In the 4th century the Gothic Bishop Wulfila translated the Bible into Gothic. Several hundred leaves of that translation have remained extant, among them a portion of St. Matthew. Those leaves are part of the Codex Argenteus, which is preserved at the Library of Uppsala University.¹

Very little is known about Wulfila and his work and there is no evidence that he knew Hebrew or Aramaic. In this article I examine traces of Hebrew and Aramaic in his translation of St. Matthew.

In Christian writings there are testimonies for the existence of a Hebrew text of St. Matthew. Writing on Papias, a hearer of John the Apostle and the bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia Asia Minor in the beginning of the 2th century, Eusebius related:

This account, then, is the result of Papias's enquiries about Mark. Concerning Matthew he has made the following statement: "Matthew, at any rate, used the Hebrew language in his exposition of the Gospel, and each one translated it as best he could." (Ecclesiastic History III 39: 16)

On Irenius (born c. 120/140, died c. 200/203) Eusebius wrote:

Now Irenaeus was one of these, so let us quote his words, and in the first place those which refer to the sacred Gospels as follows: "Now Matthew published among the Hebrews a written gospel also in their tongue, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the church." (Book V, 8: 2)

Eusebius quoted Origen (born c. 185, died c. 254):
As having learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the Church of God under heaven, that first was written according to Matthew, who was once a tax collector but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for those who from Judaism came to believe, composed as it was in the Hebrew language.” (Book vi, 25: 4)

Eusebius himself also believed that St. Matthew was written in Hebrew. He wrote:

Matthew had first preached to Hebrews, and when he was on the point of going to others he transmitted in writing in his native language the Gospel according to himself, and thus supplied by writing the lack of his own presence to those from whom he was sent, and Mark and Luke had already published the Gospels according to them... (Book iii, 24: 6)

According to St. Jerome (Letter 20: 4) Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew:

Finally, Matthew, who wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, has expressed it thus: osianna barrama, that is hosanna in the highest. (Trans. Charles C. Mierow)

According to David Flusser (1987: 11) it can be safely assume that both Jesus and Paul spoke Hebrew. Flusser wrote:

There are saying of Jesus which can be rendered both into Hebrew and Aramaic; but there are some which can only be rendered into Hebrew, and none of them can be render only into Aramaic. One can thus demonstrate the Hebrew origins of the Gospels by retranslating them into Hebrew. (p.11)

From my own experience with working with the Gothic text of St. Matthew, I would say that I can follow it almost word for word with the 19th century Delitzsch's Hebrew translation, which was done from Greek.
In this paper I deal with Gothic words that were possibly loaned either from Hebrew or Aramaic or are cognates with words from these languages, and expression that may have originated from Hebrew.

St. Matthew V, 19: *þiudangardjai himine*

Literally: 'the yard (court) of the kingdom of heaven.'

King James Version: ...in the kingdom of heaven:

Greek: τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν 'the kingdom of heaven'

Latin: in regno caelorum 'the kingdom of heaven'

A Hebrew reconstruction: חצר מלכות השמים 'the yard (court) of the kingdom of heaven.'

In the Hebrew Bible the term 'yard' appears sometimes in association with the temple or a king:

Psalms 135: 2 Ye that stand in the house of the LORD, in the courts of the house of our God. (emphasis added)

Esther 6: 4 And the king said, Who is in the court?

Feist (1939 s.v. *þiudan-gardjai*) interpreted 'Königshaus.'

St. Matthew V: 22 *raka*

Literally: empty, e.g. a senseless, empty headed man.

King James and whosoever shall say to his brother, *Raca,*

Greek: ῥακά 'raca'

Latin: racha 'raca'

Hebrew: רָקָּה. In Aramaic: רָקָה 'raca'
The etymon of the word is Hebrew or Aramaic. Its meaning was known to the author of the Didascalia Apostolorum, apparently written in the 3rd century:

For what hope at all is there for him who speaks evil of the bishop, or the deacon? For if one call a layman fool, or raca, he is liable to the assembly, as one of those who rise up against Christ: because that he calls 'empty' his brother in whom Christ dwells, who is not empty but fulfilled... (Chapter IX [p.93])

**St. Matthew V 22: gaiainnan funins**

Literally: 'hell fire'

King James Version: ...shall be in danger of hell fire.

Greek: γέεννα 'hell'

Latin: gehennae ignis 'hell fire'

Hebrew: גיהנום 'hell'

**St. Matthew V 35: airþa**

Literally: 'earth'

King James Version: 35 Nor by the earth

Greek: μήτε ἐν τῇ γῇ 'Nor by the earth'

Latin: neque per terram 'Nor by the earth'

Hebrew: ארץ 'earth'

Feist (1939, s.v. airþa) suggests the Aramaic erkir as a cognate. The Hebrew גיהנום is cognate with the Aramaic word.
St. Matthew V 35: *unte fotubaurd ist fotwe*
Literally: 'foot-board for the foot'
King James Version: 35 ... for it is his footstool
Greek: ὑποπόδιον 'footstool'
Latin: *scabillum est pedum eius* 'for it is his footstool'

In Hebrew: נַרְדֵּךְ הָרְחוֹב. For example: Isaiah - Chapter 66: 1 Thus saith the LORD, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool.

St. Matthew V: 35 *baurgs*
Literal: 'burg'
King James Version: 35 ... for it is the city ...
Greek: πόλις 'burg'
Latin: *civitas* 'burg'
Hebrew: בִּירֵי 'burg'

According to Feist (1939, s.v. baurgs) the Gothic word is cognate with the Syriac *burga* and the Aramaic *burgin*, *burgon*. Lehmann (1986: 591) mentioned the Hebrew *birah* (בירה) in the list of Afro-Asiatic sources or cognates. In Even-Shoshan Dictionary (1968) the Acadian word *biritu* is mentioned as cognate.

St. Matthew V 41: *rasta*
Literally: 'mile'
King James Version: 35 ... to go a mile
Greek: μίλιον 'mile'
Latin: *mille* 'mile'
In the Talmud there appears a unit of distance called *ris* (רֵיס). It is around 150 meter. If this word is cognate with the Gothic *rasta*, then we have here two different units of distance, a mile and a ris.

**St. Matthew VI 11: hlaif unsarana þana sinteinan gif uns himma daga**

Literally: 'daily bread'

King James Version: Give us this day our daily bread.

Greek: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον

Latin: panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie

Hebrew: Junius (1665: 394) suggested לחם התמיד 'continual bread' (see figure 1).

(Numbers - Chapter 4: 7 And upon the table of shewbread they shall spread a cloth of blue, and put thereon the dishes, and the spoons, and the bowls, and covers to cover withal: and the continual bread shall be thereon.)

![Figure 1. Junius' interpretation](image)

**St. Matthew VI 24: mammona**

In the Gothic text: ni maguþ gþa skalkinon jah mammonin 'not you may god serve and mammon'

Literally: 'mammon'

King James Version: Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

Greek: µαµωνᾶς 'mammon'

Latin: non potestis Deo servire et *mamona* 'mammon'
Hebrew: ממון 'mammon'

**St. Matthew VI 30: leitil galaubjandans**
Literally: of little faith
King James Version: O ye of little faith
Greek: ὀλιγόπιστοι 'of little faith'
Latin: vos minimae fidei ' of little faith'
Hebrew: קטני אמונה 'of little faith'

**St. Matthew IX 17: wein**
literally: 'wine'
King James Version: 17 Neither do men put new wine into old bottles:
Greek: οἶνον 'wine'
Latin: vinum 'wine'
Hebrew: יין 'wine'

According to Lehmann (1986, s.v. wein), no ultimate source can be determined

**St. Matthew XI 17: qainon**
literally: 'mourn for, lament'
King James Version: ... and ye have not lamented.
Greek: κόπτω, 'lament, wail, mourn'
Latin: et non planxistis ' and ye have not lamented'
Hebrew: קאון 'lament'

I suggest that the Hebrew word is the ultimate etymon of the Gothic word.

**St. Matthew xxvii 6: kaurbanaun**
literally: a gift to the temple
King James Version: 6 And the chief priests took the silver pieces,
Greek: κορβᾶν, 'treasury, corban'
Latin: argenteis 'silver'
Hebrew: קורבן 'corban'

The Gothic word follows the Greek word, which, in turn is derived from the Hebrew word. The Latin and the King James versions use the term silver.

Generally it is assumed that the Gothic translation follows an unknown ancient version of the Bible. In fact, Streiberg (1908) endeavored to reconstruct such a text. From comparing the Gothic text and the Delitzsch's Hebrew translation and also from comparing the Hebrew loan-words in the text of St. Matthew, I suggest that this assumption is incorrect. If there are differences between the Greek and Gothic versions, at least for St. Matthew they are very minor and may have resulted from stylistic preferences or linguistic constrains; no two languages are identical.

Bishop Wulfila must have kept in front of him several translations, possibly also one or several which are presently extinct, and created, as all agree, a very good Gothic translation.

Notes
1 The digital version of facsimile edition of the Codex Argenteus is at:
   http://app.ub.uu.se/arv/codex/faksimiledition/contents.html

References


versiones perantique duæ, Gothica scil. Et Anglo-Saxonica. (The Four Gospels of Our
Lord Jesus Christ in two ancient versions, namely the Gothic and the Anglo-Saxon.)
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Nevertheless, numerous Hebrew translations and paraphrases for these Aramaic parts have been written from the Middle Ages to the present day. The medieval commentary of Gersonides on these books, for instance, contains a Hebrew paraphrase of their Aramaic sections which translates them nearly in their entirety. In the early 21st century, the Yad Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem inaugurated a major project of a scholarly publication called Bein Miqra la-Mishnah (“Between the Bible and the Mishnah”), whose scope includes new Hebrew translations and in-depth commentaries on apocryphal books. So far Maccabees 1 & 2 have appeared; Maccabees 3 & 4 and Jubilees are in preparation.[10]. Three medieval polemical rabbinical translations of Matthew predate the Hutter Bible.