

A Hebraic Approach to the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard

by Malcolm Lowe

Back in 1983, I had the honor of publishing a joint paper with David Flusser in *New Testament Studies* (vol. 29, pp. 25–47) entitled “Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory.” In it we sought to reconstruct the form of a Hebrew original behind certain pericopes of the Synoptic Gospels.

More recently I worked together R. Menahem on a similar project regarding the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, who are hired at various hours of the day yet all receive the same payment (Mt. 20:1–16). We intended to publish his collection of rabbinic parallels to the form and content of the parable, together with my contributions on the Greek form in which it occurs in Matthew’s Gospel.

The sad and untimely death of R. Menahem, a dear friend to many of us, has delayed further, though hopefully not prevented, completion of the project. Both of us, however, had already selected portions of our work to be published in this volume in honor of Professor Flusser.

The translation of the New Testament into Hebrew by Franz Julius Delitzsch (1813–90) has long commanded respect among researchers into the Jewish background of the New Testament. Revising his work many times, Delitzsch took endless care to find the appropriate Hebraic idiom and terminology, using for this purpose rabbinic as well as biblical writings.

The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard is one of many passages, especially in the Synoptic Gospels, where the close parallels between the Greek text and Delitzsch’s translation suggests that the Greek is in fact a very literal translation of a Hebrew original. R. Menahem and I were able to reinforce this suggestion by showing that even in the places when Delitzsch translated somewhat freely, a closer Hebrew parallel usually exists. It was possible thus to revise Delitzsch’s work mainly for two reasons. First, the range of evidence for the Greek text (manuscripts, versions, etc.) has been enlarged and more system-

atically studied since his time. Second, Delitzsch sought to translate throughout into a biblical style of Hebrew, preferring also the forms of the classical to those of the later biblical prose.

In respect of the manuscripts, I found that there seem to be traces of two slightly different versions of the text. Either the first is a somewhat expanded version of the second, or the second is a pruned version of the first. That the second hypothesis is in the main correct is shown by the fact that most of the extra words in the longer version (represented typically by all or most of manuscripts C and W, minuscule families 1 and 13, and representatives of the Old Latin version) supply correspondences to Hebrew idiom where they are lacking in the shorter version.

Regarding the Hebrew style, there was confirmation of a finding (concerning other Synoptic pericopes) in my joint paper with Professor Flusser, namely that the narrative framework of the putative Hebrew original is generally biblicalizing in style, but that the spoken dialogues are often largely or wholly in the style of rabbinic Hebrew. In one place, however, the rabbinic idiom also seems to have penetrated into the narrative framework (verse 7).

It was thought appropriate, accordingly, to present a threefold text: my choice of Greek text in the middle, Delitzsch on the left and the revised Hebrew version on the right. Significant variants in the Greek text (including all differences from the text of the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* are indicated in the following way: [] square brackets enclose words missing in numerous witnesses; () round brackets enclose words whose order is different in numerous witnesses.

Delitzsch

1 כי דומה
2 מלכות השמים
3 לאדם בעל בית,
4 אשר השכים
5 לצאת בבקר
6 לשכור פועלים
7 לכרמו.
8 וההנה
9 עם הפועלים
10 שכר דינר ליום
11 וישלחם
12 אל כרמו.
13 ויצא
14 בשעה השלישית
15 וירא אחרים
16 עומדים
17 בשלים
18 בשוק.
19 ויאמר להם
20 לכו גם אתם
21 אל כרמי

Greek

(1) Ὁμοία γὰρ ἐστὶν
ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν
ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότῃ
ὅστις ἐξῆλθεν
ἅμα πρῶτῃ
μισθώσασθαι ἐργάτας
εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα αὐτοῦ.
(2) συμφωνήσας δὲ
μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν
ἐκ δηναρίου τὴν ἡμέραν
ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς
εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα αὐτοῦ.
(3) καὶ ἐξελθὼν
περὶ τρίτην ὥραν
εἶδεν ἄλλους
ἐστῶτας
ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
ἀργοὺς.
(4) καὶ ἐκείνοις εἶπεν,
ὑπάγετε καὶ ὑμεῖς
εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνά [μου],

Revised Hebrew

(1) כי דומה
מלכות שמים
לאדם בעל בית,
אשר יצא
בבקר
לשכור פועלים
לכרמו.
(2) ויפסק
עם הפועלים
על דינר ליום
וישלח אותם
לכרמו.
(3) ויצא
בשעה השלישית
וירא אחרים
עומדים
בשוק
בשלים.
(4) ולהם אמר
לכו גם אתם
לכרמי

22 וכישר	καὶ ὁ ἐὰν ἦ δίκαιον	,ומה שיהיה לזכות,
23 אתן לכם,	δώσω ὑμῖν,	אתן לכם,
24 וילכו.	(5) οἱ δὲ ἀπηλθον.	(5) וילכו.
25 ויצא גם	πάλιν [δὲ] ἐξελλθῶν	וישב ויצא
26 בשעה הששית	περὶ ἕκτην	בשעה הששית
27 גם בחשיעית	καὶ ἐνάτην ὥραν	והחשיעית
28 ויעש	ἐποίησεν	ויעש
29 כדבר הזה.	ὡσαύτως.	כזאת.
30 ויצא	(6) περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην [ὥραν]	(6) גם בשעת אחת עשרה
31 בשעת עשתי עשרה	ἐξελλθῶν	יצא
32 וימצא אחרים	εὔρεν ἄλλους	וימצא אחרים
33 עומדים.	ἐστῶτας [ἀργούς].	עומדים בשלים.
34 ויאמר אליהם,	καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς,	ויאמר להם
35 למה אתם עומדים פה	τί ὧδε ἐστήκατε	מה פה אתם עומדים
36 בשלים כל היום?	ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργοί;	כל היום בשלים?
37 ויאמרו לו,	(7) λέγουσιν αὐτῷ,	(7) אומרים לו,
38 כי לא שכר	ὅτι οὐδεις ἡμᾶς	כי לא שכר
39 אותנו איש.	ἐμισθῶσατο.	אותנו איש.
40 ויאמר אליהם,	λέγει αὐτοῖς,	אומר להם,
41 לכו גם אתם	ὑπάγετε καὶ ὑμεῖς	לכו גם אתם
42 אל הכרם,	εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνά [μου],	לכרמי,
43 וכישר	[καὶ ὁ ἐὰν ἦ δίκαιον	ומה שיהיה לזכות
44 יותן לכם.	λήμψεσθε].	תקחו.
45 ויהי בערב	(8) ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης	(8) ויהי בערב
46 ויאמר	λέγει	ויאמר
47 בעל הכרם	ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος	בעל הכרם
48 אל פקידו,	τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ αὐτοῦ,	לפקידו,
49 קרא את הפועלים	κάλεσον τοὺς ἐργάτας	קרא את הפועלים
50 ושלם להם	καὶ ἀπόδος [αὐτοῖς]	ושלם להם
51 את שכרם	τὸν μισθὸν	את שכרם
52 החל באחרונים	ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων	החל באחרונים
53 וכלה בראשונים.	ἕως τῶν πρώτων.	ועד הראשונים.
54 ויבאו הנשכרים	(9) καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ	(9) ויבאו אלה
55 בשעת אחת עשרה	περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην ὥραν	משעת אחת עשרה
56 ויקחו איש איש	ἔλαβον ἀνά	ויקחו איש איש
57 דינר אחד.	δηνᾶριον.	דינר.
58 ובבא הראשונים	(10) καὶ ἐλθόντες οἱ πρώτοι	(10) ויבאו הראשונים
59 דמו בנפשם	ἐνόμισαν	ויחשבו
60 כי יקחו יוחר,	ὅτι πλεῖον λήμψονται,	כי יקחו יוחר,
61 ויקחו גם הם	καὶ ἔλαβον (καὶ αὐτοὶ	ויקחו גם הם
62 איש איש דינר אחד.	[τὸ] ἀνά δηνᾶριον).	איש איש את הדינר.
63 ויהי בקחתם	(11) λαβόντες δὲ	(11) ויקחו
64 וילונו	ἐγόγγυζον	וילינו
65 על בעל הבית	κατὰ τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότη	על בעל הבית
66 לאמר,	(12) λέγοντες,	(12) לאמר,

67	אלה האחרונים	οὗτοι οἱ ἔσχατοι	אלה האחרונים
68	לא עשו כי אם שעה אחת,	μίαν ὥραν ἐποίησαν,	שעה אחת עשו,
69	ואתה השויתם	καὶ Ἰησοῦς (ἡμῖν	ושוים לנו
70	אלינו	αὐτοῦς) ἐποίησας	אותם עשית
71	אשר סבלנו	τοῖς βαστάσασι	אשר סבלנו
72	את כבד היום	τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας	את טרח היום
73	ואת חמו.	καὶ τὸν καύσωνα.	וחומו.
74	ויען	(13) ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς	(13) ויען
75	ויאמר אל אחד מהם,	(εἶπεν ἐνὶ αὐτῶν),	ויאמר לאחד מהם
76	רעי,	ἐταίρε	רעי,
77	לא עשקתיך,	οὐκ ἀδικῶ σε,	איני חייב לך,
78	הלא שכר דינר	οὐχὶ δηναρίου	הלא דינר
79	התנית עמי?	συνεφώνησάς μοι;	פסקת עמי?
80	קח את שלך	(14) ἄρῃν τὸ σὸν	(14) שא את שלך
81	ולך.	καὶ ὑπαγε.	ולך.
82	ואני רצוני	θέλω δὲ	ואני רצוני
83	לחת גם לזה	τούτῳ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ	לזה האחרון
84	האחרון כמו לך.	δοῦναι ὡς καὶ σοί.	לחת כמוך.
85	הלא אוכל	(15) [ἦ] οὐκ ἔξεστίν μοι	(15) הלא מותר לי
86	לעשות בשלי	(ποιῆσαι ὁ θέλω)	לעשות כרצוני
87	כרצוני?	ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς;	בשלי?
88	האם תרע	ἢ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου	העינדך
89	עינדך	ποιηρός ἐστιν	תרע
90	על אשר טוב אנכי?	ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀγαθός εἰμι;	על אשר טוב אני?
91	ככה יהיו	(16) οὕτως ἔσονται	(16) כך יהיו
92	האחרונים ראשונים	οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι	האחרונים ראשונים
93	והראשונים יהיו אחרונים.	καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι.	והראשונים אחרונים.
94	כי רבים הם הקרואים,	[[πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν κλητοί,	
95	ומעטים הנבחרים.	ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί.]]	

English Translation

What follows is an English translation of the *revised Hebrew text*. In order to facilitate understanding of the verse-by-verse commentary where the latter refers to the Hebrew, the Hebrew word order has been followed as closely as possible. Words hyphenated in English represent a single Hebrew word (note, however, that those Hebrew particles — such as the definite article — which are written together with the following word, are here treated as separate words). Italicized words, as in the AR and NASB, correspond to no word in the Hebrew, but have to be supplied in English. As in the Greek text, square brackets enclose those words whose Greek equivalents are attested only in certain authorities (in verse 12, *no* authority attests to “its,” but Hebrew style demands it); parentheses enclose words for which different orders are attested in the Greek; the double square brackets at the end enclose a sentence which occurs as a variant and is indeed Hebraic, but which we consider belongs not to the

Hebrew original of this text (but rather only to Mt. 22:14). In verses 8 and 13, a stroke separates words representing significant alternatives in the Hebrew.

1. For like *is the* kingdom of heaven to the owner of *a* house, who went-out in the early-morning to hire laborers for his vineyard.
2. And he-agreed with the laborers on *a* denarius for *a* day, and he-sent them into his vineyard.
3. And he-went-out at the third hour, and he-saw others standing in the market not-working.
4. And to them he-said: "Go also you into [my] vineyard, and whatever will-be due I-will-give to you,"
5. and they-went. [And] he-returned and he-went-out at the sixth hour and the ninth, and he-did the same.
6. Also at the eleventh [hour] he-went-out, and he found others standing [not-working]. And he-said to them: "How *is it* here you *are* standing all the day not-working?"
7. They-say to him: "Because no one hired us." He-says to them: "Go also you into [my] vineyard, [and whatever will-be due you-shall-receive]."
8. And there-was evening, and *the* owner/lord of the vineyard said to his steward: "Call the laborers and pay [them] the wage, beginning with the last and ending with the first."
9. And there-came those from the eleventh hour, and they-received each *a* denarius.
10. And there-came the first, and they-thought that they-would-receive more, (and they-received — also they — each [the] denarius).
11. And they-received *it*, and they murmured about *the* owner of the house,
12. saying: "Those last — one hour they-worked, and equal (to us them) you-made, who ourselves-bore the burden of the day and [its] heat."
13. And he-answered and (he-said to one of them): "My neighbor, I *am* not in-debt to you; is-it not *a* denarius you-agreed with me?"
14. Take up what-is yours — and go/yours. And I — *it is* my wish to this last to give as *to* yourself.
15. [Is-it] not permitted me (to do as my wish) with my own? Is your eye evil for that I *am* good?"
16. Thus will-be the last first and the first last. [[For many *are* called, but few *are* chosen.]]

Commentary on the Text

These notes present a brief explanation of the choice of Greek text and the revisions made to the translation of Delitzsch.

1. The usual rabbinic form is מלכות שמים without the definite article introduced by Delitzsch. In Judg. 19:22–23 בעל הבית הואיש occurs, but here the Septuagint has ἀνὴρ, whereas ἀνθρώπος normally corresponds to אדם. In this verse, Delitzsch had difficulty in translating ἄμα, since the few occurrences in Tisch-

endorf's edition of the Septuagint are inappropriate. He therefore rewrote the sentence, introducing the verb השכים. However, השחר בעלות is translated ἄμα τῷ ἀναβαλναι τὸ ὄρθρον in Manuscript A at Judg. 19:25 (Tischendorf with B has ὡς ἀνέβη τὸ πρωί), suggesting that ἄμα represents a preposition and not a verb also here in ἄμα πρωί. Since πρωί regularly stands for בקר in the Septuagint, but שחר regularly has other translations (ὄρθρος, etc.), בשחר or בעלות השחר is less likely than בבקר or possibly לפנות בקר (τὸ πρὸς πρωί in manuscripts of Judg. 19:26 and Ps. 46:6, but apparently less common in rabbinic times).

2. Here the Septuagint does not help in determining the equivalent of συμφρονέω; פסק is more likely than התנה, and another possibility is הסכים. There is no justification in the Greek for Delitzsch's introduction of the noun שכר; rather the preposition ἐκ probably stands for על.

3. Here Delitzsch changed the order of words in the Greek at the end of the verse, but it is appropriate to the use of repetition in Hebrew style that (like ἀργούς) the word בטלים should come at the end of the sentence, as it does again twice in verse 6. Instead of בשעה השלישית (and the corresponding references to hours in the subsequent verses), another possibility is בשלוש שעות (etc.; see mBerakhot 1:1; 4:1; mSanhedrin 5:1–3); on the one hand, the Greek and the Hebrew would then have the same word order (note especially verse 5), on the other, the Greek has ordinal and not cardinal numbers.

4. According to Septuagint parallels, the verse could also begin גם להם, except that this would fit awkwardly with the following גם. The word μου (found in \aleph C Θ f^{13} it sa and other witnesses) is required by Hebrew style. The late biblical Eccles. 3:22 suggests that ὁ ἄνθρωπος corresponds to מהוה-ש (which becomes frequent in rabbinic style) but Delitzsch then could find no biblical equivalent for δίκαιον from the root צ-ד-ק and so resorted to a paraphrase. It seems, however, that δίκαιον corresponds to rabbinic ליכות, which likewise has two dimensions of meaning (both "merit" and legal "innocence" or "justification"). Note that when Paul quotes Gen. 15:6 in Rom. 4:2, he may be understanding Abraham's δικαιοσύνη (צדקה) in the sense of the rabbinic אבות זכות. See further below on verse 13.

5. Whether or not δέ is to be omitted (with B W Θ f^1 f^{13} it and others), the Hebrew equivalent is certainly וישב ויצא, since the Septuagint uses πάλιν systematically in two ways: when it follows the opening verb, it corresponds to עוד; but when it precedes, to the construction וישב ו-. The concluding ὡσαύτως cannot, as in Delitzsch, correspond to כדבר הזה, which in the Septuagint is typically κατὰ (or ὡς) τὸ ἥμα τούτου; rather, it stands for כואת (as Judg. 8:8; other Septuagint equivalents are ὡς αὐτή and οὕτως) or perhaps כדומה, which would echo the opening דומה in verse 1.

6. The Greek word order suggests an opening with גם (a Septuagint pattern); if verse 4 (see there) begins גם, then one would prefer here the more emphatic \aleph , but this has normally an equally emphatic equivalent in the Septuagint (ἐτι δέ or καὶ γάρ or καὶ γε). The words ὡραν and ἀργούς are found in almost exactly the same witnesses (C W f^1 f^{13} and Old Latin manuscripts), showing that the same hand here — and probably throughout the passage — either added or (as we argue) pruned. Although the omission of ὡραν is possible according to mishnaic usage (phrases like ער ארבע and בהמש occur in the pas-

sages cited above regarding verse 3), the mention of **בטלים** alongside **עומדים** is needed to balance the repetition of both words at the end of this verse, where also (cf. verse 3) the Hebrew word order must accord with the Greek order in order to bring out the correspondences between the repeated keywords. Delitzsch's changes of word order obscure these patterns faithfully preserved in the Greek. The interrogative **τί** represents **מה** rather than **למה**, that is, the owner of the vineyard is expressing surprise rather than insinuating that the laborers are willingly unemployed; compare 2 Kings 7:3, where the Septuagint translates **מה אנהנו יושבים פה** as **τί ἡμεῖς καθήμεθα ὧδε**, a question which (in its context) has a comparable rhetorical tone. Finally, **λέγει** may here as in the next verse (see there) represent **אומר** rather than **יאמר**.

7. In this verse, it is remarkable that neither sentence begins with the **καί** or **δέ** that indicates biblicalizing style; also both introductory verbs are in the present. It seems, therefore, that **λέγουσιν αὐτῷ** and **λέγει αὐτοῖς** represent the formulae **לו אומרים** and **אומר להם** found in rabbinic dialogues. (Since the corresponding past forms **אמרו לו** and **אמר להם** are even more common, they are also a possibility here.) At this point, rabbinic Hebrew not merely appears in the spoken utterances, but even penetrates into the framework of the narrative, which is otherwise basically biblicalizing. The word **μου**, required for Hebrew style, appears mainly in the Old Latin and other early translations, but also in C³ D Z among Greek manuscripts. The continuation **καί...λήμψεσθε** appears in C* W f¹³ as well as manuscripts of early translations; on its rendering in Hebrew, see above verse 4 and (for **λήμψεσθε**) below verse 9. It may be original, as anticipating the occurrences of **λαμβάνω** in verses 9–11, but see below on verse 16.

8. This verse is interesting for the different nuances implied by possible alternatives in the Hebrew. At the beginning, **ויהי בערב ו** (Delitzsch) is precisely the construction found in Gen. 29:23 and Ex. 16:13, but **ויהי ערב** would echo the sixfold use of this phrase in the first chapter of Genesis (both Gen. 1:5, etc. and Gen. 29:23 have **καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα**, while Ex. 16:13 has **ἐγένετο δὲ ἑσπέρα**; thus the presence or absence of **ב** can only be guessed). Instead of **בעל הכרם** (the usual Hebrew form), also **אדון הכרם** is conceivable (cf. 1 Kings 16:24; also Gen. 40:7); in both cases, the Septuagint has **κύριος**, but **אדון** would (as does **κύριος**) suggest to the listener or reader that the owner of the vineyard indeed represents God. The rabbinic equivalent of **ἐπίτροπος** (which does not occur in the Septuagint) is precisely **אפיטרופוס** as a loanword; Delitzsch's choice of biblical **פקיד** had little to recommend it (except that the Targum has **אפיטרופין** for **פקידים** at Esther 2:3), but has found unanticipated corroboration in the Dead Sea scrolls, where the **פקיד** is even an eschatological figure, as presumably in this parable (see the article of R. Menahem in this volume). The word **αὐτοῖς** (relegated to the apparatus by Westcott and Hort and already by Tischendorf — it is lacking in Sinaiticus — but restored to the text in the 26th ed. of Nestle-Aland) is found in B D Θ as well as W f¹ f¹³. The combination of **ἀρξάμενος** (participle) with **ἕως** (preposition) recurs in Lk. 23:5 and Acts 1:2, while in Gen. 44:12 it is used to translate precisely **כלה ובקטן החל** (in 1 Chron. 27:24 the same combination of verbs appears as two verbs in Greek); note that in Acts 10:37 **ἀρξάμενος** (which is indeed literally **החל**) is used as a

preposition (not agreeing with any subject), suggesting that its use may be prepositional rather than adjectival in other occurrences too.

9. The variant ἐλθόντες οὖν (D Θ *f*¹³, etc.), if original, would correspond to the use of אָפַר (as Job 17:5; 19:6) or possibly וַעֲחָה (as Ex. 3:18; 10:17). Delitzsch added הַנְּשַׁכְּרִים (for which there is no textual evidence) to make the Hebrew more elegant. While קָל is certainly the usual biblical equivalent of λαμβάνω (and so we leave Delitzsch's choice of translation), possibly the correct word here is קָבַל (which occurs first in late biblical Hebrew), since it has more the connotation of passively receiving what one is offered (which fits the parable), whereas קָל suggests a more active taking (see also below on verse 11). Note that all the different forms of λαμβάνω in verses 9–11 (aorist, future, aorist participle) correspond to a single form in Hebrew; the repeated יִקְחוּ thus has a rhetorical impact which is diluted in the Greek. Although דִּינָר אֶחָד (Delitzsch) is more usual Hebrew than דִּינָר, the absence of אֶחָד (to which nothing corresponds in the Greek either here or in the next verse) is possible and fits the sense of the parable (the reward is not something of which one can receive more or less, but something which one either receives or does not receive).

10. The content of the story requires that this and the previous verse begin in the same way, as indeed they do in the Greek; Delitzsch's introduction of וּבְבֹא was thus mistaken. Perhaps he read (as many manuscripts and the Textus Receptus) ἐλθόντες δέ in this verse, and καὶ ἐλθόντες in verse 9, but these are just alternative Greek renderings of וַיָּבֹאוּ, whereas וּבְבֹא would be rendered by ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν (cf. Num. 7:89 and Ezek. 48:6) or by something else less usual. Since νομίζω does not occur in the Septuagint, his δῆμο βουλομαι is merely a guess; better is to put just a verb (our חָשַׁב is simply one possibility). In the manuscripts, there are five different endings to the verse. But καὶ αὐτοί (as in C D W *f*¹ *f*¹³) must come before the other phrase; putting καὶ αὐτοί at the end of the verse (as in the 26th ed. of Nestle-Aland) destroys the needed parallel with verse 9. The presence of τό is more doubtful, although the sense of the story favours it (these laborers, too, receive *the* reward for working in the vineyard). Possibly to τὸ ἀνά δηνάριον represents the word order אִישׁ אִישׁ דִּינָר, in which case verse 9 also ends with אִישׁ אִישׁ דִּינָר.

11. The beginning of this verse, even more than that of the previous one (see there), diverges in Delitzsch from the standard Hebrew equivalent; וַיְהִי בַקְּחָתָם would require something like ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λαβεῖν αὐτῶν. For ἐγόγγυζον, both וַיִּלּוּנוּ and וַיִּלְלוּ are possible (they are respectively Ketiv and Qere for διεγόγγυσαν at Num. 14:36), but the second alludes more strongly to תָּלִין at Lev. 19:13 (meaning to hold back wages overnight). A more remarkable pun, however, is possible if (see verse 9 above) λαβόντες δὲ represents וַיִּקְבְּלוּ (piel) and ἐγόγγυζον is וַיִּקְבְּלוּ (qal), a rabbinic Hebrew word which means to complain loudly.

12. If ὅτι is to be inserted after λέγοντες (with C* W *f*¹³, etc.), it corresponds to Hebrew כִּי, which could even be part of the laborers' answer. The order ἡμῶν αὐτούς (with B C W Θ *f*¹, etc. and the 26th ed. of Nestle-Aland) is correct (against the 25th ed., following א D Z *f*¹³ and others), since it brings לָנוּ next to שׁוּמִים and אֶרְוָה next to עֲשִׂיהָ. There is no need to reorganize the verse here as Delitzsch did; the laborers' complaint sounds all the more vehement in

Hebrew if one follows the exact Greek word order. Delitzsch's כבד for βάρως is unidiomatic. At the end of the verse, the Greek lacks a needed αὐτῆς (the Hebrew noun must have the pronominal suffix).

13. The order εἶπεν ἐνὶ αὐτῶν is found in C L W Z f¹ f¹³ and some Old Latin manuscripts (cf. on verse 6 above). In the Greek, οὐκ ἀδικῶ recalls and contrasts with δίκαιον in verse 4 (and probably verse 7). In rabbinic Hebrew חברי is imaginable rather than רעי, but see below on the next verse. Since in Hebrew a verb cannot be negated with a prefix like Greek ἀ(ν), the contrast can be made only by using a pair of contraries which is so well known that the one contrary automatically recalls the other. The terms זכוח and הווב(ה) are such a pair. Thus if here οὐκ ἀδικῶ σε represents לך חייב איני (which fits the context well) and there δίκαιον represents לזכוח, the Greek contrast may indeed reflect an original contrast in Hebrew. On συμφωνέω, see above on verse 2.

14. Although Delitzsch continues to use לקח, the Greek here has ἄρον from αἶρω, which corresponds to Hebrew נשא. Since נשא שכר is attested in the Mishnah, meaning "to receive a wage," ἄρον must correspond to נשא. In the second half of the verse, the exact Greek word order is possible in Hebrew too. Also ὡς καὶ σοί should be כמוך rather than כמו לך, since together with רעי in the previous verse (ἐταῖρος is a standard Septuagint equivalent of רע) there is an allusion to the famous וואדבת לרעך כמוך of Lev. 19:18; since there the Septuagint has πλήσιον instead of ἐταῖρος, the allusion here cannot be seen in the Greek but only through considering the Hebrew original.

15. Here the first ἦ (with C W f¹ f¹³ Old Latin and others, i.e., the witnesses found in verse 6 and elsewhere) is probably right, since ἦ οὐκ corresponds exactly to הלא and the double ἦ reflects the rhetorical impact of the double interrogative -ה in the Hebrew. Placing ποιῆσαι before ὁ θέλω (with C W f¹ and some Old Latin) gives more natural Hebrew than the reverse order (with א B D Z f¹³ and other Old Latin). It is appropriate for עינך to precede הרע as in the Greek, since this order corresponds to the frequent rabbinic עין הרע עין (biblically הרע עין occurs only at Deut. 28:54–56 and ורעה עין at Deut. 15:9; more common is the impersonal ירע בעיני).

16. Besides כן (the usual rabbinic form of biblical ככה) also כנ would be possible; the difference is that כן has more a present and כך more a future connotation. The sentence πολλοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν... seems not to belong here at all, but only at Mt. 22:14 (its other occurrence). It occurs, however, precisely in C W f¹ f¹³ and the Old Latin (as well as D Θ and other early translations), i.e., in the group of witnesses which frequently were found to contain the more appropriate variant. This variant, however, is different in character from almost all the others (excepting only the end of verse 7), since it is a whole additional sentence, whereas they are single additional words or changes in word order. It may be that the group of witnesses concerned represents a tendency to conserve all that one finds, i.e., on the one hand, someone's addition from another part of this gospel, but also, on the other, single words coming from the original Hebrew which someone else had pruned.

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