

The Term $\text{P}\alpha\beta\beta\iota$ (“Rabbi”) in the Gospels

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In this paper I want to investigate the claim that the the term $\text{P}\alpha\beta\beta\iota$ is anachronistic in the Gospels. In *The Gospels and Rabbinic Judaism*,¹ the authors outline the premise that the term “Rabbi” was not used until after the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.) and therefore must have found its way into some of the Gospel texts through the hands of 2nd century authors and redactors. Writing about Matthew in particular, Hilton and Marshall say:

Our analysis suggests that Matthew's text may well not reflect an actual sermon given by Yeshua, but the situation at the time Matthew's Gospel was written, when enmity between the early Messiahian and the Jewish communities was already hardening. It seems unlikely that the title ‘Rabbi’ was in common usage before 70 CE, and the debate probably took place after that date. We cannot assume that because Matthew says Yeshua was critical of the Pharisees calling themselves Rabbi, that this is exactly what happened. The title seems to have developed in the half century after Yeshua, and was therefore an issue not in Yeshua’ time, but later, at the time when the Gospel was written.²

Zeitlin agrees with this assessment and adds further arguments to substantiate a late redaction of the gospels, especially John.³ However, Shanks disagrees.⁴ While he fully recognizes that the term $\text{P}\alpha\beta\beta\iota$ became an official title after the destruction of the Temple, he maintains that the evidence would support an unofficial use of the term during the days of Yeshua. Proving that the official status of the term $\text{P}\alpha\beta\beta\iota$ did not come about until the 2nd century (as does Zeitlin) does not rule out the possibility that it was used unofficially for a teacher in the 1st century. The argument that the term is anachronistic is based, according to Shanks, entirely upon negative evidence. On the other hand, Shanks claims, one ought not to dismiss the evidence of the Gospels as entirely insignificant. In fact, the use of $\text{P}\alpha\beta\beta\iota$ in the Gospels would strongly suggest that the title was used in the 1st century as an unofficial title meaning “teacher”, a conclusion supported by the in-text

¹Michael Hilton and Gordian Marshall, *The Gospels and Rabbinic Judaism* (SCM Press, 1988), pp. 3-5.

²Ibid., p. 4.

³Solomon Zeitlin, “A Reply”, *JQR* 53 (1962-63), pp. 345-49. He points to the use of “Festival of Passover” in John as over against the standard, early 1st century “Festival of Unleavened Bread”.

⁴Hershel Shanks, “Is the Title ‘Rabbi’ Anachronistic in the Gospels?”, *JQR* 53 (1962-63), pp. 337-345.

interpretation of John⁵ as well as the many references in the Gospels to Yeshua as “teacher”.⁶

What are we to make of these arguments? Where does the weight of the evidence fall?

The Term Παββι

The origin of the term Παββι (and related terms)⁷ as an honorific title for a teacher or sage is shrouded in history. That it has its basic notion in the sense of “great” seems obvious,⁸ though not all agree that the Mishnaic and Talmudic title “Rabbi” is to be traced to Hebrew רב = “great.”⁹ Shanks¹⁰ has shown that even in the cognate languages the root *rab* was used to designate the concept of “chief” or “leader”. He further notes that in the Ugaritic materials the term *rab* is also a designation for religious leaders, as in “chief of the priests” (*rb chnm*) and “high priest” (*rb nbtsh*).¹¹ This same use is seen in the Tanakh.¹² “Chief of the Officers” (רב־שָׂקָה)¹³, “Chief eunuch” (רב־סָרִיס)¹⁴, “Chief of the guard” (רב־שָׁבָהִים)¹⁵, “Chief soothsayer” (רב־מוֹנֵי)¹⁶, “Chief officers of the King” (רב־הַחֲבָלִים / רַבֵי מַלְךְ בַּבֶּל)¹⁷, “Chief of the sailors or shipmaster” (רב־הַיָּם)¹⁸, “Officers of the house” (רַבֵי בֵית)¹⁹, and “Chief officer” (רב־סָרִיס)²⁰. One

⁵Jn. 1:38; 20:16.

⁶Matt. 8:19; 12:38; Mk. 4:38; 5:35; 9:17, 38; Lk. 18:18; Jn. 11:28.

⁷Παββαν (רבן); Παββι (רבי); Παββουει are attested in the literature, the latter two being found in the Gospels: (Παββι: Matt. 23:7, 8; 26:25, 49; Mk. 9:5; 11:21; 14:45; John 1:38, 49; 3:2, 26; 4:31; 6:25; 9:2; 11:8; Παββουει: Mk. 10:51; John 20:16). On the various spellings, see Schurer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Yeshua Christ*, revised and edited by Vermes, Millar and Black, 4 vols. (T & T Clark, 1979), 2.325-26; on the spelling of foreign words in NT Greek, see Blass-DeBrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Univ. of Chic., 1961), §38.

⁸Lohse, “παββι” in Kittel, ed., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* 10 vols. (Eerdmans, 1968), 6:962.

⁹Solomon Zeitlin, “A Reply”, *JQR* 53 (1962-63), 345-46. It might be worth noting that there is the word רָב (from רִיב) which means “to dispute” or “debate”.

¹⁰Hershel Shanks, “Origins of the title ‘Rabbi’”, *JQR* 59.2 (1968), 152-157.

¹¹Ibid., p. 153. Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Analecta Orientalia 38) (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1965), p. 482. The texts in which the expressions are found are (Gordon's numbers) no. 18, a very fragmentary text, with opening line: *l. rb. khnm* “to the chief of the priests” and no. 62, line 54-55: *lmd. atn. prln. rb . khnm rb . nqdm* “apprentice atn prln of the chief of the priests, chief of the herdsmen”.

¹²נְתָרִים is an acronym for Torah, Neviim, Cethubim = Law, Prophets and Writings.

¹³2 Ki. 18:17, 19, 27, 28, 37; 19:4, 8; Is 36:2, 4, 1, 12, 13, 22; 37:4, 8.

¹⁴2 Ki. 18:17.

¹⁵2 Ki 25; cp. Jer. 30.

¹⁶Jer. 39:13.

¹⁷Jer. 39:13.

¹⁸Jonah 1:6.

¹⁹Esther 1:8.

²⁰Dan 1:3.

might also note the Syriac titles which are similar: “high priest” (*rav kahanei*’, Matt. 24:51), “ethnarch” (εθναρχης, *rav chayla*’, 2 Cor. 11:32).

But, as Zeitlin in his rejoinders to Shank's articles points out,²¹ there is a vast difference between the use of the root *rab* to designate a chief position, and the title of Rabbi to denote an accepted sage. That is to say, it is one thing for the term to be used *in connection with other terms as an adjective* and quite another to be used *independently as an honorific title*. This point of Zeitlin's is best demonstrated by the fact that in the Mishnaic and Talmudic literature, the term may stand by itself and be understood to designate the office of sage.²² For example, throughout the Mishnah and Talmud Rabbi Judah HaNasi is regularly referred to simply as “Rabbi”.²³ The question, then, is when the term began to be used to designate a recognized sage. In the Gospels, for instance, when Yeshua is referred to as “Rabbi”, did He understand it as a technical term, and was it so used by the Jewish community in which He was a member? Does His admonition to the disciples regarding the title “Rabbi”²⁴ presuppose its technical classification in the early 1st century?

The Term Παββι in the Gospels

Within the canonical Scriptures, the title Rabbi or Rabboni is found only in the Gospels.²⁵ The use of the term in the Gospels is interesting on a number of accounts. First, the Matthew (17:4) and Luke (9:33) parallels to the Mark 9:5 passage have other terms than Παββι, namely, Κυριε in Matthew, and Επιστατα in Luke.²⁶ Significantly, the Targummim render the Hebrew word אֲדוֹנָי by רבוּנָא,²⁷ and אֲדוֹנָי is most often rendered in the Lxx by Κυριος. Thus Matthew's Κυριε may simply betray an original Hebrew אֲדוֹנָי in the mouth of Peter. On the other hand, Luke's use of Επιστατα demonstrates the need to convey his theological perspective through the titles he gives to Yeshua. In the Lxx, for instance, Επιστατης translates שׂר and נגיד, נגשׁ, נצח, פקיד, רדה.²⁸ Επιστατης

²¹The articles and rejoinders are as follows:

Hershel Shanks, “Is the Title ‘Rabbi’ Anachronistic in the Gospels?”, *JQR* 53 (1962-63), pp. 337-345.

Solomon Zeitlin, “A Reply”, *JQR* 53 (1962-63), pp. 345-49.

Hershel Shanks, “Origins of the Title Rabbi”, *JQR* 59.2 (1968), pp. 152-157.

Solomon Zeitlin, “The Title Rabbi in the Gospels is Anachronistic”, *JQR* 59.2 (1968), pp. 158-160.

²²Zeitlin, “Title Rabbi is Anachronistic”, 159.

²³Note, for example, Sheviit 6.4; Shab. 12.3.

²⁴Matthew 23:8-10

²⁵See footnote 7 above for references.

²⁶See Appendix 1, p. 14.

²⁷According to Zeitlin, “Reply” *JQR* 53, 345-46.

²⁸Oepke takes Επιστατης in Luke to be a translation of Hebrew / Aramaic רבי but makes this claim on the basis of the synoptic parallel alone without additional supporting evidence.

is unique to Luke in the Gospels,²⁹ and except for 17:13 (by the 10 lepers), is used only by the disciples. Oepke's reason for Luke's use of *επιστατης* is that as a Hellenist, Luke wants to avoid the transcription *Ραββι*.³⁰ It is true that Luke avoids nearly all Hebrew or Aramaic words, including *Ραββι*, *Ραββουνει*, *αββα*, *ωσαννα* and *ταλειθα κουμ*. The only Hebrew term allowed by Luke is *αμην*. But if this were Luke's motivation, why did he not use the more common *Κυριε*? On the weight of the Lxx usage, however, it seems more likely that Luke used *επιστατης* to make a theological statement about the authority of Yeshua.³¹ For Luke, who totally avoids the term *Ραββι*, the titles of Yeshua must place Him well above human authority. Thus, each use of the term *επιστατης* is in a context where Yeshua is challenged to reveal His full authority.³²

Secondly, the use of *Ραββουνει* by Mark (10:51)³³ and John (20:16) is interesting. In both cases the term is used by those outside of the Twelve—the blind man in Mark's Gospel, and Mariam in John's. Mark feels no need to give his readers a translation of the term. John, however, not only gives his readers a translation of the more common *Ραββι* (= *διδασκαλε*)³⁴ but also of *Ραββουνει*, (also = *διδασκαλε*)³⁵ and that after the term *Ραββι* has occurred eight times in the text. Even though in John's mind these terms are synonymous, he was not certain his readers would have naturally understood this. If *Ραββουνει* was understood by John to be a somewhat weightier title than *Ραββι* (as is commonly asserted³⁶), he did not think it sufficiently important for his readers to know this.

Thirdly, there is only one place in the Synoptics where the term *Ραββι* is found in parallel texts: Matthew 26:49 and Mark 14:45 (this material is lacking in Luke)—the betrayal of Yeshua by Judas! Matthew employs the term in two other texts which are without parallel in the other Synoptics: 23:7-8 and 26:25. In both of these the term is viewed by Matthew as undesirable. In 23:7-8 Yeshua disallows its use among His disciples, and in 26:25 it is used by Judas as a precursor to his betrayal in the garden. For Matthew, then, *Ραββι* is not the title used by the true disciples of Yeshua but is always used by unbelievers (which may best explain its use by Judas). Those who are the

²⁹Lk. 5:5; 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49; 17:13, always in the vocative.

³⁰Oepke, *Op. cit.*, p. 623. Though this would not explain the use of *Κυριε* at Lk. 18:41 where the parallel in Mark (10:51) has *Ραββουνει*.

³¹רָדָה - "to rule or govern absolutely" (Ps. 72:8); פָּקִיד - "officer" (Gen. 41:34); נָצַח - "supervise" (Ezra 3:8); נָשַׁט - "despot" (Is. 14:2,4); נָיִד - "sovereign, prince" (Ez. 28:2); שָׂר - "chief, ruler" (1 Sa 18:30).

³²5:5; 8:24; 9:35, 49 and 17:13.

³³Variants include: *Ραββι* - 1241 k q sy(p) bo(pt); *Κυριε* - 409 bo(1); *Κυριε Ραββι* - D it. The synoptic parallels in Matthew (20:32-33) and Luke (18:40b-41) both have *Κυριε*.

³⁴John gives the translation at the first use of *rabbi* (1:38) but not afterward. This is consistent with John's methods. He does the same with *μεσσιαν* (1:41) and *Κηφας* (1:42).

³⁵20:16.

³⁶See Ardent-Gingrich, *ad. loc.*

followers of Yeshua address Him as *Κυριος* while outsiders usually refer to Him as *διδασκαλος*.³⁷ Not so for Mark. In Mark *διδασκαλος* is found in the mouth of disciples³⁸ as well as outsiders.³⁹ Interestingly, in Mark only Peter and Judas refer to Yeshua as “*Ραββι*”.

For John, however, *Ραββι* is the title of choice. In the 9 times the the term is found,⁴⁰ 8 times it is in the mouths of the Twelve. The remaining occurrence is in the post-resurrection address of Mariam.⁴¹ This proliferation of the term in John's Gospel is understandable in light of its Judean provenance⁴², Jewish outlook, and later composition⁴³. In contrast to the Synoptics, John employs *διδασκαλος* only sparingly.⁴⁴ On the other hand, *Ραββι* / *Ραββουνει* is for him an appropriate term to describe the Teacher in the so-called “Book of Signs” (1:19-12:50), *Κυριος* being the term of choice in the “Book of Glory” (13:1-20:31). Brown suggests that John may have used these terms to convey the growing understanding of the disciples with regard to the person of Yeshua.⁴⁵

Summary of the Use of Ραββι in the Gospels

“Rabbi” is not consistently used by the Synoptic authors. It seems clear that Matthew, Mark and Luke chose titles for Yeshua which reflected their theological burden and which therefore do not necessarily convey the actual titles used in the events which are retold. The pejorative sense in which Matthew uses the term may suggest the influence of a time when the synagogue and church had parted ways. Furthermore, since there is only one instance where two of the synoptics agree in the use of *Ραββι* (Matt. 26:49 // Mk. 14:45), and this on the lips of Judas, one cannot categorically claim that Yeshua was regularly referred to by the term “Rabbi”. The increased use of “Rabbi” by John, on the other hand, may well reflect the evolution of the term into an official title after the destruction of the Temple, a title that in John's day fit his particular message and Gospel.

³⁷Note the comments of James Donaldson, “The Title Rabbi in the Gospels—Some Refelctions on the Evidence of the Synoptics”, *JQR* 63(April, 1973), 288. Every vocative use of *διδασκαλος* in Matthew is found in the mouths of those who oppose Yeshua: 8:19; 12:38; 19:16; 22:16, 24, 36. Note also ο *διδασκαλος* in 9:11; 17:24; 26:18, the title of Yeshua appropriate for outsiders.

³⁸4:38; 10:35; 13:1.

³⁹9:17; 10:17; 12:14, 18, 32.

⁴⁰1:38, 49; 3:2, 26; 4:31; 6:25; 9;2; 11:8; 20:16.

⁴¹20:16.

⁴²See the comments of Leon Morris, *Studies in the Fourth Gospel* (Eerdmans, 1969), p. 42-43; Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* (2 vols.) in *The Anchor Bible* (Fortress, 1966), 1:LIXff.

⁴³Brown, *Ibid.*, suggests a date of composition between 90 - 100 C.E., and most modern commentators would concur with this dating.

⁴⁴As the translation of *Ραββι* and *Ραββουνει* (1:38; 20:16); in the mouth of Nicodemus (3:2, 10), Mary (11:28) and the Pharisees (8:4). Yeshua refers to Himself as Teacher in 13:13, 14.

⁴⁵ Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 1:75.

The questions posed by the instructions of Yeshua in Matthew 23:7ff will be discussed below.

The Term רבי in the Jewish Sources

The Mishnah reveals a use of the term רב meaning “master” (opposite of “servant”). In Suk. 2.9, a discussion regarding when it is appropriate to clear out of the Sukkah in the event of rain, the comparison is made:

לְמָה הַדָּבָר דּוֹמֶה ? לְעֶבֶד שֶׁבָּא לְמוּזַג כּוֹס לְרַבּוֹ וְשָׁפַךְ לוֹ קִיתָן עַל פָּנָיו
To what can the matter be compared? To a slave who came to fill
the cup of his master (רבּוֹ) and he poured the jug over his face.⁴⁶

The term רבי is used the majority of the time, however, as the common title of honor for the Tannaim, רב designating a Babylonian Sage.⁴⁷ The history of the title Rabbi is found in a letter to the community of Kairwan written by Sherira Gaon in the 10th century to answer the questions local congregations had regarding the various titles contained in the Gemara.

The title “rabbi” is borne by the sages of Palestine, who were ordained by the Sanhedrin in accordance with the custom handed down by the elders and were denominated “Rabbi”, and received authority to judge in penal cases; while “Rab” is the title of the Babylonian sages, who received their ordination in their colleges. The more ancient generations, however, which were far superior, had not such titles as “Rabban”, “Rabbi”, or “Rab” for either the Babylonian or Palestinian sages. This is evident from the fact that Hillel I, who came from Babylon, had not the title “Rabban” prefixed to his name. Of the prophets, also, who were very eminent, it is simply said, “Haggai the prophet”, etc. “Ezra did not come up from Babylon”, etc., the title “Rabban” not being used. Indeed, this title is not met with earlier than the time of the patriarchate. It was first used of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, Rabban Simon his son and Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, all of whom were patriarches or presidents of the Sanhedrin. The title “Rabbi” too came into vogue among those who received the laying on of the hands at this period, as, for instance, Rabbi Zadok, Rabbi Eliezer ben Jacob, and others, and dates from the time of the disciples of Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai downward. Now the order of these titles is as follows: “Rabbi” is greater than

⁴⁶Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth* 7 vols. (Judaica Press, 1983), 2:327. The explanation of this comparison is on the analogy of *Ta’anit* 1.1 where it is stated that rain falling during Sukkot is a symbol of God’s wrath, so that even though Israel wishes to serve Him by observing the law of the Sukkah, He rejects them and shows His displeasure. Cp. also Ber. 10a; Git. 4:4, 5; Edu. 1:13; Ab. 1:3.

⁴⁷Reuben Alcalay, *The Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary* (Massada Pub., 1981), p. 2386; Schurer (Revised), 2.325, n. 10.

“Rab”; “Rabban” again is greater than “Rabbi”; while the simple name is greater than “Rabban”.⁴⁸

Indeed, this is borne out by epigraphical data⁴⁹ as well as in the Mishnah and Talmud. Hillel and Shammai, who were roughly contemporaries with Yeshua, are never referred to by the title “Rabbi”, “Rab” or “Rabban”. Hillel was appointed as the sole *nasi* over the Sanhedrin sometime in the early 1st century,⁵⁰ ending the era of the *zugot* (pairs), and establishing a 400 year dynasty of rule.⁵¹ The title זקן, *zaken*, “elder”, was given to him, as well as to Shammai, his contemporary and halakhic rival.⁵² The first sage to receive the title Rabban (“our Rabbi”) is גמליאל הזקן, Gamiliel the Elder, chronologically numbered as 31 of the 188 sages mentioned in the Mishnah and *Baraita*, fourth in the list of Tannaim.⁵³ Following Gamiliel the Elder in the list of sages is רבי חנינא סגן, Rabbi Hanina, Deputy of the Priests, the earliest to be recorded with the title “Rabbi”.⁵⁴ Traditionally it has been held that the title was first employed by Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai in the ordination of his disciples.⁵⁵ From the time of R. Yohanan ben Zakkai onward into the 2nd century, the title “Rabbi” was given only to those who had received official ordination (*semikah*) in Jerusalem.⁵⁶

Matthew 23:1-12

The problem which this text represents to us is straight forward: for Yeshua to prohibit the title “Rabbi” presupposes its accepted usage in His time. Yet our previous study has shown that in Rabbinic sources the title is not used until after the destruction of the Temple, and then only upon those who have received *semikah*. Does this text, therefore, give evidence of later redaction at a time when the title was in common use?

⁴⁸Quoted from Shanks, “Is the Title ‘Rabbi’ Anachronistic in the Gospels”, Op. cit., 338.

⁴⁹Shaye J. D. Cohen, “Epigraphical Rabbis”, *JQR* 72 (July, 1981), 1-17. Cohen catalogues all known occurrences of the term Rabbi and finds none earlier than the 2nd century.

⁵⁰Shab. 15a makes the appointment a century before the destruction of the Temple, i.e., 30 C.E., though some scholars feel the appointment may have been 10-20 years later [“Hillel” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Keter, 1971), 8:483].

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵²“Shammai” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 14, p. 1291.

⁵³Philip Blackman, *Mishnayoth*, 7 vols. (Judaica Press, 1964), 1.13-14.

⁵⁴Zevachim 9:3 in which R. Hanina describes his father's practice at the altar of the Temple. In Shekalim 6:1, the tradition of Hanina of bowing 14 times on the way up the Temple mount seems to be describing post-destruction days, since the 14th bow is toward the woodpile where the “Ark is hidden.”

⁵⁵Note the letter of Sherira above.

⁵⁶See the work of David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Athlone Press, 1956), 205-246 where he deals extensively with the ritual of סמיכה. It seems to me he too readily assumes that the ritual of סמיכה was in fact practiced during the early first century C.E., even though there is no evidence to support such a claim.

Matthew 23:1-12 is quite expansive when compared with the parallel Synoptic texts.⁵⁷ Mark 12:37b-40 records parallels to the scribes and Pharisees wearing special garb, seeking to be greeted in the market place, taking special seats in the synagogue and at banquets⁵⁸, and praying upon the defenseless widow. Mark includes their desire for long prayers, something Matthew does not mention in this pericope. Luke 20:45-47 parallels Mark closely. Neither include the commands of Messiah found in verse 8-10 negating the honorific titles Rabbi, father and leader (καθηγητης) for His disciples.

Some feel there is evidence of a later reworking in this pericope.⁵⁹ In fact, a few elements might support this idea. For instance, the use of φυλακτηρια in verse 5 (a *hapax*) is strikingly non-Jewish, and not the normal Greek term employed when referring to the tephillin. The *Letter of Aristeas*⁶⁰ speaks of the “symbols” on the hand: και επι των χειρων δε διαρρηδην το σημειον κελυει περιηφθαι⁶¹, “and upon our hands too, He [God] expressly orders the symbols to be fastened.” The Lxx does not use φυλακτηρια but has ασαλευτον in each of the three occurrences of תפילין⁶² in the Tanakh⁶³ which means “unshakable” in the NT.⁶⁴ The Lxx translators apparently used the term in a technical sense.⁶⁵ Interestingly, φυλακτηριον shows up in Plutarch's⁶⁶ writings with the meaning “amulet” which is no surprise for someone who maligned the Jewish religion as highly superstitious.⁶⁷ Josephus refers to the tephillin as “bearing the wonders which show the power of God and His kindness to them upon the

⁵⁷See appendix.

⁵⁸The order is reversed in Matthew—“places of honor at banquets and chief seats in the synagogues”.

⁵⁹Zeitlin, “Reply”, 346; Hilton and Marshall, *Ibid.* (see note 1).

⁶⁰A number of editions of *Letter of Aristeas* are available. I used the one in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, (KTAV, 1968), pp. 533ff. Swete dates the letter to 130 B.C.E., though admits it could be dated as late as early 1st century C.E.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, line 159, p. 578.

⁶²For תפילין, *BDB* suggests the root פתל, “to surround”, i.e., that one was to be constantly surrounded with the memorial sign. Others suggest פתל, “to strike, tap” on the notion that originally the sign was marked in the skin itself, like a tattoo.

⁶³Ex. 13:16; Deut. 6:4; 11:18. Ex. 13:9 has תפילין (Lxx, μνημοσυνον).

⁶⁴Ac. 27:41; Heb. 12:28.

⁶⁵According to Arnt & Gingrich, *Lexicon*, but without explanation. Apparently, the word was chosen since the “sign” was to be immovable, i.e., always before the eyes. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11. Anchor Bible* (Doubleday, 1991), p. 333 notes that some Lxx manuscripts have σαλευτον, “moveable”, which Philo also has, insisting that the tephillin must vibrate or move as one walks, in order to be the constant reminder of the Law.

⁶⁶Mor. 378b.

⁶⁷In *Quaestiones Convivales*, 4, he discusses whether the Jews abstain from the use of swine's flesh out of reverence for the animal or because of aversion to it. In the same work he suggests that the celebration of Sukkot is identified with Bacchus because of a festival celebrated to him with booths. He also maintained the prevalent anti-Jewish slander that they worshiped the head of an ass. Cp. also Tacitus, *Histories*, Bk. V. 1ff.

head and arm” (την ισχυν αποσημαινει δυναται του θεου και την προς αυτους ευνοιαν φερειν εγγεγραμμενα επι της κεφαλης και του βραχιονος).⁶⁸

Why then does our text have φυλακτηρια? Apparently this word was chosen to translate the Aramaic תְּפִלִּין⁶⁹ because from a later, non(anti)-Jewish perspective they were considered to be amulets⁷⁰. In contrast, the Judaisms of the 1st century never refer (as far as I am able to ascertain) to the tephillin as charms or amulets.⁷¹ Thus, it seems highly unlikely that Yeshua, who had made such a strong statement regarding the authority of the Sanhedrin and the seat of Moses, would refer to the tephillin as amulets and still sanction their use.⁷²

⁶⁸Josephus, *Antiquities*, IV.8.13. I transcribed the Greek text from the *TLG* electronic texts.

⁶⁹תְּפִלִּין is formed on the analogy of תְּפִלָּה, “prayer” and is the term used throughout the Mishnah and Talmud. Interestingly, the whole phrase regarding the tephillin in this Matthew text is lacking from Shem-Tov’s (Ibn Shaprut) Hebrew Matthew. (George Howard, *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text* (Mercer, 1987), p. 115). Instead, there is a notice regarding the long zitzit (fringes), explaining that these lengthened fringes are called פִּיבְלִיּוֹס, (“phiblios” (?)) = “brooch” used at emperor’s coronation; “clasp” Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1475).

⁷⁰On the analogy of φυλασσω, “to guard, protect”. There are many examples of φυλακτηριον in pre-2nd century C.E. texts meaning “outpost,” “fortified encampment” or “guards in an outpost”. See Liddel & Scott, *A Greek Lexicon*, (Oxford, 1940), p. 1960. The Rosetta stone has the word referring to jewelry draped on the monarch’s crown representing upper and lower Egypt (φυλακτηριον χρυσα), Ibid. Deissmann’s suggestion that the στιγματα to which Paul refers (Gal. 6:17) were protective marks, and have some connection with the tephillin as φυλακτηρια is fanciful at best. He gives no supporting evidence for his claim that Greek Judaism considered the tephillin to be amulets (*Biblical Studies*, [T & T Clark, 1923], p. 352.). Brown, following Arndt & Gingrich, mistakenly concludes that the tephillin were considered as amulets by 1st century Judaisms (C. Brown, *Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3 vols. [Zondervan, 1976], 2.136). There is no doubt that amulets or charms (עֲמֻלָּה in the Mishnah) were used by the Judaisms of the 1st century C.E. But in the places where they are mentioned in the Mishnah, they are kept distinct from the tephillin. Cf. Shab. 6.2; Kelim 18:8; 23:1; Mik. 10.2. These texts show that while an amulet and tephillah have a commonality in that they are both objects which are worn, they are nonetheless distinct in purpose. The amulet is a charm; the tephillin are worn to fulfill the commandment of the Torah. The Rabbinic literature is unified in this regard—never are the tephillin considered amulets or charms. Indeed, they are constantly spoken of simply as a means of fulfilling the commandments. Note the following: Mekilta II.25; Y. Sot. 19a; Y. Peah 15c-15d; RoshHa. 16b-17c. Note the excellent remarks by Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 333-34 where he suggests that the Aramaic tephillin may have originally been understood as “amulets” on the strength of Aramaic documents from Egypt. However, he also shows clear evidence that Hebrew תְּפִלִּין may have had its origin the idea of “droplets”, i.e., jewelry which was worn like pendants which drop down on the forehead, cf. תְּפִלִּין in Is. 3:19.

⁷¹The statements in a number of scholarly works to the effect that the tephillin were considered as amulets cannot be substantiated by any primary sources. Schurer (rev.) 2.480 says: “The Greek designation of tephillin as φυλακτηρια (amulets) is evidence that their significance was seen chiefly to lie in their ability to drive away evil spirits during prayer”, yet there are no references to primary sources to substantiate this claim. It appears that such statements are based solely upon Matt. 23:5.

⁷²The tephillin found at Qumran support the scholarly consensus that the wearing of tephillin during the 1st century C.E. was considered one of the daily mitzvot for all adult men. This was the teaching of the Sanhedrin, those who sat in the “seat of Moses.” Shebuot 3.8, 11. See also other references to the Mishnah and Talmud in Schurer (rev.), 2.480, n. 87.

Yeshua also condemns the scribes and Pharisees for lengthening their *tzitzit* (fringes)⁷³ and broadening (πλατυνω) their tephillin. Πλατυνω is found in only one other NT context—2 Corinthians 6:11, 13. Both of these occurrences use the word metaphorically for “enlarging one's heart” (=“be compassionate”), a usage found in the Lxx (but with the opposite meaning) in two of the texts enclosed in the tephillin.⁷⁴

Is there any indication that making the tephillin cases larger was a practice in the early 1st century? Megillah 8:1 talks about their shape and considers rounded cases (the work of sectarians or heretics [תּוֹמַיִת]) contrary to accepted halakah. Interestingly, at least one of the tephillin cases (thought to be early 1st century) found at Qumran is rounded.⁷⁵ When Yeshua speaks of enlarging the tephillin cases, is He referring to the Pharisaic requirement that they be square? The Talmud⁷⁶ considers the shape to be a law given to Moses on Sinai, meaning it could not be disputed. That the Talmud speaks of the dispute, however, shows that the shape of the tephillin was in the process of being standardized during the pre-Mishnaic period.

Yeshua also prohibits using the honorific title “father” (πατηρ, אב / אבא). It is true that the term was a common one in the early 1st century. For instance, during the period of the *zugot* (pairs), one sage was called the “*nasi*” (president) and the other “*ab beth din*” (אב בית דין, father of the court). Though in one sense only the patriarches could be termed “fathers”,⁷⁷ the title was also given to those recognized for their wisdom (a “sage”), as the Mishnaic tractate “*Pirkei Avot*” (“Sayings of the Fathers”) would indicate.⁷⁸ A number of sages are called “Abba” in the Mishnah and Tosefta.⁷⁹ Occasionally

⁷³See Schurer (rev.), 2.480-81. Matthew has τα κρασπεδα which the Lxx also has at Num. 15:38, 39; Deut. 22:12. It appears very possible that the specifications for *mezuzot*, *tephillin* and *tzitzit* were fraught with sectarianism in the 1st century. This may be especially seen in the tephillin, where the exclusion of the Ten Commandments as one of the included texts came about in opposition to the *minim*. See G. Vermes, “Pre-Mishnaic Jewish Worship and the Phylacteries from the Dead Sea”, *VT* 9 (1959), pp. 65-72.

⁷⁴Deut. 6:12 A (πλατυνηθη η καρδια σου [no MT equivalent]) may be a variant from 11:16. In the context, the meaning of “your heart be enlarged” is “to be proud.” Note also Lxx Ps. 118 (119):32.

⁷⁵Pictured in “Tefillin” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 15:903. Actually the Mishnaic and Talmudic discussions distinguish between round “like a nut” or only spherical on one side. The point is that if the tephillah for the head is rounded rather than flat against the head, one puts himself in danger of being bruised if the case is struck while praying or bowing.

⁷⁶Megillah 24b.

⁷⁷See Berchot 16a.

⁷⁸Some have suggested that “father” in the title *Pirkei Avot* could as well be translated “principle sayings”, cf. Schrenk, “πατηρ” in *TDNT*, 5.977.

⁷⁹The best known teacher called Abba was Saul (Pea. 8:5; Kil. 2:3; Shab. 23:3; Shek. 4:2; Bez. 3:8; Ab. 5:8; Mid.2:5; 5:4, etc.). For additional references, see Schurer (rev.), 2.327, n. 16. Also, K. Kohler, “Abba, Father, Title of Spiritual Leader and Saint”, *JQR* 13 (1901), 567-80.

hyperbolic language is used to denote a famous sage, such as Hillel or Shammai, who are called “fathers of the world” (אבות עולם).⁸⁰

Other examples of people being designated “father” outside of Rabbinic sources are 2 Maccabees 14:37 (referring to Rizin, who died in loyalty to the Jews, as “father”) and 4 Maccabees 7:1, 5, 9 where Eleazar is dubbed “father of the Jews” for his willingness to die for adherence to the Law.

The proliferation of the term “father” in the early 1st century may cloud the issue rather than make Messiah's prohibition clear. This is particularly true when one understands the semitic idiom which incorporates the term “father”. For instance, the term בית אבי designates “family”⁸¹; בית אב למשפחה is a technical term for tribal divisions; ויקבר עם אבותיו and שכב עם אבותיו are technical terms in the Tanakh for being buried within the family burial site. אבי is used in compound terms to designate the originator of a class or craft, as אהל אבי יושב “father of those who dwell in tents”.⁸² Additionally, throughout the Tanakh “father” is a common, semitic term of respect and honor.⁸³

Furthermore,

Even in Judaism prior to Yeshua in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., it is apparent that God is commonly addressed as Father, not merely in the collective but also in the individual sense.⁸⁴

R. Yohanan b. Zakkai is quoted as saying:

Behold it says “Thou shalt build . . . of whole [שלמה] stones” (Deut. 27:6). They are to be stones that establish peace. Now, by using the method of *kal vahomer*, you reason: The stones for the altar do not see nor hear nor speak. Yet because they serve to establish peace between Israel and their Father in heaven, the Holy One, blessed be He, said: “Thou shalt lift up no iron tool upon them” (Ibid., v. 5).⁸⁵

The idea, therefore, that Yeshua was correcting the error of the scribes and Pharisees whereby their use of the title “father” had mis-placed the concept of God as Father, or that He was introducing a new idea, that is, the Fatherhood of God (God as *Abba*), is not supported by the data.⁸⁶

⁸⁰Eduyoth 4.1.

⁸¹Gen 38:11; 24:40; 41:51, etc.

⁸²Gen. 4:20, 21.

⁸³A master, 2 Ki. 5:13; priest, Jud. 17:10; 18:19; prophet, 2 Ki. 2:12; 6:12; 13:14; king, 1 Sa 24:12 (though Saul was, in fact, David's father-in-law).

⁸⁴Schrenk, “πατήρ”, *TDNT* 5.978.

⁸⁵Jacob Z. Lauterbach, tr. *Mekilta De-Rabbi Ishmael* 3 vols. (Jewish Pub Soc., 1933), 2.290. For several other examples of the use of Father in 1st and 2nd century Jewish prayer, see Schrenk, *TDNT* 5.980, n. 215.

⁸⁶See the remarks of Geza Vermes, *Yeshua the Jew* (Fortress, 1973), pp. 210-11 where he shows that, contrary to the assertions of some scholars, the Judaisms of the early 1st century had no difficulty referring to God as *Abba*.

It is also interesting to see the way in which “father” as a title is used in the Apostolic and post-Apostolic era. Had this saying of Messiah been recognized by the Apostles and early followers of Yeshua? Steven addresses his audience with *ανδρες αδελφοι και πατερες ακουσατε*, “men, brothers and fathers, listen!”⁸⁷ He goes on to refer to “our fathers” (the patriarches) throughout his sermon.⁸⁸ Paul does the same in his sermon recorded in Acts 13.⁸⁹ He even teaches us to call Abraham our father,⁹⁰ as does James,⁹¹ and to consider that God's promise to the fathers is the supreme example of His faithfulness.⁹² Paul considers himself the father of the Corinthian believers, even though they may have many tutors (*παιδαγωγους*), since he brought them the gospel!⁹³ In the post-Apostolic era, the Apostles are referred to as “the fathers” from the earliest days,⁹⁴ so that the title “Father” becomes a recognized label for certain ordained leadership, evolving into titles such as “Abbot” and “Pope”.⁹⁵

What, then, was Yeshua prohibiting regarding the title “father”? How does doing away with this honorific title establish the authority of God residing in the “seat of Moses”⁹⁶ (*παντα ουν οσα εαν ειπωσιν υμιν ποιησατε και τηρειτε*)?

Perhaps Vermes has caught the spirit of the prohibition when he writes:

What he meant was, ‘Do not give to your *Abba* on earth, your religious teacher, the respect and love you owe only to your *Abba* in heaven.’ Inversely, as the context shows, it is also an admonition to the religious teacher not to divert to himself the honour and reverence primarily due to God.⁹⁷

⁸⁷Acts 7:2.

⁸⁸Acts 7:11, 12, 14, 15, 38, 39, 45, 51, 52.

⁸⁹Acts 13:17, 32, 36.

⁹⁰Rom. 4:16, 17.

⁹¹James 2:21; cp. 2 Pet. 3:4.

⁹²Rom. 11:28.

⁹³1 Cor. 4:15; he also refers to Timothy as his “child”, 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; 2:1; and Titus also, Tit. 1:4.

⁹⁴1 Clem. 62.2. Lightfoot suggests that Clement is referring to the Jewish fathers at this point, which is possible. Lampe regards the phrase as referring to the Apostles of Christ; M. Polyc. 12.2, where Polycarp himself is called the “father of the Corinthians”; Chrys. *Jud.* 6. For further reference, see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1050.

⁹⁵See the comments of W. J. Burghardt, “Fathers of the Church” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols., 5.853-54.

⁹⁶The term “chair of Moses” is found in the Midrash as well. Such chairs have been found in a considerable number of synagogues from the 1st century B.C.E., such as those of Delos, Chorazin and Hammath-Tiberias. See the data in S. Safrai, “The Synagogue” in *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Safrai and Stern, eds., *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* I-2 (Fortress, 1987), pp. 940-41.

⁹⁷Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, p. 211.

Finally, the prohibition of the title “leader” (καθηγητης, v. 10) may correspond to the Hebrew מורה, Aramaic מר.⁹⁸ Some have considered the verse a duplication of the prohibition against being called “Rabbi” (v. 8)⁹⁹ and in fact it is so translated in Shem-Tov’s *Matthew*.¹⁰⁰ What is more, καθηγητης is only found here in the NT with no significant parallel in the Lxx.¹⁰¹ It is found in Plutarch as a title for Aristotle as well as in a few other classical texts.¹⁰²

From the late 1st through the 3rd centuries C.E., however, the term is much more common. It is used in the papyri to designate a tutor or child’s teacher¹⁰³ and is widely used by the 2nd and 3rd century church fathers to denote bishops, apostles, and leaders in general.¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to escape the impression that the word fits much better into late 1st and early 2nd century religious life than in the early 1st century. This may be strengthened by the emphatic ὁ Χριστὸς at the end of the sentence: “because you have one leader, the Messiah”. In this case the emphasis is upon “one Messiah”, which might suggest a time when other “messiahs” were vying for disciples.

Summary — Matthew 23:1-12

The general core of this pericope fits well with what we know of the early 1st century Judaisms. The abuse of “saying” without “doing” along with “doing just for people to see” is a well sung refrain in Rabbinic literature.¹⁰⁵ Some of the terms, however, may suggest a reworking of the text, especially the use of φυλακτηρια to describe tephillin, and the title “Rabbi” and perhaps καθηγητης (as a translation of מורה or מר).

⁹⁸See Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, pp. 111-22

⁹⁹See Arndt & Gingrich, “καθηγητης”, p. 389. Note the textual criticism: $\aleph^*DW\Theta$ *fi* *f13* *700* *pm* all have καθηγητης instead of διδασκαλος in v. 8.

¹⁰⁰Op. cit., (see note 66 above). His verse 10 reads: “Do not be called Rabbi, because one is your Rabbi, the Messiah.” S¹ S² also have ραββι in place of καθηγητας, see Allen, *Matthew in The International Critical Commentary*, (T & T Clark, 1907), p. 245.

¹⁰¹καθηγεμων is found in the Lxx at 2 Macc. 10:28 “. . . the other side had only their fury to lead them into battle.”

¹⁰²Arndt & Gingrich, p. 389.

¹⁰³Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*, (Eerdmans, 1930), p. 312.

¹⁰⁴Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 688.

¹⁰⁵R. Elazar said: A man in whom is hypocrisy brings wrath upon the world, and his prayer is not heard. He also said: Him in whom is hypocrisy the children in their mother’s womb curse. He also said: The hypocrites fall into Gehinnom. (Sot. 41b); Shammai said: Let the Torah be something fixed. (Aboth 1.15). Do not make the Law light for thyself and heavy for others, or light for others, but heavy for thyself, but let the light for thee be light for others, and the heavy for thee be heavy for others. (Aboth de Rabbi Nathan [vers. II], ch. 23, 24a); ‘They had no comforter’ (Ecces. 4:1). R. Benjamin interpreted the verse to refer to the hypocrites in regard to the Law. People suppose that they can read the Scriptures and the Mishnah, but they cannot: they wrap their prayer shawls around them; they put their tephillin on their heads, and they oppress the poor. Of them it is written, ‘Behold the tears of the oppressed, and they have no comforter; it is mine to punish’ says God, as it is said, ‘Cursed be they who do the work of the Lord deceitfully’ (Jer. 48:10) (Rabbah Eccles. 4. §1ff).

In spite of these possibly late terms, it is still most probable that Yeshua, with keen foresight, saw where the power struggles within the Sanhedrin were going. Noting the manner in which Rabbinic safeguards had effectively diminished the ministry of the Law,¹⁰⁶ Yeshua was able to warn his disciples about allowing any authority to come between them and His teaching. Thus, even though the titles which Yeshua disallows were not necessarily official in His time, He may well have seen that they would become so in the coming era.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

While the data do not allow us to make firm conclusions, their weight seems to fall on the side of “Rabbi” being anachronistic in the Gospels. It is clear that we cannot, on the basis of the Gospels, say dogmatically that Yeshua considered Himself or was known by others as a “Rabbi”, since in only one text do parallel synoptics have the term. It further seems clear that the Gospel writers intend for us to catch their theology through the choice of titles, rather than relate to us exactly what Yeshua was called. Furthermore, it is clear that if Yeshua were referred to by the title Rabbi, it was not in the official capacity which the term only later encompassed. Shank's argument that the term may have had a non-official use during the early 1st century cannot be substantially argued against. But the prohibitions of Yeshua in Matthew 23 would tend, if taken at face value, to put the title more into an official than non-official category. The prohibition of using the title Rabbi in Matthew 23 would, therefore, appear to reflect a time when the term had gained some official status.

Application

This study raises more questions than gives answers. One immediate application of it, however, may be to the Messianic Congregations which are appearing by increasing numbers in our day. It would seem clear from this study that Yeshua (Yeshua) should not be referred to as “Rabbi Yeshua” unless it is clearly understood that what the term might have meant in His day, and what it means today are not the same. Since Yeshua did not receive Rabbinic ordination (*semikah*), to refer to Him by this title in our era is confusing at best, and misleading at worst. The same is true for leaders of Messianic Congregations: to take the title “Rabbi” without undergoing Rabbinic ordination is to play the part of an imposter in the eyes of the Jewish community.

¹⁰⁶Matt. 23:15ff (and synoptic parallels); Lk. 11:52.

¹⁰⁷According to Schurer (rev.), 2:326, the term Rabbi was coming to be understood as a title at the time of Yeshua, though there is no data given to support this claim.

Appendix 1

<p>Matthew 17:4</p> <p>ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Κύριε, καλὸν ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι· εἰ θέλεις, ποιήσω ὧδε τρεῖς σκηνάς, σοὶ μίαν καὶ Μωϋσεὶ μίαν καὶ Ἡλίου μίαν.</p>	<p>Mark 9:5</p> <p>καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Ῥαββί, καλὸν ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς, σοὶ μίαν καὶ Μωϋσεὶ μίαν καὶ Ἡλίου μίαν.</p>	<p>Luke 9:33</p> <p>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὁ Πέτρος πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Ἐπιστάτα, καλὸν ἔστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι, καὶ ποιήσωμεν σκηνάς τρεῖς, μίαν σοὶ καὶ μίαν Μωϋσεὶ καὶ μίαν Ἡλίου, μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει.</p>
<p>Matthew 20:32-33</p> <p>καὶ στὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφώνησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπεν, Τί θέλετε ποιήσω ὑμῖν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Κύριε, ἵνα ἀνοιγῶσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν.</p>	<p>Mark 10:51</p> <p>καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ῥαββουни, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. [Ῥαββι - 1241 k q sy(p) bo(pt); Κυριε - 409 bo(1); Κυριε Ῥαββι - D it</p>	<p>Luke 18:40b-41</p> <p>ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν, Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω</p>
<p>Matthew 21:20-21</p> <p>καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες, Πῶς παραχρῆμα ἐξηράνθη ἡ συκὴ;</p>	<p>Mark 11:21</p> <p>καὶ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ, Ῥαββί, ἴδε ἡ συκὴ ἣν κατηράσω ἐξήραται.</p>	
<p>Matthew 26:49</p> <p>καὶ εὐθέως προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶπεν, Χαῖρε, Ῥαββί· καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.</p>	<p>Mark 14:45</p> <p>καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐθὺς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ λέγει, Ῥαββί, καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.</p>	

Matthew 26:25 (No synoptic parallel)

ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδὼς αὐτόν εἶπεν, Μήτι ἐγὼ εἰμι, ῥαββί; λέγει αὐτῷ, Σὺ εἶπας

Mathew 23:1-12	Mark 12:38-40	Luke 20:45-47
<p>23:1 Τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν τοῖς ὄχλοις καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ23:2 λέγων, Ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθισαν οἰγραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι.</p> <p>23:3 πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν ποιήσατε καὶ τηρεῖτε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε· λέγουσιν γὰρ καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσιν.</p> <p>23:4 δεσμεύουσιν δὲ φορτία βαρέα [καὶ δυσβάστακτα] καὶ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ αὐτῶν οὐ θέλουσιν κινήσαι αὐτά.</p> <p>23:5 πάντα δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· πλατύνουσιν γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλύνουσιν τὰ κράσπεδα,</p> <p>23:6 φιλοῦσιν δὲ τὴν πρωτοκλισιαν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις καὶ τὰς πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς</p> <p>23:7 καὶ τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Ῥαββί.</p> <p>23:8 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ κληθῆτε, Ῥαββί, εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος, πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε.</p> <p>23:9 καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος.</p> <p>23:10 μηδὲ κληθῆτε καθηγηταί, ὅτι καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἷς ὁ Χριστός.</p> <p>23:11 ὁ δὲ μείζων ὑμῶν ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος.</p> <p>23:12 ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται.</p>	<p>12:38 Καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν, Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς</p> <p>12:39 καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις·</p> <p>12:40 οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι, οὗτοι λήμψονται περισσώτερον κρίμα.</p>	<p>20:45 Ἀκούοντος δὲ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς [αὐτοῦ],</p> <p>20:46 Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων περιπατεῖν ἐν στολαῖς καὶ φιλοῦντων ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις,</p> <p>20:47 οἱ κατεσθίουσιν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσεύχονται· οὗτοι λήμψονται περισσώτερον κρίμα.</p>

Appendix 2

The following are texts in John's Gospel which contain the term Ραββι or Ραββουνι:

John 1:38

στραφείς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί ζητεῖτε; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Ραββί (ὃ λέγεται μεθερμηνευόμενον Διδάσκαλε), ποῦ μένεις;

John 1:49

ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Ναθαναήλ, Ραββί, σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, σὺ βασιλεὺς εἶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

John 3:2

οὗτος ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ραββί, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας διδάσκαλος· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ἦ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ.

John 3:26

καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, Ραββί, ὃς ἦν μετὰ σοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ᾧ σὺ μεμαρτύρηκας, ἴδε οὗτος βαπτίζει καὶ πάντες ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν.

John 4:31

Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἡρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ λέγοντες, Ραββί, φάγε.

John 6:25

καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτὸν πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης εἶπον αὐτῷ, Ραββί, πότε ᾧδε γέγονας;

John 9:2

καὶ ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντες, Ραββί, τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῆ;

John 11:8

λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί, Ραββί, νῦν ἐζήτουν σε λιθάσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγεις ἐκεῖ;

John 20:16

λέγει αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς, Μαριάμ. στραφείσα ἐκείνη λέγει αὐτῷ Ἐβραϊστί, Ραββουνι (ὃ λέγεται Διδάσκαλε). [after λεγεται add Kurie D (it)]