

Ipsissima verba lesu ¿Hebreo, arameo o griego?

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Resumen

Los comentarios sobre la *ipsissima verba* jesuana se han incrementado en las últimas décadas debido, particularmente, a las distintas investigaciones arqueológicas, filológicas, históricas y sociológicas de la Palestina romana del siglo I. La presente nota busca, a través de un relevamiento bibliográfico de dichas fuentes, exponer los avances en esta área de estudio teniendo en especial consideración el potencial uso del griego *koiné* por parte de Jesús.

Palabras clave

Ipsissima verba – Jesús – Griego – Hebreo – Arameo – Palestina – Baja Galilea

Abstract

The commentaries on Jesus' *ipsissima verba* have increased in the last decades due, particularly, to different archeological, philological, historical and sociological research on the Roman Palestine of the first century. The present note aims at exposing, through a bibliographic study of said sources, the advances on these areas of studies, taking into special consideration the possibility of Jesus using *Koine* Greek.

Key words

Ipsissima verba – Jesus – Greek – Hebrew – Aramaic – Palestine – “Lower Galilee”

Introducción

Identificar el código lingüístico en que originalmente se impartió un determinado mensaje nos faculta con mayor fidelidad interpretativa respecto del mismo. Así, entonces, nuestra comprensión del mensaje (*ipsissima vox*) de Jesús descansa *a priori* sobre el idioma que empleó como medio de transmisión (*ipsissima verba*).¹ En este contexto, los eruditos en

¹ No es mi propósito tratar todos los aspectos que involucra el estudio de un personaje del siglo I o, en el contexto de los estudios neotestamentarios, las distintas perspectivas (*quest*) tocantes al “Jesús histórico”. No obstante, entender la figura histórica de Jesús no es un elemento circunstancial o un conjunto de datos periféricos sin incidencia hermenéutica: “...the historical Jesus is one of the most important themes in New Testament scholarship” (Ian H. Marshall, *I Believe in the Historical Jesus* [Vancouver: Regent College, 2004], 4). Acompaño en este último punto las conclusiones de Roberto Pereyra, “Yo creo en el Jesús histórico”, *DavarLogos* 8.1 (2009): 27-30.

material evangélico concuerdan en que las posibilidades deben delimitarse a tres: hebreo, arameo y griego.²

² Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 501-531; Jonas C. Greenfield, “The Languages of Palestine, 200 B C E -200 C E”, en *Jewish Languages Theme and Variations Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March-April 1975*, ed. Herbert H Paper (Cambridge: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978), 143-154; Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood, Studies in Biblical Greek 1* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1989), 111-117; Michael O. Wise, “Languages of Palestine”, en *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, eds. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight y I. Howard Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 434-443; Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1995), 247; Aland Millard, “Latin in First-Century Palestine”, en *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, eds. Zvi Zevit, Seymour Gitin y Michael Sokoloff (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 451-458; John P. Meier, *Un judío marginal. Nueva visión del Jesús histórico*, 4 vols. (Estella, Navarra: Verbo Divino, 1998), 1:267-279; John C. Poirier, “The Linguistic Situation in Jewish Palestine in Late Antiquity”, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 4 (2007): 55-134; Peter G. Bolt, “Aramaic and the *ipsissima verba Jesu*”, en *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Craig A. Evans (New York-London: Routledge, 2008), 26-32; Martin McNamara, *Targum and New Testament: Collected Essays, WUNT 279* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 180-208, y Craig A. Evans, “The Historical Jesus and the New Testament Commentaries”, en *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday, TENTS 8*, eds. Stanley E. Porter y Eckhard J. Schnabel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2012), 114. Por la interacción entre el hebreo, el arameo y el griego ver Gerard Mussies, “Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora”, en *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions, CRLNT 1.2*, eds. Shemuel Safrai y Maureen Stern (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1976), 1040-1460; Moisés Silva, “Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek”, *Biblica* 61 (1980): 198-219; Bernard Spolsky, “Jewish Multilingualism in the First Century: An Essay in Historical Sociolinguistics”, en *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages, CSJL 1*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 35-50; James Barr, “Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in the Hellenistic Age”, en *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Hellenistic Age*, 4 vols., eds. W. D. Davies y Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2:110-114, y Pieter W. Van Der Horst, *Tabeth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity, CBET 32* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 9-26. Referente al uso del latín, Catherine Hezser observa: “In contrast to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, there is extremely little evidence for the usage of Latin by Jews in Roman Palestine” (*Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine, TSAJ 81* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 235). En esta línea, Mark A. Chancey declara: “As for Latin, no one seriously suggests that it was used much; even those scholars who believe (...) that Romans were numerous in first-century Galilee acknowledge that many of the soldiers would have spoken Greek themselves” (*Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus, SNTSMS 134* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 125). Si bien la tendencia es desestimar el uso del latín, prudentemente Roger S. Bagnall advierte: “The ubiquity and pervasiveness of everyday writing in Greek is clearly visible; that in the other great metropolitan written languages, Aramaic and Latin, is less well documented but starting to come into focus as well” (*Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East, SCL 69* [California, CA: University of California Press, 2011], 141). Véase en tal sentido Werner Eck, “The Presence, Role and Significance of Latin in the Epigraphy and Culture of the Roman Near East”, en *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, eds. Hanna M. Cotton, Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price y David J. Wasserstein (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15-42.

¿Hebreo, arameo o griego?

Como he señalado previamente, mi interés se encuentra en el/los idioma/s que empleó Jesús al momento de impartir sus enseñanzas (*ipsissima verba*) aflorando, tal vez, el deseo de todo exégeta de “beber de la fuente” (*ad fontes*).

A continuación me propongo describir, a través de una revisión bibliográfica, el estado actual de las diferentes propuestas para, seguidamente, identificar y reflexionar en las fuentes primarias de información.

Ipsissima verba Iesu: Hebreo

La vigencia del hebreo en el judaísmo del Segundo Templo, propuesto, entre otros, por Segal,³ Birkeland,⁴ Grintz,⁵ Lindsey,⁶ Kutscher⁷ y Joosten⁸ continúa siendo objeto de evaluación.⁹

En 2009 James R. Edwards presenta *The Hebrew Gospel and the Development of the Synoptic Tradition*, donde recoge argumentos a favor de un “protoevangelio hebreo”.¹⁰ El trabajo de Edwards se destaca, claro está, no por proponer la existencia de este “documento”, lo que es bien sabido otros han sugerido con anterioridad, sino por el análisis sistemático de fuentes primarias que, ciertamente, constituyen un argumento documental palmario en favor de la presencia de este “protoevangelio hebreo”. La

³ Moisés H. Segal, “Mishnaic Hebrew and its Relation to Biblical Hebrew and to Aramaic”, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 20 (1908): 647-737.

⁴ Harris Birkeland, *The Language of Jesus* (Oslo: I. Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dyfowad, 1954).

⁵ Jehoshua M. Grintz, “Hebrew as the Spoken and Written Language in the Last Days of the Second Temple”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 79 (1960): 32-47.

⁶ Robert L. Lindsey, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark* (Jerusalem: Dugith Publishers, 1969).

⁷ Edward Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), 115-120.

⁸ Jan Joosten, “Aramaic or Hebrew behind the Greek Gospels?”, *Analecta Bruxellensia*, 9 (2004): 88-101.

⁹ Ver, por ejemplo, *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea: Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels-Volume Two*, JCP, 26 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014), editada por Randall Buth y R. Steven Notley, cuyos estudios arguyen en favor de un papel más significativo y determinante del hebreo en la Judea romana del siglo I (ver nota 46).

¹⁰ James R. Edwards, *The Hebrew Gospel and the Development of the Synoptic Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).

existencia de un texto protoevangélico escrito originalmente en hebreo ha sido, y por medio del trabajo de Edwards continúa siendo, fuente de análisis y debate.

Por su parte, en un artículo publicado en 2012 en la *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Steven E. Fassberg compendia, con claridad meridiana, la percepción actual de los postulantes de la lengua hebrea:

As a Jew from the Galilee, he must have spoken some form of Galilean Aramaic that antedates the Galilean Aramaic we know from the Late Aramaic period. But as a Jew living in Palestine, he must also have spoken Hebrew, since Hebrew was still alive during this period and even later. The vernacular evidence in the Judean Desert documents, both the earlier (Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls) and later documents (such as the Bar Kosiba letters) from different Judean Desert sites, demonstrates that Hebrew continued to be used, not only in writing and prayer but also in speech. Moreover, manuscripts and oral traditions of Tannaitic Hebrew demonstrate that Hebrew was a vital, developing, and multifaceted language with dialects that was spoken until at least the end of the second century C.E. In the light of this evidence, it seems most unlikely that Jesus would not have known Hebrew in addition to Aramaic. Not only would he have been able to read from the Torah, but he would have been able also to converse naturally in Hebrew.¹¹

Ipsissima verba Iesu: Arameo galilaico¹²

Entre los exponentes del arameo se destacan Dalman,¹³ Wellhausen,¹⁴ Burney,¹⁵ Torrey,¹⁶ Montgomery,¹⁷ Burrows,¹⁸ Black,¹⁹ Zimmermann,²⁰ Jeremias,²¹ Fitzmyer,²² Casey²³ y Horsley.²⁴

¹¹ Steven E. Fassberg, “Which Semitic Language Did Jesus and Other Contemporary Jews Speak?”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 74 (2012): 280.

¹² Como dijera Martin McNamara: “When we come to consider the Aramaic spoken by Jesus, we may presume that he used the Aramaic spoken in Galilee, with whatever differences this may have had from Judean or conventional literary Aramaic of the period” (*Targum and New Testament*, 208).

¹³ Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902); ídem, *Jesus-Yeshua: Studies in the Gospels* (London: SPCK, 1929), esp. 1-37.

¹⁴ Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1905).

¹⁵ Charles F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); ídem, *The Poetry of Our Lord* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925).

¹⁶ Charles C. Torrey, “The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels”, en *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, eds. David G. Lyon y George F. Moore (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1912), 269-317; ídem, “Fact and Fancy in the Theories Concerning Acts”, *American Journal of Theology*, 23 (1919): 61-86; ídem, “The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John”, *Harvard Theological Review*, 16 (1923): 305-344; ídem, *The Four Gospels: A New Translation* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1933); ídem, *Our Translated Gospels: Some of the Evidence* (New York, NY: Harper, 1936); *Documents of the*

El amplio espectro de la erudición neotestamentaria acepta en líneas generales que la lengua vernácula en la Palestina romana del siglo I era el arameo. Esto ha tenido un gran impacto en las aproximaciones filológicas al texto griego del Nuevo Testamento, especialmente en áreas como la onomasiología, la lexicografía y la lexicología.²⁵ No obstante, estas lecturas no han estado exentas de objeciones metodológicas.²⁶

Primitive Church (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1941); ídem, “The Aramaic of the Gospels”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 61 (1942): 71-85.

¹⁷ James Montgomery, *The Origin of the Gospel According to St. John* (Philadelphia, PA: J. C. Winston, 1923).

¹⁸ Millar Burrows, “The Original Language of the Gospel of John”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 49 (1930): 95-139; ídem, “Principles for Testing the Translation Hypothesis in the Gospels”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 53 (1934): 13-30.

¹⁹ Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3 ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967).

²⁰ Frank Zimmermann, *The Aramaic Origin of the Four Gospels* (New York, NY: Ktav, 1979).

²¹ Joachim Jeremias, *Teología del Nuevo Testamento: La predicación de Jesús* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1974), 15-21.

²² Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, SBS, 5 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1974).

²³ Maurice Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, SNTSMS, 102 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); ídem, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, SNTSMS 122 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁴ Richard A. Horsley, “The Language(s) of the Kingdom: From Aramaic to Greek, Galilee to Syria, Oral to Oral-Written”, en *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Seán Freyne*, ISJSup 132, eds. Zuleika Rodgers, Margaret Daly-Denton y Anne F. McKinley (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 410-411.

²⁵ En el ámbito de la filología neotestamentaria hablar de un “griego judaizado” no es una categoría lingüística viable, puesto que “...la base para sostener la existencia de un dialecto judeogriego, es decir, un griego teñido de frecuentes arameísmo -ya sea ‘artificial’, como producto literario engendrado a la hora de verter al griego textos semíticos, ya sea ‘natural’ como resultado de hablantes de lengua materna aramea que se expresan también en griego- es muy débil y no se sostiene en pie...” (Antonio Piñero y Jesús Peláez, *El Nuevo Testamento. Introducción al estudio de los primeros escritos cristianos* [Córdoba, España: El Almendro, 1995], 135). Sin negar el potencial, y en ocasiones evidente, “sustrato semita” en escritos judíos y judeocristianos en griego *koiné*, Nicholas R. M. de Lange afirma: “It has become gradually clearer (particularly with developments in the study of the papyri) that many features of Biblical Greek language that were formerly regarded as Semitisms or peculiarities are actually attested also in non-Jewish texts” (“Jewish Greek”, en *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. A. F. Christidis [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007], 640). Ver también Mark Janse, “Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language”, en *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, eds. James N. Adams, Mark Janse y Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 389; Francisco R. Adrados, *A History of the Greek Language: From Its Origins to the Present* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2005), 186; Lester L. Grabbe, “Jewish Identity and Hellenism in the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek”, en *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, NovTSup 129, eds. Patrick Gray y Gail R. O’Day (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), 31-32, y Coulter H. George, “Jewish and Christian

En última instancia, en una sociedad caracterizada por el multilingüismo es sumamente pertinente la observación de índole histórico y sociológico que realiza Catherine Hezser: “Since Aramaic was not an essential component of Jewish identity, nobody will have been particularly interested in its preservation and its prevalence over Greek”.²⁷

Ipsissima verba Iesu: Griego koiné

Roberts,²⁸ Taylor,²⁹ Argyle,³⁰ Lieberman,³¹ Turner,³² Gundry,³³ Sevenster,³⁴ Hughes,³⁵ Ross,³⁶ Tresham³⁷ y Porter³⁸ han sostenido, con

Greek”, en *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language, BCAW*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 279. Por trabajos relacionados con el *status quaestionis* del griego del Nuevo Testamento véase *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development*, LBS 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013), editada por Stanley E. Porter y Andrews Pitts.

²⁶ E.g. Morton Smith, “Aramaic Studies and the Study of the New Testament”, *Journal of Bible and Religion*, 26 (1958): 304-313; Lincoln D. Hurst, “The Neglected Role of Semantic in the Search for the Aramaic Words of Jesus”, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 28 (1986): 63-80; Stanley E. Porter, “Jesus and the Use of Greek: A Response to Maurice Casey”, *Bulletin for Biblical Research*, 10, n° 1 (2000): 71-87.

²⁷ Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, 240. De igual modo Tessa Rajak expresa: “...in the Second Temple period Greek was widely spoken by Jews who were often (as Jews have been through the ages) actively multilingual” (*The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*, AGJU 48 [Leiden, E. J. Brill, 2002], 4).

²⁸ Alexander Roberts, *Discussions on the Gospels* (London: Nisbet, 1862).

²⁹ R. O. P. Taylor, “Did Jesus Speak Aramaic?”, *Expository Times*, 56 (1944-45): 95-97.

³⁰ Aubrey W. Argyle, “Did Jesus Speak Greek?”, *Expository Times* 67 (1955-56): 92-93; ídem, “Greek among the Jews of Palestine in New Testament Times”, *New Testament Studies*, 20 (1973-74): 87-90.

³¹ Saul Lieberman, “How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?”, en *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 137-141.

³² Nigel Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 174-188.

³³ Robert H. Gundry, “The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine: Its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Gospel Tradition”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 83 (1964): 404-408.

³⁴ Jan N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?*, NovTSup 19 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

³⁵ Philip E. Hughes, “The Languages Spoken by Jesus”, en *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, eds. Richard N. Longenecker y Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1974), 127-143.

³⁶ J. M. Ross, “Jesus’s Knowledge of Greek”, *Irish Biblical Studies*, 12 (1990): 41-47.

³⁷ Aaron K. Tresham, “The Languages Spoken by Jesus”, *Master’s Seminary Journal*, 20, n° 1 (2009): 71-94.

³⁸ Stanley E. Porter y Matthew B. O’Donnell, “The Implications of Textual Variants for Authenticating the Words of Jesus”, en *Authenticating the Words of Jesus*, NTTS 28, eds. Bruce D. Chilton y Craig A. Evans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 97-133; Stanley E. Porter, *Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, SBG 5 (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1996), 139-171; ídem, *The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals*,

variada fuerza argumentativa, el amplio uso del griego *koiné* en la Palestina romana del siglo I (*lingua franca*).³⁹ Así, se ha dado lugar a repensar y evaluar la utilización del griego por parte de Jesús en distintos momentos de su ministerio. Si bien, en la actualidad, nadie mantiene el punto de vista de Roberts,⁴⁰ sí encontramos proposiciones como las de Sevenster,⁴¹ Turner⁴² y Gundry⁴³ que bien pueden articularse complementariamente con las posturas mencionadas anteriormente.

El debate acerca del potencial uso jesuano del idioma griego, desde una perspectiva diacrónica, alcanza su madurez en las palabras de Stanley E. Porter, quien representa la perspectiva actual de los postulantes de la *ipsissima verba graeca*, cuando concluye:

...the evidence regarding what is known about the use of Greek in ancient Palestine, including the cosmopolitan hellenistic character of Lower Galilee, and the epigraphic and literary evidence, including coins, papyri, literary writers, inscriptions and funerary texts, in conjunction with several significant contexts in the Gospels, all point in one direction: whereas it is not always known how much and on which

JSNTSup 191 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 164-208; ídem, "Language and Translation of the New Testament", en *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, OHRT, eds. John W. Rogerson y Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 189; ídem, "The Role of Greek Language Criteria in Historical Jesus Research", en *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 4 vols., eds. Tom Holmén y Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2011), 1:361-404; ídem, "The Language(s) Jesus Spoke", en *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 3:2455-2471.

³⁹ Con relación a esto obsérvese que nuestras aproximaciones a Jesús de Nazaret, tanto a nivel histórico como teológico, parten, primeramente, de documentos de la Palestina romana de la segunda mitad del siglo primero escritos en griego *koiné*.

⁴⁰ Roberts, "hijo de su tiempo", expresó: "Jesus Christ spoke in Greek, and the evangelists independently narrated His actions and reported His discourses IN THE SAME LANGUAGE which He had Himself employed" (*Discussions on the Gospels*, 437-438).

⁴¹ Sevenster precisa: "...there is absolutely no reason for rejecting any possibility that Jesus sometimes spoke Greek, e.g. when He preached in the Decapolis or in Trans-Jordan (Matth. 4:25; Mark 3:8; 5:20; 7:31; 10; 1) or when He spoke with Pilate, or that the earliest apostles and later Jewish leaders of congregations, such as James brother of the Lord, could speak as well as understand Greek in their intercourse with fellow Christians. It is no longer possible to refute such a possibility by recalling that these were usually people of modest origins. It has now been clearly demonstrated that a knowledge of Greek was in no way restricted to the upper circles, which were permeated with Hellenistic culture, but was to be found in all circles of Jewish society, and certainly in places bordering on regions where much Greek was spoken, e.g. Galilee" (*Do You Know Greek?*, 190).

⁴² "...on some occasions at least Jesus may have used Greek, such as his conversations with the Syro-phoenician woman, the Roman centurion and the procurator Pontius Pilate" (Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament*, 176).

⁴³ "Jesus the Galilean and the apostles, who were predominantly if not exclusive Galilean, commonly use Greek in addition to the Semitic tongues" (Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine", 407).

occasions Jesus spoke Greek, it is well established that he used Greek at various times in his itinerant ministry...⁴⁴

Tras las palabras (*Jogia*) de Jesús de Nazaret

En esta última subsección se presentan cuatro fuentes de información que, juzgo, proyectan y delimitan las posturas identificadas hasta aquí y, particularmente, constituyen un argumento histórico válido en favor del empleo del griego *koiné* por parte de Jesús.

1. Registros evangélicos canónicos:⁴⁵ A la luz de los registros evangélicos es históricamente factible que Jesús haya leído⁴⁶ hebreo y dialogado e impartido sus enseñanzas, principalmente, en arameo (e.g. טליתא קומי [Mc 5,41], קורבני [Mc 7,11], אתפתח [Mc 7,34], לגהנא [Mc 9,43], רבי [Mc 10,51], אבא [Mc 14,36], אלהי אלהי שבקתני למנא [Mc 15,34], etc) y, en situaciones concretas que lo exigían, en griego (cf. Jn 4,4-26; 12,20-28; Lc 17,11-14; Mt 8,5-13/Jn 4,46-54; Mc 2,13-14/Mt 9,9/Lc 5,27-28; Mc 7,25-30/Mt 15,21-28; Mc 12,13-17/Mt 22,16-22/Lc 20,20-26; Mc 8,27-30/Mt 16,13-20/Lc 9,18-21; Mc 15,2-5; Mt 27,11-14; Lc 23,2-5; Jn 18,29-38).⁴⁷ Sumado a esto el hecho de que el Maestro tuviera por oficio

⁴⁴ Stanley E. Porter, “Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee”, en *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, NTTS 19, eds. Bruce Chilton y Craig A. Evans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 153-154.

⁴⁵ No se toman aquí en consideración los posibles aportes de los *agrapha*. Sobre estas palabras “no escritas/registradas” en los evangelios canónicos ver la clásica lectura de Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (London: SPCK, 1964) y la actualizada presentación de Bart Ehrman y Zlatko Pleše ed., *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 351-368.

⁴⁶ Es posible intuir no solo que pudiera leer hebreo (Lc 4,17), sino que también tuviera la capacidad de conversar en ese idioma (Lc 2,46-47). Esta intuición encuentra sustento histórico al cotejar las últimas investigaciones papirológicas y epigráficas respecto del uso del hebreo en la Palestina romana del siglo I. Para más información del hebreo en este período véase la reciente obra corporativa titulada: *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of other Contemporary Sources. STDJ* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013), editada por Steven Fassberg, Moshe Bar-Asher y Ruth Clements.

⁴⁷ Porter describe la escena entre Jesús y Pilato como sigue: “It is highly unlikely that Pilate, the prefect assigned to this remote posting in the Roman empire, would have known any Semitic language. No translator or interpreter is mentioned for the conversation that occurs between Jesus and Pilate, making it unlikely that Latin or Aramaic was used. In fact, the pace of the narrative, in which conversation is held between not only Pilate and Jesus but Pilate and the Jewish leaders, Pilate and the crowd, and the Jewish leaders and the crowd, argues against an interpreter intervening. It is most likely, therefore, that Jesus spoke to Pilate in Greek. In fact, there is the probability that all of the conversation, including that of Pilate with the Jewish leaders and the crowd (and possibly that of the Jewish leaders and the crowd?), took place in Greek” (“Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee”, 152).

“artesano” (Mc 6,3), es un punto revelador en nuestra línea de argumentación en favor del uso del griego por parte de Jesús dado que un τέκτων radicado en Nazaret (posteriormente, como señala Mt 4,13, “puso casa [κατώκησεν] en Cafarnaúm”) tendría que haber ofrecido sus servicios, fundamentalmente, en la esfera de influencia de las cercanas ciudades griego-parlantes de Tiberíades y Séforis. Nótese, además, que Flavio Josefo (*AntJ* 18,63) destaca que tanto judíos (Ἰουδαῖος) como gentiles (Ἑλληνικός) seguían a Jesús.⁴⁸ A la postre, como ha consensuado gran parte de la erudición jesuana, partiendo del testimonio evangélico canónico resulta textual, geográfica e históricamente verosímil afirmar que “Dios habló griego”.⁴⁹ Esta apreciación es realmente significativa si se considera que en los documentos neotestamentarios tenemos, en cierta medida y con claras limitaciones,⁵⁰ acceso a la *ipsissima verba Iesu*.⁵¹

Comentando el registro mencionado en Mt 4,25, Petr Pokorný interpreta: “If the crowds from the Decapolis did indeed follow him (Matt 4:25), he must have spoken to them in Greek, since after the Roman conquest of Palestine in 64 B.C.E., the Decapolis rejected Jewish influence, which had violently been imposed on them by the Jewish Hasmoneans” (*From the Gospel to the Gospels: History, Theology and Impact of the Biblical Term ‘euangelion’*, BZNBW 195 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013], 82).

⁴⁸ Joseph Fitzmyer concluye: “The general evidence that we have been considering would suggest the likelihood that Jesus did speak Greek” (“The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.”, 516; ver también su, “Did Jesus Speak Greek?”, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 18, n° 5 [1992]: 58-63). Asimismo Martin Hengel nota: “...Jesus himself, who as a building craftsman belonged to the middle class (...), was capable of carrying on a conversation in Greek” (*The ‘Hellenization’ of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* [Philadelphia, PA: Trinity Press, 1989], 17).

⁴⁹ Esta declaración es un eco del título del libro *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), de Timothy M. Law.

⁵⁰ La plataforma epistemológica sobre la que descansan estas limitaciones es la naturaleza “oral” de los “escritos” canónicos (ἰ“oxímoron” o *Sitz im Leben?*). Por criterios para identificar la *ipsissima verba* ver los propuestos por Porter, *The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research*, 126-237. Recientemente Brian J. Wright ha formulado sugestivamente la inclusión de la sintaxis griega como criterio (“Greek Syntax as a Criterion of Authenticity: A New Discussion and Proposal”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 74, n° 1 [2012]: 84-100). Por otra parte, resulta relevante el siguiente comentario del erudito judío Saul Lieberman acerca de una práctica que, de una forma u otra, arroja luz sobre una manera en la que probablemente se habría podido preservar la *ipsissima verba Iesu*: “Now the Jewish disciples of Jesus, in accordance with the general rabbinic practice, wrote the sayings which their master pronounced *not* in form of a book to be published, but as notes in their *pinaces*, codices, in their note-books (or in private small rolls). They did this because otherwise they would have transgressed the law. In line with the foregoing we would naturally expect the *logia* of Jesus to be originally copied in codices. Archaeological evidence, as is well known, fully corroborates this assumption” (*Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B. C. E. - IV Century C. E.*, TSJTSJA

2. Evidencia arqueológica: El perfil cosmopolita de la “baja Galilea” es, sin lugar a dudas, el eje del debate arqueológico.⁵² Intérpretes como Meeks,⁵³ Mussies,⁵⁴ Lee,⁵⁵ Horsley,⁵⁶ Levine,⁵⁷ Vorster,⁵⁸

18 (New York, NY: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962), 205). Para más información sobre este punto ver Alan Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), esp. 84-131, 154-184, y Larry Hurtado, “What Do the Earliest Christian Manuscripts Tell Us about Their Readers?”, en *The World of Jesus and the Early Church: Identity and Interpretation in the Early Communities of Faith*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), 179-192.

⁵¹ Esta posibilidad ha sido reconocida incluso por el “Jesus Seminar”: “Recent archaeological excavations in Galilee indicate that Greek influence was widespread there in the first century of our era. If Jesus could speak Greek, some parts of the oral tradition of sayings and parables preserved in the gospels may actually have originated with him” (Robert Funk, Roy Hoover y The Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* [New York, NY: Macmillan, 1993], 28).

⁵² Como indica Ben Witherington III: “Jesus certainly grew up in the more fertile, cosmopolitan and developed area of the two Galilees. Given the region’s openness to trade and travel, the residents were likely to know at least enough Greek to do business with the many Gentiles in the area. Even Galilean fishermen like Peter would have needed to know some Greek to be successful at their trade” (*The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth*, 2ª ed. (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 26-27). Algunos investigadores, como Jonathan L. Reed (*Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* [Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 2000]); Mark A. Chancey (*The Myth of Gentile Galilee, JNTSMS 118* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002]) y Morten H. Jensen (*Herod Antipas in Galilee: The Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and its Socio-Economic Impact on Galilee, WUNT 215* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010]), han cuestionado la visión cosmopolita de esta región. En cualquier caso, naturalmente, resulta de suma relevancia evitar planteamientos “reduccionistas”, como lo demuestra el reciente monográfico titulado: *Between Cooperation and Hostility: Multiple Identities in Ancient Judaism and the Interaction with Foreign Powers* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), editado por Rainer Albertz y Jakob Wöhrle. Para una síntesis de las distintas aproximaciones a la región de Galilea véase Seán Freyne, *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays, WUNT 125* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 1-26. Acerca de la importancia del estudio de esta región ver el influente artículo de Eric Maver titulado, “Galilean Regionalism as Factor in Historical Reconstruction”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 221 (1979): 93-101.

⁵³ Wayne A. Meeks, “‘Am I a Jew?’ Johannine Christianity and Judaism”, en *Christianity, Judaism and Other Graeco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, SJLA 12, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), 167.

⁵⁴ “(Jesús) grew up in surroundings where Greek was the second language of many people if not a majority of the population” (Gerard Mussies, “Greek as the Vehicle of Early Christianity”, *New Testament Studies*, 29, nº 3 [1983]: 359, la interpolación fue añadida).

⁵⁵ Bernard J. Lee, *The Galilean Jewishness of Jesus: Retrieving the Jewish Origins of Christianity* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1988), 63.

⁵⁶ “...while Aramaic-Hebrew dominates inscriptions in Upper Galilee, bilingual Greek and Aramaic-Hebrew inscriptions are numerous in Lower Galilean sites” (Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 239).

⁵⁷ “Thus, there is less evidence of Hellenization (e.g., the use of Greek or figural representations) in the Upper Galilee as opposed to the Lower Galilee, or in Judaea and the Golan in contrast to Jewish communities in the large Hellenized cities along the coast of Roman Palestine. In the latter, for example, all inscriptions are in Greek, and thus the story of the Caesarea congregation reciting the *Shema* in that language (...). Similarly, the

Ellis,⁵⁹ Fiensy,⁶⁰ Schwartz,⁶¹ y Gruen⁶² han reconocido, sustancialmente, que los distintos asentamientos poblacionales en la región de la baja Galilea no eran centros culturales indiferentes a su medio. En palabras de Douglas R. Edwards: “Villages were not static bastions of tradition but rather fluid entities that reflected as well as participated in the economic and cultural currents swirling around them”.⁶³ Por consiguiente, haciendo eco de la declaración anterior, los verbos “reflejar” y/o “participar” manifiestan la esencia de la dinámica sociocultural (Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν [Mt 4,15]).⁶⁴ En tal sentido, Fergus Millar, en *The Roman Near East 31*

synagogues discovered in Sepphoris and Tiberias, the two large Jewish urban centers of the Lower Galilee, were clearly Hellenized in a number of significant ways, not the least of which was the use of the zodiac and the appearance of Greek inscriptions” (Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* [Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998], 169).

⁵⁸ Willem S. Vorster, *Speaking of Jesus: Essays on Biblical Language, Gospel Narrative & the Historical Jesus*, NovTSup 92 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 25.

⁵⁹ Edward E. Ellis, *History and Interpretation in New Testament Perspective*, BIS 54 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 45.

⁶⁰ David A. Fiensy, *Jesus the Galilean: Soundings in a First Century Life* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), 63.

⁶¹ Seth Schwartz, *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society?: Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ancient Judaism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

⁶² “...even those who remained in Palestine found Hellenic culture close and conspicuous. Numerous Greek or Greco-Phoenician communities stood on the Mediterranean coast or in the lower Galilee” (Erich S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012], 302-303).

⁶³ Cf. Douglas R. Edwards, “Identity and Social Location in Roman Galilean Villages”, en *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, WUNT 201, eds. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge y Dale B. Martin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 374. En armonía con estos antecedentes Gideon Bohak (*Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* [Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 227-291), analiza textos mágicos judíos del siglo I escritos en (1) arameo-griego, (2) hebreo-griego y (3) arameo-hebreo-griego. De igual forma Pieter W. Van Der Horst y Judith H. Newman (*Early Jewish Prayers in Greek, CEJL* [Berlín: Walter de Gruyter, 2008]) estudian 12 oraciones judías, de entre el siglo II a.C. y el siglo IV d.C., registradas en griego. Estos estudios nos permiten destacar, entre otras cosas, la cotidianeidad del griego en distintos ámbitos judíos.

⁶⁴ Cf. Hengel, *The “Hellenization” of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, 14-15; Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, 96-97; Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 90-116. Esto no implica visualizar en Jesús un “judío helenizado”. Refiriéndose al uso del griego en Galilea, Jonathan Marshall acertadamente admite que la ecuación “idioma” = “cultura” no es precisa (*Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors: Roman Palestine and the Gospel of Luke*, WUNT 259 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009], 64). En consecuencia, no se debe ignorar el contexto multicultural y multilingüe que señalan las investigaciones en Ted Kaizer ed., *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, RGRW 164 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), el trabajo de Tim Whitmarsh (*Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World* [Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2010]) y los hallazgos de Stuart S. Miller (*Studies in the History and Traditions of Sepphoris*, SJA 37 [Leiden: E. J. Brill,

BC–AD 337, advierte: “To look at the culture of any one of the sub-regions of the Near East is to see how profoundly the Greek language and Greek culture were rooted in the civilization of this region. Any notion of a crude contrast between ‘Greek’ on the one hand and ‘Oriental’ or ‘Semitic’ on the other must seem wholly inadequate”.⁶⁵

3. Evidencia papirológica y epigráfica:⁶⁶ Los estudios de Highet,⁶⁷ Fitzmyer,⁶⁸ Hengel,⁶⁹ Bartlett,⁷⁰ Stambaugh-Balch,⁷¹ Porter,⁷²

1984) y Andrew M. Smith II (*Roman Palmyra: Identity, Community, and State Formation* [New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013]).

⁶⁵ Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 220. A la luz de esta apreciación, la clasificación “judaismo helenístico” como frase descriptiva de los “dispersos” es, cuanto menos, poseedora de una clara ambigüedad. Ver al respecto Lester L. Grabbe, “Hellenistic Judaism”, en *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Historical Syntheses*, HOS 1, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 53-83.

⁶⁶ Por los textos e inscripciones ver Jean-Baptiste Frey ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, 2 vols. (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936-1952); Víctor A. Tcherikover, Alexander Fuks y Menahem Stern eds., *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum I-III* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957-1964); Joseph A. Fitzmyer y Daniel J. Harrington. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978); Hannah M. Cotton y Joseph Geiger eds., *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), y Naphtali Lewis ed., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989). Para una detallada lista que testimonia de este impacto en Jerusalén véase Hannah M. Cotton, Leah Di Segni, Werner Eck, Benjamin Isaac, Alla Kushnir-Stein, Haggai Misgav, Jonathan J. Price, Israel Roll y Ada Yardeni eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Volume 1: Jerusalem* (Berlín: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

⁶⁷ Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition. Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1957), 5.

⁶⁸ “...I would maintain that the most commonly used language of Palestine in the first century A.D. was Aramaic, but that many Palestinian Jews, not only those in Hellenistic towns, but farmers and craftsmen of less obviously Hellenized areas used Greek, at least as a second language. The data collected from Greek inscriptions and literary sources indicate that Greek was widely used. In fact, there is indication, despite Josephus’ testimony, that some Palestinians spoke only Greek, the *hellenistai*” (Fitzmyer, “The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.”, 531).

⁶⁹ “In Palestine, the triumphal progress of Greek makes an impressive showing in inscriptions” (Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1974], 1:58).

⁷⁰ John R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristaeus, The Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 4.

⁷¹ “There are many ossuary inscriptions from Palestine, two thirds in Greek alone, one tenth in Greek and Hebrew (or Aramaic). Since sepulchral inscriptions probably best indicate the language of the common people, it is significant that the vast majority of those published are in Greek. Books were written in Greek by persons from various social strata and religious parties in the two centuries B.C.E.: 1 Maccabees, Tobit, the additions to Esther, and the additions to Daniel. Many scholars today conclude that Greek was widely used in first-century Palestine by Christians as well as other Jews” (John E. Stambaugh y

Adler⁷³ y Rowe,⁷⁴ señalan el amplio uso del griego por parte del judaísmo palestino; las inscripciones no solo favorecen esta tesis, sino que la confirman. Bajo el título “Greek in Jewish Palestine in the Light of Jewish Epigraphy”, Pieter W. Van Der Horst concluirá: “...Greek was widely used and understood...”⁷⁵

4. Multilingüismo: Reflexiones desde el ámbito de la sociolingüística, entre las más recientes menciono las de Ong (2012),⁷⁶ Clackson (2012),⁷⁷ Lee (2012),⁷⁸ Watt (2013),⁷⁹ Rochette (2014)⁸⁰ y Spolsky (2014),⁸¹ certifican un escenario caracterizado por la diversidad idiomática. El arameo, el nabateo, el hebreo, el latín y el griego, todos atestiguados códigos lingüísticos en el contexto

David L. Balch, *The New Testament in its Social Environment*, LEG 2 [Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1986], 87).

⁷² Stanley E. Porter, “The Functional Distribution of Koine Greek in First-Century Palestine”, en *Diglossia and other Topics in New Testament Linguistic*, JSNTSup 193, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 53-78.

⁷³ William Adler, “Jewish Use of Greek Proverbs”, en *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions. Studies in their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, TSMEMJ 23, eds. Nicholas R. M. de Lange, Julia G. Krivoruchko y Cameron Boyd-Taylor (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 53-77.

⁷⁴ “In Near East, Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and the Nabataean Palmyrene, and Edessan (Syriac) dialects of Aramaic all appear in bilingual inscriptions with Greek and sometimes Latin” (Gregory Rowe, “Epigraphical Cultures of the Classical Mediterranean: Greek, Latin, and Beyond”, en *A Companion to Ancient History*, BCAW, ed. Andrew Erskine (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2009], 31-32).

⁷⁵ Van Der Horst, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, 26.

⁷⁶ Hughson Ong, “Language Choice in Ancient Palestine: A Sociolinguistic Study of Jesus’ Language Use Based on Four ‘I Have Come’ Sayings”, *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 1 (2012): 63-101.

⁷⁷ James Clackson, “Language Maintenance and Language Shift in the Mediterranean World during the Roman Empire”, en *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, eds. Alex Mullen y Patrick James (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36-57.

⁷⁸ Sang-Il Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions in Bilingual Context: A Study in the Interdirectionality of Language*, BZNW 86 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 399.

⁷⁹ “Code-switching between the region’s native language (Aramaic), its historic and sometimes current language of religious discourse (Hebrew—which may have been the medium when a young Jesus impressed his seniors at the temple, Luke 2:46-47), and even its tertiary language of wider communication (Greek), would have been comfortable communicative behavior. Multilingual speakers draw effortlessly from their repertoire, as Jesus and the Gospel writer seem to have done” (Jonathan M. Watt, “Some Implications of Bilingualism for New Testament Exegesis”, en *The Language of the New Testament*, 27).

⁸⁰ “In the ancient world as a whole, individual or social unilingualism is the exception, while bilingualism is the rule” (Bruno Rochette, “Ancient Bidialectalism and Bilingualism”, en *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, ed. Georgios K. Giannakis [3 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014], 1:114).

⁸¹ Bernard Spolsky, *The Languages of the Jews: A Sociolinguistic History* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 46-62.

sociolingüístico palestinese del siglo I, matizan las propuestas y delinean una región caracterizada por un fenómeno conocido como “multilingüismo”. En estas descripciones sociolingüísticas aún queda, sin embargo, analizar la convergencia de la herencia idiosincrática de cada lengua junto con atisbos de traslaciones de significado. Dicho interés deviene del argumento *a priori* expresado en la introducción de esta nota; en el idiolecto jesuano (*ipsissima verba*), dialogando, evidentemente, el nivel de asequibilidad, encontramos el punto de partida para una correcta comprensión del “mensaje de Jesús” (*ipsissima vox*).

Conclusión

Finalmente, basándome en los registros evangélicos canónicos, la evidencia arqueológica, la evidencia papiroológica-epigráfica, el multilingüismo palestinese del siglo I y los estudios de eruditos que me preceden en este campo de estudio, estimo que:

Primero, nos hallamos frente al retrato de un Jesús, cuanto menos, trilingüe: (1) arameo galilaico, (2) griego *koiné* y (3) hebreo bíblico.

Segundo, los actos y dichos de Jesús poseen una prehistoria oral en arameo y griego desde su etapa primigenia.

Tercero, no sólo es histórica y lingüísticamente factible consensuar que en los evangelios canónicos tenemos total acceso a la *ipsissima vox* jesuana sino también a fragmentos, en arameo y griego, de la *ipsissima verba*.

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