NOTES

"PEACE UPON EARTH AMONG MEN OF HIS GOOD WILL" (LK 2:14)

It was Dr. Claus-Hunno Hunzinger who first pointed out the pertinence of a Qumrån expression to the understanding of the Lucan Christmas greeting: kai epi gēs eirēnē en anthrōpois eudokias (2:14).¹ He found the phrase b*nê r*ṣônô, "sons of His good pleasure," in one of the Qumrån Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH 4:32-33). Though it had previously been pointed out, perhaps best by J. Jeremias,² that eudokias must refer to God and not to man, there was no direct parallel for the expression "men of God's good pleasure." Now at last there was found in the Qumrån texts a contemporary expression that provided the missing Hebrew equivalent.

Fr. Ernst Vogt, S.J., wrote a résumé of Hunzinger's article³ and stressed especially that *eudokia* and $r\bar{a}$; δn express God's will in electing and predestining man rather than His pleasure in man's goodness. The phrase "sons of His good pleasure" indicates in Qumrân literature those who are the object of divine predilection. Moreover, since "men" and "sons" are frequently interchanged in kindred Qumrân expressions, $b^e n\hat{e} r^e$; $\delta n\hat{o}$ can easily be the Hebrew equivalent of $anthr\bar{o}$ pois eudokias.

The Qumrân expression contains a pronominal suffix which makes it clear that the good will refers to God. But the Greek of Luke's verse merely has *eudokias* without a possessive—a fact which has led to the frequently used but erroneous interpretation "men of good will" (i.e., who have good will). Both Hunzinger and Vogt have pointed out that *eudokia* without autou could pass as the Greek equivalent of $r^e \hat{sono}$. In Sir 15:15 and 39:18, $r^e \hat{sono}$ is translated merely by *eudokia*.

However, we wish to call attention here to the reading which is found in the Coptic (Sahidic) version. There we read: awō tirēnē higem pkah hen *nrōme *mpefwōš, "And peace upon the earth among men of His will."

- ¹ "Neues Licht auf Lc 2:14 anthrōpoi eudokias," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 44 (1952-53) 85-90.
- ² "Anthröpoi eudokias (Lc 2:14)," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 28 (1929) 13-20.
- ³ "'Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis' Lc 2:14," Biblica 34 (1953) 427-29. An English translation of this article, with some revisions, appears in K. Stendahl (ed.), The Scrolls and the New Testament (New York, 1957) pp. 114-17. The author here points out that the phrase occurs again in 10H 11:9.
- ⁴ The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Theban (Oxford, 1911) pp. 30-32.

The apparatus criticus in modern New Testaments and the commentators often cite the Sahidic version in support of the genitive eudokias, the reading of the better manuscripts, against the nominative eudokia. But they fail to indicate that the Sahidic also includes the personal pronominal prefix, pef. This prefix corresponds, then, to the Hebrew pronominal suffix found on $r^e sono$ in the Qumrân expression. Such a detail of the Coptic translation should not be lost sight of, as it gives us valuable testimony that eudokias was understood in the past as "of His good will." It thus confirms the interpretation based on the Qumrân expression: "Peace upon earth among men of His good will."

The expression $b^e n \hat{e} r^e \hat{s} \hat{o} n \hat{o}$, being Hebrew, fits in well with the hypothesis, often used today, that the source of Luke's first two chapters was originally a Hebrew composition. Recently, however, the Aramaic equivalent of the Lucan phrase has turned up in a Qumrân text being prepared for publication by M. l'Abbé J. Starcky. The latter, with whom I have had occasion to go over the text for the Cave 4 concordance, has graciously permitted me to cite the relevant passage here. The fragmentary manuscript in which the phrase occurs has been tentatively labeled $h^o z \hat{a} t c A mram c$, and assigned the siglum $4Q h^c A^c$; it tells of the vision enjoyed by Amram, the father of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam. The pertinent text is found in fragment 9, line 18. Unfortunately, only the beginning of the lines has been preserved in this fragment; what is left seems to be the end of the work. Though Aaron is not named, it seems that he is the subject.

18 šbycy bnwš rcwt[h wy]qrh wytm[r

19 ythir lkhn dmyn (vacat)

"he will be seventh among men of [his] good will [and ho]nor and it (he?) will be said . . .

he will be chosen as a priest forever."

The phrase which interests us is $b^n m v \tilde{s} r^n w t[h]$, "among men of [his] good will." The text is unfortunately damaged and the pronominal suffix lost; but it can be supplied on the basis of the one found on the parallel, coordinated noun, [wy]qrh. The suffix refers most likely to God, as it does in the Hebrew counterpart, $b^n n \tilde{e} r^n \tilde{s} \hat{o} n \tilde{o}$. The most interesting detail in the phrase is the noun $n \tilde{s} m v \tilde{s}$, "men," for it is the exact equivalent of the Lucan

⁵ See, e.g., A. Merk, *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (7th ed.; Rome, 1951) p. 195. ⁶ See P. Winter, "Some Observations on the Language in the Birth and Infancy Stories of the Third Gospel," *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954-55) 111-21; see also the literature cited there.

⁷ Actually >nws is a singular noun, but its collective force is quite frequently found, as here.

expression, anthropois eudokias. Since $r^{ec}a$ is the normal Aramaic cognate for the Hebrew $r\bar{a}s\hat{o}n$, we now have both an Aramaic and a Hebrew equivalent for Luke's expression. The occurrence of the same phrase in both languages indicates its common and frequent usage and confirms the interpretation that Dr. Hunzinger first suggested.

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8 This is not the first instance in which a NT expression, previously identified in Qumran Hebrew, has turned up in Aramaic dress as well. In the Genesis apocryphon, published by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem, 1956), a few words can be read on the left-hand side of column 1, lines 1-4 (see the photo of column 2). The editors say that these words "are as yet unclear" (p. 16). But in line 2 one can clearly read profiled. The words re rico are the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew rey pic (1027 1:2; 1QH 5:36; 1QH fr 50:5) and of the Greek mysterion tes anomias, "the mystery of iniquity" (2 Th 2:7).