tov

MT:



LXX:



AS:



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7). One of the practical results of textual analysis is that it creates tools for exegesis.

The nature and procedures of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible are further defined in chapter 5A, while this chapter deals with other introductory issues. Furthermore, in section D of this chapter several basic concepts in textual criticism are defined. Section A attempts to demonstrate that involvement in textual criticism is imperative, not only in a comparative analysis of all the textual sources of the Bible (A1,2), but also when we consult the so-called Masoretic Text (A3,4).

A. The Need for the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible

Our first task within the present framework is to clarify the nature of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Even before we deal with definitions and examples we ought to express our views on some basic issues which require the involvement of textual criticism.

1. Differences between the Many Textual Witnesses of the Bible

The biblical text has been transmitted in many ancient and medieval sources which are known to us from modern editions in different languages: We now have manuscripts (MSS) in Hebrew and other languages from the Middle Ages and ancient times as well as fragments of leather and papyrus scrolls two thousand years old or more. These sources shed light on and witness to the biblical text, hence their name: "textual witnesses." All of these textual witnesses differ from each other to a greater or lesser extent. Since no textual source contains what could be called "the" biblical text, a serious involvement in biblical studies clearly necessitates the study of all sources, including the differences between them. The comparison and analysis of these textual differences hold a central place within textual criticism.

Textual differences are also reflected in modern editions of the traditional text of the Hebrew Bible, the so-called Masoretic Text (MT = \mathfrak{M}), since these editions are based on different manuscripts. We shall first turn to these *printed editions*, as they are easily accessible. (Bibliographic references to the printed editions are found on pp. xx–xxi). Similar discrepancies between the various ancient witnesses are even reflected in the modern translations.¹

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[Page 2] Since no textual source contains what could be called "the" biblical text, a serious involvement in biblical studies clearly necessitates the study of all sources, including the differences between them.

One would not have expected differences between the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, for if a fully unified textual tradition would have been possible at any one given period, it would certainly seem to be so after the invention of printing. Such is not the case, however, since all the editions of the Hebrew Bible, which actually are editions of \mathfrak{M} , go back to different medieval manuscripts of that tradition, or combinations of such manuscripts (cf. pp. 77–79), so that the editions also necessarily differ from each other. Moreover, these editions reflect not only the various medieval manuscripts, but also the personal views of the different editors. Furthermore, each edition contains a certain number of printing errors. Therefore, there does not exist any one edition which agrees in all of its details with another, except for photographically reproduced editions or editions based on the same electronic (computer encoded) text. Some editions even differ from each other in their subsequent printings (which sometimes amount to different editions), without even informing the readers. Note, for example, the differences between the various printings of the editions of Letteris and Snaith concerning the printing errors to be mentioned below, and note the Adi and Koren editions regarding some editorial decisions.² The edition of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) originally appeared in fascicles which were corrected in the final printing which carried the date 1967–1977. It was corrected again in the 1984 printing, yet even this printing contains mistakes, on which see below.

It should be remembered that the number of differences between the various editions is very small. Moreover, all of them concern minimal, even minute details of the text, and most affect the meaning of the text in only a very limited way.

The differences between the most frequently used editions of \mathfrak{M} are exemplified below.

a. Sequence of Books

The sequence of the books differs in the various editions regarding the position or internal sequence of the following books: Chronicles, the

3. "Until he receives what is his due" (REB), "until he comes to whom it belongs" (RSV and similarly The Jerusalem Bible), all based on a reading נֶבְרָח —thus already נֶבְרָח ON ; for a detailed discussion, see L. Priejs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden 1948; repr. Hildesheim 1987) 67–70.

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Some editions even differ from each other in their subsequent printings **without even informing the readers.**

3. In Many Details \mathfrak{M} Does Not Reflect the "Original Text" of the Biblical Books

It has become clear from the preceding paragraphs that one of the postulates of biblical research is that the text preserved in the various representatives (manuscripts, editions) of what is commonly called the Masoretic Text, does *not* reflect the "original text" of the biblical books in many details. Even though the concept of an "original text" necessarily remains vague (see chapter 3B), differences between the Masoretic Text and earlier or different stages of the biblical text will continue to be recognized. Moreover, even were we to surmise that \mathfrak{M} reflects the "original" form of the Bible, we would still have to decide *which* Masoretic Text reflects this "original text," since the Masoretic Text is not a uniform textual unit, but is itself represented by many witnesses (cf. pp. 21–25).

[Page 11 Heading]

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The Masoretic Text (M), sometimes called the “received text,” is strictly speaking a medieval representative of a group of ancient texts of the Bible which already at an early stage was accepted as the sole text by a central stream in Judaism. As a result, the slightly different forms of this text (often named the M group) were copied and circulated more than other texts. The final form of this text was determined in the Middle Ages, and it is that form which is usually called the Masoretic Text, while earlier forms found in the Judean Desert, lacking the later vocalization and accentuation, are named **proto-Masoretic**. In the first century CE the central position of the proto-Masoretic texts was strengthened because of the weakening or cessation of the other streams in Judaism. Because of its place in Judaism as the central text of the

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1. The Consonantal Framework: Proto-Masoretic Texts and \mathfrak{M}

F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, "Another Look at 4QSam^b," RQ 14 (1989) 7–29; M. Cohen, "Some Basic Features of the Consonantal Text in Medieval Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible," in: U. Simon and M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, eds., *Studies in Bible and Exegesis, Arie Toeg in Memoriam* (Heb.; Ramat Gan 1980) 123–182; idem, "The 'Masoretic Text' . . ." (see p. 22); M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Bib* 48 (1967) 243–290 = Cross-Talmon, *QHBT*, 42–89; Y. Maori, "mwb^{wt} mqr^{ywt} bsprwt ḥz^l," *Mahanayim* 70 (1962) 90–99; J.S. Penkower, "A Tenth-Century Pentateuchal MS from Jerusalem (MS C3), Corrected by Mishael Ben Uzziel," *Tarbiz* 58 (1988) 49–74 (Heb. with Eng. summ.); see further the literature on p. 233.

The representatives of \mathfrak{M} form a tight group which differs from other texts. Nevertheless, no special characteristics of \mathfrak{M} can be identified on a textual level, except for the accuracy and quality of its text for most of the biblical books. On the other hand, on a socio-religious level this text has a unique character, since at a certain stage it was preferred to the others by a central stream in Judaism (the Pharisees?). However, when evaluating the different texts one should disregard this situation, for the preference of \mathfrak{M} by a central stream in Judaism does not necessarily imply that it contains the best text of the Bible. Both the Hebrew parent text of \mathfrak{G} (below IIB) and certain of the Qumran texts (below C) reflect excellent texts, often better than that of \mathfrak{M} .

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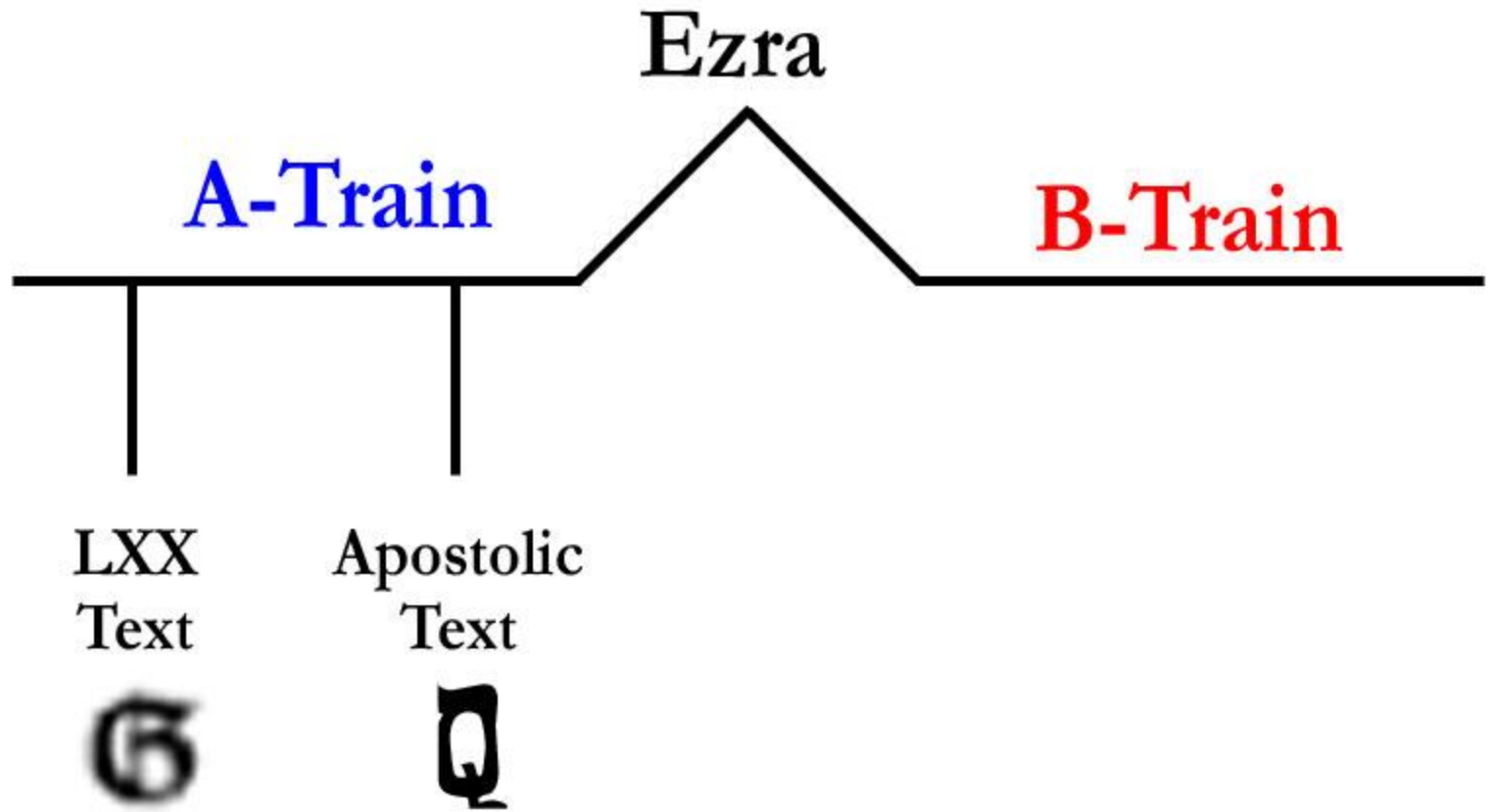
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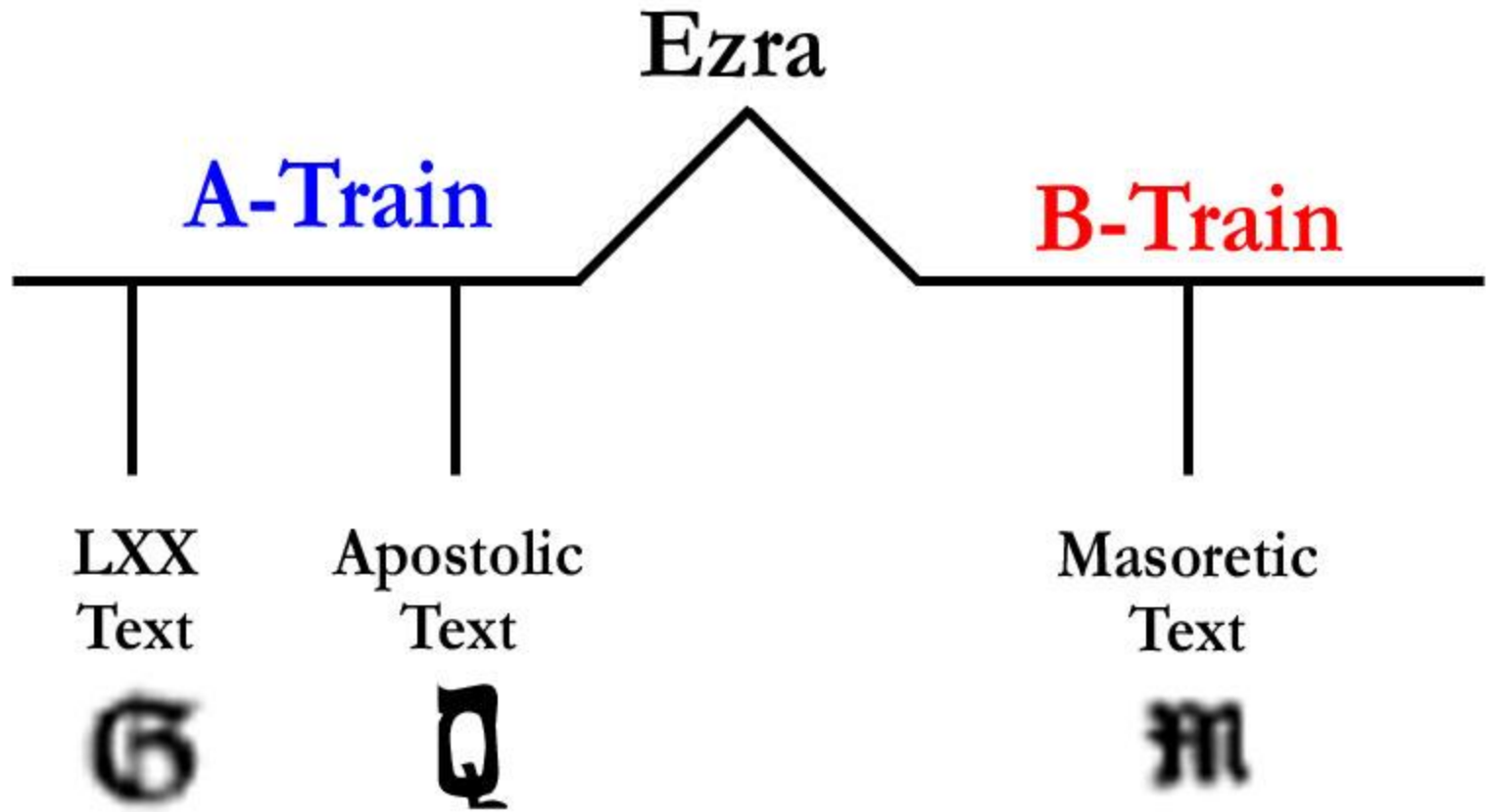
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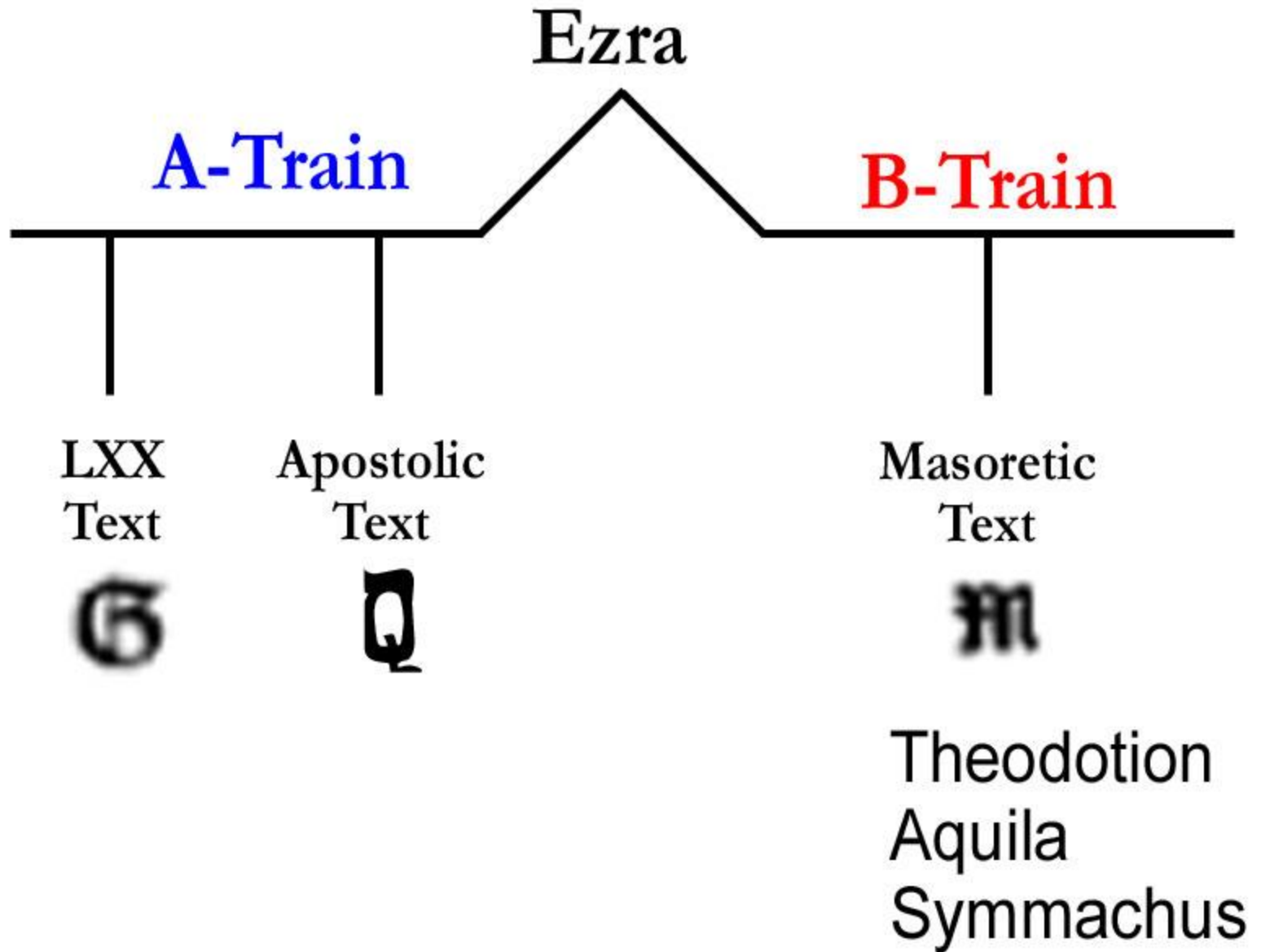
[Page 24] Both the **Hebrew parent text of G** and certain of the Qumran texts (**Q**) reflect excellent texts, often better than that of **M**.

Ezra









Implications

- From the man himself!



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Review

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much about the sea peoples and the battle led by the biblical prophet Deborah.

Chief Scroll Editor Opens Up

Hershel Shanks

More than 50 years after their discovery, the Dead Sea Scrolls are just about completely published. This landmark in learning is the occasion for an interview with Emanuel Tov, head of the scrolls publication team.

The Babylonian Gap Revisited

There Was No Gap

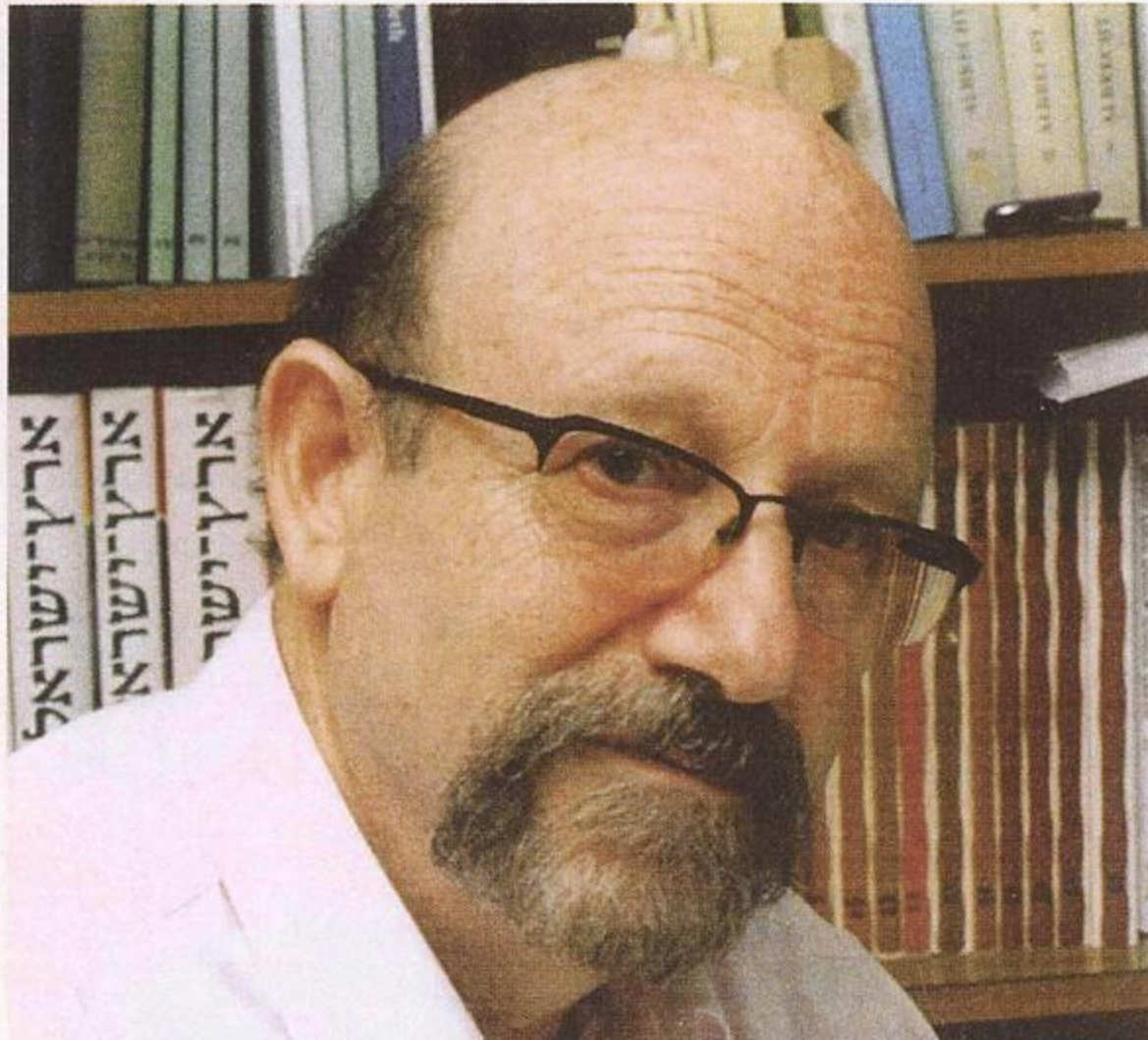
Joseph Blenkinsopp

Yes There Was

Ephraim Stern

Chief Scroll Editor Opens Up

An Interview with Emanuel Tov



Hershel Shanks: Emanuel, you've just announced the completion of the Dead Sea Scrolls Publication Project.

Emanuel Tov: Correct.

But you're not yet finished.

We are not finished. We are announcing the fact that all the scrolls that have been found are now in the public domain in scholarly editions. The fragments have been in the public domain as images [pictures] for some time. Now they are available in scholarly editions—that is, with one or two exceptions. There are 37 volumes in the DJD Series [Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, published by Oxford University Press; each volume includes photographs, transcriptions, translations and commentary on the scrolls]. The volume on Samuel, with Frank Cross [of Harvard] as the main author, is to be submitted soon. And a volume of Aramaic material is not out. All the others are out, all 37 volumes.

There was once a fear that if the pictures were released before the scholarly editions came out, we could be flooded with poor scholarship from people who would come in and publish

They are very important for our reconstruction of the history of the text.

What effect have the scrolls had on how important the Septuagint is, the early Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible?

The Septuagint, in Greek, has been recognized from 1850 onward as a major

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time,

Implications for the Septuagint

- The Septuagint has been recognized from 1850 onward as a major tool for the study of the Hebrew Bible.
- Scholars have tried to reconstruct the Hebrew parent text of the Septuagint, what we call the 'volage'.

Implications for the Septuagint

- Now, for the first time, we found in Qumran some Hebrew fragments that are very close to – almost identical with – the Septuagint text in Greek.
- These are fragments that have now endorsed the correctness of the reconstructions from the Septuagint.

Implications for the Septuagint

- We **now** know that we are entitled to reconstruct that Greek text into Hebrew. The whole process of translating the Greek back into Hebrew has been validated.

Implications for Hebrew Roots

- Hidden in Plain Sight
- Think of the LXX as Yahweh's divine action in preserving the **Apostolic Hebrew Scriptures**
- When you see an OT quote that doesn't work, then check out the LXX.
- When you see an LXX reference, think **A-Train Hebrew** used by the Apostles.

Speed Bumps

- A-Train vs B-Train and the *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* by Emmanuel Tov (DSS)
- Do you realize the **Implications** here for study?
- Acts 15 could never exist and the Gentiles could never come in unencumbered.

Speed Bumps

- *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts, Chapter 7: James and the Gentiles* by Richard Bauckham – Following picture is from p156

THE QUOTATION IN ACTS 15.16-18

Acts 15.16-18

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω
τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυειδ τὴν
πεπτωκυῖαν,

καὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα
αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω
καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν,

(17) ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν
οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τὸν κύριον,
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται
τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς,
λέγει κύριος
ποιῶν ταῦτα

(18) γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος.

Amos 9.11-12 LXX

Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ
ἀναστήσω
τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυιδ τὴν
πεπτωκυῖαν,
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω
τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς,
καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα
αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω
καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτήν
καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραις τοῦ
αἰῶνος,

(12) ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν
οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται
τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς
λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς
ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα.

Amos 9.11-12 MT

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא
אֶקִים אֶת־סֶכֶת דָּוִד
הַנִּפְּלֹת
וְנִדְרַתִּי אֶת־פְּרִצִיהֶן
וְהִרְסֹתִיו אֶקִים
וּבְנִיתִיהָ
כִּימֵי עוֹלָם:
12 לְמַעַן יִירָשׁוּ
אֶת־שְׂאֵרֵית אֲדוֹם
וְכָל־הַגּוֹיִם
אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עֲלֵיהֶם
נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה
עֲשֵׂה וְאֵת

Speed Bumps

- What does **House of David Fellowship** do?
- What does Jeremiah 16:19 look like?
- Romans 14:14 was translated correctly until the KJV (one exception). The 1611 KJV contained the '*'. Later versions removed it. Current readers will never know.
- Let's see the same thing in the Early Church Fathers writings.

Ignatius Magnesians 9:1

If therefore, those having been occupied in old things have come into a newness of hope, no longer sabbatizing but living in the observance of the Lord's day,...

Ignatius Magnesians 9:1

Κατα κυριακεν ζοεν ζοντες

Living according to the Lord's **life**

secundum dominicam viventes

living according to the Lord's []

The word zōēn (“life”) occurs in the oldest extant Greek text, published in 1646 by Isaac Voss (from *Codex Mediceus*—sometimes called the *Codex Laurentianus*—from the Medicean Library in Florence). Two years before, James Ussher published the first known text of the Short Recension from two Latin manuscripts, the *Codex Montacutianus* and the *Codex Caiensis* (now lost). This Latin text reads, *secundum dominicam viventes* (“living according to the Lord’s []”). In the common ecclesiastical usage of Ussher’s time, it could be taken to mean “living according to the Lord’s (day).” But Ussher himself, after Voss’s publication of the Greek text, accepted the Greek zōēn (“life”) as belonging in the sentence. When he published more on Ignatius in 1647, he printed the Greek text, the Latin text, and his own new Latin translation, in which he rendered the Greek phrase *kata kuriakēn zōēn zōntes* as *iuxtam Dominicam vitam viventes*. In harmony with the usage of many in his own time,

After Voss and Ossler, we find the word *zoen* ("life") printed in this passage in the Greek texts published by J. B. Cotelier (1724), A. Gallandi (1765), William Cureton (1845), C. J. Hefele (3d edition, 1847), C. C. Bunsen (1847), and J. P. Migne (who reproduced Hefele's edition in 1857).¹⁴ Most later editors omit *zōen*, because they "correct" the Greek by the Latin version, but mention it in footnotes.

When J. B. Lightfoot published the Greek text (1885) he left out the noun *zōen*, which he believed to be an interpolation, because it was not in the Latin manuscript. This Greek text as edited by him reads *kata kuriakēn zōntes* ("living according to the Lord's []").¹⁵ He was honest enough to state in a footnote that the Greek text (from the Medicean manuscript) contains the word for "life" (*zōen*), but in his accompanying English translation he rendered the passage as "fashioning their lives after the Lord's day."¹⁶

In the Greek text as edited later by Kirsopp Lake in the Loeb Classical Library, the noun *zōen* is omitted, nothing is substituted in its place, no mention is made of the omission, and in the accompanying English translation the passage reads, “no longer living for the Sabbath, but for the Lord’s day.”¹⁸ Will some future editor yet amend the Greek text by inserting the noun *hemeran* (“day”) into it?

Ignatius Magnesians 9:1

If therefore, those [] having been occupied in old things have come into a newness of hope, no longer sabbatizing [] but living according to the Lord's life, . . .

Ignatius Magnesians 9:1

If therefore, those [**Jews**] having been occupied in old things have come into a newness of hope, no longer sabbatizing [**observing the Sabbath with non-Yeshua halakah**] but living according to the Lord's life, . . .

Figures of Speech

- Matthew 6:23 But if thine eye be evil... (KJV)
- Deuteronomy 15:9 Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying... (KJV)
- The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nothing... (KJV)

Translation Issues

- Figures of Speech
- Interpolations – The original author didn't write these.

Translation Issues

- 1 John 5:7 For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.
- 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35 Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak...it is a shame for women to speak in the church.
- For both of these, evidence overwhelming...

Translation Issues

- Figures of Speech
- Ellipsis

Ellipsis - definition

- Ellipsis: The omission of one or more words that are obviously understood . . .
- [**by the listeners/readers**].
- Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God
- [**is everything**]. (KJV)

Translation Issues

- Figures of Speech
- Ellipsis
- Phrasing/Punctuation

Phrasing/Punctuation

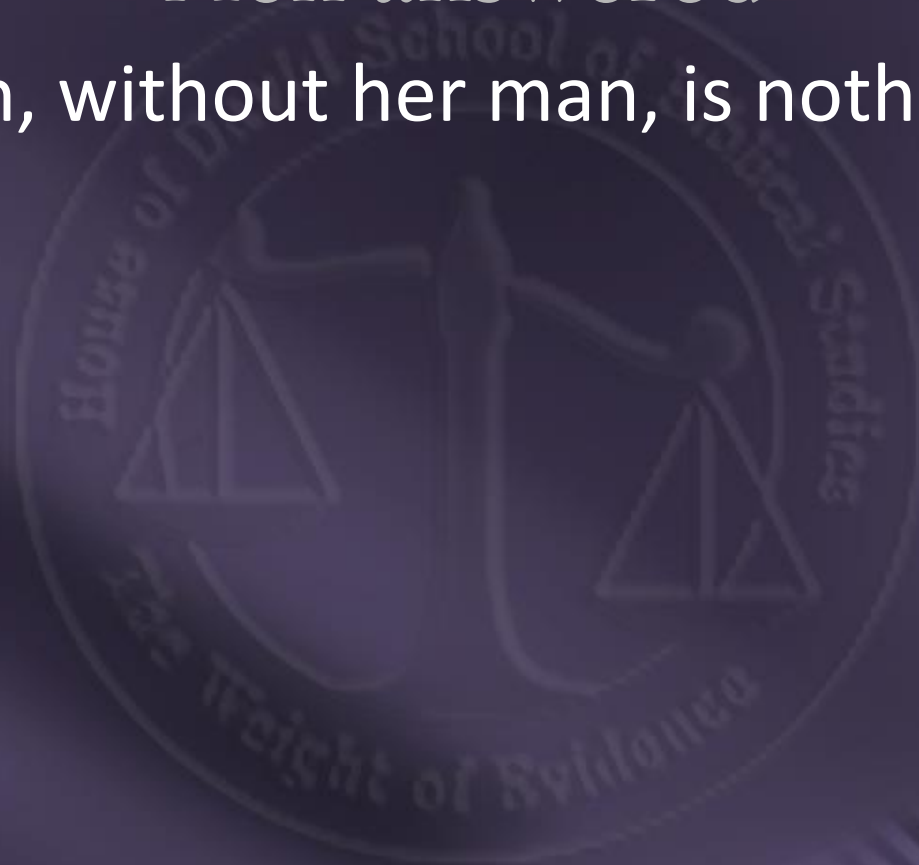
- Apply phrasing/punctuation to this six word phrase :
- Woman
- without
- her
- man
- is
- nothing

Phrasing/Punctuation

- 100 people surveyed
- 50 were men
- 50 were women

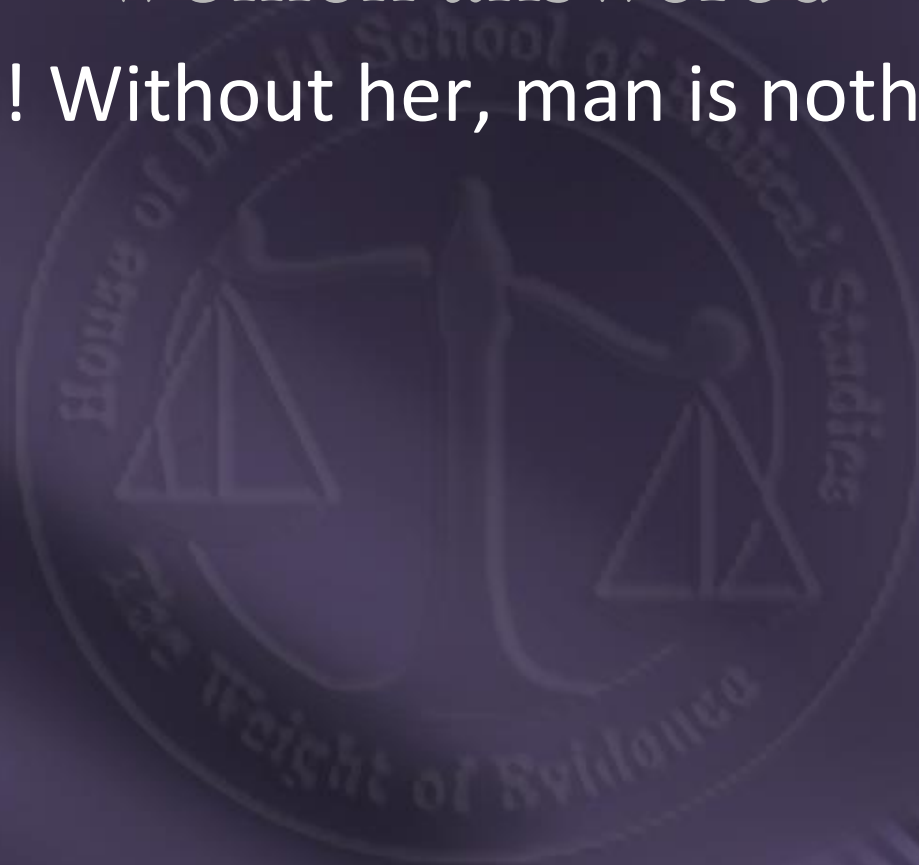
Men answered

- Woman, without her man, is nothing.



Women answered

- Woman! Without her, man is nothing!



Issues!

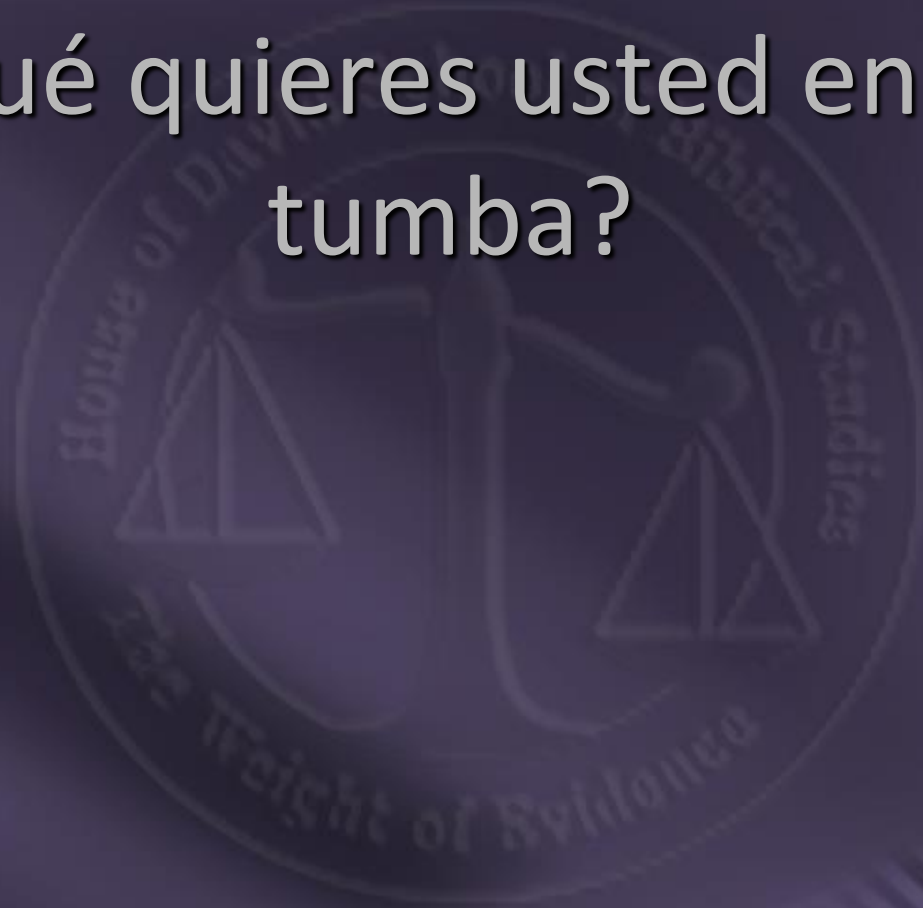
- Phrasing and Punctuation are important

GOD IS WHERE

- God is no where
- God is now here

Would the perfect translation
from the Original Text
make the difference?

¿Qué quieren usted en su tumba?



What want you on your
tombstone?

¿Qué quieres usted en su tumba?

What [do] want₂ you₁ on your
tombstone?

What [do] you want on your tombstone?

- This is correct English syntax and the perfect English translation of the original Text? Is it good enough?

No!

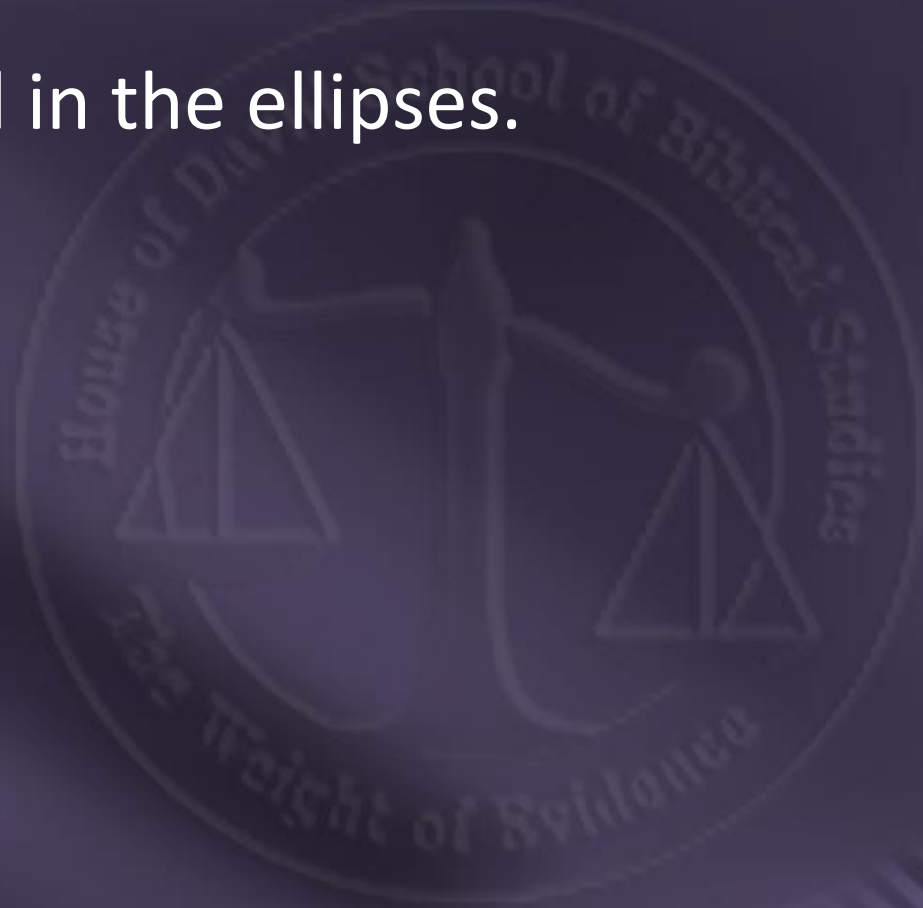


Why?



The ellipsis problem.

- Let's fill in the ellipses.



What toppings [do] you want on
your tombstone pizza?

What epitaph [do] you want on
your tombstone
after you die?

Which one is correct:
Your next meal
or
your last meal?

The three most important things to remember in studying scripture:

- Context
- Context
- Context

Translation Issues

- Figures of Speech
- Ellipsis
- Phrasing/Punctuation
- Agenda

Colossians 2:16-17 (NIV)

- Why do you have to lie to make your case?
- v17 These are a shadow of the things
- that were to come

Κ Ο Λ Α Σ Σ Α Ε Ι Σ .

τω ἐν βρώσει ^mἢ ἢ ἐν πόσει,
dige in meat or in drink,

ἢ σαββάτων· 17 ὅ^o ἄ^u ἢ ἔστιν
or sabbaths, which are

α τοῦ^p χριστοῦ. 18 μη-
[is] of the Christ. ²No

Colossians 2:16-17 (NIV)

- GNT Colossians 2:17 ἃ ἐστίν σκιά τῶν μελλόντων, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
- ἐστίν verb present act 3rd per sing [Friberg] 1. as predicate *to be*, to denote what exists.

Colossians 2:16-17 (NIV corrected)

- 17 Which are a shadow of things to come

The Data was Printed Wrong

- Professor Kepler 1571 – 1630
- Studied the movements of the stars
- 1609 – Published the first and second laws of Planetary Motion
- 1619 – Published the third law of Planetary Motion
- Note: NASA still uses these laws (principles) and (mathematical formulas) today

The Data was Printed Wrong

- Once he found these things out, what did this fine Christian man want to do?
- He wanted to find the star of Bethlehem
- He took his **published copy of Josephus** and determined that since Herod died in 4bc, he needed to begin looking for the star of Bethlehem between 4 and 6 bc.
- He failed. Why?

Josephus

- His copy of Josephus had a mistake.
- But first, who was Josephus?
- This mistake, not made by Josephus himself, played a role in casting the truth of the Scriptures into darkness for 350 years.

Josephus Antiquities

- Book 18, chapter 4, # 6, first line, the published copy says:
- “About this time it was that Philip, Herod’s brother, departed this life, in the 20th year of the reign of Tiberius, [fn]...”
- [fn] This calculation, from all Josephus’s Greek copies, is exactly right...

Fun with Math

- If Philip died in the 20th year of Tiberius, that is 34AD, after ruling 37 years, the math is simple:
- $34 - 37 = -4$

Problem Solving

- How was the problem solved?



JTS

- The Journal of Theological Studies, Vol.17, pt. 2, October 1966
- *The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great*
- W. E. Filmer



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**THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF
HEROD THE GREAT**

FOR many years the dates of the birth and crucifixion of Christ have been matters of controversy. The birth of Christ must have been before the death of Herod the Great, for Herod, on hearing that a child had been born who was to become king of the Jews, ordered the massacre of all male children under two years of age in Bethlehem. Now according to Josephus, Herod died shortly after an eclipse of the moon and not long before a Passover.¹ Since there was an eclipse of the moon on the night of 12/13 March, 4 B.C., which was exactly a month before the Passover, it has been widely assumed that Herod died in the spring of that year, and consequently that Christ was born at least as early as 5 B.C.

Within the possible limits for the date of the crucifixion, the 14th Nisan fell on a Friday only in the years A.D. 30 and 33,² and of these two dates recent opinion has tended to favour the latter. But Luke iii. 23 says that Jesus was 'about thirty years of age' when he began his ministry, and this could not have been earlier than A.D. 29 if we take A.D. 33 for the crucifixion. Since Jesus may have been anything up to two years of age when Herod died, we find ourselves obliged either to accept Luke's statement with an unduly large degree of latitude, or to question the evidence for the date of Herod's death as early as 4 B.C.

The Eclipse of the Moon

Professor J. Finegan in his *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, p. 231 (§ 365), quotes Emil Schürer as saying, 'Only on the night of Mar. 12/13, 4 B.C. was there a lunar eclipse, and there was no such phenomenon in 3 or 2 B.C. Accordingly the death of Herod took place between Mar. 12 and Apr. 11 in the year 4 B.C.' Reference to the English translation of Schürer's work confirms that he did make such a statement, but in the German second and later editions he added, 'Only in 5 B.C. on 15 Sept. and in 1 B.C. on 9 January did other lunar eclipses occur which were visible in Jerusalem. But these cannot be considered on account of the other data.'³ Regarding the eclipse in 1 B.C. he refers the reader to

¹ *Ant.* xvii. vi. 4 (167) and ix. 3 (213).

² J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, § 458, table 140.

³ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* 4 (1901), vol. i, p. 416, n. 167.

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F. Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi* (1880). Reference to this work, however, reveals that Riess believed that Herod did not die in 4 B.C., but soon after the eclipse in 1 B.C., because the other data, namely the numerous events that took place between the eclipse and the Passover, could not be squeezed into the four weeks available in 4 B.C. In other words, Riess not only fails to support Schürer's thesis, but flatly contradicts it.

If Riess's arguments were completely valid, we should be obliged to reject 4 B.C. altogether; but he overstates his case¹ and although it is conceivable that all these events could have taken place in a month, it is nevertheless much more likely that two or three months elapsed between the eclipse and the Passover. Three months are available in 1 B.C. and, moreover, the eclipse was total, as against only four digits on the earlier occasion.²

However, the value of the lunar eclipse as a useful piece of evidence is further reduced when it is realized that yet another eclipse took place on the evening of 29 December, 1 B.C.,³ which fell three months before a Passover, that of A.D. 1. This may have been overlooked, because its midpoint occurred shortly before the moon rose at Jerusalem; but since its magnitude was seven digits, it would still have been visible during the early evening when people would have been likely to notice it.

Thus, so far as the evidence of lunar eclipses goes, Herod may have died in either of the years 4 or 1 B.C., or even in A.D. 1.

The Megillat Ta'anit

Before going on to consider the historical background in more detail, it will be convenient at this stage to mention the evidence provided by the *Megillat Ta'anit*, a Jewish list of days on which, by reason of notable events associated with them, the Jews were not allowed to fast. The list was compiled shortly before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, and the reason for the holiday is given in every case but two. S. Zeitlin explains that 'undoubtedly the chronicler's silence in these instances is due to their being recently instituted holidays *pro tempore*. The incidents being well known to all, it was not necessary to add any explanations.' According to Jewish tradition these holidays, which fell on 7 Kislev and 2 Shebat, commemorated the death of Herod and the death of Jannai, both kings who had died within recent memory and whom the Jews hated.

Now 7 Kislev, which the Jewish commentator actually preferred to associate with Herod, fell earlier in the year than any of the above three

¹ See Schegg, *Das Todesjahr des Königs Herodes* (1882).

² F. K. Ginzel, *Kanon der Sonnen und Mondfinsternisse* (1899), p. 146, nos. 960 and 962.

³ S. Zeitlin, *Megillat Ta'anit*, p. 100.

lunar eclipses, and for this reason it must be ruled out. But 2 Shebat, although it fell before the eclipse in 4 B.C., occurred fifteen days after each of the eclipses in 1 B.C. In view of the serious deterioration in Herod's health which Josephus says set in immediately after the eclipse,¹ it does not seem likely that he could have lived much longer than the fortnight that this allows. If, then, there is any truth in the Jewish tradition, it would rule out 4 B.C., but support either of the two later years, 1 B.C. or A.D. 1, as the date of Herod's death.

Herod's Accession

The principal historical evidence for the date of Herod's death is provided by Josephus in two statements in which he says that he reigned thirty-four years from the death of his predecessor Antigonus, but thirty-seven years from the time when he was declared king by the Romans.² It is therefore important to establish precisely these two dates for his accession. Regarding his appointment in Rome Josephus says: 'Thus did this man receive the kingdom, having obtained it on the hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Gaius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio the first time.'³ This makes it 40 B.C., but in this he is contradicted by Appian, who mentions Herod's appointment in a context that can be dated from Dio's Roman History to 39 B.C.⁴

Following his appointment, Herod had to fight three years for his kingdom against Antigonus who was ruling in Jerusalem. Finally, with the help of the Roman general Sosius, he took the city, says Josephus, 'when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome, on the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time'.⁵

The consular dating gives 37 B.C., but this does not agree with what follows: Pompey captured Jerusalem in 63 B.C., and twenty-seven years later would bring us to 36, not to 37 B.C. The twenty-seven years might well be rejected if it stood alone, but Josephus states that on both occasions Jerusalem was taken not only on the same fast day, that is the same calendar date, but also on the same day; that appears to mean the same day of the week. Now 27 years is almost exactly 334 lunar months, and 334 lunations require 9,863 days, 5¼ hours. Since 9,863 days is

¹ *Ant.* xvii. vi. 5 (168).

² *Ant.* xvii. xiv. 5 (389).

³ *Ant.* xiv. xvi. 4 (487).

⁴ *Ant.* xvii. viii. 1 (188); *War* i. xxxiii. 8 (665).

⁵ Appian, *Civil Wars*, v. 75 (chap. viii).

BT
see
p 287

The Megillat Ta'anit

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an error. It seems that a figure has been dropped, and that the text should probably read the 22nd year of Tiberius. The chapter in question begins by telling us that Vitellius, 'a man that had been consul, became president of Syria and visited Jerusalem at the time of the Passover. Vitellius was consul in A.D. 34, so he could not have arrived in Jerusalem until the spring of 35, before going on to Antioch. During that year we are told that he engineered a war to drive the Parthians out of Armenia. In the following year he met Artabanus, king of Parthia, on the Euphrates and negotiated a peace.¹ It was about this time, we are told, that Philip died. Now if he reigned thirty-seven years ending in A.D. 36, his reign must have begun in 1 B.C., the year that we have already found to be that of Herod's death, following which Philip was made tetrarch by the emperor Augustus in Rome.

Now the 20th year of Tiberius ended in August 34, while Vitellius was still consul in Rome, so this date cannot be right. The 22nd year, however, would be correct, and in this connexion F. Riess² quotes the Franciscan Molkenbuhr³ as saying that he had seen early copies of Josephus, one a Parisian copy dated 1517 and another Venetian copy dated 1481, in which the text reads 'the 22nd year of Tiberius'. If this could be verified, it would not only clear up a difficult passage in Josephus, but make it difficult to argue from this text that Herod died in 4 B.C.

Conclusion

Josephus provides a great deal of chronological material regarding the reign of Herod, but owing partly to errors and partly to ambiguities, it is possible to correlate all the data with two quite different chronologies. Some of the evidences that have been regarded as conclusively in favour of 4 B.C. as the date of Herod's death, such as the lunar eclipse, are seen to be entirely neutral. There are, of course, weaknesses on both sides, but it is submitted that Schürer's dates for the accession of Herod in 40 or 37 B.C. cannot be upheld, and since it is impossible to accept parts of both chronologies, the whole of his chronology must be rejected. If, as seems likely, Herod's accession was one year later, this would lead to the conclusion that he died in January, 1 B.C. W. E. FILMER

¹ *C.A.H.* x, pp. 748 f.; *Ant.* xviii. iv. 2-5 (88-105).

² F. Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 54.

³ *Dissert. critica de annis quibus Christus est natus* (Monasterii, 1798), p. 135.

'ECSTATIC UTTERANCE' (N.E.B.)?

IN 1 Cor. xii-xiv the New English Bible has 'ecstatic utterance' or a similar phrase using the word 'ecstatic' for what is commonly known as speaking in tongues. In so translating, the N.E.B. reflects an almost universal view that at least in 1 Corinthians (if not in Acts) speaking in tongues or glossolalia means 'the broken speech of persons in religious ecstasy' either in 'antiquated, foreign, unintelligible, mysterious utterances' or in 'marvelous, heavenly languages'.¹ The primary concern of translators should be to convey the intended meaning of the writer. In the present case—whether or not the glossolalia described in the New Testament was indeed similar to the ecstatic speech found in Hellenistic religions and possibly in Old Testament prophetism—the Apostle Paul does not look upon or describe the phenomenon as 'ecstatic utterance', but as the miraculously given ability to speak a human language foreign to the speaker. That this was Paul's view was briefly argued by J. G. Davies in the *Journal* some years ago.² Many older commentators who accepted the miraculous element in the Bible at face value and who wrote before the rise of the history-of-religions approach argued for this position. But the N.E.B. translation and the agreement of practically all modern commentators on the ecstatic interpretation call for a restatement of the opposite viewpoint with considerably more argumentation than Davies supplied.

At the outset there is presumptive evidence that Paul as well as Luke viewed tongues as bona fide foreign languages. First, throughout the New Testament and Greek literature generally, *tongue* frequently refers to meaningful human speech, that is, language currently used by part of the human race. Although *γλῶσσα* could mean archaic or mysterious (e.g., oracular) expressions, to say that the word became a technical term for such expressions is an overstatement. The use of the term for understandable language far exceeds its use for obscure speech, especially in biblical Greek. According to the concordance of Hatch and Redpath, *γλῶσσα* occurs about thirty times in scattered places throughout the Septuagint in the sense of normal language. There are similar references in the New Testament. Outside of the passages in question (Acts, 1 Cor.) biblical Greek contains only two examples of *γλῶσσα* with

¹ Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1957), s.v. *γλῶσσα* 3a.

² *J.T.S.* n.s. iii (1952), pp. 228-31. Davies put too much weight on the argument that Luke makes Pentecost reverse Babel, so that Luke must mean tongues as foreign languages.

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post-biblical קָרַח have the same meaning. The root is not found in biblical Hebrew, but the adjective קָרַח 'crushed' and the noun קָרַח 'crushing' occur.²

Verses 9b-10 may accordingly be translated as follows:

On (every) sand-flat shall they graze,
and on every sand-dune shall be their pasture;
They shall neither hunger nor thirst,
neither shall scorching wind nor sun strike them,
For he who has compassion upon them shall lead them,
and by springs of water shall he guide them.

D. WINTON THOMAS

THE DATE OF HEROD'S DEATH

HISTORIANS and works of reference have long accepted the view that Herod of Judaea, surnamed the Great, died in the spring of 4 B.C.³ Recently, however, this date has been called in question by W. E. Filmer.⁴ Lest another such attempt ever be made to deny it, the evidence that Herod died in 5/4 B.C. will here be set out in detail. It will also be suggested that the precise date need not be March/April 4 B.C., as is normally assumed, but may instead be December 5 B.C.

Filmer rests his case for rejecting 4 B.C. upon the dates of Herod's appointment in Rome as king of Judaea and of his capture of Jerusalem: the dates are not 40 and 37 B.C., as is commonly held, but 39 and 36.5 Since Josephus states that Herod reigned thirty-seven years from his initial appointment and thirty-four from his final capture of Jerusalem,⁵ he will have died c. 2 B.C. Filmer argues from Josephus' method of reckoning reign-lengths, combined with the fact that an eclipse of the moon preceded Herod's death, that the year was in fact 1 B.C.⁷

The problem of the dating of Herod's appointment and of his taking possession of his capital city will be ignored here. Even if these two dates

¹ M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, etc.*, p. 307.

² Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Heb. and Eng. Lex. of the O.T.*, p. 194b.

³ Thus, to cite seven works almost at random, F. de Saulcy, *Histoire d'Hérode* (1867), pp. 3, 345; F. K. Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse* (1899), pp. 195 f.; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, i (1901), pp. 415 ff.; F. Boll, P-W vi (1909), col. 2359; W. Otto, P-W Supp. ii (1913), col. 145; A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (1938), pp. 151, 262 f.; *P.I.R.*² H 153.

⁴ 'The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great', *J.T.S. N.S.* xvii (1966), pp. 283 ff.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 283 ff.

⁶ *War*, i. 665; *Ant.* xvii. 191.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 283 f., 291 ff.

could be determined exactly and with certainty, and even if Josephus' method of calculating reign-lengths were both fully known and completely consistent, it could not simply be assumed without argument that he never made a mistake. The evidence which will be discussed here falls (except for one item) into two categories: the evidence that Herod's successors all reckoned their reigns as beginning in 5/4 B.C.; and the synchronisms with events datable in the wider context of the history of the Roman empire which are provided by Josephus' narrative of the circumstances attending Herod's death.

Archelaus was deposed from the throne of Judaea and banished to Gaul in A.D. 6,¹ when he was in the tenth year of his reign.² Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and the Peraea, lost his tetrarchy during the second year of the reign of the emperor Gaius (March 38 to March 39),³ while coins survive which were minted in his forty-third year as ruler.⁴ The end of Philip's reign of thirty-seven years is assigned by Josephus to the twentieth year of Tiberius, i.e. to 33/34.⁵ Calculation backwards demonstrates that all three began their reigns in 5 or in 4 B.C. Hence it is to be inferred that Herod's death occurred in one of these years: Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip reckoned their reigns either from their father's decease or from Augustus' confirmation of his last will.

Filmer denies the legitimacy of this deduction. In the case of Philip he claims that the context shows that the date stated by the received text of the *Jewish Antiquities* is wrong: that Philip died in Tiberius' twenty-second year (not in his twentieth) is the reading of the Latin translation (of the mid-sixth century or thereabouts), is reported as the reading of a Greek manuscript no longer extant, and ought to be accepted as what Josephus wrote.⁶ But the chronological confusions of *Antiquities* xviii deprive of all its force the argument that the context requires the acceptance of a reading which is comparatively ill-attested.⁷ Moreover,

¹ Dio, lv. 27. 6; cf. *P.I.R.*² A 1025.

² *Ant.* xvii. 342; *Life*, 5. *War*, ii. 111, however, has the ninth year.

³ *Ant.* xviii. 252; cf. 238, 256; xix. 351.

⁴ *Br. Mus. Cat., Palestine*, pp. xcvi, 230, no. 10; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*² (1947), pp. 19, 45.

⁵ *Ant.* xviii. 106. For a coin of Philip's thirty-seventh year see *Br. Mus. Cat., Palestine*, p. 228, no. 5.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 297 f.; cf. Niese, ad loc.

⁷ *Ant.* xviii has the following items in ostensible temporal order:

- (a) the arrival of Pilate in Judaea (35)—late in 26 (89);
- (b) the death of Germanicus (53 f.)—in 19 (*P.I.R.*² J 221);
- (c) the scandal at Rome involving the priests of Isis and the expulsion of the Jews from the city (65 ff.)—in 19 (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 85);
- (d) Vitellius' sending of Pilate to Rome—during the winter of 36/37 (89);
- (e) Vitellius' dealings with Parthia (96 ff.)—35 onwards (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 31 ff.; Dio, lviii. 26);

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- The Journal of Theological Studies, Vol.19, 1968
- *The Date of Herod's Death*
- Timothy D. Barnes

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“... the acceptance of a reading **which is comparatively ill-attested.**”

- AHS Stauffer, Ethelbert. *Jesus and His Story*. Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960.
- FHO Schauss, Hayyim. *The Jewish Festivals: History and Observance*. Trans. Samuel Jaffe. New York: Schocken Books, 1962.
- NBC Ramsay, W. M. "Luke's Narrative of the Birth of Christ." *Expositor* 8th ser. (November 1912): 385-407.
- MRC MacKinlay, G. *The Magi, How They Recognized Christ's Star*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907.
- NTBC Metzger, Bruce M. *The New Testament: Its Background, Growth, and Content*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1965.
- AB *The Oxford Annotated Bible*. Ed. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger. *The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- QAA Pickering, James S. *1,001 Questions Answered about Astronomy*. Fully rev. and brought up to date by Patrick Moore. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1976.
- QQT Ogg, George. "The Quirinius Question Today." *Expository Times* 79 (1967-1968): 231-36.
- RFJS Zeitlin, Solomon. *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967.
- SBAC Hughes, David. *The Star of Bethlehem: An Astronomer's Confirmation*. New York: Simon and Schuster Pocket Books, 1979.
- SBDB Humphreys, Colin J. "The Star of Bethlehem, A Comet in 5 B.C., and the Date of Christ's Birth." *Tyndale Bulletin* 43/1 (May 1992): 31-56.
- SBH Hughes, David. "The Star of Bethlehem." *Nature* 264 (9 December 1976): 513-17.
- SBP Palmer, T. J. "The Star of Bethlehem." *Nature* 268 (11 August 1977): 565-67.
- SCAN Scarola, Jack V. *A Chronographic Analysis of the Nativity*. New York: Vantage Press, 1991.
- SITE Holzer, Hans. *Star in the East*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- UOT Anderson, Bernhard W. *Understanding the Old Testament*. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1957.
- VFEB Vardaman, Jerry. Cobb Institute of Archaeology letter dated 17 February 1992. Addressed to Jack Scarola.
- VJAN Vardaman, Jerry. Enclosure and Cobb Institute of Archaeology letter dated 21 January 1992. Addressed to Jack Scarola.
- WAWJ Hunter, Archibald M. *The Work and Words of Jesus*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950.
- WCBB Ramsay, W. M. *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem? A Study on the Credibility of St. Luke*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.
- WHJP *The World History of the Jewish People*. Ed. Michael Avi-Yonah. Vol. 7, *The Herodian Period*. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975.
- WSW Edelson, Edward. "What Was the Star of Wonder?" *New York Daily News*, 25 December 1977, 45.

Josephus Reexamined: Unraveling the Twenty-Second Year of Tiberius

David W. Beyer

A central argument offered by scholars supporting 4 B.C. as the year of Herod's death focuses on the dating of his son Philip's reign. Modern editions of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* unanimously state that Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, that is, in A.D. 34, after ruling thirty-seven years. Therefore: A.D. 34 - 37 years = 4 B.C.

The logic seems concise and irrefutable. Nevertheless, it is flawed by a contaminated evidentiary source. The discovery of this contamination and its subsequent impact on Herodian chronology is our initial focus here.

For the most part, twentieth-century investigations into the chronology of Herod the Great bypass an examination of the primary evidence itself—the earliest available manuscripts and published editions of Josephus's *Antiquities*. These documents have a history all their own, creating a chronicle of a chronicle, one that I have researched down to the most relevant minutiae.

The contemporary bypass of evidence has not always been the case, as W. E. Filmer stated in his 1966 article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*. Filmer drew attention to the almost forgotten fact that documents purporting a divergent chronology of Philip's reign had been reported back in the nineteenth century. Florian Riess discovered that the Franciscan monk Molkenbuhr (in his 1798 dissertation) claimed to have seen early copies of Josephus in which the text read "the twenty-second year of Tiberius." In concluding his article, Filmer pointed to Josephus's dating of Philip's reign as the remaining obstacle for acceptance of Herod's death in 1 B.C. He declared that if the existence of reputed early

Chronos, Kairos, Christos II

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copies of Josephus reading “the twenty-second year of Tiberius” could be verified, it would be difficult to argue that Herod died in 4 B.C.¹

Two years later, in 1968, representing the majority opinion favoring 4 B.C., Timothy Barnes protested: “But the chronological confusions of *Antiquities* XVIII deprive of all its force the argument that the context requires the acceptance of a reading which is comparatively ill-attested.”² Barnes openly challenged Filmer’s sources while at the same time agreeing with Filmer that Josephus’ “twentieth year of Tiberius” was a pivotal point of the debate. The line had clearly been drawn in the sand. The entire debate then went into stalemate for fifteen years as necessity compelled a greater scrutiny of the primary sources.

My visits to the British Library in April 1983 uncovered evidence that substantiates Filmer’s thesis. Out of the forty-six early editions of Josephus’s *Antiquities* published before 1700 that were examined, twenty-seven demonstrate the uncommon “twenty-second year of Tiberius.” Of these twenty-seven texts, all but three were published prior to 1544, some dating back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of greatest importance, however, is the fact that, in the British Library, not a single edition published prior to 1544 was uncovered bearing the “twentieth year of Tiberius.” In 1994 I conducted further research in the Library of Congress. Their collection offered further confirmation of these original findings. Five more editions supported the “twenty-second year.” Among the others, none prior to 1544 recorded the “twentieth year.”

Timothy Barnes’s articulate response to W. E. Filmer’s thesis is hereby challenged—not by another theory—but instead by thirty-two editions of Josephus’ *Antiquities* still extant in the British Library and the Library of Congress. The work of Filmer is vindicated—Herod did die in 1 B.C.

The year 1544 emerged as the focal point of my investigations. In that year a Greek text of the *Antiquities* (BrLib C76g7) was published in Basel. No other printing in Greek characters dated prior to 1544 was in the library’s possession. Conceivably, it was the first printed edition of the *Antiquities* in Greek. Committing the elaborate written characters of the language to print was a monumental task for the publishing world of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, this Greek edition was destined to become the universally accepted standard by the highest echelons of the

¹*Journal of Theological Studies* 17/2 (Oct 1966): 297-98.

²*Journal of Theological Studies* 19 (1968): 205.

scholastic world even though its chronology of Philip and Herod was divergent to all previously recorded histories.

After the year 1544, the transition was quite swift. In Basel in 1548 a Latin edition emerged, solidifying the Greek alteration to Tiberius’s twentieth year. From that moment on, the new authoritative Greek edition gained wide acceptance, spreading throughout Europe. The original “twenty-second year” texts were almost eliminated by 1550. A single 1608 Venice edition appears in the British Library collection to offer the only exception to this astoundingly thorough transition.

The effect of the “twenty-second year of Tiberius” dating is to push the death of Philip down to A.D. 36; A.D. 34 is no longer possible. Now if we allow for a full thirty-seven-year reign, 1 B.C. emerges as the death year of Herod. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely Philip actually reigned for all of his thirty-seven years, despite numismatic evidence supporting a thirty-seventh year. Meyshan has demonstrated that “coins always record conditions *de jure* not *de facto*.”³

At this point, I must reveal that the thirty-seven-year reign was never used before 1544. It was adopted simultaneously along with the “twentieth year of Tiberius” creating a synchronous double error—two errors in one. What may prove to be of great interest to everyone here is that the earliest manuscripts, from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries, attest unanimously to a thirty-two-year tenure without exception. This new evidence places the *de facto* inception of Philip’s reign in A.D. 4. Josephan scholar, Steve Mason, confirms that Philip was made tetrarch in A.D. 4⁴

Meanwhile, the 1470 to 1514 editions give evidence for yet another era, a thirty-five-year reign that points to the year A.D. 1 for its inception. Now we know that Philip received the title of tetrarch from Caesar Augustus sometime after the War of Varus ended.⁵ Ernest L. Martin has solidly demonstrated that the conclusion of that major conflict occurred in late 1 B.C.⁶ Thus Philip’s appointment as tetrarch most likely took place shortly thereafter, in A.D. 1. This is the *de jure* date referred to by the twenty-two/thirty-five chronology. The tremendous political instability of the entire region very likely prevented Philip from assuming full administrative authority for some period of time. This is by no means unusual,

³J. Meyshan, *Essays in Jewish Numismatics* (Jerusalem, 1960) 72.

⁴Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (1992) 87.

⁵*Antiquities of the Jews* 17.10-11.

⁶E. L. Martin, *The Birth of Christ Recalculated*, 2nd ed., 77-86.

Chronos, Kairos, Christos II

“Barnes openly challenged Filmer’s sources while at the same time agreeing with Filmer that Josephus’ ‘20th year of Tiberius’ was a pivotal point of the debate. The line had clearly been drawn in the sand.”

What did he find?

Chronos, Kairos, Christos II

“Of greatest importance, however, is the fact that, in the British Library, not a single edition published prior to 1544 was uncovered bearing the ‘20th year of Tiberius’.”

therewith the tribunicia potestas."¹⁹ Why then wouldn't Herod, who had received his appointment directly from Augustus, follow the established practice of coregency? Throughout all of history, if ever there were a monarchy in a state of major crisis, the Herodian dynasty was it. Herod had no blood ties to the people except through his wife whose sons he had murdered. The kingdom was in a state of perpetual turmoil, anticipating the moment of Herod's death, elimination of the pretenders, and restoration of the throne to the people. If ever there were a time in history for a ruler to institute coregency, this was it. Because it was a practice established by Augustus himself, it would be irrational to believe Herod would *not* resort to it in order to bolster the political fortunes of his dynasty. Augustus yearned for stability in this region. He, himself, may very well have recommended the coregency option to Herod. Because coregency was in accord with the customs of the time, the burden of proof lies with those who imagine Herod avoiding this logical, sane, conservative course. So is there any evidence for coregency in Josephus' histories? Of course there is, although it is fashionable for contemporary scholars to scoff at it as "rhetorical hyperbole."²⁰ It is highly inconsistent to rely on Josephus's dating of Philip's reign as one's pivotal argument in this debate and then discredit his lucid references to the coregencies of Herod's sons. Recalling the direct eyewitness account of Nicolas of Damascus, Josephus wrote that Antipater was "at least coruler with his father and no different from a king."²¹ Again, according to Josephus, Herod testified to Varus about Antipater "to whom I have in a manner yielded up my royal authority while I am alive."²² Later, Antipater replied to his father, "I was king already . . . you proclaimed me king in your lifetime."²³

The early editions of *Antiquities* in the British Library's possession have a chronology of their own that develops in five stages.

¹⁹Cambridge Ancient History 10:146.

²⁰Harold W. Hoehner, "The Date of the Death of Herod the Great," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos. Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989) 109.

²¹*Antiquities* 17.2.

²²*War* 1.32.2.

²³*War* 1.32.3.

Philip's Death

	Year of Tiberius	Years Reigned	Period of Publication
(1)	22	32	ca. 1150–1489
(2)	22	35	1470–1514
(3)	22	32/35	1513–1519
(4)	22	22	1534–1549 (+1608)
(5)	20	37	1544–present

Stage 1. Early Manuscripts (22–32)

Royal	13 D VII	12th century
Additional	22, 860	13th century
Additional	15, 280	13th century
Harley	5116	?
Harley	3883 1	?
Harley	4962	14th–15th centuries
Harley	3699	1478/1469?
Arundel	94fl	?

Stage 1. Printed Editions (22–32)

IC 50150	1475 ?
IC 9806	1480 ?
IC 9807	1480 ?
4515 f9	1511 (Paris)

Stage 2. Printed Editions (22–35)

C 13 d9	1470
(G) 8333	1470 ?
IB 20662	1481 Venice
IB 23112	1486 Venice
IB 23201	1499 Venice
C 55 h1	1510 Venice
L 22 b5	1514, 13

Stage 3. Printed Editions (22–32/5)

4515 f10	1513, 14
4515 f12	1519 ?

Stage 4. Printed Editions (22–22)

588 K13	1534
4516 g6	1534
588 K14	1540 Basel
4516 h2	1544 Strasbourgh
4515 a13	1549 Venice
1477 aaa12	1608 Venice

Stage 5. Printed Editions (20–37)

All texts bear the 20th year unless stated otherwise.

(1544	4516 h 2	Strasbourg	German text	>22nd yr=)
1544	C76g7	Basel	Greek text	
1548	4033K7	Basel	Latin text	
(1549	4515a13	Venice	Italian text	>22nd yr=)
1553	1229 f10	Antwerp	Dutch/Belgian	
1554	200 d 2	Anvers ?	Spanish	
1558	L2269	?	French	
1566	c. 38.i.11.	?	Latin	
1578	4516g5	?	German	
1580	200g7	Frankfurt	Latin	
1582	200c13	?	Italian	
1595	4515a14	?	Latin	
1597	4515g1	?	French	
1599	4515aaa1	?	Latin	
1602	4516g9	London	English	
(1608	1477aaa12	Venice	Italian text	>22nd yr=)
1609	L22b3	London	English	
1611	4515g7	?	Greek & Latin texts	
1617	1363c13	?	Latin	
1691	4515g7	?	Greek & Latin	
1691	4515g7	Coloniae	Latin	
1701	1505/123	London	English	

Addendum

Josephus's *Antiquities* editions in the Library of Congress

				Stage
Hain 9451	1470	Augsburg	22–35	2
Incunabula x.J83	1475/1476		22–32	1
Hain 9454	1480? 1486?		22–35	2
Incunabula	1481	Venice	22–35	2
Hain 9453	1481	Venice	22–35	2
D S116 J5	1559	Basel	20–37	5
Rosenwald Coll #1071	1566	Lugduni	20–37	5
PA 4223 .A264				
D S116 .J86B3	1581	Venice	20–37	5
D S116 J814	1597	Germany	20–37	5

Summary

Stage	Yr/Tib		Yrs Reigned	BritLib	LibrCongr	Total
1	22	–	32	12	1	13
2	22	–	35	7	4	11
3	22	–	32/35	2	0	2
4	22	–	22	6	0	6
5	20	–	37	19	4	23
				46	9	55

Year of the Nativity:

The Early Church Fathers Reexamined

In dating the year of the Nativity, traditional scholarship has, for the most part, ignored the evidence of the early fathers of the Christian Church. At first glance they appear to be in hopeless disagreement, some accounts proclaiming that Jesus was born in the forty-first year of the emperor Augustus while others the forty-second, and yet others the twenty-eighth. A closer examination of early sources, however, has revealed that the discrepancies are illusionary, depending entirely on how each writer reckoned the regnal years of Augustus.

Source 1. **Tertullian:** 41st year of Augustus

Cleopatra ruled with Augustus 13 years

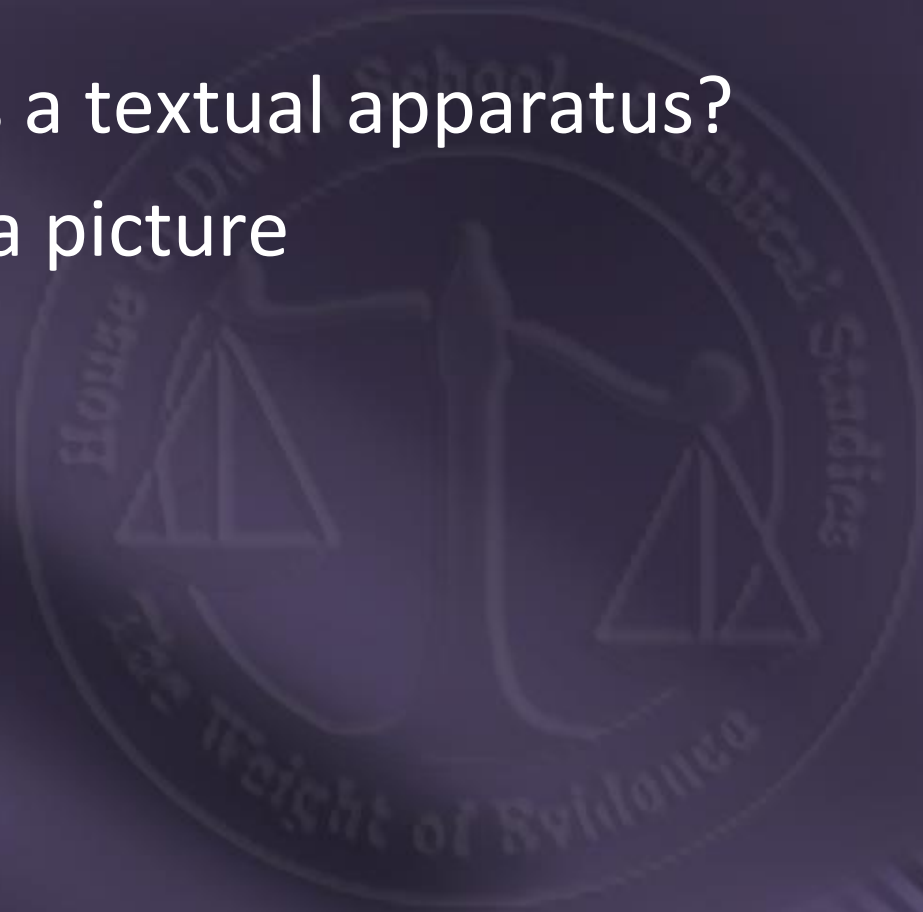
After Cleo's death Augustus ruled 43 years

= 56 years

Summary of Josephus

- With the date settled within the last few years, the search began again for the star of Bethlehem.

- What is a textual apparatus?
- Here's a picture



The Burial of Jesus

(Mk 15.42-47; Lk 23.50-56; Jn 19.38-42)

57 Ὁσίᾳ δὲ γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, τὸ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθητεύθη τῷ Ἰησοῦ. 58 οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἤτησεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. τότε ὁ Πιλάτος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοθῆναι. 59 καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετύλιξεν αὐτὸ ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ, 60 καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ ὃ ἐλατόμησεν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καὶ προσκυλίσας λίθον μέγαν τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήλθεν. 61 ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου.

The Guard at the Tomb

62 Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἣτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν, συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον 63 λέγοντες, Κύριε, ἐμνήσθημεν ὅτι ἐκείνος ὁ πλάνος εἶπεν ἔτι ζῶν, Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγείρομαι. 64 κέλευσον οὖν ἀσφαλισθῆναι τὸν τάφον ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας, μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν⁶⁴ καὶ εἰπωσιν τῷ λαῷ, Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη χείρων τῆς πρώτης. 65 ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ἐχετε κουστῳδίαν· ὑπάγετε ἀσφαλίσασθε ὡς οἴδατε. 66 οἱ δὲ πορευθέντες ἠσφάλισαν τὸν τάφον σφραγίσαντες τὸν λίθον μετὰ τῆς κουστῳδίας.

⁶⁴ 64 [A] κλέψωσιν αὐτόν (N κλέψουσιν) A B C* D K W Δ Θ Π ς¹ ς² 33 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1253 1546 1646 ς²¹ it^a, sur, b, c, d, f, g^{1, 2}, h, l, n, q, r¹ vg syr^b, pal¹ cop^{sa, bo} goth geo² Origen^{lat} Chrysostom John-Damascus // νυκτός κλέψωσιν αὐτόν (see 28.13) C³ L 565 700 892 1009 1241 1242 1344 2174 Byz Lect syr^a arm geo¹ Diatessaron // κλέψωσιν αὐτόν νυκτός (see 28.13) 28 1365 (2148 κλέψουσιν) syr^p eth

57-58 Dt 21.22-23 59-60 λαβὼν...μνημείῳ Mk 6.29; Ac 13.29 60 προσκυλίσας...μνημείου Mt 28.2; Mk 16.3-4; Lk 24.2; Jn 20.1 61 Μαρία...Μαρία Mt 27.56; 28.1; Mk 15.40, 47; 16.1; Lk 24.10; Jn 19.25 63 Μετὰ...ἐγείρομαι Mt 12.40; 16.21; 17.23; 20.19; Mk 8.31; 9.31; 10.34; Lk 9.22; 18.33; 24.7 64 ἔσται...πρώτης Mt 12.45; Lk 11.26; 2 Pe 2.20

The Resurrection of Jesus

(Mk 16.1-8; Lk 24.1-12; Jn 20.1-10)

28 Ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθεν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Μαρία θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον. 2 καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας· ἄγγελος γὰρ κυρίου καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσελθὼν ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ. 3 ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπὴ καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡς χιῶν. 4 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου αὐτοῦ ἐσείσθησαν οἱ τηροῦντες καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ὡς νεκροί. 5 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν ταῖς γυναῖξιν, Μὴ φοβείσθε ὑμεῖς, οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ζητεῖτε· 6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἠγέρθη γὰρ καθὼς εἶπεν· δεῦτε ἴδετε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο¹. 7 καὶ ταχὺ πορευθεῖσαι εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι^a Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν², καὶ ἰδοὺ προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε· ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν. 8 καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ταχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ἔδραμον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. 9 καὶ ἰδοὺ³ Ἰησοῦς ὑπήντησεν αὐταῖς λέγων,

¹ 6 [B] ἔκειτο N B Θ 33 892^{1a} it^a syr^a, pal¹ cop^{sa, bo} arm eth geo² Diatessaronⁿ Origen^{lat} Chrysostom Cyril // ἔκειτο ὁ κύριος A C D K L W Δ Π 0148 ς¹ ς² 28 565 700 892^{2a} 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it^a, sur, b, c, d, f, g^{1, 2}, h, l, n, q, r¹ vg syr^p, h, pal¹ geo¹ Diatessaron Chrysostom // ἔκειτο ὁ Ἰησοῦς Φ // ἔκειτο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου 517 954 1424 1574 1675

² 7 [C] ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν N A B C K L W Δ Θ Π 0148 ς¹ ς² 28 33 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 (1546 ἐκ) 1646 2148 2174 Byz Lect it^a, sur, c, f, g^{1, 2}, q syr^p, h, pal¹ cop^{sa, bo} eth Cyril // omit D 565 it^a, b, d, e, f¹, g¹, h, l vg syr^a arm geo Diatessaronⁿ Origen^{ex, lat} Cyril-Jerusalem Augustine

³ 9 [B] καὶ ἰδοὺ N B D K W Θ ς² 33 700 892 1009 1010 1365 1646

^a * 7 a direct, a minor: WH Bov Nes¹ BF² (NEB) TT Jer // a indirect, a minor: TR RSV // a direct; a major: RV ASV // a indirect, a major: AV (Zür) Luth Sex

1 Μαρία ἡ...Μαρία Mt 27.56, 61; Mk 15.40, 47; Jn 19.25
2 σεισμός...μέγας Mt 27.51 ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον Mt 27.60; Mk 15.46
3 τὸ...χιῶν Mt 17.2; Mk 9.3; Lk 9.29; Mt 27.51 ἀπεκύλισεν τὸν λίθον Mt 27.60; Mk 15.46
Ac 1.10 6 ἠγέρθη...εἶπεν Mt 12.40; 16.21; 17.23; 20.19; Mk 8.31; 9.31; 10.34; Lk 9.22; 18.33; 24.7
7 Ἠγέρθη...Γαλιλαίαν Mt 26.32; Mk 14.28 προάγει...ὄψεσθε Mt 28.10, 16; Jn 21.1-23

Changing the Text

- Changing the underlying Greek text so as to deceive the translators and the readers (this is the crème of the group)

Romans 16:7

- Salute Andronicus and ??????? my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners, who are **outstanding among the apostles**, who also were in Christ before me.
- NIV NASB ISR – Ἰουνιᾶν
“Salute Andronicus and **Junias**...” (male)
- KJV - Ἰουνίαν
“Salute Andronicus and **Junia**...” (female)

History of Romans 16:7

- Origen (185-254) feminine
- Chrysostom (350-407) feminine
- Every translation up to the 13th century **feminine** - Latin, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Syriac (includes the Peshitta)

History of Romans 16:7

- Chrysostom (350-407) quote
- “To be an apostle is something great. But to be outstanding among the apostles - just think what a wonderful song of praise that is! Indeed, **how great the wisdom of this**

History of Romans 16:7

- Chrysostom (350-407) quote
- “To be an apostle is something great. But to be outstanding among the apostles - just think what a wonderful song of praise that is! Indeed, how great the wisdom of this **woman**

History of Romans 16:7

- Chrysostom (350-407) quote
- “To be an apostle is something great. But to be outstanding among the apostles - just think what a wonderful song of praise that is! Indeed, how great the wisdom of **this woman** must have been that **she was even deemed worthy of the title of apostle.**”

History of Romans 16:7

- Chrysostom (350-407) quote
- “To be an apostle is something great. But to be outstanding among the apostles - just think what a wonderful song of praise that is! ... Indeed, **how great the wisdom of this woman** must have been that **she was even deemed worthy of the title of apostle.**”
- In ep. ad Romanos 31:2; PG 60.669-670)

History of Romans 16:7

- PG stands for The Patrologia Graeca which is an edited collection of writings by the Christian Church Fathers and various secular writers, in the ancient Koine or medieval variants of the Greek language. It consists of 161 volumes produced in 1857–1866 by J. P. **Migne**'s Imprimerie Catholique.

History of Romans 16:7

- Changed from feminine to masculine in early 20th century
- The story... 13|1927

Table 1*

Ἰουνία (Romans 16:7) in Greek New Testaments up to the Nestle Editions

Edition	Ἰουνία (presumed feminine)	Ἰουνίῃ (definitely masculine)	Alternate reading in apparatus?
Erasmus (1516)	X		(No apparatus)
Melanchthon (preface, 1545)	X		(No apparatus)
Stephanus (1551) 1576 [apud Hoole, 1674]	X		No
Plantin (1584) 1619	X		(No apparatus)
Elzevir, (1624) 1633 [first "Textus Receptus"]	X		(No apparatus)
Oxford Sheldonian (1675)	X		No
John Gregory (Oxford) (1703)	X		No
Mill (1707) + Mill/Küster, 1710	X		No
Van Maastricht (G.D.T.M.D.) (1711)	X		No
Cyprian (1715)	X		(No apparatus)
Bowyer (1715) 1760	X		(No apparatus)
Wettstein (1751-1752)	X		No
Griesbach (1777) 1796-1806 + 1809	X		No
Knapp (1797) 1829	X		No
Alexander/Isa. Thomas (first American) (1800)	X		(No apparatus)
Schott (1805) 1811	X		No
Pickering (smallest NT) (1828)	X		(No apparatus)
Lloyd (1828) 1873 [TR]	X		(No apparatus)
Lachmann (1831)	X		No
Scholz (1836)	X		No
Tischendorf (1841) 1869- 1872 ²	X		No
Alford (1844-1857) + 1888 ²		X	Yes
Buttmann (1856) 1862 + 1898	X		No
Tregelles (1857-1879) 1870	X		No
Scrivener (1859) 1906 ⁴	X		No
Emphatic Diaglott (Wilson) (1864) 1942	X**		No
Westcott-Hort (1881)	X		Not in notes
Gebhardt (1881) + 1886 ³	X		No
Oxford Greek (behind RV) (1881)	X		No
Critical New Testament (1882)	X		No
Weymouth, Resultant NT (1886) 1905 ⁵	X		Yes
Baljon (1898)	X		No

Notes to Table 1 appear on page 64.

Table 2*

Ἰουνία (Romans 16:7) in Greek New Testaments from Nestle to the Present

Edition	Ἰουνία (presumed feminine)	Ἰουνίῃ (definitely masculine)	Alternate reading in apparatus?
Nestle (Eberhard) (1898)	X		
Nestle (Eberhard) (1899)	X		
Nestle (Eberhard) (1901 ¹ -1912 ²) 1901 ¹ + 1906 ⁴	X		No
British and Foreign Bible Society (1904)	X		No
Souter (1910) + 1947 ³			?
von Soden (1913)	X		
[Eberhard Nestle + 1913]	X		No
Nestle (Erwin) (1914 ²⁰ -1923 ²¹) 1920 ¹⁹	X		No
Nestle (Erwin) 1927 ²²			No
Nestle (Erwin) (1930 ²³ -1952 ²⁴) 1936 ²⁵ + 1941 ²⁷ + 1952 ²⁸		X	No
Merk (1933) 1944 ²⁹ + 1957 ³⁰ + 1984 ³¹ + 1992 ³²		X	Yes -Law [HTW]
Bover (1943) + 1968 ³³		X	No
Nestle-Aland (1956 ³⁴ -1963 ³⁵) 1957 ³⁶ + 1960 ³⁷ + 1963 ³⁸		X	No
Kilpatrick (BFBS ³⁹) (1958)		X	Yes -Law [HTW]
Tasker (1964)		X	Yes
UBS (1966 ⁴⁰) + 1968 ⁴¹		X	Yes
Bover-O'Callaghan (1977)		X	No
[Erwin Nestle + 1972]		X	No
Nestle-Aland (1979 ⁴² [= text of UBS 1975 ⁴³])		X	No
UBS (1975 ⁴³)			
Noll (1981)		X	Yes
Hodges-Farstad (1982) [Majority text = TR]	X	X	No
Robinson-Pierpont (1991) [unaccented Majority text]	-	-	No
Nestle-Aland (1993 ⁴⁴ [= text of UBS 1993 ⁴⁵])		X	Yes
UBS (1993 ⁴⁵)			
[Kurt Aland + 1994]		X	Yes
Nestle-Aland Jubilee Edition (1998 ⁴⁷ 2nd printing) + 2001 ⁴⁸ 4th re-printing	X		No
UBS (1998 ⁴⁶ 2nd printing) + 2001 ⁴⁹ 3rd printing [= text of NA 1998, above]	X		No

Note to Table 2 is on page 64.

Table 1*

ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (Romans 16:7) in Greek New Testaments up to the Nestle Editions

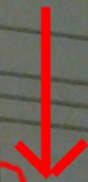
Edition	ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (presumed feminine)	ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (definitely masculine)	Alternate reading in apparatus?
Erasmus (1516)	X		(No apparatus)
Melanchthon (preface, 1545)	X		(No apparatus)
Stephanus (1551) 1576 [apud Hoole, 1674]	X		No
Plantin (1584) 1619	X		(No apparatus)
Elzevir, (1624) 1633 [first "Textus Receptus"]	X		(No apparatus)
Oxford Sheldonian (1675)	X		No
John Gregory (Oxford) (1703)	X		No
Mill (1707) + Mill/Küster, 1710	X		No
Van Maastricht (G.D.T.M.D.) (1711)	X		No
Cyprian (1715)	X		(No apparatus)
Bowyer (1715) 1760	X		(No apparatus)
Wettstein (1751-1752)	X		No
Griesbach (1777) 1796-1806 + 1809	X		No
Knapp (1797) 1829	X		No
Alexander/Isa. Thomas (first American) (1800)	X		(No apparatus)
Schott (1805) 1811	X		No
Pickering (smallest NT) (1828)	X		(No apparatus)
Lloyd (1828) 1873 [TR]	X		(No apparatus)
Lachmann (1831)	X		No
Scholz (1836)	X		No
Tischendorf (1841) 1869- 1872 ²	X		No
Alford (1844-1857) + 1888 ²		X	Yes
Buttmann (1856) 1862 + 1898	X		No
Tregelles (1857-1879) 1870	X		No
Scrivener (1859) 1906 ⁴	X		No
Emphatic Diaglott (Wilson) (1864) 1942	X**		No
Westcott-Hort (1881)	X		Not in notes
Gebhardt (1881) + 1886 ³	X		No
Oxford Greek (behind RV) (1881)	X		No
Critical New Testament (1882)	X		No
Weymouth, Resultant NT (1886) 1905 ⁵	X		Yes
Baljon (1898)	X		No

Notes to Table 1 appear on page 64.

Table 2*

ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (Romans 16:7) in Greek New Testaments from Nestle to the Present

Edition	ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (presumed feminine)	ΤΟΥΝΑΥ (definitely masculine)	Alternate reading in apparatus?
Nestle (Eberhard) (1898)	X		
Nestle (Eberhard) (1899)	X		
Nestle (Eberhard) (1901 ¹ -1912 ²) 1901 ¹ + 1906 ²	X		No
British and Foreign Bible Society (1904)	X		No
Souter (1910) + 1947 ³			?
von Soden (1913)	X		
[Eberhard Nestle + 1913]	X		No
Nestle (Erwin) (1914 ³ -1923 ³) 1920 ³	X		No
Nestle (Erwin) 1927 ³			No
Nestle (Erwin) (1930 ³ -1942 ³) 1936 ³ + 1941 ³ + 1952 ³		X	No
Merk (1933) 1944 ⁴ + 1957 ⁴ + 1984 ⁴ + 1992 ⁴		X	Yes -Law [HTW]
Bover (1943) + 1968 ⁵		X	No
Nestle-Aland (1956 ² -1963 ²) 1957 ² + 1960 ² + 1963 ²		X	No
Kilpatrick (BFBS ⁶) (1958)			Yes -Law [HTW]
Tasker (1964)		X	Yes
UBS (1966 ³) + 1968 ³		X	Yes
Bover-O'Callaghan (1977)		X	No
[Erwin Nestle + 1972]		X	No
Nestle-Aland (1979 ³ [= text of UBS 1975 ³])		X	No
UBS (1975 ³)			
Noll (1981)		X	Yes
Hodges-Farstad (1982) [Majority text = TR]	X	X	No
Robinson-Pierpont (1991) [unaccented Majority text]	-	-	No
Nestle-Aland (1993 ³ [= text of UBS 1993 ³])		X	Yes
UBS (1993 ³)			
[Kurt Aland + 1994]		X	Yes
Nestle-Aland Jubilee Edition (1998 ³ 2nd printing) + 2001 ³ 4th printing	X		No
UBS (1998 ³ 2nd printing) + 2001 ³ 4th printing [= text of NA 1998, above]	X		No



Note to Table 2 is on page 64.

History of Romans 16:7

- Changed from feminine to masculine in early 20th century
- The story... 13|1927

History of Romans 16:7

- Bruce Metzger's p54
Textual Commentary to UBS (1994)
- “Some members, considering it unlikely that a woman would be among those called ‘apostles’, changed the accenting on the name to masculine.”

History of Romans 16:7

- Bruce Metzger's p54
Textual Commentary to UBS (1994)
- Others, however, were impressed by the facts that (1) the female Latin name Juina occurs more than 250 times in Greek and Latin inscriptions found in Rome along, whereas the male name Junias is unattested **ANYWHERE...**"
- **Deja vu - Romans 14:14.**

Concluding Romans 16:7

- Junia was not only a female apostle but was recognized as one who was **“outstanding among the apostles”**.

Summary

- Why do you have to lie to make your case?
- The list is long of what Jeremiah 16:19 looks like.
- We've only touched on a few...
- When the body works together, great things can be done.
- But we need to be in the same covenant.
- Tonight, we'll find out if we are...





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