Matthew Black
1908–1994

Matthew Black was born at Kilmarnock on 3 September 1908 and died at St Andrews on 2 October 1994. He was educated at Kilmarnock Academy and at the University of Glasgow, where he obtained a First in Classics and a Second in Mental Philosophy and was awarded a Distinction in his BD. He went on to the University of Bonn in the 1930s, was a pupil of Paul Kahle and collected his first doctorate in 1937. He was the parish minister at Dunbarney from 1942–7, but otherwise his life was spent as a University teacher at Glasgow (where he was Assistant to his teacher W. B. Stevenson), Manchester, Aberdeen, Leeds, Edinburgh and St Andrews. He was elected to the Chair of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities at Edinburgh in 1952 and he came to St Andrews in 1954 as Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism and Principal of St Mary’s College. He had a long and influential tenure and became Emeritus in 1978. His scholarly output was not impaired by his new responsibilities, but he was a reforming Principal and was tenacious in the pursuit of ends on which he had determined. He amply fulfilled the expectations which had moved the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University, Professor T. M. Knox (later Sir Malcolm Knox), to bring him to St Andrews in 1954.

He was exceptionally industrious in his pursuit of scholarship and developed his own ideas tirelessly. He set the College a good example and his students noticed that the light was on in his study and that he was at his desk when they were retiring for the night. He had an infectious enthusiasm for his subject which he passed on to research
students with whom he was particularly effective and who came from many parts of the world to St Andrews. He leaves behind him, especially in North America, a band of university teachers whose research he supervised and whose vocation he shaped.

At St Andrews the reform of the Bachelor of Divinity degree was seen as a matter of urgency and to this he had to apply himself immediately. The degree was regulated by a single Ordinance and the four Scottish Universities with Faculties of Divinity (St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh) marched in step. The BD was a second degree and was preceded normally by a first degree in arts, sometimes in science. At a dinner in Edinburgh on the occasion of a joint meeting of the Divinity Faculties, Sir Edward Appleton, who was then Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh, urged that the four Universities should maintain the single Ordinance for the BD, that any reform of the degree should proceed by agreement and that they should not go their several ways and allow the old unity to fall apart. The efforts to secure such agreement were protracted and fruitless. St Andrews advocated strenuously that the BD should become an undergraduate degree and the Faculty at Edinburgh favoured the same move, but there was opposition in Glasgow and Aberdeen. Matthew Black played a prominent part in all this and eventually St Andrews moved unilaterally. He had throughout pressed hard for the change, because he regarded it as necessary for the survival of the Faculty of Divinity at St Andrews. The BD as a first degree was subsequently introduced by the other three universities, one by one, but in Glasgow there were those who were convinced that the pass had been sold and there were lingering doubts about the wisdom of the reform.

Matthew Black was the recipient of many honours: he had honorary degrees from Glasgow, Münster, Cambridge, Queen’s Ontario and St Andrews. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1955 and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1977. He won the Burkitt Medal of the British Academy in 1962. He was made a Corresponding Member of the Göttingen Academy in 1957 and a Member of the Uppsala Royal Society of Sciences in 1979. His most original book, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* had been accepted as a thesis for the degree of D.Litt. by the University of Glasgow in 1944 and was published by the Clarendon Press in 1946. There was a second edition (1954) and a further enlarged third edition (1967). The second and third editions contained an appendix on the unpublished work of Professor A.
J. Wensinck and the third edition an appendix on ‘The Use of ‘Son of Man’ in Jewish Aramaic’ by Professor Geza Vermes.

Black reviews the work of those scholars who had earlier investigated evidences of Aramaic behind the Greek of the New Testament, among them Wellhausen, Nestlé, Dalman, Torrey and Burney. The similarity of his interest to that of Gustaf Dalman’s Die Worte Jesu (1898) is noticeable, a book which was translated into English by David M. Kay, a St Mary’s College professor, as The Words of Jesus (1902). The ‘Words of Jesus’ does not exhaust the scope of Black’s investigation, but the topic describes an influential orientation of his book (cf. his ‘Recovery of the Language of Jesus’ (1957)) and the third edition of An Aramaic Approach is translated into German as Die Muttersprache Jesu (1982): the vernacular of Jesus was not Greek nor Hebrew but a dialect of Aramaic. Black’s most fundamental quarrel with Dalman (also with Torrey and Burney) was that he had been undiscriminating in his use of Aramaic and had not identified the Palestinian Aramaic dialect which would have elucidated correctly the Aramaic background to the Gospels.

Black’s approach was both linguistic and textual. The latter betrayed his abiding interest in the Greek manuscripts on which a critical edition of the New Testament is founded and in the science of textual criticism. In 1974 he lectured in the University of Glasgow on the occasion of the acquisition of a Tischendorf archive. The lecture was entitled ‘After 100 Years: The Text of the Greek New Testament’, and it was published in 1981 as part of a book, Constantin von Tischendorf and the Greek New Testament. He devoted attention especially to Codex Bezae whose text he compared with that of Westcott and Hort and that of Tischendorf and to which, following Wensinck, he attached special importance as a tool for the Aramaic approach to the Gospels. On the linguistic side he undertook to identify Aramaic grammar, syntax, vocabulary and idiom in the Greek of the New Testament. This involved attempts to recover original Aramaic constructions behind the Greek or to detect mistranslations in the Greek which were best accounted for as misunderstandings of an Aramaic original. His book exercised considerable influence on the course of subsequent New Testament studies and is an illustration of the advantages enjoyed by a New Testament scholar who has both classical learning and a knowledge of the Semitic languages.

The criticism of the third edition of the Aramaic Approach is less favourable than the verdict which was passed on the first edition. The
latter was received as a book which broke new ground, while the third edition is seen as a book which, despite revision and expansion, has not taken account of the advance of Aramaic studies between 1946 and 1967 and whose thesis is still essentially the same as that of the 1946 book. It is still a critique of Aramaisms in the Gospels and Acts which were identified by those who were first in the field. New finds of first-century Aramaic at Qumran, the Genesis Apocryphon and the fragments from the caves, have not been used and account has not been taken of the progress in the study of the Palestinian Targums. It is accepted that the point which Black made against his predecessors, that the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums is a better tool for investigating Aramaisms in the New Testament than the Aramaic of the Babylonian Targums, is valid, but the first-century AD date which he assigns to these Palestinian Targums is replaced by a third-century date. The key to further progress in the study of Aramaisms in the Gospels and Acts is the use of contemporary Aramaic sources. This criticism is, however, tempered by the acknowledgement that characteristics of first-century Palestinian Aramaic persist in the third century: the history of the language is one of continuity as well as change. The verdict is that Black’s use of third-century Aramaic may have produced correct results, though the scholarly method is to use Aramaic sources contemporary with the New Testament.

Matthew Black made a journey to Jerusalem in connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1959. He was given hospitality at the American School of Oriental Research and, with the help of Père de Vaux, inspected the scrolls and visited the excavations at Qumran. He was early in the new field and his book The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961) arose from the Morse Lectures which he had given at Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1956. Single lectures which he delivered on the Scrolls are published. One with the title The Scrolls and Christian Doctrine (1966) was the Ethel M. Wood lecture of the University of London, and another, The Essene Problem (1961), was given to the Friends of Dr Williams’ Library. He was an editor of a book entitled The Scrolls and Christianity: Historical and Theological Significance (1969) to which he contributed a chapter with almost the same title as his book (‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins’).

This and the title of the Ethel M. Wood lecture show that the interest which he had in the Scrolls was that of a New Testament scholar and this is to be expected. Consequently it was the literature of the Qumran sect and not the biblical finds in the caves to which he devoted most of
his attention. He did not, for the most part, compare Hebrew fragments with the Masoretic text or Greek fragments with the text of the Septuagint. He has an appendix in his book (The Scrolls and Christian Origins) on ‘Aramaic Texts from Qumran’ and he is especially interested in the scroll which has been named ‘The Genesis Apocryphon’, because he discerns that it has a bearing on his Aramaic Approach. He describes it as an ‘old Aramaic Targum, almost certainly our oldest written Palestinian Pentateuch Targum probably dating to the first century BC’. He holds that it is an invaluable witness to Aramaic language and literature in the time of Jesus.

He identified the Qumran community as Essenes, set it in the context of Jewish sectarianism and discussed the extent of its connections with Christian origins. There were two principal aspects to this undertaking: Are there direct historical contacts between the Qumran community and the Primitive Church? Are any of the ritual practices of the community or any of its forms of religious belief reflected in the rituals and doctrines of the Primitive Church? He discusses the community’s baptismal rites, its Messianic doctrines and its sacred meal. He offers the opinion that the Teacher of Righteousness may have been identified by the Qumran sectarians with ‘the prophet like Moses’ and that ‘redemptive functions’ may have been attributed to him. He notices that baptismal rites were common among Jewish sects in the New Testament period, but suggests that the ‘Hebraists’ or ‘Hebrews’ of Acts may provide a connection between the movement and tradition of non-conformist baptising Judaism and the Primitive Church. He judges it to be more probable that the Qumran sacred meal lies behind the daily ‘breaking of bread’ in the Primitive Christian community in Acts than that its model is the Passover: the Qumran material has ‘added a fresh possibility to the solution of the age-old problem of the origins of the Eucharist’.

In The Scrolls and Christianity he states that ‘there is quite strong evidence at times for some kind of link between Qumran ... and emerging Christianity’, but he then continues ‘direct dependence, however, has nowhere been conclusively demonstrated’. He emphasises the decisive contributions to Primitive Christianity made by John the Baptist and Jesus who transformed ‘the practices of a sect into a universal religion’ and were ‘towering figures’. He finally agrees with Renan that Christianity was an Essenism that succeeded and the implication of this conclusion would appear to be that Jesus emerged from Jewish sectarianism and not from the mainstream of Judaism.
The bibliography printed in the Festschrift presented to Matthew Black in 1969 (Neotestamentica et Semitica) contains books and articles which he published up to 1967. According to this list the first article (1954) which he wrote on the Scrolls (‘Theological Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls’) was derived from two lectures which he had given in Uppsala in 1953. The second article, entitled ‘Messianic Doctrine in the Qumran Scrolls’ (1957) was a paper which he had read at the Second International Conference of Patristic Studies in 1955. The ‘Gospel and the Scrolls’, which appeared in 1959, was a paper which he had read at the International Conference on the Four Gospels in 1957. ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Doctrine’ followed in 1966, the same title as the Ethel M. Wood lecture which was published in that year. He had, during this period, published three articles on the wider Jewish sectarian background, one in 1956 on ‘The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus’, a second on ‘The Patristic Accounts of Jewish Sectarianism’ (1959) and a third in 1965 on ‘The Tradition of Hasidaean-Essene Asceticism: Its Origins and Influence’.

In the bibliography contained in the second Festschrift which he received (1979) the only item on the Scrolls which is noticed is ‘The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins’, the section contributed to the book which he had edited (The Scrolls and Christianity) in 1969. Apart from the reproduction of his 1961 book (The Scrolls and Christian Origins) in 1982 this seems to have been his last word on the Scrolls.

His earliest article on the Dead Sea Scrolls shows that he was in the field before September 1953 and that he was able to offer two lectures at Uppsala on that date. The plates of The Manual of Discipline were published in 1951 and it is likely that he had them as soon as they were available. Otherwise his articles on the Scrolls do not add significantly to what has been gathered from his book.

The ‘Son of Man’ topic appears in Matthew Black’s published articles as early as 1948 (‘The ‘Son of Man’ in the Old Biblical Literature’ and ‘The ‘Son of Man’ in the Teaching of Jesus’). The emphasis which prevails throughout his work is already present. He focuses attention on ‘The Similitudes of Enoch’ (1 Enoch 37–71) which he describes as a reputedly pre-Christian and Jewish Apocalypse found only in the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch and for which he claims a Hebrew or Aramaic original. He holds that there is ‘a core of apocalyptic’ in the New Testament portrayal of the Son of Man and that the background of Matt. 25 is the Similitudes of Enoch. It should not be
thought that this has been ‘foisted on’ the teaching of Jesus. ‘The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch’ (1952) represents that the Messianism of the Similitudes, which is more developed than that of the book of Daniel, was the model of the eschatological ‘Son of Man’ figure in the Gospels and so passed into Christianity.

The same approach is continued in ‘The Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man’, his inaugural lecture given in the University of Edinburgh (1952). The portrait of the Son of Man in the Gospels owes more to the Similitudes of Enoch than it does to the book of Daniel, but the element of redemptive suffering is derived from Isaiah 53 and the Suffering Servant in the New Testament is a Messianic figure, not just a prophetic one. ‘The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate’ (1963) continues along the same lines, and the principal topic is that the model of the Similitudes of Enoch furnishes the background of Jewish eschatological belief in the portrayal of the Son of Man in the Gospels.

A similar combination of the characteristics of Son of Man and Suffering Servant is set out in ‘The “Son of Man” Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition’ (1969). This article combines the concern of the Aramaic Approach with that of ‘Son of Man’. Black holds that Luke 24: 7 is derived from an Aramaic-speaking milieu and discerns further evidence of an Aramaic original in John 3: 14, where an Aramaic verb with two meanings, ‘to be exalted’ and ‘to be crucified’ lies behind the Greek verb ‘to be exalted’. The main direction of his argument is that there is a non-Markan tradition of passion sayings which have an Aramaic original and that these are dominical. In a Festschrift for Anton Vogtle he wrote on ‘Die Apotheose Israel: eine neue Interpretation des danielischen Geschlechts’ and in the Festschrift presented to W. D. Davies he contributed an essay on ‘The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the “Son of Man”: A Study in Tradition History’ (1976).

In the same year he collaborated, as a minor partner, with J. T. Milik in the publication of The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4. He had earlier published a Greek text of Enoch, Apocrypha Henochi Graece (1970). His Greek text (1–32: 6; 97: 6–104; 106; 117: 1–3) was principally founded on the two extant manuscripts, the Gizeh Manuscript and the Chester Beatty Papyrus. The larger part of the book consists of Greek fragments of the Pseudepigrapha collected by A. M. Denis (pp. 45–238). The circumstances that no Aramaic fragments of the Similitudes of Enoch were recovered from Cave 4 at Qumran, and that Milik had dated the Ethiopic text of the
Similitudes in the medieval period, presented a challenge to Black’s view that the Similitudes of Enoch had supplied the eschatological features of the New Testament Son of Man and he endeavoured to offer a preliminary answer to Milik in ‘The Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) and the “Son of Man”’ (1976). He notices that there is no trace of the Similitudes in the Aramaic fragments from Cave 4 at Qumran and that the manuscripts of the Ethiopic text of the Similitudes are dated in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. He accepts Milik’s conclusion that the Ethiopic version of the Similitudes was composed in the medieval period, but he assumes a continuity of tradition with ‘the earlier Enoch cycle’. He argues that the New Testament Son of Man derives from the Similitudes rather than from Daniel 7 and that ‘the Parables are not an alien body of doctrine within the Enoch tradition’. There are evidences of an Aramaic original behind the Ethiopic: he cites 1 Enoch 65:10, where he discerns a misreading of an Aramaic original.

The last chapter in this ‘Son of Man’ record is supplied by the publication of The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch in 1985. This was given an impetus by the year which he spent as a member of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton in 1977–8. The book contains a translation of 1 Enoch, a commentary, textual notes and three appendices. He consulted James C. Vanderkam on matters Ethiopic and the astronomical chapters (72–82) are the work of Otto Neugebauer (Appendix A). The translation is a revised version of the one done by R. H. Charles in 1912. Black does not quarrel, for the most part, with the Ethiopic text which Charles used, but he has textual variants which he prefers. He holds that 1 Enoch, except for the Similitudes, was originally written in Aramaic, but he allows for the existence of a complete book of Enoch in Hebrew. He notices that it is a matter of debate which language was the Grundschrift of the Similitudes, whether Aramaic or Hebrew, and he now, following Halevy and Charles, expresses his preference for Hebrew. He favours the hypothesis that the Hebrew original was first translated into Greek (so Halevy and Charles) which was then the Vorlage of the Ethiopic version of the Similitudes. The conclusion that the Ethiopic version of Enoch had a Greek Vorlage has the disadvantage of placing it at two removes from its Grundschrift, whether Aramaic or Hebrew.

On the Son of Man question his position does not alter and he continues to hold that the Son of Man of the Similitudes is the foundation of Son of Man christology in the Gospels. He repeats what he had said earlier that they are not an alien body within the Enoch tradition.
He dates the Similitudes in the early Roman period, probably pre-70 AD, and rejects Milik’s view that their historical background is around 250 AD and that their author was a Jew or a Jewish-Christian.

The book has not been well received and Black’s fundamental mistake is that he tries to accomplish too much in what ought to have been an attempt to establish a critical Ethiopic text, to translate it into English and to comment on it. The circumstance that parts of 1 Enoch are extant in Greek and that Aramaic fragments have been recovered from Cave 4 at Qumran, together with the assumption that Greek is the Vorlage of the Ethiopic text and Aramaic the Grundlage (except for the Similitudes), ought not to have been allowed to overwhelm his primary task. The outcome of this complication is that he gives the impression of being more concerned with the Greek Vorlage, extant or putative, than with the Ethiopic variants in establishing the text of the Ethiopic version of Enoch and his presentation and handling of the Ethiopic and Aramaic evidence have provoked criticism.

a light task. The project was the brain-child of Professor P. A. H. De Boer and was centred in the Peshitta Institute at Leiden. The aim was to produce a critical edition of the Old Testament Peshitta and individual books, which were allocated to an international group of scholars, were prepared for publication at the Peshitta Institute.

In 1958 Matthew Black reported on ‘The Greek New Testament Project of the American and Associated Bible Societies’. This was an international venture which was initiated by the American Bible Society, associated with the Württemberg Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland, later with the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Netherlands Bible Society. The Greek New Testament was published in 1966 and its editors were Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce Metzger and Allen Wikgren. The book was designed principally for the use of Bible translators. It was an eclectic text, based on Westcott and Hort, and otherwise resting on decisions of the editorial committee. Black appraised the version in ‘The U.B.S. Greek New Testament Evaluated: A Reply’ (1977). The editors were each assigned special tasks and Black was entrusted with the supervision of the collation of Syriac data, so that his earlier Syriac studies were focused on this new enterprise.

There was an editorial discussion at Bangor, North Wales, in 1955 on the occasion of a meeting of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas and from then on the editors conferred and pushed ahead with their tasks at meetings which were held during the summer in America, Europe and once in St Andrews. Matthew Black’s natural habitat was his study, but he enjoyed travel when it was linked with scholarship and he was stimulated by the company of his fellow editors in different settings during these years. He attended the meetings of learned societies at home and abroad and accepted invitations to deliver lectures, sometimes courses of lectures, which took him to Europe, America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Japan. He was President of the Society for Old Testament Study in 1968 and of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas in 1970–1.

He devoted much time to editorial tasks and was drawn to this side of scholarly activity. The revision of A. S. Peake’s Commentary on the Bible (1919), published in 1962 enlisted many contributors and was a large editorial task. Black was the New Testament editor and also had a general responsibility for the whole volume, while H. H. Rowley was the Old Testament editor. Black was editor of New Testament Studies from its inception (1955) for a period of twenty-three years and his
name appears for the last time in vol.23 (1977). He was also editor of the Monograph Series of New Testament Studies. The Scrolls and Christianity has already been noticed. Other books of which he was both joint editor and a contributor are In Memoriam Paul Kahle (1968) and On Language, Culture and Religion (1974) which was presented to Eugene Nida on his sixtieth birthday. To the first of these he contributed ‘The Development of Aramaic Studies since the Work of Kahle’ and to the second ‘Notes on the Longer and Shorter Texts of Acts’.

Nida had written extensively on linguistics and was a Secretary of the Translations Department of the American Bible Society. From 1956 he was closely involved as an administrator and general policy adviser in the work of the editorial committee which was producing The Greek Bible and was present at its meetings. Matthew Black had been made an Honorary Member of the American Bible Society in 1968. The Festschrift is divided into two parts, ‘Biblical Studies’ (pp. 3–183) and ‘Studies in Language and Culture’ (pp. 187–380).

In the obituary notice which Matthew Black wrote in the Proceedings of the British Academy (1965) he describes Paul Kahle as ‘the doyen of European Orientalists’, a superlative ascription of praise which will not command universal agreement. He praises Kahle not only for his feats of scholarship but also for the discernment which enabled him to detect the far-reaching significance of his researches and for the generosity with which he disbursed his intellectual treasures to others. It is evident that Kahle exercised a decisive influence on the young Matthew Black and inspired him at an early stage of his development, as he acknowledges in the preface of Rituale (1938), his Bonn thesis. It is not an exaggeration to say that he experienced an intellectual awakening and acquired a kind of scholarly curiosity in Bonn which was discernible in his subsequent work. Kahle’s seminar in Bonn, he writes in the Proceedings, ‘was a centre of learning which attracted students from all over the world’. Nor does he forget in the preface to his Rituale his debt to Professor W. B. Stevenson who had taught him Hebrew and Aramaic at Glasgow and had encouraged and helped his former pupil when he was taking his first steps as an academic. It is said that Stevenson taught Hebrew in the University of Glasgow as a domnie would have taught his pupils in a Scottish country school. His Grammar of Palestinian-Jewish Aramaic (1924) is a reminder that Matthew Black laid the foundations of his scholarship in Glasgow.

Another name which should be mentioned is that of Professor T. W.
Manson, whose obituary notice in the *Proceedings* was contributed by Matthew Black. Manson was appointed to the Rylands Chair of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester in 1936 and Black was an Assistant Lecturer there from 1937–9. Black observes that in *The Sayings of Jesus*, part of a larger book, Manson had noted that behind the sayings of Jesus in Mark and Luke there was an original Aramaic document or source. In the 1937 book Manson had asserted that the bulk of the teaching of Jesus was in Aramaic which he described as ‘the vernacular language of Palestine and the only language in which the majority of the people were at home’. He had further stated that the differences between Matthew and Luke in reporting the words of Jesus were to be accounted for by the translation—sometimes mistranslation—of Greek from Aramaic. These were ideas which guided Black’s detailed researches.

When Matthew Black became Emeritus in 1978, he left behind a very large study which had housed his books comfortably, where they were well ordered and easy of access. He had become accustomed to this state of affairs, was attached to the room in which he had passed so many hours and found the transition to retirement in a new setting difficult. He continued to work and published a book in 1985. His new home was delightful, but it did not have a room which compensated for the loss of his study. He had brought his books with him, but he could not accommodate them in the way he had once done and they were not easy of access. In the last period the contrast between the then and the now weighed heavily on him and amounted to a feeling of exile.

He was deeply attached to his son and daughter; the progress of his grandchildren awakened his keen interest and brought him to life: he had great pride in their accomplishments. The devotion of his wife, Ethel Hall, whom he married in 1938, cannot be praised too highly.

WILLIAM McKANE

Fellow of the Academy

Note. I acknowledge help received from Fellows of the Academy, from Professor Robin Wilson, Professor Edward Ullendorff and Professor Michael Knibb. Miss Margaret Blackwood, who was Professor Black’s secretary, has been a mine of information.