

# The Development of Greek and the New Testament

MORPHOLOGY, SYNTAX,  
PHONOLOGY, AND  
TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

Chrys C. Caragounis

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Σεμνή μνήμη δυοῖν εὐκλεεστάτοιν υἱοῖν Ἑλλάδος

*Γεωργίῳ Χατζιδάκι*

*(1848-1941)*

καὶ

*Ἀντωνίῳ Γιάνναρη*

*(1852-1909)*

οἱ τὴν περὶ τῶν γραμμάτων ἑλληνίδα ἐπιστήμην ἐκόσμησαν  
γλῶτταν ἀτθίδα τε καὶ ὑστέραν καὶ νεωτέραν ἀκριβῶς ἠρεύνησαν  
σαφὴν τὴν ἐνότητα ἀπάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνῆς καταδείξαντες  
ἡγούμενοι πᾶσι γενόμενοι τοῖς ἐς αἰὲ μέλλουσιν ἔπεσθαι

τιμῆς ἔνεκα

ἀνατίθῃμι

## Preface to the Paperback Edition

Hardly seventeen months after the original publication of the present volume had gone by when I was informed by Mohr Siebeck that Baker Academic of the Baker Publishing Group wished to publish a paperback edition for American readers. Knowing the interest that had been generated on the American continent, I welcomed the opportunity to correct the typographical errors that had come to my attention in the meantime. Baker's proofreader, too, gave me the benefit of his sharp eye, and it is now hoped that this reprint is fairly free from lapses of the eye or of the 'pen'.

At the same time I took the opportunity to introduce minor changes in about 300 places in the text and footnotes, ranging from one word to whole sentences. It is hoped that the meaning has become clearer. In no case was the position or the argument changed. I have also made references to a dozen new works. Naturally, the indices had to be modified to accommodate this.

Particular care was taken to keep the original pagination intact. Only in a very few cases did the change of the new word(s) move one word or even a line or two forward to the next page. In these cases, too, the indices were modified.

From many persons around the world, not least reviewers, I have received appreciative and enthusiastic remarks for this book. In this connection I might perhaps mention a couple of detailed reviews by respected scholars that I have seen so far: Prof J. K. Elliott (Leeds University) in *Novum Testamentum* 47 (2005), pp. 394-96, and Prof P. van der Horst (Utrecht) in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 59 (2005) pp. 21-30. More of these are on the way. These scholars have made a serious, open-minded, and fair attempt to present and to critically evaluate the book, and it is gratifying to me that they have found it worthy of their warm recommendation.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Dr James Ernest of Baker Academic for his input in the preparation of the present paperback edition.

## Preface to the Original Edition

The working title of the present investigation during the period of writing has been *A Diachronic and Acoustic Approach to the New Testament*. This is exactly what this book is about. Its two main strands of diachrony and acoustics, i.e. the historical development of the language morphologically and especially syntactically as well as the way the message sounded and the consequences of this for exegesis, form the heart of this volume.

The logical point of departure is the year 1528, when Desiderius Erasmus introduced the pronunciation that bears his name. This unfortunate event led to the division of the Greek language into ancient and later Greek. In this way the unity of the language was lost and scholarship became unaware of the continuity that exists between ancient and modern Greek. Since Erasmus' time the New Testament has been interpreted in the light of classical Greek and during the past one hundred years or so also in the light of the Egyptian papyri. However, because the New Testament emerges during the time when Greek passes from its ancient to its later, modern form, many New Testament words and structures, which have acquired new meaning, cannot be 'pressed' through the old filter. They can be interpreted correctly only if the later developments are taken into account. The same applies to the pronunciation employed. Erasmus' teaching on the pronunciation of Greek was not informed either by the epigraphic or the papyrological evidence; he had only Latin as his gauge. Yet the issue of pronunciation is a far more serious matter than merely pronouncing words with a different accent. The question of pronunciation has cut deeply into the New Testament text, it has influenced its formulations, its communication, the meaning of its words (e.g. wordplays), and it is responsible for innumerable textual variants in the manuscript tradition.

At present, the science of the New Testament is applying a great variety of approaches to interpret its texts, and all of these undoubtedly have something to contribute. However, the New Testament is a text, a communication, and its message has to be deciphered in the first place on the linguistic level. The present work is an attempt to rehabilitate the Greek language: to show its unity and continuity from Mycenaean times to the present; to indicate its main developments in morphology and syntax, and to deal with the vexed issue of pronunciation; to demonstrate that many New Testament cruxes can be solved only with the help of the evidence

which later Greek supplies; in short, to prove that in the interpretation of the New Testament the entire history of the Hellenic language is important. Though my immediate interest revolves around the interpretation of the New Testament, the pages of this investigation make it clear that also classical and Byzantine scholarship have everything to gain from this new, holistic approach to the Hellenic language.

This investigation has received the generous financial assistance of the Bank of Sweden (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), which for four years paid one half of my salary in order to free me from academic duties to write it.

My thanks are due to Professors J. Frey and O. Hofius for including even this book of mine in their eminent series of WUNT. Prof Frey showed his deepest interests in it already during our first communication at the Montreal SNTS Meeting in 2001, while Prof Hofius not only read the entire manuscript but also brought to my attention a number of misprints in the submitted manuscript. Since then the manuscript has been subjected to a thorough proofreading.

My friend Prof James W. Voelz read conscientiously the first three chapters and corrected many misprints and a number of syntactical infelicities. My colleague Prof Bengt Holmberg had the kindness, amidst his many duties, to proofread chapter 5.

My thanks are due also to a number of Greek scholars. My friends Professors John Karavidopoulos, Petros Vassiliadis, and John Galanis, all of Thessaloniki University, arranged for me to spend part of the Autumn of 2001 in Thessaloniki in order to research in Greek literature in the libraries there. They also invited me to participate actively in their classes and research seminar. Prof Dimitris Christidis, an old friend, of the Department of Classics at Thessaloniki, introduced me to and arranged for me to have access to the literary treasures of the classical and Byzantine libraries, where Mr Stergios Sfondylis, Library Manager, showed me his ready helpfulness.

Finally, as the Christmas holidays were approaching and my progress in the editing and indexing of the work was overwhelming me, my daughter Rosanna braced herself with the task of editing. She went through the entire manuscript more than once paying minute attention to every small detail. Without her work, this complicated text with its many fonts and signs would have been far from perfect – if such an audacious thought may be entertained. However, for any inconsistencies and shortcomings that the reader may note, I am the only one responsible.

In a work such as this, ranging over the entire history of the Greek language, from Mycenaean times to the present, with so many different corpora of material from which I quote, and to which, as is well-known,

there is no standard or uniform way of referring, perfect consistency has, in spite of serious efforts thereto, proved impossible. The reader should bear this in mind if he or she sometimes notices variation. On a number of occasions the references have been given to the texts as read in the *TLG*. It should be remembered that different editions of one and the same author may use different reference systems. But this cannot be any serious impediment. The reference should be clear.

There remains now for me to thank Dr Georg Siebeck for welcoming me again to his publishing activities. My thanks are due to Dr Henning Ziebritzki, the Theology Editor of Mohr-Siebeck, for the publishing arrangements as well as to the various departments that have contributed to the successful publication and marketing of this book, Ms Ilse König for editing instructions and Ms Juliana Haag in connection with its marketing.

Lund 20<sup>th</sup> January 2004

Chrys C. Caragounis

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## The Phases of the Greek Language

The following table gives the dates for the various phases of the Greek language with their approximate dates as well as the one-letter designations used in this work.

### I. Ancient Greek (1500 B.C. - A.D. 600)

*Linear B* = Mycenaean (XV-XII B.C.) (Linear B tablets)

*E* = Epic (800-500 B.C.) (Homer, Hesiod, etc.)

*A* = Classical (mainly Attic) (500-300 B.C.)

*P* = Post-classical (300 B.C. - A.D. 600) (Transition)

*H* = Hellenistic (300 B.C. - A.D. 300)

*EH* = Early Hellenistic (300 B.C. - 1 B.C.)

*LH* = Late Hellenistic (A.D. 1-300)

*PB* = Proto-Byzantine (A.D. 300-600)

### II. Modern Greek (A.D. 600-2000)

*B* = Byzantine (A.D. 600-1000) (Early Neohellenic)

*LB* = Late Byzantine [*M(ediaeval)*] (A.D. 1000-1500) (Middle Neohellenic)

*N* = Neohellenic (A.D. 1500-2000) (Late Neohellenic)

*K* = Katharevousa (official till 1976: Atticistic, puristic, literary)

*D* = Demotike (following the popular oral tradition)

*NK* = Neohellenic Koine (official since 1976: blending *K* and *D*)

*MGr* = Modern Greek

## INTRODUCTION

# The Greek Language as a Historical Problem

## I. The Problem

The Greek language is one of the three oldest Indo-European (= IE) languages with written documentation, the other two being Sanskrit and Hittite. The written documentation for the Hittite language, which is a representative of the Western or *centum* branch of the IE Family of languages<sup>1</sup>, takes us back to around 1700 B.C. and continues down to the XIII<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit, the sacred language of ancient India (belonging to the Anatolian or *satem* branch), the earliest form of which is represented by the Vedic literature (supposed to have been composed in 1200-800 B.C. though the written form is later)<sup>3</sup> is the language with the latest documentation of the three, whose classical form covers the period 800-400 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Following the decipherment in 1952 of the Mycenaean script known as the *Linear B* tablets (XV-XII century B.C.), the Greek language came to be regarded as the second oldest documented IE language (also of the Western or *centum* branch)<sup>5</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Indo-European Family of languages is divided into the Anatolian or *satem* group comprising Indo-Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, Armenian and Albanian, and the Western or *centum* group, which comprises Greek, Italic, Germanic, Celtic, Hittite and Tocharic. The terms *satem* and *centum* are the words for 'hundred', occurring in the Anatolian and Western branches of the IE languages respectively, and have become the basis for grouping them.

<sup>2</sup> The Neo-Hittite kingdom (1425-1180 B.C.) was succeeded for a few centuries by various petty kingdoms, which, however, in time were incorporated in the Assyrian kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest and most important of the Vedic collections of literature is the *Rig Veda*.

<sup>4</sup> This is Sanskrit proper, represented chiefly by the epics *Ramayana* (c. 600 B.C.) consisting of 24,000 lines, and the huge *Mahabharata* (also c. 600 B.C.) consisting of some 100,000 doublets, i.e. about eight times the length of the Homeric epics. Sanskrit was standardized by the famous grammarian Panini (IV B.C.).

<sup>5</sup> It is but a small possibility, but if the *Linear A* texts (XVIII-XV B.C.), when deciphered, turn out to be Greek, then Greek will be the oldest documented IE language.



However, although Greek at present is the second oldest documented IE language, it is the language with the longest documented history of the three, and the oldest European language still in use, being continuously documented in writing for 3,500 years. Still more important than mere figures about age and history is the fact that from the point of view of historical linguistics, Greek affords unique research material for the study of the development of dialectology and of language *per se*, material that cannot be found in any other language simply because no other language has been written continuously for three and a half millennia (and spoken for a much longer period)<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, Greek is unparalleled also in another respect. The Vedic-Sanskrit language gave rise to a number of Hindi languages and dialects, while in Europe the second oldest language, Latin, broke up into the Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, etc.). Greek, on the other hand, has never given birth to any daughter languages. From the Mycenaean age (indeed, from the arrival of the Greeks in Greece in the third millennium B.C.) to the present, Greek is the same language in spite of the changes it has undergone. These changes are the normal vicissitudes of all languages that have existed for any appreciable length of time, though Greek is again unique in one more respect, namely, that the changes it has sustained are far smaller than the changes that have come over other languages with a much briefer history, as, e.g., German and English<sup>7</sup>.

The above circumstances, which differentiate Greek from its sister languages, form part of the *core* of what might be termed "the historical problem of the Greek language", that is, the fact of the oneness or the unity of the Greek language from the beginning to the present, so that a major part of the lexical and conceptual treasure of archaic and ancient Greek forms the basis and backbone of its present phase. This solid continuity and identity, in spite of substantial developments, should be quite obvious to anyone who has become acquainted with the language as a whole. This unity carries with it certain corollaries which imply that the various phases of the language are so interrelated that no phase of it can be properly understood without reference to its other phases. In other words, the Greek language cannot be atomized. Its several phases must be investigated in conjunction with one another. Related to this core regarding the internal history of the language are particularly two language-external factors, which constitute the outer layers of the historical problem of the Greek language: pronunciation and atomization.

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<sup>6</sup> Its oral form is, of course, much older, see Chapter One.

<sup>7</sup> See especially Chapters One through Six.

When in 1528 Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his *Dialogus*, a book on how Greek and Latin were supposedly pronounced in antiquity<sup>8</sup>, little did he realize that the line he struck out would determine not only the pronunciation but also the approach to the study of the Greek language and its literature for almost five centuries. For not only did Greek since then come to be pronounced by European students in a novel way, but also its long, literary history was divided into two broad periods: ancient and modern. The advocates of this artificial division failed to consult the Greeks, who down to the close of the Middle Ages had continuously used and commented upon the writings of their forbears, and were, therefore, excellently equipped to speak to the feasibility of dividing Greek into ancient and modern<sup>9</sup>. The pronunciation adopted led to the fossilization of ancient Greek making it appear as a different language from the one spoken by the Greek Nation. Thus, severed from its living phase, Greek came to be treated as a dead language, and from this axiom gradually grew the perception, which in time became a new axiom, that there was not much, if any, relation at all between ancient Greek and modern Greek.

From this time on, Greek was approached, as were all other defunct languages, through internal comparison of its written documents, and sense was extracted by the only means available to this approach: the language's own dumb written evidence. The NT, for example, was at first interpreted in the light of classical Greek (e.g. Winer<sup>10</sup>) with many an awkward result, but when the Egyptian Papyri were discovered, they were hailed as a new light from the ancient East<sup>11</sup>, and the NT was 're-read' in the light of their evidence. In the course of this re-reading many 'new discoveries' were made on lexical and syntactical points, discoveries that had been known all along in Byzantine, Mediaeval, and modern Greek.

The problem averred here can be exemplified by the following cases: (a) for over two centuries, NT scholars have debated whether the NT was written in "pure Greek", in "Biblical Greek", in "Jewish Greek", or in "Holy Ghost Greek"<sup>12</sup>, all of which are, from the Greek point of view, misguided positions. (b) F. Blaß, who in language matters has influenced NT scholarship more than anyone else, entertained some very inaccurate views

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<sup>8</sup> Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus*, Basiliae 1528. For particulars on this incident and its significance for the pronunciation of Greek, see Ch. Six.

<sup>9</sup> On the various circumstances and factors, see Ch. Six.

<sup>10</sup> For example, G. B. WINER, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh, 1882.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. DEISSMANN's famous book by that title. See also his *Bible Studies*, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter Three, III Atticism, in particular the reference to VOELZ's study.

*both* about the nature of Neohellenic *and* about the Greek pronunciation<sup>13</sup>. (c) More recently, in a debate that has flared up about Time and Aspect in the Greek verb, it has been triumphantly declared that the Greek verb expresses only Aspect, not Time<sup>14</sup>. This has been described as a 'new discovery' to the extent of speaking of the "pre-verbal aspect literature" as well as of "grammarians before the advent of verbal-aspect"! The very propagation of this doctrine, let alone the question of its being a "new discovery", would never have seen the light of day, if its advocates had understood that ever since the time of Homeros there has never been a day when Greeks have not expressed *both* Time *and* Aspect through their verbs.

The above are only three brief examples that demonstrate how important the holistic approach to the study of Greek is, and equally that many inaccurate statements about Greek have been made, to the extent of involving downright misunderstandings and misrepresentations, because the historical, diachronic perspective on the language was missing. All these matters constitute the heart of the historical problem of the Greek language and its consequences.

## II. The Present Approach

The avowed aim of the present investigation is to approach the Greek language holistically and historically, as a living organism evolving and developing. Its two scarlet threads are, therefore, diachrony and acoustics (which includes pronunciation). These two areas have been used as grounds for dividing the language into two clear-cut periods: ancient and modern. Thus, the change of pronunciation, which is thought to divide ancient from modern Greek, is placed roughly in NT times and subsequently. And as for diachrony, the emphasis has been laid solely on the differences between ancient and modern Greek (that is, on the basis of a few selected points from Neohellenic). In a sober scientific investigation, however, the issues of pronunciation and diachrony actually demonstrate the oneness and unity of the language.

As amply documented in Chapter Six through the citation of a wealth of inscriptional and other evidence, already in the VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Greek began to assume what is mistakenly called the "modern Greek pronunciation", but which actually is the *Historical Pronunciation of Greek* (that is, the pronunciation that took shape gradually, naturally and unforcedly by

<sup>13</sup> See in particular Chapter Six.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Five, IX. Time and Aspect in the ancient and modern Phases of the Greek Language.

language-internal processes till it reached its present stage of development in Neohellenic), with virtually all of the changes having occurred during the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. This development in pronunciation went hand in hand with the completion of the alphabet and the consequent standardization of the orthography during the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. This implies that there is no such thing as a “modern Greek pronunciation”. Ever since classical times we are concerned with the Historical Greek Pronunciation (= *HGP*). The issue of pronunciation, then, properly understood, i.e. in its historical setting and evolution, shows the unbroken, continuous use of the language and its unity and has far-reaching consequences.

The issue of diachrony, as demonstrated, for example, in Chapters Three and Four, shows not only that there have been developments, i.e. changes from the ancient to the modern phase of the language, but also continuity, so that in addition to the lexicon, which is still to a large extent identical, continuity obtains also in conceptualization, phraseology<sup>15</sup>, and even syntax. This is particularly true of the NT. The NT is actually the greatest beneficiary of the process of transition from ancient to modern Greek. The transition period is roughly the period of the so-called Koine form of Greek or post-classical Greek (= *P*), more precisely, a period of 900 years, from Alexander to Justinian (335 B.C. - A.D. 565), during which classical Greek changed to Neohellenic. The fact that the NT appears in the middle of this period implies that many morphological and syntactical developments are rather new for the NT, or even occur in the NT for the first time. Such linguistic phenomena cannot be elucidated by reference to the classical period. It is in the post-NT literature that these neologisms find their explanation, because by this time these grammatical phenomena have had the time necessary for them to develop and to come to their full bloom. This post-NT literature, which takes us all the way to the present day, in addition to the oral tradition of the spoken form of Neohellenic, has a considerable contribution to make for a more correct or precise understanding of the text of the NT, and indeed, of ancient texts generally. Examples of this abound especially in Chapters Four and Five.

The aim of the present volume, therefore, is to bring to bear on the NT the later evidence of the Greek language. This will be done by comparing syntax points of the NT with corresponding syntactical points both of the earlier period and of the later period by citing a large number of classical examples (including epic) as well as passages from Hellenistic to Neohellenic times. This comparison shows that the NT often belongs together with the later rather than the earlier literature. The purpose is not merely theoretical. By citing and discussing an immense amount of evidence from all

<sup>15</sup> On conceptualization and phraseology, see, in particular, Ch. Two.

periods of Greek literature, always with the NT as the reference point and center of interest, the attempt is made to elucidate concrete NT problems, and to show that the later evidence often leads to different solutions than the ones heretofore proposed, and that these solutions are more satisfactory and convincing, because they are in line with the spirit of the Greek language and its own natural evolution.

Although this volume is concerned in the first place with the exegesis of the NT, it would have been a denial of the very principles underlying the holistic approach enunciated here, if the earlier periods of the Greek language were neglected. Hence, although a NT scholar might feel, for example, that the first two chapters take up for discussion matters of no immediate interest to a theologian, the procedure is justified in a holistic approach such as this. Besides, if one perseveres carefully and reflectively, one will, it is hoped, find these chapters most rewarding; they will help place the NT in perspective within the long and wide stream of the Greek language and its literature.

### III. The Concerns of the Present Investigation

The two scarlet threads of diachrony and acoustics that go through the present investigation will come to expression through (a) two introductory chapters of a more general nature, one treating the language as a whole and one showing the deepgoing connections between classical Greek and Neohellenic; (b) three chapters treating morphological and syntactical aspects and their impingement on the interpretation of the NT; and (c) three chapters taking up the acoustic dimension, that is, the change of pronunciation (to the *HGP*) in classical times, the acoustic dimension in communication and the significance of pronunciation in the transmission of the NT text. More analytically:

Chapter One will be a broad historical outline of the Greek language from its beginnings, which are lost in the mist of pre-historical times, to the present day. It will take up for discussion the different periods of the Greek language and try to show by means of text extracts from its various phases the unity of the language. The last period, the Neohellenic, will be treated at greater length, both because of its complicated history and current state and in order to show its present stage, thus making it easier to gauge its importance for the NT. This chapter will set the stage for the succeeding chapters.

Chapter Two is an attempt to show the continuity in phraseology and conceptualization between ancient and modern Greek. The relation be-

tween ancient and modern Greek is not merely one in which the latter has simply evolved from the former, as, e.g., French from Latin, and has in ancient Greek its ultimate source, a source that can be discovered only by the painstaking efforts of the specialist linguist, but which has for the ordinary user only academic significance. The intention here will be rather to show that much of the life-stream of the ancient phase still forms the backbone of present Greek, and that the modern user is no stranger to the ancient form of Greek. This can be exemplified, for example, in the areas of phraseology and conceptualization. Neohellenic preserves *i.a.* a large number of ancient phrases and concepts, and its thought patterns often reflect the ancient way of thinking. Because of this continuity, Neohellenic can often be used to elucidate obscure constructions and, generally, to enliven the ancient texts. These considerations are further augmented and corroborated by comparisons with the Homeric and the NT vocabulary still used in Neohellenic.

In Chapter Three the transition from ancient Greek to Neohellenic will form the center of interest. Unlike other languages, whose modern form is of a comparatively recent vintage, *MGr* has its roots in the Koine period. The basic changes, morphological and syntactical, that differentiate it from ancient Greek, actually go back to the 900-year period from Alexander to Justinian, during which the NT came into being. Thus, the basic development of Neohellenic coincides with such developments as are met with also in the NT. It is for this reason that the NT has been described as the first book in the more modern, simpler Greek. This chapter will also discuss the notorious problem of Atticism, and through detailed comparisons of its recommendations and warnings with the NT vocabulary and the Neohellenic equivalents, some general conclusions will be attempted as to the then current state of Greek.

The Fourth Chapter will plough the hard evidence of syntax, though in a representative rather than exhaustive fashion. Here, the ambition will be to say something on each and every major point of syntax in order to show the language developments from ancient to modern times, which characterize so much of the NT. But development does not necessarily mean break. Not infrequently developments aver continuity. The importance of this chapter can be gauged by the following circumstance. Over one hundred years ago the exegesis of the NT was carried out by means of the classical and post-classical evidence. With the discovery of the Egyptian papyri, we became aware of another standard of Greek in use among the populations that found themselves within Alexander's empire. Since then it has been usual for scholars to cite papyrological evidence for preferring a particular meaning or understanding of a NT word or phrase. But in spite of the interesting evidence of the papyri, the Hellenic language has continued

to be treated atomistically. Here, for the first time in the NT discipline, the attempt is being made to treat the Greek language and its literature as a whole, to place the NT within its long history of syntactical development, and to see it as part of the Hellenic literature and how it fits within main-line Greek. The reader should not be surprised if he finds that the NT quite often belongs together with the later Hellenic literature, evincing the developments that led to the formation of Neohellenic.

Chapter Five will take up for detailed discussion a number of cruxes in NT interpretation. The constructions involved here have caused many problems to the exegetes, with some of them having been interpreted in a complacent way, and others in conscious resignation of the hope of ever being able to arrive at the correct meaning. By bringing to bear evidence from post-classical, Byzantine, and Neohellenic, it is hoped that the meaning of these texts will be illuminated in an unprecedented way, and that not merely new and fresh interpretations will be forthcoming – which in itself is not remarkable – but, what is more important, these interpretations will, hopefully, be seen to be in accord with the genius of the Greek language; in other words, they will be the natural meanings of the linguistic structures evaluated against the ongoing process of development within the axis from ancient to modern Greek. This chapter, the longest in this volume, can never be completed, in as much as the nine topics that are discussed could be increased almost *ad infinitum*. However, this limited number of topics will exemplify in the most concrete manner how much NT interpretation can profit from a diachronic approach.

The Sixth Chapter is pivotal. It was the unfortunate error of Erasmus with regard to the pronunciation of ancient Greek that became the catalyst for the partly misguided investigation of the Hellenic language ever since. The introduction of the Erasmian pronunciation affected more immediately the way in which the Greek language came to be pronounced. As such it has kept from us the facts of orthographic errors in the production and transcription of texts. One of the most obvious effects of the *HGP* was the immense number of orthographical mistakes in the NT MSS. Many of these spelling mistakes, if taken into account, can help solve text-critical problems and enable us to understand why a particular variant came into being. This will often help us choose the right variant. But a still more important, though less direct, consequence of the Erasmian pronunciation was that it divided the language into two: ancient and modern. As was to be expected, non-Greek scholarship concentrated on the ancient period and treated the later period as unimportant<sup>16</sup>. Later Greek, up to the present, thus became *terra incognita* and has largely remained such for the NT scholar to the

<sup>16</sup> See Ch. Six, III. Historical Circumstances etc.

present time, despite the fact that already in the second part of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century K. Krumbacher established Byzantine studies as a scientific discipline, A. Thumb worked on the Greek dialects, and certain grammarians showed signs of having been alerted to the importance of modern Greek. This division of the Greek language resulted in treating Greek as a dead language and trying to make sense of it without all the benefits that accrue from the living phase of it, which has preserved many of the linguistic traditions of the past: vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, and conceptualization.

Chapter Seven will apply the *HGP* to text-internal aspects in order to indicate how the pronunciation used at the time of the NT could affect the message, the communication. Here a number of rhetorical aspects, such as parallelism, *captatio benevolentiae*, *parechesis*, *paronomasia*, and word-play, will be examined. In all these the application of the *HGP* has the effect of enlivening the communicatory situation, endowing it with vitality, freshness, and life. It is no longer a dead letter that confronts us; we hear the voice of the past: we perceive the emotion, the joy, the anger, the sadness, the expostulation, the remonstrance. The text becomes alive, because it becomes the address that a Greek would have heard, not a dead text he would have read. Finally, the *HGP* is furthermore responsible for a number of wordplays that in the Erasmian pronunciation are lost.

Lastly, Chapter Eight will attempt to demonstrate the relevance of the *HGP* for text-critical work. Following a discussion of current principles and terminology as well as the production of MSS, the acoustic factor in the transmission of texts is exemplified by reference to the statistics of several manuscripts. The emphasis is on the earliest MSS (particularly the papyri), partly in order to show that the NT text, too, shows that from the very beginning of its history it was written and transmitted under the influence of the *HGP*, and partly in order to show that the pages of our oldest and 'best' MSS are filled with orthographical errors due to pronunciation. To this intent all of the orthographic errors of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  are presented in a long conspectus. Since the purpose is also practical, a large number of variation units are taken up for discussion, some more briefly, others in greater detail, in order to show that practically all the various mistakes that could be made on account of the currently used *HGP* have actually been made in our MSS. This proves conclusively that the first Christians pronounced Greek in the *HGP*, and hence there is no reason whatsoever for NT scholars to persist in a pronunciation (the Erasmian), which not only has never been used, but which actually also hampers the exegetical task in so many ways.



#### IV. The Procedure of the Investigation

The emphasis in the present investigation will be on the evidence of the primary sources. To this effect the evidence will be drawn from authors of all the twenty-eight centuries of Hellenic literature, that is, 800 B.C. (Homeros) to A.D. 2000. This is necessary in order to show what a particular construction was like in classical times, what it became once the process of change and modernization set in that led to Neohellenic, and to what stage during this process the NT belongs. One of the concerns here is to exemplify a particular construction diachronically, indicating the date of the particular work cited, and for the reader to perceive the permanence or preservation of the construction and hence the light cast on it by later literature, while another concern is to cite rich and variegated evidence to show that the phenomenon under discussion is of no sporadic occurrence, but well- documented. The works of the usual classical authors, that is, the tragedians, comedians, historians, philosophers, rhetors, etc. are amply represented. However, in a diachronic investigation such as this, the emphasis must be to bring forth the evidence of authors who are less known or completely unknown, particularly those from Byzantine, mediaeval and Neohellenic times. It is in particular this evidence that is the most interesting, in as much as it shows the present state of the process of developments begun in Hellenistic times. The classical evidence is important in indicating the point of departure in the evolution of the language, within which the NT morphology and syntax can be compared.

In citing the Greek literature, I have made it my concern to translate all citations from all periods of the language except for quotes from the LXX and the NT. Only in rare cases have I desisted from translating a phrase or brief quote from Greek literature, because I judged it unnecessary to translate it, thus saving space. In a few cases I translate only the gist of the quote, where the point lies. For the same reason I have in one or two cases not given the Neohellenic text of a long quote from Hatzidakis. Should the reader not be content with my translation, the reference to the quoted work is given, and it can always be checked. In presenting examples I have judged it necessary to give the Greek wording so that the reader can make his own objective evaluation.

With regard to the secondary literature, the impression may be received that Greek works are utilized unusually frequently. Now, whereas an adequate number of the works by non-Greek scholars are given, the inclusion of the work of Greek scholars and in Greek is intentional. This is so for several reasons:

(a) The emphasis of the present investigation is not so much on the classical or even the papyrological evidence, as on the Byzantine, Mediaeval, and modern Greek evidence. It is, therefore, natural and unavoidable to include Greek work on these periods.

(b) In spite of much admirable work done by international scholars even in partially diachronic aspects, in the nature of the case, the truly diachronic perspectives in the investigation of Greek have been largely and understandably so a Greek concern.

(c) The immense work of Hatzidakis is foundational for all research into the diachronics of the Greek language. Many of his disciples followed him in doing historical and comparative linguistic research. This is precisely the kind of evidence that is relevant for an investigation such as this.

(d) Finally, the *χαλεποὶ καιροί* have brought about that the Greek language has been reduced to a comparatively small language, spoken by barely seventeen million Greeks. The Erasmian pronunciation, which divided Greek into ancient and modern, a division that led to regarding ancient Greek as a dead language, has resulted into making Neohellenic completely unknown to the modern scholar. Consequently, works published in Greek are as good as unknown internationally. When Hatzidakis was active, European and American scholars were learning Neohellenic to read his works (scattered in the first forty volumes of the scientific journal *Ἀθηνᾶ* as well as published in many large volumes). Today, however, his works are inaccessible even to specialists such as Horrocks and Adrados, who attempt to give a picture of the entire history of Greek<sup>17</sup>. Contrast with this, for example, the utilization of Hatzidakis' work by Niehoff-Panagiotidis, who reads Neohellenic. Occasionally, however, Hatzidakis' classic work, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, is cited. Janaris' great work, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, despite some dated information on account of rapid changes and editions since substituted by new ones, is still largely invaluable on account of the immense evidence it supplies. And although this work is in English and has been reprinted by Olms, Hildesheim, it is hardly known at all<sup>18</sup>. In the face of these facts, I

<sup>17</sup> For example, HORROCKS cites in his bibliography four Greek titles by HATZIDAKIS, but he apparently makes no use of them. ADRADOS cites two of HATZIDAKIS' works in his bibliography, but I have not been able to find them in the text, whereas many modern Greek scholars are mentioned who write in English, German or French.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., for example, how HORROCKS, *Greek*, informs us that classical *ὄπαδος* (p. 36), *ἀσυλία*, *δόλιος*, *ζόφος*, *λαίλαψ*, *ψάυω* (p. 49) and *πάω* (< *ὑπάγω*) (p. 55) "survive in modern Greek". I cannot see any particular reason for this notation other than that the author has found it interesting to mention a fact that happened to come to his notice. But in as much as this could be done with tens of thousands of other words that still occur in Neohellenic unchanged, the impression conveyed is misleading.

considered it a service to my colleagues to apprise them of the existence of much relevant literature in Greek as well as of the fact that Greeks do not consider Greek a dead language, and furthermore, that they treat the entire history of Greek as phases of one and the same language. Hardly anyone would demur if I state that the Greek perspective on the Greek language has at least as much right to be heard as any. More than that, I would venture to claim that it can contribute new dimensions and new perspectives that have been absent before.

The citation of Greek authors needs a word of explanation. Because English often received the Greek literary tradition through Latin, it has been common practice to cite the Latinized forms, e.g. Aeschylus (< Αἰσχύλος), Ulysses (< Ὀδυσσεύς), Hercules (< Ἡρακλῆς), Pollux (< Πολυδεύκης), Aesculapius (< Ἀσκληπιός), Plato (< Πλάτων), Agrigentum (< Ἀκράγας), Alexander (< Ἀλέξανδρος) as well as sometimes retain and sometimes omit the aspiration, e.g. Halcyone and Alcyone (< Ἀλκυόνη), though in some cases it does not follow the Latin form, e.g. Homer (instead of Home-rus) and Plutarch (instead of Plutarchus). The Latinized forms not infrequently have very little resemblance to the Greek original, cf., e.g., Ulysses, Hercules, Pollux, let alone the resultant pronunciation in English, which sometimes is so aberrant as to fail altogether to recall the name, e.g. Baucis (pronounced: 'Bó'sis') for Gr. Βαῦκις (pronounce: 'Váfkis'), Ulysses for Greek Ὀδυσσεύς (pronounce: 'Othysséfs'). In this respect, the German and Swedish spellings of Greek names are much more faithful to the Greek sound, e.g.: Platon, Herodot(os), Aristoteles, Epikuros, Plutarchos.

In an investigation of this kind, that argues for the *HGP* and the unity of the language, it would be inconsistent to continue to spell Greek names in an un-Greek way. The direct approach to Greek that is enunciated in the present work demands that Hellenic names are spelled in a way that better corresponds to the Greek letters and sound. However, because Greek sounds do not correspond entirely to English sounds, it is impossible to achieve a perfect correspondence. It is, however, hoped that the proposed spelling is an improvement. Nevertheless, in some cases, where the current form of a name is so well-established – as, for example, the name Alexander – the old spelling will be retained. Perhaps a new attempt at consistency will remove even these inconsistencies. Occasionally, however, long usage may have caused the Latinized form to slip through unawares. For these minor inconsistencies the clemency of the reader is solicited.

Finally, I am well aware that in an age when the study of Greek is constantly losing ground, and many students presume to do theology without even learning the elements of Greek, my *kerygma* that we need to study or

at least become aware of the entire language, not merely a brief period of it, will certainly be felt to be going against the stream. All I can say is that those who take up the challenge and persevere in this most important of all theological qualifications, indeed, the most basic in humanistic *paideia* – “Greek ... the most exacting humanist study” (Robert Birley) – will be richly rewarded, and their toil will turn to joy.

Πᾶσα δὲ παιδεία πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι ἀλλὰ λύπης,  
ὑστερον δὲ καρπὸν ... τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς γεγυμνασμένοις ἀποδίδωσιν  
(Heb 12:11)



PART ONE

Evolution and Relevance



## CHAPTER ONE

# The Unity and Evolution of the Greek Language

## I. Introduction

The Greek language is the oldest continuously spoken and written language in Europe. Its ascertainable written documentation takes us as far back as the XV<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (*Linear B* tablets), while its spoken form reaches beyond 2000 B.C., perhaps nearer 3000 B.C.

The question of the early movements of the Greek tribes which entered Greece at the close of the third millennium B.C., viz., how far they penetrated at a given point of time, when they took control of the entire mainland, whether their predecessors in the Hellenic peninsula were only of the 'Mediterranean' type of peoples or also Indo-Europeans – these and other questions are points of dispute, particularly in their details, and several hypotheses have been put forward.

The Austrian scholar Paul Kretschmer was of the opinion that when the Greeks arrived in Greece, they found a non-Indo-European people or peoples, whom they called Pelasgians, Tyrsenians, Tyrrhenians, Leleges, etc. The amalgamation of the newcomers with the old inhabitants produced the Greeks of historic times as well as their language, which thus came to contain a number of pre-Greek words of non-Indo-European origin such as Κόρινθος, Ὑμηττός, Λυκαβηττός, Κάλυμνος, Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἀπόλλων, Θησεύς, Ἀχιλεὺς, Θήρα, Θᾶσος, Λέσβος, Λάρισσα, πύργος, σίδηρος, χαλκός, θεός, ἄναξ, δοῦλος, θάλασσα, κιθάρα and many others<sup>1</sup>. This was the old theory formulated by Kretschmer.

However, new evidence from archeology forced Kretschmer to alter his view and to posit a new theory, namely that one of the pre-Greek substrata was actually of Indo-European<sup>2</sup> (hence IE) origin, which he now identified with Rhaito-Tyrrhenians or Pelasgians<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> KRETSCHMER, *Einführung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*.

<sup>2</sup> German scholarship uses the term *Indogermanisch*.

<sup>3</sup> KRETSCHMER, "Die Protindogermanische Schicht", *Glotta* 14 (1925), 300-19 and "Die vorgriechischen Sprach- und Volksschichten", *Glotta* 28 (1940) 231-78 and con-



Through his historico-comparative linguistic investigation<sup>4</sup>, E.J. Furnée refuted Georgiev's vagaries<sup>5</sup> and went back to Kretschmer's first theory, that the pre-Hellenic substratum was non-IE. He argued that we lack the necessary material to connect the assumed pre-Hellenic words with IE roots.

Michael Sakellariou, one of the leading scholars for the early stages of Greek and its predecessors, considers that modern linguistic and archaeological research leads to the conclusion that the Greek tribes were not the first inhabitants of Hellas. They were preceded both by 'Mediterranean' peoples such as the Leleges, Ektenes and Kylikranes<sup>6</sup>, and by pre-Greek Indo-Europeans such as the Pelasgians, Proto-Achaians, Haimones, Dryopes<sup>7</sup>, and Kaukones<sup>8</sup> (at this point he concurs with Kretschmer's new theory). Moreover, he contends, words ending in e.g. -σ(σ)α (e.g. Ἀμφισσα, Ἀντισσα, Μάρπησσα, Λάρισα), -σ(σ)ος (e.g. Ἀμνισός, Ἰλισσός, Παρνασσός, Ἀλικαρνασσός, Κηφισσός), -ττα (e.g. θάλαττα), -ττος (e.g. Λυκαβηττός, Ὑμηττός), -νθος (e.g. Κόρινθος, Ἐρύμανθος, τερέβινθος, ὑάκινθος) -μνα (e.g. Λάρυμνα, Κάλυμνα, Δίκτυнна), which once were thought to belong to the 'Mediterranean' substratum, are nowadays recognized as being IE<sup>9</sup>.

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tinuation in *Glotta* 30 (1943) 84-218, esp. 84 ff.; "Die ältesten Sprachschichten auf Kreta" *Glotta* 31 (1948), 1-20; "Die Leleger und die ostmediterrane Urbevölkerung" *Glotta* 32 (1953), 161-204, esp. 190 ff.

<sup>4</sup> FURNÉE, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen*, 1972.

<sup>5</sup> GEORGIEV'S thesis was that one of the pre-Hellenic substrata was Thrako-Illyrians and pure Indo-Europeans. It was they who created the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations. The Ionians and Achaians of Homeros were Thrako-Illyrians and the *Ilias* and *Odysseia* of Homeros were their works, which the Greeks learned from translations. These Thrako-Illyrians are supposed to have their continuators in the present-day Bulgarians – who, as is well known, are actually Slavs and took control of Bulgaria first in the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.

<sup>6</sup> A characteristic here is toponymics that are based on a monosyllabic root that varies the vocalic sound between *a* and *e*, e.g. *gar/ger, kal/kel, kar/ker, sal/sel, tab/teb*.

<sup>7</sup> These four pre-Greek peoples are the subject of detailed discussion in SAKELLARIOU'S *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine Indo-Européenne*, 1977.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the name Dryopes with variants Derriopes, Deuriopes, from the root *Dry- Derr*, etc. originally meant 'tree', later also 'oak'. Cf. Welsh *Derwent* = *oak* as well as Greek δρύς = *oak* (similarly *Neohellenic* δένδρο = 'tree' used also of 'oak'). See further the detailed discussion in SAKELLARIOU, *Peuples préhelléniques*, 255-78.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., SAKELLARIOU, in *IEE* I, 356-79, and especially *id.*, *Peuples préhelléniques d'origine Indo-Européenne, passim*. This might be exemplified with the ethnic name Ἀχαιοί. KRETSCHMER (*Glotta* 21, 227) would connect Hittite *Ahhijava* with Greek Ἀχαιοί < Ἀχαιῖα or Ἀχαιῖα. This is considered rash by SOMMER. In his renewed attempt KRETSCHMER, following SCHÄFFER, identifies *Ahhijava* with the Myce-

According to Sakellariou, traces of the Kurgan civilization (Eastern Europe-Siberia)<sup>10</sup> during the last phase of the proto-Helladic period (2100-1900 B.C.) are connected with sites in Greece that evince the presence of the Greek tribes Abantes and Danaans, leading to the conclusion that the first Greek tribes had entered Greece at the latest by 2100 B.C. The main body of Greeks (comprising Ionians, Boiotians, Arkadians *et al.*) arrived somewhat later, and they settled in Western Makedonia, Southwestern Illyria, Epiros, and Northwestern Thessalia. This is essentially also the position of Hammond<sup>11</sup>. These Greek tribes brought with them their "Proto-Greek tongue [which] had its closest and longest contact with Proto-Aryan (the forerunner of Indian and Iranian languages); that these two languages took shape in the centre of the area occupied by the Indo-European peoples (from the Ukraine to east of the Caspian); and that they separated out after the dispersal of the Indo-European peoples surrounding the Proto-Greeks and Proto-Aryans"<sup>12</sup>.

If Sakellariou is correct, the relation of Greek to Sanskrit might be described as one of an older sister or cousin to its younger sister or cousin.

From 1900 B.C. on the various Greek tribes make their way south to gradually occupy the entire landmass of the Hellenic peninsula and then proceed to occupy the islands. During the XV<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. the Mycenaean, one of the Greek tribes, conquer Krete, thus terminating the Minoan civilization, as is witnessed by *Linear B* texts<sup>13</sup>.

During the period when the Greek tribes were concentrated in Northern Greece (c. 2000 B.C.), the Greek language fell into three main dialect

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naean-Achaian settlement on Cyprus. FRISK, *GEW*, I, p. 199, says "Da der ursprüngliche Sinn des Namens 'Αχαιοί unbekannt ist, sind alle Etymologien leere Spekulationen". SAKELLARIOU (*IEE* I, 360 f. and esp. *id.*, *Peuples préhelléniques*, 231-43) argues plausibly that the name can be meaningfully connected with the IE root *ak* which means 'water'. As confirmation for this he cites 'Αχαΐα, a spring of water in Messenia; 'Αχαιοῦς, a river in the East Euxeine Sea; further, the fact that the element *αχ* is found in many river-names: 'Αχελῷος, 'Ιναχος, 'Αχάμας, 'Αχάτης, 'Αχάρδεως, and finally, Greek cities in the Euxeine Sea honored a deity by the name of 'Αχιλλέα Ποντάρχη ("Achilleus the ruler of the Sea").

<sup>10</sup> The Kurgan solution is one of several that have been proposed, but is gaining adherents, see MALLORY, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, and *id.*, "Η 'Ινδοευρωπαϊκή γλωσσική οικογένεια" in (ed. A. F. ΧΡΙΣΤΙΔΗ) *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας*, 135-41.

<sup>11</sup> HAMMOND, "Prehistory and Proto-History" in (ed. M. SAKELLARIOU) *Epirus 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*, 35-6, for the Greek presence in Epiros around 2100 B.C. and their Greek language.

<sup>12</sup> SAKELLARIOU, *Macedonia*, 46. See also *id.*, *Proto-Greeks*, 9, and bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> See SAKELLARAKIS, "Μυκηναϊκή δυναστεία στην Κνωσό" in *IEE* I, 330.

groups: an Eastern or Ionic, a Central and a Western<sup>14</sup>. Between 1900 and 1600 B.C. (the period of migrations to the South) the Central group divides into Aiolic and Arkado-Cypriot, while the Western group is represented partly by the main Western branch and partly by Thessalic and Boiotian, which are mixtures of the Central (Aiolic) and the Western groups. Following 1600 B.C., influences of Arkado-Cypriot on the Aiolic speaking Achaeans within the Central group produce the Achaic dialect, the language of the Mycenaeans (1600-1100 B.C.), in which the tablets of *Linear B* are written. After that date and down to classical times the Ionic dialect produces Ionic-Attic, the main Western branch divides into Aitolian, Elian, Doric, Locric, Neo-Achaian, and Phokaic, and the Central group continues and further develops (apart) its two main dialects, Aiolic and Arkado-Cypriot<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> SAKELLARIOU's long-awaited *Dialectes et ethnè grecs à l'âge du Bronze*, announced as the fourth volume of his tetralogy, *Le peuplement de la Grèce et du bassin égéen aux hautes époques*, has not yet seen the light of day. SAKELLARIOU's is only one of several hypotheses that have been proposed to explain the data. Other hypotheses include KRETSCHMER's, who divides the ancient dialects of historic times into (a) *Ionic-Attic*, (b) *Achaian*, and (c) *Eastern Doric* (used in, e.g., Epiros, Lokris, Phokaia, Western Thessalia, Aitolio-Akarnania, Krete); HATZIDAKIS' (*Σύντομος ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας*, 36-44) (a) *Ionic-Attic* (Eastern), (b) *Aiolic* or *Achaian* divided into Northern (Aiolis, Lesbos, Thessalia, Boiotia) and Southern (Arkadia, Cyprus), (c) *Doric* divided into Proper Doric (Argolis, Korinth, Megara, Messenia, etc.) and Northwestern Doric (Epiros, Aitolio-Akarnania, Elis, Lokris, Phokaia), and (d) *Mixed* (Makedonian and Pamphylian); and finally BUCK's (*The Greek Dialects*) (a) *Northeastern* (Attic-Ionic), (b) *Southeastern* (Arkado-Cypriot), (c) *Northwestern* (e.g. Epiros, Phokaia, Lokris), and *Southwestern* (e.g. Lakonia, Argolis, Megara). BUCK recognizes a *Central* group consisting of Thessalic, Boiotic, Makedonian and Pamphylian.

<sup>15</sup> See SAKELLARIOU, *IEE* I, 373 for a detailed diagram of the relations of the various dialects to one another. Different is J. CHADWICK's hypothesis (Η γέννησις της ελληνικής γλώσσας [Lecture given at the Philosophical Faculty, Athens University, on the 25<sup>th</sup> May 1962], *ΕΕΦΣΤΑ*, Period II, 12 (1961-1962, see also *id.*, "The Prehistory of the Greek Language", *CAH* II, Ch. 39), 531-544.), who tries to explain the data as a parallel to the Norman conquest of England, where, however, it was not the language of the victors, but of the vanquished that survived, modified, of course, by Old French vocabulary and grammatical characteristics. According to CHADWICK, the peoples who entered Greece around 2000 B.C. were Proto-Greeks, who intermixed with the previous 'Mediterranean' populations of Greece. Their Indo-European language was amalgamated with the language of the (non-Greek) natives, and this mixture produced the Greek language containing both Indo-European and 'Mediterranean' elements. This hypothesis is put forward in order to explain the words (such as θάλαττα (-σσα), βασιλεύς, ξένος), whose etymology from Indo-European roots has so far not convinced everyone (cf. FRISK, *GEW*, s. v. θάλασσα).

## II. The Phases of the Greek Language

The phenomenon of the Greek language is unique in the history of languages. Speaking very broadly we may say that the Greek language at present is going through its fifth phase. The first phase occurred when Greek or Proto-Greek, if this term is preferable, was differentiated from Proto-Aryan, the progenitor of Sanskrit and the Iranian languages. At that time it was a unified language, common to all tribes that might be described as Greek or Proto-Greek. The second phase came to expression with the coming of the Greeks to the Hellenic peninsula as various distinct though related tribes, when the unified Greek language broke up into a number of dialects (Ionic, Aiolic, Doric, Thessalic, Epirotic, etc.), which take us down to historic and classical times. In Hellenistic times the Greek Language is reunited (i.e. the so-called *Koine*), and as such goes through its third phase. In *Byzantine* and *Late Byzantine* times it breaks up once again into Modern Greek dialects as far as the popular language goes (Demotic) – though the archaistic form of it (Atticizing Greek) is ever present in literary compositions – thus running its fourth phase. Finally, during the XX<sup>th</sup> cent. it reunites once again to form a new *Neohellenic Koine* (the fifth phase).

This resilience, this capacity of the Greek language to divide up into dialects and then to reunite and assert itself over all its speakers for the third time in its longer than 4000-year-long history, is unparalleled in the history of languages.

It may then be said that unlike Latin, which today lives only through its daughter languages<sup>16</sup>, Greek is still the same language, having sustained the changes imposed by time, culture, religion, science and world-view.

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<sup>16</sup> E.g. French, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, Portuguese.

If we were to indicate the various phases of the Greek language since its earliest written records, we might do it by means of the following table:

I. Ancient Greek (1500 B.C. - A.D. 600)

*Linear B* = Mycenaean (XV-XII B.C. Linear B tablets)

*E* = Epic (800-500 B.C.: Homeros, Hesiodos, etc.)

*A* = Classical (mainly Attic) 500 - 300 B.C.)

*P* = Post-classical (300 B.C. - A.D. 600) (Transition)

*H* = Hellenistic (300 B.C. - A.D. 300)

*EH* = Early Hellenistic (300 B.C.-1 B.C.)<sup>17</sup>

*LH* = Late Hellenistic (A.D. 1-300)

*PB* = Proto-Byzantine (A.D. 300 - 600)

II. Modern Greek (A.D. 600 - 2000)

*B* = Byzantine (A.D. 600 - 1000) (Early Neohellenic)

*LB* = Late Byzantine [*M*(ediaev.)] (A.D. 1000 - 1500) (Middle Neohellenic)

*N* = Neohellenic (A.D. 1500 - 2000) (Late Neohellenic)<sup>18</sup>

*K* = *Katharevousa* (official till 1976: Atticistic, puristic, literary *MGr*)

*D* = *Demotike* (following the popular oral tradition)

*NK* = Neohellenic Koine (official since 1976: blending *K* and *D*)

1. Mycenaean or Linear B (XV-XII B.C.)

The excavations by Arthur Evans on Krete brought to light two scripts, which he called *Linear A* and *Linear B*, respectively, to distinguish them from an earlier script on Krete, which he had called 'hieroglyphic'. The scripts were similar but not identical. *Linear A*, which is still undeciphered, is assumed by the majority of scholars to represent a non-Greek language (it occurs on Greek islands, in Asia Minor and Israel), though a minority opinion considers it to be a very early form of Greek. *Linear A* texts that have been dated are thought to be from the XVIII<sup>th</sup> to the XV<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. There are about 1,500 texts with a total of 7,500 symbols<sup>19</sup>.

By contrast, *Linear B* (XV-XII B.C.), which succeeded *Linear A*, is found in some 3,000 tablets from Knossos (1450-1375 B.C.), c. 1,400 tablets from Pylos (c. 1200 B.C.) and in a smaller number from Mykenai, Tirynthos and Thebai. The script was deciphered in 1952 by Michael Ventris,

<sup>17</sup> The division of Hellenistic into *early* and *late* is made in order to facilitate the registration of changes in regard to the NT.

<sup>18</sup> The siglum *N*, which can cover the period from 1500 to 2000, will be used chiefly of current Modern Greek, that is, since 1800, and in particular during the XX<sup>th</sup> century, not merely since the 1976 reform.

<sup>19</sup> See conveniently ΔΥΗΟΥΧ, "Γραμμική Α" in *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας* (ed. Α. Φ. ΧΡΙΣΤΙΔΗ), 180-84 (ET forthcoming from CUP).

a young Cambridge architect, with the assistance of the classics professor John Chadwick, and was shown to be an early form of Greek<sup>20</sup>. The Mycenaean of *Linear B* texts are basically inventories, rather than literature; they are records of persons, deities and especially goods; they are lists and accounts rather than narrative text.

The *Linear B* texts consist of 87 syllabograms, i.e. signs representing consonants with a vocalic value, thus forming a syllable. Of these signs, five are vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, though most of the twelve consonantal signs contain also each one of these five vowels, making up a total of sixty signs. To these we may add another sixteen symbols which are considered to have been optional, as well as 11 more signs which still defy identification.

The following brief points will show the importance of *Mycenaean* Greek both for the unity and the development of the Greek language, which is the central thesis of this investigation.

#### a. Mycenaean symbols represent sound imperfectly

As we saw above, each consonant occurs with almost each one of the vowels in a different form. This syllabic rather than alphabetic script could represent sounds only very imperfectly. Thus, for example, the transcriptions *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku*, which represent just one sign, in their consonantal value do not stand merely for *k*, but for all three velar stops *k* (=  $\kappa$ ), *kh* (=  $\chi$ ) and *g* (=  $\gamma$ ). Similarly, the transcriptions *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, *po*, *pu* stand for *p* (=  $\pi$ ), *ph* (=  $\pi H > \phi$ ), and *b* (=  $\beta$ ). *Ta*, *te*, *ti*, *to*, *tu* do service for *t* and *th* (=  $\theta$ )<sup>21</sup>, while the transcriptions *qa*, *qe*, *qi*, *qo*, *qu* represent *qw* (= *qu*), *khw* (=  $\chi v$ ), and *gw* (= *gu*). In the transcriptions *j* and *w* represent consonantal *y* and *w* (= *F* digamma). The transcriptions *ja*, *je*, *jo*, *ju*<sup>22</sup> are similarly used as a glide between *i* and a following vowel, but they might also have marked that a preceding vowel could be read together with the *j* as a diphthong in diaeresis, corresponding to the Homeric genitive: -οιο. The consonantal sound in transcriptions *ra*, *re*, *ri*, *ro*, *ru* stand for *r* as well as for *l*. Finally, final *s*, *n*, *r*, and *m*, *l*, followed by a consonant, are omitted.

<sup>20</sup> See VENTRIS and CHADWICK, "Evidence for Greek dialect in the Mycenaean archives" *JHS* (1953); VENTRIS and CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*; CHADWICK, *The Decipherment of Linear B*. See also CHADWICK, *Linear B and Related Scripts, passim*; *idem*, "Η πρώτη ελληνική γραφή", *ΕΕΦΣΤΑ* 1961-1962, 515-530, and PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*.

<sup>21</sup> The sound of *d* (=  $\delta$ ) is represented by a separate sign.

<sup>22</sup> There is no *ji*.

It is thus obvious that it was impossible for *Linear B* symbols to render sound accurately. Consequently, ποιμήν was written by two signs as *po-me* and was probably pronounced *po(i)me(n)*. Tripod (τρίποδον) was written by three symbols as *ti-ri-po*. Its pronunciation was determined by the fact that when two or three consonants belonged to the same syllable, the vowel(s) were not sounded. Hence the word would be pronounced as *tripo(s)*. *Qa-si-re-u* stands for *gwasileu(s)*, i.e. βασιλεύς. All this shows the great need for a true alphabet.

b. Mycenaean, as Greek ever since, had five vowel-sounds

It was noted, above, that the Mycenaean syllabary involved five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, which remain to the present day the five vowel-sounds of the Greek language. For even after *η* and *ω* had been added, the vowel sounds continued to be five. This has an important bearing on the character of *η* and *ω* and why they were adopted in the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. It must not escape us that before their adoption the language had five vowel-sounds, and that after the adoption of *η* and *ω*, it continued to have the same five vowel-sounds.

c. Mycenaean vowels were isochronous

It is also significant that no distinction is being made between short and long vowels; all the vowels are isochronous<sup>23</sup> as in Neohellenic. This is of particular significance for the question as to why in classical times the Athenians took over the Ionic novelties of *η* and *ω*. Was it in order to represent sounds that had not been represented before, or merely as technical marks?<sup>24</sup> If the first, the question arises: how come then that soon after that date quantity disappeared? Was the distinction between short and long vowels so short-lived? If the second, we can understand why and how Greek after that date has continued up to the present day to have five vowel-sounds.

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<sup>23</sup> CHADWICK, *Linear B and Related Scripts*, 23, using as his point of departure the Erasmian dogma that classical Greek had both long and short vowels, supposes that although Mycenaean did not distinguish between short and long vowels in writing, in speech they probably did so.

<sup>24</sup> See the relevant discussion in Chapter Six on "Pronunciation".

## d. Mycenaean did not observe aspiration

It appears that the Mycenaeans, like most classical and later Greeks, did not observe strict aspiration. The transcription  $a_2$  occurs instead of  $a$  to indicate aspiration, i.e. *ha*. However, Chadwick concedes, "But it [ $a_2$ ] is optional, and *ha* is also written with the simple  $a$ . For example,  $a_2$ -*te-ro* is written for *hatero(n)*, 'other' (classical Greek: *heteron*). But unlike later Greek<sup>25</sup> this Mycenaean dialect used -*h*- between vowels in the middle of a word, and we have spellings like *pa-we-a<sub>2</sub>* (as well as *pa-we-a*) for *pharweha* (classical *pharē*), 'cloaks'<sup>26</sup>. We thus have words that in classical times should have received the sign of aspiration, which in Mycenaean are unaspirated: see, e.g., *Pylos* Tn 316: *a-ke* (pron.: *age* = *purified*, cf. ἄγιος); *Knossos* Sd 0402: *a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-na* (pron.: *ararmotmenai*?) (= ἡρμοσμέναι – exact form?); *Knossos* So 894: *e-ri-ka* (pron. *elika*, = ἐλίκη); *Knossos* K 873: *u-do* (pron.: *udo(r)*? or *ydor*?) (= ὕδωρ); *Knossos* Da 1081: *e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo* (pron.: *eneka chrusojo* (*chrysojo*?) *ierajo* = ἐνεκα χρυσοῖο *ieroio*). Observe that neither ἐνεκα nor *ieroio* has the aspiration.

## e. Mycenaean words survive in Neohellenic

A look at the *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary* published by Chadwick and Baumbach<sup>27</sup> makes us immediately conscious that many of its words are met in the New Testament and still survive in Neohellenic. For example, such words as *a-ne-mo* (pronounce: *anemo(s)*<sup>28</sup> = ἄνεμος); *a-ke-ro*, (pron.: *agelo(s)*<sup>29</sup> = ἄγγελος); *a-ko-ro*, (pron.: *agro(s)* = ἀγρός); *si-to* (pron.: *si-to(s)* = σῖτος); *te-ko-to-ne*, (pron.: *tektion* = τέκτων); *a-to-ro-qo* (pron.: *anthropo(s)* = ἄνθρωπος), *da-mo* (pron.: *damo(s)* = δῆμος, Dor.: δᾶμος); *e-ra-po* (pron.: *elafo(s)* = ἔλαφος); *e-le-pa* (pron.: *elefa(s)* = ἐλέφας – not in NT); *to-pe-za* (pron.: *to(r)peza* = τράπεζα); *i-qo* (pron.: *ipo(s)* = ἵππος – no aspi-

<sup>25</sup> It should be pointed out here that the phenomenon of interaspiration does occur in inscriptions from classical times, see chapters III and VI, below.

<sup>26</sup> CHADWICK, *Linear B and Related Scripts*, 27. See also CHADWICK, "Μυκηναϊκή Ἑλληνική" in ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝ (ed.), *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 294.

<sup>27</sup> J. CHADWICK-L. BAUMBACH, "The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary", in *Glotta*, XLI (1963) pp. 157-271 and *Glotta* XLIX (1971), pp. 151-90. See also A. MORPURGO, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon*, Roma 1963. E. VILBORG has produced *A Tentative Grammar of Mycenaean Greek*, Göteborg 1960.

<sup>28</sup> Final *s*, *n*, *r*, *m*, and *l* are not written out. This explains the forms *anemo*, *agelo*, *agro*.

<sup>29</sup> Note what was said above about the double values of consonants, e.g. one sign for *k*, *kh* and *g*, another for *l* and *r*, and another for *p* and *ph* and *b*.



ration!); *re-u-ko* (pron.: *leuko(s)* = λευκός); *ri-me-ne* (pron.: *limenei?* = λιμὴν); *ru-ko* (pron.: *luko(s)* = λύκος); *ma-te* (pron.: *mate(r)* = μήτηρ, Dor.: μᾶτερ); *pa-te* (pron.: *pate(r)* = πατήρ); *ne-wo* (pron.: *neFo(s)* = νέος), and *to-so* (pron.: *toso(s)* = τόσος) occur today practically unchanged after 3500 years!<sup>30</sup>

## f. Mycenaean words in the international scientific vocabulary

In his monumental work, *The Ecumenical Dimension of the Greek Language*<sup>31</sup>, Constantinidis cites 133 Mycenaean words that have given rise to 261 scientific terms currently used in the International Scientific Vocabulary<sup>32</sup>.

The above points, especially the vocabulary, indicate the coherence and continuity of the Greek language from Mycenaean to Neohellenic times.

## 2. Archaic or Epic Greek (800-500 B.C.)

After the demise of Mycenaean power in the XII<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. there is a gap in documentary evidence of c. 400 years. Many researchers, therefore, have argued that the coming of the Dorians led to such upheavals that writing was lost for a period of four centuries<sup>33</sup>, following which Greek documents

<sup>30</sup> Among Greek Mycenaean words not mentioned in the NT but surviving in Neohellenic, mention may be made of the following: *ti-ri-po* (pron.: *tripou[s]* = τρίπους (D.: τρίποδας), *i-je-re-ja* (prom.: *hi-e-rei-a*) = ἱέρεια, *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* (pron.: *perusinson*) = περυσινόν, *ma-ra-tu-wo* (pron.: *maraf'won*) = μάραθρον, *se-ri-no* (pron.: *selinon*) = σέλινον, *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* (pron.: *kuparisseyá*) = κυπαρίσσινα, and many others.

<sup>31</sup> ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ἡ Οἰκουμένη καὶ Διάσπαση τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, p. 1611.

<sup>32</sup> In this work, which takes up 135,000 of the Greek words (27,000 taken directly from Greek, and 108,000 created on the basis of Greek elements) that are currently used in the modern European languages, especially English, including the International Scientific Vocabulary, CONSTANTINIDIS shows that these words are by no means restricted to Ancient Greek – as is often supposed – but have been borrowed from all periods of the Greek language up to modern times.

<sup>33</sup> Hence it has been called “The Dark Ages”. L. H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 1961, pp. 12 f., thinks that the Mycenaean Age with its script was succeeded by a “Dark Age” of some 400 years till the Phoenician script emerged around 800 B.C. In this she follows CARPENTER’s study “The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet”, *AJA* 37 (1933), 8 ff. M. ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ, the discoverer of Vergina, “Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ γραφή” (*IEE* II, 196-201), argues that there cannot have been any break with regard to writing between the end of Mycenaean power in c. 1200 B.C. and the appearance in c. 800 B.C. of the Phoenician script (see also ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ, “The Mycenaean Script and

emerge in a new script<sup>34</sup>. This was the syllabic script of the Phoenicians that the Greeks (presumably the Ionians<sup>35</sup>) had taken over. The Phoenician

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the Greek Script" *Atti e memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di micenologia*, Roma, 1967, pp. 50-503 (*Incunabula Graeca*, Vol. XXV,2)). The same 'gap' in documentation is observed on Cyprus for the same period (according to V. KARAGEORGHIS, "Fouilles à l'ancienne Paphos de Chypre. Les premiers colon grecs", *CRAI* 1980, 122-36 (with O. MASSON), this script was brought by Peloponnesian Greeks to Cyprus in the XII-XI B.C. and continued to be used for many centuries thereafter). It would be strange, however, if Cyprus – which was in constant contact with the peoples of the Middle East – had been left without script for such a long period. When, following this period, new documents appear again on Cyprus, they are written in the Cypriot syllabary, which was a descendant of the Mycenaean script. This must imply that knowledge of the Mycenaean script had not been lost. Moreover, when the Greeks borrowed the Phoenician consonants, they immediately added to them vowels (by modifying some of the consonants), and these vowels were precisely the vowel-sounds that existed in the *Linear B* script and the Cypriot syllabary. Such a course of action must imply that the 'grammarians' must have been aware of the existence of the five vowels, and this awareness can have come only from a direct knowledge of the Mycenaean script.

<sup>34</sup> This script, Herodotos' Φοινικῆία or Καδμῆία γράμματα (V, 58-60), is believed to have entered Greece between the XI<sup>th</sup> and IX<sup>th</sup> century (see ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Συνοπτική ιστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, Ἀθῆνα 1986, 81), possibly from Phoenicia, to replace the awkward and inexact *Linear B* script, or as a result of internal upheavals following the collapse of Mycenaean power. The earliest extant documents are the lists of the first recorded Olympiad in 776 B.C., the inscriptions from Dipylus and Nestor's cup, etc. both from the second half of VIII B.C., see E. ΒΟΥΤΗΡΑ, "Ἡ εἰσαγωγή τοῦ ἀλφάβητου" in *Ιστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 210-17.

M. BERNAL, *Cadmean Letters*, 1990, has attempted to prove that the view that the Greeks borrowed the Phoenician script and then added to it vowels, thus creating the first alphabet, was consciously promulgated by Western anti-Semitist scholars in order to show the superiority of the Greeks (and hence of the Europeans) over the peoples of the Middle East. Instead, he thinks, the Semites had prepared the alphabet with all the vowels necessary to express the Greek sounds, and then handed it over to the barbaric Greeks ready for use before 1400 B.C.

It is sad that political expedience is insinuated in order to substitute for the lack of sound historical evidence. BERNAL has overlooked the fact that not modern scholars, but Herodotos himself (V. 58) points out that the Greeks modified the letters which they took over from the Phoenicians. BERNAL's charge is, moreover, unjustified, since it is readily admitted by both Greek and non-Greek scholars that the Greek letters have been borrowed from the Phoenicians because of their superiority over the inexact Mycenaean script. Finally, this question does not seem to have occurred to BERNAL: Why, if the Semites had created the alphabet, did they not use the vowels they had devised (according to his theory) in their own languages as well, but instead, had to drag on with all the inconveniences which the lack of vowels imply even for the Semitic languages?

<sup>35</sup> This early contact between the Ionians and the Phoenicians may explain why the Greeks generally in all Semitic languages came to be designated by a form such as *Javan* < Ἰᾶνες, cf. Heb. יָוֶן. See KB II, p. 402 s.v. יָוֶן. According to Gen 10:2 יָוֶן is one

script consisted of 22 consonants, though the Greeks seem to have borrowed only 21<sup>36</sup>. Two of the Semitic letters, ו ('waw', i.e.  $\varphi = \delta\iota\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ ) and פ ('qoph', i.e.  $\varphi = \kappa\acute{o}\pi\pi\alpha$ ) were in time shed off, ש (shamekh) was turned to Ξ, and three more consonants Φ, Χ, and Ψ were added. Because Greek was acutely depended upon a clear vowel differentiation, the Greeks turned the Semitic consonants כ, פ, ו, and ש into the vowels Α, Ε, Ι, and Ο, respectively, and added Υ thus creating the first alphabet<sup>37</sup>. The creation of vowels was a *sine qua non* for the Greek language, which is especially dependent on vowel differentiation. For example, writing a Greek word with the consonantal script of the Semites such as the sequence λ τ ρ σ would pose a hopeless task in reading and interpreting it correctly, since these four letters might represent no fewer than eight different words: λυτρώσω, λυτρώσει, λυτρώση, λυτρώσοι, ἐλύτρωσα, ἐλύτρωσε, λυτρώσειε, λυτρώσαι. This alphabet was later supplemented by two more vowels, Η and Ω, and was ratified in Athens in 403 B.C. The resultant 24-letter alphabet has remained the alphabet of the Greek language up to the present day.

This is the period of the *polis*-states and of the dialects. The Hellenic nation is divided into many small city-states, which, although conscious of their ethnic unity, belong to different groups within the Panhellenic nation, and make use of different dialects of the one and the same Hellenic language.

The oldest and most important literary work of the Archaic or Epic period is Homeros, whom the Greeks considered, in a literary sense, "the source from which all rivers and all seas and all fountains flow"<sup>38</sup>. This work is written mainly in Ionic with elements from Aiolic and the other dialects<sup>39</sup>. A few of the characteristics of Ionic were: the change of 'long' α to η (e.g. ἱστορίη, ὥρη instead of ἱστορία, ὥρα); the preservation of uncontracted forms (e.g. ἔθνεα, γένεος instead of ἔθνη, γένους); the change to κ of what, for example, in Attic was π (e.g. κοῖος, κόσος instead of

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of the sons of Japheth, cf. Gr. Ἰαπετός. The identification of πφϝ (= 'Ελλάς?) in Gen 10:2, and 4 is problematic, see *KB*, I, 56 f.

<sup>36</sup> They had not much use for ז.

<sup>37</sup> See *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford 1996, 66.

<sup>38</sup> Dionysios Halikarnasseus, *The Art of Composition*, 23. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥΤΖΟΣ, "Πῶς ἐκτίσθη ἡ ἐλληνικὴ γλῶσσα μὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα τὸν Ὅμηρον", *Πλάτων* 37 (1985), 3-28, underscores the importance of Homeros in the creation of Greek grammar.

<sup>39</sup> The traditional understanding is that an Ionic stratum was placed on an Aiolic substratum in the Homeric works. ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 51, makes the point that elements that during the period of the dialects in the first millennium were categorized as, e.g., Ionic or Aiolic, in the second millennium B.C. were neither Ionic nor Aiolic. He would, therefore, see Homeros as more archaic than the dialects.

πόσος), and the lengthening of a previous vowel to compensate for the absence of *F*, (e.g. κούρη (< κόρῃ), ξεῖνος (ξένφορ) instead of κόρη, ξένος).

Somewhat later comes Hesiodos, who *i.a.* systematized Greek theogony. His works evidence a stronger Aiolic streak than Homeros'.

Other early authors include the iambic-elegiac Archilochos, and the lyric authors Sappho and Alkaios (all VII B.C.), who wrote in Aiolic. Among the characteristic features of the Aiolic dialect may be noted: the preservation of 'long' *a* (e.g. μάτηρ, δᾶμος instead of μήτηρ, δῆμος); the frequent change of contracted verbs into -μι verbs: e.g. φίλημι, κάλημι instead of φιλῶ, καλῶ; the use of *π* instead of *τ*, and *φ* instead of *θ* as, e.g., πέτταρες, Φετταλός instead of τέτταρες, Θετταλός as well as the receding of the accent from the ultima to the penultima: βῶμος, σόφος instead of βωμός, σοφός, see also Sappho's passage, below: πάτρος, χρύσιος.

At this time we observe a phenomenon that is unusual in the history of literature: different literary genres cluster around a particular dialect, which may or may not be the author's own dialect. Thus, the dialect functions here as a literary vehicle rather than as a local variation of Greek<sup>40</sup>. Accordingly, the Boiotian Hesiodos writes not in Boiotian (i.e. N. Achaian), but in Ionic; the Megarian Theognis writes not in Megarian (Doric), but in Ionic; the Athenian Solon writes not in Attic, but in Ionic, while the Boiotian Pindaros writes in Doric<sup>41</sup> as does also the Ionian Bacchylides. We thus find that broadly speaking:

(1) *Ionic* is the dialect of epic poetry (Homeros, Hesiodos), iambic and trocaic poetry (Archilochos, Anakreon, Bacchylides), elegy (Archilochos, Tyrtaios, Solon, Theognis), and epigram (Simeonides)

(2) *Achean-Aiolic* is the dialect for lyric poetry (Sappho, Alkaios)

(3) *Doric* is used for choral poetry (Pindaros, Stesichoros, Hifykos)

(4) Tragedy uses *Ionic-Attic* in the main parts, but Doric in the choral parts

(5) Historiography, philosophy and oratory are written in *Attic*<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> See ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Σύντομος ιστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 49-50; ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Συνοπτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 90-91, and Anna M. DAVIES, "Greek Language" in *OCD*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., pp. 653-56.

<sup>41</sup> A few of the characteristics of Doric were: the preservation of 'long' *α* where Attic had *η* (e.g. δᾶμος, μαχανά), the contraction of *αω* to *α* (e.g. Θηβάων > Θηβᾶν, πολιτάων > πολιτᾶν), the preservation of *F* (e.g. *φέρ*γον, ξένφορ); the move of the accent from the antipenultima to the penultima (ἄνθρώποι, ἐλύον); the preservation of the older form of the article in the plural (τοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ταὶ γυναῖκες).

<sup>42</sup> There are, however, also those who write in their own dialect, e.g. Korinna, the Boiotian lyric poetess, writes in Boiotian (N. Achaian), the Ionian Anakreon writes in Ionic and the Lesbians Sappho and Alkaios write in Lesbian Aiolic.

The differences between the dialects were not of such a nature as to impede communication. Accordingly, the Ekklesia at Athens would understand an official letter sent by the Gerousia (Senate) at Sparta and vice versa. Moreover, when tragedians, comic authors and other prose writers quoted the words of one of their characters, he would invariably speak in his own dialect, whether he was a Spartan, a Lesbian or a Thessalian, and the Athenian audience was expected to understand what had been said.

To illustrate the various dialects, I quote brief passages from three representative authors<sup>43</sup>.

1. Epic and Ionic will be illustrated by an example from Homeros. Of the many exquisite passages in both the *Ilias* and the *Odysseia*, I give as example the comical passage according to which the hero Diomedes attacks the goddess of love and beauty, Aphrodite, in *Ilias* V, 330-32, 348-51:

ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπώχετο νηλεΐ<sup>44</sup> χαλκῷ  
 γιγνώσκων ὅ τ' ἀναλκίς ἐην<sup>45</sup> θεός, οὐδὲ θεάων<sup>46</sup>  
 τῶν<sup>47</sup> αἱ τ' ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον κάτα κοιρανέουσιν<sup>48</sup>  
 .....  
 τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὔσε<sup>49</sup> βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 'Εἶκε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, πολέμου καὶ δῆϊότητος.<sup>50</sup>  
 ἧ οὐχ ἄλις<sup>51</sup> ὅττι<sup>52</sup> γυναῖκας ἀνάλκιδας ἡπεροπεύεις;<sup>53</sup>  
 εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσῃς,<sup>54</sup> ἧ τέ σ' ὄτω<sup>55</sup>  
 ῥιγῇσιν πόλεμόν γε καὶ εἰ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθῃαι<sup>56</sup>

<sup>43</sup> For more details on the Greek dialects see ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 70-85.

<sup>44</sup> Epic.

<sup>45</sup> Epic.

<sup>46</sup> Epic.

<sup>47</sup> Epic, Doric.

<sup>48</sup> Poetic.

<sup>49</sup> Epic, Ionic.

<sup>50</sup> Epic.

<sup>51</sup> Epic.

<sup>52</sup> Epic.

<sup>53</sup> Epic.

<sup>54</sup> Ionic.

<sup>55</sup> Epic.

<sup>56</sup> "But he [Diomedes] attacked Cypris [Aphrodite] with his pitiless bronze weapon knowing that she was a timid goddess, not one of those goddesses who domineer over men's battles

.....

Diomedes of the loud war-cry shouted triumphantly over her

'Be gone, daughter of Zeus, from battle and fighting

Is it not enough that you seduce feeble womankind?

But if you insist on entering the fight, I think you will learn

2. Aiolic will be illustrated by the first great woman poetess, the inimitable Sappho. I present part of *fr.* 1, a lyric discussed appreciatively by no less a critic than Dionysios Halikarnasseus (see Chapter Seven):

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,  
παῖ Δίος<sup>57</sup> δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαι<sup>58</sup> σε,  
μή μ' ἄσαισι<sup>59</sup> μηδ' ὀνίαισι<sup>60</sup> δάμνα,<sup>61</sup>  
πότνια, θῦμον  
ἀλλὰ τυίδ'<sup>62</sup> ἔλθ', αἰ<sup>63</sup> ποτα<sup>64</sup> κατέρωτα<sup>65</sup>  
τάς ἑμας αὔδας<sup>66</sup> αἰοισά<sup>67</sup> πῆλοι  
ἔκλυες, πάτρος<sup>68</sup> δὲ δόμον λίποισα<sup>69</sup>  
χρύσιον<sup>70</sup> ἤλθε<sup>71</sup>

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to shudder at the very name of war even when hearing of it from far away'".

<sup>57</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>58</sup> Epic

<sup>59</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>60</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>61</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>62</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>63</sup> Aiolic-Doric.

<sup>64</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>65</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>66</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>67</sup> Epic.

<sup>68</sup> Aiolic

<sup>69</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>70</sup> Aiolic.

<sup>71</sup> "Immortal Aphrodite, who sittest on a richly ornamented throne,  
Daughter of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I beseech Thee  
Do not crush my spirit with vexation and distress,  
August Queen  
but come here, if ever at other times  
you inclined your ear and heard my voice from afar  
Thou camest to me leaving your father's  
golden house".

Anticipating the discussion on Neohellenic further down, the first of four lines, translated in *N* Demotic, might look like this:

ποικολόθρονη, ἀθάνατη Ἀφροδίτη,  
κόρη τοῦ Δία, δολοπλόκα, σὲ ἱκετεύω  
μὴ δαμάξεις μὲ λύπες μήτε μὲ ἀνίεις  
τὴν ψυχὴ μου, Βασίλισσα.

3. Finally, hardly a more worthy representative of Doric can be found than the Theban poet Pindaros. I quote from the 5<sup>th</sup> *Pythian Ode*, 1-4:

Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενὴς,  
 ὅταν τις ἀρετῇ<sup>72</sup> κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ  
 βροτήσιος<sup>73</sup> ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος, αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ  
 πολύφιλον ἐπέταν<sup>74 75</sup>

These dialects continued and actually flourished throughout classical times, receding into obscurity and total eclipse first with the rise of the Koine<sup>76</sup>.

In the earlier part of this period took place the second wave of Greek colonization of the Mediterranean coast<sup>77</sup>, which implies that by now the Greek language (and its new script) were used all the way from the Euxine Sea and Syria in the East through Italy, Sicily and Libya to France and Spain in the West.

### 3. The Classical (Attic) Period (500-300 B.C.)

The victory over the Persians in 490 (Marathon) and 480-79 (Thermopylai, Salamis and Plataia) had immense consequences for the political and especially the cultural life of Athens. Particularly the first 75 years that ensued, the “Golden Age of Athens”, there was such an explosion of cultural and literary activity as has never been equaled in the long history of the Hellenic Nation. That age and its sequel saw the establishment of democracy;

<sup>72</sup> Doric.

<sup>73</sup> Poetic, Doric?

<sup>74</sup> Doric.

<sup>75</sup> “Wealth is widely powerful  
 when, mixed with untarnished virtue,  
 a mortal man, receiving it from Destiny, takes to his home  
 as an attendant that brings him many friends”.

<sup>76</sup> The modern Tsakonian dialect, spoken between the townships of St Andreas and Leonidion on the east coast of Peloponnesos, differently from all other modern Greek dialects, derives not from the Koine, but directly from ancient Lakonian (see e.g. X. Δ. Πετράκου, *Τσακονιά*). The only other Greek dialect, which similarly goes back to ancient times, is the dialect spoken in Calabria, Southern Italy, which contains many Italian words. Pontic, too, has preserved many ancient elements.

<sup>77</sup> The first wave had taken place around 1000 B.C. and had been directed particularly to Cyprus and the coast of Asia Minor, see maps showing the Greek colonization in *IEE*, II, 62-3 and 276-7. See also ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 58 ff.

it saw the norms and ideals of classical perfection in sculpture and architecture; it saw the development of the Hellenic language to its uttermost limits; it produced some of the greatest authors in world literature: tragedians such as Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides; prose writers such as Thukydides and Xenophon; comedians such as the inimitable Aristophanes; philosophers such as Platon, Demokritos and Aristoteles; and orators such as Isokrates, Demosthenes, and Aischines, and a host of others – all were active within a period of 150 years<sup>78</sup>.

It is at this time that the Greek language reaches its highest degree of perfection: the verb attains 1,124 forms, expressing 1,602 ideas<sup>79</sup>; the noun signals fifteen meaning-units, the great variety of subordinate conjunctions, along with the infinitive and participle, facilitate an almost infinite diversity of hypotactical clauses, the wealth of particles make possible the expression of the finest of nuances, and the sentence becomes the paragon of complete thought expressed in balanced grammatical relations.

<sup>78</sup> See Jacqueline de ROMILLY, *Pourquoi la Grèce?*, esp. 5-24 and ch. III. "La V<sup>e</sup> siècle et la démocratie", pp. 99-127.

<sup>79</sup> There is no Greek verb that has forms for all the categories possible in the Greek verbal system. Therefore, three different verbs may be used to supply all the possible verbal categories. In the examples below, the verb λύω is the basis, while λείπω and φαίνω are drawn upon for the forms not available for λύω. The forms of the Dual are included:

	Active	Middle	Passive	Total
Finite forms	312	200	216	728
Infinitives	6	6	7	19
Participles	18	18	21	57
Participles declined	270	270	315	855
Total	588	476	538	1,602

Without the forms of the Dual, the complete Greek verb has:

	Active	Middle	Passive	Total
Finite forms	234	152	160	546
Infinitives	6	6	7	19
Participles	18	18	21	57
Participles declined	180	180	210	570
Total	420	338	377	1,135

One of the most complete verbs, the verb λύω, has 393 finite forms (with the Dual 480); 14 Infinitives, and 42 Participles. When declined, the participles give 420 forms (with Dual 630). Thus, λύω has 828 (with Dual 1,124) forms.



The New Zealander classical scholar E. M. Blaiklock<sup>80</sup> gives the following eulogy of Athens' achievement, in which he highlights the salient points and tries to recapture the atmosphere of the fifth century. This rather long quotation will doubtless explain to some extent the infatuation with Attic felt by later generations and the grip of this dialect upon all of the subsequent history of Greek<sup>81</sup>:

There are times in the affairs of men when the spring-tide seems to pause at its flood, eras when, for a span of years, the minds of men are filled with ideas which they find completely satisfying, and poet, artist, and statesman find satisfaction and fulfillment in expressing in art and institution a stable and a tested faith ... Like the Elisabethan era of England, the age of Pericles followed a triumphant struggle with a great peril from abroad. The beginning of the fifth century saw such an upboiling of Asia as our own age has known. Hellas, whose greatest muster was something over one hundred thousand fighting men, broke in battle on sea and land the hosts of the Persian king, fed by the wealth and manpower of an empire which extended from the Dardanelles to the Indus, and from the Caspian to Aswan on the Nile. In the forefront of the fight stood Athens. Hers were the spearmen whose thin lines pushed the Persians into the sea of Marathon, hers the ships which bore the brunt of battle in the straits of Salamis, hers the land whose farms were burned and stripped by the invading host, and hers the city which, emptied of its citizens, found at Xerxes' hands destruction more complete than London or Berlin in Hitler's war.

The Athenian response to this mighty challenge was an outburst of spiritual energy scarce paralleled in history. In a mood of exaltation which believed all things possible to the conquerors of Persia, the people of Attica set to work. They equipped their farmlands with buildings which, three generations later, their Theban enemies found it worth while to dismantle and transfer bodily to Boeotia. They rebuilt their shattered city and filled it with monuments, some of which have survived the incredible battering of twenty-three centuries and stand today, a monument to the worth of human effort when willing hands work as one under the inspiration of a grand idea. 'In this work', says a modern historian<sup>82</sup>, 'Periclean Athens displayed a vitality far superior to that of post-war France. When the French recovered the battered shell of Rheims Cathedral, they performed a pious restoration of each shattered stone and splintered statue. When the Athenians found Hekatompedon burnt down to the foundations, they let the foundations lie, and proceeded, on a new site, to create the Parthenon.'

In a new-born passion for freedom, Athens founded a democracy, and gave expression to principles of liberty which still ring on the lips of men. Of the world's

<sup>80</sup> BLAIKLOCK, *The Acts of the Apostles* (TNTC), 132-4.

<sup>81</sup> ANDRIOTIS, 'Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας, 25f. quotes W. SCHULZE as having said of the Attic dialect that it is "the highest expression of the glossoplastic genius of man", while it has also been said, continues ANDRIOTIS, that if there were beauty contests for languages, no one would have refused it the first prize, a language that even the gods would have been ready to speak.

<sup>82</sup> BLAIKLOCK refers to A. J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History*, II, 110.

four supreme tragic artists, fifth-century Athens produced three. With Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides stands only Shakespeare. The age produced Thucydides, finest, in Macaulay's judgment, of all historians. It produced the noblest European mind, Plato, at once the greatest thinker and greatest writer of the ancient world; And Socrates, who never wrote, but who lives in Plato's thought and work.

The fifth century produced some of mankind's noblest art, and that is asserted in spite of the archaists. Much of the revolt against Classical Greek art is the reaction of a dissatisfied and unhappy age against the serenity of a more stable society which believed it knew where perfection lay and expressed itself with confidence.

In language, itself an art, Athens produced what is perhaps the most perfect instrument of human expression in the history of speech. Words are the symbols of creative thought. Language reflects the quality of the minds which give it shape and form. If the spirit of Athens at her best was permeated with the passion for truth, one should expect to find that mood translated into the forms of speech. The amazingly subtle verb, the rich facilities of the article, the brilliant invention of the particle which Attic Greek carried to final perfection and which enabled the written sentence without stage directions to express irony, deprecate, cock the eyebrow, curl the lip, shrug the shoulders, and represent, in short, to the reading eye the animation of the living voice, these are only three of the many qualities which made Attic speech perhaps the world's most powerful and exact linguistic medium. For vivid conversation and the expression of abstract thought this is most certainly true.

Before proceeding to illustrate some of the above-mentioned features from three masters of Attic prose, I will present a prose passage of Ionic from Herodotos (I. 8) – according to which Lydian king Kandaules tried to persuade his friend Gyges to see his beautiful wife, the queen, undressed – along with a paraphrase of the passage into Attic in order to show concretely the similarities and differences between the two dialects. The paraphrase is that of Dionysios Hal. (*Art of Composition*, 3), who praises Herodotos for achieving a beautiful composition in spite of the fact that the incident he related was undignified and shameful:

Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἵδους τῆς γυναικός (ὥτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔδοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίειε ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσεται γυμνὴν. ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας εἶπε· Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυσομένην συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαί δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τὸδε ἐστί, σκοπεῖν τινα τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων<sup>83</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> "Gyges, I do not think that you believe me, when I speak of the beauty of my wife: for it so happens that people do not trust their ears as much as they do their eyes. Make sure that you see her naked. But he protested, saying: 'Master, what is this sick proposi-

## Dionysios paraphrases to Attic:

Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκῶ πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικός· ὅτα γάρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις ὄντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν· ποίει ὅπως ἐκείνην θεάσῃ γυμνὴν. ὁ δ' ἀναβοήσας εἶπε· Δέσποτα, τίνα λόγον λέγεις οὐχ ὑγιᾶ, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεάσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ χιτῶνι ἐκδυομένην συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐξεύρηται, ἐξ ὧν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν οἷς ἐν τῷδε ἐστίν, ὅραν τινα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασῶν γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σοὺ δέομαι μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀνόμων<sup>84</sup>.

Attic diction will now be illustrated by passages from three representative authors, Thoukydides, Platon and Isokrates<sup>85</sup>.

1. The first text is from Thoukydides' masterpiece of the Greek Civil War, the first great tragedy that befell the Hellenic Nation, the sample being taken from Perikles' magnificent oration, the so-called *Epitaphios* (Thouk II. 37, 1; 40, 1, and 41, 1 and 3):

Χρῶμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούση τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες πῶς ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται. οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανεία κεκώλυται...

Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλοῦτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρῶμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἰσχίον...

Ξυνηλὼν τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ δεῦσιν εἶναι...

Μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσω ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται<sup>86</sup>.

tion you are making, commanding me to see my queen naked? For when a woman casts off her clothes, she casts off her modesty as well. Way back men discovered good principles, from which we ought to learn, one of which is to go about one's own business. I do believe that she is the most beautiful of women, and I beseech you do not demand of me an unlawful act."

<sup>84</sup> The different forms in Attic are italicized. The word order is almost entirely identical.

<sup>85</sup> It has been argued that the language of Attic prose was formed under the influence of Gorgias of Leontini and Thrasymachos of Chalcedon, who drew on the popular language of the inscriptions, tragedy, and comedy (ADRADOS, *Geschichte*, 140-50).

<sup>86</sup> Thoukydides II. 37-41: "We live in a State which does not emulate the laws of its neighbors. We are, in fact, ourselves an example followed by some, rather than imitators of others. Our State is called a democracy, because it is administered by many, not by a few. As regards the law, all men are treated equally in their private disputes, but as regards dignity, as each man is successful, he is preferred for public position, not on account of his class, but on account of his virtue. And again, poverty cannot debar a

2. The second example comes from Platon's *Symposion* 209b-c, a passage that treats of the true philosopher who seeks an appropriate person in whom to generate his thoughts on Truth and Beauty:

Τούτων δ' αὖ ὅταν τις ἐκ νέου ἐγκύμων ᾗ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἥθεος ὢν καὶ ἡκούσης τῆς ἡλικίας, τίκτειν τε καὶ γεννᾷν ἤδη ἐπιθυμῇ, ζητεῖ δὴ οἶμαι καὶ οὕτως περιῶν τὸ καλὸν ἐν ᾧ ἂν γεννήσειεν· ἐν τῷ γὰρ αἰσχυρῷ οὐδέποτε γεννήσει. τὰ τε οὖν σώματα τὰ καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ αἰσχυρά ἀσπάζεται ἅτε κυθῶν, καὶ ἂν ἐντύχῃ ψυχῇ καλῇ καὶ γενναίᾳ καὶ εὐφύει, πάνυ δὲ ἀσπάζεται τὸ συναμφοτέρον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὐθύς εὐπορεῖ λόγων περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ περὶ οἷον χρῆ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἃ ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖ παιδεύειν. ἀπτόμενος γὰρ οἶμαι τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ὁμιλῶν αὐτῷ, ἃ πάλαί ἐκείνῃ τίκει καὶ γεννᾷ, καὶ παρών καὶ ἀπὼν μεμνημένος, καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν συνεκτρέφει κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνου, ὥστε πολὺ μείζω κοινωνίαν τῆς τῶν παιδῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἴσχουσι καὶ φιλίαν βεβαιοτέραν, ἅτε καλλιώνων καὶ ἀθανατωτέρων παιδῶν κεκοινωνηκότες.<sup>87</sup>

3. Finally, the third passage from Isokrates' *Panegyrikos* 50 extols the greatness of Athens, "mother of arts and eloquence" (John Milton):

Τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ' οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκεν μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας

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man from public office because of his low estate, if he is able to do the State a good service ...

We are lovers of the beautiful without being extravagant and we are lovers of wisdom without being soft. We use wealth as an occasion to action rather than as a matter for ostentation. As for being poor, we do not consider it to be shameful, but rather it is more shameful if one does not try to avoid it by working ...

In short, then, our city as a whole is the schoolmistress of Hellas ...

For [Athens] alone of all her contemporaries, when tested, is found to be superior to the report of her".

<sup>87</sup> Platon, *Symposion* 209b-c: "Again when someone has conceived these in his soul since his youth, having reached the age of manhood, he longs to bring forth and to beget; he goes about, I suppose, looking for the beautiful in which he might procreate. For he will never procreate in the ugly. While in conception he is drawn to beautiful rather than ugly bodies, and if he chances upon a beautiful, noble and good-natured soul dwelling in a beautiful body, he gladly greets this combination, and he immediately speaks resourcefully to such a person of virtue and of how a good man should be and what he should practice; and so he tries to educate him. I think that through his contact with the noble one and his conversing with him, he brings forth and begets that which he had conceived long ago, and whether present or absent he is remembered. Together they bring up the offspring, enjoying a much better fellowship with one another than that of children and a more stable friendship, since they have communion with more beautiful and immortal 'children'".

δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μάλλον Ἑλλήνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας<sup>88</sup>.

It must not escape us, however, that this is the language of art; it is used to create artistic masterpieces such as Platon's *Symposion* or *Phaidros*, Isokrates' *Panegyrikos*, or Demosthenes' *Peri Stephanou*. It must have been impossible for the ordinary Athenian to have expressed himself thus in the course of his daily intercourse with his peers, let alone for the maid in the kitchen or the slave on the field or the stable. In their everyday relations the Athenians used a simplified form, an *Umgangssprache*. Thus, the curving of this artistic language by the Athenians inevitably resulted in creating a gap between the spoken and the written word. Elegance and richness of expression had been achieved at the expense of an – shall we call it – incipient 'diglossia', in which the spoken and the written word did not entirely coincide<sup>89</sup>.

In the fourth century B.C., Philip II (or, perhaps, his predecessors) adopted the Attic dialect as the official language of Makedonia, because its Greek dialect was too uncouth, undeveloped, and lacking in refinement. It was this form of Greek that Alexander III, Philip's son, spread to the lands he brought under his sway. But by this time, Attic Greek could not preserve its purely Athenian character, and entered a course of simplification, amalgamating elements from the other Greek dialects. From Attic it became Hellenistic, or Koine; from classical it became post-classical.

Nevertheless, the superiority of Attic showed itself in its persistence and domination over the other dialects. Not only did Attic become the understructure and basic source of the Koine, but it has continued to influence

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<sup>88</sup> Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 50: "So far has our city [Athens] left behind it the rest of mankind in the matter of thought and speech, that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of mankind. And it has caused the name 'Hellenes' to be applied no longer to a race but to a mental disposition; and those who partake of our education have a greater right to be called 'Hellenes' than those who have a common descent with us". Cf. also BALDRY, *The Unity of Mankind*, 69.

<sup>89</sup> Experts in the Greek language, though aware that the maid in the house or the slave on the field did not speak the same language as the one Platon uses in his dialogues or Demosthenes in his speeches, nevertheless, refrain from speaking of *diglossia* at this early time (see note 95, below). The Greek term 'diglossia' (διγλωσσία), properly *bilingualism*, i.e., two distinct languages, is used improperly when applied to the two forms of the Greek language, e.g. Attic diction and popular everyday speech, or *Katharevousa* and *Dhimotiki* (see below). Since διγλωσσία is impossible for Greek, the term διμορφία (two forms [of the same language]) is used by Greek scholars. In this study, whenever the word 'diglossia' is used by me, it will be inserted within quotation marks to underline that we cannot properly speak of 'diglossia' with regard to the various forms of Greek.

the Hellenic language to the present day. *Katharevousa* is essentially simplified Attic, and as for *Neohellenic Koine*, it is, in so far as it avoids dialectal forms, informed by the 'Ατθίδα γλῶτταν.

#### 4. Post-classical Greek (c. 300 B.C. - A.D. 600)

Post-classical or Hellenistic or Koine Greek<sup>90</sup> was basically Attic Greek, but it had received morphological, lexical and syntactical influences from the other dialects, particularly the Ionic, as well as acquired neologisms<sup>91</sup>. Given the inexorable laws of change to which all languages are susceptible, Attic could not remain unchanged. Divesting itself of many peculiarly Attic elements<sup>92</sup>, it embarked on a career of simplification: the onerous Attic syntactical apparatus was replaced by simpler, lighter means of expression; complex, convoluted sentences, called periods, gave place to simpler, shorter, and less intricate constructions.

These changes began to be introduced already in the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and were facilitated by the following circumstances. Following the victorious repulse of the Persian invasions of Greece, Athens, as was indicated above, became the leader of the Greek states in all expressions of cultural life, she also was a capable military (particularly sea) power, and promised to lead the rest of the subject states to freedom. Her artistic, literary and intellectual dynamism overshadowed the achievements of all other states. It was natural, therefore, that the Athenian dialect should be given the pre-eminence among the many Greek dialects, and that the glory that attached to the 'Ατθὺς διάλεκτος and the works being written in it, should be the object of emulation by all. In 478/7 and thereafter a number of Greek states, which joined the Athenian Commonwealth, began to use Attic in their contacts both with Athens and with each other. During this or the following century Attic was adopted by the Makedonian kings as the official language of their kingdom. This wider use of the dialect of the Athenians – which A. Thumb called "Großattisch", i.e. Great(er) Attic – in regions beyond the confines of Attica and by peoples who, although Greeks, had a variety of both cultural backgrounds (in the narrow sense of the word) and literary traditions, led to the loss of its particularistic, pure Attic flavor and to

<sup>90</sup> Jannaris, "The True Meaning of the Κοινή", *Classical Review*, March 1908, 93-6, has shown convincingly that this term is misapplied when used of Post-Classical, esp. spoken Greek. The ancients used it of elements common to Attic, Ionic, Aiolic, etc.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the discussion in NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie*, 247-72, who also refers to THUMB's work. This was a partial modification of HATZIDAKIS' work.

<sup>92</sup> Some of the main changes in Koine are discussed in Ch. Three and Four.

its inevitable acquisition of more general Greek characteristics. Gradually and imperceptibly Attic was turning into Koine<sup>93</sup>. Accordingly, the Koine has its roots already in the fifth century linguistic situation. Indeed, from Alexander's era to Justinian, a period of 900 years, the Greek language changed from ancient to modern, and this Koine period may also be characterized as the period of transition<sup>94</sup>.

Thus, in certain respects, e.g. greater simplicity in sentence structure and neologisms, the written Koine form came closer to the spoken form of Attic in earlier times. At the same time, literary compositions that aspired to high linguistic standards were, even during post-classical times, patterned on Attic models. These developments indicate that the gap between strict Attic and the spoken language, that once had existed at Athens, was now becoming wider<sup>95</sup>. Here, we are still thinking of conditions prevailing among Greeks. In the wake of Alexander's empire, however, this language situation was further aggravated by the motley character of many of its new users, from Spain to India and from the Krimaia to Aswan, who had neither the feeling nor the ability to speak and write Greek correctly<sup>96</sup>. With them Koine Greek was reduced to a sub-standard language.

Unfortunately we do not have any substantial documents of spoken or written Koine by Greeks from the time of the NT. The two works of sufficient length, written at this time and often regarded as illustrative of Koine Greek, are the LXX and the NT, but both of them were written by non-Greeks and evince (especially the former) heavy Semitic influence. These

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<sup>93</sup> For more detailed discussion of the rise of the Koine, the interested reader is conveniently referred to NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDES, *Koine und Diglossie*, 195-222; ADRADOS, *Geschichte*, 169-77, and HORROCKS, *Greek*, 32-50.

<sup>94</sup> See below and especially Ch. IV.

<sup>95</sup> In his *Ιστορία του γλωσσικού ζητήματος* [= History of the Language Question], 2 Vols., 'Εν Ἀθῆναις 1925-27, pp. 1997, A. ΜΕΓΑΣ argues that the problem of "diglossia" in Athens arose already in the fifth century. He presents as evidence the non-Attic forms in Attic authors, esp. the tragic poets and ancient comedy, particularly Aristophanes, see Μέρος Α', pp. 15-53; also pp. 166-7 and Μέρος Β', pp. 372 ff. In his review in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 37 (1925) 235-6, ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, ΗΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙΣ' successor, argues that the un-Attic elements in these authors do not give us the right to speak of 'diglossia' at this early period; the problem arose first with the Atticistic movement. More recent scholars, however, accept the existence of 'diglossia' in V<sup>th</sup> century Athens, e.g. ADRADOS, *Geschichte*, 139 ff.; HORROCKS, *Greek*, e.g. 53.

<sup>96</sup> There were, of course, exceptions in proficiency such as the Syrian Loukianos, the Tyrian Porphyrios and the Jewish Josephos. The latter emphasizes how hard he had to work to become proficient in Greek (cf. *Antiquities*, XX, xi [262 f.] and *Contra Apionem* 50).

works, therefore, cannot stand as representatives of current main-line Greek among Greeks<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> HORROCKS, *Greek*, 56 f., who accepts LXX Greek as representative of Koine Greek (cf. p. 57: "It was once thought that the considerable differences between the Greek of the Septuagint and the literary Greek of the mainstream tradition were due to Semitic substrate and translation effects"), quotes LXX 4 Kgds 18:17-21 as "a good example of the 'normal' Koine style":

Καὶ ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων [τὸν Θαρθαν καὶ τὸν Ραφίς καὶ] τὸν Ραφακὴν [ἐκ Λαχίς] πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Εἰζεκιαν ἐν δυνάμει βαρεῖα ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, [καὶ ἀνέβησαν καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ὑδραγωγῷ τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῆς ἁνω, ἥ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τοῦ γναφέως]. 18. καὶ ἐβόησαν πρὸς Εἰζεκιαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Εἰλιακίμ [υἱὸς Χελκίου ὁ οἰκονόμος] καὶ Σομνας [ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἰωᾶς υἱὸς Ἀσάφ ὁ ἀναμνησκών]. 19. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ραφακὴς Εἴπατε δὴ πρὸς Εἰζεκιαν Τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων Τίς ἡ πεποιθήσις αὐτῇ, ἣν πέποιθας; 20. εἰπας [Πλὴν λόγοι χειλέων] βουλὴ καὶ δύνამις εἰς πόλεμον. νῦν οὖν τίني πεποιθῶς ἠθέτησας ἐν ἐμοί; 21. νῦν ἰδοὺ πέποιθας σαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν καλαμίνην τὴν τεθλασμένην ταύτην, ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ὃς ἂν στηριχθῇ ἀνὴρ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τρήσει αὐτήν· οὕτως Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου πᾶσιν τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

The words included in square brackets are omitted by HORROCKS. In this way, HORROCKS finds that "the only probable Semitism here" is the "redundant use of καὶ" in vs. 21. The rest, he thinks, is "good ... 'normal' Koine". Actually there are fourteen καὶ in eleven lines. By omitting some of the text, Horrocks has eliminated six of them. For me it is inconceivable how anyone can make this piece of an almost word-for-word translation from a Hebrew original into good Greek. I urge the following points:

1. The LXX phrase ἐν δυνάμει βαρεῖα is a Semitism, with the well-known rendering of the Heb preposition  $\text{בְּ}$  with ἐν. The phrase occurs three times in the LXX: 3 Kgds 10:2; 4 Kgds 18:17 and 2 Chr 9:1. In all three places the Massoretic Text uses  $\text{בְּכֹחַ}$  ("with a heavy force"), which the LXX translates literally. According to the TLG, this Greek expression actually occurs 12 more times, in Eusebios (1 x); Basilios (1 x); Theophanes Conf. (VIII-IX A.D.: 1 x); George Monachos (IX A.D.: 8 x), and George Kedrenos (XI-XII A.D.: 1 x). All of these authors are influenced by the LXX. On the other hand, it is significant to note that the Greek phrase δυνάμει βαρεῖα (without the preposition), occurs in two pre-Christian authors: Polybios (1 x) and Dionysios Halikarnasseus (1 x). It also occurs in two Greek Christian authors, Symeon Logothetis (X A.D.: 1 x) and Joannes Zonaras (XII A.D.: 2 x), who kept to the Greek rather than the Semitic usage.

2. The phrase εἴπατε δὴ is a literal translation of the Hebrew  $\text{וַיֹּאמְרוּ}$ , in which the particle  $\text{וַי}$  is used in connection with a command or a prayer to add emphasis.

3. The pregnant construction τίς ἡ πεποιθήσις αὐτῇ ἦν πέποιθας; ought to be regarded as Semitic, despite the fact that the cognate accusative (cf. ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 477 f.) occurs sporadically even in Greek texts. Its high frequency in the MT along with the other Semitic elements of this text leave no doubt that the literal translation represents the Hebrew construction.



The Greeks themselves wrote their literary works in the established literary medium of Attic, or in an Atticizing form, i.e. in an endeavor to imitate it. Such is, for example, the language of Polybios, although it exhibits elements characteristic of later Greek<sup>98</sup>. But in their everyday oral and written communications the Greeks must have used a simplified form, an *Umgangssprache*. These developments, which clearly showed a tendency among Greeks to speak and write a non-standard Greek, alarmed those who set great store by classical Attic standards, and they started a movement to return to the classical ideals<sup>99</sup>. This movement became known as *Atticism*. Among its advocates it counted such celebrities as Dionysios Halikarnasaeus, Herodes Attikos, Dion, Aristeides, Harpokration, Iulios Polydeukes, Philostratos, Loukianos, Phrynichos, Moiris, *et al.* The Atticist revival was at its height in the II A.D. Two of its staunchest supporters were Phrynichos and Moiris. Of Phrynichos' works, we have, in mutilated form, his Ἀττικιστής and Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή, and of Moiris, fragments of an

4. The expression λόγοι χειλέων (vs. 20) occurs according to TLG only here and in the parallel passage of Isa 36:5. The expression means "empty words". In Greek this would be expressed by the Homeric ἔπεα πτερόεντα (Eustathios' πτερόεντες λόγοι actually recall this), an expression that survives to the present day. The LXX phrase is cited twice in Kyrillos of Alexandria, *Commentary on Isaiah* (MPG LXX, 757, 24), and once in Eusebios, Theodoretos, Joannes Malalas, and Prokopios. This detail, too, supports the Hebrew character of the passage.

5. The phrase ἡθέτησας ἐν ἐμοί (vs. 20), as the Heb preposition א behind the ἐν makes clear, is Semitic in character.

6. In vs. 21 we have νῦν ἰδοὺ πέποιθας, which is a literal translation of the words and order of the Hebrew: הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הִתְקַדְּשָׁה. That this is translationese is proved by the fact that the Greek order would have been ἰδοὺ, νῦν πέποιθας.

7. Vs. 21: ὃς ἂν στερηχθῇ ἀνὴρ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τρήσει αὐτήν is once again a word-for-word translation of the MT:

וַיִּקְרַח	וַיִּתֵּן	וַיֵּלֶךְ	וַיִּשָּׁב	וַיִּשָּׂא	וַיִּשָּׂא	וַיִּשָּׂא
it pierce and	hand his in	in go(es) [will] it and	it on	man a	lean if	which
αὐτὴν τρήσει καὶ	αὐτοῦ χεῖρα τὴν εἰς	εἰσελεύσεται καὶ	αὐτήν ἐπ'	ἀνὴρ	στερηχθῇ ἂν	ὃς

The Semitic character of this text is also seen by the typically Semitic use of ἀνὴρ (אִישׁ) instead of the correct Greek τις, as well as by the καὶ (ו) introducing a main sentence. The Perfect Qal יָבֹא ("goes in") may be a confusion for the Imperfect Qal יִבֹּא ("will go in") (see K-B, *Lexicon*, Vol. I, sub בָּא).

<sup>98</sup> For examples of later Greek elements, see Ch. Five. Cf. also HATZIDAKIS, "De tout cela il est résulté que la langue communément parlée aujourd'hui dans les villes diffère moins de la langue commune de Polybe que cette dernière ne diffère de la langue d'Homère" (*Revue Études Grecques* 16 (1903), 220).

<sup>99</sup> For the political dimensions of the Atticistic revival, see C. C. CARAGOUNIS, "Scholarship, Greek and Roman", in *DNTB*, eds. C. A. EVANS-S.E. PORTER, Downers Grove, Il., 2000, 1075-6.

Atticistic Lexicon. In these works Phrynichos and Moiris condemn whatever does not follow Attic norms, including – as was to be expected – a number of words and expressions found in the NT<sup>100</sup>.

Thus, in the first century A.D., we have, on the one hand, those who aspire to write good Greek and who more or less keep to Attic standards, such as Dionysios Hal., Ploutarchos, Dion, and Aristides, while on the other, we have the uncouth, barbarous Greek in the letters of countless Egyptians<sup>101</sup>. These latter writings – regularly written by non-Greeks – offer a kind of Greek which cannot be taken as representative of main-line Koine; it is simply the form of Greek in which those who found themselves within one or other of the Greek kingdoms, and later within the Roman empire, communicated among themselves.

As an example of Papyri Greek, I quote part of a II A.D. letter by an Egyptian son to his mother begging for reconciliation<sup>102</sup>. The letters within () are Deissmann's own corrections. Within square brackets in *Italic* I enclose the correct form of the words:

Ἀντῶνις Λόνγος |Λόγγος| Νειλουῦτι  
 (τ)ῇ μητρὶ π(λ)ῖστα |πλεῖστα| χαῖρειν. καὶ δι-  
 ἅ πάντω(ν) εὐχομαι σοι |σε| ὑγειαίνειν |ὑγιαίνειν|. τὸ προσκύνη-  
 μά σου (ποι)ῶ κατ' αἰκάστην |καθ' ἐκάστην| ἡμαίραν |ἡμέραν| παρὰ τῇ  
 κυρίῳ (Σερ)άπειδει |Σεράπιδι|. γεινώσκειν σοι |γινώσκειν σε| θέλω, ὅ-  
 τι οὐχ (ἡλπ)ίζον, ὅτι ἀναβένις |ἀναβαίνεις| εἰς τὴν μητρό-  
 πολιν. χ(ά)ρειν τοῦτο |χάριν τούτου| οὐδ' ἐγὼ |ἐγὼ| εἰσῆλθα εἰς τὴν πό-  
 λιν. αἰδ(υ)σοπο(ύ)μην |έδυσωπούμην| δὲ ἔλθειν εἰς Καρανίδα<sup>ν</sup>  
 ὅτι σαπρῶς παιριπατῶ |περιπατῶ|. αἵγραψά |έγραψά| σοι, ὅτι γυμνός  
 εἰμι |εἰμι|. παρακα(λ)ῶ σοι |σε|, μήτηρ |μήτερ|, δ(ι)αλάγητί |διαλλαγῇ|  
 μοι<sup>103</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> See the discussion on Phrynichos and Moiris and the bearing of their work on the language of the NT in Chapter Three. The precepts of the Atticists have exerted such an influence on the history of Greek, that 'diglossia' has persisted throughout Byzantine, medieval and modern times.

<sup>101</sup> KAPSOMENAKIS (= KAPSOMENOS) already in 1938 published preparatory work for a Grammar of post-Christian papyri, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*. Beiträge zur Herstellung und Deutung einzelner Texte, München, 1938. This was finally executed by F. T. Gignac in his *magnum opus*, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Milano: Instituto Editoriale Caisalpino – La Goliardica, 2 Vols. 1975-81.

<sup>102</sup> Quoted by DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East*, 187 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Here is DEISSMANN's own translation: "Antonis Longus to Nilus his mother many greetings. And continually do I pray that thou art in health. I make intercession for thee day by day to the lord Serapis. I would thou shouldst understand that I had no hope that thou wouldst go up to the metropolis. And therefore I came not to the city. But I was

It is doubtful whether a Greek could have written in this uncouth manner. Leaving aside the orthographical mistakes, which occurred also among Greeks (though not as frequently), I may point out briefly the author's ignorance of spelling even his own name; the awkward use of *καί* in line 2; the serious mistake of *τοῦτο* (line 7) even for an illiterate, and finally his use of the nominative instead of the vocative *μήτερ* (which indicates lack of linguistic feeling)<sup>104</sup>.

Between the two extremes of Atticistic writings and the illiterate papyri, there were doubtless other writings, in which the currently written Koine came closer to the spoken language. This would have been the case above all in Greece. Obviously, because such writings (in simpler Greek) were not of great literary merit, they were allowed to perish (here we must remember that we have but a fraction of the literature that once had been written). This was encouraged by the powerful influence of Atticism, which thus sealed the fate of this 'kleine Literatur'. Neither could the Greek climate prevent decay. This type of Greek, nevertheless, is represented to a certain extent and in various degrees by Polybios, Epiktetos and other compositions, as well as by such Semitically influenced writings as the LXX and the NT, and by writings from Early Christian times, such as the Shepherd of Hermas, the Didache, early Christian authors, early *Christian Acta*<sup>105</sup>, etc.<sup>106</sup> – all of which had been tainted by Semitic elements through the LXX and the NT.

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ashamed to come to Caranis, because I walk about in rags. I write (or 'have written') to thee that I am naked. I beseech thee, mother, be reconciled to me".

<sup>104</sup> This last may be taken as evidence of the pronunciation of *η* as *ι* in the Papyri is overwhelming.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. *Acta Alexandrinorum* (II-III A.D.), *Acta Barnabae* (uncert. date), *Acta Eupli* (IV A.D.), *Acta Joannis* (II A.D.), *Acta Justini et septen Sodalium* (II-III A.D.), *Acta et Martyrium Apollonii* (II-IV A.D.), *Acts of Paul and Thekla* (II A.D.), *Acta Petri* (II A.D.), *Acta Phileae* (IV A.D.), *Acta Philippi* (uncert. date), *Acta Pilati* (uncert. date), *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum* (II-III A.D.), *Acta Thomae* (III A.D.).

<sup>106</sup> HORROCKS' assertions of the nature of the Koine and in particular his judgments on the language of the LXX and the NT must be treated with great care, because, Hebrew being inaccessible to him, he takes many Semitic elements as Koine Greek. Nor does he appear to have considered that papyri Greek is no infallible guide to the proper Greek of the times, but is itself under the influence of the oriental languages (see, e.g., KAPSOMENOS, "Η έλληνική γλώσσα στην Αίγυπτο", in *Από την ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας*, esp. 99 ff.). Moreover, his transliterations of his quotations, showing the pronunciation at each point of time, are not based on any external evidence, but simply reflect his own preferences.

## 5. Byzantine-Mediaeval Greek (A.D. 600 - 1500)

This period opens with Justinian's reign (527-65), who declared Greek the official language of the Byzantine empire, thus legalizing a state of affairs that had existed since Hellenistic times, whereby Greek was the language of c. 80% of the citizens of the eastern part of the empire<sup>107</sup>. With the inception of this period the Greek language enters a new stage in its development: the scanty evidence that we have shows definitely that the spoken form of Greek, the *Demotic* speech, may now be characterized as incipient ModGreek. This spoken proto-Modern Greek is the natural development of spoken Koine from post-classical times. But as during the high period of Koine – the centuries around Christ – the Greeks used Attic or Atticizing Greek for their writings along with a simplified Koine for their oral communication, so during the Byzantine and Mediaeval period, they continued, under the influence of Atticism, to write an Atticistic Greek, even as they spoke a more modern form of Koine, i.e. Demotic (= popular or colloquial). This state of affairs consolidated even more the 'dimorphia' of earlier times, and led to an even greater gap between spoken and written Greek, a situation that reached its climax in the next period of the history of the language, in particular during the XX<sup>th</sup> century.

Because learned treatises were throughout this period authored in the Atticistic form of Greek, our sources for the Demotic form are scanty, and, in certain respects, piecemeal. A number of works are written in a simpler Greek containing demotic elements, and from these we may piece together the state of Demotic or colloquial Greek as this has come down from the Koine<sup>108</sup>.

In his article on Mediaeval Greek<sup>109</sup>, Anagnostopoulos mentions *i.a.* the following works from which Demotic may be abstracted: parts of Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos' works, a satirical song at the expense of emperor Mavrikios<sup>110</sup>, various Lives of Saints, apocryphal Gospels, apocryphal Acts, various chronographies, the *Paschal Chronicle* (VII A.D.), Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronographia* (VIII A.D.), the chronicles of George Monachos, Symeon Magistros (X A.D.), Leon the Grammarian, George Kedrenos (XII A.D.), Michael Glykas (XII A.D.), Kekaumenos' *Strategikon*

<sup>107</sup> See HORROCKS, *Greek*, 150, basing his calculations on MANGO, *Byzantium*, 23.

<sup>108</sup> On the Byzantine period see also BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, and "The Language of Byzantine Literature", *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* 1 (1978), 103-133.

<sup>109</sup> ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, "Μεσαιωνική ελληνική", part of the article on "[Ελληνική] Γλῶσσα" in *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* (= *MEE*), Vol. 10 (devoted wholly to Ἑλλάς), pp. 82-142, see esp. 93-4.

<sup>110</sup> See HORROCKS' comments in his *Greek*, 257ff.

(XI A.D.), various parainetic poems (as e.g. Prodnromos' poems, XII A.D.), novelistic stories such as *Lyvistros and Rhodamne*, *Velandros and Chrysantza*, *Physiologos*, and *Poulologos*.

The Demotic element will be exemplified here by a few brief extracts from some representative authors. One of the earliest authors to write in "modern" or proto-modern Greek (i.e. Byzantine, that is, early Neohellenic) is Ioannes Malalas (480-570). The *Great Greek Encyclopaedia* describes his *Chronographia* as "the first great monument of demotic Greek speech"<sup>111</sup>. Here follow two brief extracts from Malalas, with my paraphrases into *Neohellenic* (main differences are Italicized):

<p><i>Malalas, Chronographia 79:</i> Οἱ δὲ Ἀργοναῦται μετὰ τὴν νίκην τοῦ Ἀμύκου ἐκεῖθεν ἐξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀνέπλευσαν διὰ τὸ χρύσεον δέρας, οἵτινες ἔλαβον αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Μῆδειαν, τὴν τοῦ Ἀέτου θυγατέρα, βασιλέως τῆς Σκυθίας, ἀπὸ Κολχίδος χώρας.</p>	<p><i>Neohellenic tr.:</i> Οἱ δὲ Ἀργοναῦται μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀμύκου ἐξόρμησαν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐπλευσαν <i>στὰ ἀνοικτὰ</i> τοῦ Πόντου διὰ τὸ χρυσὸν δέρας, <i>οἱ ὅποιοι</i> ἔλαβον αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Μῆδειαν, τὴν <i>κόρη</i> / θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀήτου, βασιλέως τῆς Σκυθίας, ἀπὸ τὴν <i>χώραν</i> τῆς Κολχίδος.</p>
<p><i>Malalas 409:</i> Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος μετὰ τὰς πρώτας αὐτοῦ δωρεὰς πάλιν ἄλλας κατέπεμψε πᾶσι τοῖς ὑποτελέσι τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐκάστην πόλιν τῆς Ῥωμανίας διάφορα κτίσματα καὶ τεῖχη καὶ ἀγωγούς, καὶ λιμένας ἀνακαθάρας καὶ δημόσια λουτρά ἐκ θεμελίων οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐν ἐκάστη παρέσχε πόλει.</p>	<p><i>Neohellenic tr.:</i> Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ὁ ἴδιος μετὰ τὶς πρώτες του δωρεὰς πάλιν <i>ἔστειλε</i> ἄλλες [δωρεές] <i>σὲ ὅλους</i> τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς τῆς πολιτείας του. Ἐκτισε δὲ καὶ <i>σὲ κάθε</i> πόλιν τῆς Ῥωμανίας διάφορα κτίσματα καὶ τεῖχη, καὶ ἀγωγούς, καὶ λιμένες <i>ξανακαθάρισε</i> καὶ δημόσια λουτρά <i>ἀνοικοδόμησε</i> ἐκ θεμελίων, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρέσχε <i>σὲ κάθε</i> πόλιν.</p>

The italicized words in the translation represent more modern equivalents, without implying that the text, as it stands, would not be understandable to an ordinary Greek. Malalas' text shows the kind of Greek that was spoken already in the last years of the fifth century. When we remember that no author ever writes as he speaks, but that the written text always has an upgraded register, that is, it is more conservative, we are forced to conclude that the spoken language of the time was even closer to Neohellenic Demotic. At the same time, this would seem to imply that the Greek that

<sup>111</sup> ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, article "*Μαλαλάς*" in *MEE*, Vol. XVI, 571: "Its language is so full of the genuine demotic spirit, that with a few morphological and lexicological changes, we can come very close to the demotic speech of our time" (my tr.).

Malalas spoke might take us further back in time. This observation is not without significance for the language current in NT times.

By general consent, the first great extant epic in Modern Greek is *Digenes Akritas*. The work itself appears to belong to the X<sup>th</sup> century A.D., though the extant MSS date from the XIV<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. onwards<sup>112</sup>. In this work, too, ancient elements are strewn among the demotic ones. Here follows a specimen, which I paraphrase into *Neohellenic*:

[illegible]

Even if the three minor changes were not made in the paraphrase, Diogenes' text would not be any the less understood by a Modern Greek. In fact, the only word that needed to be modernized is the word ἀνῆψεν. All the other word-forms might have been met in a Neohellenic poem. There is thus a marked difference here between the language of this epic and the language of Malalas. If Malalas exhibits a proto-Neohellenic lexicon and phraseology, the Akritas epic is practically Neohellenic, that is, keeping in mind the liberties taken in poetry as well as the fact that Neohellenic has a wide register (see next section).

During the latter part of this period, specifically during the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, in concert with the increasing loss of most of the empire's provinces, owing to the invasions of the Europeans (the so-called Crusades, ostensibly to liberate Palestine) from the West and the continual attacks of the Mohammedans from the East, the Greek-speaking areas were fragmented and isolated from each other. This led to the rise of the modern Greek dialects, which have continued into the XX<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, evidently, the same conditions of isolation that ensued upon the entrance of the Greek tribes into Greece in the third millennium B.C. and led to the rise of the old dia-

<sup>112</sup> So ΚΑΛΟΝΑΡΟΥ, *Βασίλειος Διγενής Ἀκρίτας*, p. λδ. (= 'Introduction' p. 34).

lects were at work also at this time though the causes were different, leading again to the fragmentation of the Greek language. With one added factor, however: as Hatzidakis has pointed out, the Koine had not succeeded in thoroughly eradicating the old dialects; remnants of them and dialectal tendencies must have survived the leveling work of the Koine. These remnants, these tendencies, were sure to reassert themselves, when the right conditions once again presented themselves.

But if this period sees the rise of early Neohellenic, it must not be forgotten that the Demotic form of Greek represents only one half of the linguistic spectrum. The official language of the empire, the language of administration, of the Church, the sermons and theological treatises, learned treatises (e.g. Photios), commentaries on the ancient authors (e.g. Eustathios) and other official documents are written in the puristic, Atticistic Greek. But as we saw in the examples from Malalas and even Digenes Akritas, above, the Puristic and the Demotic are not to be conceived of as separate languages; the Demotic – which has never been a complete or independent language – must of necessity borrow very many elements from the classicistic form of Greek. Their relation to each other is a question of literary register.

To show the kind of Greek that was written during Byzantine times, I will present an extract from the Proemium of *Alexias* by Anna Komnene (XI-XII A.D.), daughter of Emperor Alexis I, written in Atticistic Greek. If we were to paraphrase the above text into *Neohellenic* (I paraphrase in simple *Katharevousa*, the language spoken at Athens during the 1960's and after) we would have differences that are clearly much greater than those in the texts of Malalas and Digenes Akritas, in spite of the fact that she belongs to a later date.

<p><i>Ἄννα Κομνηνή, Ἀλεξιάς</i>          ῥέων ὁ χρόνος ἀκάθεκτα καὶ αἰεὶ τι κινούμενος παρασύρει καὶ παραφέρει πάντα τὰ ἐν γενέσει καὶ ἐς βυθὸν ἀφανείας καταποντοῖ ὅπου μὲν οὐκ ἄξια λόγου πράγματα, ὅπου δὲ μεγάλα τε καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, καὶ τὰ τε ἄδηλα φύων κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν καὶ τὰ φανέντα ἀποκρυπτόμενος. Ἄλλ' ὅ γε λόγος ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔρυμα καρτερώτατον γίνεται τῷ τοῦ χρόνου ρεύματι καὶ ἴσῃσι τρόποις πινὰ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον τοῦτου ροὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γινόμενα πάντα, ὅποσα ὑπερέληφε, ξυνέχει καὶ περισφίγγει καὶ οὐκ ἐὰν διολισθαίνειν εἰς λήθη βυθοῦς.</p>	<p><i>Neohellenic tr.:</i>          Ρέοντας ὁ χρόνος ἀκάθεκτα καὶ πάντοτε λίγο κινούμενος παρασύρει καὶ παραφέρει ὅλα ὅσα συμβαίνουν καὶ καταποντίζει σὲ βυθὸ ἀφανείας ὅσα μὲν δὲν εἶναι ἄξια λόγου πράγματα, ὅσα δὲ εἶναι μεγάλα καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ φανεώνει κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν καὶ τὰ φανερὰ τὰ κρύβει. Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἱστορικός λόγος γίνεται δυνατότατον ἔρυμα στὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τρόπον τινα συγκρατεῖ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον ροὴν τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπ' ὅλα ὅσα γίνονται σ' αὐτὸν, ὅτι ὑπερέχει, συγκρατᾷ καὶ περισφίγγει καὶ δὲν ἀφήνει νὰ διολισθήσουν στὸν βυθὸν τῆς λήθης.</p>
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Anna was proud of her classical education. Her text shows that the Atticistic grip on the learned had lost none of its power. This kind of Greek is found in the learned treatises of, e.g., Photios, Eustathios and Michael Psellos. The same kind of Greek was written by the learned of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, as we shall see in the next section.

## 6. The Neohellenic Period (A.D. 1500 - 2000)

The Fall of Byzantium on that ἀποφράς ἡμέρα, the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1453, had, as was to be expected, serious repercussions on the Greeks and their language. Beginning already two centuries earlier, many learned Greeks, living in areas threatened by the advancing Mohammedans, took their libraries and went to Italy. There, they taught the Greek letters in various centres of learning, and together with their Italian pupils they initiated the Renaissance. K. Sathas, the distinguished scholar of mediaeval Greece, has compiled a biographical survey à la *Diogenes Laertios* of the lives and literary works of c. 800 Greeks, who were active chiefly in the West between the Fall of Byzantium and the Greek Revolution (1453-1821)<sup>113</sup>. Thus, although the Hellenic nation as a whole sank into ignorance and wretchedness during the Turkish occupation, there never was a moment when the Hellenic language was not spoken or written both in its demotic and in its literary form.

The political and social isolation from one another of the various geographical segments in which the Greeks lived proved conducive to the growth of dialectism<sup>114</sup>. It is impossible to calculate the number of dialects<sup>115</sup>, though the impression from the *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν* seems to be that almost every island and every mountainside or valley in mainland Greece had developed its own dialectal forms (idiomatisms)<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> K. N. ΣΑΘΑ, *Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν διαλαμπάντων Ἑλλήνων*, etc. His book lists more than one thousand Greeks, but a number of these are merely names without biographical data.

<sup>114</sup> Similarly NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie*, 339 ff.

<sup>115</sup> KAPSOMENOS (*Ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίᾳ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 59) refers to Symeon Kavasilas (XVI A.D.), who informs us that there were over seventy dialects: περὶ δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων τί ἂν καὶ εἴποιμι, πολλῶν οὐσῶν καὶ διαφόρων ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐβδόμηκοντα ("And what shall I say about the dialects, which are many and various, over seventy").

<sup>116</sup> The *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν* gives a list of 675 place names, from which dialectal forms are cited in the Lexicon to illustrate its various lemmata. For example, for the verb ἄγω dialectal forms from no less than 60 places are cited (Vol. I, p. 235), such as Epiros, Kappadokia, Pontos, Krete, Lesbos, Naxos, Bithynia, Chios, Siphnos, Thessalia, Aitolia, Tsakonia, Megalopolis, Kalavryta, and Kerkyra. N. ΚΟΝΤΟΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Διάλεκ-*



The War of Independence (1821) made possible the reconstitution of Hellas as a free state in 1828. The Hellenic authorities were now faced with the acute problem of which form of Greek should be adopted as the national language. The background of this problem is as follows. With the suspension of normal public life, conventionally since 1453 (though not everywhere in Hellas as early as that: for example, Krete fell in 1669, various areas in Epiros after 1803, while Mani in Peloponnesos never fell into Turkish hands), the inadequate education of the masses, and the lack of opportunity to adapt the language to the demands of contemporary civilization, i.e. scientific, cultural and political life, the state of the Hellenic language – whether in its demotic or literary form – was such as to render it inadequate to function as the language of a cultured modern nation. Demotic speech, as pointed out, above, consisted of a large number of dialects. It lacked cultivation, and was, therefore, inappropriate as the national language of Hellas. Moreover, its multiformity impeded effective communication. For example, in a burlesque theatrical work entitled *Βαβυλωνία*, Δ. Βυζάντιος, with artistic exaggeration, parodies the various dialects, which cause the interlocutors to misunderstand one another<sup>117</sup>.

On the other hand, the literary form of Greek, which had been handed down from antiquity as the vehicle for prestigious writing, was much more developed, and could easily draw whatever was deemed necessary from the wealth of ancient Greek. But it, too, lacked the vocabulary to express modern ideas and concepts: scientific, political, literary, etc. Of the two, the literary form was the more promising. For sometime now it had been under review and revision<sup>118</sup>. The learned Greeks disdained to use a form of Greek which, as they felt, was polluted by words from various neighbouring languages. They undertook to purify the language as a whole by purging away foreign elements and readopting ancient vocabulary or creating

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τοι και ιδιώματα της νέας ελληνικής, 2001, without aiming at completeness discusses briefly and gives examples from some seventy-seven dialects and dialectal forms of Greek.

<sup>117</sup> Δ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ, *Βαβυλωνία*, 1836, recent rp. 'Αθήναι, no date. The dialects represented are from Kappadokia, Chios, Peloponnesos, Krete, Albania, Cyprus and the Ionian islands. Among them is a literary person, who speaks practically classical Greek. He is the only one who understands all of the characters and translates between them.

<sup>118</sup> Already from the last decades of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, learned Hellenes, such as the great scholar Adamantios KORAËS, living in Paris, and the national martyr, Rhegas Pheraios, were, through their writings, preparing the people of Hellas for an uprising to drive the Turks out of their country. With the prospect of a new, modern Hellas, the question of what should constitute the national language was coming to the forefront of attention.

neologisms from the ancient roots<sup>119</sup>. They also took over a number of modern cultural concepts from the main European languages, translating them into Greek to meet current needs<sup>120</sup>. This literary form of Greek came to be known as *Katharevousa* (= purified [Hellenic]). It was not actually a new creation<sup>121</sup>, but the continuation and natural development of the literary Greek used since ancient times. With the additional vocabulary it received, the *Katharevousa* was the obvious candidate for being the official language of Hellas (which it also became and was [with brief periods of co-existence with the Demotic] until 1975). S. Koumanoudis has written the first and only historical lexicon of Greek, in which he records 60,000 new words with the date of their first appearance, created mainly between 1750 and 1900<sup>122</sup>.

The *Katharevousa*, enriched as above, and formed in the hands of capable literati, became a worthy linguistic instrument for the new State. Its wealth exceeded that of Attic Greek, in as much as, in addition to the modern vocabulary, it had at its disposal all the previous periods of Greek. Its facility in creating derivatives can be gauged from the fact that interna-

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<sup>119</sup> We should not forget that the highly declinable character of Greek can only with difficulty accept foreign elements, which for the most part are indeclinable and thus incapable of being fully naturalized in the language. Such "fremde Körper" bring irregularity to the language as well as aesthetic inelegance. In this regard Greek is the very opposite of English (made up of Germanic, Latin and Greek elements), which readily accepts any element from any language and treats it as though it were an indigenous English word.

<sup>120</sup> E.g. λογοπαίγνιον is apparently a translation from French 'jeu de mots' (see Ch. Seven, "Logopaisionion"), although the concept is as old as Gorgias, *Helen's Enkomion*, 11, 30; γεώμηλον (= 'apple of the earth') from the French 'pomme de terre'; ὑπολογιστής from English 'computer'. BROWNING, *Mediaeval and Modern Greek*, 148, criticizes the process of purification, whereby classical ἀδιέξοδος came to replace τυφλοσόκακο (< Gr. τυφλός + Turk. *sokak*, 'way', translating English 'blind alley') a term I have never heard any Greek use (nor is it recorded in the lexica of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ or even ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ). But we may ask, why should the hybrid τυφλοσόκακο, rendering literally an English term which in itself is a combination of incompatible elements, be better than the Greek ἀδιέξοδος ('no way out'), which describes exactly what the term is meant to convey – not to speak of the hardly elegant French term 'arise of the bag' (cul-de-sac)?

<sup>121</sup> As it is sometimes tendentiously claimed by Demoticists.

<sup>122</sup> ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗ, *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων υπό τῶν λογίων πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων* (1883, pp. 1900 and 1998). The title is that given by ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ' son, who published his father's work posthumously. According to ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, 2049 f., the period covered is 1750-1889 (ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ' death). See also ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ' other work on words not contained in Greek lexica: *Συναγωγή λέξεων ἀθησαυρίστων ἐν τοῖς ἐλληνικοῖς Λεξικοῖς*, Ἀθῆναι 1883.

tional scientific terms are constantly being created from ancient Greek stems, which implies that these possibilities were available to it as well.

The big problem with Katharevousa was that the ordinary (illiterate) people did not master it. They could understand it (for the most part) when they read it, but they could not speak or write it. It was too archaic: they did not feel at home with it.

This situation led to the notorious *Language Question* (Γλωσσικὸν ζήτημα). This was the question as to which form of the language Hellas should adopt as its official language – a question that rocked the Hellenic Nation for two hundred years. The books and articles that have been written on this subject are legion<sup>123</sup>. For the present purpose, however, it will suffice to delineate a few of the main points at issue and how the problem was finally resolved.

The *Language Question* was set off in earnest in the 1760s, evolving from the dispute between the Purist Eugenios Voulgaris (1716-1806) and his disciple, the Demoticist Joseph Moisioudax (1725-1800)<sup>124</sup>. The dispute soon drew many combatants on both sides. The purists insisted upon adopting some form of the literary language that the Greek intelligentsia since ancient times had used to write their learned works, a language that more or less adhered to Attic. The Demoticists, on their side, insisted that the Nation adopt the language of the people – a people, it must be underscored, which, in general, lacked education, and whose dialectal situation impeded full communication.

The dispute was passed on to A. Koraës (1748-1833), who wisely counseled a μέση ὁδός, “a middle way”<sup>125</sup>, that is, a purified Demotic, to P. Kodrikas (1762-1827), who inclined toward a more austere Katharevousa,

<sup>123</sup> A few of the better-known treatments of the problem are: from the standpoint of Katharevousa, ΧΑΤΖΙΑΚΙ, “Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος ἐν Ἑλλάδι”, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 2 (1890) 169-235; 5 (1893) 177-230; 7 (1895) 145-282; Α. Ε. ΜΕΓΑ, *Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος*, 2 Vols. (1925-27); ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ, “Ἡ λογία παράδοσις καὶ ὁ δημοτικισμός”, *Πλάτων*, 13 (1961), 138-60, and from the point of view of Demoticism: Γ. ΚΟΡΔΑΤΟΥ, *Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ μας ζητήματος*, 1943; Ε. ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λόγιοι καὶ Δημοτικισμός*, 1987, and Ν. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 1995 (published posthumously). See also the discussion in *MEE* Vol. X, 112-21 (by ΠΑΝΤΕΛΑΚΗΣ) and the summary in ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, 24-26. For older bibliography see *Ἀθηνᾶ* 61 (1957), 63 (1959), 64 (1960), and 66 (1962).

<sup>124</sup> See the historical development of the Language Question in the exhaustive work of ΜΕΓΑ, *Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος*, 2 Vols.: Μέρος Α': Αἰῶνες γλωσσικῶν ἀλλοιώσεων (300 B.C. - A.D. 1750) and Μέρος Β': Αἰῶνες γλωσσικῶν συζητήσεων (1750-1926), particularly in Vol. II. See esp. pp. 6 ff.

<sup>125</sup> See his *Ἀτακτα*, which deal with various linguistic questions relating to ancient and modern Greek.

and Lampros Photiades († 1805), who went even further, advocating an archaistic Greek, as good as Attic. Many others took part in the debate. The learned were divided. The linguist Jean Psychari (1854-1929), working in Paris, led the Demoticists' vanguard, through his works *Essais de grammaire historique de neo-gréc* (Vols. I-II, Paris 1886-89)<sup>126</sup> and especially *Tò Ταξίδι μου* (1888). He advocated an extreme form of *Demoticism* to the extent of creating words and forms of his own, which had never before been used by any Greek<sup>127</sup>, in his endeavor to do away with everything that smacked of Katharevousa or literary Greek<sup>128</sup>. He had most of the poets on his side, who wrote each in the dialect or the idiom of his own village<sup>129</sup>.

On the other side were the advocates of the literary tradition, men such as P. Soutsos, N. Doukas, K. Oikonomos, K. Kontos, and G. Hatzidakis<sup>130</sup>, the last of whom insisted against Psycharis, that the Demotic form was not sufficiently developed to become the national language. Like Koraës, Hatzidakis argued for a middle way, a simple Katharevousa, a language in which ancient and modern elements were mingled, but which had no place for either archaisms (words, expressions, syntax not readily understood by Greeks in general) or vulgarisms (i.e. 'malliarisms' [see below]) – in other words, a language that did not offend the ear of educated persons<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Critically reviewed by A. JANNARIS in 'Αθηνά 3 (1891), 230-43.

<sup>127</sup> E.g. instead of the Greek περιβολάρης (gardener) PSYCHARIS wrote the Turkish μπαζίτσεβάνης; instead of Greek περίπατος (walk), he wrote the Turkish σεργιάντι; instead of Greek έφημερίς (newspaper) he wrote the Italian γαζέττα; instead of Greek στενοχωρία (distress) he wrote the Turkish σεκλέτι; instead of Greek αγορά (market) he wrote Italian πιάτζα (< piazza); instead of Greek σημαία (flag) he wrote Italian παντιέρα (< bandiera), etc. etc. (see PANTELAKIS, *MEE*, X, 119). Today PSYCHARIS is repudiated even by fanatic Demoticists, and his above suggested words are unknown.

<sup>128</sup> See also ΜΕΓΑ, 'Ιστορία του γλωσσικού ζητήματος, Β', 294.

<sup>129</sup> N. POLITIS, the founder of Greek Folklore studies, in 'Αθήναι 22 and 23 Febr. 1919, too, considered the *Demotic* form inadequate, whereas the *Katharevousa* was a ready linguistic instrument, and deplored the fact that the poets wrote in Demotic, which explained why they were unpopular. PANTELAKIS (*MEE*, X, 119) points out that "Every adherent of the system [of the Dhimitiki] wrote as he pleased, created words after his own whim, with the result that there were as many Demotic languages as authors".

<sup>130</sup> Who has done for Demotic more than anyone else, cf. his foundational *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, and the telling title of his defence of his position on the Language Question: Διατί είμαι μέν Δημοτικιστής, αλλά δέν γράφω την Δημοτικήν (= "Why I am a Demotician [i.e. Researcher of the Demotic] but I do not write in Dhimitiki"), *Γλωσσολογικαί Έρευναι*, Vol. II, 358-70.

<sup>131</sup> HATZIDAKIS wrote voluminously on the *Language Question*, countering PSYCHARIS' and other Demoticists' views, while K. KRUMBACHER, (*Das problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache*, München 1903), with his 226-page advocacy of the Psycharic viewpoint who, without a proper grasp of the linguistic development of and feeling for Greek (cf. KRUMBACHER'S own admission: "what I lack is the feeling of the

Hatzidakis spoke with the authority of one who had critically sifted the evidence of the historical development of Greek and placed the study of Neohellenic on a scientific basis<sup>132</sup>. The challenge had come in the early years of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century, when certain scholars, trying to sever ModGreek (here used strictly of Demotic) from Attic Greek in order to counteract puristic (i.e. Katharevousa) influences on it, hypothesized that ModGreek went back to an Aiolo-Doric background<sup>133</sup>. Another item in this agenda was the attempt to prove against Fallmerayer's unfounded allegations<sup>134</sup>, that Modern Greek was a continuation of the ancient dialects. Hatzidakis demonstrated that ModGreek (in particular, Demotic) was a continuation of Attic Greek via the Koine. This position is now taken for granted by all scholars, Greek and non-Greek. Hatzidakis expresses himself thus:

That our modern language contains hardly any Aeolic or Doric elements, and that generally speaking the *characteristica* of *Neohellenic* are those of the Attic-Koine, and in particular, that *Neohellenic* goes back to Attic-Koine, can no longer be in any doubt after what was said in the above contributions to the history of *Neohellenic*<sup>135</sup>.

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[Greek] language, which every one usually has only for his own mother tongue"), had interfered in this dispute, drew from HATZIDAKIS a refutation of 560 pages, *Απάντησις πρὸς τὸν κ. Krumbacher*, 1905. See also Δ. ΒΑΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΥ's appraisal, "Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκις 1848-1941: Βίος καὶ ἔργον", prefacing the reprint of the second Vol. of HATZIDAKIS' *Γλωσσολογικαὶ ἔρευναι*, Ἀθῆναι 1977, pp. 3-142. Δ. ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗΣ, "Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς νεοελληνικῆς γραπτῆς γλώσσης", reprinted in *Πλάτων* 30 (1978), 3-19, too, refuted KRUMBACHER's incorrect and misleading statements about the relation of Katharevousa and Demotic in a speech made in the Bavarian Academy, München, on the 15<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1902.

<sup>132</sup> This fact is underscored in the congratulatory letters on his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday by three of the Academies of which HATZIDAKIS was a member: the Academies of Bavaria, Berlin and Vienna, see *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 40 (1928), 211-15.

<sup>133</sup> The hypothesis was put forward by A. CHRISTOPOULOS (1772-1847) in his *Γραμματικὴ τῆς Αἰολο-δωρικῆς ἢ ὁμιλουμένης τορινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσας*, 1805. Others who held similar views were A. KORAËS, K. OIKONOMOS, and D. MAVROFRYDIS, as well as the Germans M. DEFFNER and F. MULLACH.

<sup>134</sup> See Ch. Six, III. "The Historical Circumstances", etc.

<sup>135</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΗΣ: "Ὅτι ἐν τῇ νέᾳ ἡμῶν γλώσσῃ δὲν ὑπάρχουν Αἰολικά καὶ Δωρικά, εἰ μὴ ἐλάχιστα, οἱ δὲ χαρακτῆρες καθόλου εἰπεῖν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς εἶναι οἱ τῆς Ἀττικῆς-Κοινῆς καὶ δὴ ὅτι αὕτη ἀνάγεται εἰς ἐκείνην, περὶ τούτου οὐδεμία ὑπολείπεται ἀμφιβολία μετὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτέρω Συμβολαῖς εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, in "Περὶ τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἀνεπτύχθη ἡ νεωτέρα ἑλληνική", *MNE* I, 406-81, p. 406. The reference is to earlier studies included in this volume. The material contained in this study is a revised and enlarged version of material found in his *Einleitung in die neugriechische Sprache*, 1-49. More

The problem of the Language Question flared up again and again during the two centuries it lasted with innumerable literati taking the one or the other side. Not a few times the bounds of propriety were crossed from both sides<sup>136</sup>. Particularly during the years of the Junta (1967-1974), the ruling colonels made Katharevousa the mark of Greekness and of patriotism, and their treatment of certain Demoticists as traitors proved to be the last straw. With the fall of the Junta, the fate of Katharevousa – which in itself had nothing to do with the colonels or with politics – was sealed: it lost its position as the official language of Hellas.

The *Language Question* – which, as was said above, arose around 1750<sup>137</sup> – divided the Hellenic nation until 1976, when K. Karamanlis' government took the historic decision to adopt *Neohellenic Koine* as the official language of Hellas. The text of the law reads:

The language of teaching, the object of teaching, and the language of the textbooks at all levels of general education from the academic year 1976-1977 will be Neohellenic. By Neohellenic is meant the Demotic language as formed into a Panhellenic instrument of expression by the Hellenic People and the acknowledged authors of the Nation, and constituted without idiomatisms and extremes<sup>138</sup>.

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recent research is inclined to accepting a slightly larger number of Aeolo-Doric elements than HATZIDAKIS allowed.

<sup>136</sup> As, for example, when the fanatic Demoticist Photes PHOTIADES wrote of HATZIDAKIS "No Greek hand has ever written so disgusting a Katharevousa" (quoted by ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λόγιοι*, 76). Even ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, himself a staunch Demoticist, found this to be an exaggerated personal attack. HATZIDAKIS comported himself within the bounds of scientific propriety. But there were others who did not shy away from politicizing the issue. "The followers of the Demotic, the long-haired ones [because the early poet-advocates of the Demotic wore their hair long]" said the advocates of Katharevousa "are or almost are atheists, immoral, traitors, anarchists, free-masons ..." (ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗ, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική. Ίστορική Είσαγωγή*, 128-9: Οἱ ὀπαδοὶ τῆς δημοτικῆς, οἱ μαλλιαροί, εἶναι ἢ μισοεῖναι ἄθεοι, ἀνῆθικοι, προδότες, ἀναρχικοί, μασόνοι ...). This gave the extreme Demoticists the nickname Μαλλιαρός (i.e. 'hairy one'). In the XX<sup>th</sup> century, there were times when Demoticists were accused of being 'Communists' and enemies of Greece, whereas the adherents of Katharevousa were the 'patriots'. This sad tale of division and recrimination shows at the same time how aware Greeks are of their language, its history and tradition.

<sup>137</sup> See ΜΕΓΑ, *Ίστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος*, Vol. II, 5-6.

<sup>138</sup> Γλῶσσα διδασκαλίας, ἀντικείμενον διδασκαλίας καὶ γλῶσσα τῶν διδακτικῶν βιβλίων εἰς ὅλας τὰς βαθμίδας τῆς Γεν. Ἐκπαιδεύσεως εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σχολικοῦ ἔτους 1976-1977 ἡ Νεοελληνική. Ὡς Νεοελληνική γλῶσσα νοεῖται ἡ διαμορφωθείσα εἰς πανελλήνιον ἐκφραστικὸν ὄργανον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῶν δοκίμων συγγραφέων τοῦ ἔθνους Δημοτική, συντεταγμένη ἄνευ ιδιωτισμῶν καὶ ἀκροτήτων.

It is significant that the law-text promulgating *Neohellenic* (in this case, Demotic) as the National Language of Hellas is actually written in Katharevousa! Obviously what was intended was not the Demotic of Psycharis, but the form of Greek that had crystallized out of two hundred years of confrontation between the Demotic and the Katharevousa. Here, it is not a question of any vulgar Demotic to the exclusion of Katharevousa (NB! the text of the law: “without idiomatisms and extremes”), but of a Demotic that is influenced by Katharevousa, informed, purified and enriched by it, a Demotic that lives in happy symbiosis with its past.

Thus, ‘Neohellenic’, or ‘Neohellenic Koine’, as it is often called, is not the Greek of Psycharis nor of the poets and other authors who followed him and polemicized the Katharevousa. The Greek of those authors is full of odd forms and expressions, which today sound ridiculous to Greek ears. Nor is Neohellenic the Katharevousa of Kontos, Hatzidakis, or of Vamvas’ translation of the Bible (in 1851<sup>139</sup>), though this is still in use, particularly in the Protestant Churches. It is a modern form of Greek that is deeply influenced and purified by Katharevousa. The dialectal forms that figured particularly in XIX<sup>th</sup> century literature, and which sounded so peculiar and so local, are gone. It appears that the legislation of 1976 either had in mind Koraës’ and Hatzidakis “middle course” or else had come to this mature conclusion under their influence. This can be gathered from the language of the law-text, which is in Katharevousa, and from the fact that both ‘idiomatisms’ (i.e. dialectal forms) and ‘extremes’ (i.e. ‘malliarisms’ viz. ‘hairy’ Demoticisms) are to be excluded.

This is the official position. In reality, however, the situation is more complex<sup>140</sup>. Neohellenic at present (i.e. the language spoken and written to-

<sup>139</sup> The Orthodox Archimandrite, Professor Neophytos VAMVAS (Athens University), worked for twenty-one years with the British and Foreign Bible Society (along with a few others). The translation of the Four Gospels and Acts was published in Athens in 1838. The Old Testament was completed in 1840. The entire Bible was published in one volume first in 1851. Therefore, in citing this translation the latter date will be given. See Γ. ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗΝΟΥ, *Τὸ ζήτημα τῆς μεταφράσεως τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς εἰς τὴν Νεοελληνικὴν*, e.g. Ch. 5, pp. 225-61, esp. 253, 258 f.

<sup>140</sup> At present the situation is rather chaotic. Many Demoticists, venting their intense dislike of Katharevousa (cf., e.g., the books *Λόγιοι καὶ δημοτικισμός* and *Ἡ σημερινή μας γλώσσα* of the otherwise highly esteemed scholar, E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, whose intense bias for Demoticism and equally intense antipathy of Katharevousa sadly diminish the scientific value of the named works), have interpreted the law establishing Neohellenic as the official language of the Nation, as giving them the right to use arbitrary and dialectal forms and syntax. Thus, it is not uncommon to find perfectly normal and straightforward Greek terms that were used, for example, at Athens in the second half of the XX<sup>th</sup> cent., exchanged for non-Greek vocables, which, often, are not understood by ordinary Greeks. A case in point is ANDRIOTIS’ *Ἑτυμολογικὸ λεξικὸ τῆς κοινῆς νεοελληνικῆς*,

day) is very broad, since it encompasses (simple) Katharevousa, moderate Demoticism and extreme Demoticism<sup>141</sup>.

It needs to be explained, however, that the Katharevousa and the Demotic are not two distinct languages or even two wholly distinct forms of the same language, since the vocabulary is overwhelmingly the same not only as to the basic meaning of words, but also for a great part as to their form<sup>142</sup>, and this is none other than the vocabulary of ancient Greek. But in certain areas the Demotic has developed new forms and its syntax, which recalls French syntax, is much more simplified and straightforward. To take one example, Demoticists try to do away with the third declension, by giving such words a first declension ending. Thus, ancient and Katharevousa Greek ἡ πόλις, τῆς πόλεως has, in Demotic, become ἡ πόλη, τῆς πόλης<sup>143</sup>. However, they have not been able to create a first declension ending for other third declension nouns, such as τὸ σῶμα, τοῦ σώματος, or τὸ πρᾶγμα, τοῦ πράγματος, and are, therefore, obliged to retain the ancient forms as regular Demotic forms.

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which, while omitting a large number of commonly used Greek words, contains a multitude of dialectal forms and foreign (usually Turkish) words, which are neither used nor understood by Greeks (cf. the devastating criticisms of his reviewer, Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ in *Λεξικογραφικόν Δελτίον* 5 (1950), 129-47).

Moreover, the polyphony of the Demotic traditions have led to a crisis in the educational system; the younger generation cannot speak Greek properly; it uses an *argot* language, subsisting daily on a few hundred words. For this, the Greek mass media, which project a sub-standard form of the language, bear a great responsibility. Finally, with the *xenomania* that characterizes our age, the full resources of *Neohellenic* are not put into use. The professor of Linguistics at the University of Athens, G. BABINIOTIS, has become a voice of one crying in the wilderness, criticizing the destructive influences on *Neohellenic* and the "pollution" to which it is being subjected by its present speakers. He insists that "We have solved the *Language Question* (by making official the *Neohellenic* form), but we have created a *Language Problem*" (See, e.g., his enlightening studies (popular-scientific) 'Η γλῶσσα ὡς ἀξία ["Language as Value"] Ἀθήνα, 1994 and 'Ελληνικὴ γλῶσσα: παρελθόν, παρόν, μέλλον ["The Greek Language. Past. Present, Future"], Ἀθήνα, 2000).

<sup>141</sup> Thus, it is not possible yet to claim that the reform has eradicated 'dimorphia'. For example, the learned professors of Thessaloniki University (the traditional bastion of Demoticism), who fought for "the language of the masses", do not speak and write like the man of the street. Theirs is a cultivated form of Demotic, enriched by a large number of literary words taken or derived from Katharevousa and the ancient stock.

<sup>142</sup> The relation between Katharevousa and Demotic with regard to the declension system of the noun is treated by ΚΟΥΡΜΟΥΛΗΣ in his "Μορφολογικαὶ ἐξελιξέας τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης", *ΕΕΦΣΠΤΑ* Second Period 15 (1965), 9-22.

<sup>143</sup> See HATZIDAKIS' discussion in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 3 (1891), 244-53, according to which such developments go back to ancient times.



The relation between Katharevousa and Demotic is rather to be seen as a wide spectrum of one and the same language, the left half of which is Demotic, while the right half constitutes the Katharevousa. At the point where they meet, there is no clear demarcation line, and the one goes into the other. Thus, a more cultivated Demotic is in effect a simple Katharevousa, and conversely, a simple Katharevousa is a more cultivated Demotic. It is a question of degree. This is true of the lexicon. The syntax entails more complex differences, but again, the choice of lexicon and phraseology (Katharevousa or Demotic) will often decide the syntax.

Thus, today no one can speak or write purely Demotic, since *this is a pure impossibility*. The Demotic does not have an alternative vocabulary: for example, such words as οὐρανός, γῆ, ἄνθρωπος, Θεός, σωτηρία, ἁμαρτία, κήρυγμα (-τος!), ἔθνος (-νους), λαός, δοῦλος, ὑπρέτης, ἐκκλησία, βάπτισμα (-τος), εὐαγγέλιον (-ίου), ἀπόστολος, διάκονος, διακονία, δικαιοσύνη, διασπορά, ὁδός (-οῦ), δρόμος, ἔθος, ἀλήθεια, εἰρήνη, ἀγάπη, πνεῦμα (-τος), κοιλία, κόπος, λύτρον, δωρεά, δεξιός, ἐνοχος, πιστεύω, ἔχω, διψῶ, πεινῶ, τρώγω, ἔρχομαι, βλέπω, σκέπτομαι, πάσχω, συγχαίρω, ἀποστέλλω, διαβάλλω, διαφημίζω, δοκιμάζω, συγκρίνω, κυβερνῶ, λάμπω, ἐκχέω, καθαρίζω, μαρτυρῶ, μεταβάλλω, μετασχηματίζω, παραλαμβάνω, μετανοῶ, κείμαι, νηστεύω, περ(ι)πατῶ, ἐνοχλῶ, φοβοῦμαι, etc. etc. are the only forms of these terms available to it, and they are ancient. Neohellenic, or *Neoellenike Koine*, then, is a Greek that has – in spite of the Demoticists – both Demotic and Katharevousa (i.e. ancient) forms. In actual practice, both in speech and in writing, these elements are interwoven, with the result that the same text may use the Demotic form ἡ πόλη, τῆς πόλης, while a few lines further down it may have the ancient form ἡ πόλις, τῆς πόλεως<sup>14</sup>. This, and a wide variety of synonyms, some more an-

<sup>14</sup> Such a free interchangeability of the ancient forms with the artificially made Demotic forms in order to ‘demoticize’ Neohellenic is particularly defended by the Linguist Γ. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ. He insists that ours is a period of transition, in which the linguistic feeling of the Greek people embraces both the Katharevousa and the Demotic forms, and that time should be given for the language to find its own way. The uncompromising Demoticists are critical of ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ – himself a moderate Demoticist – since they want to force their artificial forms upon the Greek people. For example, there is no reason why the ordinary expression μεταξύ + gen. (‘between’) should be replaced by Demoticists by ἀνάμεσα + acc. other than that since the former has been used not only in Demotic but also in Katharevousa, it must go. Thus, perfectly normal everyday Greek words that have always been used by the people, such as τὰ νέα, or οἱ εἰδήσεις (‘the news’) must be replaced by the Turkish τὰ χαμπέρια; the small child’s soft, endearing Greek address πάπα, ‘daddy’ – used already by princess Nausica in Homeros’ *Odysssea* VI. 57: πάπα φίλε (‘Pappa dear’), and according to ΔΔ, s.v., in all periods of Greek – which has been taken over by many European languages, the Demoticists replace by the Turkish μπαμπάς (babas); the Greek word ὑπόδημα (‘shoe’) (cf. ὑποδημα-

cient, others more modern, as well as alternative syntactical procedures, give Neohellenic unbounded possibilities.

Neohellenic, then, is the latest phase of the Attic dialect, the outcome of a continuous linguistic evolution through the Koine, Byzantine and Mediaeval Greek, preserving all the basic grammatical categories intact<sup>145</sup>.

1. Neohellenic preserves all ten parts of speech of ancient Greek: article, noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, participle, preposition, adverb, conjunction, and exclamation

2. It preserves the two numbers, singular and plural (the dual was lost already in pre-NT times)

3. It preserves the three declensions (although many third declension nouns have been given first declension endings) (ὁ πολίτης -ου (-η) ἡ τιμή -ῆς; ὁ ἄνθρωπος -ου, ἡ ψῆφος -ου, τὸ ποτήριον -ου; ὁ ποιμὴν (ποιμένας) -ένος (-ενα), ἡ ἀκρόπολις (-λη) -εως (-λης))

4. It preserves four cases with distinct forms: nominative (ὁ ἄνθρωπος), genitive (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), accusative (τὸν ἄνθρωπον), and vocative (ὦ ἄνθρωπε). The dative is expressed by means of the accusative form with a preposition (as in English) (στὸν [= εἰς τὸν] ἄνθρωπον)

5. The article, noun, adjective, verb and participle are declined or conjugated as in ancient Greek (though a number of endings may differ)

6. It preserves the active (πλένω), passive (πλένομαι), and middle (πλένομαι) voices

7. It preserves all seven tenses of classical Greek: present (λύνω), imperfect (ἔλυνα), future (θὰ λύσω), aorist (ἔλυσα), perfect (ἔχω λύσει, λυμένο), pluperfect (εἶχα λύσει, λυμένο) and future perfect (θὰ ἔχω λύσει, λυμένο), and has actually added one more future tense to distinguish instantaneous from durative action: *Instantaneous Future* and *Durative Future* (θὰ λύνω)

8. It preserves the four proper moods of ancient Greek: indicative (γράφω), imperative (γράψε), subjunctive (νὰ γράφω, γράψω) and optative (εἶθε νὰ γράψω, ἔγραφα), though the use of the optative is much curtailed (mainly in wishes)

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τοπωλεῖον 'shoe shop', everywhere in the city streets) they replace by the Arab-Turkish παπούτσι; the Greek word κατάστημα ('shop') they replace by the Italian μαγαζί (= magazzino); the first declension word ἡ θύρα they replace by the Latin-Italian ἡ πόρτα, etc. etc.

<sup>145</sup> Similarly ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΗΣ in "'Η ελληνική γλώσσα διὰ τῶν αἰώνων", *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἑρευναι*, II, 297: "No other of the sister-languages has so faithfully preserved from earliest times the ancient morphology, genders, cases, declensions, tenses, voices, etc. etc. as has Greek till the present day" [my tr.].

9. The infinitive as a conjugating category is lost, but it is preserved in articular form in set concepts and phrases (τὸ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ τρώγειν).

10. Finally, the participle is still usable in Demotic in certain forms.

### III. The Present State of Greek and Its Relation to Other Languages

The discussion of Neohellenic would be incomplete without the following statistical orientation on it and the way in which it relates to the great European languages.

*Neohellenic* has at its disposal the entire linguistic treasure of the Greek language from the very beginning to the present<sup>146</sup>. It has also the same facility as ancient Greek in creating new vocabulary from the ancient roots. Perhaps a brief comparison with such a highly developed and rich instrument of human speech as English will clarify the situation. *Rogets Thesaurus* arranges the English linguistic stock under 990 concepts<sup>147</sup>. The Neohellenic equivalent by Θ. Βοστάντζογλου<sup>148</sup> arranges the Greek stock under 1,494 concepts. With regard to vocabulary, the latest *Webster's Lexicon* claims to contain 450,000 entries<sup>149</sup>. Constantinidis<sup>150</sup>, who has subjected this lexicon to rigorous investigation in order to determine which words are derived from Greek<sup>151</sup>, reports that this lexicon has a total of 166,724 lem-

<sup>146</sup> Modern Greek literary works are full of concepts and allusions taken from all periods of Greek, as for example, ELYTIS' *Ἀξίον ἐστί*, on which see ΠΕΡΤΣΙΝΑΚΗΣ, "Τὸ Ἀξίον ἐστί τοῦ Ὁδ. ΕΛΥΤΗ ἐπιδράσεις ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία ἐλληνική λογοτεχνία", *Ἑλληνικά* 45 (1990) 95-110.

<sup>147</sup> *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, New Edition, Revised, by R. A. DUTCH, London: Longman 1977.

<sup>148</sup> Θ. ΒΟΣΤΑΝΤΖΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀντιλεξικὸν ἢ Ὀνομαστικὸν τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, Ἀθῆναι 1962.

<sup>149</sup> *Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged*, 1993.

<sup>150</sup> ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ἡ Οἰκουμένη διὰ στάση τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, Εἰσαγωγὴ, p. κθ'.

<sup>151</sup> ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ (*Οἰκουμένη διὰ στάση*, "Εἰσαγωγή" p. λ' f.) refers to J. CULPER and Phoebe CLAPHAM's ("Borrowing of Classical and Romance Words into English", *IJCL* 1 (1996), 199) analysis of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (=OED), to determine the origin of the English vocabulary. According to this study, the loans are: Latin: 38,971 words; French: 29,485; Greek: 5,301; Italian: 1,829; Spanish: 1,517, and Portuguese: 232 words. The authors explain that they follow the principle of ascribing a word to the immediate language from which English has borrowed it. Thus, the word 'centre' came into English from French, so they credit it to the French language, ignoring the fact that this is a Greek word (κέντρον), which entered French via Latinized

mata<sup>152</sup>. He finds that of these 166,724 English lemmata, 42,914 (25.73%) are derived from Greek. To these must be added another 7,833 compound words, of which one element is Greek, raising the number of words to 50,747 and the percentage to 30.43%<sup>153</sup>. This means that the Greek stock in (American) English is so large that without it, American English would not be able to meet all the communicative needs of its users<sup>154</sup>. What is even

*centrum*. The result is that while *OED* actually contains 44,747 Greek words or words of Greek origin, *CULPEPER* and *CLAPHAM* present it as containing a mere 5,301 words, i.e. only those words that English borrowed directly from Greek. This thoroughly misleading procedure in etymology is devoid of scientific stringency and worthless for etymology purposes.

*Webster's Third International Dictionary* is not more satisfactory. One example will suffice to show its lack of accuracy. In its "Addenda" p. 56a, it cites 'akathisia (acathisia)' as derived from Neo-Latin *a* + Greek *kathisis* ('a sitting down') + Neo-Latin ending *-ia*. Consequently, the first and the third elements are credited to Latin and the middle element to Greek. The fact is that the entire word is Greek: ἀκαθισία. *CONSTANTINIDIS'* work treats fully 135,000 words of Greek origin in the English language (including scientific terms).

<sup>152</sup> The discrepancy is owing to the fact that the figure of 450,000 refers not to lemmata (different words) but to entries, where the same word is used of several entries.

<sup>153</sup> *CONSTANTINIDIS* gives also the following statistics from the different branches of science, for which he has drawn upon many other special lexica.

Vocabulary	Word total	Purely Greek	%	Partly Greek	%	Grand total	%
Technical	25,487	11,366					44.6
Medical	46,251	24,862	53.75	6,770	14.6	31,632	68.4
Zoology	337,789	195,779	57.9	53,148	15.7	248,927	73.7
Botanology	4,851	2,859					58.9

According to his recent *Ἀγγλοελληνικὸ Λεξικὸ ἱατρικῆς ὁρολογίας* (2006), of a total of 60,067 medical terms in the *Intern. Scient. Voc.*, 41,345 terms (68.83%) are fully Greek (with those compounded with a non-Greek element: 48,603 (80.1%).

<sup>154</sup> To illustrate this, I might perhaps quote the following amusing – but telling – speech delivered by Prof. X. ZOLOTAS on the 26<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1957 at the International Monetary Treasury, New York, in which, apart from a few English conjunctions and adverbs, all the words are of Greek origin:

I eulogize the archons of the Panethnic Numismatic Thesaurus and the Ecumenical Trapeza for the orthodoxy of their axioms, methods and policies, although there is an episode of cacophony of the Trapeza with HELLAS. With enthusiasm we dialogue and synagonize at the synods of our didymous organizations in which polymorphous economic ideas and dogmas are analyzed and synthesized. Our critical problems such as the numismatic plethora generate some agony and melancholy. This phenomenon is characteristic of our epoch. But, to my thesis, we have the dynamism to program therapeutic practices as a prophylaxis from chaos

more interesting is that, contrary to common opinion, the Greek loans have not been limited only to the ancient form of the language, but have been taken also from Byzantine and Neohellenic<sup>155</sup>.

The vocabulary of Greek is as follows: for ancient Greek *LSJ* give a vocabulary of about 140,000 words. The nine volume *Lexicon* published by Δ. Δημητράκου, *Λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς ἐλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, contains c. 300,000 lemmata. This *Lexicon*, though the fullest so far, is by no means complete. A comparison between this *Lexicon* and the *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς* of the Academy of Athens, showed that between the lemmata Δ and δαιμονόλιθος, Δημητράκου has 200 words (*LSJ* have 96

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and catastrophe. In parallel, a panethnic un hypocritical economic synergy and harmonization in a democratic climate is basic. I apologize for my eccentric monologue. I emphasize my eucharisties to you, Kyrie, to the eugenic and generous American ethnos and to the organizers and protagonists of this amphictyony and the gastronomic symposia (quoted by ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ, *Οἱ ἐλληνικὲς λέξεις στὴν ἀγγλικὴ γλῶσσα*, 'Preface' p. vii-viii).

Another similar example, this time relating to French, is the speech of Ch. PANAGOS, President of the Board of Trade, Athens, addressed to Giscard d'Estaing, then French Minister of Finance, on the latter's visit to Athens in June 1966:

Kyrie,

Sans apostropher ma rhétorique dans l'emphase et la pléthore, j'analyserai elliptiquement, sans nul gallicisme, le dédale synchrone du cosmos politique caractérisé par des syndromes de crise paralysant l'organisation systématique de notre économie. Nous sommes périodiquement sceptiques et neurasthéniques devant ces paroxysmes periphrastiques, cette boulimie des démagogues, ces hyperboles, ces paradoxes hypocrites et cyniques qui symbolisent une démocratie anachronique et chaotique. Les phénomènes fantastiques qu'on nous prophétise pour l'époque astronomique détronneront les programmes rachitiques, hybrides et sporadiques de notre cycle atomique. Seule une panacée authentique et dracoenne métamorphosera cette agonie prodrome de l'apocalypse et une genèse homologue du Phenix....

En épilogue à ces agapes mon ampore à l'apogée, je prophétise toute euphorie et apothéose à Monsieur Giscard d'Estaing, prototype enthousiasmant de la néoorthodoxie économique et symbole de la palingénésie de son ethnie gallique. (Δαυλός Oct. 1993; quoted by Γκότση, *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ γλῶσσα ὑπὸ διωγμὸν*, 33f.).

Naturally, neither the English nor the French text is beautiful or even proper English or French, but the examples show to what extent these languages are dependent upon Greek. If the Greek vocabulary were to be removed from these languages, communication would simply break down.

<sup>155</sup> According to ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ecumenical Dimension*, Introduction λγ', the four fifty-year periods which brought most Greek loans into English are 1800-1850: 16,192 words; 1850-1900: 25,463 words; 1900-1950: 12,265 words, and 1950-2000: 4,941 words.

words), while the Academy Lexicon contains within the same limits 80 modern or dialectal words that are not found in Δημητράκου. E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας* (1100-1669), so far 14 volumes (A-beginning of Π), contains many words not occurring in the Lexicon of Δημητράκου. In addition, the perusal of literature from all periods of the language turns up words not listed in any Lexicon. In the light of these facts, the vocabulary of the Greek language is estimated at over 500,000 words. This does not include the declined forms of the noun, adjective and participle or the conjugated forms of the verb, in which case the figures would run into many millions. Neohellenic can use any term from any period of the language, so long as it is understood. In this way ancient Greek, including NT Greek, is still alive within Neohellenic.



## CHAPTER TWO

# The Relevance of Later Greek for the Exegesis of the New Testament

### I. How Can Later Greek Be Relevant for NT Exegesis?

From the outline of the history of the Greek Language presented in Ch. One, it should be clear that the Greek of today is not a different language from ancient Greek, but that all five phases of Greek from the first arrival of the Greeks in Greece (III millennium B.C.) until this day, constitute one and the same language. Thus, on the basis of the unity of the Greek language, it was suggested – so far only indirectly – that later Greek (that is, from NT times to the present) is of relevance in interpreting the NT. This claim may well lead a non-Greek reader to wonder how a modern language can be said to have relevance for interpreting texts that were written in an earlier form of it, or, to be more specific, texts that were written 2000 years ago or more.

This was, indeed, the claim that Krumbacher found hard to accept in his address to the Bavarian Academy on the 15<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1902. He considered it an impossible thing that, while all other languages were, with the passage of time, subjected to deep changes (as for example the German of his day in comparison with that of the *Nibelungen* epos), Greek alone (by which he meant Katharevousa) should claim to defy the laws of linguistic change, remaining almost intact since ancient times. He, therefore, speculated that the Katharevousa must be an artificial language, that Greek was only what the uneducated masses spoke in their various dialects, which, he thought, could not have much in common with ancient Greek (failing even here to perceive the underlying continuity of Demotic), and totally forgot the double tradition since ancient times, whereby the literary form of Greek constantly informed the language of the people<sup>1</sup>.

Indeed, judging by the great cultural languages of Europe, whose current form is a very long way away from what they were a few centuries ago, one may be tempted to share Krumbacher's supposition that current Neo-

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<sup>1</sup> See D. BERNARDAKIS' refutation of KRUMBACHER's position.



hellenic, too, ought to have hardly any resemblances to the Greek of the New Testament. As true as the first part of this reasoning is, so the second part is untrue. For in spite of Krumbacher's syllogism, Greek *is* in a category all of its own. The reasons for this are its early literary development, its literature, and the civilization it expressed.

Having attained, as we saw in Chapter One, the highest degree of its development in the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., and having at that time produced works that became classic for all subsequent periods, the Greek of that time assumed a normative form, which was respected and imitated during the subsequent history of the language. As we shall see in Chapter Six, the full development of Greek coincided with momentous developments in its orthography and pronunciation. Thus, the 24-letter alphabet, which was ratified in Athens in 403 B.C., and the consequent orthography have remained unchanged to the present day. An ancient Greek word, whether occurring in Katharevousa or Demotic (except in cases where Demotic has developed its own forms), is still written exactly as it was written at the time of Aischylos, Platon or Demosthenes.

Thus, although with the passage of time the language changed from classical to the simpler Koine, and later was further modernized in Byzantine and Mediaeval Greek, until it reached its present stage of development in Neohellenic, the classical norms have at all times functioned as checks, restraining uncontrolled or reckless change. Nor was there any need for radical modifications, since the language had already been fully developed. The changes that have occurred have not been accidental, but have followed certain linguistic laws<sup>2</sup>. The early development of Greek and its literature, therefore, explains why Greek has not changed to the same degree as the other European languages have since their earliest written records<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. HATZIDAKIS, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ἑλληνικά* (= MNE), I, 360).

<sup>3</sup> The NT may also have played a part in arresting uncontrolled linguistic change. Here we must remember that Greece was one of the first nations to be affected by Christianity. Moreover, Christian literary works were written in Greek from the very beginning. And finally, the language of the Church Fathers, who frequently quoted the text of the NT, has been of special importance for the Greek people until the present day. These factors, in addition to those mentioned earlier, explain the slowness of change in Greek. With regard to the development of the Romance languages from Latin, NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie*, 106-79, points out that since a large part of Europe that was Latinized broke up into different sovereign states, it was natural that each state developed its own linguistic medium from the common Latin source, i.e. French, Spanish, Italian, etc.

## II. Greek Cannot and Should Not Be Compared with German or English

It may be said with confidence that since the NT was written, Greek has changed far less than have, for example, English and German during half the length of that period. In support of this claim I quote two scholars, one German and one British.

In his *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, H. Steinthal writes:

Die neugriechische Sprache ist eine der verwundersamsten Erscheinungen in der Geschichte der Sprachen. Man darf sie nicht bloss nicht neben die romanischen Töchter Sprachen stellen; sondern ihr Verhältniss zum Alt-Griechisch ist auch noch ein anderes als das des Neu-Deutschen zum Alt-Deutschen .... so kann doch die neuere Sprachforschung nicht umhin, in der Sprache der heutigen Griechen eine Gestaltung anzuerkennen, die sich ... enger an die alte Sprache anschliesst, als das heutige Deutsch an das Karls des Grossen...<sup>4</sup>

Here we have the word of a German linguist that Neohellenic is closer to ancient Greek than modern German is to the German of Charlemagne (VIII-IX century)<sup>5</sup>.

With regard to English, R. Browning says:

Since then [the time of Homeros] Greek has enjoyed a continuous tradition down to the present day. Change there has certainly been. But there has been no break like that between Latin and the Romance languages. Ancient Greek is not a foreign language to the Greek of today as Anglo-Saxon is to the modern Englishman (vii). Perhaps connected with this continuous identity over some three and a half millennia is the slowness of change in Greek. It is still recognizably the same language today as it was when the Homeric poems were written down... The continuity in lexical stock is striking (2)... Earlier stages of the language are thus accessible to speakers of later stages, in a way that Anglo-Saxon [VII-XI A.D.] or even Middle English [XII-XV A.D.] is not accessible to speakers of modern English (3) ...a brief survey of the vocabulary...will throw further light on...the peculiar situation created by a long and continuous literary tradition which makes all elements of Greek from antiquity to the present day in a sense accessible and 'present' to any literate Greek (13)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> STEINTHAL, H., *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Berlin, 1863, 411.

<sup>5</sup> We have already seen that the Demotic Greek of the VIII-IX<sup>th</sup> A.D. was practically modern Greek.

<sup>6</sup> R. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, Preface vii, 2-3, 13. Aptly, CONSTANTINIDIS, *Οικουμενική Διάσταση*, p. μς - μς' (= "Introduction" p. 46 f.) illustrates the great differences in English spelling by

Steinthal and Browning strikingly confirm the position argued for in this study, namely that Neohellenic relates to ancient Greek in such a way that its study can cast considerable light on the vocabulary and syntax of Koine Greek, and consequently of NT Greek.

### III. The Intricate Relation between Neohellenic and Ancient Greek

The continuity between Neohellenic and ancient Greek is felt so strongly by Hatzidakis, that he, in fact, goes so far as to say:

The language generally spoken today in the towns [of Greece] differs less from the language of Polybios [203-120 B.C.] than this last differs from the language of Homeros [VIII B.C.] (my tr.).<sup>7</sup>

The claim can thus be made that greater changes took place during the 600 years separating Polybios from Homeros than during the 2100 years between Polybios and our time.

Accordingly, Hatzidakis shows that the unity of the Greek language is of such a nature, that it is methodologically pernicious to isolate a particular period and to investigate it without reference to its other periods. This he does quite lucidly in his *Linguistic Researches*, from which I translate the following extract:

*Because the characteristics of Modern Greek go back to ancient times, and the main characteristics of ancient Greek are preserved to this day, it is scientifically impossible to put an exact boundary between them.* [Hatzidakis' emphasis]. In this way, on the one hand, very many elements of ancient Greek have come down

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quoting two examples. During the history of the English language, the word *devil* has undergone the following morphological transformation: in 800 it appears as 'dioful', in 1000 as 'deofol', in 1160 as 'deofel', in 1175 as 'diefles', in 1200 as 'defles', in 1290 as 'deuel', in 1380 as 'devel', in 1382 as 'deuell', in 1450 as 'deuill', in 1535 as 'diuel', in 1575 as 'divel', and in 1577 as 'devil'. The Greek word *hymn* appears in 825 as 'hymen', in 971 as 'ymen', in 1000 as 'ymnas', in 1225 as 'imne', in 1300 as 'ympnes', in 1382 as 'ymnes', in 1483 as 'hymnpes', in 1526 as 'ymne', in 1530 as 'hymne' and in 1730 as 'hymn'. I might here add that the name of the English reformer, John Wycliffe, has been handed down in over forty forms, a few of which are: Wycliffe, Wyclif, Wyckliff, Wycklif, Wyckliffe, Wiclif, Wicliff, Wicliffe, Wickliff, Wickliffe.

<sup>7</sup> G. HATZIDAKIS, "La question de la langue en Grèce", *Revue des Études Grecques*, Paris, 16 (1903) 210-245, p. 220: "De tout cela il est résulté que la langue communément parlée aujourd'hui dans les villes diffère moins de la langue commune de Polybe que cette dernière ne diffère de la langue d'Homère".

through Mediaeval Greek to Modern Greek, and on the other hand, the main characteristics of Modern Greek go back to ancient times. On account of this:

(1) Ancient Greek is in many ways supplemented and better comprehended by Modern Greek, and Modern Greek is clarified and better understood by means of ancient Greek. Thus, any distancing of the one from the other, any separate treatment of either of them from the other, not only of necessity leads to error but is actually impossible,

(2) No one can draw precise boundaries for the research of ancient Greek from Mediaeval and Modern Greek. Because if one should wish to set as boundary the year 300 B.C., in order to include Polybios, the LXX, the NT, the Papyri, etc. within later and Modern Greek, who is ever going to be persuaded that Kallimachos, Theokritos, and many other later poets and other authors do not belong to ancient [i.e. classical] literature? But if one sets as boundary the Augustan age, then, certainly the NT can be considered as the first book of the more modern, simpler Greek, but who would be bold enough to call Ploutarchos, Loukianos, Aristoteles, Dion Chrysostomos, and the other Atticists authors of Modern Greek?

But if we wish to set as boundary the founding of Constantinople, then, as has already been pointed out, the main phenomena of Modern Greek go back to ancient Greek; for it is a fact that the language spoken at that time, as shown above, was much more similar to Modern than to ancient Greek.

It should, moreover, be pointed out that the classical authors were studied and commented upon throughout the long period of the Middle Ages, – and no one would wish to separate these Commentaries from the classical literature – and yet these Commentaries contain very many elements in daily use then, so as to render the separate study of them impossible. Or who, for example, could study Eustathios and understand him properly, if he examined only the ancient or only the modern elements? Moreover, what boundaries would he be able to draw between them, since Malalas and Theophanes are earlier than Photios, and Eustathios is later than Kekaumenos, Spaneas, Prodromos, and Glykas, that is, those who chiefly wrote in Modern demotic Greek are older than many who wrote in ancient Greek<sup>8</sup>.

This quote, from one of the greatest linguists, shows<sup>9</sup>, on the one hand, the oneness of the Greek language from Homeros (today we would say already from *Linear B*) until today, and on the other, the intricate interconnection of its several periods, and hence the impossibility of separating the various phases of the language from one another<sup>10</sup>.

This thesis will now be corroborated by evidence drawn from a number of relevant areas.

<sup>8</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Γλωσσολογικά Έρευναι*, Vol. I, p. 488. This position is followed also by A. ΤΙΥΜΒ, "On the Value of Modern Greek for the Study of Ancient Greek" *Classical Quarterly* 8 (1914), 181-205.

<sup>9</sup> On HATZIDAKIS' significance, see Ch. Three, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly ΚΟΡΑΪΣ, *Συλλογή Προλεγόμενων*, p. 37, see ANDRIOTIS, *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας*, 136.

#### IV. Continuity in Vocabulary and Syntactical Constructions

As was shown in Chapter One, the period of the Koine introduced many changes with respect to Attic vocabulary and syntax. Thus, many Attic forms and even syntactical constructions were exchanged for equivalents from the other dialects, which now became standard Koine usage. Moreover, a number of neologisms were created. Much of this Koine vocabulary is today part of the Neohellenic vocabulary, and this constitutes one of the areas of continuity between Neohellenic and earlier phases of Greek (including NT Greek)<sup>11</sup>. Another part of the Neohellenic vocabulary goes back directly to Attic (see Ch. Three)<sup>12</sup>.

The close relation between the NT and Neohellenic will be exemplified here by the following brief specimens<sup>13</sup>. For example, such Koine terms as γλῶσσα, θάλασσα, κράβατος, λαός, νάος, σήμερον, βάπτισμα, βαπτιστής, βαθμός, ἀποφέρω, occur both in the NT and Neohellenic<sup>14</sup>. The NT term μαθήτρια (Acts 9:36), which replaced the earlier μαθητρίς, is still the Neohellenic form. Koine Greek combined the endings of the 1<sup>st</sup> aorist -α, -ας, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, -αν and of the 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist endings -ον, -ες, -ε, -ομεν, -ετε, -ον to produce the endings -α, -ες, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, -αν (e.g. εἶπα, εἶπες, εἶπε, εἶπαμεν, εἶπατε, εἶπαν). These forms serve both the NT and Neohellenic. In the NT and Neohellenic δεσμοφύλαξ takes the place of Attic φύλαξ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου; καλοκάγαθος substitutes for Attic καλὸς κάγαθος; and νουνεχής and νουνεχῶς (NT) are used instead of Attic νοῦν ἔχων and νοῦν ἔχόντως respectively. The Attic construction of noun and verb αἰχμάλωτον λαμβάνω / ἄγω becomes in NT and Neohellenic αἰχμαλωτίζω as well as αἰχμαλωτεύω (NT), while the passive αἰχμάλωτον γίνεσθαι becomes αἰχμαλωτίζομαι (NT and Neohellenic). Similarly, (οἱ) Στωϊκοί (NT and Neohellenic) has taken the place of Attic οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς.

New formations or neologisms include NT and Neohellenic ζυμῶ, ἐπούσιος, προκοπή, ἄλλοτρεπίσκοπος, ἀνθρωπαρεσκῶ, ἀνεξίκακος,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the laudable attempt by G. P. SHIPP by means of Greek authors such as ANDRIOTIS to draw forth some of the evidence in his unfinished *Modern Greek Evidence for the Ancient Greek Vocabulary* (Sydney University Press), Merrickville, N.S.W. 1979.

<sup>12</sup> On the cognate accusative (τρόπος ἐτυμολογικός or *figura etymologica*, cf. Eustathios, 690, 50), see ANDRIOTIS, "Σύστοιχον ἀντικείμενον" *Ἀθηνᾶ* 47 (1937), 181-202.

<sup>13</sup> More detailed comparative material of Koine and Attic forms in Neohellenic will be presented in the ensuing chapters.

<sup>14</sup> For the Attic form of these and other words, see Ch. Three.

ἀπαύγασμα, ἐλαχιστότερος (not in *N*), συμμιμητής, ὑπερλίαν, σύσσωμος, ὑπερεντυγχάνω (not in *N*), ὑπερεκπερισσῶς (not in *N*), σύμμορφος.

## V. Neohellenic as the Bearer of the Ancient Greek Legacy

Inasmuch as the Hellenic Nation has been the repository of the cultural and linguistic heritage of ancient Hellas, that is, they have preserved historical traditions, ways of thinking and expression – insofar as these have been kept alive throughout Byzantine and Mediaeval times<sup>15</sup> – it should be apparent that how a particular term, construction, phrase or even custom in older times is to be understood and interpreted may receive important light from the modern phase of the language including the feeling (*das Gefühl*) of its speakers. This resource has, to my knowledge, never been exploited for the NT, although its value ought to be apparent from the fact that those grammarians, who happened to become aware of the Neohellenic evidence, have made a serious effort to utilize it<sup>16</sup>.

To exemplify the point, I adduce a few relevant examples from the areas of phraseology, customs and song. A very large number of ancient sayings, proverbs, *sententiae*, and other pithy sayings and expressions have remained a part of the living language throughout history and today they form a constitutive part of spoken and written Neohellenic<sup>17</sup>. They are so

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<sup>15</sup> In their works, the Byzantine authors not only kept alive the Greek traditions by their countless quotations, but they also frequently alluded to sayings from Homeros and other classical or Hellenistic authors, not to mention the LXX, the NT, the Greek Fathers, and Christian Greek authors. See, e.g., ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕ, Φ., “Ἡ νεοελληνικὴ γλῶσσα καὶ τὰ βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ ἔθιμα”, *Mél. Merlier* I, 157-163 and Α. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ - ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΟΥ, *Ἡ ἀναγέννησις τῶν γραμμάτων κατὰ τὸν ἱβ' αἰῶνα εἰς τὸ βυζάντιον καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος, passim*. Especially important here is D. CHRISTIDIS' *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις* (= *Misunderstandings and Understandings of Quotations*), in which the author takes up a large number of passages of mediaeval texts, which have been mistakenly 'corrected' or interpreted in modern editions. because the editor was not aware that the mediaeval author was quoting or alluding to an earlier author. CHRISTIDIS' examples represent a very large variety and frequency of errors on the part of the modern editor, which shows that mediaeval authors were steeped in ancient thought and expression, and that such classical influences are evidenced everywhere in their works.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the Grammars by ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*; TURNER, *Syntax*, and MOULTON-MILLIGAN, *The Vocabulary of the NT*, and especially C. H. DODD, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, see Chapter Five, 4 “An Idiomatic Use of the Aorist”.

<sup>17</sup> Cf., e.g., ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους (Jn 13:34); ἀγρόν ἡγόρασα (Lk 14:18); ἁγὼν πρόφασιν οὐ(κ) (ἐπι)δέχεται (Platon, *Leges* 751b); αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν (Homeros, *Ilias* VII,

many that a 457-page-long Lexicon of ancient phrases and terms used in current Greek has been compiled<sup>18</sup>. The beauty, the conciseness, and the pregnancy of expression with some of these is almost unsurpassable. Here follow a few specimens:

αἰδήμων σιγῇ<sup>19</sup>  
 ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχου<sup>20</sup>  
 ἅμ' ἔπος ἅμ' ἔργον<sup>21</sup>  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος<sup>22</sup>  
 ἀπορία πάλτου βῆξ<sup>23</sup>  
 ἀττικὸν ἅλας<sup>24</sup>  
 βίος ἀβίωτος<sup>25</sup>  
 γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος<sup>26</sup>  
 γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας [*sc. κομίζειν*]<sup>27</sup>  
 γλῶττα λανθάνουσα τ' ἀληθὴ λέγει<sup>28</sup>

208); this has been used in the Greek school system for the mark of "Distinction"; αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραὶ εἰσὶν (Eph 5:16); ἄλλαι μὲν αἱ βουλαὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα δὲ ὁ Θεὸς κελεύει· ἀνὰ τὰς ῥύμας καὶ τὰς ἀγυῖας· ἂν ἔτι μίαν μάχην νικήσωμεν, ἀπολούμεθα (Ploutarchos, *Pyrrhos* 21); ἀποθανέτω ἡ ψυχὴ μου μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων (Judg 16:30); ἀργυραῖς λόγχαις μάχου καὶ πάντων κρατήσεις (Diogenianos, *Paroimiai* II. 81); ἄρον τὸν κράββατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει (Mk 2:9); δός μοι πᾶ στώ καὶ τὰν γᾶν κινάσω (Archimedes, cf. Simplicios, *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* X. 1110: πᾶ βῶ καὶ κινῶ τὰν γᾶν); περὶ πολλὰ τυρβάξῃ (cf. Lk 10:41: μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάξῃ περὶ πολλὰ, III: τυρβάξῃ), περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι (Herodotos I. 73; Lysias, I. 1 and cf. Act 20:24).

<sup>18</sup> ΤΣΙΡΟΓΛΟΥ, *Λεξικὸ ἀρχαῖστικῶν φράσεων τῇν νέας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Athens 2000. Another book on the same subject, with partly different phrases is Γ. Α. ΜΑΡΚΑΝΤΩΝΑΤΟΣ, *Λεξικὸ Ἀρχαίων, Βυζαντινῶν, Λογίων φράσεων τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς*, Ἀθῆναι, 1998.

<sup>19</sup> "Guilty silence", or "silence on account of shame".

<sup>20</sup> "Keep away from what belongs to others", "do not meddle in the affairs of others".

<sup>21</sup> "As soon as he said it, he also performed it". The phrase is found in Herodotos III. 135.

<sup>22</sup> "For famous men any place can be their sepulchre". From Perikles' *Epitaphios* in Thouxidides II. 43, 3.

<sup>23</sup> "When a singer is in perplexity, he coughs".

<sup>24</sup> "Attic salt", i.e. said of a meritorious literary work, that is worthy of an Attic author.

<sup>25</sup> "An unbearable life". Originally coined by Chilon of a dead miser carried to his burial, he said: οὗτος βίον ἀβίωτον βίωσας, ἑτέροις βίον κατέλοιπε "This man having lived a wretched life, left his life-savings to others". Cf. also Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 969.

<sup>26</sup> "I am growing old always learning much". Cf. Ploutarchos, *Solon* 31, 3.

<sup>27</sup> "Carrying owls to Athens", said of someone who speaks of trite things as though they were new. Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 301.

<sup>28</sup> "When the tongue strays, it speaks the truth".

γνῶθι σ' αὐτόν<sup>29</sup>  
 δεινὸν πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν<sup>30</sup>  
 δῶρον ἄδωρον<sup>31</sup>  
 ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα<sup>32</sup>  
 ἐν οἶδα ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδα<sup>33</sup>  
 ἢ λέγε τι σιγῆς κρεῖττον ἢ σιγὴν ἔχε<sup>34</sup>  
 ἰδοῦ ἢ Ῥόδος, ἰδοῦ καὶ τὸ πῆδημα<sup>35</sup>  
 κύκνειον ἄσμα<sup>36</sup>  
 κύων θωυκτήρ οὐ δάκνει<sup>37</sup>  
 μέμνησο τῶν Ἀθηναίων<sup>38</sup>  
 μηδὲν ἄγαν<sup>39</sup>  
 μηδένα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους μακάριζε<sup>40</sup>  
 μία χελιδὼν ἕαρ οὐ ποιεῖ<sup>41</sup>  
 μολὼν λαβέ<sup>42</sup>  
 νῖψον ἀνομήματα μὴ μόναν ὄψιν<sup>43</sup>  
 οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί<sup>44</sup>

<sup>29</sup> "Know thyself". This axiom was engraved in Delphi. According to Platon, *Protagoras* 343b it was first said by Spartan Chilon; according to Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* IV. 2, 24, it originated with Sokrates.

<sup>30</sup> "It is hard to kick against goads". The phrase occurs in, e.g., Aischylos, *Agamemnon*, 1624; Euripides, *Bakkhai* 795. Acts 26:14 shows that it was a frequent proverb.

<sup>31</sup> "A gift that is not a gift". Cf. Sophokles, *Aias* 665: ἄδωρα δῶρα.

<sup>32</sup> "If you sign as a guarantee, you will be destroyed". It was probably written on the Delphi temple, but was coined either by Thales or Pittakos. It occurs *i.a.* in Ploutarchos, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 164; *On Talkativeness* 511 b; *On Complacency* 530 b.

<sup>33</sup> "I know one thing, namely, that I know nothing".

<sup>34</sup> "Either say something that is better than silence or else keep quiet", said to one who speaks nonsense. From Menandros, *Sententiae* 292.

<sup>35</sup> "Here is Rhodos, here is the jump" said to one who brags about a past feat, who is challenged to repeat it.

<sup>36</sup> "A swan's song", of someone's last great work (literary or artistic) before his death. Cf. Platon, *Phaidon* 84e.

<sup>37</sup> "A dog that barks does not bite". Cf. *Anthologia Palatina* XVI. 91.

<sup>38</sup> "Remember the Athenians". Herodotos, V. 105, relates that Darios had ordered one of his servants to remind him daily to take revenge on the Athenians.

<sup>39</sup> "Nothing beyond measure", i.e. "the golden mean". Inscribed on the Delphic temple, it reminded people to restrain themselves. Cf. Ploutarchos, *Consolation to Apollonios* 116d.

<sup>40</sup> "Call no man happy before the end". Cf. Solon's words to Kroisos according to Herodotos, I. 32.

<sup>41</sup> "A lone swallow cannot bring about the Spring". It occurs in Aristoteles, *Nikomachaian Ethics* I. 7. 16 (1098a). Cf. Nobel laureate ELYTIS' song "Ένα τὸ χελιδόνι κι' Ἀνοιξη ἀκριβή" ("with one swallow Spring is pricy"), in his *Ἄξιον ἔστί*, p. 39.

<sup>42</sup> "Come and take them", Leonidas' reputed answer when Xerxes at Thermopylai demanded the surrender of the Spartans' arms.

<sup>43</sup> "Wash your sins, not only your face". This palindrome, attributed to Gregorios Nazianzenos, was inscribed in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.



ὀμφακές εἰσιν<sup>45</sup>  
 ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται<sup>46</sup>  
 οὐ σύ με λοιθωρεῖς ἀλλ' ὁ τόπος<sup>47</sup>  
 πᾶν μέτρον ἄριστον<sup>48</sup>  
 πάντα βεῖ<sup>49</sup>  
 σοφὸν τὸ σαφές<sup>50</sup>  
 πενία τέχνας κατεργάζεται<sup>51</sup>  
 τῷ γήρατι μυρία κακὰ ἐπονται<sup>52</sup>  
 τῶν φρονίμων ὀλίγα<sup>53</sup>  
 τ' ἀγαθὰ κόποις κτώνται<sup>54</sup>  
 χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια<sup>55</sup>  
 χρόνου φείδου<sup>56</sup>

The NT (as well as the LXX) have made their own contributions<sup>57</sup>.

Moreover, another large group of proverbial, pithy, etc. sayings and expressions, often representing customs, have come down to Neohellenic,

<sup>44</sup> "Time is not waiting", said of an opportunity which must be seized upon when it comes. From Thoukydides, I. 142.

<sup>45</sup> "The grapes are sour", said of something beyond one's reach. The expression is met in Aisopos, *Fables* 34.

<sup>46</sup> "He who has inflicted the wound, must also heal it", said of one who is responsible to put right the wrongs he has caused, cf. "to pick up the chips".

<sup>47</sup> "It is not you who taunts me but the place", said of one who, confident in his advantageous circumstances, challenges one who is superior, but whose circumstances make it impossible for him to act. Aisopos, *Fables* 106.

<sup>48</sup> "Moderation in all things is best". The earliest occurrence of this saying that I have found is in Alexander (A.D. II), *Problemata*, Book III. Pr. 22. The saying occurs in *i.a.* the late antiquity *Aphorismos* [Hippokratis] (ed. H. Flashar), line 22; Basilios, *Epistula* VIII. 12, 50; Gregorios Naz., *Epistula* 150; and Georgios Choroiboskos, *Scholia on Hephaistion* 179.

<sup>49</sup> "Everything changes", spoken by Herakleitos, cf. Platon, *Theaitetos* 182c.

<sup>50</sup> "Clarity indicates wisdom", from Euripides, *Orestes* 397.

<sup>51</sup> "Need is the mother of invention". Cf. Theokritos, *Idyl* 21:1.

<sup>52</sup> "Old age is attended by a myriad of evils".

<sup>53</sup> "Those who have understanding need no long explanations", cf. ὁ νοῶν νοεῖτω.

<sup>54</sup> "Good things are acquired by toil", cf. Epicharmos fr. 36 (DIELS).

<sup>55</sup> "Say only what is relevant", cf. Aischylos, *The Seven Against Thebai* 1.

<sup>56</sup> "Don't waste time" (cf. "time is money"). The expression is attributed to Chilon.

<sup>57</sup> A few examples are: ἐταίρε, ἐφ' ᾧ πάρει (Mt 26:50), ἔχε με παρητημένον (Lk 14:18), ἡλικίαν ἔχει (Jn 9:21), καιρὸς παντὶ πράγματι (Ec 3:1), λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον (Mt 24:2), λίθος προσκόμματος (1 Pt 2:8), μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι (Mt 5:3), ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων (Ec 1:2), μὴ γνώτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου (Mt 6:3), μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε (Jn 8:11), νίπτω τὰς χεῖρας μου (cf. Mt 27:24), ὁ ἀναμάρτητος πρῶτος λίθον βαλέτω (cf. Jn 8:7), ὁ γέγραφα γέγραφα (Jn 19:22), ὁ ἔχων ὅλα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω (Mk 4:9), οἱ ἔσχατοι ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι (cf. Lk 13:30), ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω (cf. 2 Th 3:10), ὃν ἀγαπᾷ Κύριος παιδεύει (Hb 12:6), ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ (Mt 5:38), πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι (Mt 23:5), ῥῥσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ (Mt 6:13), φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (Mk 1:3 citing Isa 40:3).

though in a modern linguistic garb. In these cases it is apparent that although the saying, expression, or custom is conveyed through the modern form of the language, the old conception and its experience have not been lost in the consciousness of the Nation. Its mental disposition, its way of thinking is so broad as to embrace many earlier traditions and to keep them alive within the Greek soul. This implies that the significance of such sayings, expressions, etc. have been preserved intact<sup>58</sup>. Andriotis has discussed sixty-seven such expressions in current use with the context of meaning in which they occur and the ancient counterpart from which they derive (Homeros being the most frequent source)<sup>59</sup>. These examples are different

<sup>58</sup> In her book *Ἑλληνική ἀγωγή*, 60-65, Mrs A. ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΑΔΟΥ refers to a number of ancient everyday customs and practices, which live on in Greece today, as well as to ancient expressions, which have received their equivalent Neohellenic wording. Here are a few examples: the ancient saying *πρώτῳ ποδι, οἰωνίζόμενοι λέγειν εἰώθασι* has become *ἔκανε καλὸ / κακὸ ποδαρικό*, the tossing of coins preceded by: *νῦξ ἡ ἡμέρα*; has become *κορῶνα ἢ γράμματα; πότερον ἢ ὄρνις ἢ τὸ ὠὼν ἐγένετο πρῶτον* ("which of the two, the hen or the egg was made first?") has become *ἡ κότα ἢ τὸ αὐγὸ ἐγίνετο πρῶτο*; Like the moderns, the ancients clinked their glasses when they drank wine, as in Homeros, *Ilias*, IV, 3: *τοὶ δὲ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους* ("they with golden cups toasted one another"). The modern Greeks, like the ancients, never filled their glasses to the brim. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* IV, 12, relates that in Athens *ἅπαντες ὀρχοῦνται εὐθὺς ἂν οἶνου μόνον ὁσμὴν ἴδωσιν* ("they all dance as soon as they catch the smell of wine"). Then they take to dancing *κυκλίουσ' χορούς, βαλλισμούς, and τῆν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον ὀρχησιν*, all of which are still practised today, the last one being the famous *συρτάκι* ("syrtaki"). Oaths included: *ψευδῇ λέγων ... θάνομι* which has become *ἐὼν λέ(γ)ω ψέμματα ... νὰ πεθάνω* ("If I am lying, let me die"). Similarly *μὴ μέγα λέγε* has become *μὴ λές (= λέγε) μεγάλο(ν) λόγο(ν)*. To avoid the evil eye, they used to spit down according to Aristoteles (*fr.* VII, 39): *ἐμπύει αὐτοῖς ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶσι*. In Neohellenic this has become: *φτύνει νὰ μὴ βασκανθοῦν*, etc. To protect small children from the evil eye, they hang around its neck or wrist a string with an ὀφθαλμόν, which today is called *ματάκι* (Byz. ὀμματάκι(ν) < ὀμμάτιον < ancient ὄμμα = eye), etc.

<sup>59</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Ἀντίστοιχα ἐκφραστικά μέσα τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς", ("Equivalent expressions of ancient and modern Greek") *Ἑλληνικά* 15 (1957), 1-25. ANDRIOTIS refers to some of his predecessors. e.g. KORAËS, who in his *Ἀτακτα* and other works, e.g. *Συλλογὴ προλεγόμενων*, 331 ff., often compares such Neohellenic expressions with their ancient equivalents; ΠΡΩΤΟΔΙΚΟΥ, *Ἰδιωτικά τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 26 ff.; and ΖΑΝΝΕΤΟΥ, *Ἡ Ὀμηρικὴ φράσις ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς δημῳδῇ ποιήσει*, who concentrated on Homeric parallels. See also ANDRIOTIS, *Lexicon der Archaismer in den neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974 (on which see also the critical remarks of ΚΑΡΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΓΛΟΥ, "Ετυμολογικὴ παρατηρήσεις στὸ λεξικὸ τῶν ἀρχαϊσμῶν τοῦ Ν. Π. Ἀνδριώτη", *Ἑλληνικά*, 42 (1991-1992), 135-156); "Die Ausdrucksmittel für 'gar nichts', 'ein wenig' und 'sehr viel' im Alt- Mittel- und Neugriechischen" *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.* 16 (1940), 59-155. "Συντακτικὰ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς καὶ νέας ἑλληνικῆς" *Κριτ. Χρον.* 7 (1953), 414-418, and "Οἱ ἀρχαῖσμοι τοῦ σημερινοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῆς Μακεδονίας" *Μακεδονικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* 1953, 101-

from collections by other authors, which implies that the number of such expressions is very large. A specimen of Andriotis' examples follows:

1. The Neohellenic expression τὸν ἀγαπῶ, τὸν προσέχω σὰν τὰ μάτια μου ("I love him very much; I take care of him as I do my own eyes") is found in Moschos (II B.C.) 4, 8: τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ τίεσκον ἴσον φαέσσιν ἐμοῖσιν<sup>60</sup>.

2. When a place is well-known or easy to find, one may say: κι' ἔνα μωρὸ παιδὶ θὰ σοῦ τὸ δεῖξῃ ("even a small child can show it to you"). The expression was current in Homeros' time, as it is used by Nausica to Odysseus in Homeros, *Odysseia* VI. 230: καὶ ἂν πάις ἡγήσαιτο νήπιος.

3. To express the idea of affluence, Greeks may say: (τῆς ἔφερε) καὶ τοῦ πουλιοῦ τὸ γάλα ("he brought her) even the milk of the bird"). Cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 734: γάλα τ' ὀρνίθων ("milk of the birds") and Loukianos, *Salaried Posts*, 13: καὶ ἀμέλξεις ὀρνίθων γάλα.

4. Of a woman whom long sickness has left extremely slim, may be said: εἶναι νὰ τὴν περάσης ἀπ' τὸ δακτυλίδι ("you could make her pass through a ring"). The ancients said: διὰ δακτυλίου μὲν οὖν ἔμεγ' ἂν διέλκυσαις (Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 1034).

5. An intimate friend visiting after a long time may be told by way of pleasantry: μᾶς ἐξέχασες. δὲν ρωτᾷς ἂν ζοῦμε ἢ πεθάναμε ("you have forgotten us; you don't ask anymore whether we are alive or dead"). In Theokritos, *Idyll* II. 3, exactly the same sentiment is expressed by οὐδ' ἔγνω πότερον πεθάνκαμες ἢ ζόοι εἰμέες.

6. When someone has a big laugh, it is said: (ἐ)ξεράθηκε σὰ γέλια ("He 'dried up' laughing"). Exactly the same expression occurs in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1089: ὥστ' ἐπαφάνανθην Παναθηναίοισι γελῶν<sup>61</sup>, while the expression πεθαίνω ἀπὸ τὰ γέλια ("I die of laughter") goes back to Homeros, *Odysseia* XVIII. 99: μνηστῆρες ... γέλω ἔκθανον.

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108; ΠΑΠΑΧΑΡΙΣΗ, "Ἀντίστοιχοι πρὸς ἀρχαίας νεοελληνικαὶ ἐκφράσεις", *Πλάτων* 13 (1961), 23-26, 299-308; 15 (1963), 279-284; ΣΙΦΑΚΙΣ, "Homeric Survivals in the Medieval and Modern Greek Folksong Tradition", *Greece and Rome*, Second series 39 (1992), 139-54, concentrates on Homeric material; ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ, "Νεοελληνικῶν λέξεων καὶ φράσεων παλαιότερα μνεῖα" ("The oldest mention of neohellenic words and phrases"), *ΕΕΠΑ* 6 (1955/56) 225-338, has explored mainly mediaeval, but also a number of ancient expressions. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗΣ, "Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 51 (1941), 15-54, has discussed chiefly mediaeval expressions in Neohellenic, as does also ΜΑΝΕΣΗΣ in his *Συμβολὴ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς κληρονομίας στὴν καλύτερη γνώση τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας* ("The Contribution of the Byzantine Legacy for the Better Understanding of Modern Greek"), *ΑΔ* 15 (1985), 279-300.

<sup>60</sup> A mother may call her child γλυκὸν μου φῶς ("my sweet light"), with which cf. Homeros, *Odysseia* XVI. 23: ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φῶς ("Have you come back, Telemachos, my sweet light?").

<sup>61</sup> See ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν*, I, 199.

7. When someone does not have the slightest idea about something, it may be said: δὲν τὸ εἶδε οὔτε στὸν ὕπνον του ("he did not see it even in his sleep"), which corresponds to Solon's verse in Aristoteles, *Constitution of the Athenians* VII. 5: οὐποθ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἂν εὔδοντες εἶδον ("eyes have never seen it even in their sleep").

8. Of someone, who is ordered around by someone, it may be said: τὸν σέρνει ἀπὸ τὴν μύτη ("he / she pulls him by the nose"). Its ancient equivalent is found in Loukianos, *Dialogues of the Gods* IX. 3 (218): καὶ ἄγει σε καὶ φέρει τῆς ῥινός ("he / she leads and drives you by the nose").

9. One who has lost too much weight may be described as: ἔμεινε πετσοὶ καὶ κόκαλο ("he has become skin and bones") answering to the ancient: ὅστι' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα ("you have now become bone and skin").

10. A threat is often followed by: νὰ μάθης νὰ μὴ λοιδορεῖς / κοροϊδεύεις τοὺς καλύτερούς σου ("so you may learn not to mock your betters / superiors"). The phrase is ancient, occurring at least since Loukianos, *The Dead Come to Life* 2: ὡς μάθῃ μὴ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι ("so he may learn not to scoff at his betters").

Finally, popular song is another relevant area. In a chapter entitled "The Ancients are still alive", in the standard work *History of Modern Greek Literature*<sup>62</sup>, Dimaras shows how popular demotic songs not only have their roots in ancient times, but have also preserved both elements and even types of song from those times.

The above is only a tiny portion of several types of materials that are common to Neohellenic and earlier periods of Greek. These materials indicate how much of the phraseology, way of thinking and expression still survives in Neohellenic<sup>63</sup>. This continuity will now be corroborated briefly by a few examples from the area of Textual Criticism with respect to both Byzantine and ancient authors.

<sup>62</sup> ΔΗΜΑΡΑ, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, 5-23.

<sup>63</sup> ΜΑΡΚΑΝΤΩΝΑΤΟΥ, *Λεξικό*, 211-29, subjoins no fewer than 181 ancient or literary phrases collected from various daily newspapers of Athens between 1 October 1990-30 April 1991. This gives an idea as to the frequency of the occurrence of ancient elements in the Neohellenic press.

## VI. Classical Education in Byzantine Authors

The Byzantine authors not only wrote (for the most part) an Atticistic Greek, but they also included in their writings many classical quotations and allusions<sup>64</sup>. These features reveal the depth of their classical *paideia* and show the intimacy of the later Greeks with the thoughts, ideas, customs, traditions, beliefs and views of their forbears. However, this lays great demands upon the modern editor of these works. Without a corresponding erudition, the modern editor is hampered in his text critical work, and, consequently, the final product may be defective. This problem area has been ably discussed and exemplified in the important work of D. Christidis<sup>65</sup>. These Byzantine and Mediaeval authors are the link between Neohellenic and Ancient Greek (including the Koine). Christidis has scrutinized a large number of textual problems in Byzantine and Mediaeval texts, and shown that lack of acquaintance with or at least lack of awareness on the part of the modern editor of the fact that the Byzantine author was referring or alluding to a particular custom, event, or saying, or explicitly quoting an ancient author, has, in not a few cases, led to the wrong choice of variant, or to mistaken conjectures and faulty reconstructions or interpretations. Christidis classes his findings under six chapters: (a) Failure to notice the reference to an ancient author, which is subdivided under 23 types of errors; (b) Failure to identify the reference, subdivided under 14 types of errors; (c) Mistaken identification of the reference, subdivided under 14 types of errors; (d) Inexact understanding of the whole reference, subdivided under 13 types of errors; (e) Identification of only the indirect source, subdivided under 3 types of errors; and (f) Various shortcomings despite the identification of the reference, subdivided under 12 types of errors. This gives an aggregate of 79 different types of errors on the part of modern editors connected with their imperfect knowledge of the ancient literature and the literary world of the Byzantine authors. I cite a few examples:

<sup>64</sup> Cf. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΔΗ, Δ., “‘Απλήξεις από τὸν Εὐριπίδην στὸν Γρηγόριο τὸν Ναζιανζηνό, Ἐπιστολή 203, 1””, *Ἑλληνικά* 39 (1988), 412-414.

<sup>65</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΔΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις* [= *Misunderstandings and Understandings of Quotations*]. See also CHRISTIDIS' instructive studies of ancient references in the work of N. Choniates, ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΔΗ, “Ἀναμνήσεις ἀπὸ ἀρχαῖα κείμενα στο ἔργο τοῦ Νικητῆ Χωνιάτη ‘Χρονικὴ Διήγησις’ ””, *ΕΕΦΣΘ* 22 (1984), 687-709 and “Ἀναμνήσεις ἀπὸ ἀρχαῖα κείμενα στοὺς λόγους καὶ τὶς ἐπιστολαὶς τοῦ Νικητῆ Χωνιάτη”, *Ἑλληνικά* 39 (1988), 25-44. See further the old study by JANNARIS, “Misreadings and Misrenderings in the New Testament”, *The Expositor*, 5<sup>th</sup> Ser., 8 (1898), 429-31.

1. Symeon Magistros opens one of his letters with the words: Τὰ γὰρ κακοῦντα ὥσπερ τι παρώχῃκεν ἐφύδριον καὶ πάλιν αἰθρία καὶ πάλιν ἐλεύθερον φῶς. Darrouzès<sup>66</sup>, the editor, appears to have had no problem with the letter sequence ἐφύδριον, although it is not recorded in any Lexicon<sup>67</sup>. Christidis<sup>68</sup> shows that Symeon refers here to St. Athanasios' well-known expression *apud* Sokrates Scholastikos:<sup>69</sup> ὑποσταλῶμεν μικρόν, ὃ φίλοι· νεφύδριον γὰρ ἐστὶ, καὶ παρέρχεται. Symeon then had written: παρώχῃκε νεφύδριον, meaning: "the things that harm pass away like a *little cloud* and once again it becomes clear weather and open light".

2. In a speech to his disciples, Theophylaktos, *Discourse*, 155, 2-3, writes: Ἄλλ' ὃ οἴους εὐεργετήσας ἐλάνθανον, οἷας ἐχίδνας θάλπων ἡγνόησα, οἴους †λακιδεῖς† καὶ γάλακτι καὶ μάζαις ἀνέτρεφον<sup>70</sup>. The editor, P. Gautier, thought that the form λακιδεῖς was corrupt beyond restoration: "Terme corrompu, que nous avons renoncé à corriger". Christidis<sup>71</sup> points out that the word is easily corrected to λυκιδεῖς, if one recalls that Theophylaktos is here alluding to two of Aisopos' fables: Ὀδοιπόρος καὶ ἔχῃς (186) and Ποιμὴν καὶ λυκιδεῖς (225)<sup>72</sup>.

3. In his *Monodia*<sup>73</sup>, Ioannes Chortasmenos directs his complaint to Time, which took away his dear friend: ὦ χρόνου φύσις, ἢ πάντα μὲν τ' ἄδηλα φύουσα κατὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν, τὰ δὲ φανέντα κρύπτουσα, ὡς ταχέως ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν τηλικούτου καλοῦ<sup>74</sup>. In the critical apparatus, Hunger notes "8 Fragmentum adhuc ineditum e.g. restitutum: ὦ Χρόνου φύσις, ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰδηλα τοῖς βροτοῖς φύεις, φανέντα δὲ κρύπτεις κτλ. cf. Fr. adesp. 511 N." Christidis<sup>75</sup> notes that Hunger was under the impression that he had discovered a hitherto unpublished fragment similar to that of Nauck 511: χρόνος τὰ κρυπτὰ πάντα εἰς φάος ἄγει. As a matter of fact,

<sup>66</sup> DARROUZÈS (ed.), *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 6, Paris: Institute Français d' Études Byzantines, Ἐπιστολή 2, 80 p. 144f.)

<sup>67</sup> It is not found in *LSJ*, ΔΔ, Lampe or Κριαρᾶς.

<sup>68</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις*, 36 f.

<sup>69</sup> Σωκράτης Σχολαστικός, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία*, III, 14, 1.

<sup>70</sup> "But oh, what kind of people I showed kindness to unawares, what vipers I took care of in ignorance, what †...† I fed with milk and bread".

<sup>71</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις*, 44.

<sup>72</sup> See also ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ, "Ἐχίδναι καὶ λυκιδεῖς" *Ἑλληνικά* 41 (1990), 118-120.

<sup>73</sup> See H. HUNGER (ed.), *Ioannes Chortasmenos* (ca. 1370-1436/37), *Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften*, 139 ff.

<sup>74</sup> "Oh the nature of Time, which, as tragedy has it, brings to light everything hidden, and conceals whatever is known, how quickly you grudged us such a great good".

<sup>75</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις*, 93.

Chortasmenos refers to Sophokles, *Aias* 646-47: ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀνα-  
ρίθμητος χρόνος φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ φανέντα κρύπτεται<sup>76</sup>.

4. In one of his letters Nikephoros Gregoras writes: καθάπερ ἐν ἄλλοις  
ἡ παροιμία γράφει: "Καθ' ὑγρῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττιων ὁ πέτρος πεζεύει  
κυμάτων". The editor, Guiland, renders in French: "Le rocher se tient au-  
dessus des flots humides et marines". It does not appear that Guiland was  
at all disturbed by the thought of a rock floating on the waves<sup>77</sup>. Christidis<sup>78</sup>  
points out that Gregoras was referring to a proverb that alluded to Mt  
14:29: καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα.  
Guiland should have printed πέτρος with a capital Π<sup>79</sup>.

5. In his *Historiae*, Joannes Tzetzes includes a brief text with the head-  
ing τυφλὸν τὸ φιλοῦν παρὰ τὸ φιλούμενον ("the lover rather than the loved  
one is blind"). Leone, the editor, thought the reference was to Theokritos  
VI. 19: ἡ γὰρ ἔρωτι πολλάκις, ὃ Πολύφαμε, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.  
However, as Christidis<sup>80</sup> notes, the reference is really to Platon's *Laws*  
731e: τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν<sup>81</sup>.

The above examples suffice to make us aware that the Byzantine and  
Mediaeval Greeks were steeped in classical learning and Christian teach-  
ing, and that the modern editor ought to be proficient in all periods of  
Greek literature in order to perform his editorial work satisfactorily. All  
this proves the continuous cultivation of the earlier literature in the later  
phases of the language.

## VII. Neohellenic Can Help Restore Corrupt MS Readings

Another area in which Neohellenic can be of assistance is that it can help  
decide the correct choice of reading in manuscripts of ancient authors,

<sup>76</sup> The same text is quoted by Anna Komnene in the Prooimion of her *Alexias*, see  
Ch. One, under V.

<sup>77</sup> Actually, the verb πεζεύω does not mean 'to float', but to 'walk', 'to go on foot'.  
And even Isokrates, in his *Panegyrikos* 89, when speaking of the legendary acts of  
Xerxes, says that he made his army sail over land and go on foot (πεζεῦσαι) through  
the sea: πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.

<sup>78</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις*, 107.

<sup>79</sup> The same may be said of the earlier edition by Leone, *Gregorae Epistulae*, Vol. II,  
27 ff.

<sup>80</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΗ, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις καὶ κατανοήσεις*, 121.

<sup>81</sup> This saying is repeated four times in Ploutarchos, *Moralia* 48e-f, 90a, 92e, and  
1000a, and often in Byzantine authors.

where more than one *v.l.* exist. Already Bernardakis has exemplified this in the preface of his valuable *Hermeneutical Lexicon*<sup>82</sup>. For example:

1. Aischylos, *Choephoroi* 123: καὶ γὰρ χέουσα τάσδε χέρνιβας νεκροῖς λέγω καλοῦσα πατέρ' ἐποίκιτρόν τ' ἐμὲ φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην, πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις. The last three words have given rise to several conjectures: φῶς ἀναψον ἐν δόμοις<sup>83</sup> ("light a light in the house"), ὡς ἀνάξομεν ... ("that we rule ...") πεῖσμον ἀναψον ἐν ... ("light a confidence"?). Bernardakis shows that these conjectures are unnecessary. The basic reading of M πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις makes perfect sense in Greek. He paraphrases πῶς θὰ βασιλεύσωμεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, ("how we shall reign in the house") and compares with Neohellenic expressions introduced by πῶς to express a similar idea, e.g. πῶς θὰ τὰ βγάλει πέρα ("how he is going to manage / cope with it").

2. Another example, discussed by Bernardakis, is Aischylos, *Seven Against Thebai* 819 f.: ἔξουσι δ' ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονός, πατρός κατ' εὐχὰς δυσπότηως φορούμενοι. The last word has, according to Bernardakis, been thought to be corrupt, and classical scholars have suggested φθατούμενοι (from φθατέω = φθάνω (see Hesychios *Lexicon*, Φ 371), φρουρούμενοι ('kept'), κληρούμενοι ('lotted'), πορθούμενοι ('plundered'), etc. Bernardakis points out that Modern Demotic speech has preserved the old saying. When someone curses somebody, he / she says ὁ Θεὸς νὰ μ' ἀξιώσῃ νὰ ἰδῶ νὰ σὰς σηκώσουν καὶ νὰ σὰς φέρουν ("may God give me the chance / privilege to see you picked up and carried" [*sc.* dead])<sup>84</sup>. The passage should, therefore, be translated: "when they bring them carried [in order to bury them] in accordance with the terrible curses of their father"<sup>85</sup>.

3. Similarly Euripides, *Bakkhai*, 968 Πενθεύς: ἐπὶ τόδ' ἔρχομαι. Διόνυσος: φερόμενος ἤξεις (Pentheus: "for this I come". Dionysos: "you will come borne [by others]"). Sophokles, *Aias* 978: ἄρ' ἡμπόληκας ὥσπερ ἡ φάτις κρατεῖ; Lenting has tried to correct to ἡμπόληκα σ' <sup>86</sup>. Bernardakis shows that this was a demotic phrase meaning "you received and gave (i.e. you died) – as the saying goes", to which also the chorus fittingly replies: ὀλωλεν ἀνὴρ "the man perished"<sup>87</sup>.

4. With regard to the plural form in Theokritos, *Idyll* 15:38: τοῦτο καλ' εἶπες, Bernardakis refers to the unnecessary difficulties felt, as when a

<sup>82</sup> ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν*, pp. κ-κβ'.

<sup>83</sup> This conjecture by SCHNEIDERWINUM and v. WILAMOWITZ is accepted in the OCT edition.

<sup>84</sup> The expression may take several forms, see ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν*, p. κα'.

<sup>85</sup> See ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν*, p. 1166 B.

<sup>86</sup> See the apparatus of the OCT edition.

<sup>87</sup> ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν*, κα' and s.v. ἐμπολάω p. 376.



contemporary editor chose the singular τοῦτο καλὸν εἶπες. The Loeb edition has τοῦτο κα εἶπαις<sup>88</sup>, while the edition by A. S. Gow reads: τοῦτο κεν εἶπαις<sup>89</sup>. Not only is the reading τοῦτο καλ' εἶπες natural (cf. the classical τοῦτο ἀληθῆ λέγεις, according to which τοῦτο is constructed with the plural ἀληθῆ), but also Neohellenic has preserved the idiom: καλὰ τὸ λέγεις (εἶπες), ἀλήθεια τὸ λέγεις (εἶπες), etc.

5. Finally, Bernardakis takes up the famous (Pseudo-) Longinos passage in *Περὶ Ὑψους*, 9.9: ταῦτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης ... ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε καζέφηνεν ... in which ἐχώρησε has been altered to ἐγνώριζε, ἐχώρησεν ἐγνώριζε, ἐχώρισε, ἐχορήγησε, etc.<sup>90</sup> The reason for these conjectures was that no sense could be made of ἐχώρησε in this context. Bernardakis points out that this Hellenistic use of χωρέω meets us already in the NT: Mt 19:11: οὐ πάντες χωροῦσιν τὸν λόγον [τοῦτον] ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται. Even clearer is Neohellenic: δὲν τὸ χωρεῖ ὁ νοῦς του ("his head cannot *understand* it"), etc.<sup>91</sup> The meaning, therefore, is: "...because he *perceived (understood)* and expressed the power of God in accordance with its worth"<sup>92</sup>. The expression occurs also in Philo. *On Virtues* 214: μυρία ἄλλα, ἃ διὰ μέγεθος ἀνθρώπινος λογισμὸς οὐ χωρεῖ ("ten thousand other things, which on account of their greatness, human reason cannot *understand* them")<sup>93</sup>.

6. The last example is taken from Christidis' discussion of a textual problem in Loukianos' *Dialogues of the Courtesans*<sup>94</sup>. At VI, 3: οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ καυχᾶριζειν ῥαδίως καθάπερ σὺ εἴθως ("Not being so ready to cackle as you are wont to"). The Loeb edition of Loukianos by Macleod uses a form (καυχᾶριζειν) that is not listed in any Lexicon or found in any other text. The MS tradition includes also the forms κακχαρίζειν and κακχάζειν. The critical editor of Loukianos, K. Mras, on whom Macleod

<sup>88</sup> EDMONDS, *The Greek Bucolic Poets*, (LCL), *ad loc.*

<sup>89</sup> Gow, *Theocritus* Vol. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. also the alternative suggestions in the apparatus of the OCT edition by PRICKARD: ἐγνώρισε, ἐθεώρησε.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. one of Mikis Theodorakis' popular songs, "Βρέχει στὴ φτωχογειτονιά" (text by T. Leivaditis): εἶσαι μικρὸς καὶ δὲν χωρᾶς τὸν ἀναστεναγμὸν μου ("you are too young to *understand* my sighing"). Similarly Ignatios, *Trallians*, V.1.

<sup>92</sup> The Neohellenic paraphrase of Λογγίνος, *Περὶ Ὑψους*, Ἀθήνα 1999, uses an equivalent: κατανόησε (= 'understood').

<sup>93</sup> Josephos, *Antiquities*, I. 15, who paraphrases the wording in *Περὶ Ὑψους*, has understood it similarly: τοὺς ἐντενυζομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῶ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας αἰεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε, where κατενόησε stands for ἐχώρησε. COLSON (in Loeb) has mistranslated it: "can contain them".

<sup>94</sup> ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗΣ, "Κακχαρίζειν": Λουκιανῶ *Ἑταρικοὶ Διάλογοι* 6,3", *Ἑλληνικά*, 30 (1977-78), 26-33.

is dependent, had settled for the reading καγχάζειν. In a complex argumentation that cannot be reproduced here, Christidis brings the Neohellenic evidence to bear on the solution of this problem. He argues that the two forms of Neohellenic, κακαρίζω and χαχαρίζω, support the reading κακχαρίζω rather than Macleod's καγχαρίζειν. He, therefore, suggests that the word κακχαρίζω should be added in *LSJ*, and that the reference "Luc. *D Meretr.* 6.3" should be removed from the lemma καχάζω.

### VIII. Statistics on the Neohellenic and Ancient Greek Vocabulary

The relation between Neohellenic and the New Testament as well as the older Greek can be gauged by the following comparison. In 1908-09 Hatzidakis undertook an examination of the vocabulary of Homeros, the New Testament and the Kretan author Kornaros' *Erotokritos* (XVII A.D.).<sup>95</sup>

With regard to Homeros, Hatzidakis' object was to discover how many of Homeros' words were in current use among the Ionian and Athenian prose writers of classical times, and how many are still spoken or are understood by modern Greeks.

With regard to the NT, the object was to discover how many of its words are still spoken today, how many are understood when read or heard, and how many have become completely obsolete. And with regard to *Erotokritos*, how many of its words are entirely obsolete on Krete today (i.e. 1908-09).

Hatzidakis is well aware of the difficulties or rather impossibility of assessing with mathematical precision the number of Homeric words current in the speech of the Ionians and Athenians of classical times, since his results here have to depend primarily on written documents, which represent neither the living speech of the classical age nor all that had been written during those times.

But in spite of these difficulties, and the caution that all figures are approximate, Hatzidakis' results are quite significant. He presents three lists: (a) words occurring in Homeros, Attic-Ionian prose authors, and Neohellenic, (b) words occurring in Homeros and Attic-Ionian prose authors, and (c) words occurring only in Homeros.

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<sup>95</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, "Περὶ τῆς ἐνότητος τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης" in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς*, Ἐθνικὸν Πανεπιστήμιον, τόμ. Ε', 47-151.

I have counted the words in Hatzidakis' three lists and found that of a total of 6,844 Homeric words, the first list (Homeric words occurring both in classical times and in Neohellenic) contains 1,267 words; the second list (Homeric words occurring in classical times) contains 2,250 words. This means that in classical times 3,517 (1,267 + 2,250) Homeric words were in current use and this implies that, according to Hatzidakis' calculations, 3,327 Homeric words had become obsolete by classical times.

However, my examination of these lists led me to the conclusion that Hatzidakis' figures are a little too conservative<sup>96</sup>. In the second list, containing Homeric words that occur in classical times, but not in Neohellenic times, I discovered that at least some 612 words are still spoken or understood by modern Greeks<sup>97</sup>. As for the peculiarly Homeric

<sup>96</sup> Most of the words that I have added to these two lists have been checked against the recent lexicon by Γ. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ, *Λεξικό της Νέας Έλληνικής Γλώσσας* (1998).

<sup>97</sup> Here I include such everyday words as ἄγαμος, ἀγέλη, ἀγνοῶ, ἀγρότης, ἀθρόος, αἰδῶς, αἰσχος, ἀκοντίζω, ἀκρόπολις, ἀκτὴ, ἀλλοδαπός, ἄλμα, ἄλσος, ἀμαξიტός, ἀναΐδεια, ἀναΐδης, ἀναΐτιος, ἀνατολή, ἀνεκτός, ἀντάξιος, ἀνώνυμος, ἀπαγγέλω, ἄπας, ἀπατηλός, ἀπειλή, ἀπειλῶ, ἀπεχθάνομαι, ἀπόρητος, ἀπρακτος, ἀργυρος, ἀριστεύω, ἀρετή, ἄρκτος, ἄρμα, ἀσκῶ, ἀστός, ἄστν, αὐτόματος, βάραθρον, βόθρος, βραδύς, βραχίων, βρέφος, βροτός, βωμός, γέρας, γῆρας, γηράσκω, γί(γ)νομαι, γυναικεῖος, δάκρυον, δάπεδον, δεινός, δειπνίζω, δέος, διαλέγομαι, διαφαίνω, δρῶ, δύστηνος, δυσμενής, ἐγείρω, ἐγκέφαλος, ἔδαφος, εἶθε, εἴσοδος, εἶτε, ἔκβασις, ἔκδηλος, ἐκπέμπω, ἐκτελῶ, ἔλαιον, ἔμβρυον, ἔνατος, ἐντός, ἐξαίρετος, ἐξάισιος, ἐξοδος, ἔπαλξις, ἐπάνοδος, ἐπείγω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιγράφω, ἐπίκουρος, ἐπιφέρω, ἔπος, ἐπώνυμος, ἐργάζομαι, ἐρεθίζω, ἔρις, ἐρυθρός, ἐρπετόν, ἔσπερος, ἐταῖρος, εὐθύμος, εὐρύς, εὐφροσύνη, εὐφύης, ζέφυρος, ἡγεμών, ἦθος, ἤλεκτρον, ἡμιτελής, ἡνίοχος, ἦπιος, ἡσύχιος, θάλαμος, θαλάσσιος, θάμβος, θάμνος, θεά, θέλω, θέμις, θεσμός, θνητός, θράσος, θρασύς, ἰθύνω, ἰκετεύω, ἰκέτης, ἱππεύς, ἱππόδρομος, ἵππος, ἰστίον, ἰστός, κάλυμμα, κάλυξ, καλύπτω, καμπύλος, καταισχύνω, καταρρέω, κατέρχομαι, κείμαι, κενός, κεραυνός, κῆρυξ, κηρύσσω, κλιμαξ, κνώδαλον, κόμη, κοσμῶ, κρανίον, κραταιός, κρήνη, κρίκος, κρόταφος, κύστις, λεωφόρος, λάρναξ, λειάνω, λείος, λέσχη, λήγω, λήθη, λιμός, λόφος, λόχος, λωτός, μαλθακός, μάντις, μάστιξ, μέγεθος, μέγιστος, μειδιάω, μήποτε, μητρώον, μνημοσύνη, μνηστεύω, μνηστήρ, ναύσταθμος, ναυτιλία, νέμω, νήπιος, νομός, νόσος, νυμφίος, ξέω, ξίφος, ξυστός, ὁσμὴ, ὁδοπόρος, ὁδός, ὀδύνη, ὀδύρομαι, οἰκῶ, οἰκία, οἶκτος, οἶνος, οἰνοχόος, οἰωνός, ὀλέθριος, ὀλεθρος, ὁμαλός, ὁμιλος, ὁμότιμος, ὁμώνυμος, ὄνειδιζῶ, ὄνειδος, ὄνος, ὀξύς, ὀπλίζω, ὀρκιον, ὀροφή, ὅσπου, οὐδεὶς, ὄχθη, παλλακή, παντοῖος, πάντως, παραπέμπω, παρέχω, παρθενικός, πάσσαλος, πάχη, πέδη, πέδιλα, πεδίον, πέμπτος, πενθῶ, πένθος, πενιχρός, πέπλος, πηγή, πηδάλιον, πλειστον, πλὴν, πλησιον, πλωτός, ποικίλω, ποικίλος, ποιμήν, ποίμνη, ποιή, πολύχρυσος, πορθμός, πρεσβύτερος, προθυμία, προνομῶ, πρόσκειμαι, προσφωνῶ, πρότερος, πρώην, πρωτότοκος, πυγμή, πυθμήν, πύλη, πυρετός, πυρκαϊά, πυρπολῶ, πυρσός, ῥάκος, ῥέπω, ῥέω, ῥητός, ῥόπαλον, ῥάλπιγξ, σαλπίζω, σέλας, σθένος, σκῆπτρον, σκιερός, σκιρτῶ, σκολιός, σκόπελος, σπένδω, σπεύδω, σπινθήρ, σπονδή, στέμμα, στήλη, συγκαλύπτω, συλλέγω, συμπαντες, συμπίπτω, συνεχής, σύριγξ, σφοδρῶς, σχεδία, τάλαντον, ταμία, τάτης, ταχύς, τελευτή, τέμενος, τέρμα, τέρπω, τέταρτος, τέφρα, τομή, τοξεύω, τόζον,

words, which are not supposed to occur even in classical authors, I discovered that at least some 100 words are still used in Neohellenic<sup>98</sup>. It ought to be supposed that these 100 words, too, were in use during classical times, and hence should be added to that list as well<sup>99</sup>. My figures, therefore, would be:

Homeric words (total):	6,844
Homeric words used in <i>Attic</i> times	3,617 (3,517 + 100)
Homeric words used in <i>Neohellenic</i>	1,979 (1,267 + 612 + 100)

This means that some four centuries after Homeros, Attic-Ionian used 3,617 words, i.e. 52.84% of Homeros' vocabulary, while 3,227 words, or 47.16%, had become obsolete. Now of the 3,617 Homeric words current in classical times, Neohellenic – twenty-three centuries later – still uses 1,979 words, or 54.71%, and only a bare 1,638 words, or 45.28%, have become obsolete<sup>100</sup>.

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τοξότης, τρέπω, τριπλή, τροφός, τρωτός, τύμβος, ὕδωρ, ὕλη, ὕμνος, ὕπαρ, ὑπέρ, ὑπερβαίνω, υπερβάλλω, υπερέχω, υπεροχος, υποβάλλω, ὕστατος, ὑφίσταμαι, φῶς, φαίνω, φάλαγξ, φαρέτρα, φείδομαι, φθόγγος, φιλόξενος, φίλτατος, φλέγμα, φλέγω, φόνος, φρίττω, φύλον, χαλκός, χαράδρα, χαροπός, χίμαιρα, χιτών, χλαῖνα, χωλός, ψεύδος, ὠδίνω, ὥς.

<sup>98</sup> The words are the following: ἀγανός, ἀγκαλῖς-ἀγκαλιά, ἀγχίαλος, ἀθέμιστος-ἀθέμιτος, ἀθλητήρ-ἀθλητής, αἰγίς, αἶγλη, αἶθουσα, ἀκάματος, ἀκτή, ἀκτήμων, ἄλγος, ἄλγεται, ἄλλοπρόσαλλος, ἀμβρόσιος, ἀμείλικτος, ἀναυδος, ἀνέφελος, αὐτοδίδακτος, ἀφοπλίζομαι, βιώω, βραχύτερος, γαμψώνυχες, γερούσιον-γερούσια, γλυκερός, δαίδαλον, δεῦτε, δωτήρ, ἐθελοντήρ-ἐθελοντής, ἐξοχος, ἐπιχρίω, ἐπτάπυλος, ζόφος, θαλαμηπόλος, θάλεια, θαλερός, θαλπωρή, θαμβῶ, θεόθεν, ἱόν, ἱππότα-ἱπότης, καταχθόνιος, κλιτύς, κνήμη, κνημῖς, κραδαινόμενον, κύπελλον, κῶμα, λαῖλαψ, μαστίζω, μαχητής, μεγάλθυμος, μέγαρον, μέλαθρον, μελανόχρους, νέκταρ, νέμεσις, ξεστός, ὀθόνη, οἶκονδε, παννύχιος, πάππα, παφλάζω, πελώριος, πολυανθής, πολυδαίδαλος, πολυδάκρυτος, πολυδένδρεον-πολύδενδρον, πολὺδωρος, πόρπη, ροδοδάκτυλος, ρυπάω-ρυπαίνω, σθεναρή, σκέπας-σκέπασμα, στεῖνος-στενός, στενωπός-στενωπός, στενάχω-στενάζω, στιβαρόν, στιλπνός, συτηγρός, συνάντομαι-συναντῶμαι, τελέσφορον, τρίαῖνα, τρομέω-τρέμω, ὑακίνθινος, ὑμέναιος, ὑπατος, ὑπέρτατος, ὑπέρτερος, ὑπερφίαλος, ὑπερώην-ὑπερώα, ὑπερώιον-ὑπερώω, ὑπιπετήεις-ὑπιπέτης, φαλαγγιδόν, φειδωλή-φειδωλία (φειδῶ), φήμις-φήμη, φθίω-φθίνω, φορεῦς, φόρμιξ, χάρμα.

<sup>99</sup> It should be pointed out that there are many more Homeric words that either are spelled identically in *N* but have acquired a (from slightly to very) different meaning, or they have undergone changes in orthography. If these words had been taken into account, then the Homeric vocabulary still extant in *N* would be much larger. Moreover, a number of Homeric (as well as classical words) not included here occur in *N* compounds.

<sup>100</sup> This confirms the view expressed above, that in its classical state Greek became crystallized and was not subject to arbitrary or inordinate change!

With regard to the New Testament, Hatzidakis found that of a total of about 4,900 words, 2,280 words are still spoken today; 2,220 words are well-understood by all Greeks when read or heard, and only 406 words are not understood. My examination of these words against Μπαμπινιώτη's *Λεξικό* showed that some 26 of the 406 words relegated to those not understood today, are either spoken or understood well by modern Greeks<sup>101</sup>. This would bring the NT words spoken and understood today to 4,526 or 92.25% of the total of the NT vocabulary, and those not understood to 380 words or 7.75%<sup>102</sup>.

Finally, with regard to Erotokritos, Hatzidakis found that of its vocabulary of about 3,000 only less than 20 words are not understood on Krete.

The above figures supply incontrovertible evidence for the inextricable relation of Neohellenic both to the Greek of the New Testament and to ancient Greek in general. The importance of Hatzidakis' evidence has been emphasized by Babinotes in the introductory essay of his recent *Lexicon on Neohellenic*<sup>103</sup>.

## IX. The New Testament in Neohellenic

To show the relation of *N* (Katharevousa and Demotic) to the original text of the NT, the text of John 3:1-4 will be presented in parallel columns along with the paraphrases of Nonnos (A.D. V), the Katharevousa of 1851 and the Neohellenic spoken at Athens in 1967<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>101</sup> These are: αἶνος, ἄρμα, (ὄψωσ)δήποτε, ἔπος, ἰός, καίτοι, κατακλύζω, κέρμα, λεγεών, μῶμος, νομηνία, ὀθόνη, περιτομή, πορθῶ, πορφυρόπωλις, προβατική, τοπάσιον, φραγγέλιον, φραγγελῶ, χλαμύς, χοῦς, χρυσόλιθος, χρώς, ῥδή, ῥδινω, ῥδινες.

<sup>102</sup> In order to forestall any misunderstanding, I will hasten to explain that although the uninitiated modern Greek may understand 92% of the vocabulary of the NT, he will have considerable problems with certain forms, especially those of the irregular verbs, and often with the syntax of the NT.

<sup>103</sup> Γ. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό της Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, p. 22.

<sup>104</sup> It is significant that out of 102 words in the 1967 paraphrase only ten words were likely to cause some difficulty to the non-Greek reader. It is equally significant that everyone of them is derived from the ancient stock.

NT (Original)	Nonnos fl. 450-470	Katharevousa 1851	Neohellenic 1967
<p>Ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, Νικόδημος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων·</p> <p>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 ἡ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Ἦν δὲ τις ἱερὸν αἷμα νοσπλανέων Φαρισαίων, ἀρχὸς Ἰουδαίων πολυλήτιος, ἔννομος ἀνὴρ· οὐνόμα οἱ Νικόδημος·</p> <p>2. ἀμάρτυρος οὗτος ὁδίτης Χριστῷ νυκτὸς ἵκανε φυλασσομένην ποδὶ βαίνων· ἔννυχος εἰς δόμον ἦλθεν, ὅπῃ φάος· ἀνδρὶ δὲ πιστῷ Ἰησοῦς ἐνέπων βαπτίσματος ἔνθεον αἶγλην νυκτιφανῇ Νικόδημον ἐφ' φαιδρύνατο μύθῳ, καὶ οἱ μῦθον ἔλεξε θεῷ πειθήνιος ἀνὴρ· ῥαββὶν ποικιλόμυθε, θεοφραδὲς ἴδμεν ὁπωπαῖς, ὅτι θεοῦ πομπῇσι διδάσκαλος ἵκεο κόσμου ἀνδρομέου βιότοιο βοηθός· οὐ δύναται γὰρ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ τάδε πάντα πολύτροπα θαύματα τεύχειν, ὅσσα σὺ θεσπεσίῳ τελεῖς παιήονι μύθῳ, εἰ μὴ οἱ συνάεθλος ἀλεξίκακος θεὸς εἴη.</p>	<p>Ἦτο δὲ ἄνθρωπος τις ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, Νικόδημος ὀνομζόμενος, ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων.</p> <p>2. Οὗτος ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν διὰ νυκτός, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, 'Ραββί, ἐξεύρομεν ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἦλθες Διδάσκαλος· διότι οὐδεὶς δύναται νὰ κάμνη τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ὅποια σὺ κάμνεις, ἐὰν δὲν ᾖ ὁ Θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>Ἦρχε κάποιος<sup>105</sup> ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ ὄνομα ἦτο Νικόδημος, ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων.</p> <p>2. Αὐτὸς ἦλθε τὴν νύκτα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοῦ εἶπε, «'Ραββί, ξέρομεν<sup>106</sup> ὅτι ἦλθες ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόν, διότι κανεῖς<sup>107</sup> δὲν ἡμπορεῖ<sup>108</sup> νὰ κάνῃ<sup>109</sup> τὰ θαύματα πὺ σὺ κάνεις, ἐὰν δὲν<sup>110</sup> εἶναι<sup>111</sup> ὁ Θεὸς μαζί<sup>112</sup> του».</p>

<sup>105</sup> This word derives from the ancient *κᾶν ποῖος*.

<sup>106</sup> This word comes from Mediaeval *ἐξεύρω* - *ξεύρω* which, in turn, derives from the 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist (*ἐξεῦρον*) of ancient *ἐξευρίσκω* "discover, seek", whose subjunctive (*ἐξεύρω*) was made into a new verb meaning "to know".

<sup>107</sup> This word is the Mediaeval formation from the ancient words *κᾶν εἷς* 'at least one', 'someone', and depending on the context, 'not one', 'no one' - as here.

<sup>108</sup> This term is Mediaeval (*μπορῶ* - *ἐμπορῶ*) either from ancient *εὐπορῶ* with the influence of *ἐμπορός* ('merchant') < *εὐπορος*, or derives directly from *ἐμπορῶ* < *ἐμπορος*.

<sup>109</sup> The word is present subjunctive of *κάνω* (*κάμω*, *κάμνω*) < ancient *κάνω*, whose original meaning was 'to work', 'to be exhausted by work'. The meaning today is 'to make', 'to produce'. The following form, *κάνεις*, is present indicative.

<sup>110</sup> This form is Mediaeval deriving from ancient *οὐδέν*, which in the Papyri was reduced to a negative particle, cf. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II.1, p. 233.

<sup>111</sup> The form *εἶναι* in *N* is third person singular of *εἶμαι* (= *εἰμι*, i.e. *ἐσθ(ν)*).

<sup>112</sup> The form *μαζί* is Mediaeval (*μαζί(ν)*) < ancient *μαζίον*, diminutive of *μάζα* ('lump', 'mass'), but came to be used as adverb: 'with', 'together with'.

NT (Original)	Nonnos fl. 450-470	Katharevousa 1851	Neohellenic 1967
3. ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ. Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.	3. Ἰησοῦς δ' ἀγόρευεν ἀση- μάντῳ τινὶ μύθῳ· εἰ μὴ τις μετὰ κέντρα τελεσιγόνοιοι λοχεῖις θνητὸς ἀνὴρ τίκ- τοιτο τὸ δεύτερον, αἰθέρος αὐλῆς οὐ δύναται βροτὸς οὗτος ἰδεῖν αἰώνιον ἀρχήν.	3. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἀλληθῶς, ἀλη- θῶς σοὶ λέγω, ἐὰν τις δὲν γεννηθῇ ἄνω- θεν, δὲν δύναται νὰ ἰδῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.	3. Ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ ἀπεκρίθη, « Ἀλήθεια, ἀλήθεια σοὺ λέγω, ἐὰν δὲν γεννηθῇ κανεῖς ἄνωθεν, δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ ἰδῇ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ».
4. λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν [ὁ] Νι- κόδημος, Πῶς δύναται ἄνθρω- πος γεννηθῆναι γέρων ὢν; μὴ δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μη- τρὸς αὐτοῦ δεύ- τερον εἰσελ- θεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι;	4. καὶ κεράσας Νικόδημος ἀνῆρυγε θαύματι φωνήν· πῶς δύναται μετὰ γῆρας ἀνὴρ, μετὰ λευκάδα χαίτην ἄλλην ὧπι τέλεστον ἔχειν ὥδινα γενέθλης; μὴ δύναται δίχα πατρός ἀεζιτόκου διὰ κόλπου μητέρος ἀρχαίης ἐγκύμονα γαστέρα δύναν θεσμόν ἰδεῖν γονόντα παλιννόστου τοκετοῖο;	4. Λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Νικό- δημος, Πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος νὰ γεννηθῇ γέρων ὢν; μήποτε δύναται νὰ εἰσ- έλθῃ δευτέραν φορὰν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ νὰ γεννηθῇ;	4. Λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Νικό- δημος, « Πῶς μπορεῖ νὰ γεννηθῇ ἓνας ἄνθρωπος ὅταν εἶναι γέρων; Μήπως μπορεῖ διὰ <sup>113</sup> δευτέραν φορὰν νὰ μῆ <sup>114</sup> εἰς τὴν κοιλιά τῆς μητέρας του καὶ νὰ γεννηθῇ; »

The above comparison shows that the Katharevousa paraphrase from 1851 is closest to the original. The Neohellenic paraphrase from 1967 differs more from the original, but is almost entirely understood by a non-Greek with sufficient linguistic equipment. The paraphrase of Nonnos, on the other hand, which chronologically is closest to the New Testament, is linguistically furthest removed, because it does not represent the Greek of the fifth century A.D., but the language of Homeros, c. 800 B.C. In other words, Nonnos belongs to the state of Greek before New Testament times<sup>115</sup>. Now the fact that that form of Greek is only 800 years away from

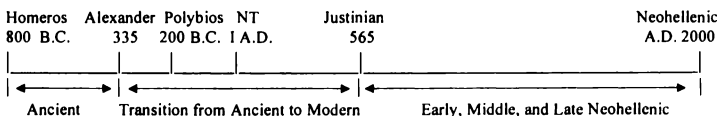
<sup>113</sup> The preposition διὰ (also γιὰ) here has the sense of 'for'.

<sup>114</sup> The word μῆ is aorist subjunctive of μπαίνω < Mediaeval ἐμπαίνω < ancient ἐμβαίνω, 'enter'.

<sup>115</sup> The fact that Nonnos' work is not a strict translation but a poetical paraphrase does not diminish the evidential value he supplies. The comparison is not made between the Johannine words and the flourishes of Nonnos, but between Nonnos' bearing words and the Johannine equivalents, cf. e.g. the samples in the following table:

the NT, while the Katharevousa and the Neohellenic are as many as 1800-1900 years, and yet are much closer to it than Homeros' language, proves quite conclusively that Greek has changed less during the past two thousand years, and that *N* is much closer to the New Testament than is generally supposed.

The following diagram illustrates that in the development of Greek time-length and change do not go hand in hand: contrary to what might be expected, greater changes may take place in a briefer period, while a more protracted period may be attended by slower change. The diagram shows: (a) the relatively short chronological distance between Homeros and Alexander, when ancient Greek turns to Koine Greek; (b) the protracted period from Alexander to Justinian, which constitutes the period of transition from ancient to *MGr*, and which in spite of the great chronological distance to Neohellenic, brings Polybios closer to it than to Homeros; (c) that the NT appears in the middle of the transition period, but is closer to Neohellenic than to Homeros, all of which shows (d) the slowness of change from Koine times to the present.



Vs	NT Text	Nonnos	Katharevousa	Neohellenic
1	ἄρχων	ἀρχός	ἄρχων	ἄρχων
2	ἦλθεν	ἵκανε	ἦλθε	ἦλθε
	ἐλήλυθας	ἵκεο	ἦλθες	ἦλθες
3	ἐάν μή ἡ ὁ θεός	εἰ μή οἱ συνάεθλος	ἐάν δὲν ἦναι ὁ	ἐάν δὲν εἶναι ὁ
	μετ' αὐτοῦ	ἀλεξίκακος θεός εἴη	θεός μετ' αὐτοῦ	θεός μαζί του
	ἀπεκρίθη	ἀγόρευεν·	ἀπεκρίθη	ἀπεκρίθη
4	ἐάν μή τις	εἰ μή τις ... τίκτοιτο τὸ	ἐάν τις δὲν	ἐάν δὲν γεννηθῇ
	γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν	δεύτερον	γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν	κανεῖς ἄνωθεν
	οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν	οὐ δύναται βροτός	δὲν δύναται νά	δὲν μπορεῖ νά ἰδῇ
	τὴν βασιλείαν	οὗτος ἰδεῖν αἰώνιον	τὴν βασιλείαν	τὴν βασιλείαν
	τοῦ θεοῦ	ἀρχὴν	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ
	λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν	ἀνήρυγε θαύματι φωνήν	λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν	λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
	γέρων ὦν	μετὰ γήρας ἀνὴρ	γέρων ὦν	ὅταν εἶναι γέρων
	κοιλίαν τῆς	διὰ κόλπου μητέρος	κοιλίαν τῆς	κοιλίαν τῆς
	μητρός		μητρός	μητέρας
	καὶ γεννηθῆναι	παλιννόστου τοκετοῖο	καὶ νά γεννηθῇ	καὶ νά γεννηθῇ



## X. A Neohellenic Example

Perhaps I might here relate by way of a concrete illustration an incident that took place over twenty years ago, that exemplifies the degree of feeling (das Gefühl) that Greeks still have for the language of the NT. Speaking to a 75-year-old Greek woman who had had no schooling, but had learned to read and write (with serious flaws in orthography), I confronted her with the problem between 1 Jn 2:1: τεκνία μου, ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν ἵνα μὴ ἀμάρτητε. Καὶ ἐὰν τις ἀμάρτη, παράκλητον ἔχομεν – which presupposes that Christians do sin – and 1 Jn 3:9: πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ ... καὶ οὐ δύναται ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτι ἐκ Θεοῦ γεγέννηται – which states that Christians cannot sin. I quoted these verses in Vamvas' Katharevousa paraphrase – which she used to read – according to which, 1 Jn 2:1 reads: τεκνία μου, ταῦτα σᾶς γράφω διὰ τὸ νὰ μὴ ἀμαρτήσητε· καὶ ἐὰν τις ἀμαρτήσῃ, ἔχομεν παράκλητον, and 1 Jn 3:9: πᾶς ὅστις ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀμαρτίαν δὲν πράττει ... καὶ δὲν δύναται νὰ ἀμαρτάνῃ, διότι ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. I asked her: "Does not the one statement contradict the other?" Having had no formal schooling at all, she had no idea of present and aorist or of indicative and subjunctive. And, of course, she had no inkling that sometimes the solution is sought in the postulation of John's having used different (contradictory) sources. But she felt that the way the author had expressed himself exonerated him from all self-contradiction. The gist of her answer was: "I don't think so. I think that in the one case John speaks of something instantaneous (she meant the aorist subjunctive ἀμαρτήσῃ), whereby a believer may fall into sin. In the other case, he speaks of something that goes on or is repeated again and again (she meant the present subjunctive ἀμαρτάνῃ), which would imply that the believer lives in sin". This is a good example of how much even an unschooled Greek can understand the NT<sup>116</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> HATZIDAKIS points out that "when our peasants hear the Gospel in Church [in the original Greek] they understand it, as far as the language goes" [my tr.] (*Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἑρευναι*, II, 298). In fact one of the arguments used against Vamvas' translation into Katharevousa Neohellenic was that "since the diction of the Bible is so clear to the Greeks, that apart from a very few passages that are in themselves difficult to understand, all other passages are easily understood by the most simple villager, who knows how to read, what need is there for translations?" (Archimandrite GERMANOS in *Sotir* 45, 21 – 06 – 1834, p. 186, Supplement).

A few years ago I was visited by a Greek, who requested my help in composing a document intended for the Greek authorities. He gave me a piece of paper of some 10-12 lines on which he had scribbled down his thoughts in absolutely atrocious Greek. The orthography was appalling and his syntax was even more wretched. But at one

## XI. A Current Neohellenic Text

To conclude the evidence on the nature of Neohellenic and its relation to the older Greek, presented in this chapter, I will now proceed to give a text from a modern philosopher, whose ability to utilize *N* in a creative way is highly praised by Babinotis<sup>117</sup>. The extract is from the Platonist philosopher Prof. J. Theodorakopoulos<sup>118</sup>.

Μόνον ἂν ἀποσπασθοῦμε ἀπὸ τῆς δογματικῆς ἀντίληψης ὅτι ὑπάρχει μιὰ ἐτοιμη καὶ χωριστὴ ἀπὸ μᾶς πραγματικότης, καὶ μόνον ἂν στρέψωμε τὴν προσοχή μας ἐκεῖ, ὅπου σχηματίζεται γιὰ μᾶς ὁ,τι ὀνομάζουμε πραγματικότητα, δηλαδή μέσα μας, μόνον τότε ἀποκοτῶμε ἀληθινὴ εἰκόνα τοῦ πῶς συντελεῖται ὁ,τι ὀνομάζουμε κόσμον καὶ πραγματικότητα. Ἡ στρόφη τῆς προσοχῆς μας πρὸς τὸ ἐσωτερικὸ ἐργαστήρι, ὅπου σχηματίζονται ἕνα-ἕνα τὰ συστατικὰ τῆς εἰκόνας μας γιὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν πραγματικότητα, μᾶς ἀποκαλύπτει τὸ *ἀέναιο γίνεσθαι* καὶ *φθεῖρεσθαι*, μιὰ ἀπειρία ἀπὸ γεγονότα, ὅπου κερδίζομε σ' πολὺ πνευματικὸ ἀγῶνα τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ *Εἶναι*. Μόνον ἐδῶ μέσα, δηλαδή σ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἐργαστήρι, ὑπάρχει ἡ *γένεσις* καὶ ἡ *φθορά*, τὸ *ἔρχεσθαι* καὶ *παρέρχεσθαι*, ὁ σχηματισμὸς καὶ ἡ διάλυσις τῶν αἰσθημάτων καὶ συναισθημάτων, τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ παραστάσεων, τὸ ἀκατάπαυστο παιχνίδι τῶν μορφῶν ποῦ ὀνομάζουμε κόσμον. Δὲν πρέπει νὰ ζητοῦμε, ἢ μάλλον νὰ τοποθετοῦμε, τὸ "*πάντα ῥεῖ*" ἔξω ἀπὸ μᾶς, ἀλλὰ μέσα μας. Ἀπὸ μέσα μας εἶναι ποῦ διαβαίνει τὸ αἰώνιο ρεῦμα, ἡ αἰώνια ροή, μὲ τὴν σειρά τῶν μορφῶν καὶ τῶν σχηματισμῶν, ποῦ τώρα εἶναι καὶ ἔπειτα δὲν εἶναι. Ἄν κανεὶς συνειδητοποιήσει μέσα του, στὸ ἐσωτερικὸ του, αὐτὸ τὸ *αἰώνιο γίνεσθαι*, τότε θὰ καταλάβει ὅτι ἡ ποικιλία καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτὸς τῶν φαινομένων δὲν ἔχει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ του κανένα μέσον γιὰ νὰ ἀντικειμενικοποιηθεῖ, νὰ ἔλθει στὸ φῶς τοῦ *συνειδέναι*. Τὸ ἴδιο δηλαδή τὸ *γίνεσθαι* δὲν ἔχει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ του κανένα τρόπο νὰ ἐκφράσει τὸ τί εἶναι, δὲν ἔχει καμιὰ γλῶσσα γιὰ νὰ ἀνακοινώσῃ τὸ *Εἶναι* του. Ἀντιθετα, ὁ ἀνθρώπος αἰσθάνεται τὴν ἀνάγκη – καὶ εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ ἀνάγκη βαθύτατα πνευματικὴ – ἀλλὰ ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἰκανότητα νὰ ἀπελευθερωθεῖ ἀπὸ αὐτὴ τὴν αἰώνια ροή μέσα του καὶ νὰ δώσῃ, ὅσο γίνεται, μορφή σ' αὐτὴ τὴ βουβὴ κατάστασις ποῦ ἔρχεται καὶ παρέρχεται. Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λυτρωτὴς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴ βουβότητα τοῦ *γίνεσθαι* εἶναι ἡ λέξις, ὁ λόγος, ἡ

point he had an Attic construction: the conjunction ὥπως along with an aorist subjunctive (nowadays used only in austere Katharevousa) to create a perfectly correct Attic final clause.

The Pontic dialect, which has preserved many ancient elements, uses, for example, the Attic ἰδρῶς instead of the *N* Demotic ἰδρώτας ('sweat'). Mr A. CONSTANTINIDIS informs me (in a letter dated 21 October 2002) of a conversation between two old Cypriot women. The one asks the other: Μαρία, εἶδες τὴν αἶγα μου; ('Maria, have you seen my goat?', NB that the ancient word for 'goat' is used). The other replies: ὀπωπά την ('I have seen it'). The second perfect ὀπωπα, long considered obsolete, is obviously still in use.

<sup>117</sup> ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα*, 132 ff.

<sup>118</sup> Θ. ΕΩΔΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, "Γλῶσσα καὶ Τέχνη" in his *Εἰσαγωγή στὴ Φιλοσοφία*, Vol. III, pp. 583-600.

γλώσσα. Αὐτὴ εἶναι τὸ ὄργανο μὲ τὸ ὅποιο βάζει τάξη καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ αὐτὴν τὴν πραγματικότητα, δηλαδὴ ἀποκτᾶ τὴ γνώση της. Γι' αὐτὸ ἡ λέξις δὲν εἶναι ἔκφραση, ἀλλὰ δημιούργημα τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς του ζωῆς. Μὲ τὴ λέξις ἡ συνείδησις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκτᾶ ἓνα καινούργιο περιεχόμενο. Τὰ ἀπείρα ψυχοφυσικὰ γεγονότα, ὁ κόσμος τῶν αἰσθημάτων καὶ τῶν συναισθημάτων, τῶν παραστάσεων καὶ τῶν συγκεκριμένων καταστάσεων μὲ τὴ γλωσσικὴ τῶν ἔκφραση προσλαμβάνουν καινούργια μορφή<sup>119</sup>.

Every single word in this text is Greek, it is fully Neohellenic, and yet almost all of these words go back to an Attic or Koine original. This text is not Katharevousa; it is Demotic. The few ancient philosophic expressions such as τὰ πάντα ρεῖ, τὸ γίνεσθαι, τὸ εἶναι, etc. (italicized), are so unobtrusively fitted in the Neohellenic text and they flow so naturally along with all other words, expressions and constructions, that the reader becomes oblivious to the fact that the text is composed partly of present-day forms and partly of forms that were in daily use 2500 years ago. This shows the nature, the capacity and the unlimited possibilities of Neohellenic, forming an appropriate conclusion to the concerns of this chapter<sup>120</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> I refrain from translating this text. Instead, I think, it would be a good exercise for the reader to try to identify the words with Attic or Koine originals, i.e. in those cases where the form is Demotic. This will show how close Neohellenic is to ancient Greek.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. the testimony of NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie*: "Die Beherrschung des Neugriechischen ist nach meinen eigenen Erfahrungen unter klassischen Philologen nicht gerade häufig (p. 434) ... Die Konsequenzen aus dieser Einsicht in die Einheit der griechischen Sprachgeschichte bzw. die Folgen ihrer Vernachlässigung sind in dieser Arbeit schon öfter klar geworden; als positives Beispiel seien hier W. SCHULZE's Bemerkungen über das griechische Verbsystem angeführt, die es wert sind, hier zitiert zu werden, um zu zeigen, zu welchen Einsichten man kommen kann, wenn man beide Sprachphasen beherrscht" (435). The reference is to SCHULZE, *Kleine Schriften*, 306 f.

## PART TWO

# Developments in Morphology and Syntax



## CHAPTER THREE

# The Transition from Attic to Neohellenic in Morphology and the New Testament

## I. The Stream of Development and the Roots of Neohellenic

George Hatzidakis (1848-1941), the first and greatest linguist of modern Hellas<sup>1</sup>, who more than anyone else, through his massive work, brought order and clarity to the history and the development of the Greek language

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<sup>1</sup> G. HATZIDAKIS has been described as “the Nestor of linguists” (P. KRETSCHMER), “the father and founder of linguistics in Greece” (K. VARNALIS and K. KRUMBACHER), “perhaps the greatest of modern linguists” (K. AMANTOS), “the greater of the two greatest linguists in the world” [the other being A. MEILLET] (J. DIHIGO). His work has won “the gratitude of every student of Neohellenic” (U. v. WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF); “We Germans are grateful that your *Einleitung*, this classic monument to the science (of language), was written in German” (A. HEISENBERG); “Proud to number you among its members” (the Bavarian Academy); “No one defended so energetically and successfully, as you did, the unity of the entire history of the Greek language from Homeros to the most recent dialects, and no one proved this so finally through such rich and detailed research” (the Academy of Berlin).

In his time not a few scholars of non-Greek descent made the effort to study HATZIDAKIS' writings in Greek and discussed his views in the learned journals. Among them may be mentioned A. ALLINSON, C. CASANGÈS, K. DIETERICH, A. HAUVETTE, A. HEISENBERG, V. HENRY, K. KRUMBACHER, M. LAMBERTZ, P. MARC, C. H. MULDER, H. PERNOT, F. STOLZ, F. SOLMSSEN, A. THUMB, P. VILMOS, N. VASMER, G. WARTEMBERG, W. ZIMMERER, *et al.* (see ΒΑΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΣ, “Γεώργιος Χατζιδάκις (1848-1941). Βίος καὶ Ἔργον”, prefacing the second volume of HATZIDAKIS' *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἐρευναι*, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν [Κέντρον τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ Λεξικοῦ, ΛΔ: Παράρτημα 2], ἐν Ἀθήναις 1977, 5-142). For a brief delineation of HATZIDAKIS' person and work, see Μαλικούρη, “Γεώργιος Χατζιδάκις” ΕΕΦΣΠΑ, 6 (1955-1956), 9-73, with an almost exhaustive bibliography of HATZIDAKIS' writings published during 1881-1938 (pp. 20-73), as well as the more extensive biography of HATZIDAKIS by Δ. Β. ΒΑΓΙΑΚΑΚΟΣ, as above.

Unfortunately, while classical and especially Byzantine scholars became aware of the value of Neohellenic and let it inform their discussions, NT scholars have not made the same effort to bring Neohellenic to bear on the exegesis of the NT. It is hoped that the pages of this book will open up a new horizon for the serious student of the NT.

from Homeros to the present day<sup>2</sup>, explored, among other things, “The Times during which Modern Greek was Developed”<sup>3</sup>. In this study he took up a long range of material that shows how older (*A*) elements gave place to new phenomena, both morphologically and syntactically. These changes, which took place between Alexander and Justinian (i.e. 335 B.C.-A.D. 565), show how the NT could, in a certain sense, be described as “the first book in [the more] Modern Greek”<sup>4</sup>.

In his discussion of the methodological principles to be applied in the research of mediaeval and modern Greek, Hatzidakis points out:

On account of their deep ignorance of the linguistic development from post-classical times to the present as well as of the laws according to which this was accomplished, philologists are usually content to treat modern Greek as a sickly

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<sup>2</sup> Naturally there have been many other scholars who have contributed to various aspects of the history of the Greek language. Here, mention may be made of the indefatigable labors of HATZIDAKIS' own teacher, Konstantinos KONTOS, who set off this important research. Nor should the immense research of Antonios JANNARIS be left unmentioned, who, in his imposing work, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, made one of the first attempts to show for non-Greeks the continuous development from ancient to modern Greek (without particular focus on the NT). A precursor to these scholars was Demetrios MAVROPHYDIS, who was the first to insist already in 1860 on the unity of the entire Greek language in his *Δοκίμιον Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, (published posthumously in 1871), as well as the great scholar Adamantios KORAËS.

There have been non-Greek scholars, too, who have contributed immensely through their painstaking researches, too many to mention here; a few examples are: K. KRUMBACHER, who brought Byzantine studies out of obscurity to the light of day; A. DEISSMANN and J. H. MOULTON, who made the evidence of the Papyri available; K. MEISTERHANS, who wrote the first grammar on the Attic inscriptions, and E. MAYSER, who wrote the first grammar on the papyri, inscriptions and ostraca of Ptolemaic times, extended by F. T. GIGNAC's grammar of the papyri of Roman and Byzantine times; A. THUMB and P. KRETSCHMER, who worked particularly on the dialects; and the great philologist U. von WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF.

Of recent attempts to delineate the history of Greek may be mentioned HORROCKS, *Greek*, and ADRADOS, *Geschichte*, for the latter part of which, they are, however, dependent on the work of others. However, the purview of the work of KONTOS, HATZIDAKIS, JANNARIS and other Greeks (e.g. KALITSOUNAKIS, KAPSOMENOS) was the entire Greek language, which is the focus of this study.

<sup>3</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, Περὶ τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἀνεπτύχθη ἡ νεωτέρα Ἑλληνικὴ. (in *MNE* I, 406-81. The material contained in the above study is a revised and enlarged version of material found in his *Einleitung in die neugriechische Sprache*, 1-49. See also the learned study by A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, “Ἀπὸ πότε ἀρχίζει ἡ Δημοτική”; *ΛΔ* 3 (1941), 3-56, who concentrates more particularly on the Demotic form.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase occurs in ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἐρευναι*, I, 488: τότε βεβαίως ἡ Κ.Δ. δύναται νὰ θεωρηθῇ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον τῆς νεωτέρας, τῆς ἀπλουστερας Ἑλληνικῆς. In this context, it is only hypothetical, though the whole of HATZIDAKIS' research shows that the NT, like Polybios, is closer to *N* than to *A* Greek.

offshoot of ancient Greek or as corrupt and barbarous Greek, whose careful investigation and knowledge, it is claimed, is not worth the trouble<sup>5</sup>.

Hatzidakis' work proved conclusively the unity of the Greek language as well as the importance of interpreting the phenomena of any particular period by bringing to bear the characteristics of the other periods of its history. It is for this reason that his work is of special significance for the research of the language of the New Testament.

For the history of the development from ancient to modern Greek, Hatzidakis lays down the following four criteria:

1. Those features that the Atticists, the Grammarians, the Lexicographers, the Scholiasts etc. take up for discussion, judging it necessary to recommend, to interpret, to distinguish from other features, to establish by ancient quotes or to define their form, syntax, meaning etc., all such features, I say, were then unhealthy, i.e. they were not frequent in the currently spoken language, they were becoming obsolete or had already become obsolete, they were not sufficiently known, or else they would not have been in need of such recommendations<sup>6</sup>.

2. Every feature that the Atticists reject or the Antatticist recommends ought to be considered as a genuine and real feature of the then spoken language and be our best guide to the correct understanding of post-classical and mediaeval Greek. ... If, however, those features, words, forms, syntax, etc., which are either rejected or with regard to which the Grammarians, the Atticists, etc., warn us, are in general use today, it is necessary to suppose that these features were in use in the popular language throughout the centuries; but if, in spite of everything, the mediaeval linguistic documents nowhere witness these linguistic features, then they [sc. the mediaeval documents] are shown to be defective and untrustworthy<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 360: Διὰ τὴν μεγάλην δὲ ἄγνοιαν ταύτης τε τῆς γλωσσικῆς ἐξετάσεως ἀπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων χρόνων μέχρι σήμερον καὶ τῶν νόμων καθ' οὓς ἐτελέσθη, ἀρκοῦνται συνήθως οἱ φιλολογοῦντες νὰ θεωρῶσι τὴν νέαν Ἑλληνικὴν ὡς νοσηρὰν παραφυάδα τῆς ἀρχαίας ἢ ὡς διεφθαρμένην καὶ ἐκβαρβαρωμένην Ἑλληνικὴν, ἧς ἡ ἀκριβὴς ἐξετάσις καὶ γνῶσις δὲν εἶναι, ὡς λέγεται, ἀνταξία τοῦ κόπου. One of those who thought that Neohellenic was 'corrupt' and 'barbarous' was Friedrich BLAU (see Ch. Six, section 3).

<sup>6</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 372: Πᾶν στοιχεῖον οὐτινος οἱ Ἀττικισταί, οἱ Γραμματικοί, οἱ Λεξικογράφοι, οἱ Σχολιασταί κλπ. ἐπιμελοῦνται, κρίνοντες ἀναγκαῖον νὰ συστήσωσιν αὐτό, νὰ ἐρμηνεύσωσι, νὰ διαστείλωσιν ἀπ' ἄλλων, νὰ πιστώσωσι δι' ἀρχαίων παραδειγμάτων ἢ καθορίσωσι τὸν τύπον, τὴν σύνταξιν, τὴν σημασίαν κλπ. αὐτοῦ, πᾶν τοιοῦτον τότε ἐνόσει, τ. ἐ. δὲν ἦτο πολὺ συχνὸν ἐν τῇ τότε λαλουμένῃ, ἀπηρχαιοῦτο ἢ ἦτο ἡδη ἀπηρχαιωμένον, δὲν ἐγινώσκετο ἀρκοῦντως, ἄλλως δὲν θὰ εἶχεν ἀνάγκην τῶν συστατικῶν τούτων.

<sup>7</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 372f.: Πᾶν ὃ τι οἱ Ἀττικισταί ἀπορρίπτουν ἢ ὁ Ἀντατικιστὴς συνιστᾷ, ὀφείλεται νὰ θεωρῇται ὡς στοιχεῖον ἀληθὲς καὶ πραγματικὸν τῆς τότε λαλουμένης καὶ νὰ εἶναι ὁ ἀριστος ἡμῶν ὁδηγὸς εἰς ὀρθὴν νόησιν τῆς μτγν. [= μεταγενεστέρας] καὶ μεσαιωνικῆς γλώσσης ... Ἐὰν δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα, λέξεις, τύποι, συντάξεις κλπ., ἅτινα ἀποβάλλονται ἢ ἀφ' ὧν ἀποτρέπουσιν οἱ Γραμματικοί,



3. Every feature that is found in these authors, especially those after the XII<sup>th</sup> century, which does not appear reconcilable with our ancient or modern language, i.e. everything that is examined from both standpoints and is found monstrous or un-Greek, should be dismissed from the investigation as something alien to the true language and as useless, being simply the result of the contemporary writers' tastelessness and ignorance<sup>8</sup>.

The above criterion was formulated in polemic against Psycharis<sup>9</sup>, who argued that the mediaeval literary documents were not written in a mixed form of Greek (composed of ancient and mediaeval elements), but simply in the language current at each particular period, and that no method was available for distinguishing ancient elements from contemporary elements successfully. Therefore, Psycharis insisted, all elements should be accepted as genuinely mediaeval. He was, therefore, of the opinion that the transition from ancient to modern Greek had transpired first in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>. Psycharis' position came to grief.

4. Every ancient feature that is monstrously distorted by these tasteless authors should be considered as obsolete and alien for the times of its users. Because only what is not truly felt, only what one has learned imperfectly in school or from books, can be so distorted<sup>11</sup>.

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Ἀττικιστὰι κλπ., εἶναι σήμερον ἐν καθολικῇ χρήσει, ἀνάγκη νὰ πιστευθῇ ὅτι ταῦτα εὐχρήστουν διὰ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῇ γλώσσῃ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐάν δέ, παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα, τὰ μεσαιωνικὰ γλωσσικά μνημεῖα μηδαμοῦ παρέχουσιν ἡμῖν τὰ γλωσσικά στοιχεῖα ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐλέγχονται ἐλλιπῇ καὶ ἀναξίοπιστα. As examples here HATZIDAKIS quotes αὐτόν for αὐτόν and τοῦτοι instead of οὗτοι, which are witnessed in post-classical times [e.g. Apollonios Dyskolos, *Pronominibus*, II, 1,1, p. 57; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* 80, 1652], as well as in modern times, but not in Byzantine authors before the XI<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>8</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 374: Πᾶν ὃ τι ἀναγινώσκεται παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσι τοῦτοις, ἰδίᾳ τοῖς μετὰ τὸν 12<sup>ον</sup> αἰῶνα, ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν νέαν ἡμῶν γλῶσσαν φαίνεται συμβιβαστόν, τ. ἔ. πᾶν ὃ τι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐξεταζόμενον εὐρίσκεται τερατῶδες καὶ ἀνελλήνιστον, ὀφείλει νὰ ἐκβάλληται ἐκ τῆς ἐρεῦνης ὡς ξένον τῆς ἀληθοῦς γλώσσης καὶ ἀχρηστον, ἀπλῶς δὲ γέννημα ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ἀμαθείας τῶν τότε γραφῶν.

<sup>9</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, "Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἐλληνικῆς", *MNE* I, 356-59.

<sup>10</sup> PSYCHARIS, *Essais de grammaire historique du néo-grec*, Vol. I, *passim*. JANNARIS has written a detailed review of this work in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 3 (1891), 230-43.

<sup>11</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 373: Πᾶν ἀρχαῖον στοιχεῖον ὅπερ οἱ ἀπειρόκαλοι οὗτοι συγγραφεῖς φρικτῶς παραμορφοῦσιν, ὀφείλομεν νὰ θεωρῶμεν ἀπρηχαιωμένον καὶ ἀλλότριον τῶν χρόνων καθ' οὓς ἔζησαν οἱ οὕτω μεταχειριζόμενοι αὐτό. Διότι μόνον ὃ τι δὲν εἶναι αἰσθητὸν ἀληθῶς, μόνον ὃ τι ἐμαθῆ τις ἐν τῷ σχολείῳ ἢ ἐκ βιβλίων καὶ τοῦτο ἀτελῶς, δύναται οὕτω νὰ διαστραφῇ.

To these four criteria Hatzidakis adds the principle that the criticisms of the grammarians and the Atticists are applicable not only to the individual "mistakes" discussed, but also to whole classes of such phenomena. Furthermore, with regard to the linguistic materials that should be the object of research, Hatzidakis argues that just as the classicistic, Atticistic compositions of later times do not represent a true and faithful picture of the Greek spoken at those times by the majority of Greeks, so, too, all those documents that were composed outside Greece, by non-Greeks, as for instance in Egypt, Nubia, Asia, etc., afford us many times a wholly incorrect and un-Greek picture of the language<sup>12</sup>. He says:

Just as the Atticistic literature usually gives a picture more of the older than of the contemporary situation on each occasion, so, too, the compositions of the aliens in their respective countries give us a picture of the language as corrupted in their countries rather than of the language as used by genuine Greeks in Greece. And just as anyone who thought that Lukianos' or Ploutarchos' or any other puristic author's diction was the same as the Greek spoken by the people in general would be wrong, so, too, everyone who thinks that the speech of the barbarians, as shown by many Egyptian papyri and inscriptions from Nubia, is the same as the one used by contemporary Greeks is to be considered mistaken. Both phases of the language, that of the Atticizing authors as well as that of the barbarians of Egypt and other countries, ought to be first of all scrutinized, tested with strict criteria, and only after they have been thus purified, be accepted as trustworthy witnesses to the language current at that time<sup>13</sup>.

It should not escape our notice that Hatzidakis is here concerned with the historical development of *MGr*, which has its roots in the Attic-Koine. By *MGr* Hatzidakis means the *Modern Demotic* form of *Neohellenic*, whose history he traces in his research. This he distinguishes sharply from the puristic or classicistic form of Greek, which has existed throughout the

<sup>12</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 376.

<sup>13</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 376f: Κατὰ ταῦτα ὅπως ἡ ἀττικίζουσα γραμματεία παρέχει ἡμῖν συνήθως εἰκόνα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀρχαιοτέρου ἢ τοῦ συγχρόνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκαστοτε λόγου, οὕτω καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' ἀλλοδαπῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ ταῦτα παριστῶσιν ὑμῖν εἰκόνα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐν ταῖς χώραις ταύταις ἐν χρήσει διεφθαρμένου λόγου ἢ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν γνησίων Ἑλλήνων ἐν Ἑλλάδι λαλουμένου. Καὶ ὅπως τις θὰ ἐσφάλλετο, ἀν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ ἢ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου ἢ οἰοῦδηποτε ἄλλου τῶν τότε καθαρυνόντων συγγραφέων ἐταῦτιζε τῷ τοῦ λαοῦ, οὕτως ἀνάγκη νὰ ὑπολαμβάνηται ὅτι σφάλλεται καὶ ὅστις περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων, ὃν πολλοὶ Αἰγυπτιακοὶ πάπυροι καὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Νοubiás καὶ Ἀσίας δεικνύουσιν ἡμῖν, ἐφρόνει ὅτι ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ τῶν συγχρόνων Ἑλλήνων. Ἀμφότεραι αἱ γλῶσσαι καὶ φάσεις, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀττικιζόντων συγγραφέων καὶ ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ λοιπῶν χωρῶν ὀφείλουσι κατὰ πρῶτον νὰ κρίνωνται, νὰ βασανίζωνται αὐστηρῶς καὶ μόνον ἀφοῦ οὕτω καθαρισθῶσι, νὰ παραλαμβάνωνται ὡς ἀξίόπιστοι μάρτυρες περὶ τῆς τότε γλώσσης.

centuries [and in its latest phase been called Katharevousa] side by side with the spoken Demotic language, and which takes its cue from the Atticistic revival. Its vocabulary and declension system, as has been pointed out earlier in this study, is largely that of classical Greek, the verb system is somewhat simplified as is its syntax.

However, from the point of view of my interest, that is, the relation of Neohellenic to the Greek of the New Testament, both forms of Greek that have been used by Greeks throughout the centuries to the present day, when speaking or writing, are relevant to this investigation. It should, thus, be obvious, that my primary interest is not the development of the Demotic form of Greek as such, often called the 'genuine' language of the people, but of the Greek language in its entire linguistic spectrum, both spoken and written, both Demotic and Katharevousa.

The word 'genuine' in the previous sentence is somewhat misleading. In this context it is applied to the language as used and developed naturally by the people in contradistinction to the Katharevousa form, which is not 'genuine', that is, in the sense that it is not the form of Greek that children learned from their mother, but the form of Greek that educated people learned at school to make their public speeches and to write their compositions. But beyond this distinction, both forms are fully Greek; in fact the Katharevousa would be 'purer' Greek, since the Demotic has acquiesced to a number of loan-words. The one would be more archaic, the other more current, i.e. showing the stage of language development at each point of history. Since both forms were taught at school until 1976, it is obvious that both forms are of significance for the present investigation.

One more point of importance ought to be made to forestall misunderstanding. Despite all talk by advocates of the Demotic that the Katharevousa is an artificial, lifeless, dead language, it is not possible to separate the one from the other as though they were two different languages. When a speaker or writer of the Demotic cannot find a word or a construction in Demotic, because this form of Greek cannot supply them, he takes the word or the construction freely from the Katharevousa or even from ancient Greek<sup>14</sup>. This shows the deep, inextricable interweaving of the Demotic with both ancient Greek and Katharevousa.

Since we cannot speak of any clear demarcations between Demotic and Katharevousa as far as lexicon goes, we must understand the modern Greek linguistic situation, as was shown in Chapter One, as a wide spectrum. At

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, *Γιστορία*, 153, citing PSYCHARIS: "I write the common language of the people. When our Demotic language does not have a word I need, I take the word from ancient Greek and I try, insofar as this is possible, to fit it in the grammar of the people" (my tr.).

the one end, there is the austere Katharevousa, found, for example, in E. Voulgaris, P. Kodrikas, G. Mistriotis, and K. Kontos and the somewhat less austere form found in Vamvas' translation of the Bible (1851), Hatzidakis' own compositions, in articles in *i.a.* the philological journal *Ἀθηνᾶ*, as well as literary authors such as Papadiamantis and Roïdis. At the other end, there are the various forms of Demotic, represented by many poets of the XIX<sup>th</sup> and XX<sup>th</sup> centuries (such as I. Vilaras, D. Solomos, K. Palamas, K. Karyotakis, A. Eftaliotis, A. Sikelianos, and G. Seferis) and, in particular, on the Greek streets today. Between these extremes there are all sorts of positions. For example, a translation of the New Testament made in 1967 by four Athens professors is supposed to be in simple Katharevousa<sup>15</sup>. It is practically in the form of Neohellenic that Athenians spoke around 1959 (when the present author left Athens) and subsequently. This is relatively different from the 1997 translation, *Ἡ Ἀγία Γραφή*, which uses Demotic vocables (even dialectal and foreign ones) in conscious reaction to the Katharevousa.

Today the Greek often has the choice of using either a more literary noun or verb (in which case it will inevitably be Katharevousa, which means almost invariably ancient) or the Demotic form of it. But ardent advocates of Demotic often try to construct artificial forms in order to rid themselves of the Katharevousa forms, which are none other than the Greek forms which their forefathers have used for thousands of years. Thus, Psycharis wanted to replace, for example, ἡ θέσις, οἱ (= αἱ) θέσεις still said today by ἡ θέση, οἱ θέσες and οἱ ζητήσεις by οἱ ζηήσες and so on, plural forms which are not used today<sup>16</sup>. The Politician Andreas Papandreou in his speeches substituted ὁ ἀγέρας, a dialectal form, used by some poets, for ὁ ἀέρας (< ὁ ἀήρ), the normal word every Greek learned both at home and in school, because in this way, he felt, he could capture the attention of certain sectors of the Greek masses. The national poet of Greece, D. Solomos, substituted λευτεριά for the ordinary term ἐλευθερία in the *National Anthem*<sup>17</sup>. All these and a myriad other examples that might be cited here are certainly Greek, but the form seems often to be sought after. Thus, Psycharis wanted to substitute μπασιά (< μπαίνω < ἐμβαίνω = enter) for the Greek term εἴσοδος (entrance), while for σύμπαν (universe)

<sup>15</sup> *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (BFBS), Ἀθῆναι 1967.

<sup>16</sup> They were propounded as experiments by some in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>17</sup> This form is mediaeval, and might be excused in poetry. For the text of the 158 verses of this hymn, the first two of which constitute the national Greek Anthem, see *Διονυσίου Σολωμοῦ ᾠδόντα*, Vol. I, ed. Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗ, Ἀθῆναι: Ἰκαρος, 1948, pp. 1986, pp. 71-97.

he suggested τοποσιά (< τόπος = place)<sup>18</sup>. Such forms which are unknown to most Greeks, and certainly were not standard up to the second half of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, are used also by the well-known author Nikos Kazantzakis, whose works abound in dialectal forms from his native Krete.

## II. Morphological and Syntactical Developments

With the introductory comments above, I will now address a number of morphological (as well as a few syntactical) phenomena that exemplify the development that took place from *A* to *N*, and which shows that the New Testament often has to take its place in the second camp. The discussion cannot aspire to anything like exhaustiveness, either in the number of cases taken up, or in the depth of treatment. Nevertheless, a sufficient number of phenomena will be discussed which, it is hoped, will place the Greek of the New Testament in proper perspective<sup>19</sup>.

Soon after the Attic dialect had prevailed over the other Greek dialects (this was finalized by the adoption of Attic in Makedonia during the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> century B.C.), historical circumstances, most notably Alexander's campaign, opened up unusual prospects for its spread. The Attic dialect, which had been formed on the literary anvil of authors of unusual genius, became in the hands of a Platon and a Demosthenes a plastic language capable of meeting the highest demands of literary precision, while at the same time becoming an instrument for gifted minds to express in a superlative way the intricacies of the human soul, to create a synthesis in which intellectual and aesthetic perfection reached their zenith.

However, while the Attic dialect was becoming a world language, it also embarked upon a course that would inevitably lead it to its 'collapse'. The agents to whom it owed its world domination were not the architects who had curved it with feeling and taste, but soldiers, engineers, technicians, physicians and second rate literati from every corner of the Greek world. When the barbarians, too, were in time invited to feast on its sumptuous table, the havoc was complete. All those features that had made it what it had been began to fall away. The precision, the delicateness, the

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<sup>18</sup> The word is not recorded in ΔΔ, ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ's moderate Demotic *Λεξικό* nor even in the pronouncedly Demotic *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* of the Triandafyllidis Foundation.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also MANDILARAS' work, *Studies in the Greek Language. Some Aspects of the Development of the Greek Language up to the Present Day*.

expressiveness, the aesthetic beauty began to wane, to leave behind them the bare structure, imposing though it still was. Stripped of its finest, most intricate and delicate elements, it received the less sensitive equivalents from the other dialects, as well as new patterns that gave it a new appearance. Attic now became Koine.

This change marks the early stages of the long process that turned Attic Greek to Mediaeval and Modern Greek. If only one term were to be used to characterize this evolutionary process, it would be *simplification*. The language of the New Testament is well on its way away from Attic and towards Modern Greek. Here follows a survey of the key developments that took place around the time of the New Testament (which help us to see its nature and to place it in the evolution process).

1. An early change saw peculiarly Attic words such as ἄρρην, γλῶττα, θάλαττα, λεώς, νεώς, νάπυ, τήμερον, give way to ἄρσιν, γλῶσσα, θάλασσα, λαός, ναός, σίναπυ, σήμερον, all terms that occur both in the NT and *N* (both Katharevousa and Demotic [σήμερα])<sup>20</sup>.

2. Post-classical times saw a clear tendency to exchange irregular or odd forms for regular ones. Thus the more irregular *A* (often medium) forms ἀκούσομαι, ἀλῶ, ἀμαρτήσομαι, ἀπαντήσομαι, ἀποδράσομαι, βοηθήσομαι, ἐπαινέσομαι, θαυμάσομαι, καθιῶ, κλαύσομαι, πλεύσομαι, σιωπήσομαι, τελῶ, etc. were superseded by the more regular active forms ἀκούσω, ἀλέσω, ἀμαρτήσω, ἀπαντήσω, ἀποδράσω, βοηθώ, ἐπαινέσω, θαυμάσω, καθίσω, κλαύσω, πλεύσω, σιωπήσω, τελέσω. Most of these occur in the NT, while all of them occur in *N*. Similarly, the more irregular forms ἡγαγον, εἶλον (< αἰρῶ), ἐβλαστον, ἐβίων, ἔδακον, ἀπέδραν, ἔδραμον (still in NT), ἔκραγον, ἔλακον, ὥφλον, ἐπτόμην, ἐρρύην, ἔφθην, etc. gave place to ἤξα, ἤρρησα, ἐβλάστησα, ἐβίωσα (ἔζησα), ἔδηξα (Demotic ἐδάγκασα), ἀπέδρασα, ἔτρεξα, ἔκραξα, ἐλάκησα, ὥφλησα, ἐπέτασα, ἔρρευσα, and ἔφθασα (NT and *N*).

3. More regular and expressive words and forms took the place of more irregular and less expressive equivalents: Thus κνήθω was preferred to κνῶ<sup>21</sup>, τὸ πλοῖον to ἡ ναῦς, ὁ χοῖρος to ὁ ὕς, τὸ πρόβατον to ὁ οἶς, τὸ προσφάγιον to τὸ ὄψον, τὸ ὀνάριον (NT 5 x, Demotic: τὸ ψάρι) to ὁ

<sup>20</sup> The Attic form λεώς is still alive in the modern term λεωφορεῖο(ν) '(a vehicle that) transports people', i.e. 'bus', νεώς in νεωκόρος (still in use). *N* has gone back to Attic in the form of ἄρρην (e.g. μητρώα ἀρρένων = 'registration list of boys') though the element ἄρσεν- also is still used in compounds (e.g. ἀρσενικοθήλυκος 'hermaphrodite'). Attic κηρύττω is the normal form both in Katharevousa and Demotic (less frequently κηρύσσω) (see also ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, s.v.).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Moiris, 201, 28: κνήν Ἀττικοί, κνήθειν Ἑλληνες.

ἰχθύς (NT 20 x)<sup>22</sup>. Later Greek also preferred μέγας, μεγαλώτερος (*N*: Kath.: μεγαλύτερος, Dem.: μεγαλύτερος) to μέγας, μείζων; ταχύς, ταχύτερος to ταχύς, θάπτον (-σσον), πλειότερος to πλείων, etc.<sup>23</sup> The same reasons led them to use diminutives in place of the ordinary forms. We thus find in the NT ὠτίον (< τὸ οὖς), παιδίον (< ὁ, ἡ παῖς), παιδάριον, παιδίσκη (< ἡ παῖς), κυνάριον (< ὁ κύων). Κλειδίον (< ἡ κλείς, Attic: κλῆς), and κτένιον (also Kath.; Dem.: ἡ κτένα, τὸ κτένι[ον] [χτ-]) (< ἡ κτεῖς) do not occur in the NT.

4. New formations include: προκοπή (NT 3 x) (< προκόπτω), not in *A*, ζυμῶ (NT 4 x) for *A* φύρω / φυρῶ, ἔστακα / ἔστηκα (intrans., NT) (< ἵστημι) instead of *A* στήσας ἔχω, as well as composites instead of circumlocutionary expressions, such as δεσμοφύλαξ (NT: 3 x, also *N*) instead of *A* φύλαξ τοῦ δεσμοφωτηρίου, καλοκάγαθος (also in *N*) instead of *A* καλὸς κάγαθός; νουνεχής, νουνεχῶς (Mk 12:34, also *N*) instead of *A* νοῦν ἔχων, νοῦν ἐχόντως; and finally simple forms for circumlocutionary expressions: γενήματα (NT 5 x) instead of *A* καρποὶ (ξηροί) (so *N*), αἰχμαλωτεύω (NT Eph 4:8) and αἰχμαλωτίζω (NT 4 x; so, too, *N*) instead of *A* αἰχμάλωτον λαμβάνω / ἄγω, pass. αἰχμαλωτίζομαι (so *N*) instead of *A* αἰχμάλωτον γίνεσθαι, Στωικοὶ (Act 17:18, also *N*) instead of *A* οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς.

5. The *A* ending for feminines in -τρίς, -τρίδος gave place to the more regular ending -τρια, -τριάς, thus: μαθητρίς becomes μαθήτρια (Act 9:36, so *N*), κιθαριστρίς becomes κιθαρίστρια<sup>24</sup> (*P*, *N*), γεννητρίς becomes γεννήτρια<sup>25</sup>.

6. At the same time there is a tendency to create new terms after the ancient prototypes. Derivative endings in -μος, -μα, -ινος, -της, -ᾶς have established themselves ever since as very popular ways of forming new words: cf. the following NT words: ἀγιασμός, ἐνταφιασμός, μακαρισμός, πειρασμός, παράπτωμα<sup>26</sup>, ὁλοκαύτωμα, βάπτισμα<sup>27</sup>, ἐπίβλημα<sup>28</sup>, κατάλυ-

<sup>22</sup> See KALITSOUNAKIS, "Ὅψον und ὁψάριον" in *Festschrift für Paul Kretschmer*, 105, and CARAGOUNIS, "ὍΨΩΝΙΟΝ: A Reconsideration of Its Meaning", *NovT* XVI, (1973), 35-57.

<sup>23</sup> The forms ἐλάσσων (ἐλάττων) and ἐλάχιστος are comparative and superlative of ἐλαχύς ('small', 'little') and are also so used of μικρός. Because of its aversion to using irregular forms, *P* Greek gave to this irregular superlative, now weakened to a mere positive, the regular termination of the comparative and superlative -τέρος, -τάτος producing the hybrid form ἐλαχιστότερος (Eph 3:8) and ἐλαχιστότατος (Alexandros Philos., *Commentary on Aristoteles' Metaphysics*, 799, 4).

<sup>24</sup> Already in Aristoteles, *Athenaion Politeia*, 50.2. The word is not found in KRIARAS, *Lexicon*, s.v.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Phrynichos, *Sophistike Paraskeue*, 62, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Since Polybios, 9,10.6.

μα<sup>29</sup>, βδέλυγμα<sup>30</sup>, ἄντλημα<sup>31</sup>, χάρισμα, ἀρχιτρίκλινος, πρόσπεινος, τρίχινος, πρωινός<sup>32</sup>, βαπτιστής, βιαστής<sup>33</sup>, οἰκοδεσπότης, προσαίτης, προσκυνητής, συζητητής, εὐαγγελιστής, μεσίτης, ζηλωτής, σατανᾶς (Heb. שָׂטָן)<sup>34</sup>. All these endings are very prolific in *N*. Hatzidakis notes that post-classical adjectives took the ending -έινος as, e.g., ξυλείνος, πηλείνος, σιδερέινος, χωματέινος, πετρεῖνος along with the ancient ξύλινος, πήλινος, πέτρινος<sup>35</sup>. It is interesting to note, however, that *N* (Kath. and Dem.) has gone back to the ancient forms: ξύλινος, πήλινος, χωμάτινος (and χωματένιος!), πέτρινος, etc. Σιδηρέινος has become σιδηρένιος.

7. A certain regularization took place during *P* times with regard to personal and case endings. The 1<sup>st</sup> aorist endings -α, -ας, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, -αν and the 2<sup>nd</sup> aorist endings -ον, -ες, -ε, -ομεν, -ετε, -ον (e.g. εἶπον, εἶπες, εἶπε, εἶπομεν, εἶπετε, εἶπον) were combined to give the endings -α, -ες, -ε, -αμεν, -ατε, -αν (e.g. ἐπῆρα, ἐπῆρες, ἐπῆρε, ἐπήραμε(ν), ἐπήρατε, ἐπήραν; εἶπα, εἶπες, εἶπε, εἶπαμεν, εἶπατε, εἶπαν; ἦλθα, ἦλθες, ἦλθε, ἦλθαμεν, ἦλθατε, ἦλθαν [Dem. ἦρθα etc.]). A similar process of regularization and simplification took place for the second person of -μαι verbs, where the earlier -η -α -ου were replaced by the more regular -σαι -σο, e.g. Lk 16:25: ὀδυνᾶσαι (instead of ὀδυνᾶ), 1 Cor 4:7: καυχᾶσαι (instead of καυχᾶ), LXX Deut 28:39: πίεσαι (instead of πίη or -ει), Lk 17:8 φάγεσαι καὶ πίεσαι (instead of φάγη κ. πίη)<sup>36</sup>. Romanos Melodios (VI A.D.) 9, 4, 7: τί ποεῖσαι τὸν σύνδουλον; According to Hatzidakis (*MNE* I, 427f.), *N* εἶμαι (= εἰμι) occurs in Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos († 959 A.D.). But according to Niehoff-Panagiotidis it occurs already as far back as 256 A.D. in a document from Hermoupolis<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Since the NT, cf. *BDAG*, s.v.

<sup>28</sup> Since Nikostratos Komikos (350 B.C.).

<sup>29</sup> Since Polybios.

<sup>30</sup> At the latest since the LXX. However, *BDAG*, s.v. refer to Aisopos, *Fables* 425.

<sup>31</sup> Since Ploutarchos, *Whether Land Animals or Sea Animals are Cleverer*, 974e.

<sup>32</sup> Since the LXX.

<sup>33</sup> First in the NT.

<sup>34</sup> The ending in -ᾶς is particularly usable in *N*: βουτυρᾶς (butter-maker), σαμαρᾶς (saddle-maker), τυρᾶς (cheese-maker), γυναικᾶς (one who runs after women). HATZIDAKIS deplores the fact that through its wide use this ending rendered obsolete a large number of compounds which were much more expressive and clearer (*MNE* I, 421).

<sup>35</sup> XATZIDAKI, *MNE* I, 418.

<sup>36</sup> SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon* 40 f. quotes many examples among which: Klement Alexandrinos, *Protreptikos* VI. 62: εὖ γε, ὦ Πλάτων, ἐπαφᾶσαι τῆς ἀληθείας ("... you touch on truth"), and Basilios, *Against Eunomios* (MPG) 29, 753: ἐναντιοῦσαι τῇ καλῇ ταύτῃ πίστι, Basilios of Seleukia, *Sermons* XLI. 473: λυτροῦσαι.

<sup>37</sup> NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie* 27 ff.



Hatzidakis was of the opinion that the *N* passive aorist 3 pers. sing. ending in -θηκε was created after the time of Prodrornos and is found first in Georgillias (XV A.D.)<sup>38</sup>. Papadopoulos<sup>39</sup> offers some evidence that the form is witnessed already in pre-Christian times in an inscription from Thespiai: ἐπιδεῖ ἁ μίσθωσις τῶν πνύων διεσσεῖλθεικε, ὑπάρχι δὲ ἐν τῇ προτηνὶ προρρεῖσει ἢ τίς καβεῖλει τη τῶν ἐμβεβαόντων ὑπογράψασθη τὰς αὐτὰς μίσθωσις, δεδόχθη τῷ δάμῳ ἀρχὰν ἐλέσθαι, etc. "Because the hiring of public shepherds is terminated, and because there was an earlier announcement if any wished to sign an agreement on the same terms, the Demos decided to choose an authority to arrange for the new hiring"<sup>40</sup>. The reading διεσσεῖλθεικε for the correct διεσσεῖλθηκε, must be a pronunciation error, i.e. caused by the similar sound given to εἰ and ἦ<sup>41</sup>.

8. Hatzidakis points out that already during the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. the first declension ending -ης (e.g. κριτής -οῦ, ληστής -οῦ, προφήτης -ου) had become identified with that of the third declension (e.g. Σωκράτης, -ους, Ἀριστοφάνης -ους)<sup>42</sup>. On account of this, at the close of the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. the accusative of these third declension names was formed as though they were first declension names: τὸν Σωκράτην (rather than -η), etc.<sup>43</sup>

It was during this time that the vowel α or η of first declension nouns prevailed also in the genitive: thus, the old ὁ πρεσβευτής τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ by 170 A.D. (SIG 5366) became τοῦ πρεσβευτῆ. Other words receiving this ending are: τοῦ ἀπηλιώτη (153 A.D.), τοῦ Ἀριστείδη (278 B.C.), τοῦ μανδραγόρα (Lukianos, *Timon*, 2)<sup>44</sup>, τοῦ Τρεβία and τοῦ Ἀδρία (Polybios (II B.C.), III, 69, 5; 69, 9; 72, 4)<sup>45</sup>. This is the ordinary *N* Demotic form of first declension genitive (the Katharevousa uses the *A* forms)!

9. In an old but still relevant study, Ἀντωνιάδης<sup>46</sup> shows with a multitude of examples the many changes that came over the NT (and the LXX) with respect to earlier Greek, changes that, for the most part, still

<sup>38</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, "Περὶ τῶν παθητικῶν ἀορίστων", *MNE* II, 545-49. See also ΜΑΥΡΟΦΡΑΓΗ, *Δοκίμιον*, 262.

<sup>39</sup> ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, "Ἀπὸ πότε ἀρχίζει ἡ Δημοτική;" *ΛΔ* 3 (1941), 38.

<sup>40</sup> The italicized words are misspelled.

<sup>41</sup> See Chapter Six.

<sup>42</sup> See ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν κλίσιν τῆς νεωτέρας ἑλληνικῆς", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 3 (1891) 244-53.

<sup>43</sup> For examples from the inscriptions, see MEISTERHANS, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>2</sup>, p. 106, note 983, and p. 107, note 988.

<sup>44</sup> The editor of LCL is perplexed: he translates it as though it were genitive, but spells it as a dative. HATZIDAKIS takes it as genitive.

<sup>45</sup> See HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, p. 77 for a large number of such formations.

<sup>46</sup> ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΗ, "Φιλολογικὰ ἐκ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 6 (1894), 105-37.

prevail in *N*. Here I take up only a small number of these, quoting a few of his examples:

a. The change of α to ε in the numerals: τέσσαρα and τεσσαράκοντα became τέσσερα and τεσσεράκοντα<sup>47</sup>.

b. The change of αυ to ευ: ἐραυνῶ became ἐρευνῶ (Rev 2:23 [κ]).

c. The change of ε to ι: ἀλεεῖς (Isa 19:8) became ἀλιέων (Job 40:31)

d. The change of α to η following ρ: μαχαίρας, μαχαίρα became μαχαίρης, (Lk 21:24) μαχαίρη (Lk 22:49).

e. The change of ει to ε: ἀποκτείνω became ἀποκτενῶ (Mt 10:28).

10. Already in classical times the closing -ν came to be seen as the characteristic mark of the accusative ending. This was because the ν occurred not only at the end of the first and second declension nouns, but also at the end of many nouns belonging to the third declension<sup>48</sup>. In time this ν came to close all third declension singular accusatives, and thus, we get τὴν κλεῖδαν, τὴν ἐλπίδαν, τὴν θυγατέραν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν σωτήραν, τὴν μητέρα. Other words occurring in MS κ are: τὴν τρίχαν (Mt 5:36), τὸν ἀστέρα (Mt 2:10), τὴν χεῖραν (Jn 20:25), τὴν σφραγίδα (Rev 6:9) etc.<sup>49</sup> Since these accusatives were formed according to the first declension accusatives (τὸν πολίτην, τὸν νεανίαν, τὴν ἀγοράν, τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν πηγὴν, τὴν χώραν), it was natural that at a later stage the nominative, too, would come to be formed after the pattern of first

<sup>47</sup> The *Concordance* by MOULTON and GEDEN gives the form τέσσερες, 5 x, τεσσαράκοντα in all 21 instances, and τεσσερακονταετῆς in both of its occurrences in the NT. The *Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum* gives always the form τεσσεράκοντα.

<sup>48</sup> It thus appears that the Athenians were first to say Ἀριστοφάνην, Δημοσθένην, Σωκράτην, the Boeotians to say Διογένην, while according to Gregorios of Korinthos (XII A.D.), from the time of the Diadochoi it was felt that names ending in -ης have their genitive in -ου, thus τοῦ Σωκράτου (instead of -ους), τοῦ Πραξιτέλου (instead of -λους), see ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, "Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης", Ἀθήναιον, 1 (1881), 3 ff. = *MNE* I, 1-51, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Such forms occur in LXX MSS as well as inscriptions: μητέρα *Oslo* II, 48, 14 (? A.D. 61); *Mich* III, 203 rp, r, 26 (A.D. 98-117); *Col* VIII, 216rp, r, 6 (A.D. 100); *FamTebr* 21, 18 (A.D. 122); *JG* X 2; I (III A.D.); *JG* X, 2, I (II A.D.); *BGU* I, 70rp, 15 (131 A.D.); *BGU* II, 601, r, 30 (II A.D.); *BGU* III, 843, 11 (I-II A.D.); *BGU* V, 1210, 7, 141 (A.D. 150); *BGU* XIII, 2349, r, 11 (II A.D.); θυγατέρα *Mich* V, 266, r, 23 (A.D. 38); *Stras* IX, 823, 3 (A.D. 42); *Heid* IV, 326, 12 (A.D. 98); *Kron*, 51, 2 (A.D. 138); *Corn* 16, 2, 13 (A.D. 146-47); *BGU* II, 524, 23 (A.D. 159); *Babatha* 18, r, ext, 34 (A.D. 128); *Berl* 17, 18 (A.D. 164); γυναῖκα *JG* XII, 381, B, 7 (19-12 B.C.); *Ios PE* (2), 200, 4 (98 A.D.); *Berl* 17, 18 (A.D. 164); *Asia Minor TAM* V 1-2 Lydia, 473c, 3 (I A.D.); *Asia Minor, Pergamon* 8: 1-3 (? A.D. 37); *Ryl* Vol. II, 111, 10 (A.D. 161); πατέρα *Mich* V, 353, r, 16 (A.D. 48); *BGU* XV, 2476, 19 (A.D. 59); *Wisc* II, 69, r, 14 (A.D. 101); *Asia Minor MAMA* I, IV-VI, VIII: 10, 5 (c. 200 A.D.).

declension nouns, thus: ὁ πατέρας, ἡ μητέρα, ἡ θυγατέρα, ἡ κλείδα, ὁ σωτήρας, ἡ ἐλπίδα<sup>50</sup> – all constituting today ordinary forms of Demotic.

11. Regularization continues with the simplification shown in the increasing use of the passive at the expense of the middle aorist. This process began in *A* times reaching its peak in *B* times with the almost complete extinction of the middle aorist<sup>51</sup>. Thus, middle aorists are frequent in Homer and the classical authors<sup>52</sup>, but the passive aorists take over in *P* times<sup>53</sup>. Many of these passive aorists have been freely used in Katharevousa, e.g. ἀφίχθην, ἡσπάσθην, ἐνηγκαλίσθην, διηγῆθην, ἀπεφάνθην, εἰργάσθην, ἐφυλάχθην, ἤφθην ἐχαρίσθην, ἐξηγήθην, ἐπεκαλέσθην, ἐσκέφθην, etc.<sup>54</sup>

12. There was a certain impropriety in the manner in which *P* authors often used the middle forms rather than active or passive. Cf. e.g. Polybios III. 58, 4: ἐπαινοῦντας δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ διορθουμένους τὴν ἀγνοίαν αὐτῶν ("rather praising and correcting their ignorance"), III. 101, 6: τοῦτον ... ἐξαποστείλας περὶ δισχιλίους τῶν λογχοφόρων κατελάβετο ("he sent about two thousand spear-bearing soldiers and took it"). The same phenomenon occurs repeatedly in the NT: cf., e.g., Act 7:24: ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικοῦμενον ἡμῶντο and 2 Cor 11:2: ἡρμოსάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἀγνήν<sup>55</sup>, where the sense of the proper use of the middle is lost and it is used for an intensified active. This was aggravated by the Atticistic grammarians who encouraged the use of the middle<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> The nominative forms are witnessed much later.

<sup>51</sup> ΚΑΨΩΜΕΝΟΣ, "Ερευναί εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν παπύρων" *ΕΕΦΣΑΠΘ* 7 (1957), 225-368, exemplifies the later substitution of the earlier middle aorist and future endings by passive endings with a view to the unsolved problem of *UPZ* I. 5, 5-13: ἐκπορ[ευ]μ(έν)ων δὲ τῶν φυλακτικῶν ἐξετίναξαν ἑαυτοὺς οὐθὲν ἀποπο(ν) ποιήσαντες, which in the light of ἐκτιναχθήσομαι of Jdg (B) 16:20 he interprets as 'middle future' (occurring along with the middle future ἐξελεύσομαι): "departing the keepers went away without doing anything improper".

<sup>52</sup> E.g. ἦσατο (Homer, *Odysseia* IX. 353), ἐπεμήνατο (Homer, *Ilias* I. 160), ἰμείρατο, ἐφράσατο (Homer, *Ilias* XXIV, 352), ἠδέσατο (Platon, *Epigrammata* VII. 268), ἐδυνήσατο, ἐχολώσατο (Homer, *Ilias* XV. 155), ἐκορεσάμην, ἐκοιμήσαντο, ὠρμησάμην, ἐφρασάμην (Homer, *Odysseia* XVII. 161), ἐκκλινάμην, etc.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. ἐδυνάσθην, ἐξολώθην, ἐκορέσθην, ἐκοιμήθην, ἐμνήσθην, ὤθηθην, ἐνοφίσθην, διελέχθην, ἐχάρην, ἠγέρθην, ἐκλίθην, etc.

<sup>54</sup> See the long list in ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 432-33.

<sup>55</sup> See *BDR* § 316, 2.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. Menandros Protector (VI A.D.), *De legationibus* 24, 107: καὶ Μεβώδης μὲν ἰσχυρότατά πως ἀπομύμμενος ἦν ("and Mebodes took a solemn oath"), Priskos (V A.D.), *Frg.* 8: καὶ γυναῖκα γήμασθαι ζάπλουτον ("and marry a very rich woman"), Malalas (V-VI A.D.), *Chronographia* 35, 15: διαφθονοῦμενος αὐτῷ ("envying him"), Theophanes (800 A.D.), *Chronographia* 4, 13: τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες ("insofar as it was possible for us, we have

It appears, in fact, that the use of the middle had come to be considered a sign of Atticistic diction<sup>57</sup>. This explains the prolific use of the middle in the wrong place<sup>58</sup>. This loss of feeling for the true use of the middle, at a later stage led to the use of the reflexive pronoun to strengthen it. The NT evinces this pleonastic use of the reflexive pronoun with middles: e.g. Mt 15:2: οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χειράς αὐτῶν (= ἐαυτῶν), Lk 20:20: ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι, Act 20:28 ἦν περιεποιήσατο ἑαυτῷ (Φ<sup>41</sup> D); Eph 4:32: χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, Tit 2:7: σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος, LXX Ps 22:19: διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἰμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς<sup>59</sup>. This confusion also led to the opposite use of the active in place of the middle: e.g. Mt 6:2: ὅταν οὖν ποιῇς ἑλεημοσύνην, 26:18: πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα, Mk 15:1: συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες, Lk 1:72: ποιῆσαι ἔλεος, 18:7-8: οὐ μὴ ποιῆσιν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ... λέγω ... ὅτι ποιῆσει τὴν ἐκδ., Act 28:3: ἐχιδνα

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written it accurately, without composing anything out of our own head"), Spaneas (XII A.D.) 9: μὴ προτιμᾶσαι συγγενοῦς ἀγάπην ("do not prefer the love of a relative"; Glykas (XII A.D.) 551: τοῦ ψεύδους τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντοτε προτιμῶμαι ("I always prefer truth to lie"); *Chronikon tou Moreos*, (XIV A.D.) 5882: εὐτὺς [= εὐθύς] χαμαὶ ἐπέσαστο, ἐλεημοσύνην κράζει ("at once he fell on the ground and called for mercy").

<sup>57</sup> Cf. L. BACHMANN, *Anecdota Graeca* 300, 8.

<sup>58</sup> For examples, see Loukianos, *The Solecist*, e.g. 11: τὸ γε μὴν καθέζεσθαι τοῦ καθίζειν καὶ τὸ κάθισον τοῦ κάθησο ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι διενήνοχεν... ("Do you know that καθέζεσθαι [present inf. of middle καθέζομαι, 'to seat oneself'] is different from καθίζειν [active inf. of καθίζω, 'to seat sb.'] as well as κάθισον [active aorist imp. of καθίζω] τὸ κάθησο [middle present imp. of κάθημαι (pres. with meaning of perf. of καθέζομαι), 'to be seated, to remain seated']?"); Ammonios Gramm., *De adfinium vocabulorum*, 16, 1: αἰτῶ καὶ αἰτοῦμαι διαφέρει, 109, 1: βουλευῆσθαι καὶ βουλευσαι διαφέρει. βουλευῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ ταὐτὸν τῷ σκέψασθαι, βουλευσαι δὲ τὸ ἐνθυμηθῆναι τι καὶ συντάξαι κακόν ("βουλευῆσθαι [middle aorist inf.] is different from βουλευσαι [active aorist inf.]. βουλευῆσθαι is the same as 'to think', 'to consider', while βουλευσαι means to think out and plan an evil thing"). Attic authors differentiated between τιμωρεῖσθαι 'to punish' and τιμωρεῖν 'to help [those treated unjustly]'. For NT examples, see Mt 26:55: καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμην διδάσκων ("every day I was seating myself..."); Lk 2:46: εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζόμενον ("they found him in the temple seating himself"). Cf. further the proper use in Jn 4:6: κεκωπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως, where the meaning is that Jesus' exhaustion compelled him to seat himself at random, just as he was, with the improper use at Jn 6:3: ἀνῆλθεν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐκαθέζετο (Φ<sup>66</sup>) ("Jesus went up to the mount and there he was seating himself"). This obvious absurdity has been corrected in other MSS to the correct ἐκάθητο ("he sat").

<sup>59</sup> See further *Acta Philippi* 119, 8: περιποιήσαι δὲ ἑαυτῷ βίον σεμνὸν καὶ ἄρπυον, *Martyrium Matthei* 174, 11: ἀναθώμεθα ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ἰησοῦ ("let us surrender ourselves to Jesus"), Epiphanius, *Panarion* (Holl, Vol. II) 190, 2: ὀπλισάμενος ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ("having armed himself also against the truth"), and Theophanes Conf., *Chronographia* 387, 21: καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἡσφαλίσαντο ("and made certain of their own safety").

... καθήψεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ (instead of καθήψατο), 2 Tim 1:18: δῶν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εὐρεῖν ἔλεος (instead of εὐρέσθαι).

13. This struggle between the active and middle forms had begun already in classical times. Many verbs thus came to be used both transitively and intransitively<sup>60</sup> irrespective of whether they had been so used in *A* times. The NT contains a number of such examples<sup>61</sup>, but they increase in later times<sup>62</sup>. A consequence of this was that in later Greek very many active verbs assume intransitive significance<sup>63</sup>.

14. From *P* times on the *A* feeling for the difference between the aorist and the perfect was lost, as a result of which these two tenses often came to be exchanged for one another<sup>64</sup>. Thus, the NT offers a number of examples in which the perfect is used in place of the aorist: Mt 1:22: τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, 24:21: θλίψις ... οἷα οὐ γέγονεν, 25:6: μέσης δὲ νυκτὸς κραυγὴ γέγονεν, 2 Cor 2:13: οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν, 11:25: τρὶς ἔρραβδίσθην, ἀπαξ ἐλιθάσθην, τρὶς ἐναυάγησα, νυχθημερόν ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα (after aorists!), Rev 5:7: καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν. This last text affords the opportunity for a few remarks. Robertson tries to find ways to explain this use of the perfect in the NT along *A* lines. He writes that the "vivid perfect is found in John's Gospel in particular. One only needs to have some imagination himself"<sup>65</sup>. Accordingly, he explains the Baptist's historical description of τεθέσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον in Jn 1:32, with "John still has

<sup>60</sup> E.g. ἄγω, ἐλαύνω, βάλλω, κλίνω, τρέπω, διατρίβω, αἶρω, οἰκῶ, τελευτῶ, δηλῶ.

<sup>61</sup> See Col 2:4: μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς παραλογίζεται (where the middle is used transitively). Other verbs include ἄγω in Mt 26:46 intrans., but in Lk 19:35 trans.; βρέχω in Lk 7:38 trans., but in Mt 5:45 intrans.; κλίνω in Mt 8:20 trans., but in Lk 9:12 intrans. In LXX Ps 10:1 the middle μεταναστεύου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη implies a transitive use. See also Mt 28:19: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, 2 Cor 2:14: τῷ θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς, etc.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Polybios, I, 7, 8: παρεσπόνδῃσαν τοὺς Ῥηγίνους, III, 69, 1: Ἀνίβας πραξικοπήσας πόλιν Κλαστίδιον, (cf. I, 18, 9: πρῶτον μὲν πραξικοπήσας κατέσχε), I, 11, 4: παραλογισάμενοι τὸν δ' Ἀππίον, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 141, 20: ἐνώσαι τὰ μοναστήρια ... ἔσπευδεν ἀποσχίζοντα ("he hurried to unite the monasteries which were pulling away"); 141, 26: ἃ τινα μᾶλλον ἀπέσχιζον ("which [monasteries] rather pulled away"); Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De Ceremoniis*, 568, 20: καὶ εὐθέως παίουςι τὰ ὄργανα ("and at once the [musical] organs strike", i.e. παίονται = are struck).

<sup>63</sup> HATZIDAKIS, *MNE* I, 444, shows that occasionally the Atticists mistook themselves, e.g. Phrynichos, *Sophistike Proparaskēue*, 103, 12: πέπραγεν διὰ τοῦ γ, προκρίνουσι τοῦ πέπραχεν, overlooks the fact that *A* authors used πέπραχεν transitively, but πέπραγεν intransitively (similarly ΔΔ s.v. πράσσω).

<sup>64</sup> For the papyri, see also ΜΑΝΔΗΛΑΡΑ, "Σύγχυσις ἀορίστου καὶ παρακειμένου", *ΕΕΠΑ* 21 (1970-71) 291-302 and *idem*, *The Verb in the Non-literary Papyri*, Ἀθήνα 1973.

<sup>65</sup> ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 897.

that vision". And he would interpret many other passages in the same way, as, e.g., 2 Cor 11:25 πεποιήκα (above). As for Rev 5:7, he says "a striking instance of it is seen in Rev 5:7, εἴληφεν, where John sees Jesus with the book in his hand".

What interpretations are not possible, if one has a little imagination himself! Unaware of the ongoing development of the language and lacking the diachronic mastery of it, Robertson has failed to grasp that all these and many other phenomena are actually cases in which the finer shades of meaning have begun to be obliterated<sup>66</sup>, and the authors in question – popular authors, writing for simple people, in their everyday idiom – often use the aorist and the perfect indiscriminately<sup>67</sup>. This mixing of the aorist

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the distinction which the Grammarian Ammonios (IV A.D.), *De adfinium vocabulorum*, 70, 1, made between the aorist and the perfect: ἀπέθανε καὶ τέθηκε διαφέρει. ἀπέθανε μὲν νῦν, τέθηκε δὲ πάλαι. ὡς περιεπάτησε μὲν ὁ δεῖνα τήμερον, περιεπάτηκε δὲ πάλαι (" 'he died' is different from 'he has died'. 'He died' refers to the present, just now, recently, while 'he has died' refers to a long time ago. As this or that 'walked' today, but this or that 'has walked' a long time ago"). HATZIDAKIS comments: "Consequently, neither did this Grammarian distinguish between these tenses. It is, therefore, understandable how the ignorami treated them" (Λοιπὸν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Γραμματικὸς διέστελλε τοὺς χρόνους τούτους! 'Ἀλλὰ τότε νοεῖται οἰκοθεν πῶς διέκειντο οἱ ἀμαθέστεροι πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν! MNE I, 447). This very text is commented upon by MEGAS, in *Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος*, I, 109, as an example of the use of the perfect as aorist, who also refers to HATZIDAKIS, *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Μελέται*, I, 389. For more examples, see HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 196 f.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 83, 5: λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς γέγονε κύκνος, 195, 9: ἦτις Κανδάκη ἀκούσασα δέδωκεν ἐαυτήν, Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, 7, 13: τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ... Διοκλητιανὸς δέδωκε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, 32, 26: ταῦτα τῷ τριακοστῷ πρῶτο ἔτει γέγονε, 39, 5: τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως πέπτωκεν, 56, 10: σεισμὸς δὲ μέγας γέγονε, 56, 34: ἄδειαν δέδωκε θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελεῖν, 93, 6: σεισμοὶ γεγόνανσι μεγάλοι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 116, 8: κουράτορα αὐτῶν ὄντα Λέοντα βασιλέα πεποιήκαν, 121, 23: ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας τέθηκεν ὑπὸ λύπης, 134, 7: Πέτρος ὁ Κναφεὺς εἰσελθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πολλὰ κακὰ πέπραχεν, 140, 14: δανεισάμενός τε χρήματα δέδωκεν, 142, 14: λουόμενος ... ἐν τῇ νεροφόρῳ τέθηκεν, 164, 14: τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ... τέθηκεν Ἀναστάσιος, 213, 12: τὰ χρήματα κατασχὼν οὐδὲν τούτῳ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας δέδωκεν, 485, 9: ἐλθὼν ... ἀξιόλογον μὲν οὐδὲν πέπραχεν, 495, 10: εἰ γὰρ Πέτρος ... Ἀνανίαν καὶ Σαπφείραν ἐπὶ ψεύσματι μόνον τεθανάτωκεν. *Digenes Akritas* (Athens MS): III, 805: οὐ μνημονεύεις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τί μετὰ σοῦ ἐγεγόνει; III, 807: αἰχμάλωτον σ' ἐκράτησα καὶ αὐθέντρα ἐγεγόνεις, V, 2255 (§306): καὶ δέδωκε χαρίσματα; (Grotta Ferrata MS): I, 43: δεινὸν δὲ πρᾶγμα πέφηνεν εἰς νέους ἡ δόξα, I, 71: οἰκτεῖρατε μητέρα ψυχὴν ἀθλία ἔχουσα καὶ μέλλουσα τεθνᾶναι (cf. θανεῖν ἡ μήτηρ βούλεται), I, 286: τέθηκε γάρ μου ὁ πατήρ ἐτι νηπίου ὄντος, II, 217: παρὰ μικρὸν δὲ γέγονε παράφρων ἐκ τὴν θλίψιν (ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως), II, 282: καὶ γέγοναν κατάβροχοι ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν δακρύων, III, 28: πάντας ἀσπασάμενος εὐχέσθαι παρεκάλει, ὃ δὲ καὶ πεποιήκασι, etc. Georgios Monachos, *Chronikon*, 110, 924, 18: σεισμὸς ἐγένετο

with the perfect occasionally occurs also in *N*, see Τζάρτζανος, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις*, I, §183.

One more consequence of the above development was the periphrastic use of εἶμι and ἔχω with the perfect participle of the main verb in order to emphasize the difference between the perfect and pluperfect tenses and the aorist<sup>68</sup>. The incentive for this had been given already in *A* times, when a passive participle had been constructed with one of εἶμι<sup>69</sup>. This periphrastic use, which gradually spread to the indicative forms of εἶμι and ἔχω, finally led to the extinction of the monolectic perfect and pluperfect forms during *M* and *N* times<sup>70</sup>, a process that is well under way in the NT, e.g. Mt 10:30: ἡριθμῆναι εἰσίν, Lk 24:38: τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; Jn 3:28: ἀπεσταλμένος εἶμι, 1 Cor 4:4: ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ<sup>71</sup>.

15. The NT occasionally uses the ancient ἔνεστι (< ἔνειμι = 'to be in', 'to be present', 'to be possible', 'to be relevant')<sup>72</sup> as a simple equivalent of

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μέγας ... καὶ τέθηκε λαὸς ἀναριθμητός, 110, 945; 9: ἐν οἷς καὶ πλάνη γέγονε, 110, 1008, 10: ἀγαθοῦσα δὲ ταύτας ... δέδωκε τῷ Θεοφίλῳ, George Synkellos, *Ekloge Chronographike*, 2, 28: καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνων γέγονεν, 170, 29: ἐπαθλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα δέδωκε.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. AERTS, *Periphrastica*, *passim*.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 721: οὕτε γὰρ τοῦτοισιν οὕσιν οὐ κεκιβδηλευμένοις, and Euripides, *Hekabe*, 358: οὐκ εἰωθὸς ὄν. See further RYDBECK's discussion of this phenomenon in Herodotos and Hippokrates, "Bemerkungen zu Periphrasen mit εἶναι + Präsens Partizip bei Herodot und in der Koine", *Glotta* 47 (1969), 186-200.

<sup>70</sup> Thus, the active perfect in *N* is formed either by the use of ἔχω and the infinitive of the active aorist (e.g. ἔχω λύσει) or by ἔχω and the accusative of the passive perfect participle (e.g. ἔχω λυμένο). Correspondingly, the middle / passive perfect is formed either by ἔχω and the infinitive of the middle / passive aorist (e.g. ἔχω λυθῇ) or by εἶμαι (= εἶμι) and the nominative of the middle / passive perfect participle (e.g. εἶμαι λυμένος). ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΣ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις*, § 183, points out that the first type lays the emphasis on the action, while the second type lays it on the result of the action. It thus comes about that the first type is often used with a weakened force instead of and in lieu of the aorist. See further the discussion on the perfect under *Tenses* in Ch. Five.

<sup>71</sup> See further: Mt 18:20: εἰσίν ... συνηγμένοι, Lk 22:28: ὑμεῖς ἐστέ οἱ διαμεμνηκότες, Jn 16:24: ἡ χαρὰ ἣ πεπληρωμένη, 17:19: ἵνα ὧσιν ἡγιασμένοι, 17:23: ὧσιν τετελειωμένοι, Act 2:13: γλεῦκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσίν, Rom 13:1: ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμένοι εἰσίν, 1 Cor 5:2: ὑμεῖς πεφυστωμένοι ἐστέ, 2 Cor 1:9: πεποιθότες ὦμεν, 9:3: παρασκευασμένοι ἦτε, Col 1:10: ἦτε κατηρτισμένοι, 2:10: ἐστέ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, Heb 7:20 (and 23): εἰσίν γεγονότες, 2 Pt 3:7: τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσίν. The construction with ἔχω is as yet undeveloped, but it has begun to show its head: cf. Lk 14:18 (and 19): ἔχε με παρητημένον, 19:20: εἶχον ἀποκειμένην, Jn 17:13: ἔχουσιν πεπληρωμένην, Heb 5:14: τὰ αἰσθητήρια γεγυμνασμένα ἔχοντων, 2 Pt 2:14: καρδὴν γεγυμνασμένην ... ἔχοντες, Rev 12:6: ἔχει τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον.

<sup>72</sup> Homeros, *Odysseia* X. 45: ὅσον τις χρύσεος τε καὶ ἀργυρος ἀσκάῳ ἔνεστι ("as much gold and silver is in the purse"), *Ilias* XXIV. 239-40: οὐ νυ καὶ ὑμῖν οἶκοι ἔνεστι γόος; ("do you not also have a lamentation at home?"), Aristophanes, *Wasps*

ἐστίν<sup>73</sup>. This form has survived in Cyprus and Pontos, but is not common in *N* Demotic<sup>74</sup>.

16. In the NT the cardinal numerals, εἷς, μία, ἓν, are losing their numerical value and are being reduced to an indefinite pronoun. Thus, Mt 8:19: προσελθὼν εἷς γραμματεὺς, Mk 12:42: ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχή, Lk 15:15: ἐκολλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, Jn 18:26: λέγει εἷς ἐκ τῶν δούλων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, Rev 19:17: εἶδον ἓνα ἄγγελον. Occasionally the indefinite significance of εἷς is strengthened by the addition of τις, e.g. Mk 14:47: εἷς δέ τις τῶν παρεστηκότων, Jn 11:49: εἷς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν. Although older examples are not lacking<sup>75</sup>, this development gains in incidence during *P* times<sup>76</sup>, and has since led to the total substitution in *N* Demotic of the indefinite pronoun τις, τις, τι by the cardinals ἓνας, μία, ἓν (Katharevousa uses the *A* forms τις, τις, τι).

17. Because *P* Greek was losing the earlier feeling for the finer meaning of words, an attempt was made to recapture it through creating new compound words by means of the various prepositions. It was felt that the inadequacy of the simple term would be compensated for by the preposition. The preposition was understood as intensifying the simplex form. In time, however, the compound form, too, came to assume the same meaning as the simple form. The NT contains many such examples, the majority of which continue in *N*: e.g.: σύσσωμος (Eph 3:6, first here); συσταυρῶ (Mt 27:44; Mk 15:32; Rm 6:6); συμμετοχος (Eph 3:6; 5:7); διαγογγύζω (LXX Ex 16:7; Num 14:2; Lk 15:2); διακαθαρίζω (Mt 3:12); διαυγάζω (Poly-

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441: οὐ πολλὰ ἔνεστι δεινὰ τῷ γῆρα κακά; ("does not old age entail many great evils?"), Sophokles, *Elektra* 1328: ἢ νοῦς ἔνεστιν οὐτις ὑμῖν ἐγγενής ("or do you not have any brains at all?"), Thoukydides I. 180: χρόνος ἔνεστι (expression: "it will take time"), Demosthenes, *Peri Stephanou*, 312: ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων (expression: "insofar as one is able under the circumstances"). In *N* this phrase has come to mean "of the existing means", cf. Lk 11:41: τὰ ἐνόντα δῶτε ἐλεημοσύνην.

<sup>73</sup> 1 Cor 6:5: οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς σοφός; Gal 3:28: οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἐνὶ δοῦλῳ οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερῳ, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θήλῃ, Col 3:11: οὐκ ἐνὶ Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, Jas 1:17: παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἐνὶ παραλλαγῇ. Also LXX Jb 28:14: οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν ἐμοί (bis) (B); 34:13, *Sirach* 37:2: οὐχὶ λύπη ἐνὶ ἔως θανάτου; Further 1 Mac 5:5: πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν, 4 Mac 1.25: ἐν τῇ ἡδονῇ δὲ ἔνεστιν καὶ ἡ ... διάθεσις.

<sup>74</sup> So HATZIDAKIS.

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. (LXX) 3 Kgdts 21:13 (also Aquilas). Further Herodotos IV.3; Thoukydides IV.57, Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* III.3. See JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, §622f.

<sup>76</sup> See, e.g., Polybios I. 78, 1: Ναυάρας, ὃς ἦν μὲν Νομάς τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων εἷς ("Navaras, who was one of the most renowned Nomads"). MEGAS (*Ἱστορία τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος*, I, 118 and 155), however, points out that this occurs already in Thoukydides, I. 80; Platon, *Leges* 627; Xenophon, *Hellenica* II. ii, 10 and Ploutarchos, *Crassus* IV. 2 (545). For more evidence, cf. ΜΑΤΡΟΦΥΤΔΗ, *Δοκίμιον ἱστορίας τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 575-79.



bios III, 104, 5; 2 Pt 1:19; Ephraim Syros, *De virtute. Ad novitium monachum*, 4, 32)<sup>77</sup>.

18. In expressions of locality, too, *P* times introduced important changes. The *A* distinction between ποῖ with a verb of *motion*<sup>78</sup> and ποῦ with a verb signifying *rest*, has disappeared<sup>79</sup>. The NT, like *N*, uses ποῦ indiscriminately<sup>80</sup>. The same holds true of the use of ἐν and εἰς. While *A* Greek distinguished clearly between the use of ἐν + dative with verbs of *rest* and the use of εἰς + accusative with verbs of *motion*<sup>81</sup>, the NT does not keep strictly to this distinction<sup>82</sup>. With regard to *N*, the puristic Katharevousa, as expected, follows the *A* usage, distinguishing between the

<sup>77</sup> Further: ἐκδπανῶ (Polybios XXI, 8, 9; 2 Cor 12:15); ἐκδιηγῶμαι (Hippokrates, *Prognostikon* 1; LXX Job 12:8; Act 13:41; *Digenes Akritas* 3598); ἐκθαμβοῦμαι (*Orphika Argonautika* (post-Christian times) 1218; LXX Sirach 30:9; Mk 9:15); ἐκμυκτριῶ (Ps 2:4; Lk 16:14); ἐκπειράζω (Deut 6:16; Mt 4:7; Lk 4:12; 1 Cor 10:9); ἐκπερισσῶς (Mk 14:31); ἐκταράττω (Isokrates, *Peri Antidoseos* 5; Ploutarchos, *Coriolanus* 19; Acts 16:20); προενάρχομαι (2 Cor 8:6); προεναγγελίζομαι (Philon, *Creation of the World* 32, 2; Gal 3:8; *Scholion* on Sophokles' *Trachiniai* 335); προκαταγγέλλω (Act 3:18; 2 Cor 9:5; Josephus, *Antiquities* II. 5, 2; Klement Al., *Stromateis* III. 543); προμαρτύρομαι (1 Pt 1:11); προμεριμνῶ (Mk 13:11); προσδαπανῶ (Lk 10:35; Lukianos, *Saturnalia* 39; Themistion, *Oration XXXIII*. 289b); προσεῶ (Act 27:7); προσεγγίζω (Mk 2:4; Polybios XXXIX. 1, 4; Diodoros Sikeliotes VII. 422; Loukianos, *Erotes* 53); προσευχή (LXX Isa 56:7; Mk 9:29; Act 16:13); προσκαρτέρησις (Eph 6:18; Philodemos, *Rhetorike* I. 11S); προσκληρῶ (Act 17:4; Josephus, *War* II. 20, 4; Philon, *Cherubim* 77); προκοπή (2 Cor 6:3; Polybios VI. 7, 8; Diodoros Sikeliotes 31, 17; Sextos Empeirikos, *Against Mathematicians* I. 195).

Neohellenic has continued this tradition. For a treatment of certain compounding elements between ancient and modern Greek, approached from the perspective of Generative-Transformational Grammar, see 'ΡΑΛΛΗ-ΡΑΦΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Σύνθεση στήν Ἑλληνική", *Μελέτες γὰρ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Γλῶσσαν – Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 1998, 389-403.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. Sophokles, *Elektra* 812: νῦν δὲ ποῖ με χρὴ μολεῖν; ("now where should I go?"); Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 438: ποῖ τις φύγει; ("where shall one flee?").

<sup>79</sup> According to Phrynichos, *Ekloge* 28, these words were confused: ποῖ ἄπει· οὕτω συντάσσεται διὰ τοῦ ι· ποῦ δὲ ἄπει, διὰ τοῦ υ, ἀμάρτημα. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ υ, ποῦ διατρίβεις;

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Jn 8:19: ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ σου; (with a verb of *rest*); Jn 13:36: Κύριε, ποῦ ὑπάγεις; (with a verb of *motion*). *N*: ποῦ εἶναι ὁ πατήρ σου (Katharevousa); ποῦ εἶναι ὁ πατέρας σου; (Demotic) and ποῦ ὑπάγεις (Katharevousa); ποῦ πηγαίνεις (Demotic).

<sup>81</sup> With ἐν: Platon, *Philebos* 24b: ἐν τε τῷ θερμότερῳ καὶ ψυχροτέρῳ (both in that which is warmer and that which is colder); εἰς: Platon, *Republic* 327a: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ("Yesterday I went down to Peiraieus with Glaukon, Ariston's son").

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Mt 2:20: πορεύου εἰς γῆν Ἰσραὴλ (*motion* verb) with 2:23: κατώκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Ναζαρέτ (verb of *rest*). For ἐν cf. Mt 4:16: ὁ καθημενος ἐν σκότει (with verb of *rest*) with Lk 4:1: καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (with verb of *motion*).

two prepositions<sup>83</sup>. The Demotic, on the other hand, being in the *P* line of descent – to which the NT also belongs – has done away with the dative as a specific form and hence with the preposition ἐν. Its place has been taken by εἰς + accusative, a construction that does service both with verbs of *motion* and verbs of *rest*. The preposition εἰς has been joined to the relevant article (cf. the German *zum* = ‘zu dem’ and *zur* = ‘zu der’) giving the form στόν (< ὁ στόν < εἰς τόν, masc.), στήν (< εἰς τήν, fem.) and στό (< εἰς τό, neut.)<sup>84</sup>. Analogous developments have taken place with other local adverbs, such as εἴσω (ἔσω in LXX), ἔνδον (LXX)<sup>85</sup> and ἐκεῖσε (Act 21:3 with a verb of *motion*, and Act 22:5 with a verb of *rest*).

19. The agent with passive verbs was in *A* times expressed by ὑπό + genitive<sup>86</sup>. In the times with which we are concerned, however, ὑπό was sometimes substituted by ἀπό. Thus, LXX Ex 1:12: καὶ ἐβδελύσσοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, Prov 19:4: πλοῦτος προστίθῃσιν φίλους πολλοὺς, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος φίλου λείπεται, Mt 16:21: πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Lk 6:18: καὶ οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐθεραπεύοντο, Act 2:22: ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΙΚΙ, *Ἀκαδημεικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα*, τόμ. III, 116: Μόνον δὲ μετὰ μακρὰν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τόπῳ συμβίωσιν ἢ καὶ διὰ συχνὴν ἐπικοινωνίαν δύο λαῶν δύναται νὰ συμβῇ ὥστε καὶ ξένου φθόγγου νὰ παραληφθῶσιν ἐκ τινος γλώσσης εἰς ἄλλην (“only after a long symbiosis in the same place or on account of frequent contact between two peoples, can it happen that an alien sound is received from one language into another”).

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the instructive example of the Katharevousa (Vamvas 1851) and the Demotic (1997) tr. of Mt 3:12 (with verb of *rest*): ὁστις κρατεῖ τὸ πτυάριον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ (Kath.) and κρατάει στὸ χέρι του τὸ φτυάρι (or λιχνιστήρι (< λιχνίζω (*Pap.* λικνίζω) < *A* λικμάω = ‘to winnow’)) and with a verb of *motion*: Mt 4:1: τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφέρθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν ἔρημον (Kath.) and τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁδηγήθηκε ἀπὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα στὴν ἔρημο (Dem.).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Phrynichos, *Ekloge* 99, 1: ἔνδον εἰσέρχομαι βάρβαρον: ἔνδον γὰρ ἐστί καὶ ἔνδον εἰμὶ δόκιμον. δεῖ οὖν εἴσω παρέρχομαι λέγειν. ἔσω δὲ διατρίβω οὐκ ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔνδον διατρίβω (“ἔνδον εἰσέρχομαι is barbarous, but ἔνδον ἐστί and ἔνδον εἰμὶ is correct. One must say εἴσω παρέρχομαι. You may not say ἔσω διατρίβω, but ἔνδον διατρίβω”).

<sup>86</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Ilias* XXIII. 675: οἳ κέ μιν ἐξοίσουσιν ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμέντα (“who will carry him out when he is overcome by my hand(s)”) (case and number are treated freely by Homeros, often on account of meter. The phrase is equivalent to: ὑπὸ ἐμῆς / ἐμῶν χειρὸς / χειρῶν); see also *Ilias* VIII. 183: ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ; Herodotos, I. 137: οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν (regarded as passive for the act of ἀποκτείνειν) (“for they say that it is not right that the true parent should die by his own child”); Thoukydides I. 77: ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινότερα τούτων πάσχοντες (passive diathesis) ἠνείχοντο (“they endured it when they suffered worse things than these by the Persians”); Platon, *Republic* 359a: καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐπιτάγμα νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον (“and call that which is commanded by the law lawful and just”).

ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ<sup>87</sup>. Thus, ἀπὸ sometimes takes the place not only of ὑπό, but also of ἐκ<sup>88</sup> and παρὰ<sup>89</sup>. The preposition ὑπό is still in use in *N* (both Kath. and Dem.)<sup>90</sup>, but the above-mentioned tendency to substitute ὑπό with ἀπὸ that is found in the NT obtains fully in the Demotic<sup>91</sup>.

20. Deep changes were wrought in the language when the Greeks of *P* times began to use ἵνα + subjunctive as well as ὅτι + indicative in lieu of the infinitive. This was, no doubt, on account of the indefinite reference given by the infinitive<sup>92</sup>. However, in time the new construction of ἵνα + subjunctive was applied to new areas other than to denote purpose<sup>93</sup>. In the NT it is often used to give a command<sup>94</sup>, to set forth a request<sup>95</sup>, to express a wish<sup>96</sup>, to supply the subject or object of a clause<sup>97</sup>, as an apposition to a noun, giving its content<sup>98</sup>, etc. Even the final infinitive was substituted for by ἵνα + subjunctive, as in LXX Ex 17:2: δὸς ἡμῖν ὕδωρ ἵνα πίωμεν. All these changes carried the grave consequence that the infinitive gradually became a mere shadow of what it had been in *A* times, so that *N*, in comparison with the modern cultural languages of Europe, finds itself in deficiency in this regard.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Chrysostomos, *De virginitate* 49:135: μηδεμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὑπομένειν βίαν ("not enduring any compulsion from nature").

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Mt 13:44: καὶ ἀπὸ (instead of ἐκ) τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπάγει καὶ πωλεῖ, Lk 22:45: εὗρεν κοιμώμενους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ (instead of ἐκ) τῆς λύπης, Heb 11:34: ἐδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ (instead of ἐξ) ἀσθενείας.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Lk 12:20: τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ (instead of παρὰ) σοῦ, Gal 3:2: τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' (instead of παρ') ὑμῶν, Col 1:7: ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ.

<sup>90</sup> See ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, s.v. p. 1868f.

<sup>91</sup> For the many uses of ἀπό, see ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, §134 pp. 183-91. For the agent of the action in Demotic, cf. ἡ γῆ θερμαίνεται ἀπὸ τὸν ἥλιο(ν) (*A* Greek: ἡ γῆ θερμαίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου). See further Σικελιανοῦ, *Ἀλαφροῖσκιωτος* 804-6: τοῦ φεγγαριοῦ γεμάτη | ἡ ὄψη ἐπάγωνεν | ἀπ' τὸ βουβὸ τῆς δρόσος κλάμα ("the full face of the moon froze by the mute weeping of the dew").

<sup>92</sup> Not, as it has sometimes been suggested, owing to foreign influence. Cf. ΚΑΨΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *Ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 84, and lit. (= "Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch", *Berichte z. XI. Int. Byz. Kong.* and "Das Griechische in Ägypten", *Museum Helveticum* 10 (1953), 248-263. See also SYMEONIDIS' evaluation of KAPSOMENOS' book in *Ἑλληνικά* 38 (1987), 399-407.

<sup>93</sup> See, e.g., the examples expressing result in ΜΑΝΔΙΑΡΑ, "Ἐρευναί", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 65 (1961), 174.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. 1 Cor 14:5: θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν γλώσσαις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε.

<sup>95</sup> E.g. Mt 14:36: καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα μόνον ἄψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου. See also *Acts of Peter and Paul* 9, 24: παρακαλεῖ σε ἵνα ἔλθης.

<sup>96</sup> E.g. Eph 1:16: μνείαν ποιούμενος ... ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ... δώῃ ὑμῖν.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. Mt 5:29: συμφέρει γάρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται ἓν τῶν μελῶν σου (subject); Lk 9:40: ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου ἵνα ἐκβάλωσιν αὐτό (object).

<sup>98</sup> Jn 15:12: αὕτη ἐστίν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ ἐμή, ἵνα ἀγαπᾷτε ἀλλήλους.

21. Having thus encroached on the domain of the infinitive (and even the participle), the indicative and the subjunctive began to compete with one another for supremacy. At first they were confused and were used interchangeably, but gradually the indicative, as the stronger mode, prevailed<sup>99</sup>. Thus, the subjunctive + conjunctions such as εἰ, ἄν, ἵνα, ὅταν give place to their use with the indicative. The NT contains such constructions as εἰς στήκετε (1 Th 3:8); εἰς οἶδαμεν (1 Jn 5:15); ἵνα ἐρεῖ σοι (Lk 14:10); ἵνα δώσει (Jn 17:2: B Ψ f<sup>13</sup> M); ἵνα ἐπισκιάσει (Act 5:15: B 33 etc.), ἵνα ξυρίσονται (Act 21:24); ἵνα καυθήσονται (1 Cor 13:3: C D F G etc.), ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν (Gal 2:4), ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε (Gal 4:17), ὅταν ἐθεώρουν (Mk 3:11); ὅταν ὡς ἐγένετο (Mk 11:19), ὅταν στήκετε (Mk 11:25); ὅταν ἤνοιξεν (Rev 8:1)<sup>100</sup>. The same holds true of the LXX: e.g. Gen 6:4: ὅταν μαινοῦσθε, Ps 77:34: ὅταν ἀπέκτενεν αὐτοῦς, 1 Mac 6:36: οὐδ' ἐὰν ἐπορεύετο.

This development led to the general practice in *N* of using these conjunctions with the indicative<sup>101</sup>.

22. The changes that came over the language in *P* times extended also to the case with which many verbs are constructed. In *A* times, in addition to the accusative, also the dative and the genitive were used. This is often still the case in the NT. However, the NT duly reflects the spirit of the times in showing a propensity to substituting the accusative for the dative, a devel-

<sup>99</sup> This begins already in pre-Christian times, see the confusion in, e.g., *IG IX. 1*, 694, II, 133 (229 B.C.): εἰ δέ τι ἀδύνατον διὰ πόλεμον γένοιτο καὶ μὴ ἀποστείλαι ἁ πόλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἢ μὴ παραγένοιτο οἱ τεχνίται... εἰ τις λείπῃ; *IG IX. 1*: 179, 20 (182 B.C.): εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀγῆ ἢ ῥυσιάζῃ ἢ ἀποβιάζαιτο ἢ διεγγύσῃ.

<sup>100</sup> In the NT the subjunctive is still the rule, as is the case with the LXX. In post-NT times the indicative is increasingly used, e.g. *Acta Joannis* 62: 5 κἂν ἦσαντο, 100, 9: ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ ἡμῶν ἔσομαι, ὅταν σὲ ὡς ἐγὼ παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, 105, 3: ἵνα θεωροῦσιν, *Acta Pauli* 54, 3: ἵνα ἐνεπολεῖτε (sic), *Acta Pauli et Thecla* 29, 6: ἵνα ζήσεται, 29, 8: ἵνα ζήσεται, *Acta Pauli et Thecla* rec. e, Cod. G, 25: ἐὰν ἰσχύσουσιν, *Acta Alexandrinorum* 9c: ἐὰν θέλει, *Acta et Mart. Apollonii* 16: ὅταν προσκυνούσι, (also 20, 21, 22), *Acta et Mart. Petri* 32, 8: ὅταν ἀνέρχομαι, *Acta Philippi* 17, 9: ἵνα ἐσόμεθα, 81, 6: ὅταν γὰρ τις ἐτελεύτα, *Acta Thomae* 37, 21: ἵνα ἔσται, 101, 19: ἵνα μὴ ἀπολοῦνται, *Acta Xanthippe et Polyxena* 3, 3: ἵνα ἐπεκαλεσάμην, 4, 22: ἵνα ἀνεπαυσάμην, *Malalas, Chronographia* 71, 8: ἐὰν ἡβούλετο, 136, 16: ἐὰν σωθῶμεθα, 249, 21: ἐὰν ἔδοξε, 276, 20: ἐὰν ἐλούετο, 374, 11: ἵνα μηδεὶς μοι ἐναντιοῦται, 334, 19: ἵνα πάντες χριστιανοὶ ἔσθε, Georgios Monachos, *Chronikon* I-IV. 2, 10: ὅταν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ρεῖ, I-IV. 66, 16: ἵνα γινώσκουσιν, I-IV. 108, 13: ἵνα θαυμάζεις, I-IV. 121, 13: ὅταν λέγει. Ioannes Malalas uses it even with the infinitive: e.g. *Chronographia* 348, 3: ἵνα διδοσθαι, and 371, 7: ἵνα λέγειν.

<sup>101</sup> E.g. ἐὰν ἔχετε ("if you have"), ὅταν ἐκάναμε ("when we did / made"), νᾶ (<ἵνα) (i)δοῦμε ("let us see").

opment that is brought to its logical conclusion in *N. Krebs*<sup>102</sup> finds that such verbs as the following are in *P* times constructed with the accusative: ἀλγῶ, ἀλογῶ, ἀπελπίζω, ἀπογινώσκω, ἀπομάχομαι, ἀσμενίζω, βαρύνομαι, διαφέρω, δράττομαι, δυσαρεστῶ, ἐνεδρεύω, ἐντρέπομαι, ἐπιβαίνω, ἐπιβουλεύω, καταλήγω, κληρονομῶ, κρατῶ, λοχῶ, ξενίζομαι, πολεμῶ, προσεπιδράττομαι, προτερῶ, σεμνύνομαι<sup>103</sup>. Of these (ἀπ)αλγοῦμαι, ἀπελπίζω, διαφέρω, δράσσομαι, ἐνεδρεύω, κρατῶ, ἐπιβαίνω, ἐντρέπομαι, κληρονομῶ, ξενίζομαι occur also in the NT, where they are constructed with the accusative, and this is generally the tendency in *N*. Πολεμῶ is in the NT constructed with μετὰ + gen., a construction reflected also in *N*, πολεμῶ με + acc. (since the prep. μέ takes the acc.). Other verbs in the NT constructed with the accusative include: ὀνειδίζω (Mt 5:11), καταρῶμαι (Jas 3:9), εὐδοκῶ (Mt 12:18), βασκαίνω (Gal 3:1), παραινῶ (Act 27:22), γεύομαι (Jn 2:9), λαγχάνω (Act 1:17), ἀναμμνήσκομαι (Mk 14:72), μνημονεύω (Mt 16:9)<sup>104</sup>.

Hatzidakis shows that the dative was not driven out by the accusative uniformly in the entire Greek world. Particularly in the insular parts of Hellas the dative was replaced by the genitive. This still survives in many dialects of Hellas, and even in common *N* a number of verbs are constructed with the genitive<sup>105</sup>.

23. Finally, contraction is now fully developed, and the old Homeric forms are no longer used. Thus, the NT has ἀπλοῦς (not ἀπλόος), διπλοῦς (not διπλόος), ἡμεῖς (not ἡμέες), μνᾶ (not μνάα), νοῦς (not νόος). The same is true for the verb. The NT uses only the contracted forms, e.g. ἀγαπῶ (not ἀγαπάω, though *N* Dem. uses both), αἰτιῶμαι (not αἰτιάομαι), δηλῶ (not δηλόω), διαβεβαιοῦμαι (not διαβεβαιόομαι), διακονῶ (not διακονέω), διακυβερνῶ (not δια κυβερνάω), διατηρῶ (not διατηρέω), ἐγκακῶ (not ἐγκακέω), ζῶ (not ζάω)<sup>106</sup>, ἡγοῦμαι (not ἡγέομαι), θεμελιῶ (not θεμελιόω), θεομαχῶ (not θεομαχέω), καρτερῶ (not καρτερέω),

<sup>102</sup> KREBS, *Zur Rektion der Kasus in der späteren historischen Gräcität*.

<sup>103</sup> To these may be added ἀνομῶ, ἀποκρίνομαι, δανείζω, δίδωμι, δοκῶ, δωροῦμαι, ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐπιμελοῦμαι, ἐπιχειρῶ, εὐχαριστῶ, ἔχω, θλίβω, λέγω, λείπω, παρακούω, πιστεύω, στεναίω, συνομιλῶ, ὑπερασπίζω, ὑποβλέπομαι, χρῆζω, βοηθῶ, προσκυνῶ, etc. etc.

<sup>104</sup> For Byzantine and Mediaeval evidence, see the many examples cited by ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 471 f. especially from Glykas (XII A.D.), Prodomos (XII A.D.), *Digenes Akritas* (X A.D.), et al.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. τῆς λέω ("I say to her"; also τὴν λέω [Northern Greece]), τῆς εἶπα ("I said to her"; also τὴν εἶπα [Northern Greece]), τοῦ ἔδωσα ἓνα βιβλίον ("I gave him a book"), τοῦ θέλω τὸ καλὸν ("I wish him the best"), τῆς ἀρμόζει μία τέτοια νίκη ("it is fitting for her to have [she deserves] such a victory"), σοῦ φέρω δῶρα ("I bring you gifts"), etc.

<sup>106</sup> This form is incorrect, anyway, since the correct uncontracted form was ζῆω (or ζώω), cf. FRISK, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.

κληρονομῶ (not κληρονομέω), λoidorῶ (not λoidorέω), λytrῶ (not λytrόω), μεριμνῶ (not μεριμνάω), μετανωῶ (not μετανοέω), νομοθετῶ (not νομοθετέω), παρακολουθῶ (not παρακολουθέω), ποιῶ (not ποιέω), σπαταλῶ (not σπαταλάω), τροποφορῶ (not τροποφορέω), ὑμνῶ (not ὑμνέω), ὑψῶ (not ὑψόω), φανερῶ (not φανερώω), χαριτῶ (not χαριτόω), ψευδομαρτυρῶ (not ψευδομαρτυρέω), ὠφελῶ (not ὠφελέω). These verbs had received their contracted form already in *A* times, and almost all of them occur also in Neohellenic (including Demotic) in the same form as they do in the Attic and the NT<sup>107</sup>.

Surveying the changes that came over Greek in *P* times, a specimen of which has been given above, Hatzidakis says:

Wherefore, on account of the confusion and the losses [that came over Greek] the cases and the moods were no longer distinguished with clarity and precision as before, which means that the syntax became different; from ancient it became modern, from artistic and exact it was changed to something less skillful and more loose. If one considers that since that time the use of ἵνα with the subjunctive and of ὅτι with the indicative instead of the infinitive, the optative and the participle, as well as that since then there is an increasing use of prepositions with the accusative instead of the dative, etc. etc. ... then one understands how it came about that although the morphology remained as a whole the same, the syntax and the general appearance of the language could change to such a degree as to assume a modern appearance rather than an ancient one<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> It is, therefore, to be regretted that even the latest edition of *BDAG*, that excellent NT dictionary, persists in giving the above verbs in their uncontracted and non-existent form, thus introducing confusion, for example, with regard to such verbs as δέω, ζέω θέω, πνέω, etc. which occur always uncontracted. Moreover, the inconsistency of giving some words in their contracted form (e.g. ἀπλοῦς rather than ἀπλόος, and διπλοῦς rather than διπλόος side by side with ἀπλόω and διπλόω [see *BDAG* s.v.]) adds to the confusion. No doubt the correct procedure would have been to have adopted the Greek practice of giving the actual form of words, i.e. the contracted form (the uncontracted form might have been given within brackets). Cf. the pertinent remarks of GEORGACAS, "A Point of Koine Greek Lexicography", *ClassPhil* 47 (1952), 167-69, which, unfortunately, have not been heeded.

<sup>108</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE* I, 453: Διότι ἀκριβῶς ἔνεκα τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ ἀπωλείας ταύτης δὲν διεστέλλοντο πλέον αἱ πτώσεις καὶ αἱ ἐγκλίσεις σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὅπως πρότερον, ὅπερ σημαίνει ὅτι ἡ σύνταξις καθόλου τῆς Ἑλλ. κατέστη ὁλως διάφορος, ἀπὸ ἀρχαίας ἐγένετο νέα, ἀπὸ καλλιτεχνικῆς καὶ ἀκριβοῦς ἀτεχνότερα καὶ χαλαρωτέρα. Ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς τούτοις λάβῃ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὅτι ἔκτοτε λαμβάνει ἐπίδοσιν ἢ χρῆσιν τοῦ ἵνα + ὑποτ. καὶ τοῦ ὅτι + ὀριστικῇ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπαρεμφάτου, ἀντὶ τῆς εὐκτικῆς καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς μετοχῆς, καὶ ὅτι ἔκτοτε ὁμοίως ἐπιδίδει μεγάλως ἢ συναψὶς τῶν προθέσεων μετ' αἰτιατικῆς ἀντὶ δοτικῆς κττ. κττ. ... τότε καταλαμβάνει, πῶς συνέβη ὥστε, εἰ καὶ τὸ τυπικὸν τῆς γλώσσης παρέμενε σχεδὸν τὸ αὐτό, ἡ σύνταξις καὶ δὴ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς γλώσσης καθόλου ἡδυνήθη νὰ ἀλλοιωθῇ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε νὰ ἐμφανίζεται ἔκτοτε μᾶλλον ὥς νέα ἢ ὥς ἀρχαία.

### III. Atticism

The second century A.D. supplies us with two important sources for the morphological and, to some extent, the syntactical developments that were taking place around NT times. Among the Atticists, two authors distinguished themselves for their devotion to the Attic style – both in vocabulary and syntax – a devotion that drove them to compose books in which the current un-Attic tendencies were condemned and the corresponding Attic diction was recommended. These were Phrynichos of Bithynia, surnamed Arabios (fl. 180 A.D.) and Moiris (a younger contemporary of Phrynichos).

Phrynichos is known for two works: (a) Ἀττικιστής or Περί κρίσεως καλῶν καὶ δοκίμων ὀνομάτων<sup>109</sup> and (b) Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή<sup>110</sup>, a lexicon of Attic words. The first named work has come down to us in a much curtailed version called Ἐκλογή ('Selection'), while of the second we possess only a summary handed down by the Patriarch Photios. For Phrynichos, the authors to follow are: Aischylos, Euripides, Sophokles, Aristophanes, Thoukydides, Aischines (Sokratikos), Kritias, Antisthenes, Platon, and the Orators.

Of Moiris' work we possess only portions of his Λέξεις Ἀττικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον, in which he discusses points of grammar and especially diction, setting forth as examples for emulation Homeros, Herodotos, Thoukydides, Aristophanes, Platon, Xenophon and the Orators.

Phrynichos and Moiris were among the most ardent advocates of Atticism, and their contribution must be appreciated within the context of the struggles and objectives of this movement. In seeking for an explanation to the phenomenon of Atticism (and the Second Sophistic)<sup>111</sup> Horrocks asserts:

Though both Asianism and Atticism can be seen as the product of dissatisfaction among writers of literary prose with the perceived sterility of the Koine, the eventual triumph and long-term success of Atticism can ultimately be attributed to the fact that it found its natural milieu in the context of the antiquarianism of the Second Sophistic. The precious link with the classical past could, it seemed, best be secured by addressing the ancient masters in their own Attic dialect, thereby obtaining their tacit endorsement for the products of the present<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> *Atticist or On Choosing Fine and Correct words.*

<sup>110</sup> *Sophistic preparation.*

<sup>111</sup> See ANDERSON, G., *The Second Sophistic*, London 1993.

<sup>112</sup> HORROCKS, *Greek*, 80f.

Of "antiquarianism" and a 'magically achieved' (?) "endorsement for the [defective] products of the present", there can be no question. The explanation lies elsewhere. Atticism, initiated in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., was a multifaceted movement with a cultural and linguistic agenda sometimes undergirded by politically inspired motivations directed at what was perceived to be the disastrous effects of Roman power<sup>113</sup>. Recovering from the initial shock of the Roman occupation, and realizing the cultural and linguistic inferiority of the Romans, the upholders of the Atticist movement concentrated on the most representative and glorious period of Greek history – the Mycenaean age being too far away and too unreal. Since military action was out of the question, all other means available were used to assert Greek independence and superiority: culture, sciences, language, and art. Greek names were proudly reassumed. It is a fact that for several centuries Greek litterati disdained to quote or refer to Roman authors. This was precisely the time when Roman authors vied with each other as to who would be the first to introduce a new Greek literary genre into Latin, and copied the Greek originals wholesale. It is significant that authors such as Dionysios Hal., Ploutarchos, and the author of *Περί Ὑψους* declined politely to comment on the works of Roman authors, even though [Pseudo] Longinos gave a favorable judgment of Cicero. Atticism was, in the first place, directed against the misuses to which the language was being subjected. It was directed against those who had lost their historical orientation and abjectly acquiesced to the *status quo*.

Among its representatives Atticism counted such personalities as Dionysios Halikarnasseus, Caecilius of Kale Akte, the author of *Περί Ὑψους*, Ploutarchos, Dion Cocceianos (= Chrysostomos), Ailios Aristides, Lukianos, Herodes Attikos, Philostratos, Harpokration, Julios Polydeukes, Phrynichos, Moiris, Polemon, Plotinos, and of Christian authors, Origen, Basilios, Gregorios, and Chrysostomos.

The efforts of Phrynichos and Moiris were directed against the downward course which the Greek language had taken, when the unification of Greece by Philip and Alexander established the "*Koine*", a form of Greek in which vocabulary and syntax departed from what was considered standard among the best Athenian authors of *A* times. The situation worsened when Alexander's conquests made the *Koine* the *lingua franca* of countless barbarians, who had neither the feeling nor the ability to speak and write Greek correctly, as is witnessed by, e.g., many Egyptian

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<sup>113</sup> See CARAGOUNIS' discussion in "Scholarship, Greek and Roman" in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter, pp. 1065-86.



papyri. The Atticists saw with consternation the erosion of the noble instrument of Platon's and Demosthenes' artistic compositions at the hands of Greek solecists, not to speak of the barbarian ignorami. Alarmed at this development, the Atticists sought to put an end to it by condemning un-Attic elements in popular use and by substituting for them the correct Attic forms and syntax<sup>114</sup>. On occasion, however, they did not even spare their 'correcting' rod on the authors of the Canon themselves, with the motivation that "we follow the correct diction of the ancients, not their mistakes"<sup>115</sup>.

The beneficial influence of Atticism has not been sufficiently appreciated<sup>116</sup>. "The achievement of the Atticistic movement was that it arrested the downgrade course which the Greek Language had taken through its multifarious users. It set a stop to the importation of foreign elements for which there were Greek equivalents; it condemned forms and syntax not witnessed in the best classical authors; it preserved the high ideals of linguistic perfection set in classical times; in short, it preserved the Language intact throughout Byzantine and into Modern Greek times (the Katharevousa and, in general, Neohellenic). This puristic movement, (which has been much maligned both by Greek and non-Greek scholars),

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<sup>114</sup> It has often been demurred that the Atticists were pedantic. What did it matter, for example, if the people preferred to use the masc. form ὁ ῥῶξ instead of the Attic fem. ἡ ῥάξ? Phrynichos (*Ekloge*, 51) condemned the former, saying: ἡ ῥάξ ἐρεῖς· ὁ γὰρ ῥῶξ δύο ἔχει ἀμαρτήματα ("you shall say ἡ ῥάξ; for ὁ ῥῶξ is mistaken on two counts", i.e. the form and the gender, cf. also Photios, *Lexicon*: ῥάξ· θηλυκῶς ἡ ῥάξ, ὁ δὲ ῥῶξ καὶ βαρβαρισμὸς καὶ σολοικισμὸς "ῥάξ is to be used as a feminine ἡ ῥάξ, while ὁ ῥῶξ is both a barbarism and a solecism"). Looked at from the standpoint of a later period, when a neologism prevailed and came into general use ousting the older form, there is no reason why, for example, the masc. form should be wrong while the fem. form should be correct. But to reason in this way and on this basis to criticize Phrynichos is thoroughly mistaken. The matter must be looked at as it would have been seen at the introduction of a neologism, when it clashed with common usage. We would be better able to appreciate Phrynichos' and Moiris' objections if we heard someone say ὁ δένδρος instead of τὸ δένδρον or a German say 'die Haus' instead of the correct 'das Haus' – even though there is no logical reason why 'tree' in Greek should be neuter and not masculine, or 'house' in German should be neuter and not feminine.

<sup>115</sup> Phrynichos, *Ekloge*, P 11f.: ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὰ διημαρτημένα ἀφορῶμεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ δοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀρχαίων.

<sup>116</sup> Atticism has generally been regarded as a disoriented, retrograde movement by both Greek and non-Greek scholars. With particular reference to the work of Phrynichos and Moiris, it has been seen as a hindrance to the natural development of Greek; its advocates have been considered obscurantists and misdirected, and its influence detrimental to the language. These judgments are often 'proved' by quoting a few of the words they reject, which are found in the NT and *N*, as though this in itself was proof against them. For an accurate presentation of the facts, see below.

received a mortal blow in the legislation of 1976, when the Demotic form of Greek was declared the official language of Hellas in place of Katharevousa, though it is still not quite dead"<sup>117</sup>. As was shown in Chapter One, Katharevousa has influenced Demotic deeply and still functions as a correcting rod on the latter's propensity to excesses.

It is for this reason that Hatzidakis pointed out, above, that the forms that the Atticists condemned were the forms current at the time, or perhaps increasingly becoming current, while the forms they recommended were the forms that were falling into disuse. Moreover, the Atticists would be interested in correcting the mistakes of the Greeks, not the mistakes of the barbarians, who used an extremely corrupt form of the language, a language that would have needed a radical overhaul.

These considerations are of importance for the New Testament. The NT is a group of writings that have been written in the then popular, spoken form of Greek. As such it is part of the "Koine". But the Koine is a much larger entity. Its vocabulary must have run up to hundreds of thousands of words<sup>118</sup>, whereas the NT contains only about 4,900 of these. In other words, the NT represents only a tiny fraction of Koine Greek. When it is further remembered that the NT is written by non-Greeks, who evidence heavy influence from their Aramaic mother tongue, from their Hebrew Holy Scriptures, and from the peculiar Greek (under Jewish influence) found in the LXX<sup>119</sup>, it becomes plain that the NT cannot be taken as a reliable representative of spoken Greek in Greece in the first century A.D., but only as one branch of "Koine" Greek, one that represented Semitic influence<sup>120</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> CARAGOUNIS, "Scholarship, Greek and Roman" *DNTB*, 1075 f.

<sup>118</sup> For the possible size of the Greek vocabulary see the figures in Ch. One, VII.

<sup>119</sup> By this I do not imply the existence of a Jewish Greek. On this see also BUBENIK, "Judeo-Greek or Hellenistic Koine", *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 1996, 42-56.

<sup>120</sup> See already ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, "Φιλολογικά ἐκ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 6 (1894), 105-37, esp. 106-09.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there flared up the debate about the kind of Greek in which the NT was written. This debate continued into the nineteenth century and even the twentieth century. During the course of the debate many inaccurate views were promulgated, e.g. the dogmatically determined puristic view, i.e. that the NT was written in pure Greek, or the opposite view that made the NT written in Biblical Greek, or in Jewish Greek, or in the language of the Holy Ghost, etc. (See the convenient and able presentation by VOELZ, "The Language of the NT" in *Aufstieg und Niedergang*: Principat Vol. 25, II, 893-977, esp. 896-906). If those scholars, who engaged in this debate, had become aware of the historical development of Greek from ancient to modern, as well as of the nature of Byzantine and Neohellenic, they would have been saved both the unnecessary labor and the embarrassment of having adopted untenable positions.

## IV. The Evidence of Phrynichos and Moiris

As might be expected, among Phrynichos' and Moiris' precepts, which were directed against Greek misuses, are included also a number of terms and constructions that occur in the NT. These should be considered common elements obtaining both in the Greek speech of the times and in the NT, and to that extent the NT may be taken as a partial witness to first century Greek.

## 1. Phrynichos

In the table below I give all of the extant units of words or groups of words that occur in Phrynichos' *Ekloge*<sup>121</sup>. There are 424 problematic words, word-groups, constructions, or phrases against whose use Phrynichos warned. The first column gives the Attic form, which Phrynichos recommended. The second column gives the form used in Phrynichos' day, which he condemned. The third column offers, wherever possible, in

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VOELZ delineates the effect of DEISSMANN's researches, which are considered a watershed: the positive reactions from (a) Greek philology (THUMB, WITKOWSKI), (b) OT studies (St. J. THACKERAY), and (c) NT study (RADERMACHER, MOULTON, ROBERTSON), as well as the negative reactions from SWETE, BURNEY, and OTTLEY (VOELZ, *op. cit.* 910-19). Further, he says:

A few simply asserted its generally Semitic quality and reaffirmed the old view of a special 'Biblical' or 'Jewish Greek'. Several others saw Hebrew influence, especially in the Apocalypse and Luke ... Still others struck out in a new direction (VOELZ, *op. cit.* 916).

The importance of the Papyri had been pointed out already in 1892 by HATZIDAKIS in his *Einleitung* (cf. also DEISSMANN, *Light from the Ancient East*, 22), though HATZIDAKIS spoke also of the limitations of the Papyri in laying bare the actual state of Greek, while the unity of the Greek language had been asserted and defended by MAVROPHRYDIS as early as 1860 (see his *Dokimion* [which was published posthumously in 1871], e.g. 5-34). From the Greek point of view, therefore, these scholars were groping about in what were obvious things, and 'discovering' or 'rediscovering' things that had been known all along. This several-centuries-long debate illustrates how far outside the pale of what is factually correct scholarship can go in matters of the Greek language if it does not take seriously its unity and the evidence of Byzantine and Neohellenic, which help place NT Greek in its rightful place within the development of the Greek language.

<sup>121</sup> See the edition by E. FISCHER, *Die Eclogé des Phrynichos*. Here I have concentrated on the main and fuller version of the *Ekloge*, but not taken account of the parallel but briefer versions, the so-called *Familia q* and *Familia T*.

abbreviated form Phrynichos' reasons for rejecting the condemned form (which usually is that the form is un-Attic). The fourth column presents the NT form. The fifth column offers the *Neohellenic* form or forms that are usable today whether these are more at home in the Katharevousa or the Demotic form of Neohellenic.<sup>122</sup>

<i>Attic</i>	<i>Form rejected</i>	<i>Comment</i>	<i>NT Form</i>	<i>Neohellenic</i>
1 ἔθειλοντής	έκοντής	οὐ χρή	---	εἰσελοήτης
2 ὀπισθεν	ὀπιθεν	μηδέποτε	ὀπισθεν*	ὀπισθεν**
3 ἱκετεία	ἱκεσία	ἀδόκιμον	---	ἱκεσία
4 παρδείγμα	<u>ὑπόδειγμα</u>	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	<u>ὑπόδειγμα</u>	παρλαβήγια <u>ὑπόδειγμα</u>
5 ὠνήμην	ὠνάμην	πάντα ἀδόκιμα	---	---
6 ὠνησο	ὠνασο	---	---	---
7 ὠνητο	ὠνατο	---	---	---
8 μέχρι, ἄχρι	μέχρις, ἄχρις	ἀδόκιμα	μέχρι, ἄχρι*	μέχρι, ἄχρι** (K)
9 ἀπιέναι	ἀπίναι	πάντα ἀδόκιμα	---	---
10 ἐξιέναι	προσίναι	---	---	---
11 κτλ.	κατίναι	---	---	---
12 ἐξιέναι	έξιέναι	---	---	---
13 καταπτύω	<u>έμπτύω</u>	μηδαμῶς λέγε	<u>έμπτύω</u>	έμπτυσμός
14 ---	εὐκοίτε	ἀποτρέπου	---	---
15 χάριν εἰδέναι	<u>εὐχαριστῶ</u>	οὐδεὶς δοκίμων	<u>εὐχαριστῶ</u>	<u>εὐχαριστῶ</u>
16 ἄρτι ἦκω, ἄρτι	Ἄρτι ἦξω	μηδέποτε εἰπής	ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν*	---
17 ἀφικόμην	---	ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος	βλέπει ἄρτι	---
18 τόμος κρέως ἢ	Τέμαχος κρέως ἢ	οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐρεῖ	---	τεμάχιον
19 πλακούντος,	πλακούντος ἢ	---	---	---
20 τέμαχος μόνον	ἀρτου	---	---	---
21 ἐπὶ ἰχθύος	---	---	---	---
22 ἀμύνομαι	ἄμυναν	ἀδόκιμον	ἀμύνομαι*	ἀμύνομαι**
23 ἀσπάζομαι σε	<u>ἀποτάσσομαι σοι</u>	έκφυλον πάνυ	ἀσπάζομαι* <u>ἀποτάσσομαι</u>	ἀσπάζομαι**
24 σημήναι	σημᾶναι	παρὰ τὴν	έσημανεν	(έσημανεν)
25 καθῆναι	θερμᾶναι	ἀρχαίαν χρῆσιν	---	(έθέρμανεν)
26 θερμῆναι	καθᾶραι	διὰ τοῦ α	(δια)καθᾶραι	---
27 προθεσμία	διωρία	έσχάτως	προθεσμία*	προθεσμία**
28 ἐφλέγημην	έφλέγμανε	ἀδόκιμον	---	---
29 φλεγμῆναι	φλεγμᾶναι	διὰ τοῦ η	---	---
30 διείναι κτλ.	Ἄνεϊναι ἐλαίῳ ἢ	πάνυ ἀμαθῶς	---	---
31 ---	ὀζει	---	---	---
32 ἐπερίσσευσε	περίεσσευσεν	ἀλλοκοτέρως	έπερίσσευσε*	έπερίσσευσε**
33 κηλῖς	<u>σπίλος</u>	τούτου φυλάττου	<u>σπίλος</u>	κηλ-ς (-ιλς) <u>σπίλος</u>
34 ἀνείλλειν	<u>άνειλεῖν</u>	κάκιστον	---	---
35 πίομαι	πιούμαι	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	πίεσθε*	---
36 πιόμενος	πιούμενος	Δίων ἀμαρτάνει	---	---
37 ἀλήλειπται	ήλειπται	οὐ χρή	---	---
38 καταρῶρκεται	κατῶρκεται	---	---	---

<sup>122</sup> Words in ( ) indicate other forms than the ones rejected or commended.

K = Katharevousa. The word so designated occurs only in the literary form of Neohellenic.

D = Demotic. The word so designated occurs in the demotic form of Neohellenic.

When two forms are given under *Neohellenic*, the one similar to the ancient form is K, the other D.

24	ἀπειμι	<u>ἀπελεύσομαι</u>	παντάπασι φυλάτου ἀθες	<u>ἀπελεύσομαι</u>	---
25	ὁμάμοκε	ᾠμοκε	οὐ χρή λέγειν	---	---
26	Ἀλκαϊκόν	Ἀλκαϊκόν	μηδαμῶς	---	Αλκαϊκοί πρόσφατον = recent
27	πρόσφατον, ἀκραϊφνές ὕδωρ	νῆρον ὕδωρ	---	---	πρόσφατον = recent
28	ποι ἄπει	ποῦ ἄπει	ἀμάρτημα	ποῦ + vb of moti.	ποῦ + vb of moti.
29	ἐξ ἔκεινου	ἐκτοτε	μηδ.τρόπ.εἰπης	---	ἐκτοτε
30	πότε = when?	πηνίκα = what time ?	never say πηνίκα for πότε	πότε = when?*	πότε = when? **
31	ὄρθριος	ὄρθρινός	οὐ	ὄρθρινός	ὄρθρινός
32	---	μεσονύκτιον	ποιητικόν	μεσονύκτιον	μεσονύκτιον (K) μεσάνυκτα (D)
33	ὁ ὄμφαξ, ὁ βῶλος	ὁ ὄμφαξ, ὁ βῶλος	femin., not masc.	---	---
34	ὁ πηλός	ὁ πηλός	ἀμαρτάνοντες	ὁ πηλός*	ὁ βῶλος
35	ὁ ψιος	ὁ ψιος	ἀμάρτημα	ὁ ψία	ὁ πηλός**
36	ποταπός	ποταπός	ἀδόκιμον	ποταπός	---
37	φανός (of lamp) λυχνούχον (ἐπὶ κερατίνου)	φανός (ἐπὶ κερατίνου)	μὴ λέγε	φανός* = lamp	ποταπός φανός = lamp**
38	ἐν χρῶ κουρίας	ψιλόκουρος	μὴ φᾶθι	---	---
39	πεινήν, διψήν	<u>πεινᾶν, δειψᾶν</u>	μὴ λέγε	<u>πεινᾶ, διψᾶ</u>	πεινᾶ, διψᾶ
40	ἡ χάραξ = vine support	ὁ χάραξ	ἐρεῖς θηλυκῶς	---	---
41	σκίμπους	<u>κράββατος</u>	μιαρόν	<u>κράββατος</u>	κρεβάτι
42	ἐρυγγάνειν	ἐρεγγεσθαι	ποιητὴς λέγει	---	---
43	ὁ φάρυγξ	ὁ φάρυγξ	Ἀττικὸς	---	ὁ φάρυγξ (γας)
44	αὐθαδίζεσθαι	ἀναιδεῦεσθαι	μὴ λέγε	---	---
45	---	υἱέως	οἱ ψευδαττικοί	---	---
46	τελευταῖον	τελευταυτότατον	ἀμάρτημα	---	τελευταῖον
47	βεβίασται (ἡ κόρη)	ἐβθαρται ἡ κόρη	οὐχ ὡς τινες τῶν ῥητόρων	---	εὐιασθῇ ἡ κόρη διεφθάρη etc.
48	ἡ ὑσπληξ	ὁ ὑσπληξ	---	---	---
49	τρυξ οἴνου (ὑποστάθμη)	ἰλὺς οἴνου	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	---	---
50	κόριον, κορίδιον, κορίσκη	<u>κοράσιον</u>	παράλογον	<u>κοράσιον</u>	κοράσι (ον)
51	ἡ ράξ	ὁ ρῶξ	δύο ἔχει ἀμαρτήματα	---	---
52	κωλῆνα	κωλύφιον	μὴ λέγε	---	---
53	θάττον	<u>τάχιον</u>	Ἕλληνες οὐ λέγουσιν	<u>τάχιον</u>	ταχεία
54	κακοδαίμονᾶν	κακοδαίμονεῖν	νόθος ἀττικίζον.	ταχέως	ταχέως
55	κόρημα	σάρον	οὐχί	---	σάρων
56	παρακορεῖν	σαροῦν	---	---	σαρῶν
57	ἀφήλιξ (ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρου)	ἀφήλιξ (ἐπὶ μὴ ἐννόμου ἡλικίας)	ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ ῥητορικοί	---	---
58	ὑποτροπιάζειν	ἐπιτροπιάζειν	διεφθαρται	---	---
59	---	<u>προκοπή</u>	---	<u>προκοπή</u>	προκοπή
60	βιβλιογράφος	βιβλιογραφος	οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι	---	βιβλιογράφος
61	βασκάνιον	προβασκάνιον	ἀδόκιμον	---	βασκανία
62	νοῖδιον, βοῖδιον	νοῦδιον, βουῖδιον	ἀρχαῖα, δόκιμα	---	κοῖλιον (K, Dim)
63	ὁσμή	ὁσμή	---	ὁσμή*	ὁσμή**
64	βελόνη, βελονοπῶλης	<u>ῥαφίς</u>	τί ἐστὶν οὐκ ἂν τις γνοῖ	<u>ῥαφίς</u>	βελόνη**
65	ἀκεστής	ἡπητής	οὐ λέγουσιν οἱ παλαιοί	βελόνη*	βελονοπωλης
66	ἀκείσασθε	ἡπήσασθαι	---	---	---
67	ἀγαθός μάλλον	ἀγαθότερος	μὴ λέγε	---	ἀγαθότερος
68	ἀγαθός μάλιστα	ἀγαθώτατος	---	---	ἀγαθώτατος

66	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	ἀρχῆθεν	δοκίμων οὐδεις	ἐξ ἀρχῆς*	ἐξ ἀρχῆς (Κ)** ἀρχῆθεν (Κ) ---
67	γαστρίζειν (ἐπὶ γ. ἐμπίπλασθαι)	γαστρίζειν (ἐπὶ τ. γαστέραν τύπτ)	μήποτε ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν	---	---
68	γαργαλίζω κνῶ (Μοιρις)	γαργαλίζω <u>κνήθω</u>	---	<u>κνήθω</u>	ΓΑΡΓΑΛΙΖΩ ---
69	γῆινον	γείνον	---	---	ΓΗΙΝΟΝ ---
70	γλωττοκομείον	<u>γλωσσόκομον</u>	διεφθαρμένως	<u>γλωσσόκομον</u>	---
71	βραδύτερον	βράδιον	Πλάτ. Θουκ.	---	---
72	γρυλίζειν (ἐπὶ ὤν φωνῆς)	γρυλλίζειν (ἐπὶ ἀσχημ. ὄρχουμέν)	διττὴν ἀμαρτίαν (δύο λλ κ. σημασ)	---	γρυλίζω**
73	γογγυλὶς γογγύλη (ἐπὶ τοῦ στρυγγύλου)	γογγύλη	ἀμάρτημα	---	ἡ γογγύλη** τὸ γογγύλι (ον)
74	ἐκάστοτε διὰ παντός	<u>πάντοτε</u>	μὴ λέγε	<u>πάντοτε</u> διὰ παντός*	ΕΚΑΣΤΟΤΕ πάντοτε διὰ παντός**
75	γενέθλια	<u>γενέσια</u>	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	<u>γενέσια</u>	ΓΕΙΓΕΘΛΙΑ
76	ἀργὸς ἡμέρα, ἀργὸς γυνή	ἀργή ἡμέρα, ἀργή γυνή, etc.	μὴ λέγε	ἀργή γαστέρα, etc.	ἀργή ἡμέρα, etc.
77	πνίγος	πνιγνρά (ι βραχ)	ἀμάρταν. οἱ βραχ	---	ΠΝΙΓΟΣ
78	ἀποκρίνασθαι (m.a. = to answer) ἀποκριθῆναι = (to be judged)	<u>ἀποκριθῆναι</u> (p.a. = to answer)	διττόν ἀμάρτημα	<u>ἀπεκρίθη</u> (p.a. = give answer)	ἀπεκρίθη (Κ) ἀποκριθηκε (D)
79	γενέσθαι	<u>γενηθῆναι</u>	Δώριον	<u>γενηθῆναι</u>	---
80	Πελαργός shrt α	Πελαργός long α	ἀμαθείς ἐκτείν.	---	Πελαργός**
81	ἀσπάραγος ὄρμενα	ἀσπάραγος ἀσπαράγου	δυοῖν ἀμάρτημ.	---	ἀσπάραγος**
82	ἀσβολος	ἡ ἀσβολή	ἀδόκιμον	---	---
83	παρακάρησον κόρημα, κάλλυντρον	<u>σάρωσον</u> σάρον	μὴ λέγε οὐ λέγουσιν	<u>σεσαρωμένον</u>	ἡ ἀσβόλη σαρώνω ---
84	θερμότης	θερμασία	μὴ λέγε	---	---
85	ὁ αἰθαλος	ἡ αἰθάλη	μὴ λέγε	---	ΘΕΡΙΟΤΗ-Σ (-ΤΑ) αἰθάλη
86	ἀταγὰς	ἀταγῆν	παρανενομήται	---	---
87	ἀλμᾶδες ἐλάαι	κόλυμβάδες ἐλά.	οὐ λέγονται	---	---
88	ἐγρήγορα	<u>γρηγορῶ</u>	οὐ δεῖ	<u>γρηγορῶ</u>	γρηγορῶ
89	αὐθέντης (= αὐτόχειρ)	αὐθέντης (= δεσπότης)	μηδέποτε χρήσι	---	αὐθέντης = (hav. absolute power)
90	ἤχε. ἤχασι	ἀγῆοχεν	μὴ πάνυ πείθου	---	---
91	μεσεγγυηθῆναι	μεσιδιωθῆναι	τέτριπται	---	---
92	εἰς κάλλος γράφειν	καλλιγραφεῖν	ἐκείνοι (ἀττικοί)	---	καλλιγραφῶ
93	ἐτι	<u>ἀκμήν</u>	φυλάττου	ἐτι* <u>ἀκμήν</u> (I X)	ἐτι**
94	εἶτα ἔπειτα	<u>εἶτεν</u> ἔπειτεν	ἐσχάτως βάρβα	εἶτα* <u>εἶτεν</u> (I X) ἔπειτα*	---
95	ἐκ παλαιοῦ	ἀπόπαλαι <u>ἐκπαλαι</u>	ἀμφοῖν δυσχεραίνω	<u>ἐκπαλαι</u>	ἐκπαλαι
96	ἀνατέλλει	ἐπιτέλλει	---	ἀνατέλλει*	ἀνατέλλει**
97	εὐ σχολῆς ἔχω	<u>εὐκαιρῶ</u>	οὐ λεκτέον	<u>εὐκαιρῶ</u>	εὐκαιρῶ
98	ἐπιπολῆς	ἐξεπιπολῆς (= <u>ἐξαιφνης</u> )	ἀνόπως	<u>ἐξαιφνης</u>	---
99	ἐνδον (εἰμι)	ἐνδον (εἰσέρχομ)	βάρβαρον	---	ΕΙΛΟΝ + vb of rest
100	κληρονομῶ + gen	<u>κληρονομῶ + acc.</u>	---	<u>κληρονομῶ + acc.</u>	κληρονομῶ + acc.**
101	θριδακίνην	θρίδακα	ιάζων (= Ionic)	---	---
102	ἐπὶ κλιντρον	ἀνά κλιντρον	οὐ ρητέον	---	ἀνά κλιντρον

103	ἐπίδοξον = προσδοκόμενον. ἐλπίζόμενον	ἐπίδοξον = ἐπίσημον	οἱ ἀμαθεῖς	ΕΠΙΛΟΞΗ = προσδοκόμενον
104	τήθη = grandmother μάμη = mother	<u>μάμη</u> = <u>grandm.</u>	ἀμαθές	<u>μάμη</u> = <u>grandmo.</u> μάμη = grandm. γιαγιά = grandm.
105	έσχατον	έσχατώτατον	οὐ χρὴ λέγειν	---
106	ἀμεινον	<u>ἀμεινότερον</u>	συγκριτικόν συγκριτικοῦ οὐ γίνεται	ἀμεινον* (cf. Eph 3:8 <u>ἐλαχιστότερος</u> )
107	ἐτερόφθαλμος	μονόφθαλμος	οὐ ῥητέον	---
108	ἐπριάμην	ἐωνησάμην	φυλάττου	---
109	κόλαξ (ἐπ' ὀνειδους)	παράσιτος (ἐπ' ὀνειδους)	οὐκ ἔλεγον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι	---
110	εὐρέσθαι	εὐρασθαι	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	---
111	ράφανίς	ράφανος (= κράμβη)	μὴ θῆς	---
112	εὐνοϊκῶς	εὐνως	μὴ λέγε	---
113	εὐθύς	εὐθύ(ἐπὶ χρόνου)	---	εὐθὺς*
114	εὐζωρον	ζωρότερον	---	---
115	χερσί	<u>χερσίν</u>	ἀδοκίμως	<u>χερσίν</u> dat.: form missing in Demotic
116	εὐερον	εὐέριον	μὴ λέγε	---
117	νουμηνία	<u>νεομηνία</u>	μὴ λέγε	<u>νεομηνία</u>
118	ἦσθα ἐν ἀγορᾷ	ἦς ἐν ἀγορᾷ	σόλοιγον	---
119	ἠκηκόεσαν ἐγεγράφεσαν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐνενοήκεσαν	ἠκηκόεισαν ἐγεγράφεισαν ἐπεποιήκεισαν ἐνενοήκεισαν	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	---
120	ὁ ῥύπος	τὸ ῥύπος	---	ὁ ῥύπος*
121	ἀλεῖν ἤλει ἀλοῦσα	ἀλήθειν ἤληθεν <u>ἀλήθουσα</u>	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	---
122	μέθυσις	μέθυσος	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	---
123	ἦν ἐγώ	<u>ἦμην</u>	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	<u>ἦμην</u> (K)
124	ᾤδηκεν ᾤκοδόμηκεν	οἶδηκεν οἰκοδόμηκεν	διὰ τοῦ ω ἄριστα	---
125	ἀνίστατο	ἠνίστατο	ἐρεῖς	---
126	ἀχαριν ὁσμήν	βρώμος (ἐπὶ δυσωδίας)	μὴ λέγε	---
127	Ἡρακλέα, Περικλέα, Θεμιστοκλέα	Ἡρακλῆν, Περικλῆν, Θεμιστοκλῆν	μὴ λέγε	---
128	ἀνέφκται ἡ θύρα	<u>ἀνέφγεν</u> ἡ θύρα	σολοικισμός	<u>ἀνέφγεν</u>
129	οἱ ἦρωες	οἱ ἦρωες	οὐ λέγουσιν	---
130	θεόθυτον	<u>ιερόθυτον</u>	οὐκ ἐρεῖς	<u>ιερόθυτον</u>
131	διεφθαρμένον αἷμα	διεφθορὸς αἷμα	τῶν ἀμαθῶν	---
132	διέφθειρεν	διέφθορε	---	---
133	διατοιχεῖν	ἀνατοιχεῖν	μὴ λέγε	---
134	ἦνυστρον	ἐνυστρον	μὴ λέγε	---
135	θρυαλλίς	ἐλλύχνιον	ῥητέον	---
136	θυμέλη (= θυσία)	θυμέλη (θέατρ.)	μὴ λέγε	---
137	λογεῖον (τραγωδ) ὄρχηστραν (αὐλ)	---	---	---
138	θυεῖα	ἰγδῖς	μὴ λέγε	---
139	ιστῶν	ιστεῶν	ἀμαρτήσεις γάρ	---
140	καλαμών	καλαμῶν	---	---
141	ἱπῶν	ἱπεῶν	---	---
142	ἀνδρῶν	ἀνδρεῶν	---	---
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138	ψιλὸς αὐλητῆς	πυθαύλης	μὴ λέγε	---	ΔΥΛΗΤΗΣ
139	καταπροιζέται	καταπροιζέται	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	---	---
140	αἱ νῆες	αἱ ναὺς	σόλοικον	---	---
	τάς ναὺς	τάς νῆας	---	---	---
141	εἰσίστω	εἰσιέτω	---	---	---
142	κνημίδα (βραχ.)	ῥαφανίδα	penult must be short	---	περικνημί-ς -δα
	πινακίδα	(ἐκτείνουσιν καὶ	---	---	ΠΙΝΑΚΙ-С (-λα)
	καρίδα	συστέλλουσιν)	---	---	ΚΑΡΙΔΑ, ΓΑΡΙΔΑ
143	κλ(αδ)ᾶν ἀμπέλ.	κλαδεύειν	μὴ φάθι	---	κλαδεύω
144	πολίτης	συμπολίτης	μὴ λέγε	συμπολίτης	ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ = citiz. συμπολίτης
145	κνέφαλον	τύλην	[μὴ] λέγε	---	---
146	ἐπὶ κόρης	ῥάπισμα	οὐκ ἐν χρήσει	ῥάπισμα	ράπισμα
	πατάζει	---	---	---	---
147	τρύβλιον	παρωσίς	---	τρύβλιον*	---
	---	---	---	παρωσίς	---
148	κόπτω τὴν θύραν	κρούω τὴν θύραν	---	κρούω τὴν θύραν	κρούω τὴν θύραν
149	κραστήρια	ἐνήλατα κλίνης	οὐ χρὴ λέγειν	---	---
150	κρίβανος	κλίβανος	οὐκ ἑρεῖς	κλίβανος	κλίβανος
151	κυνίδιον	κυνάριον	λέγε	κυνάριον	---
152	ἐδέδισαν	ἐδέδισαν	σύ δὲ λέγε	---	---
153	οὐδεῖς	οὐθεῖς	ἀποτρέπου	οὐδεῖς*	οὐδεῖς**
	---	---	λέγειν	οὐθεῖς	οὐδένας
154	ἀφείλετο	ἀφείλετο	ἀσχημονοῦσιν	ἀφείλεν	---
155	λάγνης	λάγνος	μὴ φαθί	---	λάγνος
156	λαγός	λαγός	Ἴων	---	λαγός
157	λιβανωτός	λίβανος	---	λιβανωτός*	λιβανωτός
158	ὁ λιμός	ἡ λιμός	---	ἡ λιμός	Ο ΛΙΜΟΣ
	ἡ λιμός (Doric)	---	---	---	---
159	ἐλούμην ἐλούτο	ἐλούμην ἐλούου	πάντα ἀδόκιμα	---	ἐλούμην (Κ)
	λουμαι	ἐλούετο λούομαι	---	---	λούομαι
	λούμεθα λούνται	ἐλούομεθα ἐλούοντο	---	---	λούζομαι
	---	---	---	---	ἐλούόμεθα (Κ)
	---	---	---	---	ἐλούοντο (Κ)
160	δυσωπεῖσθαι (= ὑφορᾶ ὑποπτέω)	δυσωπεῖσθαι (= ἐντρέπεσθαι)	---	---	ἀδυσώπητος (= relentless)
	δυσωπία= ὑφόρα-σιν τὸ ὑποπτέειν	---	---	---	---
161	ἐπεξιὼν	ἐπεξελευσόμενος	---	---	---
162	σαλπικτής	σαλπιστής	---	σαλπιστής	ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΗΣ
163	καθιερώσαι	ἀφιερῶσαι	---	---	ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΝΩ
	---	---	---	---	ἀφιερῶνω
164	κόλλωψ	κόλλαβος	---	---	---
165	ἀπόνιπτρον	νίμμα	---	---	---
166	---	νὴ τῷ θεῷ	ὄρκος γυναικῶν	---	μὰ τῷ Θεῷ
167	τὰ μέσα τῶν δακτύλων	μεσοδάκτυλα	ἐναντίασα τοῦτο ἀκούσας	---	τὰ μεσαῖα δάκτυλα
168	λάσταυρος (= καταπύγων)	λάσταυρος (= ἀξίος σταυροῦ)	---	---	---
169	ὑπὸ μάλης	μάλη	οὐκ ἑρεῖς	---	ΥΠΟ ΜΑΛΗΣ
170	μέγα δυναμένους	μεγιστᾶνες	οὐκ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι	μεγιστᾶνες	ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΝΕΣ
171	λόγιος (= learned)	λόγιος (eloquent)	λόγιος (= eloquent)	λόγιος	λόγιος (= learned)
172	ἰδιοῦσθαι	ἐξιδιάζονται	κακῶς	---	---
173	μύκτηας	μύκας	μὴ λέγε	---	ΗΓΚΗΤΑΣ
174	οἰκόσιτος	αὐτότροφος	μὴ λέγε	---	ΟΙΚΟΣΙΤΟΣ
	---	---	---	---	οἰκότροφος
175	σφυρήλατος	ὀλοσφύρατος	ἐκβαλλε	---	ΟΦΥΡΗΛΑΤΟΣ
	ὀλόσφυρος	---	---	---	---
176	ὀκωρήνης	ὀκωροπώλης	---	---	ὀκωροπώλης
177	νεοττός νεοττίον	νοσσός νοσσίων	ἀδόκιμα	νοσσός, νοσσίων	ΝΕΟΤΤΟΣ



178	χρυσᾶ, ἀργυρά,	χρύσεια, ἀργύρεα,	ταῦτα ἰακά	χρυσᾶ, ἀργυρᾶ	ΧΡΥΣΑ, ΑΡΓΥΡΑ,
179	κυανὰ	κυάνεα	τοῦτο φεύγε	<u>ἐκτρωμα</u>	ΚΥΑΝΑ ΕΞΑΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ ἐκτρωμα
180	δυσὶν	δυσί	μὴ λέγε	<u>δυσί</u>	---
181	δυσὶν (+ genitiv.)	δυσὶν (+ dative)	ἀλλοκώτως	---	---
182	ὥσιν	ὥτοις	---	ὥσιν*	---
183	μεῖραξ (female)	μεῖραξ (male)	---	---	---
184	ἀναβάλλομαι = to postpone	ἀνατίθμι = to postpone	ἀμαρτάνουσιν	ἀναβάλλω*	ἀναβάλλω**
185	ἐμβριθής	σταθερός ἄνθρ.	οὐ χρώνται	---	ΕΙΜΠΡΙΘΗΣ
186	ἀνακλιθῆναι	<u>ἀναπεσεῖν</u>	ἀρχαῖοι	<u>ἀναπεσεῖν</u>	ΑΙΘΡΩΠΟΣ
187	κεῖμαι (on bed)	<u>ἀνάκειμαι</u> (on bed, at table)	οὐ καλῶς	ἀνακλιθῆναι*	ἀνακλινομαι**
188	ἀντιβάλλω (ἀντιτιθέναι)	<u>ἀντιβάλλω</u> (ἀντανανθῆναι)	---	ἀνάκειμαι (lying, at table)	ΚΕΙΜΑΙ
189	σκεδάννυμι	<u>σκορπίζω</u>	---	<u>ἀντιβάλλω</u>	---
190	κατανύσσω	κατασχάζω	---	σκορπίζω	σκορπίζω
191	ἀρχαϊκόν	<u>ἀρχαϊκόν</u>	---	κατανύσσομαι*	κατανύσσω (Κ)**
192	Ἀλκαϊκόν	<u>Ἀλκαϊκόν</u>	---	<u>Ἀρχαϊκός</u>	ἀρχαϊκόν
193	τροχαικόν	<u>τροχαικόν</u>	---	---	Ἀλκαϊκόν
194	ῥεῖ, ζεῖ, πλέϊ	ῥέει, ζέει, πλέει	ἰακά	τροχαικόν	ῥεῖ, ζεῖ, πλέει
195	ἀρτοποιός	ἀρτοκόπος	---	πλεῖν, ζῆ	ΑΡΤΟΠΟΙΟΣ
196	ἀφορμή	ἐνθήκη	---	---	---
197	ἀφυννίζω	<u>ἐξυπνίζω</u>	---	ἀφορμή*	ἀφορμή**
198	βαλαντιοκλέπτης	βαλαντοκλέπτης	---	ἐξυπνίζω	ἐξυπνίζω
199	βασιλεια	<u>βασίλισσα</u>	μὴ λέγε	---	ΑΦΥΠΝΙΖΩ
200	βασιλῆς	---	---	<u>βασίλισσα</u>	ΒΑΛΑΝΤΙΟΚΛΕΠΤΗΣ
201	βδελύττομαι	σικχαίνομαι	---	βασίλεια reign	βασίλισσα
202	γελοῖον	γελάσιμον	ναυτίας ἀξίον	βδελύσσομαι*	βασίλεια reign
203	ἀλεκτρυών	<u>ἀλεκτορίς</u>	---	---	σιχαίνομαι
204	γλῶττα (ὑποδῆμ.)	γλωσσός	μὴ λέγε	---	ΒΑΛΑΝΤΙΟΚΛΕΠΤΗΣ
205	γρυμέα	γρύπη	---	<u>ἀλέκτωρ</u>	ΓΕΛΟΙΟΝ
206	διώρυχος etc.	διώρυγος etc.	---	---	ΑΛΕΚΤΩΡ
207	δίκρουν	δίκρανον	---	---	ΚΟΚΟΡΑΣ
208	Διόσκοροι	<u>Διόσκουροι</u>	μὴ λέγε	---	---
209	ἐφησθα (ἐφης)	<u>ἐφης</u>	---	---	---
210	ὑστερίζω + gen.	ὑστερίζω + dat.	---	---	---
211	παραβάλλομαι	παραβόλιον	---	---	---
212	ὀρθοστάδιος	στατός	---	---	---
213	χιτών	---	---	---	---
214	παιδίσκη =	<u>παιδίσκη</u> =	---	---	---
215	young girl	servant woman	---	---	---
216	παῖσαι	παῖζει	---	---	---
217	παλαιστικόν	παλαιστικός	---	---	---
218	κορυφαῖον	κορυφαϊότατον	---	---	---
219	ἐπαῖδη	ἐπαιδῆ	---	---	---
220	διδόσιν	διδούσιν	---	---	---
221	διδούσιν = τὸ δεῖν	---	---	---	---
222	προπετῶς	προαλῶς	---	---	---
223	πῆχεων πῆχεως	πῆχων, πῆχως	---	---	---
224	συντυχίαν	σύμπτωμα	---	---	---
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219	πρόγραμμα	ἔκθεμα	βάρβαρον		προγραμμα
220	ἀνδραγάθημα	κατώρθωμα	ἀδόκιμον		κατώρθωμα
221	ὑπαίθριον	ὑπαίθρον	μὴ λέγε	---	ἀναραγάθημα
222	δομάτιον	κοιτῶν	(text uncertain)	κοιτῶν	ὑπαίθρον
	προδομάτιον	προκοιτῶν			ἀναθατιον
223	ροῖδιον	ροῖδιον	---	---	ὑπόδοματιον
224	σμήμα	σμήγμα	---	---	ρόδι, ροῖδι (on)
225	σάκος	σάκκος	Δωριεῖς διὰ κκ	σάκκος	σινημα, σμήγμα
226	πέποννα σίκυον	πέπων	οὐκ ὀρθῶς	---	σακος
227	σκαῖος	ἐπαρίστερος	οὐ χρὴ λέγειν	---	---
228	πεπλεγμένη ὑπόθεσις	πλόκιον	οἱ εἰκαῖοι	---	σκαῖος
					μπαλεγεινην,
					περιπαλεγεινην
					γποθεσις
229	στυπνικος	στυπνείνος	οὐ χρὴ λέγειν	---	στυπ(π)ηνος
230	ἀντιλογία	ἀντίρρησιν	μὴ λέγε	ἀντιλογία*	ἀντιλογία**
					ἀντίρρησις
					(objection)
231	βασιλεία	βασίλισσα		βασίλισσα	βασίλισσα
232	βασιλῆς	εὐαγγελίζομαι +	---	εὐαγγελίζομαι +	εὐαγγελίζομαι +
	dat.	acc.		dat and acc.	acc.
233	καθέζομαι	καθεσθῆεις	ἔκφυλα	καθέζομαι*	κάθομαι
234	καθεδούμαι etc.	καθεσθήσομαι	---	---	---
234	υἱόν	υἱέα	ἐμεψάμην	υἱόν*	υἱόν**
235	ἄνωθεν (time)	ἀνέκαθεν (time)	use only of place	ἄνωθεν (of place)	γιούν (γιόν)
235	ἀνέκαθεν (place)	---	---	---	ἄνωθεν (place)
236	---	κεφαλαιωδέστατον	ἀδόκιμον	---	ἀνέκαθεν (time)
238	βλάξ (stupid)	βάκηλος (stupid)	ἀμαρτάνουσιν	---	---
	βάκηλος (eunuch)	---	---	---	πλax, πλaxac
239	ἐκὼν εἶναι (of prohibit.or denial)	ἐκὼν εἶναι (of assertion)	μέγιστα ἀμαρτάνουσιν	---	(stupid)
240	ἔω (before sunris)	ὄρθρος (before sunrise)	---	---	εxωη
240	ὄρθρος (early dawn)	---	---	ὄρθρος ὄρθρινός	αὐγή, χαράγματα
241	ὀπτάνειον (kitch)	μαγειρεῖον	οὐ δόκιμον	---	ἐθρινός
242	μάγειρος (cook)	---	---	---	ὄρθρινός
242	τυγχάνω ἄν	τυγχάνω	ἀμελεῖς λέγουσιν	τυγχάνω	μαγειρεῖον
243	ἀντεξετάζω	σύγκρισις συγκρίνειν	ἀδόκιμος φωνή	συγκρίνω παραβάλλω*	μαγειρος
244	κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ	κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ	occurs in Thoukydides	---	τυγχάνω
245	ἄξιον	---	ἀρχαίως, δοκίμως	ἄξιον *	---
	ἐπισκέψεως	---	---	ἐπίσκεψις*	ἄξιον**
	Stoic Phil.: ἄξιον	ἀπορίας ἄξιον	---	ἀπορία	ἐπίσκεψις**
	ἐπιστάσεως	---	---	ἐπίστασις*	ἀπορία
246	ἐμβρίθεια	εὐστάθεια	---	---	---
	ἐμβριθής	εὐσταθής	---	---	επιβριθεις
247	πάλιν	πάλι	μετὰ τοῦ ν	πάλιν*	εὐστάθεια
249	καρποί = fruit	γεννήματα = fruit	---	γεννήματα = offspring γένημα = fruit	εὐσταθής
250	ἵνα ἀγάγωσιν	ἵνα ἀζωσιν	οὐ χρὴ λέγειν	ἵνα ἀγάγῃ*	πάλι, πάλιν
251	συνήντησε	συνήντητο	ποιητικά	συνήντησεν*	καρποι = fruit
	ἀπήντησε	ἀπήντητο	---	ἀπήντησαν*	---
					συνάντησε
					ἀπήντησε**

252	νᾶπυ	<u>σίναπι</u>	οὐ λεκτέον	<u>σίναπι</u>	σινάπι <u>σίναπι</u>
253	ὄνυχιζειν καὶ ἐξονυχίζειν = speak precisely ἀπονυχίζειν = cut the nails	ὀνύχισόν με καὶ ὠνυχισάμην = cut the nails	ὁ πολὺς συρφετός	---	εἰρηγχιζω = speak precisely ἀποιρηγχιζω = cut the nails
254	τὸ νῶτον τὰ νῶτα	ὁ νῶτος	ἀμαρτάνει	ὁ νῶτος	τὰ ἡῶτα
255	ὔει	<u>βρέχει</u>	παντελῶς ἀποδοκιμαστέον	<u>βρέχει</u>	<u>βρέχει</u>
256	λάμυρος = ἱταμός, ἀναιδής	λάμυρος = ἐπίχαρης	---	---	---
257	ἐξήμβλωσε	ἐξέτρωσε	μὴ λέγε	---	ΙΤΑΜΟΣ, ΔΗΔΙΑΗΣ
258	ἐξάμβλωμα	<u>ἐκτρωμα</u>	μηδὲ τοῦτο λέγε	<u>ἐκτρωμα</u>	---
259	τὸ ἐπίδεσμον	ὁ ἐπίδεσμος	λέγε οὐδὲτέρως	---	ΕΞΑΗΛΩΜΑ <u>ἐκτρωμα</u>
260	τὸ σκάω, τοῦ σκατός	τὸ σκάτος τοῦ σκάτους	ἀμαθές	---	ὁ ἐπίδεσμος τὸ σκατό τοῦ σκατοῦ
261	ὁ φλέως	φλοῦς	ἡμάρτηται	---	τὸ φλέων ὁ φλεῖως
262	πιστεύειν τι πεποιθέναι τι	<u>πεποιθήσεις</u>	---	<u>πεποιθήσεις</u>	<u>πεποιθήσεις</u>
263	παλαστή	παλαιστής	ἀμαθεῖς	---	ΠΑΛΑΣΤΗ (Κ)
264	ἐγγύτερον	ἐγγιον	μὴ λέγε	ἐγγύτερον*	ἐγγύτερον**
265	στλεγγίς	ζύστρα	μὴ λέγε	---	ΣΤΛΕΓΓΙ-Σ (-ΛΛΑ) ζύστρα (differ. meaning)
266	τῆθαλαδοῦν	μαμόθρεπτον	μὴ λέγε	---	μαμόθρεφτος
267	τίφη	σίλφη	διεφθαρμένον	---	σίλφη (Κ)
268	ὁ νεφρός	ψύα, ψοία	πολὺ κίβδηλον	ὁ νεφρός*	τὸ νεφρόν ὁ νεφρός**
269	τρύγοιπον	ὑλιστήρ	οὐ δόκιμον	---	δουλιστήριον
270	βίβλος	πάπυρος	Αἰγύπτιον	---	ΒΙΒΛΟΣ, ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ
271	λίτρον or λίτρου ἀφρόν	ἀφρόνιτρον	τελέως ἐξίτηλον καὶ ἀδόκιμον	---	---
272	λίτρον = sodium carbonate	νίτρον	Αἰόλου ἂν εἴποι	---	νίτρον
273	ἀνεψιός = cousin	ἐξάδελφος	ἀποδοκιμομητέον	ἀνεψιός* = ? cousin	ἐξάδελφος = cous. ἀνεψίος = neph.
274	ἐνέχυρον	ὑπάλλαγμα	ἀμαθῶς	τὸ ἱκανόν	ἐνεχυροί
275	πανδοκεῖον	<u>πανδοχεῖον</u>	---	<u>πανδοχεῖον</u>	πανδοχεῖον
276	ὁ φθεῖρ	ἡ φθεῖρ	---	---	ἡ φθεῖρ, ἡ ψεῖρα
277	μοχλός	μοκλός	μὴ λέγε	---	ΗΟΧΛΟΣ
278	ὑπάγειν τὴν γαστέρα	κατὰ κοιλίας ποιεῖν	---	---	---
279	ἐπίορκος	ἐφίορκος	---	ἐπίορκος*	ἐπίορκος**
280	ψίαθος, μιαρός ὑαλος	ψιεθος, μιερός ὑελος	ἀμαρτάνουσιν	---	ψιαθος (Κ) ΗΙΑΡΟΣ ΥΑΛΟΣ ΗΥΕΛΟΣ
281	μυελός	---	ῥητέον	---	---
282	αἱ χόλικες	οἱ χόλικες	ἀμαθές	---	---
283	---	χονδροκῶνειον	ἀμαθές, ἀλλόκοτον	---	---
284	δαψιλῶς	<u>ἐκτενῶς</u>	μὴ [λέγε]	<u>ἐκτενῶς</u>	ΔΑΨΙΛΩΣ <u>ἐκτενῶς</u>
285	πρῶτον	πρώτως	διεφθαρμένον	πρῶτον*	ΠΡΩΤΟΝ**
286	παρακαταθήκη	<u>παραθήκη</u>	as Platon, Demos.	<u>παραθήκη</u>	ΠΑΡΑΚΑΤΑΘΗΚΗ
287	ἀπαραίτητον	<u>ἀπαράβατον</u>	παραίτου λέγειν	<u>ἀπαράβατον</u>	ΑΠΑΡΑΙΤΗΤΟΝ <u>ἀπαράβατον</u>
288	λυχνεῖον	<u>λυχνία</u>	[μὴ] λέγε	<u>λυχνία</u>	λυχνία
289	ἀγωγός = guide	ἀγωγός = ripe	---	---	ἀγωγός = ripe
290	κρύπτεται	<u>κρύβεται</u>	φεύγε	κρύπτω,* <u>κρύβω</u>	κρύβω, κρύπτω**

291	κείρασθαι (of men) κερῆναι (of sheep)	καρῆναι (of men)	κείρω*	κουρεύω
292	λίστρον	κοχλιάριον		κουτάλι κοχλιάριον (Κ) κολυμβήθρα**
293	κολυμβήθρα δεξαμένη		κολυμβήθρα*	δεξαμένη χασσινον βαθμός
294	χθεσινόν	χθίζόν	ἀποβλητέον	---
295	βασμός	βαθμός	Τακόν	βαθμός
296	πίεσλος bathing-tub	πυρία = bathing-tub	οὐ δόκιμον	πῦσλος = pelvis, basin
297	πέτομαι, πέτεσθαι	ἵπταμαι, ἵπτασθαι	παραιτητέον	πετάω, ἵπταμαι,
298	νήστις	νήστις	βάρβαρον	νήστις*
299	κατὰ χειρός = handy, at hand	κατὰ χειρῶν ἐπὶ χειρῶν	δεινῶς ἀνελλήνιστον	---
300	ἔδομαι	φαίγομαι	βάρβαρον	φαίγομαι
301	ἡμικρανον	ἡμικεφάλαιον	μὴ λέγε	θὰ φά(γ)ω cf. ΗΗΙΚΡΑΝΙΑ
302	---	ἐνάρετος	used by Stoics	---
303	κνήμη	γαστροκνημία	μὴ λέγε	κνήμη
304	θήρμη	θήρμα	---	θήρμη*
305	ἡθεληκέναι	τεθεληκέναι	Ἄλεξανδρεωπὸν	---
306	ἡ ψύλλα	ὁ ψύλλος	βάρβαρον	ὁ ψύλλος
307	εὐσχήμεων = elegant, graceful	εὐσχήμεων = rich	ἀμαθεῖς	εὐσχήμεων = rich
308	ἐπίτεξ	ἐπίτοκος γυνή	ἀδοκίμως εἶπεν	---
309	θετός = adopted	ἐγκάθετος = adopted	---	---
310	σκεύη καὶ ἐπιπλά = household g.	ἐνδυμενία = household goods	ἀμαθῶς	ἐπιτοκος θετος = adopted ἐγκάθετος = paid
311	ἐμπρησμός	ἐμπυρισμός	ἡμελημένως	---
312	ἡμιόχθητρον	ἡμικάκον	οὐχ οὕτως	ἐπαιδαγωγός
313	ἔμελλον ποιεῖν ἔμελλ. ποιήσειν	ἔμελλον ποιῆσαι ἔμελλον θείναι	only with Pres. and Fut.; no Aor.	ἔμελλον ποιεῖν* ἔμελλ. ἀποθανεῖν*
314	κεκραγμός	κραυγασμός	ἀμαθῶς	κραυγασμός
315	κορυδόν	κορυδαλ(λ)ός	---	κορυδαλλός
316	καταμύειν	καμμύειν	βαρβαρίας	---
317	κατατομεῖν	κεφαλοτομεῖν	ἀπόρριπτε	---
318	Λάκαινα = Spartan woman	Λάκαινα = Sparta	οὐδαμῶς	κατατομῶ
319	ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν	μὲν οὖν τοῦτο πράξω	who would tolerate this construct.?	ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν*
320	μιαρός	μιαρία	ἀδόκιμον	---
321	γαμοίη	γαμή	μὴ λέγε	---
322	---	ἐργοδότης	οὐ κεῖται	---
323	τεχνικῶς	ἐντέχνως	οὐ πιστευτέον	---
324	διδοίη, διδοίης	διδῶη, διδῶης	οὐδεὶς Ἀττικῶν	δῶη
325	ἔδομαι	βρώσομαι	ἀπόβλητον	---
326	ἐὰν ἀγάγη	ἐὰν ἀξῆ	οὐδεὶς ἀν φαίη	---
327	ἀγαγε	ἀγαγον	---	---
328	αἰσθάνομαι ἀναισθητός	ἀναισθητεύομαι	οὐκέτι δόκιμον	αἰσθάνομαι*
329	αὐθέκαστος	αὐθεκαστός	κίβδηλον	---
330	ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ	ἀκολουθεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ	ξένῃ ἡ σύνταξις	ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ*
331	βιωσιμον ἐν βίῳ	βιωτικόν	ἀληθῆς ἡ λέξις	βιωτικόν (βιωτ.)
332	---	βουός	ὀθνεία ἡ φωνή	---
333	ὀνθυλεύω	μονθυλεύω	δυσχαρές	---

334	βόλιτον	βόλιτον	όλιγοι λέγουσιν	---	---
335	τονθρυσμός	γογγυσμός	άδοκιμα ούκ	γογγυσμός	γογγυσμός
	τονθρύω	γογγύω	έστιν, 'Ιακά δέ	γογγύω	γογγύω
336	έάν δύνῃ	δύνῃ (indicative)	If indicative, not	ει δύνῃ (indicat.)	---
	(subjunct.)		correct		
337	ώρκωσε, όρκωτής	ώρκισε	διά τοῦ ω λέγε		ώρκισε
338	εὐπορεῖν	εὐκερματεῖν	ἀηδές πάνυ		έχω κέρματα
	κερμάτων				
339	έναιούσιον	έναιουσιαιόν	κίβδηλον	---	ΕΝΑΙΟΥΣΙΟΝ
340	έδειτο, έπλεῖτο	έδεδετο, έπλέετο	Ίακά	έδειτο*	---
341	έξαλλάξαι = to	έξαλλάξαι =	χρή φυλάττεσθαι	---	έξαλλάσσω (K)
	change	amuse			έξαλλαγή
342	ένέχυρα	ένεχυριμαῖα	οὐδείς δοκίμων	---	ΕΝΕΧΥΡΑ
343	έκλειπών	έκλειπας	οὐ δόκιμον	---	ΕΚΚΛΙΠΩΝ
344	χρηστός τὸ ἥθος	χρηστός τὰ ἥθη	φυλάττου	---	ΕΚΚΛΙΠΩΝ
345	άσις	θυρεός	οὐδενός δοκίμων	θυρεός	ΑΣΙΗ-С (-ΙΑΔ)
346	Διονύσιον	Διονυσειον	αἰαῖδευτον		ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝ
347	έμελλον γράφειν	έμελλον γράψαι	έσχάτως	έμελλον γράφειν*	---
	έμελλον γράψειν		βάρβαρον	---	---
348	οὐ θήπου	οὐχ οἶον	ἀμαρτάνεται και	---	---
	μή θήπου	μή οἶον	τῷ ἤχῳ ἀηδές	---	---
349	οἰκίας δεσπότης	οἰκοδεσπότης	οὐ (λεκτέον)	οἰκοδεσπότης	οἰκοδεσπότης
350	όνανούιν	όνθηποτούιν	μή λέγε	---	---
351	πρόσφατος (of a	πρόσφατος (of	---	---	πρόσφατος = new,
	recently dead)	'fresh' generally			fresh
352	πτώματα νεκρῶν	πτώμα (of a dead)	οἱ ἀρχαῖοι οὐκ	πτώμα = dead body	ΠΤΩΜΑ = dead body
353	περίστασις = διά	περίστασις =	---	---	περίστασις =
	τάραχον παρου-	συμφορά = event,			event,
	σίαν πλήθους =	circumstance,			circumstance
	concourse	misfortune			
354	στρατόκεδον	παρεμβολή	Μακεδονικόν	παρεμβολή	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΕΔΟΝ
355	αισχρά = ugly	σαπρά = ugly	πταίων	σαπρά = putrid *	ΑΙΣΧΡΑ = indecent
	σαπρά = putrid				ΣΑΠΡΑ = putrid
356	---	σώματα = slaves	οὐ χρώνται		
			ἀρχαῖ.		
357	καλόν έχει	τὰ πρόσωπα	evidently: no plur.	---	---
	πρόσωπον	ἀμφοτέρα παρῆν	use of one person		
358	τρυφάν	στρηνιάν	οὐδ' ἂν μανείς	στρηνιάω	cf. ΤΡΥΦΗ
			τις χρησαιτο	καταστρηνιάω	
359	σὺν ἀγρίον	σάαγρον	οὐ βητέον	---	ἀγρίοχοιρος
360	συγγνώναι	συγγνωμονῆσαι	οὐ χρή λέγειν	---	---
361	οἶτον	στομετρεῖσθαι	μή λέγε	cf. στομέτριον	ΗΕΤΡΩ ΤΟΝ
	μετρεῖσθαι				ΟΙΤΟΝ
362	στηθιδιον (Dim.)	στηθύνιον	τοῦτον τὸ κακόν	---	ΣΤΗΘΕΔΙΟΝ (Dim.)
363	?	ὑπερδριμυς	Doubtful anc. use	---	---
364	?	φυγαδεύσαι	if the ancients use	φυγαδεύω	φυγαδεύω
		φυγαδευθῆναι	it, then use it	φυγαδεύομαι	φυγαδεύομαι
365	φρονεῖν τὰ όντα	φρονιμειεσθαι	μή λέγε	---	φρονιμειώ -ομαι
366	κορχύλη	χημη	κόθεν άνεμίχθη;	---	ΚΟΡΧΥΛΗ, ΚΟΧΥΛΙ
367	λυτώ	χειμάζω έαντώ	υηκνωηι to ancie.	λυτώ*	ΛΥΓΩ
368	χρήσιμος	χρησιμεύω	μή λέγε	χρήσιμον εἶναι	ΧΡΗΣΙΜΕΥΩ
	γίνομαι				ΓΙΝΟΜΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΣ
369	έσχάτως πονηρός	έσχάτως έχει = of	σφαλερώς	έσχάτως έχει	ΕΣΧΑΤΩΣ etc. of
	= of degree	point of death	τάττουσιν οἱ		degree (K)
			σύρφακες		
370	χρέα διαλύομαι	χρεολυντοῦμαι	ό πολύ λεώς	---	---
371	τό χρέως	τό χρέος	---		τό χρέος
372	φιλόλογος = lover	φιλόλογος = of			ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΣ =
	of literature	grammarians			lover of literature

373	τί διαφέρει;	τίνι διαφέρει;	οὐ χρή οὕτω λέγειν	διαφέρω + gen.	ΤΙ ΛΙΑΦΕΡΕΙ;
374	τέτυχε	τέτευχε	τῷ δοκίμῳ χρῶ	τέτυχεν*	---
375	πίτυς = pinetree πιτύων καρπός or κόκκων στροβίλος = τὸν βίαιον άνεμον	στροβίλον ---	---	---	πεύκη, πεύκος ---
376	συγκαθίημι	<u>συγκαταβαίνω</u>	μὴ εἴπης	<u>συγκαταβαίνω</u>	κουκουναρί(ον) άνεμος· ΤΡΟΒΙΛΟΣ = βίαιος άνεμος
377	γλισχρός = niggardly	σκινφός = niggardly	οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσ	---	συγκαταβαίνω ΓΑΙΣΧΡΟΣ = niggardly
378	σταμνίον = wine jars	σταμνίον = chamber pots	οἱ άμαθεῖς	στάμνος	ΟΤΑΙΗΙ(ΟΗ) = water- wine- jar
379	συμφοιτητής	συσχολαστής	έσχάτως άνάτικ.	---	ΣΥΗΦΟΙΤΗΤΗΣ
380	στωματοδέσμος	στωματεὺς	άδόκιμον	---	---
381	κίχρημι = lend	εύχρηστεῖν = lend	άπόρριπον	---	εύχρηστῶ = in use
382	ῥῥον	ῥρότερον	μὴ λέγε	---	---
383	ῥύμη = όρμή = impetuous	<u>ῥύμη</u> = narrow lane	οἱ άμαθεῖς	<u>ῥύμη</u> = narrow lane	ΡΥΗΗ = flow (of words)
384	παρὰτίλλομαι or πιτούμαι	δρωπακίζω =	άδόκιμον	---	---
385	στέμφυλα = olive cake	στέμφυλα (of grape cake)	άμαθῶς	---	ΠΗΤΗΤΗΡΙ-Ο (-ΛΛ)
386	πεντετηρίς	πενταετηρίς	μὴ λέγε	---	ΠΕΝΤΑΜΗΝΟΝ
387	πεντέμηνον	πεντάμηνον	μετάθεσ α εἰς ε	---	έξαιτής
388	έξπτηχυ, έξέτης	έξάπτηχυ, έξαιτής	άφαιρέσεις το α	---	έξαιτής
389	περισῶ -ομαι = take away	περιεσπάσθην = be busy	περισπῶμαι = to be distracted	---	περισπῶ = to distract
390	πορνότριψ	πορνοκόπος	---	---	---
391	έπιλήσμων	λήθαργος	---	---	ΕΠΙΛΗΣΜΩΗ
392	---	μεσοπορεῖν	Μέν. πάντα φύρων	---	---
393	---	γύρος ? meaning συνίημι	τί...έστιν οὐ συνίημι	---	?
394	---	μεσοπορεῖν, γύρος λήθαργος, σύσση- μον, πορνοκόπος, όψωνιασμός, <u>όψω- νιον</u> , δύσριγος	κίβδηλα καὶ άμαθῇ	<u>όψώνιον</u>	γύρος ? meaning λήθαργος όψώνιον ---
395	οἰκοδόμημα	<u>οἰκοδομή</u>	οὐ λέγεται	<u>οἰκοδομή</u>	οἰκολόηηια οἰκοδομή στό δνειρο
396	δναρ ἰδών	<u>κατ' δναρ</u>	οὐ λέγεται	<u>κατ' δναρ</u>	ΝΕΤΡΙΑΩ = to
397	μετριάζω = to moderate	μετριάζω = to be unwell	παρά τήν δοκίμων χρήσιν	---	moderate
398	λιθίδιον	λιθάριον	φύλάττου λέγειν	---	λιθάρι (ον)
399	καθό δεῖ	<u>καθώς</u>	---	<u>καθώς</u>	καθώς
400	κακκάβην	κάκκαβον	άμαθές	---	κακ(κ)άβι (ον)
401	κυνηγέτης	κυνηγός	---	---	κυνηγός cf. also ΚΥΗΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ
402	φαγάς	καταφαγάς	---	φάγος	ΦΑΓΑΟ
403	γελοῖον	γελάσιμον	---	---	ΓΕΛΟΙΟΗ
404	θρυαλλίς	έλλύχνιον	---	---	ΘΡΥΑΛΛΙ-Ο (-ΛΛ) έλλύχνιο (ν)
405	κολοκύντη	κολοκύνθα	δέον διά τοῦ -τη	---	κολοκύνθη (Κ) κολοκυθιά (Δ)
406	---	καταφερέης	οὐδαμῶς δοκίμων	---	---
407	αἰδῶ πρός τινα	καταλογήν	οἱ σύρφακες	---	---
408	άργυραμοιβός	<u>κολλυβιστής</u>	παρασεσημαμέ- νον	<u>κολλυβιστής</u>	ΑΡΓΥΡΑΗΟΙΒΟΟ
409	έμαντου πράττω	τά ἴδια πράττω	λέγουσιν εἰκῇ	---	---
410	έγκρατεύομαι	άκρατεύομαι	---	έγκρατεύομαι*	έγκρατεύομαι

411	αἰχμάλωτος γένομαι	<u>αἰχμαλωτίζομαι</u>	ἀδόκιμον	<u>αἰχμαλωτίζω</u>	<u>αἰχμαλωτίζω</u> <u>αἰχμαλωτίζομαι</u>
412	ἐπιράμην	<u>ἐωνησάμην</u>	---	<u>ὠνησάμην</u>	---
413	διατοιχεῖν	ἀνατοιχεῖν	μὴ λέγε	---	διατοιχίζω ἀνατοιχίζω
414	ἦνυστρον	ἐνυστρον	μὴ λέγε		ἦνυστρο
415	καταπροιζεται	καταπροιζεται	οὐκ ὀρθῶς		---
416	---	πεντητεῦσαι	οὐκ ὀρθῶς		---
417	ὑστερίζω τοῦ καιροῦ	ὑστερίζω τῷ καιρῷ	οὐχ ὑγιῶς		---
418	ἀντικρυς	ἀντικρύ	ἀμαρτάνουσιν	ἀντικρυς*	ἀντίκρυ, ἀντικρύ
419	ἀνυπόδητος	ἀνυπόδετος	τῷ ε ἀμάρτημα	---	ΔΙΗΥΠΟΛΗΤΟΣ
420	εὐρημα	εὐρεμα	διὰ τοῦ η	---	ΕΥΡΗΜΑ
421	προσδεῖσθαι	προσδέεσθαι	ἀμαρτάνει	---	---
422	ἀποτετέλεσται ἀποτετελεσμένον	ἀπηρτισμένον	ἀρχαῖοι οὕτως οὐ λέγουσιν	τετέλεσται	τετέλεσται**
423	ἀνέκαθεν (of place)	ἀνέκαθεν (of time)	φυλακτέον		ἀνέκαθεν (of time)
424	---	κεφαλαιοδέστατον	ἀδόκιμον		---

Of Phrynichos' 424 units of words, groups of words, constructions, or phrases, the first column has only 407 units containing 513 individual Attic words, constructions or phrases that Phrynichos recommends<sup>123</sup>. The second column occupies all of the 424 units, giving 500 individual words, phrases, or constructions, whose use Phrynichos condemns. The NT list has equivalents in only 178 units with a total of 204 individual words, constructions, etc. Finally Neohellenic has equivalents in 303 units with a total of 409 individual words, constructions, etc.

Of the total of 204 NT words, 111 have the same form as those condemned by Phrynichos (*underlined*), while 65 words (\*) agree with the Attic form (and meaning) against the forms rejected by Phrynichos. Neohellenic has 146 words (*italicized*) agreeing with the NT forms or the forms rejected by Phrynichos. Moreover, Neohellenic has 43 words (\*\*) commonly shared with the NT and Attic, and finally Neohellenic has 155 words (*uncial characters*) whose form coincides with Attic against the NT forms or the forms rejected by Phrynichos.

This means that the NT has 111 words (i.e. 54.4%) common with the non-Attic words rejected by Phrynichos, and 65 words (i.e. 31.8%) common with Attic and against the forms condemned by Phrynichos, while Neohellenic has 146 words (i.e. 35.6%) in the form rejected by Phrynichos, and 198 words (i.e. 48.4%) which it shares with Attic. Diagrammatically presented:

<sup>123</sup> For 17 numbers he gives no Attic forms. These are numbers: 9, 32, 45, 58, 166, 236, 283, 302, 322, 332, 356, 364, 392, 393 406, 416, 424.

NT / Neohellenic	Common with	Words	%
NT	Rejected by Phrynichos	111	54.4
	Attic	65	31.8
Neohellenic	NT / Rejected by Phrynichos	146	35.6
	NT / Attic	43	} 48.4
	Attic	155	

The above figures imply that, although the greater part of the vocabulary of the NT (54.4%) that falls within the confines of Phrynichos' data is shared with the post-classical Hellenistic form of Greek that had developed since Alexander's time, a not negligible part of it (31.8%) is common with Attic Greek, indicating that within the area covered by the vocabulary of Phrynichos, the NT is closer to Attic Greek than the Demotic Greek of the times that drew Phrynichos' disparagement. As for Neohellenic, its shared vocabulary with the Hellenistic Greek of the times is only slightly over one-third (35.6%), while almost half of it (48.4%) follows the Attic tradition. The reason for this is the double tradition of which Neohellenic has been the beneficiary: on the one hand, the Demotic tradition, which is reflected to a larger extent in the NT and in the forms condemned by Phrynichos, and on the other hand, the literary form reflecting Attic Greek, which in modern times has been continued by the Katharevousa. The fact that 189 (146 + 43) (i.e. 46.2%) NT forms occur in Neohellenic shows how close the vocabulary of Neohellenic is to that of the NT<sup>124</sup>. And again, the fact that Neohellenic has 198 (i.e. 48.4%) forms common with Attic, indicates its dependence on it as well as the continuity from Attic to Neohellenic.

The above figures imply that the frequent disparagement of Atticism and of the Atticists, who are played off against the 'living' Koine language, continued by present day Demotic, cannot stand up under closer scrutiny. The detractors have not taken into account the statistical data, presented above, nor made a detailed comparison with the vocabulary of the NT or with Neohellenic<sup>125</sup>. Their judgments are misleading and incorrect with respect to both the NT and Neohellenic.

<sup>124</sup> This relates only to identical forms. See Ch. Two for HATZIDAKIS' calculation on how many NT words are understood by modern Greeks.

<sup>125</sup> For example, the Demoticist Grammarian ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΑΙΔΗΣ, in his *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική*, 405-11, condemns Phrynichos' precepts on the basis of a mere 87 word units, chosen mainly from among those which do not occur in Neohellenic. In this way, he withholds from the reader the information that the majority of the Attic words, which Phrynichos recommends, actually occur in *N*, while, correspondingly, only a minority of the words Phrynichos condemns survive in *N*.



## 2. Moiris

In the following list, a few examples from Moiris will be presented. Moiris sets the diction of the Atticists (Ἀττικοί) over against that of the Hellenes (Ἑλληνες)<sup>126</sup>. In general, Moiris gives a picture similar to the one forthcoming in Phrynichos. As with Phrynichos, in the work of Moiris we have important Demotic material with which to compare the vocabulary and diction of the NT writers.

Refer.	Attic authors	Form rejected	NT Form	Neohellenic
187.18	ἄλλοθεν	ἀλλαχόθεν	ἀλλαχόθεν	---
187.20	ἀπέδοτε	ἀπεδώκατε	ἀπεδώκατε	---
187.22	ἀπολλύς	ἀπολλύων	ἀπολλύων	ἀπολλύων
187.25	αὐξην	αὐξῆσιν	αὐξῆσιν	αὐξῆσιν
188.4	ἀπεισιν	ἀπελεύσεται	ἀπελεύσεται	---
188.16	ἀροῦν	ἀροτριᾶν	ἀροτριᾶν	ἀροτριῶ
188.30	ἀνάθημα	ἀνάθεμα	ἀνάθεμα	ἀνάθημα
189.4	ἄκναπτον	ἄγναφον	ἄγναφον	ἄγναφ(τ)ος
189.28	ἀφυνπίσαι	ἐξυπνίσαι	ἐξυπνίσαι	ἐξυπνῶ ἀφυνπίζω
191.5	ἄρτι a while ago	ἄρτι just now	ἄρτι just now	---
191.23	ἐτι	ἀκμήν	ἀκμήν	ἀκόμη
191.34	ἀμᾶν	θερίζειν	θερίζειν	θερίζω
192.5	αὐλία θύρα	πυλῶν	πυλῶν	πυλῶν(ας) αὐλόθυρα αὐλόπορτα
193.29	βόθρος	βόθυνον	βόθυνον	βόθρος
194.2	γεγωνέειν	βοᾶν	βοᾶν	βοῶ
	γεγωνίκειν	κράζειν	κράζειν	κράζω
194.28	δεσμά	δεσμοί	δεσμοί, δεσμά	δεσμά, δεσμοί
194.33	δρεπάνη	δρέπανον	δρέπανον	δρεπάνι(ον) - δρέπανον
197.3	ἐγγυον	ἐγγυητήν	ἐγγυον	ἐγγυητήν
197.33	ἦν	ἦμην	ἦμην	ἦμην, ἦμου
198.16	ἡλίθιον	ἀνόητον	ἀνόητον	ἡλίθιον ἀνόητον
198.30	θοιμάτιον	τὸ ἱμάτιον	τὸ ἱμάτιον	τὸ ἱμάτιον
199.5	θαυμάσιον	θαυμαστόν	θαυμαστόν	θαυμάσιον θαυμαστόν
201.5	κάκη	κακία	κακία	κακία

<sup>126</sup> Moiris actually uses three terms: Ἀττικόν, Ἑλληνικόν, and κοινόν. By the last term Moiris characterizes that which is neither Attic nor merely Greek, but vulgar. Cf. also ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 107. A few examples in Moiris are: ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι Ἀττικοί (so *N*), ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι κοινόν; ἀτεχνῶς Ἀττικοί, ἀπλῶς κοινόν (so *N*); ἄθλιος Ἀττικοί (so *N*), ἀτυχής Ἑλληνικόν καὶ κοινόν (also *N*); βλάβος Ἀττικοί, βλάβη κοινόν (so *N*); γόης Ἀττικοί (so *N*), κόλαξ Ἑλληνικόν καὶ κοινόν (also *N*); διήρες Ἀττικοί, ὑπερῶν κοινόν (so *N*); εἴσεται Ἀττικόν, γνώσεται κοινόν; ἤρεσέ με Ἀττικοί, ἤρεσέ μοι κοινόν (*N*: ... μου).

201,13	κεκραγμός	κραυγή	κραυγή	κραυγή
201,20	κηδεστάς	πενθερούς	πενθερός	πει(ν)θερός
201,34	κοιμώτριαν	ἐμπλέκτριαν	---	κοιμώτριαν
202,5	καταγώγιον	κατάλυμα	κατάλυμα	κατάλυμα
204,12	νουθέτησις	νουθεσία	νουθεσία	καταγώγιον
204,23	ὁμόδουλος	σύνδουλος	σύνδουλος	νουθεσία
205,13	ὁσημέραι	καθ' ἡμέραν	καθ' ἡμέραν	νουθέτησις
205,32	ὁμόρξασθαι	ἐκμάσασθαι	ἐκμάσασθαι	κάθε ἡμέρα
207,5	πλάνος	πλάνη	πλάνη	---
207,22	πρόσταξις	προσταγή	---	πλάνη
210,8	σιτίζειν	ψομίζειν	ψομίζειν	προσταγή
210,17	θαῖττον	τάχιον	τάχιον	σιτίζω
212,9	φάτνη	πάθνη	φάτνη	ψομίζω
214,8	ψαθάλλειν	ψηλαφάν	ψηλαφάν	---
				φάτνη
				ψηλαφῶ

The above tables from Phrynichos and Moiris show that many Attic words were giving place to new formations, precisely as the Homeric vocabulary earlier had given place to the Attic-Ionic vocabulary. It is, nevertheless interesting that the NT does not always adhere to the new vocabulary; in not a few cases it employs the Attic word. This may be partly, but only partly, explained by the fact that Phrynichos and Moiris write about 80-130 years after the NT. Moreover, the Atticists, who never mention the NT, were concerned with abuses within Hellas, and such abuses sometimes showed some development from the state of things in NT times. Thirdly, it is not impossible that some NT authors may have made an effort to compose in a more acceptable way than would have been the case with non-literary, unrefined speech among ordinary Greeks. Finally, and more plausibly, the oft-recurring injunction of Phrynichos, *μη λέγε, μη εἴπης*, may indicate that Phrynichos was directing his precepts primarily against the spoken language, which was more Demotic and innovative than the written form (represented by the NT), which would have been more conservative, i.e. more archaic.

From the point of view of Neohellenic, the fact that *N* shares more words with Attic than with Hellenistic Greek may have a bearing on the 'health' of those elements that Phrynichos and Moiris were attacking. This would imply that Hatzidakis' first principle, above, may not be quite as reliable as he would have us believe. Either these elements were not as 'unhealthy' as it has been supposed, or the alternative Hellenistic innovations were short-lived. Alternatively, the facts obtaining in present-day-Greek, may confirm the success of Atticism and its lasting, purifying influence on *N*. Consequently, if it is a fact that *N* uses not a few of the forms rejected by Phrynichos, many of which occur also in the NT, it is an

even greater fact that more frequently *N* has left *P* Greek (including the NT) and has either preserved (in which case, these forms had never died out) or returned to the *A* form. According to Hatzidakis' principles, it is more likely that these terms were in current use throughout the intervening period rather than that they were resurrected. Should, however, the second alternative be the correct one, the explanation is ready at hand, if we recall the role which the Atticistic, puristic movement has played to this very day.

The final stage of this Atticistic literary tradition is the Katharevousa, and this has exerted a considerable influence in the shaping of Neohellenic Koine<sup>127</sup>. But *N* is not the result of artificial, consciously refining activities to make it interface with ancient Greek. In the main, it is the result of a natural historical development, in which it has evolved genuinely from *P* Greek and has *A* Greek as its ultimate source. Inasmuch as NT Greek is part of the stream of the linguistic tradition that commenced with the Athenian Commonwealth and increased in momentum with Philip and Alexander's unification of the Greek world and the latter's far-flung conquests – a tradition that is still evolving – the language of the NT is inextricably interwoven with this entire evolutionary process to the present day. Thus, the language of the NT cannot be separated from *N* nor can *N* be severed from the language of the NT.

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<sup>127</sup> For example, here we may think of KOUMANOUDIS' work, who collected over 60,000 neologisms, see Ch. One, VI.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# Syntactical Developments

In this chapter, I will concentrate particularly on syntactical diachrony. However, although the present chapter is concerned almost exclusively with syntax, it is not to be understood as the syntactical part of a grammar. It should be clear, therefore, that it is not my intention to treat exhaustively each of the points of Greek syntax either in classical or in later Greek. Rather, my purpose is to present a number of syntactical developments, all or practically all, of which are represented in the NT, in order to show that many of the syntactical features of later Greek (including the NT) can be elucidated by reference to Byzantine and Neohellenic. Nevertheless, whatever omissions the reader may note should not be taken to imply that such points of syntax do not have equally important or clear developments in later Greek as those that are discussed. To take up exhaustively all those points in Koine Greek that can actually be elucidated by later Greek would be an almost impossible task and, not least, undesirable. In a pioneer attempt such as this, certain necessary limits must be imposed. Hence, the present discussion, which aims at opening up a new and fruitful line of research, of necessity will concentrate on a somewhat restricted number of issues. Nevertheless, a fully adequate number of points of syntax will be treated, which will indicate the breadth and depth of relevant material in the later phases of the Greek language for a fuller understanding of the earlier periods of it.

## I. The Cases

### 1. Nominative – Vocative

A special issue with regard to the use of the cases that is actualized in the NT is the use of the nominative in place of the vocative. This is a very old feature of Greek. It occurs already in Homeros and the classical authors<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Homeros, *Odysseia* I. 301-302: καὶ σύ, φίλος ... ἄλκιμος ἔσθ' ('and you, too, friend, be valiant'), Sophokles, *Aias* 89: ὃ οὐτως Αἴας, δεύτερον σὲ προσκαλῶ ('You,

Lowe, who studied this phenomenon with reference to Greek and Hindi, came to the conclusion that this use was originally applied to deities<sup>2</sup>. Andriotis points out that the use of the nominative in lieu of the vocative is more frequent in poetry than in prose, and concludes that the reason for this substitution is to give greater emphasis<sup>3</sup>. He also draws attention to the fact that "the vocative of θεός was throughout antiquity identical with the nominative, while θεέ appears for the first time in later texts, the OT (Septuagint)"<sup>4</sup>. He finds that almost invariably there is a special emphasis when the nominative is used instead of the vocative, and that this use of the nominative almost never could be substituted by the vocative without that emphasis being lost<sup>5</sup>.

Though not a seldom phenomenon in classical Greek, the nominative with the function of the vocative increases substantially in the NT, no doubt under LXX influence: Mt 27:29: χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (instead of ὦ βασιλεῦ); Lk 8:54: ἡ παῖς ἔγειρε (instead of ὦ παῖ); Heb 1:8: ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεός εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (already in Ps (LXX) 44:7) (instead of ὦ θεέ). This tendency becomes more frequent in later compositions down to *MGr*:<sup>6</sup> *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* (A.D. III-IV) 60, 27: συγγνώμην εὐροίμι παρὰ σοῦ, ὁ θεός μου ("may I find forgiveness before you, oh my God"); Kallinikos († A.D. 450) 96, 18: ἃ ἔδωκάς μοι ὁ θεός ("the things Thou gavest me, oh God"); δόξα σοι ὁ θεός ("praise [to Thee, oh] God"). Andriotis informs us that this use of the nominative occurs now particularly in dialects of the Greek periphery, such as Kappadokia, South Italy, Epiros, distant islands of the Aegean Sea and Peloponnesos, while Neohellenic literature, especially prose, avoids the use of the nominative in place of the vocative<sup>7</sup>. The interjection ὦ, used in place of a non-existent vocative form

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there, Aias, I call you a second time"), Platon, *Menexenos* 234a: ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἡ πόθεν *Μενέξενος*; ("are you coming from the market or from somewhere else, Menexenos?").

<sup>2</sup> LOWE, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 51, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Συντακτικά καὶ μορφολογικά" in *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1960), 16 f.

<sup>4</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Συντακτικά καὶ μορφολογικά" in *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1960), 17.

<sup>5</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Συντακτικά καὶ μορφολογικά" in *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1960), 17. ANDRIOTIS refers, e.g., to Sophokles, *Aias*, 89: ὦ οὗτος, Αἴας, δευτερόν σε προσκαλῶ "There (is) Aias! I am calling you a second time" – as Aias is coming into view. Similarly Platon, *Symposion* 172a: ὦ Φαληρεὺς, ἔφη, οὗτος Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐ περιμενεῖς; ("There (is) Apollodoros from Phaleron! eh, wait for us!"). The exclamation is not directed to anyone else, but to the person named.

<sup>6</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Συντακτικά καὶ μορφολογικά" in *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1960) 19 f., points out that during Byzantine and Mediaeval times this use of the nominative is met with both in literary and Demotic texts. Cf. also JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, § 1251. Thus, the introduction of a prayer may take the form: Οὐράνιε Κύριε, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν / μας, ... ("Heavenly Lord, our God, ...").

<sup>7</sup> ΑΝΔΡΙΩΤΗ, "Συντακτικά καὶ μορφολογικά" in *Ἑλληνικά* 12 (1960) 20-23.

of the article, mostly fails in *H-N* compositions. The NT contains only 17 instances of it. As in *MGr*, its use in the NT is mainly reserved for emphasis<sup>8</sup>.

## 2. Genitive

The genitive of the predicate, which occurs with verbs such as εἶμι and γίνομαι<sup>9</sup>, is further illustrated by *N*<sup>10</sup>.

The subjective genitive sometimes occurs incomplete, especially when it is preceded by ἐν, εἰς, ἕως: Mt 11:23: ἕως ἄδου (sc. τόπον) καταβῆση (cf. ἐν ἄδου τόπῳ ἔσῃ, εἰς ἄδου τόπον καταβῆση). This is richly exemplified in *MGr* ἐκ τοῦ (ἀπὸ τοῦ) διδασκάλου (sc. τὴν οἰκίαν) (from the teacher's [house]), εἰς τοῦ (> στοῦ) Γιάννη (sc. τὴν οἰκίαν / τὸ σπίτι) (to / in John's [house]), ἀπὸ τοῦ γείτονος/-α, etc. ("from the neighbor's [house]").

The partitive genitive, especially when concerned with numerals, is in the NT often strengthened by ἐκ (ἐξ) for the sake of greater clarity. Thus besides the normal construction without ἐκ<sup>11</sup>, we have: Mt 24:34: ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε, Jn 16:17: εἶπον οὖν ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, etc. This tendency went further until in *N* Demotic it became normal to use ἀπὸ (after ἐκ fell in disuse) to signal the relation: ὁ ἓνας ἀπ' αὐτούς ("one of them"), δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς πέντε ("two of the five"), τριάντα ἀπὸ τὰ ἑκατό ("thirty of the hundred"), etc.

In 1 Th 4:3 we read: ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας. The classical construction would have been ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς τῆς πορνείας<sup>12</sup>. Similarly,

<sup>8</sup> Mt 15:28: ὃ γυναι, μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις, Act 13:10: ὃ πλήρης παντός δόλου, Gal 3:1: ὃ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται. Cf. *MGr* (which often substitutes with ἔ, αἶ) Γιώργο! (unemphatic) with αἶ (ἐ) Γιώργο! (emphatic). If, however, one used the Katharevousa form of the name, then the particular vocative form would be used: ὃ (αἶ) Γεώργιε!

<sup>9</sup> Lk 20:14: ἵνα ἡμῶν γένηται ἡ κληρονομία, 1 Cor 14:33: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀκαταστασία ὁ θεός, Heb 12:11: πᾶσα παιδεία ... οὐ δοκεῖ χαρὰς εἶναι ἀλλὰ λύπης, 2 Pt 1:20: πᾶσα προφητεία ... ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται.

<sup>10</sup> εἶμαι τοῦ σκοτωμοῦ ("I am / deserve to be killed"), εἶμαι τοῦ σχοινοῦ καὶ τοῦ παλουκιοῦ ("I deserve to be hanged"), εἶναι τῆς καλοπερασιάς ("he / she lives well").

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Mk 6:23 ἕως ἡμῖς τῆς βασιλείας μου, Mt 14:20 το περισσεύον τῶν κλασμάτων, Rm 15:26 τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Aischylos, *Eumenides* 350: ἀθανάτων δ' ἀπέχειν χέρας ("and to keep away from the immortals' hands"), Euripides, *Medeia* 1097 πολλῶν μόχθων ἀπέχονται ("they abstain from many toils"), Herodotos, II. 42: Θηβαῖοι μὲν νῦν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ὁτῶν ἀπέχονται ("the Thebans now and all those who because of them abstain from [offering] sheep"), Platon, *Phaedon* 82c: οἱ ὁρθῶς φιλόσοφοι ἀπέχονται τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν ("those who are true philosophers abstain from bodily lusts"), Lysias, *Hyper Adynatou* 20: ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὡς τοὺς πλεῖστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς ("but

Jas 4:7 writes: ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν, whereas classical Greek would have expressed it without the preposition, with the genitive: e.g. Euripides, *Supplices* 148: αἶμα συγγενῆς φεύγων χθονός ("leaving his own country after condemning himself for killing a relative"); and with the accusative: e.g. Homeros, *Odysseia* I. 11: ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον ("as many as fled / escaped utter destruction"); Herodotos, IV. 12: οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας ("the Kimmerians fled to Asia from the Skythians"); cf. also the gnomic: τὸ πεπρωμένον φυγεῖν ἀδύνατον ("it is impossible to flee one's fate")<sup>13</sup>. In *P* times we find that constructions indicating *separation from* use, for the sake of greater clarity, either ἐκ or ἀπό<sup>14</sup>. This practice has become the rule in *MGr* σώζω, φυλάττω, φεύγω, προστατεύω, etc. ἀπό<sup>15</sup>.

For the genitive of cause<sup>16</sup>, *A* times developed other alternatives: ἐπί + dative and διὰ + accusative. A NT example of the latter construction is Rm 4:25: ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν. This finally became the exclusive way in *N* of expressing cause<sup>17</sup> (διὰ becoming γιά, i.e. διὰ > διιά > δγιά > γιά)<sup>18</sup>.

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very few who are furthest away from it [the market]"), Thukydides, IV. 97, 3: πᾶσι γὰρ εἶναι καθεστηκὸς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων [γῆν] ἱερῶν τῶν ἐνόντων ἀπέχεσθαι ("it is a custom to all who invade one another's territory to abstain from [damaging] the existing sanctuaries").

<sup>13</sup> The same holds for ἀφίστημι in 2 Tim 2:19: ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας, which would have been ἀποστήτω ἀδικίας, see, e.g., Platon, *Laws* 928d: τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἀφιστάσθω ("he must abstain from the authority of the guardians of the laws"); Dionysios Hal., *Roman Antiquities* VI. 68, 2: οὐκ ... ἀποστήσομαι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων ("I shall not abstain from those who were appointed from the beginning"), but see also the construction with ἀπὸ in Herodotos, I. 95: πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἦρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι ("the Medes were the first to begin to break away from them").

<sup>14</sup> So, too, Act 24:47: μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγεν, whereas Bion (of Borysthenes), *Fragments* 60 (*apud* Diogenes Laert.) expresses it without a preposition: ὡς νέος μὲν ὢν [Alkiabiades] τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπάγοι τῶν γυναικῶν, νεανίσκος δὲ γενόμενος τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ("when Alkiabiades was a stripling he drew away the husbands from their wives, but when he became a young man, he took away the wives from their husbands").

<sup>15</sup> For the NT this development can be illustrated by, e.g., Mt 1:21: αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, 2 Th 3:3: φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, Mt 23:33: πῶς φύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης;

<sup>16</sup> Sophokles, *Elektra* 1027: ζηλώ σε τοῦ νοῦ, τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ ("I envy your mind, but hate your cowardice"), Agathon, *frag.* 25: σοφίας φθονῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλοῦτον καλόν ("it is better to be envious of wisdom rather than of wealth").

<sup>17</sup> E.g. τοῦ ἐθύμωσε γιά τὸ αὐτοκίνητο ("he was angry with him on account of the car"), παινεύεται γιά τὰ πλούτη του ("he brags about his wealth"), παραπονεῖται γιά τοὺς χαμηλοὺς βαθμοὺς ποὺ ἐπῆρε ("he complains about the low marks he got").

<sup>18</sup> See ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, Vol. I, 197.

The temporal genitive<sup>19</sup> when answering the question *When?* (without an attribute) indicates general time<sup>20</sup>, but when answering the question *Since when?* it takes an attribute<sup>21</sup>. In Post-classical Greek such temporal relations may be expressed also by the accusative<sup>22</sup>. The NT does not distinguish strictly the temporal genitive from the temporal accusative (which strictly denotes extent of time, answering the question *How long?*)<sup>23</sup>. This development (following the loss of the dative form<sup>24</sup>) has led to the accusative as the exclusive way of expressing time in *N*: thus *Apophthegmata Patrum* (c. 500 A.D.) 380a δις τὸν μῆνα, becomes in *MGr* δύο φορὲς τὸν μῆνα (lit. "two times a month").

### 3. Dative

Since *A-H* times the instrumental dative is particularly often preceded by ἐν. On account of Hebrew influence, the frequency of this usage increases with Biblical<sup>25</sup> and Christian authors as well as authors of Semitic origin<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon* 24: ἐπὶ τίνος ἄρχοντος καὶ ποίου μηνὸς ἐν τίνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένης; ("under which archon and which month, on which day and in which assembly was Demosthenes elected?").

<sup>20</sup> E.g. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός (Lk 18:7), χειμῶνος (Mt 24:20).

<sup>21</sup> E.g. πολλοῦ χρόνου, ταύτης τῆς νυκτός.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., *CIA* II, 1055 (345 B.C.): πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δραχμῶν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ("fifty-two drachmas a year").

<sup>23</sup> Cf., e.g., Lk 21:37: τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος νύλιζετο with 1 Th 2:9: νυκτός καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι. See further Mk 4:27: καὶ καθεύθῃ καὶ ἐγείρεται νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, Rev 4:8: καὶ ἀνάπασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, 7:15: καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

<sup>24</sup> Much has been written on the "disappearance" of the dative. See DRESSLER, "Der Untergang des Dativs", *Wiener Studien* 78 (1965), 83-107, and quoted literature. It should be noted, however, that only the monolectic form of the dative has ceased, not the dative as a case.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. LXX Gen 48:22: ἦν ἔλαβον ἐκ χειρὸς Ἀμοραίων ἐν μαχαίρῃ μου καὶ τόξῳ, Judith 1:15: κατηκόντησεν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ζιβύνναις αὐτοῦ, Isa 10:15: μὴ δοξασθῇσεται ἀζίνη ἀνευ τοῦ κόπτοντος ἐν αὐτῇ; Lk 22:49: εἰ πατάξωμεν ἐν μαχαίρῃ; Rev 6:8: ἀποκτείνει ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Lukianos (A.D. II), *Dialogues of the Dead* 23, 3: καθικόμενον ἐν τῇ ῥάβδῳ ("touching with [his] wand"), Herodianos (Hist.) (A.D. III) 7, 9, 9: τὸν τράχηλον ἐν βρόχῳ, τοῦ βίου ἀνεπαύετο ("having put a halter around his neck, he rested from this life"), *Acta Thomae* 6, 26: αἱ κλειστάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηνται ("the gates (?) are ornamented with reeds"), Kallinikos (A.D. V) 91, 2: ἐν ἐδέσμασιν τρέφειν τὸ σῶμα ("to feed the body with foodstuff"), Malalas (A.D. VI) 50, 11: ἐν ἧ ἐβάσταζεν ἀζίνη ἐκλάσε τὸ ξύλον ("with the axe which he held in his hand, he broke the stocks").



#### 4. Accusative

The accusative of extent of time or space, already frequent in *A* times<sup>27</sup>, increases dramatically in *A-H* times<sup>28</sup> (including the NT<sup>29</sup>), while in *N* it has become the normal way of expressing time and space<sup>30</sup>.

Many cognate and limitation accusatives have in *A-H* and later times frozen into a kind of adverb<sup>31</sup>. One such instance may be the difficult accusative in Jn 8:25 Σὺ τίς εἶ; εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι<sup>32</sup> καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν. A similar construction occurs in Demosthenes, which should be taken adverbially, in the sense of “to start with” or “in the first place”<sup>33</sup>. In this case, Jesus would be saying: “To start with, why am I speaking with you at all?” However, it is also possible that the expression has temporal significance. In this case, it would correspond to ὅ,τι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. The meaning then would be “What I have been telling you (all along) from the very beginning”<sup>34</sup>. This finds support in *Apophthegmata Patrum* 37, 13: ἐρυθριῶσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ὁμολόγει. Ὑστερον δὲ ὡμολόγησεν (“blushing she did not confess at first, but later she did confess”).

<sup>27</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis* III. 1, 2: τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια (“no fewer than ten thousand stadia from Greece”), Menandros, 547: ψευδόμενος οὐδεὶς λανθάνει πολὺν χρόνον (“no one lying goes unnoticed for long”).

<sup>28</sup> Justinus (A.D. II), *Apologia* 1, 67: τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα (“on the Sun’s day we all make our assembly together”), *Acta Thomae* (A.D. I-II) 3, 2: εἶδεν αὐτὸν περιπατοῦντα τὸ μεσημβρινόν (“he saw him walking at midday”), Kallinikos (A.D. V), 79, 8: τὴν νύκταν ταύτην ἐθεασάμην σε (“I saw you this night”), Malalas (A.D. VI), 405, 5: καὶ γίνεται ἐκεῖ ἡ ναυμαχία ὡραν τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας (“the naval battle took place there on the third hour of the day”).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Mk 4:27: καθεύδῃ καὶ ἐγείρεται νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, Lk 15:29: τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι. Jn 1:39: ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, Lk 2:44: ἤλθον ἡμέρας ὁδόν.

<sup>30</sup> Ἐτρεξε ἑκατὸ μέτρα σὲ ἑννέα δευτερόλεπτα (“he ran one hundred meters in nine seconds”). Ἡ Ἀθῆνα ἀπέχει δέκα χιλιόμετρα (“Athens is ten kilometers away”), ἔκανα τὸν γύρο τοῦ κόσμου σὲ τέσσερεις ἐβδομάδες (“I made the round of [sc. I traveled around] the world in four weeks”).

<sup>31</sup> E.g. ὀλίγον, πολλά, τὸ λοιπόν, τὸ νῦν, τὴν ἀρχὴν, τέλος, τίνα τρόπον, πρόφασιν, δωρεάν, χάριν τινός. As *N* examples I may cite: μὲ θέλεις τίποτε; (“do you want me for anything”), τί μὲ βλέπεις; τὴν τρίτην φορά (“the third time”), ὅσα ὅσα (“almost for nothing”), τίς προάλλες (“the other day”), τὰ μεσάνυκτα (“at midnight”), τὸ πολὺ πολὺ (“at the very most”), στοῦ κάτω κάτω (τῆς γραφῆς) (“after all (is said and done)”).

<sup>32</sup> <sup>32</sup> Min. 565 as well as some early authors separate the two pronouns, while the majority of MSS (e.g. D Θ Ψ 0141 *f*<sup>1</sup> *f*<sup>13</sup> 28 33 etc.) treat them as one word.

<sup>33</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Aristokrates* 93: τὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐξ ἧν αὐτῷ μὴ γράφειν, εἴ γε τὸ βέλτιστον τῇ πόλει σκοπεῖν ἐβούλετο (“To begin with, he should not have written the indictment, if he really had in mind the city’s best interest”). Similarly Teles, 30: τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰ μὴ ταφῇ, τί σοὶ μέλει; (“to begin with, if you are not buried, what do you care?”).

<sup>34</sup> See C. C. CARAGOUNIS, “What Did Jesus Mean by τὴν ἀρχὴν in John 8:25?”.

A number of verbs such as καλῶ, νομίζω, λέγω, ἀναμνησκῶ, ἡγοῦμαι take two accusatives: a direct object and a predicative accusative<sup>35</sup>. The NT (like the LXX) uses many such constructions<sup>36</sup>, but under Hebrew influence it often constructs the second accusative with the preposition εἰς<sup>37</sup>. This type of construction (i.e. with εἰς), though well-represented in Jewish and Christian authors<sup>38</sup>, is totally unknown in purely Greek Demotic speech<sup>39</sup>.

## II. The Pronouns

### 1. Personal

In *A* times there was a paucity in the use of the personal and possessive pronouns when the connection was clear<sup>40</sup>. In *P* times the sense of belongingness was lost with the consequence that there is now an accumulation of unemphatic personal and possessive pronouns. This redundancy is very frequent in the NT<sup>41</sup>, particularly in the third person<sup>42</sup>. This development has continued in *N*<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Menandros 673: ἰδίας νόμιζε τῶν φίλων τὰς συμφοράς ("consider your friends' misfortunes as your own"), Xenophon, *Anabasis* I. 1, 2: Δαρείος Κύρον σατράπην ἐποίησε ("Darios made Kyros a satrap").

<sup>36</sup> Jn 14:25: ἐκεῖνος διδάξει ὑμᾶς πάντα, 15:15: οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δούλους, 1 Cor 4:17: ὃς ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσκει τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, Mk 9:41: ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος, Phil 3:7: ταῦτα ἡγῆμαι ζημίαν.

<sup>37</sup> LXX: Gen 2:24: ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν (so Mt 19:5), Gen 12:2: ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος μέγαν. NT: 1 Jn 5:8: οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσίν.

<sup>38</sup> Klement of Rome, *Corinthians* (A.D. I) 11, 2: εἰς κρίμα καὶ εἰς σημείωσιν γίνονται, Ignatius (A.D. II), *Ephesians* 11, 1: ἵνα μὴ ... εἰς κρίμα γένηται, Hermas (A.D. II), *Similitudes* IX. 13, 5: ἔσονται εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα, *Testament of XII Patriarchs* (II B.C. – A.D. III): *Levi* 12, 4: καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ Ἀμβράμ τὴν Ἰωχαβὲδ ... εἰς γυναῖκα, *Judah* 13, 7: καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα, *Dan* 5, 12: ἥτις ἔσται εἰς δόξασμα, *Joseph* 1, 5: ἐπράθην εἰς δούλον, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐλήφθην, Herodianos (Hist.) (A.D. III), 5, 6, 5: χρήματα ἀμπλειςτα τῇ θεῇ εἰς προῖκα ἐπιδόουσι ("to give to the goddess a lot of money as dowry"), Makarios (B.C. IV) 533b: ὁ θεὸς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα, Lydos (A.D. V-VI) 220, 3: προσελάβοντό με εἰς πρῶτον χαρτουλάριον ("they employed me as the first Chartularius"), Leontios of Neapolis (A.D. VII), *Life of John* 49, 22: κόρην ἔχων εἰς γυναῖκα ("he had a young woman to wife") (quoted by JANNARIS).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Gen 12:2 (in Demotic): θά κάνω ἀπό σένα ἓνα μεγάλο ἔθνος.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Platon, *Charmides* 158b: μακάριόν σε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ φίλε Χαρμίδη, ἡ μήτηρ ἐτίκτεν ("... your mother ..."); Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 5, 38: Κλέαρχος ἐπεὶ ἐπιτορκῶν ἐφάνη ... ἔχει τὴν δίκην ("... has received his punishment").

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Lk 6:20: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, 16:2: φωνήσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Jn 2:11: ἐφάνέρωσε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, Mk 3:31: ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, Jn 4:47:

## 2. Relative

A peculiarity of the NT is that it often includes within a relative clause a superfluous demonstrative. This is owing to Hebrew influence and has been transmitted by the LXX<sup>44</sup>. The NT is prone to such constructions<sup>45</sup>, which through Christian authors<sup>46</sup> have become a legacy to *N*<sup>47</sup>.

μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, Mk 3:31: ἔρχεται ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, Jn 4:47: ἡρώτα ἵνα καταβῇ καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱόν, Rev 3:21: ὁ νικῶν δώσω αὐτῷ (cf. Rev 2:7 τῷ νικόντι δώσω αὐτῷ, where the case has been corrected to dative, but the redundancy has not been removed).

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Mt 4:16: τοῖς καθημένοις ἐν χώρα καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς, Mk 10:12: καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾷται, Lk 1:36: καὶ αὕτη συνείληφεν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς. So, too, with the beatitudes: Mt 5:4: μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται, etc., Jn 1:27: οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. τί θὰ τὸ κάμῃς αὐτό; ("what are you going to do [with] it?"), τί μὲ νοιάζει ἐμένα; ("what do I care?"), ἐκείνην δὲν τὴν ἐπέιραζαν ("they did not harm her"), μὲ βλέπεις ἐμένα; ("do you see me?"), τὴν εἶδες τὴν βάρκα του; ("did you see his boat?"). Cf. the Modern Greek grammarian, TZARTZANOT, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις* (τῆς Κοινῆς Δημοτικῆς), Vol. II, 177: "Ἄλλοι τὸ θεωροῦν τὸ νὰ αὐτὸ λέξει ... ("others consider this νὰ to be a ... word"); Παλαμᾶ (XIX cent.), "Σὲ μιὰ γυναῖκα" in *Ἀπαντα*, 167: τὸ πῆρα ἄ σπρω ἁλάτι ("I took it, [sc.] the white salt"); 171: καὶ τὸ σπαρτάρισμά μου τὸ πῆρες γιὰ καρδιά ("you took my bird's wriggling for a throb of the heart"), ΠΑΡΑΣΧΟΥ, Κλ. "Ἀπάντησις εἰς Δ. Βερναρδάκη", in *Τὰ Ἀπαντα τοῦ Βαλαωρίτη*, Vol. II, 608: τὴν σοβαρώτερη ... ἐλληνικὴ ἐφημερίδα, ποὺ τὴ διεύθυναν οἱ ἀδελφοί ... ("the most serious Greek newspaper, which the Brothers ... managed it"). This construction is extremely frequent.

<sup>44</sup> See LXX Ex 4:17: καὶ τὴν ράβδον ταύτην ... λήμψῃ ἐν τῇ χειρί σου ἐν ᾗ ποιήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ σημεῖα (cf. MT: יָבֹחַ־הַשֹּׁמֶרֶת רָשָׁאֵן הַיָּדָאֵן קִרְבֵּן הַיָּדָאֵן הַשֹּׁמֶרֶת־הַיָּדָאֵן). See further Lev 11:32: πᾶν σκευός, ὃ ἐὰν ποιηθῇ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ, 13:52 and Dt 11:25. RYDBECK, *Fachprosa* 199, quotes one example from Dioskorides, *De materia medica* III. 8, 1. The text goes as follows: χαμαιλέον λευκός, ... ὃ καὶ ἀντὶ μαστίχης αὐτῷ αἱ γυναῖκες χρῶνται ("a white chameleon ... which the women use it instead of mastic [an aromatic substance]"). However, the problem here is whether there is Semitic influence on this author of oriental provenience (from East Kilikia), whom Galenos (*De simplicium medicamentorum* XII. 330, 12) criticized for his ignorance of the meaning of Greek words.

<sup>45</sup> Mk 1:7: οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς κύψας λύσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ, 7:25: γυνὴ ... ἣς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, 13:19: θλίψις οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως, Mt 26:48: ὃν ἂν φιλήσω αὐτός ἐστιν, Rev 3:8: θύραν ἡνεωγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν, Rev 7:2: οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι τὴν γῆν, Rev 12:6: ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον.

<sup>46</sup> *Acta Thomae* 46:3: ὧν οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ("whose their teeth (sic)"), *Martyrium Petri* 86, 19: ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν τὰς γυναῖκας ("whose their (sic) wives, too, they put away"), *Acts of Pilate* A 9, 1: εἰς ὃν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ ("in whom I find no cause in him").

## 3. Possessive

In addition to the possessive pronoun (μου, σου, etc.) and especially the emphatic and reflexive (ἐμός, σός, etc.) also the adjective ἴδιος, -ία, -ον was used to express possession, particularly emphatic<sup>48</sup>. During *P* times ἴδιος became very popular<sup>49</sup>. In the NT it occurs almost one hundred times<sup>50</sup>. The increase of incidence in the NT is directly explicable from the subsequent history of the word, which not only seems to have the better of the other forms in *B* times, but also as time went by, it came to displace other forms such as the awkward reflexive ἡμῶν αὐτῶν taking the form ἰδιός μου, σου, etc.<sup>51</sup> When ἴδιος came to assume the meaning “same”<sup>52</sup>, it was modified into ἰδικός, a form quite popular in later times (and since *P*-

<sup>47</sup> Sachlikis (A.D. XVI) 2, 248: ὃν καὶ οἱ φίλοι ἀρνοῦνται τὸν κ' οἱ συγγενεῖς τοῦ πλέον (“whom even his friends and his relatives deny him”), Poulologos 19: τὴν μέμψιν τὴν με ἔκαμες οὐ μὴ τὴν ἐβαρέθην (“I have not grown weary of the chiding which you chided me (with)”), *MGr* μία κόρη ποῦ τὴν εἶδα νὰ περνᾷ (“a girl whom I saw her passing by”), αὐτοκίνητο ποῦ ἀκόμη δέν το ἐξεχρέωσα (“a car which I still have not paid it off”).

<sup>48</sup> According to MEISTERHANS, *Grammatik*, 194, § 85, 3 in the Attic inscriptions this usage appears to occur since 69 B.C.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., *CIA* II, 470, 71, 80 (69 B.C.): τῆς ἰδίας φιλαγαθίας (“of his own goodness”), *CIA* III, 488: τὸν ἴδιον σωτήρα, *CIA* III, 486: τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην, *CIA* III, 1344: τοῦ ἰδίου συντρόφου, *CIA* III, 3399: καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιοῖς, Polybios I. 80, 8: ἐκάστου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον συμβουλευόντος (“each one giving counsel in his own dialect”). Dionysios Halikarnasseus, *Roman Antiquities* XI. 36, 4: τοῦτῳ δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν ἴδιον ἐξετάζοντι βίον (“him, as it appears, examining his own life”), Dion Prousaëus, *Oration* 4, 12: οὐδὲ οἶκος ἴδιος οὐδὲ ἐστία (“neither an own house nor a hearth [sc. home]”), Ploutarchos, *Antonios* 51, 4: τὸ δ' ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διένειμεν (“he paid out the money from his own purse”), Musonius, *Fr.* (O. HENSE's ed., pp. 67-68): κοινὰ δὲ ἡγεῖσθε πάντα καὶ μηδὲν ἴδιον, μὴδ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα (“but to consider everything common and nothing as your own, not even your own body”). The word occurs hundreds of times in, e.g., Dionysios Halikarnasseus and Ploutarchos but only some 30 times in Dion Prousaëus.

<sup>50</sup> In comparison with Ploutarchos' text-mass (where it occurs several hundred times) the NT has a higher frequency, see, e.g., Jn 1:11: εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, Act 20:28: ἦν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου, Rm 8:32: ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, Gal 6:5: ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.

<sup>51</sup> Kallinikos 117, 31: κατεδίωκεν αὐτὸν ἴδιος αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος (“one of his own men went after him”).

<sup>52</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 613, considers ὁ ἴδιος, “the same”, a hybrid form retaining the ὁ of the earlier ὁ αὐτός while ἴδιος assumed the meaning of the Latin *idem*.

*B* also in literary compositions)<sup>53</sup>, and finally in *N* it took the form [i]δικός μου, σου, etc.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4. Reflexive

Already in *A* times the third person reflexive pronoun could refer to the first and especially the second person<sup>55</sup>. This becomes more common from *P* to *B* times<sup>56</sup>, including the NT<sup>57</sup>, and explains the use of it with all three personal pronouns in *N* Demotic<sup>58</sup>.

#### 5. Reciprocal

The plural of the reflexive pronoun occurs already in *A* times frequently for the reciprocal pronoun<sup>59</sup>. This became popular in *P* times and entered the NT as well<sup>60</sup>. For the purpose of emphasis, more analytical expressions

<sup>53</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1417 cites *Pseudo-Maurikios* II. 15, 2: τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων and Leon VI, Sophos (or Taktikos, † A.D. 910), 11, 22: καὶ τινὰς ἰδικούς σου ἀνθρώπους, etc. In his *History*, Prokopios (A.D. VI) uses ἴδιος some 8 times but not at all ἰδικός.

<sup>54</sup> For Byzantine examples see ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λεξικό*, Vol. 7, 150-52, *sub* ἰδικός. *MGr*: δικός μου ἄνθρωπος. See further Δ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν*, Vol. III, 2021.

<sup>55</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica* IV. 1, 35: ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ ζῆν καρπούμενος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ("it is permitted to you to live with us and to enjoy what is your own"); Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 33: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμῖν παρεῖναι οὐκ ἔζην, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι ("not only were we not allowed to be present, but not even to be near them").

<sup>56</sup> E.g. *Martyrium Petri* 82, 11: χωρίσατε τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ("... your souls"), 82, 16: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀνελθὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω τῷ ὄχλῳ ("coming back I will show myself to the people").

<sup>57</sup> Mt 3:9: μὴ δόξετε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Lk 17: 3: προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς; Act 15:29: διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὐ πράξετε. For ἑαυτοῦ, MOULTON-GEDEN, *Concordance*, cites c. 300 examples; *Concordance to the Novum Testamentum*, 321 examples.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. τὸν ἑαυτὸν μου, τὸν ἑαυτὸν σου, τὸν ἑαυτὸν της, τὸν ἑαυτὸν μας, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Lysias, *Kakologion* (Or. VIII) 19: τοιοῦτον γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πείσεσθε ("you will be persuaded of my being such an one"), Platon, *Republic* 621c: καὶ δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδεύσομεν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ("and we will by all means practise justice with prudence, so that we may be your and the gods' friends"), Demosthenes, *Against Olympiodoros* 6: τότε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς διαλεξόμεθα ("then we will discuss among ourselves").

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Mt 21:38: οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ... εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Mk 16:3: καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς, Lk 20:5: οἱ δὲ συνελογίσαντο πρὸς ἑαυτούς, Jn 7:35: εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς ἑαυτούς, 1 Cor 6:7: κρίματα ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, Eph 4:32: γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς

were also resorted to. Thus, already by *A-H* times we find the circumlocutional εἰς τὸν ἕτερον, εἰς τὸν ἕνα. Although the NT generally adheres to the reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλους, it is not entirely without examples of this more recent usage. Thus, such examples as εἰς τὸν ἕνα<sup>61</sup> and ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον<sup>62</sup> (evolved from the above turns) are elucidated by *N* Demotic, in which the normal way of expressing reciprocity has become: ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον (“[the] one the other”).

### III. The Verb

#### 1. Transitive and Intransitive

In Post-classical times many verbs that originally were only transitive came to assume also an intransitive meaning. This was facilitated by the fact that in cases where the adjuncts could easily be deduced from the context, and thus supplied mentally, it was felt superfluous to include them explicitly. Thus, we find in the NT many such verbs occurring intransitively<sup>63</sup>, a tendency that was carried even further in *B* and especially in *N* times<sup>64</sup>. At the

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ἀλλήλους χρηστοί ... χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, Col 3:16: διδάσκοντες καὶ νοουθεντοῦντες ἑαυτούς, 1 Th 5:13: εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, Heb 3:13: παρακαλεῖτε ἑαυτούς, 1 Pt 4:8: τὴν εἰς ἑαυτούς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῇ ἔχοντες. See also Mk 10:26, Lk 22:23, Jn 12:19, Col 3:13, 1 Pt 4:10.

<sup>61</sup> 1 Th 5:11: παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε εἰς τὸν ἕνα.

<sup>62</sup> Act 2:12: ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγοντες. This more literary construction occurs in Xenophon, *Hellenica* II. 3, 23: ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν (“they calumniated each other of injuring the state”), and is found in literary *P-B-N* compositions: Basilios (A.D. V), *Regulae Morales* XXXI. 745: quoting Act 2:12; *Concilia Oecumenica: Ephesum* (A.D. V): ἔχει συνάφειαν ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον (“there is a connection between one another”); Romanos Melodios (A.D. VI), *Cantica dubia, Hymni* 71: καὶ βρῦξαντες ἅμα ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον συνωθοῦσι τὸν ἅγιον (“and having gnashed their teeth at each other, they pushed the saint”); Anna Comnene (A.D. XI-XII), *Alexias* VI. 12, 6: ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διαδεχόμενοι τε καὶ παραπέμποντες (“succeeding one another and sending off”). Eriphanios (A.D. V), *Homilia in divini corporis* XLIII. 457, has another variant, ἕτερος ἕτερον συνωθούμενος (“the one pushed the other”), while Eustathios (A.D. XII), *Comm. in Homer: Ilias* II. 211 uses both: ὁ ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον γινόμενος κατὰ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν ἐρμηνείαν, καί, κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς εἰπεῖν, ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον διαβάλλων καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλω φίλος (“the one [to] the other, according to the Homeric interpretation, and to say it in the way of the ancients, one slandering another, and, another time to another friend”).

<sup>63</sup> See the list in JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1456<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Thus, e.g. ἀγώμεν is intransitive in Mt 26:46, but ἡγαγον is transitive in Lk 19:35; βρέχειν is transitive in Lk 7:38, but βρέχει is intransitive in Mt 5:45; κλίνει is transi-

same time, this tendency to use many transitive verbs intransitively led to the opposite practice of giving many intransitive verbs also transitive meaning<sup>65</sup>. This development finally led to the formation of a passive form for verbs that had come to be felt as transitive on account of their active form<sup>66</sup>.

## 2. Causative

Not seldom, the active voice of transitive verbs assumes a causative significance. The NT contains a number of such examples. For instance, the verb ἀνατέλλω strictly speaking may be used of the sun when it rises on the horizon. In the NT, however, it is used also with God as subject and the sun as object, to signify that God is the ultimate cause of the daily rising of the sun: τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς (Mt 5:45). The same is true of the rain that God causes to come down on both the good and the bad alike: καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους (Mt 5:45)<sup>67</sup>. This is frequent in *N*<sup>68</sup>.

## 3. Middle and Passive

In Mt 15:2 we read: διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας [αὐτῶν] ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. The use of the middle νίπτονται with an expressed object (τὰς χεῖρας) indicates that the feeling for the fine distinction between the active and the middle has been lost<sup>69</sup>.

The original distinction between the middle and the passive began to wane after *A* times. This was no doubt facilitated by the similarity of form

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tive in Mt 8:20, but κλίνειν is intransitive in Lk 9:12. For *N* examples see HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 202-206.

<sup>65</sup> For examples see JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1457, a practice that is “unduly common in *B-N* speech” (§ 1457<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>66</sup> For examples see JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1458-1459, and HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 200.

<sup>67</sup> Naturally, the construction occurs also in classical authors.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. κτίζω μία οἰκία / ἕνα σπίτι (“I am having a house built”); ἐφύτευσε ἕναν κῆπο (“he had a garden planted”); τὸν ἐβαλες φυλακὴ (“you had him put in jail”); τυπῶνω / ἐκδίδω ἕνα βιβλίον (“I am having a book published”).

<sup>69</sup> So, too, Act 7:58: ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, 26:21: ἔνεκα τούτων με Ἰουδαῖοι συλλαβόμενοι [δντα] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, Eph 5:16: ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, Tit 2:7: σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον.

between them (except for the future and aorist). The passive won owing (a) to the loss of the feeling of the fine shade of distinction between them, (b) to the fact that the passive forms (-θην, -θης, -θη, -θημεν, -θητε, -θησαν) were more regular and thus easier than the middle forms (-σάμην, -σω, -σατο, -σάμεθα, -σασθε, -σαντο), and (c) to the popularity of employing the reflexive ἐμαυτόν, etc., which was clearer, in place of the indirect middle<sup>70</sup>.

With the triumph of the passive over the middle, the passive endings -θην, -θης, -θη, -θημεν, -θητε, -θησαν evidently came to represent both the passive and the middle voices. This explains why verbs of the middle voice, such as ἀποκρίνομαι<sup>71</sup>, have in the aorist active meaning but passive ending (ἀπεκρίθην). This phenomenon is old having begun to occur already in *A* authors<sup>72</sup>. The NT has many such examples<sup>73</sup>. This development continued in *B* times, while in more recent times a large number of passive aorist endings in literary Greek occur, which “auch in der Volkssprache [*sc.* Demotic], einige mit activem andere mit medialer Bedeutung durchaus üblich [sind]”<sup>74</sup>. This explains the confusion between the active and the middle in the LXX, the NT, and later authors<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. παρέχω, ἐπαινώ ἐμαυτόν. In NT: δοξάζω (Jn 8:54), ἐμφανίζω (Jn 14:21), ἡγοῦμαι (Act 26:2), ἀνακρίνω (1 Cor 4:3), δουλῶ (1 Cor 9:19), ταπεινῶ (2 Cor 11:7), συνιστάνω (Gal 2:18), ἐμαυτόν.

<sup>71</sup> See ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν*, Vol. I, 809 s. v.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 193-194, which cites such forms as ἐδυνήθην, ἐκορέσθην, ᾤθην, ἐκοιμήθην, ἐπειράσθην, ἐχάρην, ἡγέρθην, ἐσεβάσθην. He goes on to say, “Von vielen Verbis kannten aber auch die Attiker nur die Formen des Passivaoristus in medialer Bedeutung” and cites: ἐφοβήθην, ἐλυπήθην, ἐπλανήθην, ἐπορεύθην, ἐκοιμήθην, ᾤξήθην, etc.

<sup>73</sup> For instance, the forms ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς (e.g. Jn 3:5) and ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (e.g. Mt 3:15) occur each dozens of times in the Gospels. Other verbs are: πορευθεὶς (Mt 18:12), ἐφοβήθη (Mt 2:22), ἐπλανήθησαν (2 Pt 2:15), ἐκοιμήθη (Act 7:69), ἡδυνήθησαν (Mt 17:16), ἐχάρην (2 Jn 4), ἡγέρθη (Jn 11:29), ἐμνήσθη (Act 11:16).

<sup>74</sup> HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 194, where see for *B* and *N* examples. *N*, however, has preserved the middle forms of the verb to express the middle voice, see ΜΑΥΡΟΦΥΤΔΗ, *Δοκίμιον ἱστορίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 210; JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1466-86; ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, § 160-63; ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, “Μικραὶ Συμβολαί”, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 41 (1929), 20.

<sup>75</sup> For example, the middle used for the active: LXX Ps 22:19: διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, Mt 15:2: νίπτονται (above), *Acts of Philip* 80:13: περιποιῆσαι δὲ ἑαυτῶ, *Acta Thomae* 7:3: στέφανον ἐπέθετο τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ, *Vita Epiphani* (V-VI A.D. MIGNE XLI) 53: ὁ Μωϋσῆς συνεγράψατο, Kallinikos (V A.D.) 138, 2: ἡδυνήθημεν παύσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ τούτου (“we were able to stop them ...”), Theophanes (800 A.D.) 378, 21: ἑαυτοὺς ἠσφαλίσαντο (“they made themselves secure”), and the active for the middle: LXX Ex 23:16: ἐορτὴν θερισμοῦ ποιήσεις, Mt 6:2 ποιῆς



## IV. Tenses

## 1. The Perfect

In the NT, several times we find the perfect tense where we would have expected an aorist<sup>76</sup>. Although this substitution occurs now and then in *A* authors<sup>77</sup>, the practice becomes much more frequent in *EH*<sup>78</sup> and especially in later times<sup>79</sup>. The increase in the NT is part of this development. In the

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έλεημοσύνην, Mk 15:1: συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες, Lk 14:12: ὅταν ποιῆς ἄριστον, Lk 14:28: ψηφίζει τὴν διαπάνην, 2 Tim 1:18: εὐρεῖν ἔλεος, Kallinikos 70, 8: εἰρήνην ποιεῖν, 80, 26: σφραγίδα ποιήσαντες, Theophanes 232, 32: οὐκ ἐποίησαν τὴν κρέμασιν ("they did not make the ? slope / hanging"). On the whole question of the confusion of middle with the passive and the active, see the detailed discussions by HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 194-200, and JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, §§ 1478-1486.

<sup>76</sup> See also Ch. Three, III, 14.

<sup>77</sup> Thoukydides, I. 21: οὕτε ὥς ποιηταὶ ὑμνῆκασιν ... οὕτε ὥς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ("they have neither sung praises like poets nor have they composed like prose-writers"). Demosthenes *Peri Halonnesou* 29: ὅς τινι χώραν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὠμολογήκασιν ὑμετέραν εἶναι ("that the country which both the Greeks and the Persian king voted on and have agreed that it is yours").

<sup>78</sup> Polybios III. 1, 2: ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διεσαφήσαμεν ("we have made clear in our third book, likewise we clarified the causes in the same"); Diodoros Sik., XVI. 1, 6: γέγονε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχινοῖα στρατηγικῇ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ λαμπρότητι ψυχῆς διαφέρων ("this king has distinguished himself in military genius, braveness and magnificence of soul"); Strabon II. 5, 35: ἐφ' ἧς ἡ τῶν ἐλεφάντων γέγονε θήρα ("in which place the hunting of elephants had taken place").

<sup>79</sup> LXX Ex 32:1: ἰδὼν ὁ λαὸς ὅτι κεχρόνικε ὁ Μωϋσῆς ... ἀνέστη, NT: Mt 13:46: ἀπελθὼν πέπρακε πάντα ὅσα εἶχε καὶ ἠγόρασεν αὐτόν, Jn 3:32: ὁ ἐώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, 4:6: ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ, 1 Cor 13:11: ὅτε γέγονα ἀνὴρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου, 2 Cor 2:13: οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀνεσθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι μου τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν με Τίτον ... ἀλλὰ ... ἐξῆλθον, Heb 11:17: πιστεῖ προσενήνοχεν Ἀβραάμ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ πειραζόμενος, Rev 3:3: μνημόνευε οὖν πῶς εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας καὶ τίρει, 5:7: καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν, 7:14: καὶ εἰρηκα αὐτῷ, Κύριέ μου, σὺ οἶδας, 8:5: καὶ εἴληφεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸν λιβαντόν καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτόν, Hermas, *Shepherd: Vision I*. 1: ὁ θρένας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδη τινι εἰς Ῥώμην ("he who raised me up has sold me to a certain Rhode in Rome"), Kassius Dion I. 203, 24: ὅσα λελύπηται ("in all he has caused sorrow"), II. 49, 8: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐάλωκε ("but often it has also been captured"). *Acta Thomae* 19, 15: ὅτι ἀπέθανες ... καὶ πέπρακάς με ("because you died ... and you have sold me"), 61, 3: διὰ σέ κατελείψαμεν τοὺς οἴκους ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ σέ ξένοι γεγόναμεν ("for your sake we left our homes, and for your sake we have become strangers"), 145:8: ἐπλήρωσά σου τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα ἐτέλειώσα καὶ γέγονα πένης ("I fulfilled your work and performed your command and I have become poor").

NT this popular perfect occurs in lieu of the present as well<sup>80</sup>. This is presumably the result of the loss of feeling for the distinction between the aorist and the perfect<sup>81</sup>.

## 2. The Periphrastic Imperfect, Future, Perfect, and Pluperfect

In the NT we often meet with a periphrastic construction instead of the simple form of the imperfect, future, perfect, or pluperfect. This construction (apart from the perfect) occurs seldom in *A* times<sup>82</sup>. In *P* Greek the loss of feeling for the proper significance of the simple form and the consequent desire to emphasize led to an increase of such periphrases<sup>83</sup>. The NT is re-

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Jn 1:15: Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων ("John bears witness to him and he has cried out saying").

<sup>81</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1874, cites many examples that indicate that this took place even among expert grammarians. He notes: "since *H* times, the perfect and aorist have been associated with and concurrently used in the common language with a steady spread of the colloquial perfect".

<sup>82</sup> As examples of this may be noted: Sophokles, *Philoktetes* 600: ὃν εἶχον ἤδη χρόνιον ἐκβεβληκότες ("whom they had cast out long ago"), 1219: στείχων ἄν ἦν (v.l.) σοι τῆς ἐμῆς ("he would be walking ..."), *Oidipous Tyrannos* 701: οἷα μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει ("what he [Kreon] has decided for me"), Thoukydides III. 2: καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν ("the things they were sending for"), Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 2, 13: ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ("this strategy was not able to achieve anything else"), VII. 7, 27: ἃ νῦν καταστρεφάμενος ἔχεις ("which you have now destroyed"), Demosthenes, *Olynthics* III. 7: ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δυνάμιν τινα κεκτημένοι ("there were Olynthians who were possessing a certain power"), Demosthenes, *Περὶ Παραπρεσβείας* 75: ἀλλ' ὅτι συμφέρον ἦν σῶς εἶναι τῇ πόλει ("but because the city's safety was in your interest"). On the subject of periphrasis, see W. J. AERTS, *Periphrastica, passim* and "Periphrastic constructions", *Ἐπετ. Κύπρ.* 12 (1983), 149-169. Cf. also RYDBECK, in *Glotta* 47 (1969), 186-201. ΣΕΤΑΤΟΥ, "Ὁ νεοελληνικὸς παρακείμενος". *ΕΕΦΣΘ*, III (1993), 485 f.

<sup>83</sup> Cf., e.g., the LXX: Gen 4:14: ἔσομαι στένων καὶ τρέμων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 43:9: ἐάν μὴ ἀγάγω αὐτόν ... ἡμαρτηκὼς ἔσομαι, Ex 39:23: καὶ εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς πάντα τὰ ἔργα, καὶ ἦσαν πεποιηκότες αὐτά, Num 13:8: γῆ ἥτις ἐστὶ ρέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι, Dt 28:29: καὶ ἔση ψηλαφῶν, Jdg 8:11: ἡ δὲ παρεμβολὴ ἦν πεποιθυῖα, 1 Kgs 17:34: καὶ εἶπεν Δαυὶδ πρὸς Σαουλ Ποιμένων ἦν ὁ δούλος σου, 3 Kgs 18:3: καὶ Αβδίου ἦν φοβούμενος, 2 Chr 18:34: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἦν ἐστηκώς, Isa 22:24: καὶ ἔσται πεποιθὼς ἐπ' αὐτόν ... καὶ ἔσονται ἐπικρεμάμενοι αὐτῷ, Ez 34:29: καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται ἀπολλύμενοι, Dan 6:27: πάντες ... ἔστωσαν προσκυνούντες καὶ λατρεύοντες τῷ θεῷ Δανιηλ, 7:11: θεωρῶν ἡμην (v.l. 88, Syr), 10:2: ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἡμην πενθῶν, 10:9: ἐγὼ ἡμην πεπτωκός (Θ: ἡμην κατανενυγμένος), Tobit 6:18: σοὶ αὕτη ἡτοιμασμένη ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵωνος, Baruch 1:59: ἡμεθα ἀπειθοῦντες. See further F. C. CONYBEARE and St. G. STOCK, *Grammar of the Septuagint Greek*, 68-71.

plete with such constructions, though not always stressing linearity<sup>84</sup>. This construction continues in later times, but *MGr* Demotic, lacking the ancient active participle, is capable of forming this construction only with the perfect and the pluperfect<sup>85</sup>. The NT examples that stress linearity belong within the *P* development, while those of the periphrastic perfect and pluperfect find correspondences in their *MGr* counterparts<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> For example, it occurs 19 times in Mark, 31 times in Luke, and 28 times in Acts. A few examples are: Mt 7:29: ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, Mk 10:22: ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλά, Lk 1:10: πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ προσευχόμενον, 23:55: αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵτινες ἦσαν συνεληλυθυῖαι ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Jn 3:24: οὐπω γὰρ ἦν βεβλημένος εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ὁ Ἰωάννης, 19:11: εἰ μὴ ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν, Act 8:16: μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι ὑπῆρχον, 22:29: ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐφοβήθη ... ὅτι αὐτὸν ἦν δεδεκώς, 1 Cor 14:9: ἔσεσθε γὰρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες, Gal 1:23: μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν. See also *infra* 7, "The Participle, The Periphrastic Use".

<sup>85</sup> Thus (in the absence of an equivalent of the ancient monolectic form) the active perfect can be formed either (a) in the analytical way of the Modern European languages, with the auxiliary ἔχω and the infinitival form of the active aorist, or (b) with ἔχω and the accusative of the passive perfect participle of the main verb: τὸν γιό μου τὸν ἔχω ἐγγράφει στὸ σχολεῖο or τὸν ἔχω ἐγγεγραμμένο ("I have enrolled my son in school"), τὴν βάρκα τὴν ἔχω δέσει or τὴν ἔχω δεμένη ("I have tied the boat"), ἔχω κτίσει τὴν οἰκίαν / τὸ σπίτι or τὸ σπῖτι τὸ ἔχω κτισμένο ("I have built the house"). The middle or passive perfect is formed either with ἔχω and the infinitival form of the middle or passive aorist or with εἶμαι ('I am') and the nominative of the middle or passive perfect participle: τὸ γράμμα ἔχει γραφεῖ or εἶναι γραμμένο ("the letter has been written"), ὁ σκύλος ἔχει λυθεῖ or εἶναι λυμένος ("the dog has been / is untied"). In the two ways of forming the perfect there is, however, a difference of emphasis. In the first case (that uses the active or the middle passive aorist) the emphasis lies on the action, while the second case (that uses the middle passive participle) puts the emphasis on the outcome of the action.

The pluperfect is constructed analogously with the imperfect indicative of ἔχω or with the imperfect indicative of εἶμαι: τὸν εἶχα συναντήσει τὸ προηγούμενο ἔτος στὴν Ἀθῆνα ("I had met him the previous year in Athens"), τὸ κτίριο αὐτὸ τὸ εἶχα σχεδιάσει ἐγώ ("I had designed this building myself") or τὸ κτίριο αὐτὸ τὸ εἶχα σχεδιασμένο σ' ἓνα χαρτί ("I had designed this building on a piece of paper"), ὅταν ἐπέθανε ὁ πατέρας του δὲν εἶχε γεννηθῇ ἀκόμη ("when his father died he had not yet been born") or ἡ μητέρα του, ὅταν ἐπέθανε ὁ πατέρας του, δὲν τὸν εἶχε γεννήσει / γεννημένο ("his mother had not borne him [yet], when his father died") or ὅταν ἐπέθανε ὁ πατέρας του δὲν ἦταν [ἀκόμη] γεννημένος ("when his father died, he had not been born [yet]"). It is thus clear that the periphrastic constructions of the perfect and (especially) the pluperfect that use the middle passive participle constitute an identical construction to that of the NT.

<sup>86</sup> For the formation and uses of the perfect in *N*, see ΣΕΤΑΤΟΥ, "Ο νεοελληνικός παρακείμενος", in *ΕΕΦΣΘ* III (1993), 486-501.

### 3. The Durative Future

Like the present, the future, too, expresses both durative and instantaneous (effective) action<sup>87</sup>. This is so already in *A* times<sup>88</sup>, though from *EH* times on there is an increase of the durative future<sup>89</sup>. The same is true of the NT<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1882, quotes a long list of verbs which have developed two forms for expressing effective and durative action. Of this list I have found only the following durative forms occurring in the NT: ἀρνησόμεθα and ἀρνήσεται (2 Tim 2:12) (eff.: ἀρνηθήσόμεθα, etc.), ἐπιμελήσεται (eff.: ἐπιμεληθήσεται) (1 Tim 3:5), πορεύσεται (Lk 11:5), πορεύσομαι (Lk 15:18), πορεύσομαι (Act 18:6), πορεύσονται (1 Cor 16:4), πορευσόμεθα (Jas 4:13) (eff.: πορευθήσεται, etc.), and φανεῖται (1 Pt 4:18) (eff.: φανήσεται).

<sup>88</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Birds* 759: ἦν τις τῷ πατρὶ προσδραμών εἶπει πατάξας, 'αἶρε πλῆκτρον, εἰ μαχεῖ' ("if someone ran up to his father and, hitting him, said: take a stick if you are going to fight"); *Knights* 799: πάντως δ' αὐτὸν θρέψω 'γὼ καὶ θεραπεύσω, ἐξευρίσκων εὖ καὶ μιᾶρῳ ὁπόθεν τὸ τριώβολον ἔξει ("I will keep feeding and serving him until I find out by good and bad means wherefrom he gets the three obols"); Thoukydides VI. 79, 1: Δειλία δὲ ἴσως τὸ δίκαιον πρὸς τε ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιδόντας θεραπεύσετε, λέγοντες ζυμμαχίαν εἶναι ὑμῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ("through cowardice you may serve what is right both towards us and those who will follow, saying that there is an alliance between you and the Athenians"); Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* II. 1, 17: τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθούντων, εἶγε πεινήσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγήσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι; ("what is the difference between them and those who suffer on account of necessity, if they are hungry, and thirsty, and cold, and wakeful?"); Hippokrates, *De prisca medicina* 15: τίνα ποτὲ τρόπον θεραπεύσουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ ὑποτίθενται; ("in whatever way will they cure people, as they suppose?").

<sup>89</sup> Often in the LXX: Ex 34:9: συμπορευθήτω ... μεθ' ἡμῶν· ὁ λαὸς σκληροτράχηλος ἐστίν, καὶ ἀφελεῖς σὺ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐσόμεθα σοί, 35:2: ἐξ ἡμέρας ποιήσεις ἔργα, Lev 18:4: τὰ κρίματά μου ποιήσετε καὶ τὰ προστάγματα μου φυλάξεσθε, 19:30: τὰ σάββατά μου φυλάξεσθε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων φοβηθήσεσθε, 22:31: καὶ φυλάξετε τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ ποιήσετε αὐτάς, Num 30:5: καὶ πάντες οἱ ὀρίσμοι, οὓς ὀρίσατο κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς, μενοῦσι, Dt 16:12: καὶ ποιήσεις τὰς ἐντολάς ταύτας, Ps 118:69: ἐπληθύνθη ἐπ' ἐμέ ἀδικία ὑπερφάνων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου ἐξερευνήσω τὰς ἐντολάς σου, Isa 8:17: καὶ ἐρεῖ, μενῶ τὸν θεόν, 30:18: καὶ πάλιν μενεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι ὑμᾶς. See also Ploutarchos, *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 151e: ἀλλὰ θεραπεύουσιν πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσουσι χρηστὸν ὄντα ("but all shall serve him and love him because he is kind"); Galenos, *De methodo menendi* XIV. Vol. 10 p. 990: εὐδὴλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐρυσιπελατώδεις φλεγμονὰς ἐρυσιπέλατά τε τὰ φλεγμονώδη θεραπεύσεις αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ φαρμάκῳ ("it is clear that also the erysipelatic [= an acute skin inflammation] inflammations and inflammatory erysipelas you will cure with the same medicine").

<sup>90</sup> E.g. Mt 1:21: αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, 3:11: αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί, 12:21: καὶ τὸ ὄνοματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν, Lk 21:19: ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσεσθε (v.l. in A B Θ f<sup>13</sup> etc.) τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν (on κτῶμαι see CARAGOUNIS, "Parainesis on Hagiasmos", *FN* 29-30 (2002) 145-47; Phil 1:18: ἐν τούτῳ

However, particularly from *EH* times on<sup>91</sup> the alternative way of a periphrastic future becomes common, as for example, in the *LXX*<sup>92</sup>. This, more than anything else, shows that the monolectic form of the future was considered inadequate to express the idea of duration. In the NT the construction is "even commoner than in the *LXX*"<sup>93</sup>. This construction continues in later times<sup>94</sup>. The emphasis on clearly distinguishing the durative future

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χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι, 1 Tim 6:8: ἔχοντες δὲ διατροφάς καὶ σκεπάσματα, τοῦτοις ἀρκεσθῆσόμεθα, Hb 13:6 Κύριος ἐμοὶ βοηθός, [καί] οὐ φοβηθήσομαι.

<sup>91</sup> It begins in *A* times, see, e.g., Platon, *Protagoras* 324e: εἴπερ μέλει πόλις εἶναι.

<sup>92</sup> For the *LXX*, see e.g. Ex 22:24: οὐκ ἔση αὐτὸ κατεπιείγων, 25:20: ἔσονται οἱ χερουβὶμ ἐκτείνοντες τὰς πτέρυγας ἐπάνωθεν, 26:3: ἔσονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεναι ἡ ἑτέρα ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας, 28:7: δύο ἐπωμίδες συνέχουσαι ἔσονται αὐτῶ, Dt 16:15: καὶ ἔση εὐφραίνόμενος, 28:33: καὶ ἔση ἀδικούμενος καὶ τεθραυσμένος, 2 Kgd3 22:3: πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῶ, 2 Chr 7:15: οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἔσονται ἀνεωγμένοι, Ps 91:15: καὶ εὐπαθοῦντες ἔσονται, Jb 11:18: πεποιθώς τε ἔση, Isa 8:16: τότε φανεροὶ ἔσονται οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τὸν νοῦν, 58:14: καὶ ἔση πεποιθώς, Jer 14:16: καὶ ἔσονται ἐρριμμένοι, Ez 44:11: καὶ ἔσονται ... λειτουργοῦντες, Dan 2:43: καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται προσκολλώμενοι.

See further the examples cited by CONYBEARE and STOCK, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, 68: Gen 4:14: καὶ ἔσομαι σπένων καὶ τρέμων (similarly Gen 4:12), Num 8:19: καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ... προσεγγίζων πρὸς τὰ ἅγια, Dt 28:29: καὶ ἔση νηλαφῶν μεσημβρίας ... καὶ ἔση ἀδικούμενος καὶ διαρπαζόμενος, Isa 22:24: καὶ ἔσται πεποιθώς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ... καὶ ἔσονται ἐπικρεμάμενοι αὐτῶ, 47:7: καὶ εἶπας Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσομαι ἄρχουσα, Ez 34:29: καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσονται ἀπολλύμενοι λιμῶ, Mal 3:3: καὶ ἔσονται τῷ κυρίῳ προσάγοντες θυσίαν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

For the future perfect see Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 50: ἔσται δεδωκώς ("he will be one who has given / he will have given"), *Against Aphobos* I. 67: ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἔσομαι τῶν πατρῶν ἀποστερημένος ("thus I will not only have been deprived of my patrimony"), *LXX* Gen 43:9: ἡμαρτηκώς ἔσομαι πρὸς σέ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, and Sir 42:8: καὶ ἔση πεπαιδευμένος ἀληθινῶς.

<sup>93</sup> CONYBEARE and STOCK, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, 70. Among the examples that might be cited here, are: Mt 10:22: καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου, Mt 24:9: καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, Mk 13:13: καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου, Lk 1:20: καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔση σιωπῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος λαλῆσαι, 5:10: καὶ εἶπεν ... ὁ Ἰησοῦς: μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔση ζωγρῶν, 21:24: καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔσται πατομένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, Jn 6:45: καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδασκοὶ Θεοῦ, Act 7:6: ἐλάλησεν δὲ οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου πάροικον, 1 Cor 14:9: ἔσεσθε γάρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες, Heb 2:13: ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθώς.

<sup>94</sup> In various equivalent ways: *Clementines* I. 17: σοὶ μὲν ἐτόιμας ἔχω συνοδεύειν ("I am ready to accompany you"), *Life of Epiphanius* (A.D. V-VI), 41c: καὶ ἔση προσέχων ("and you will be attentive"), *Ioannes Theologos* (A.D. VIII), *De sacris imaginibus* 95, 325 (*MPG*): θέλεις λέγειν ὅτι ἐγὼ χειροποίητα οὐ προσκυνῶ ("you are going to say I do not worship things made by hands"), *Malalas* († A.D. 570) 97, 8: ἐποίησε πρὸς αὐτὴν γράμματα καὶ ἔδωκεν Μενελάῳ ὀφείλοντα πείσαι ("she also

from the instantaneous future finally led to the creation of an additional future form in *N*. Thus, there are now two future tenses:<sup>95</sup> the instantaneous future (μέλλων στιγμαῖος)<sup>96</sup> and the durative (or continuous) future (μέλλων διαρκείας, or συνεχῆς μέλλων). Illustrating these future tense forms by means of the verb λύνω (= λύω), we get:

Instantaneous future: θά λύσω (I will loosen)

Durative future: θά λύνω (I will be loosening / keep on loosening)<sup>97</sup>.

wrote letters for her and gave them to Menelaos who was obliged to persuade Helen [to return]).

<sup>95</sup> That is, in addition to the future perfect (μέλλων τετελεσμένος).

<sup>96</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις*, Vol. I, 274, prefers the designation συνοπτικός μέλλων (= synoptic future).

<sup>97</sup> The future perfect gives the form: θά ἔχω λύσει, or θά ἔχω λυμένο ("I will have loosened"). The future perfect, which in *N* is constructed analytically, is in direct continuity to the ancient monolectic form, as has been shown by ΒΑΦΗΣ, in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 47 (1937), 3-27. KÜHNER-GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik* II. 1, § 388, had characterized the future perfect as denoting an act regarded as completed sometime in the future with abiding results as well as denoting an act that was to be performed quickly (applying to it the designation μετ' ὀλίγον μέλλων, used by ancient Grammarians, see, e.g., Theodosios Grammatikos (IV-V A.D.), *Εἰσαγωγικοί κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ῥημάτων* IV. 1, 63). The Greek scholar ΑΣΟΡΙΟΣ refined this second meaning by dividing it into two sub-meanings: an act that was to take place quickly and an act that was to take place certainly (*Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Σύνταξιν*, p. 515). ΒΑΦΗΣ finds that the future perfect had in ancient times one more meaning, namely that it expressed an action that will be regarded as past at some future point of time (*actionem praeteritam in futuro*). He gives a number of examples from *A* and *P* times: e.g. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1279: οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοι γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν ("we shall not have died without honor from the gods"); Andokides, *Mysteries* 72: ὅπου μὴ πείθων μὲν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ζημιώσομαι, πείσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολελογημένος ἔσομαι (periphrastically: "if I fail to persuade you I myself will suffer, but if I succeed in convincing you I shall have defended my enemies"), a use that ΚΟΡΑΪΕΣ called πρὸ ὀλίγον μέλλων to distinguish it from the one called μετ' ὀλίγον μέλλων. ΒΑΦΗΣ argues that the *N* future perfect has developed from this use.

Moreover, the future perfect is often used as equivalent of the ordinary future. the difference often being that it expresses emphasis (by means of its *epanadiplosis* or reduplication, see ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Γενική Γλωσσική*, 233), e.g. Homeros, *Odysseia* XXIV. 544:

.... Ὀδυσσεῦ

ἴσχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοίου πολέμοιο,

μή πῶς τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

("Odysseus, restrain thy hand, let cease the strife of evil war, lest the Son of Kronos, the all-seeing Zeus, will be angry with you"). Similarly Homeros, *Ilias* XX. 301; *Odysseia* XXI. 79: τοῦ ποτὲ μεμνήσεσθαι ὄτομαι ἐν περ ὄνειρῳ ("which I think I will remember [not 'will have remembered'] even in my dreams"), with which cf. *Odysseia* XII. 212: καὶ που τῶνδε μνήσεσθαι οἶω ("some day I think we shall remember these"). Thus, Ploutarchos, *Brutius* 29, 9 can say: πότερον βιώσονται μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἢ

Occasionally even the present is used to express future time. This is well represented in the NT. Thus, Mt 26:18: πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, Jn 14:3: καὶ ἐὰν πορευθῶ καὶ ἐτοιμάσω τόπον, πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήψομαι ὑμᾶς, Jn 14:18: οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς, ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 14:19: ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ, ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με, 1 Cor 15:32: εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν must be taken as future. This is shown, for example, by παραλήψομαι in Jn 14:3 as well as in Jn 14:28: εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε με ἐχάρητε ἂν ὅτι πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, where the future reference of the present is underscored by the following verse: καὶ νῦν εἶρηκα πρὶν γενέσθαι. This NT construction has a number of *A* examples, but becomes especially frequent from *P* times to the present<sup>98</sup>. As *N* examples may serve παράβλεψε τὸ σφάλμα μου, καὶ δὲν τὸ ξανακάνω (= δὲν θὰ τὸ ξανακάμω, "overlook my mistake, and I will not do it again"), ἔλα πρῶτα ἐδῶ καὶ ὕστερα πηγαίνομε στὴν οἰκίαν / στὸ σπίτι σου (come here, first, and then we go [= will go] to your house)<sup>99</sup>.

## V. Moods

### 1. The Indicative in Wishes

Wishes incapable of attainability were expressed in *A* times usually by εἴθε with the indicative of historic tenses, e.g. Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 1537: ἰὼ

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τεθνήζονται ("whether they will live in freedom or die") τεθνήζονται being used in place of ἀποθανοῦνται; similarly Loukianos, *Charon* 17: εἰ ἠπίστατο ὡς ἐπείτης γενόμενος ὁ παῖς τεθνήξεται ("if he knew that when the boy became seven years old he would die") in place of ... ἀποθάνειται.

The NT offers a few examples of this (sometimes as alternative readings): Lk 19:40: ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κεκράζονται (A R W Θ Ψ 063 f<sup>1, 13</sup> π; Epiph Di-dym), where the future perfect functions as a simple future. Periphrastic examples are found in Heb 1:13: ἐγὼ ἔσομαι πεποιθώς, Mt 16:19: ἔσται δεδεμένον ... λελυμένον, Mt 18:18: ἔσται δεδεμένα, and Lk 12:52: ἔσονται διαμεμερισμένοι. MANDILARAS ("Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη καὶ οἱ πάπυροι", *Ἀθηνά* 71 (1970), 130-64) found only one example of the monolectic form of the future perfect in the Papyri (p. 160, i.e. PSI 441, 9 (III B.C.): προεστήξομαι). The periphrastic form with ἔχω in the papyri (e.g. *ᾤ Oxy* 1875, 13 (A.D. VI-VII): ἔχει δοθησόμενα ("He shall have given [them]")) adumbrates the *N* use of ἔχω in the construction of the perfect tenses, i.e. perfect: ἔχω δέσει or ἔχω δεμένο ("I have bound"), future perfect: θὰ ἔχω δέσει or θὰ ἔχω δεμένο ("I shall have bound").

<sup>98</sup> See the many examples cited by JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, §1836.

<sup>99</sup> For more examples, see TZAPITZANOY, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, Vol. I, 261 f.

γα̃ γα̃, εἴθ' ἔμ' ἐδέξω ("Oh Earth, Earth, I wish you had received *me*")<sup>100</sup>. Εἴθε is never used in the NT, but it occurs freely in *N*. The NT uses instead ὄφελον on three different occasions to express unattainable wishes. For example, in 1 Cor 4:8 Paul ironizes the proud Corinthians who behaved as though they were kings, and then lets the crushing verdict, in the form of an unfulfilable wish, fall: καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε. ("I wish you had really reigned as kings – but you haven't!")<sup>101</sup>. This is a development from the classical ὄφελον<sup>102</sup> construed with the present or aorist infinitive<sup>103</sup>. In *EH-B* times, however, ὄφελον (ὄφελον) functions as a kind of adverb in place of εἴθε with the imperfect for present time and with the aorist for past time<sup>104</sup>. During this period the same idea is often expressed by means

<sup>100</sup> See further Euripides, *Alkestis* 536: εἴθ' ἡρόμεν σ', "Ἀδμητε, μὴ λυπούμενον ("oh that we found you, Admetos, without sorrow"). *Heraklidae* 731: εἴθ' ἦσθα δυνατός δρᾶν ὅσον πρόθυμος εἶ ("Oh that you were strong enough to perform what you would like to"), Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* I. 2, 46: εἴθε σοι, ὦ Περικλείης, τότε συνεγενόμην ὅτε δεινότητος ἑαυτοῦ ἦσθα ("I wish, oh Perikles, that I was with you (was your companion) at that time when you were most powerful in your career"), Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 1217: ἰὼ Λαίρειον [ὦ] τέκνον, εἴθε σ' εἴθε [σε] μήποτ' εἰδόμην ("Woe me, child of Laios, I wish, oh I wish, I had never seen you").

<sup>101</sup> The other instances are: 2 Cor 11:1: ὄφελον ἀνείχεσθῃ μου μικρόν τι ἄφροσύνης and Rev 3:15: ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἢς ἡ ζεστός. Gal 5:12: ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόπονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς, uses the future, and though the wish as such is possible, it is not entertained.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 1, 4: ἀλλ' ὄφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν ("we wish that Kyros was alive").

<sup>103</sup> Homeros, *Ilias* III. 428: ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου· ὦ ὄφελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι ("did you come back from the war; how I wish that you had perished in it"), *Odysseia* II. 182-3: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὤλετο τῇλ', ὥς καὶ σὺ καταφθίσθαι σὺν ἐκείνῳ ὄφελες ("and Odysseus perished far away, I wish you, too, had been destroyed with him"), Sophokles, *Trachiniai* 998: ἦν μὴ ποτ' ἐγὼ προσιδεῖν ὁ τάλας ὄφελον ὄσσοις, τόδ' ἀκήλητον μανίας ἄνθος καταδερχθῆναι ("I, wretched man, wish I had never seen ..."), *Oidipous Tyrannos* 1157: ἔδοκ' ὀλέσθαι δ' ὄφελον τῇδ' ἡμέρᾳ ("... I ought to have perished on that day"), *Elektra* 1131: ὥς ὄφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον ("I ought to have left this life earlier"), *Philoktetes* 969: οἴμοι, τί δράσω; μήποτ' ὄφελον λιπεῖν τὴν Σκύρον ("woe is me, what shall I do? I wish I had never left Skyros"), In Sophokles, *Elektra* 1021 we have both εἴθε and ὄφελες: εἴθ' ὄφελες τοιαῦδε τὴν γνώμην πατρὸς θνησκοντος εἶναι ("oh how I wish that you were of this mind now that your father is dead"); Demades, *On the Twelve Years* 26: Ὀφελον καὶ Θηβαίους ἔχειν Δημάδην: ἔτι γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν αἱ Θῆβαι πόλεις ("oh that the Thebans might have had a Demades, for then Thebes would still be a city").

<sup>104</sup> See Ex (LXX) 16:3: ὄφελον ἀπεθάνομεν πληγέντες ὑπὸ Κυρίου; Epiktetos, *Discourses* II. 22, 12: οὐδ' ἔλεγεν πολλάκις ὅτι "ὄφελον ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐπύρεσσον"; ("was he not often saying: 'I wish that I had a fever' "); II. 18, 15: οὐκ εἶπον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ "ὄφελον τις μετὰ ταύτης ἐκοιμήθῃ" ("I did not say to myself, 'Oh that someone might sleep with her' "); Achilles Tatios, *Leukippe and Kleitophon* II. 23, 3: ὄφελον ἔμεινας



of ἵνα with the subjunctive<sup>105</sup>, which gradually in *LB* and *N* times gave place to νά with the indicative of past tense<sup>106</sup>. The expression occurs elliptically as an independent sentence introducing a wish or a curse. Sometimes it is strengthened by εἴθε or another adverb such as ἄμποτε<sup>107</sup> and μακάρι (< ancient μάκαρ, 'happy', 'blessed')<sup>108</sup>. It is obvious that μακάρι

ἐν Βυζαντίῳ· ὄφελον ἔπαθες πολέμου νόμῳ τὴν ὕβριν· ὄφελόν σε κἂν Θράξ νικήσας ὕβρισεν ("you ought to have stayed in Byzantium, you ought to have suffered the customary outrages of war, oh that a Thracian maltreated you after defeating you"); Dion Prousaëus, *To the Nikomedeians* 47: ὄφελον ἐξῆν καὶ τὸν Ἐφεσίων δῆμον ποιήσασθαι ἀδελφὸν ὡμῶν. ὄφελον καὶ τὰ Σμυρναίων οἰκοδομήματα κοινὰ ὑμῖν ἐγένετο ("I wish it were possible to make the people of Ephesus your brothers. I wish that the building of the Smyrnaeans, too, were common to you"); Ignatios, *Smyrnaeans* 12:1: καὶ ὄφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλῆριον θεοῦ διακονίας ("I wish everybody imitated him who is an example of the ministry of God").

<sup>105</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1906, cites, e.g., Epiktetos, *Discourses* IV. 1, 142: ἵνα τις ἐπιστάς διατεινομένῳ σοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον εἴπῃ ("oh that someone might stand up ... and say") and *Acts of Pilate* B 5:2: τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἵνα παραλάβῃς καὶ μέρος ἵνα ἔχῃς μετ' αὐτοῦ ("that you may receive the truth of Jesus and have part in him").

<sup>106</sup> E.g. Prodomos (A.D. XII) III. 269: ἄς ἐγενόμην ἐπαρχος κἂν δεκαπέντε ἡμέρας ("oh that I might become a commander / prefect even if only for fifteen days"), III. 206 ff.: Χριστέ νά τιν ἐπίασα, Χριστέ μου νά τιν ἐπίασα σὰν ἦτον φουσκωμένη νά κάθισα στὸ πλάγιν της, ν' ἄρξάμην ρουκανίζεин ("... I wish I [had] caught her, ... I wish I [had] caught her while she was big, I wish I [had] sat next to her, I wish I [had] started to crunch").

*N*: POLITIS († 1921), *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ Τραγούδια* 162, 22: μπάλα νά τοῦ ῥθῃ σὴν καρδιά ("Oh that a ball might hit his heart!"). Further examples: νά ἐρχόταν τώρα προτοῦ ν' ἀρχίσαι ἡ θύελλα ("Oh that he might come now, before the storm breaks out"), νά μᾶς ζήσης ("may you live unto us, i.e. may we have the joy of your life"), νά σέ χαρῶ ("may I have joy of you / may I be proud of you"), νά ἐβλεπα τὸν γυιό μου κι' ἄς πέθαινα ("Oh that I might see my son (again) and then [I could] die"), κακὸ νά σοῦ ῥθῃ ("may evil befall you"), νά σέ καταπιῇ ἡ θάλασσα ("may the sea swallow you up").

<sup>107</sup> Demotic distich:

ἄμποτε νά 'χα [= νά εἶχα] μάλαμα νά 'χα μαργαριτάρι  
νὰ σέ στολίσω ἀγάπη μου, νά σ' ἔχω γιὰ καμάρι  
("oh that I had gold, oh that I had a pearl  
to ornament you, my love, and have you as my brag")

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the Italian *magari* ('would that it come true!'): " 'Ti hanno dato l'aumento? Sì, magari!' = 'Did you get a raise?' [i.e. rise] 'I wish I had!' " (HAZON GARZANTI's *Il Nuovo Dizionario*, Italy 1990, s.v.). The adverb μακάρι occurs already in Hesychios (A.D. V), *Lexicon*, O 1955 "ὄφελον· ὄφειλον· ὄφελον· εἴθε, μακάρι", while *Souda*, the X<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. encyclopaedic *Lexicon*, at O 994 explains that μακάρι is an adverb used by the uneducated in place of εἴθε: ὄφελος καὶ ὄφελον· εἴθε, μακάρι, εὐκτικῶς. Τὸ δὲ μακάρι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν εὐκτικὸν ἐπίρρημα· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἴθε καὶ αἰεῖθε ("μακάρι is the wishing adverb of the ignorami in place of εἴθε and αἰεῖθε").

νά (as well as εἶθε νά) function in the same way as ὄφελον. Thus, 1 Cor 4:8: καὶ ὄφελον γε ἐβασιλεύσατε resolves itself naturally in *N* into (καὶ) μακάρι (εἶθε) νά εἶχατε βασιλεύσει<sup>109</sup>. Similarly 2 Cor 11:1 becomes εἶθε / μακάρι νά μὲ ἀνεχόσασταν ... and Rev 3:15 into εἶθε / μακάρι νά ἦσουν ζεστός ἢ ψυχρός / κρύος. The NT construction, therefore, is syntactically closer to *MGr* than to *A* Greek despite the surface similarity of its ὄφελον to *A* ὄφελον.

Rm 9:3: ἡχόμην γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ... is different. Had Paul used the present εὐχομαι it would imply that he actually made the prayer. However, shuddering at the thought, he uses the imperfect in order to underline that if this were possible he would have prayed it. Had he used ἡχόμην ἂν the meaning would have been weakened to “I could have had wished” – that would be too unreal or remote<sup>110</sup>. The *N* equivalent would be: θά εὐχόμουν etc. (“I could wish”).

## 2. The Hortative Subjunctive and the Imperative of ἀφίημι

Ἀφίημι, ‘to leave’, ‘to let go’, ‘to permit’, ‘to grant’, ‘to forgive’, etc., occurs in the NT 24 times in the aorist imperative (second person singular and plural) and once in the present imperative (second person plural). The word occurs in three different constructions: (a) as the only verb of the clause in the singular and plural as a direct command (or request)<sup>111</sup>, (b) with the aorist subjunctive of the first person singular and plural<sup>112</sup>, and (c) with an infinitive referring to a third person singular and plural<sup>113</sup>.

GEORGACAS (“Grammatische und etymologische Miszellen” *Glotta* 31 (1951) 224-26) like KORAËS, who derived the word from neut. μακάριον and was followed by HATZIDAKIS, XANTHODIDIS, DEFFNER, *et al.*, suggests the ecclesiastical use of μακάριοι οἱ (e.g. πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι), which gave rise to the form μακάρι (μακάριοι > μακάρι οἱ and by assimilation and contraction of the two *i* sounds > μακάρι). Μακάρι is very frequent in Demotic *N*: μακάρι νά εἶχα καὶ νά σοῦ ἔδινα (“I wish I had and I would give you”), μακάρι νά εἶχε ἔλθῃ ἐφέτος (“I wish he had come this year”). Also the imperfect can be used for wishes of possible realization: μακάρι νά ῥχόταν ἐφέτος (“I wish he would come this year”).

<sup>109</sup> The *N* tr. of 1967 renders it: καὶ εἶθε νά εἶχατε γίνεαι βασιλεῖς, while the low Demotic of 1997 gives it as: καὶ μακάρι νά εἶχατε γίνεαι βασιλιάδες.

<sup>110</sup> This text is quoted a few times in Christian authors in its NT form. On one occasion, however, Photios, *Fragments on the Epistle to the Romans* (ed. K. STAAB) 515, corrects Paul: τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἡχόμην ἂν, τὸ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν μήπω προσελθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ.

<sup>111</sup> Mt 3:15; 5:24, 40; 6:12; 15:14; Mk 11:25; 14:6; Lk 11:4; 13:8; 17:3; Jn 12:7; Act 5:38.

<sup>112</sup> Mt 7:4; 27:49; Mk 15:36; Lk 6:42.

<sup>113</sup> Mt 8:22; 13:30; 19:27; Mk 7:27; 10:14; Lk 9:60; 18:16; Jn 11:44; 18:8.

In the first type, where the imperative is the only verb in the clause, ἄφες has its full verbal force of 'forgiving', 'allowing', etc. A good example of this is Mt 6:12: ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, where the imperative, in the form of a request, denotes an action: "forgive / release [us from] our debts".

In the second type, however, where ἄφες occurs with an aorist subjunctive of the first person, it has lost its verbal force and is reduced to a mere hortative particle taking the place of classical ἄγε and φέρε<sup>114</sup>. Thus, ἄφες in Mt 7:4: ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου does not have its usual verbal force of 'allow', 'permit', etc., but is merely a hortative particle like the English 'let'. Hence, we do not have two verbal ideas, sc. 'allow' and 'cast' but only one verbal idea, sc. 'cast' (ἐκβάλω). The same holds true of Mt 27:49: ἄφες ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἡλίας σώσων αὐτόν, where ἄφες does not mean "Allow us to see if Elias comes" (i.e. two verbal ideas), but functions as an introductory particle introducing the exhortation with the hortative aorist subjunctive (ἴδωμεν)<sup>115</sup>.

We thus find that when in the NT ἄφες occurs by itself, it has its ordinary verbal force ('permit', 'forgive', 'grant', etc.), but when it occurs together with the subjunctive of the first person, it functions as a hortative particle introducing an exhortation<sup>116</sup>. This important difference in the two

<sup>114</sup> Platon, *Phaidon* 86c: ἀλλ' ἄγε, ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦ Κέβης, λέγε ("but come, Kebes", he said, "speak on"), *Sophistes* 235a: ἄγε δὴ, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον ἦδη τὸν θῆρα μηκέτ' ἀνεῖναι ("come, now, it is already our task not to let the wild beast loose"), *Laws* 704a: φέρε δὴ, τίνα διανοηθῆναι ποτε τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθε; ("say, now, what sort of a city might we conceive it to be?"), Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 267: φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λητουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν λελητούργηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ ("And now let me read to you the testimonies about the offices which I have held"), *Philippics III*, 16: φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς Χερρόνησσον, ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι ("well, now, when in Chersonesos, which the king and all the Greeks know to be yours ...").

During *P* times the *A* hortative subjunctive was also introduced by δεῦτε: LXX: Gen 11:3: δεῦτε οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, 37:20: δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, Ex 1:10: δεῦτε οὖν κατασφισώμεθα αὐτούς, Jos 10:4: δεῦτε ἀνάβητε πρὸς με, 4 Kgs 6:13: δεῦτε ἴδετε ποῦ οὗτος, Ps 33 (34): 12: δεῦτε, τέκνα, ἀκούσατέ μου.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, Vol. I, 197: "ἦδη ἐν τῇ μεταγενεστέρᾳ γλώσσῃ τὸ ἄφες λεγόμενον πρὸ τῶν ῥηματικῶν τύπων εἶχε καταστήσασθαι παρακελευσματικὸν μόριον, διὸ ἐλέγετο ἄφες ἐκβάλω Ματθ 7,4" ("already in post-classical Greek ἄφες before verbal forms had become almost a particle expressing command, hence it was said: ἄφες ἐκβάλω Mt 7:4").

<sup>116</sup> A few examples from *P* times include: Epiktetos (A.D. I-II), *Discourses* I. 9, 15: ἄφες δεῖξωμεν αὐτοῖς ("let us show them"); I. 15, 7: ἄφες ἀνθήσῃ πρῶτον ("let it bud first"); II. 18, 24: ἄφες ἴδω, Palladios, 1006d: ἄφες ἴδω, *Council of Ephesus* (431 A.D.) 1285c: ἄφες ἔλθωσιν, *Council of Nicea II* (A.D. 789), 901c: ἄφες σκέψωμαι.

functions of ἄφες has normally escaped the attention of commentators, who treat it undifferentiatedly<sup>117</sup>.

To appreciate the force of ἄφες here it is necessary to go to *B* and *N* times. During this period we find the particle ἄς used exactly as ἄφες is used in the above NT texts<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> See, e.g., DAVIES and ALLISON, *Matthew*, Vol. I, 673. Their only comment is the laconic note "ἄφες invites permission (BDF § 364; cf. 27:49)", while in Vol. III, 627, they note: "Probably ἄφες ἴδωμεν = 'let us see' (*BAGD*, s.v. ἀφίημι 4; cf. 7:4), not 'stop, let us see'." On Lk 6:42 MARSHALL, *Luke* 270, has the equally brief comment: "ἄφες is used in the sense 'please allow me'; sc. ἵνα (B D 364; cf. Mt. 27:49; Mk 15:36).", while NOLLAND, *Luke*, Vol. I, 307-8, does not say a word on the problem, though he translates "Brother, allow me: I will cast out ..." The new *BDAG*, s.v. 5b: "let us see" – correctly.

<sup>118</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΙΣ derives the word from ἄφες by syncope and refers to an unspecified Papyrus from the A.D. VI or VII as well as to Theophanes († A.D. 800) 387 and 394 (*Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, Vol. I, 210). In this he was preceded by SOPHOCLES (*Greek Lexicon*, 260, who refers to *i.a.* Theophanes 593, 7: ἐλθε οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἄς λαλήσωμεν τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην, "Come to us, then, and let us speak on what pertains to peace") and is generally followed by Greek Lexicographers and Grammarians (E.g. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, Vol. II, 1028, ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λεξικό*, Vol. III, 244 and ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις*, Vol. II, 135).

On the other hand, JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1916, argues against the derivation of ἄς from ἄφες and for its derivation from ἐῶ (= ἐάω). He maintains that on account of its irregular inflection (ἀφίω, ἀφεῶ, ἀφέω), ἀφίημι retreated before its synonym ἐῶ (ἐάω). Thus imperative ἔασε won over ἄφες, and accepting a phonopathic contraction became ἄσε and ἄσε. It is this ἄσε rather than ἄφες that was reduced to ἄς.

It may be added here that syncopated ἄς is extremely frequent in *N*, and it is used along with its fuller form ἄσε (e.g. ἄσε με ἡσυχο(ν), 'leave me alone', and ἄς τον ἡσυχο(ν), 'leave him alone'). In *MGr* they may be used synonymously with ἄφησε (ἄφησέ με / τον ἡσυχο(ν), "leave me / him alone"). No distinction in meaning is observable in the three forms. This fact may possibly explain why ἄς is popularly understood to derive from ἄφες, particularly since the verb ἐάω (ἔασε) is now obsolete. With regard to ἄσε, it may be pointed out here that to the present day there are dialects that pronounce ἄφησε as ἄφσε. This easily gives rise to the form ἄσε (ἄφησε > ἄφ<sup>η</sup>σε > ἄφσε > ἄσε).

The problem of derivation in no way impinges on the meaning and function of ἄς. Among the illustrations that JANNARIS offers are: Leontios of Neapolis († 650), *Vita Ioannis* 71, 11: ὁ σκανδαλιζόμενος ἄς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ ἄς δώση κριούς ("he who is scandalized, let him be scandalized and offer rams"); Theophanes Continuatus († 950) 751, 16: ἄς ἴδω αὐτόν ("let me see him"); *Greek Alchemists (PB-B)* 311, 13: ἄς γένηται, 322, 2: ἄς ψήνεται ἕως ὥρας ("let it be baked up to an hour"); 322, 7: ἄς βράζη ("let it seethe"); 324, 3: ἄς καὶ καλῶς ("let it be burned well"); *Apocalypse Mariae (PB-B)*, 123, 7: ἄς ἴδωμεν, 124, 2: ἄς κολάζωμαι ("let me be punished"); 125, 16: ἄς κριθῶσιν ("let them be damned"); Spaneas (XII A.D.), 28 ("with the second person!"): τοιοῦτος ἄς εἶσαι ("be such as you are"), 41: ἄς σε καταπατώσι ("let them trample on you"). Further,

The third construction (with an infinitive) is a border case between the two. Mt 8:22 (Lk 9:60) ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς does not necessitate two verbal ideas (allow, permit, *and* bury), while two ideas are implied in Mk 10:14 (Lk 18:16): ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με<sup>119</sup>. This becomes clearer in Mt 19:14, which adds καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά.

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Glykas († A.D. 1150), 167 f.:

καὶ κἂν ἄς τον ἐκέρδῃσες καὶ κἂν ἄς τον ἐχάρης  
 ἄς εἶδες κἂν ἐνύπνιον,  
 ("and even if you won him, and even if you enjoyed him,  
 even if you saw a dream")

Prodromos (A.D. XII) 1, 104 ff:

ἀλλ' ἄς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς καὶ ἀμεριμνημένος  
 καὶ ἄς ἐκνηθες τὴν λέπραν σου καὶ ἄς ἤφινες ἐμέναν  
 ἄς ἐλάβες ὁμοίαν σου κατῆλου θυγατέραν,  
 ("but would that you sat down quiet and unconcerned,  
 even though you scratched your leprosy and though you deserted me,  
 would that you married one like yourself, the daughter of a huckster")

Staphidas († A.D. 1388), 379 f.:

καὶ ἄς τὰ τρίβης ἀμάδι ... καὶ ἄς τὰ κάμης ἀλοιφῇν  
 ("and may you rub them together ... and make them into an unguent")

The oldest Papyri references to ἄς that I have found in the *PHI* (Inscriptions and Papyri) are Ϙ *RossGeorg* (A.D. VII) III. 22, 9: ἀλλὰ ἄς ἔλθω καὶ εὕρω ὡς ἔφην ("but let me come and find as I said") and Ϙ *Apoll* (A.D. 705-706), 18, r, 14: ἀλλὰ πάντως ἄς καταλάβωσιν με ὅπουδ'α εἰμι ("but at any rate, let them catch up with me wherever I am"). LAMPE, *Patristic Lexicon*, sv. ἄς, refers to *Miracula Artemii* (A.D. VII) 32. Otherwise, the oldest reference I have found is in *Apokalypsis Ioannis* (originally of the A.D. II) *versio tertia* (B times) 320: Κύριε, Κύριε, ἄς ἔλθῃ σύντομα ἡ δευτέρα παρουσία σου ἵνα λάβω τὴν δόξαν μου ("Lord, Lord, let Thy second coming occur soon, so that I may receive my glory"). It occurs in Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos († A.D. 959), *Administration* 45, ἄς ἀποστείλῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τουρμάρχην ἢ βασιλικόν τινα, καὶ ἄς καθέζηται εἰς τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Κετζέου, καὶ ἄς θεωρῇ ("let the king send a *tourmarch* or a royal servant, and let him sit (stay) in Ketzeos' castle and watch"), in Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX) CL, 1229: ἄς ἴδῃ τὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ μεγάλην μονήν ("let him see the glorious and great monastery"), *ib.* 1244, 1249, in *Hippiatrica* (A.D. IX), *Excerpta Lugdunensia* 59, 9: ἄς ἐνῇ δὲ ὁ ἵππος ἐν τόπῳ θερμῷ ("let the horse stay in a warm place"), etc., as well as times without number in the Mediaeval *Historia Alexandri Magni*.

Long after the above discussion was written, I happened to read the interesting article by Κική ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, "Ἄς: ἓνα παράδειγμα συντακτικῆς ἀλλαγῆς" in *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 1065-68, in which she quotes, presumably, the Papyrus referred to by HATZIDAKIS (above): Ϙ *Amherst* II. 153 (A.D. VI-VII): ἄς λάβωσιν οἱ ὄνελάται μίαν ἀρτάβην κριθῆς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου γαῖδαρίου ("let the donkey-drivers receive one artaba barley each for every donkey"). Unfortunately, the *PHI* edition has accented ἄς as ἄς, which explains why the reference was missed in the search.

<sup>119</sup> Even though *N* could render this with αἶς τὰ παιδιὰ νὰ ἔλθουν σ' ἐμένα, ἄς (ἄστε) here has the normal verbal force of ἀφήστε, with which this clause can also be rendered: ἀφήστε τὰ παιδιὰ, κτλ.

In Jn 18:8 Jesus' words (εἰ ἐμὲ ζητεῖτε, ἄφετε τούτους ὑπάγειν) to the officer in charge do imply permission for the disciples to leave. The same is true of 11:44 of Lazaros. On the other hand, Jesus' words to the Syro-phenician woman, ἄφες πρῶτον χορτασθῆναι τὰ τέκνα (Mk 7:27), have no such permission in view.

### 3. The Subjunctive and the Imperative in Prohibitions

In 4 times negative commands or prohibitions for the second person were normally expressed by μή and the present imperative (durative action, e.g. μὴ λῦε), and by μή and the aorist subjunctive (instantaneous action, e.g. μὴ λύσης). For the third person the procedure usually was to use μή with the present (e.g. μὴ λυέτω) or aorist imperative (e.g. μὴ λυσάτω)<sup>120</sup>, cf.: Platon, *Laws* 638: ὦ ἄριστε, μὴ λέγε ταῦτα ("My most excellent friend, do not say these things"), Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 211: μὴ βοηθήσετε τῷ πεπονθόντι δεινὰ ("do not help the sufferer"), *Against Leptines* 101: μὴ λεγέτω τοῦθ'<sup>121</sup> ("such things should not be said").

In the NT, however, a look at a NT concordance makes it immediately plain that μή with the imperative<sup>122</sup> and μή with the subjunctive occur about evenly, which speaks for a dramatic increase of the subjunctive<sup>123</sup>. This NT

<sup>120</sup> Seldom the third person subjunctive, Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 129: μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη με δυσκόλως ἔχειν ("let no one suppose that I am bad-natured").

<sup>121</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Timokrates* 189: μὴ λέγε τὴν ἔκτισιν τούτων ("do not call it the penalty of these"), *Against Meidias* 211: μὴ εὐορκῆτε ("do not swear in truth"), Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* 621: μὴ δέισης ("do not be afraid"), *Lysistrate* 714: μὴ νῦν με κρύψης ὅ τι πεπόνθαμεν κακόν ("do not hide from me the evil that has come on us").

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Mt 6:16: μὴ γίνεσθε, 6:19: μὴ θησαυρίζετε, 6:25: μὴ μεριμνᾶτε, 7:1: μὴ κρίνετε, 14:27: μὴ φοβεῖσθε, 24:6: μὴ θροεῖσθε, Mk 5:36: μὴ φοβοῦ, Lk 7:13: μὴ κλαῖτε, Jn 2:16: μὴ ποιεῖτε, 12:29: μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε, 19:21: μὴ γράφε, Jn 2:16: μὴ ποιεῖτε, 6:43: μὴ γογγύζετε, Act 27:24: μὴ φοβοῦ, Rm 11:18: μὴ κατακαυχῶ, 12:16: μὴ γίνεσθε, 1 Cor 6:9: μὴ πλανᾶσθε, Col 2:16: μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω, 1 Th 5:19: μὴ σβέννυτε, 1 Tim 4:14: μὴ ἀμέλει, Jas 1:7: μὴ γὰρ οἰέσθω, 1 Jn 2:15: μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε, Rev 1:17: μὴ φοβοῦ.

<sup>123</sup> A few examples are: Mt 1:20: μὴ φοβηθῆς, 3:9: μὴ δόξητε, 5:17: μὴ νομίσητε, 5:42: μὴ ἀποστραφῆς, 6:2: μὴ σαλπῖσης, 6:8: μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε, 6:13: μὴ εἰσενέγκης, 6:31: μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε, Mk 5:7: μὴ με βασανίσης, Lk 3:8: μὴ ἄρξησθε, 6:29: μὴ κωλύσης, 11:4: μὴ εἰσενέγκης, 12:4: μὴ φοβηθῆτε, 12:11: μὴ μεριμνήσητε, 14:8: μὴ κατακλιθῆς, 17:23: μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, 18:20: μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, Jn 3:7: μὴ θαυμάσης, Act 7:60: μὴ στήσης, 9:38: μὴ ὀκνήσης, 23:21: μὴ πεισθῆς, Rm 10:7: μὴ εἴπῃς, Col 2:21: μὴ ἄψῃ, μηδὲ γεύσῃ μηδὲ θίγῃς, 1 Th 4:13: μὴ λυπῆσθε, Hb 3:15: μὴ σκληρύνῃτε, 10:35: μὴ ἀποβάλλῃτε, 1 Pt 3:14: μὴ

phenomenon is readily explained by the subsequent history of the subjunctive and the imperative. The encroachment of the subjunctive in the province of the imperative continued until, by the beginning of *B* times, the subjunctive had established itself as the normal way of expressing prohibitions and the imperative had retreated<sup>124</sup> – a situation that still obtains<sup>125</sup>.

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φοβηθῆτε, Rev 7:13: μὴ ἀδικήσητε, 10:4: μὴ αὐτὰ γράψης, 11:2: μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσης, 22:10: μὴ σφραγίσης.

<sup>124</sup> For commands, see Hippolytos, *Against Noetos* 1, 3: ὁ γὰρ εἰς πνεῦμα ἁγίου βλασφημῶν ἐκβλητός γένεται κλήρου ἁγίου (“for he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit shall be an outcast from the holy inheritance”), Athanasios, *De synodi Arimini* 11, 3: οἱ προειρημένοι ἔχθροι καθαιρεθῶσιν (“the afore-mentioned enemies must be put down”), Basilios, *Epistle* LIV. 1: ἐπὶ τοὺς λαϊκοὺς ἀπορριφῶσι (“they must be relegated to the laymen”), Pachomios († A.D. 346), *Excerpta et regula* B 19, 11: μηδεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν κείρηται (“let no one cut his hair”), Eriphanios, *Panarion* I. 345: ἐξέλθε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ ὑγιὲς γένηται (“you demon, come out of him, and let him become well / sound”), *Martyrion Petrou* 30: ἀλλὰ πεμφθῇ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸ παρ’ αὐτῆς (“but what comes from her shall be sent back to her”), 32: ἐκλ[υθ]εῖς συστή καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ (“having broken up let him be held together and not die”), *Council of Chalcedon* (A.D. 451) 905a: ἔλθωσιν οἱ νοτάριοι καὶ εἰπῶσιν (“let the notaries come and say”).

For prohibitions, see LXX: Tob 3:3: μὴ με ἐκδικῆς, Ex 5:9: καὶ μὴ μεριμνάτωσαν ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς, Lev 16:2: καὶ μὴ εἰσπορευέσθω, Dt 2:9: μὴ συνάψῃτε πόλεμον, 9:4: μὴ εἴπης, 2 Kgs 1:20: μὴ ἀναγγείλῃτε, μὴ εὐαγγελίσῃθε, 2 Mac 4:8: μὴ δειλωθῆτε, 4 Mc 2:14: μὴ νομίσητε, Sir 7:7: μὴ καταβάλῃς σεαυτὸν ἐν ὄχλῳ, *Council of Sardica* (A.D. 343), 11: μὴ καταφρονῇ ἐκείνου, Chrysostomos († A.D. 407), *Ad Theodorum Lapsum* I. 1, 50: μόνον μὴ καταπέσης, μηδὲ τὰς χρηστὰς ἐκκόψης ἐλπίδας (“[see to it] that you do not fall off, nor cut off the good hopes”), *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X) III. 853: καὶ μὴ νομίσης, εἶπε με, III. 870: καὶ μὴ μνησθῇς ἡμῶν γαμβρὲ (“and do not remember us, brother-in-law”), V. 2055: μὴν [= μὴ] σοῦ φανῇ, ὅτι κακῶς νὰ εἶπα (“let it not appear to you that I spoke ill-advisedly”), 2057: μὴν [= μὴ] μὴν μὴ προσπάρης αὐριον (“do not chide me tomorrow”), *Chronikon Moreos* (A.D. XIII) 1616: μὴδὲν σκοπήσετε (“do not consider”), 1659: τοῦ νὰ μὴ χάνῃς τὸν καιρὸ (“not to waste time”), Komaros (A.D. XVII), *Erotokritos* I. 228: μὴ κομπῶθῃς πῶς ἀγαπᾷ τὸν κύριον σου κι’ ἐσένα (“do not pride yourself that he loves your master and you”), Papadiamantis († 1911), *Χριστογγεννιάτικα Διηγήματα* 79: ὄχι, μὴν τὸν ξυπνᾷς (“No! do not wake him up”). Very frequent in *N*: μὴ φωνάζῃς (“don’t (keep) shout(ing)”), μὴ παίζῃς (“don’t (keep on) play(ing)”), μὴ με διακόπῃς (“don’t (keep on) interrupt(ing) me”), μὴ τρέχῃς (“don’t (keep) run(ing)”).

<sup>125</sup> See, e.g., the detailed discussion from the point of view of modern general linguistics by ΣΕΤΑΤΟΥ, “Η προστακτική στην Κοινή νεοελληνική” in his *Σημειολογικὲς καὶ Γλωσσολογικὲς Μελέτες*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1998, pp. 189-204.

## VI. The Infinitive

The infinitive partakes of the nature of both the noun and the verb. Its substantival aspects may be deduced from the fact that the infinitive can be substantivized, e.g. τὸ γράφειν, τοῦ πληρῶσαι, τῷ διδάσκειν. Its verbal aspects can be illustrated by the fact that the infinitive can be modified by an adverb (Mt 12:12: καλῶς ποιεῖν), not be qualified by an adjective, can take an object precisely as other verb forms (Mt 6:1: τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν, cf. μὴ ποιεῖτε τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν), and can indicate voice, time, and kind of action (λύειν, λύσειν, λῦσαι, λύεσθαι, λελυκέναι, λύεσθαι, λύσασθαι, λέλυσθαι, λελύσεσθαι).

However, for all its versatility and elegance, and its ability to represent various types of clauses and thus contribute to stylistic variety, the infinitive had one serious disadvantage. The great genius of the Greek language is its inflectional system. Practically all words apart from adverbs, conjunctions, and particles can be inflected<sup>126</sup>. The infinitive cannot be inflected and this appears to be the reason for its gradual extinction. For example, its inability to give exact expression to person, time, and other verbal aspects, that is, its unsuitability for clear and perspicacious communication, led to its substitution by other forms of expression. Already by *LH* times (I-III A.D.) it began to recede in popular compositions and to be replaced mainly by subordinate clauses and other substitutes<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> For the statistical data on the inflection of the verb, see Chapter One, III: "The Classical (Attic) Period".

<sup>127</sup> The density of incidence of the infinitive in -εῖν can be studied by means of the following table. In Homeros it is not yet fully developed. This is done first in *A* times, reaching its zenith in Demosthenes (2.07% of its total word volume). The incidence is steady until the first century A.D. (c. 1.5%). From the LXX (a mere 0.33%) and the NT (0.57%) onwards, especially in works influenced by the Christian scriptures, there is a dramatic decrease, and the figure falls to well below the 1% mark with the exception of such Atticistic authors as Ploutarchos, Aristides, and Dion Prousaes (Chrysostomos).

Author	Length in words	Instances of Inf. in -εῖν	%
Homeros (IX-VIII B.C.)	205,353	801	0.39
Thoukydides (V B.C.)	156,713	1,892	1.20
Euripides (V B.C.)	199,945	2,921	1.46
Herodotos (V B.C.)	191,912	1,911	0.99
Aristophanes (V-IV B.C.)	124,849	1,667	1.33
Platon (V-IV B.C.)	610,584	9,170	1.50
Xenophon (V-IV B.C.)	327,326	5,439	1.66



In the NT, a deviation from *A* (which would have used the circumstantial participle), is the use of the articular infinitive with a superfluous subject. Thus, Mt 26:32: μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με (*A*: ἐγερθεῖς) προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, Lk 10:35: ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ ἐπανερχέσθαι με (*A*: ἐπανερχόμενος) ἀποδώσω σοι<sup>128</sup>.

Menandros (IV-III B.C.)	89,161	1,601	1.72
Polybios (III-II B.C.)	343,721	5,348	1.55
Dionysios Halik. (I B.C.)	438,124	6,672	1.52
Diodoros Sikel. (I B.C.)	495,847	5,823	1.17
Ploutarchos (I-II A.D.)	1,105,114	16,569	1.49
Dion Prousaesus. (A.D. I-II)	186,803	3,228	1.72
Ailios Aristeides (A.D. II)	335,290	6,511	1.94
Athenaios (A.D. II-III)	424,475	4,246	1.00
LXX (Rahlfs)	687,195	2,275	0.33
NT	153,925	883	0.57
Acta Christiana (A.D. II-IV)	117,674	662	0.56
Kallinikos (A.D. V)	22,279	207	0.92
Ioannis Malalas (A.D. V-VI)	99,538	500	0.50
Prokopios (A.D. VI)	311,301	2,860	0.92
Choeroboskos (A.D. V-IX)	375,467	2,212	0.58
Chronikon Paschale (A.D. VII)	128,801	544	0.42
Theophanes (A.D. VIII-IX)	137,005	868	0.63
Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX)	375,907	2,277	0.60
Prodromos (A.D. XI-XII)	3,252	28	0.86

In the Grotta Ferrata MS of *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X) (giving a text that is shorter than that of the Athens MS) I have counted 437 infinitives of various tenses, 75 of which are articular. The text of this MS is about 26,000 words long, giving a percentage of 1.6 of infinitives to the total word volume. When it is remembered that this epic is a mixture of *N* and ancient constructions, the concentration of infinitival constructions ought to be seen as a stylistic affectation rather than as a genuine survival of the ancient infinitive. It is characteristic, for example, that the infinitive with the article in the genitive occurs many times not to express purpose (as in the NT), but in place of the old infinitive with verbs: e.g. Grotta Ferrata: IV. 1030: οὐ δίκαιον δὲ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ διδόναι μᾶλλον instead of οὐ δίκαιον λαβεῖν ("it is not [more] right(eous) to receive but rather to give"). Meter may have been responsible, but it could have been avoided. Similarly V. 105: ἐρώτων δὲ μυστήρια ἐρυθριῶ τοῦ λέγειν (for ἐρυθριῶ λέγειν) ("Mysteries of love that I blush to speak of") and VI. 271: οὐκ ἴσχυε γὰρ τοῦ λαλεῖν instead of οὐκ ἴσχυε λαλεῖν ("he could not tell"). See further: I. 304: εἰ οὐκ ἀπαξιώνετε τοῦ ἔχειν με γαμβρόν σας ("if you do not disdain to have me as your brother-in-law"); II. 181: οὐχὶ συνέθου τοῦ ἔλθειν μετὰ περιχαρίας; ("did you not agree to come along with joy?"); III. 165: βουλευθεὶς τοῦ φορέσαι ("he decided to put on"); VII. 143: εἴθε μοι μᾶλλον τοῦ θανεῖν ἢ κατιδεῖν τοιαῦτα ("Oh that I might die rather than look upon such things"); VIII. 66: χορτάσω σε τοῦ βλέπειν ("I will be sated by looking at you").

<sup>128</sup> Further, Jn 2:24: αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐπίστευεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν (*A*: γινώσκων) πάντας, 2 Cor 2:13: οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀνεσιν τῷ πνεύματι μου

The infinitive is best discussed under its two broad uses: the verbal infinitive and the substantival infinitive.

## 1. The Infinitive in Its Verbal Aspects

Broadly speaking the verbal infinitive is used in two main ways: with verbs of *declaring* that introduce indirect speech, and with all other verbs that also take the infinitive as complement. In the first case, the infinitive can be sometimes replaced by a subordinate clause introduced by ὅτι<sup>129</sup>, while in the second case, where the infinitive assumes future or telic significance, the subordinate clause is introduced by ὅπως, ἵνα, etc.<sup>130</sup> The resolution of the infinitive to a dependent clause began in *A* times with verbs of declaring<sup>131</sup> but is more prominent in the resolution of the telic and ecclastic infinitive<sup>132</sup>. This exchange became far more frequent in *P* times (often with ὥστε)<sup>133</sup>.

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τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν με (*A*: μὴ εὐρών) Τίτον τὸν ἀδελφόν μου. This is a development that continues in later Greek. Cf. *Digenes Akritas* (Grotta Ferrata MS) III. 250-251: Ἐννοιά τις εἰσηλθε μοι, ὦ καλοὶ στρατιῶται, τοῦ προλαβεῖν με ἑαυτὸν καὶ συγχαρίκια δοῦναι ("a thought came to me, my good soldiers, to be the first to offer my congratulations"), IV. 518: καὶ πείθει σε ὁ λογισμὸς δι' ἐμὲ τοῦ θανεῖν σε ("and your reasoning persuades you to die for my sake").

<sup>129</sup> With the declarative infinitive: Ὁ Παῦλος ἐκήρυττε Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι. Analytically, with a subordinate clause: Ὁ Παῦλος ἐκήρυττε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν.

<sup>130</sup> With the infinitive: Mt 11:7: τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι; with a subordinate clause: τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὅπως / ἵνα θεάσῃθε;

<sup>131</sup> E.g. Thukydides I. 87, 42: προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους εἶπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῖεν ἀδίκειν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ("having invited their allies they said that in their opinion the Athenians were acting wrongly"); Platon, *Euthyphron* 15d: νῦν δὲ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι σαφῶς οἶσι εἰδέναι τό τε ὅσιον καὶ μὴ ("but now I know very well that you think you know clearly that which is holy and that which is unholy"), *Alkibiades* 122d: γνώσῃ ὅτι πολὺ τὰνθάδε τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐλλείπει ("you will come to know that what we have here is very wanting in comparison with what they have there"); Xenophon, *Hellenika* V. 2, 18: ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ... ἐξαγγέλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τάκεῖ ἔχει ("we declare that this is how things stand there"), *Anabasis* VI. 5, 19: διδάσκεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία ("to learn that for those who are not victorious there is no salvation").

<sup>132</sup> With ὅπως: Herodotos IX. 117: ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅπως (= ὅπως) ἀπάγειεν σφέας ὅπως ("they prayed the generals that they might be allowed to go back"). With ἵνα: Homeros, *Odysseia* III. 327: λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτός, ἵνα νημερτερὲς ἐνίσπῃ ("beseech him yourself that he may tell you the truth") cf. *Ilias* I. 174 (without ἵνα): οὐδὲ σ' ἐγὼ γε λίσσομαι εἶνεκ' ἐμείο μένειν ("I do not ask you to stay for my sake"). With ὥστε: Herodotos VII. 6: καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρην ὥστε ποιέειν

However, the unrestrained use of ἵνα with the subjunctive in non-declarative clauses as a substitution for the infinitive led to a reaction. This reaction revived the use of the infinitive particularly in place of telic ἵνα clauses, with the result that the infinitive was now mainly used alone, but sometimes also with the article<sup>134</sup>. This happened chiefly in the genitive, a

ταῦτα ("and he persuaded Xerxes to do these things"), Thoukydides V. 17, 2: ψηφισμένων ... ὥστε καταλύεσθαι ("they voted to end (hostilities)").

<sup>133</sup> In particular in semi-telic and ecclastic clauses the infinitive still holds its own in the LXX, the NT, and in compositions of early Christian times: LXX Gen 1:15: ὥστε φαίνειν, Ex 7:2: λαλήσει πρὸς Φαραῶ ὥστε ἐξαποστεῖλαι, Lev 14:21: λήμψεται ἄμνον ... ὥστε ἐξιλάσασθαι, Deut 5:15: ὥστε φυλάσσεσθαι, Jos 8:3: ὥστε ἀναβῆναι, Jdg 3:1: ὥστε πειράσαι, Ru 4:5: ὥστε ἀναστήσαι, 1 Esd 8:27: ὥστε συναναβῆναι, Jer 32:28: ὥστε πειεῖν, Dan 1:12: ὥστε κάπτειν καὶ ὑδροποτεῖν, 1 Mac 1:49: ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι, 2 Mac 2:6: καὶ προσελθόντες τινὲς ... ὥστε ἐπιστημῆσθαι τὴν ὁδόν, 4 Mac 1:6: ὥστε καταλύσαι, Mt 10:1: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά, Lk 4:29: ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὄφρους ... ὥστε κατακρημνῆσαι, Rm 7:6: ὥστε δουλεύειν, *Acta Barnabae* VII. 9: παρεκάλει ὥστε ἐπίσκεψιν λαβεῖν ("he prayed that he [Paul] might visit"), *Actorum Thomae, consummatio* 291, 12: τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἀνέπεισεν ὁ Θωμᾶς ὥστε μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν ("Thomas has persuaded our wives so as not to have intercourse with us"), I. Malalas (A.D. V-VI), *Chronographia* 26, 16: εἰ μὴ πρόνοιά τις ἦν τοῦ πάντων κυρίου ὥστε μοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀποκαλύψαι ("if a certain providence was not there from the Lord of all things, so as to reveal to me this matter"), Leontios Byz. (A.D. VI), *In ramos palmarum* (hom. 3), 267: εἰς μείζονα φθόνον διηγείρεν ὥστε ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ ("therefore he [God] incited them [the Jews] to a greater hate, so as to serve his purpose"), Eusebios, *Evangelike Protoparaskheue* IV. 3, 12: πολλὰ μηχανησάμενων τῶν γονέων ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, *Historia Ecclesiae* II. 17, 6: ἐτίθεσαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι, I. Malalas, *Chronographia* 65, 4: καὶ ἠΰξατο Μωϋσῆς τὸν θεὸν ὥστε πέμψασθαι αὐτῷ πληγὰς ("and Moses prayed to God so as to send him [Pharaoh] plagues"), Skylitzes (A.D. XI-XII), *Synopsis historiarum* Nikephoros 20, 59: ἐξεληθόντος γὰρ ποτὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὥστε γυμνᾶσαι τὸν στρατόν ("on one occasion when the king had gone out into the field in order to train the army ..."), I. Kantakouzenos (A.D. XIII-XIV), *Historiai* I. 45, 22: οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμεθα ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἀνελεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι τοῖς θρόνοις τῶν βασιλέων ("nor had we thought of this from the beginning, that is, to kill one and to seat the other on the royal throne").

<sup>134</sup> Mt 2:2: ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι, 6:1: μὴ ποιεῖν ... πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι, 11:7: τί ἐξήλθατε ... θεάσασθαι; 20:19: παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι, 25:35: ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, 26:2: παραδίδοται εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι, Mk 3:14: ἵνα ἀποστείλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν, 7:4: ἃ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν, 13:3: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπεῖρειν, Act 5:3: διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ... ψεύσασθαι σε; 18:10: οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοι τοῦ κακῶσαι σε, Rm 6:12: μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ... εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν, 11:8: ἔδωκεν ... ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, 1 Th 3:5: ἐπέμψα εἰς τὸ γνῶναι, Heb 10:7: ἰδοὺ ἤκω ... τοῦ ποιῆσαι ... τὸ θέλημα σου, *Acta Thomae* 8, 15: κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ ("he went down to the spring to draw water"), 18, 20: τὰς μὲν θύρας ἔστησεν κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τοῦ ἡλίου βλέπειν

construction that occurs in the many uncouth instances in *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X), where the telic force is absent<sup>135</sup>.

*N* preserves only traces of the ancient infinitive. Tzartzanos<sup>136</sup> considers the second member in the analytical formation of the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect in the active and middle to be genuine aoristic infinitive forms: active: ἔχω λύσει (δέσει, λάβει, κτλ.) ("I have loosened", etc.), εἶχα λύσει (δέσει) ("I had loosened", etc.), θὰ ἔχω λύσει (δέσει, λάβει) ("I shall have loosened", etc.); passive: ἔχω δεθῇ ("I have been bound"), εἶχα δεθῇ ("I had been bound"), θὰ ἔχω δεθῇ ("I shall have been bound"). This finds the support of Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, 142 f. Among the many examples of the infinitive which Hatzidakis, *Einleitung*, 190 ff., quotes are a Bible translation made in Constantinople in 1547 in Hebrew characters for Jews, where the infinitive lacks the final *v*: τοῦ χωρίσει, φυλάξει, γεννήσει, σκηώσει, δουλέψει, δώσει, κράξει, as well as similar examples from Southern Italy.

*N* uses also a number of ancient infinitives in substantival sense: τὸ εἶναι ("being"), τὸ λέγειν ("in the words of"), τὸ γίγνεσθαι ("being"),

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πρὸς τὸ φῶς ("he placed the doors towards sunrise to look towards the light"); *Protevangelium Jacobi* (A.D. II) 4:14-15: ἀπέκλεισεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μήτραν σου, τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι σοι καρπὸν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ("the Lord God has closed up your womb so that you would not give seed in Israel"); 5:5-7: κατέβην εἰ τὸν παράδεισον αὐτῆς τοῦ περιπατήσαι ("I went down to her garden to walk"); 41:43-44 ("Textus omnibus testibus communis") καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἰωσήφ ἡτοιμάσθη τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν ("and behold, Joseph prepared himself to go out"); Malalas, *Chronographia* 35:6: ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὸν πράττειν καὶ τελεῖν τὴν μαγανειάν ("he taught him how to make and perform the incantation"); 54:2: πράξαντάς τι ... τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι εἶναι ἄξιον ("worthy of being remembered"); 160:15: καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ κτίσαι τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ("and go away to build Jerusalem"); Theophanes, *Chronographia* 31:12: καὶ τοῦ εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὸν ἐγκαίνιασμον αὐτῶν ("and that he might be present at their inauguration"); 32:23: ἐκκόψασα τοῦ ζῆν ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ("cut off from living now and in future time").

<sup>135</sup> See, e.g., the following passages from the Grotta Ferrata MS: I. 304: εἰ οὐκ ἀπαξιώνετε τοῦ ἔχειν με γαμβρόν σας ("if you do not disdain to have me as your brother-in-law"); II. 91: καὶ μὴ θελήσης τέκνα σου τοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀδίκως ("and do not wish that your children will be slain in vain"); II. 181: οὐχὶ συνέθου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν μετὰ περιχαρίας; ("did you not agree to come along with joy?"); II. 289: ἄρα ποιήσει με Θεὸς ἄξιον τοῦ ἰδεῖν σε; ("I wonder, will God enable me to see you?"); III. 165: βουληθεὶς τοῦ φορέσαι ("he decided to put on"); VII. 143: εἶθε μοι μάλλον τοῦ θανεῖν ἢ κατιδεῖν τοιαῦτα ("Oh that I might die rather than look upon such things"); VIII. 66: χορτάσω σε τοῦ βλέπειν ("I will be sated by looking at you"); VIII. 193: δόξα σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Θεὸς ... τοῦ μὴ φέρειν ἀφόρητον πόνον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μου ("he said, praise be to God ... that I do not have to bear an unbearable pain in my soul").

<sup>136</sup> TZARTZANOS, *Neοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, Vol. I. 327 ff. On the other hand, JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, Appendix VI, § 18, considers these constructions to be imitations of the analytical formation of these tenses in the Romance languages.

“becoming”), τὸ γινώσκειν (“knowledge”), τὸ σκέπτεσθαι (“thought”, “thinking”), etc.

## 2. The Substantial Aspects of the Infinitive

The articular infinitive makes its appearance with the first use of the article. It is found in Theognis Eleg. (fl. c. 550 B.C.), 1:565: τοῦ συνιεῖν, Simonides Lyr. (fl. 510 B.C.), fr. 93: τὸ δοκεῖν, and Pindaros (fl. c. 500 B.C.), *Olympian Odes* 59: τὸ διδάσασθαι.

Although the substantial infinitive is well-developed in *A*, it reaches the peak of its varied uses in late *EH* and *PB* times, during which its substantial character overshadows its verbal one, making it almost the equivalent of an abstract noun. We see the seeds of this development in the NT, e.g. Phil 1:21: ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος (= ζωή ... θάνατος); 2:6: τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ (= τὴν ἰσότητα πρὸς ...);<sup>137</sup> 2:13: τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν (= θέλημα, ἐνέργεια); Rm 7:18: τὸ θέλειν παράκειται μοι (= θέλημα); Mk 12:33: τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον (= ἡ ἀγάπη πρὸς ...). For later (mediaeval) examples see notes 132 and 133, above.

Although it lingered on till after mediaeval times<sup>138</sup> and still survives in *N*, it is so circumscribed that it can hardly be called functional. Perhaps what contributed to its extinction was precisely its substantial use. Already by late *B* times (e.g. *Digenes Akritas*) the use of the article in the genitive exceeded that of expressing purpose or futurity, rendering the infinitive an ordinary substantive. Lacking the versatility of the substantive (its endings), the chances for its survival were rather slim.

## VII. The Participle

The participle is both an adjective and a verb. It is thus usual to distinguish between two main uses of the participle: the adjectival and the adverbial (in which the verbal aspects of the participle come to the fore).

The adjectival participle stands in lieu of an adjective either in attributive position (e.g. Jn 4:10: ὕδωρ ζῶν (unarthrous); τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ζῶν (articulated))<sup>139</sup> or in predicative position (e.g. τὸ ὕδωρ ζῶν [*sc.* ἐστίν]). An impor-

<sup>137</sup> *N* can render this with a dependent clause: τὸ νὰ εἶναι ἴσα μὲ τὸν Θεόν.

<sup>138</sup> See the evidence in HATZIDAKIS, *Einleitung*, 142 and 190 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. 1 Tm 1:10: τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ (“the sound teaching”).

tant syntactical difference here is that the attributive participle describes a noun or equivalent, whereas the predicative participle makes a statement about a noun or its equivalent; in fact, it constitutes the main clause of the sentence.

The adverbial participle, on the other hand, takes the place of an adverb and thus corresponds to the various types of adverbs expressing time, mode, means, condition, purpose, etc. Because it expresses the circumstances in which the action of the main (finite) verb takes place, this participle is called circumstantial participle. It is equivalent to a dependent clause that expresses time, mode, means, purpose, etc., cf. Jn 16:8: ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον ("having come [i.e. when he has come] he will reprove the world").

## 1. The Adjectival Aspects of the Participle

### a. The attributive participle

Because this participle describes some characteristic of the leading word, the NT follows *A* not only in the use of this participle, but also in substituting for it a relative clause. Thus, Jn 12:1: Λάζαρος, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦς takes the place of the participle ἐγερθεῖς. Analogically, Jn 14:24: τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός could have been substituted for by the relative ὃς ἐπέμψεν με<sup>140</sup>.

This parallel use of the attributive participle and its equivalent, the relative clause, continues to obtain in literary compositions until *B* times<sup>141</sup>. It is not certain, however, that both alternatives were just as current during this

<sup>140</sup> Mt 5:41: ὅστις σὲ ἀγγαρεύσει (= τῷ ἀγγαρεύσονται σε), 7:24: πᾶς ὅστις ἀκούει (= ὁ ἀκούων), Lk 2:4: εἰς πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἣτις καλεῖται Βηθλεέμ (= ἡ καλουμένη), 7:37: γυνὴ ἣτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀμαρτωλὸς (= οὐσα), Act 16:17: οἵτινες καταγγέλουσιν (= καταγγέλλοντες), 17:11: οἵτινες ἐδέξαντο (= δεχθέντες), Col 1:15: ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ (= ὢν), 1 Tm 4:10: Θεῷ ζῶντι, ὃς ἐστὶν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων (= ὢν), 2 Tm 1:5: πίστεως, ἣτις ἐνέγκησεν (= τῆς ἐνέγκησάσης), 2:18: Ὑμέναιος καὶ Φίλητος, οἵτινες ... ἡστόχησαν (= οἱ ἀστοχήσαντες), Heb 9:2: ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν ἁρτῶν, ἣτις λέγεται Ἄγια (= ἡ λεγομένη), 13:7: μνημονεῦτε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν (= τῶν λαλησάντων).

<sup>141</sup> For the attributive participle, see Prokopios, *Wars* I. 3. 13: τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ... τράγω δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μυκωμένῳ ("the present fortune ... a bound and bellowing he-goat"), I. 15, 20: ὄρη ἀπότομα καὶ χιόσι κεκαλυμμένα ("steep mountains covered with snow"), Anna Komnene, *Alexias* VI. 5, 2: τὸν τε Ῥογέρην καὶ τὸ Γίδον καλούμενον, (= ὃν καλοῦσιν), and for its relative equivalent, see Prokopios, *Wars* II. 15. 9: Ἰωάννην, ὃν Τζιβόν ἐκάλουν (instead of τὸν καλούμενον).

period in popular speech, since with the opening of the *LB* period the participle retreated before the analytic relative clause<sup>142</sup>. This development continues into *N*, in which, though the ancient variety is generally circumscribed, the participle has found new areas of use. Cf. Τζαρτζάνου, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις* I, who devotes no fewer than eighteen pages to the uses of the participle in *N* (pp. 329-346).

## b. The predicate participle

This functions as a complement to an auxiliary verb or a verb of incomplete predication, as, e.g., Lk 14:18: ἔχε με παρητημένον, Act 9:21: δεδεμένους αὐτοὺς ἀγάγει. It is best treated under the Verbal Aspects of the Participle.

## 2. The Verbal Aspects of the Participle

### a. With verbs of incomplete predication

In the NT a number of verbs, such as ἐπιμένω, λανθάνω, τελῶ, παύομαι, ἀμαρτάνω, ποιῶ, take a participle to complete their predication<sup>143</sup>.

### b. The periphrastic use

From the point of view of the NT, the interest lies in the use of the participle together with a form of εἶμι (sometimes γίνομαι<sup>144</sup> and once δι-

<sup>142</sup> E.g. see Prokopios, *Wars* III. 1, 10: Ἴστρον, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσι (= τὸν καλούμενον), III. 15, 15: λιμένα ... ὃν δὴ Στάγνον καλοῦσιν, III. 20, 3: τοῦ λιμένος, ὃν Μανδράκιον καλοῦσιν, and often in Prokopios. Further Anna Komnene, *Alexias* I. 15, 4: Μιχαὴλ ὃν καὶ Ῥαϊκτωρα ὠνομάκαμεν ("Michael whom we also have called Rhektor"); V. 6, 1: Λατίνος δὲ ... ὃν καὶ κονοσταύλον ὠνόμασεν, (= τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον); VII. 9, 5: ἠφάνησε μὲν τὸν χάρακα ὃν προφθάσας διώρυξε (= τὸν διωρυχθέντα), VIII. 9, 6: Μιχαὴλ ὁ οἰνοχόος, ὃν καὶ πυγκέρνην συνηθῶς ... ὀνομάζουσιν (= τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον).

<sup>143</sup> Mt 11:1: ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διατάσων, Mt 27:4: ἥμαρτον παραδοῦς αἷμα ἁθῶν, Jn 8:7: ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες, Act 5:42: οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες, 10:33: καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος, 12:16: ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἐπέμενε κρούων, 21:32: ἐπαύσαντο τύπτοντες τὸν Παῦλον, Eph 1:16: οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, Heb 10:2: οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο προσφερόμεναι, 13:2: διὰ ταύτης (sc. φιλοξενίας) ἔλαθόν τινες ξενίσαντες ἀγγέλους.

<sup>144</sup> E.g. Mk 1:4: ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ... κηρύσσων.

ατελῶ<sup>145</sup>) mostly<sup>146</sup> in order to stress the idea of linearity, e.g. Lk 5:17: ἦν διδάσκων (instead of the simple imperfect ἐδίδασκεν)<sup>147</sup>.

This construction occurs also in *A* times<sup>148</sup>, but *P* times see a substantial increase in incidence<sup>149</sup>. In a text-mass equivalent to Mark's gospel (11.994 words), the figures for the following authors are:

Polybios c.200-118 B.C.	Mark	Luke	I Klement	Acta Thomae	Kassios Dion 150-235 A.D.	I. Malalas (VI A.D.)
2	18	20	0	6	0	1

The striking frequency in the NT is probably to be attributed to the popular character of these writings. The almost total absence of this in Malalas (he evinces the circumstantial and independent participles), who has given us the first great writing in Demotic Greek, is undoubtedly to be

<sup>145</sup> Act 27:33: ὅσιοι διατελεῖτε μὴθὲν προσλαβόμενοι.

<sup>146</sup> Linearity is not stressed in Mk 6:52: ἦν πεπωρωμένη, Lk 4:16: ἦν τεθραμμένος, 4:17: ἦν γεγραμμένος, 5:17: ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες, I Cor 5:2: πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ.

<sup>147</sup> See further: Mt 16:19: ἐσται δεδεμένος ... λελυμένος, Lk 24:38: τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστε; Mk 1:6: ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ... ἦν ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας, 1:13: ἦν πειραζόμενος, 1:22: ἦν διδάσκων, 1:39: ἦν κηρύσσων (A C D W Δ f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup>, etc.), 2:18: ἦσαν νηστεύοντες, 4:38: ἦν καθεύδων, 5:11: ἦν βοσκομένη, 9:4: ἦσαν συλλαλοῦντες, 10:22: ἦν ἔχων κτήματα πολλά, 10:32: ἦν προάγων, 13:13: ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι, 13:25: ἔσονται πίπτοντες, 14:4: ἦσαν ἀγανακτοῦντες, 14:40: ἦσαν καταβαρυνόμενοι, 15:40: ἦσαν θεωροῦσαι, 15:43: ἦν προσδεχόμενος, Lk 1:10: ἦν προσευχόμενον, 1:21: ἦν προσδοκῶν, 1:22: ἦν διανεύων, 2:26: ἦν κεχρημασμένον, 2:33: ἦν ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ θαυμάζοντες, 2:51: ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος, 4:31: ἦν διδάσκων, 4:38: ἦν συνεχομένη, 4:44: ἦν κηρύσσων, 5:1: ἦν ἐστώς, 5:10: ἔση ζωγρῶν, 5:16: ἦν ὑποχωρῶν, 5:17: ἦσαν καθήμενοι, 5:18, 29; 8:40; 9:32, 45, 53; 11:14; 13:10, 11; Jn 2:17: ἔστιν γεγραμμένος, Act 2:2: ἦσαν καθήμενοι, 8:28: ἦν ὑποστρέφων, 27:33: ὅσιοι διατελεῖτε μὴδὲν προσλαβόμενοι, Eph 4:32: γίνεσθε χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, Phil 2:26: ἐπιποθὼν ἦν, Heb 5:12: γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος, Rev 3:2: γίνου γρηγορῶν, 16:10: ἐγένετο ἐσκοτωμένη.

<sup>148</sup> See, e.g., Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 701: βεβουλευκῶς ἔχει ("he has decided"), Thoukydides, I. 38: ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν ("they like us"), Aeschines, *Epistle* 10: φεύγων ὥχομην ("I fled"), Demosthenes, *Kata Philippou* I, 50: ἐσόμεθ' ἐγνωκότες ("we shall know"), Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII. 7, 27: καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις ("you have conquered and hold").

<sup>149</sup> In addition to the NT examples, cited above, see also Polybios, V. 17, 7: προσανέχων διῆγε ("he was waiting"), V. 103, 5: ἔμενε προσανέχων ("he was biding his time"), *Acta Barnabae* V. 5: ἤμην ἐγὼ διακονῶν, Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*: Vita 17: τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔχει μὴ γευσαμένη τινός ("it is the third day she has not tasted anything"), *Council of Chalcedon* II. 1, 3: τρεῖς μῆνας ἐποίησε διαγιγνώσκων ("he took three months to judge / decide"), *Vita Epiphani* 60 B: ἔμεινεν ... ἀποκράζων ("he remained crying"), *Apophthegmata Patrum* 141, 27: ἔμεινα μέσον ῥάμνων στήκων ("I remained standing among prickly shrubs").



explained by the general retreat of the participle at this time, which eventually led to the total failure of this construction in *N*<sup>150</sup>. This would imply that the periphrastic construction was essentially an attempt to emphasize the linearity of the action by using two words, rather than one. In other words, popular feeling had lost the sense of linearity found in the imperfect, and was looking for more expressive substitutes<sup>151</sup>. We thus see the rise and the fall of the periphrastic construction, which in the NT is at its peak.

### c. The perfect participle

During *LH* and *B* times the reduplication of the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect ceased to be used, giving place to their alternative form (current since *H* times), the perfect passive participle with ἔχω<sup>152</sup>. This led to one of the two ways in which *N* forms these tenses in the active voice: (a) by means of ἔχω and the accusative passive perfect participle or (b) by means of ἔχω and the infinitival form of the active aorist<sup>153</sup>. Thus *A* λέλυκα and δέδεκα in *N* become: ἔχω λύσει (ἔχω δέσει) (more frequently) or ἔχω λυμένο(ν) (ἔχω δεμένο(ν))<sup>154</sup>.

Analogically, the passive perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect are in *N* formed (a) by means of ἔχω and the infinitival form of the middle or passive aorist, or (b) by means of εἶμαι (= εἰμι) and the nominative of the per-

<sup>150</sup> *N*, like *A* (in the main) uses the simple imperfect form for linear action.

<sup>151</sup> For example, such cases as Lk 1:22: ἦν διανεύων, 4:31: ἦν διδάσκων, 4:44: ἦν κηρύσσων, 5:10: ἔση ζωγρῶν, 5:16: ἦν ὑποχωρῶν, 8:40: ἦσαν προσδοκῶντες, 11:14: ἦν ἐκβάλλων and Mk 1:6: ἦν ἐσθίων, 1:22: ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων, 2:18: ἦσαν νηστεύοντες, 4:38: ἦν καθεύδων, 10:32: ἦν προάγων, 15:40: ἦσαν θεωροῦσαι express no more than the respective simple imperfect form of the verb represented by the participle would have expressed.

<sup>152</sup> Diodoros Sikeliotes II. 53, 7: ἔχει περιεχυμένους ("he has spread out"); III. 36, 5: ἔχοντες ἐξηρημένα ("they have hanged up"), Josephus, *Antiquitates* VII. 9, 7: κεκρυμμένους εἶχον ("they had hid"); XX. 11, 65: εἶχες γεγραμμένην ("you had written"); Ploutarchos, *Camillus* XXXIV. 4: ἔχοντες παρεσκευασμένον ("they had prepared"); *Pelopidas* XXXV. 4: εἶχε κεκρυμμένους ("had hid"); *Flaminius* XX. 4: συντετρημένην εἶχεν ("had connected"); Eunapios, I. 221: εἶχε συνήρασμένους ("had taken hostage").

<sup>153</sup> The middle passive perfect participle is extensively used in *N*: λεγόμενος (so-called), χαρούμενος (joyful), χαρισάμενος ('having granted'), τρεχάμενος ('running'), τρεχούμενος (= τρέχων, 'current'), χρειάζομενος ('needed'). For a longer list, see ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΣ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις* I, § 207, 2.

<sup>154</sup> The *A* pluperfect ἐλελύκειν (ἐλελύκη) in *N* becomes εἶχα λύσει (normally) or εἶχα λυμένο(ν) and the future perfect θά ἔχω λύσει (normally) or θά ἔχω λυμένο(ν).

fect middle or passive perfect: thus *A* λέλυμαι in *N* is ἔχω λυθῆ (more frequently) or εἶμαι λυμένος, *A* pluperfect ἐλελύμην is εἶχα λυθῆ (more frequently) or ἤμουν λυμένος, and *A* future perfect λελύσομαι in *N* is θὰ ἔχω λυθῆ (more frequently) or θὰ εἶμαι λυμένος (see also under 8. Tenses). A NT example adumbrating this *N* development is Lk 2:26: καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον, where the periphrastic construction does not emphasize linearity, but is merely an alternative for the pluperfect<sup>155</sup>.

#### d. Other uses of the participle

There is a tendency in *PN* writings to use the analysis more frequently than the participle (which still occurs, e.g. Mt 6:16: ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες [cf. vs. 18]). The constructions are usually impersonal, e.g. φανερόν / δῆλον ἐστὶν ὅτι. In the NT δῆλον (ἐστὶν) ὅτι occurs twice, in 1 Cor 15:27: ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ... δῆλον [sc. ἐστὶν] ὅτι and Gal 3:11: ὅτι δὲ νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιούται παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ δῆλον [sc. ἐστὶν] (in converse order). Φανερόν occurs in Act 4:16: ὅτι μὲν γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονεν δι' αὐτῶν πᾶσιν ... φανερόν [sc. ἐστὶν]. The order is immaterial. The construction is equivalent to: φανερόν ἐστὶν πᾶσιν ὅτι ... According to JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 2124, δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι became obsolescent, giving way to φανερόν ἐστὶν ὅτι, which continued till *M* times. The equivalent of this in *N* is φαίνεται ὅτι / πῶς ("it seems that"), εἶναι φανερό(ν) ὅτι / πῶς ("it is evident that")<sup>156</sup>.

#### e. The circumstantial participle

The golden age of the circumstantial participle was in *A* times. Jannaris quotes three classic examples, the sentences in Demosthenes, *To Aphobos* 5, Platon, *Symposion* 181d, both of which contain 8 participles each, and Platon, *Gorgias* 471a-c, which contains no fewer than 13 participles<sup>157</sup>.

Because the participle gives minimal information, most of which has to be inferred from the context, it did not lend itself to popular use. The NT

<sup>155</sup> Other examples of this are: Mk 6:52: ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ καρδία πεπωρωμένη ("their heart had been hardened"), 15:26: καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένη, Lk 4:16: οὐ ἦν τεθραμμένος, 17: εὗρεν τὸν τόπον οὐ ἦν γεγραμμένον.

<sup>156</sup> JANNARIS (writing in 1897) uses only φαίνεται πῶς and εἶνε (!) φανερό(ν) πῶς, but in current *N* ὅτι is at least as frequent.

<sup>157</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 2164. In his more recent edition, John BURNET (OCT) reads the last example as two sentences.

still uses the circumstantial participle freely, but at the same time we observe a tendency to replace it by the analysis of a dependent clause. Cf. Jn 20:20: ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Κύριον, Act 17:1: διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, Lk 18:31: παραλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς with Mt 7:27: καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἔπεσαν καὶ ἦν ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη<sup>158</sup>.

The circumstantial participle still occurs in *Digenes Akritas*<sup>159</sup> and *Chronikon tou Moreos*<sup>160</sup>, but its fate is now sealed<sup>161</sup>. This should not be

<sup>158</sup> See further Mt 12:1: ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰ τῶν σοριμάτων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπείνασαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τίλλειν στάχυν καὶ ἐσθίειν, 17:18: καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ ἔθεραπεύθη ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης, Mk 3:13: καὶ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ προσκαλεῖται οὓς ᾔθελεν αὐτός, καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, 10:10-11: καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ περὶ τούτου ἐπρώτων αὐτόν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην μοιχᾶται ἐπ' αὐτήν, Lk 4:9: ἤγαγεν δὲ αὐτόν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐστῆσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν κάτω.

<sup>159</sup> *Digenes Akritas* (the Escorial text) 62: καὶ τότε πάλιν ὁ Ἀμπαρᾶς ψευδόμενος τοὺς λέγει ("then the Emir lying said to them"). In the Athens MS II. 436: καὶ ταύτας θεασάμενοι ἐκπληξίς τούτους εἶχε ("and having seen these they were struck by awe"). However, the analysis is more frequent: Escorial text 217-24: καὶ ἀφότις εὐλογήθησαν ἐχαίρετον μετ' αὐτήν· καὶ ἀφότις ἐκοιμήθηκεν ... ἔτεκεν παῖδα ... ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐμεγάλωσεν καὶ ἐγέννην τετραέτης, ἐχέρισε καὶ ἐμάθανε ("and ever since they were blessed [*sc.* married] he enjoyed himself with her; and after he had slept [with her] ... she bore a boy ... he was born and grew up and became four years old, and began to learn").

<sup>160</sup> *Chronikon tou Moreos* 1496: ἀκούσων [= ἀκούσαντες] ταῦτα οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὁμοίως, ἀρχίσασιν νὰ ἔρχωνται ("when the leaders and the people heard these things, they began to come"). But even here the analysis is the rule, e.g. 1690-94: ἐνταῦθα ὠρμώσασιν κ' ὑπάουν ὁλόρθα εἰς τὴν Μεθώνην· τὸ κάστρον ἤρσαν ἔρημον, ὅλο ἦτον χαλασμένο· τὸ εἶχασιν χαλάσασιν ὁμπρὸς οἱ Βενετικοί, διατὸ ἐκρατοῦσαν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι ἐκεῖ τὰ πλεντικά τους ("From here they pushed onwards and went straight to Methone; they found the castle deserted, it was all in ruins; the Venetians had destroyed it earlier, because the Romans [*i.e.* the Byzantine Greeks] kept their boats there").

<sup>161</sup> In Prokopios, *Wars*, the circumstantial participle is very frequent, e.g. I. 1, 11: ὥστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἶτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίσαν κωφόν ("they drew the string to their breast and let the arrow fly without force"), I. 2, 8: Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὤδε τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν ("Arkadios, having arranged the affairs of the empire and his own house, died"); I. 2, 13: πεζῇ δὲ βαδίζων ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνῃν ἦει. καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐαραράνης ἰδὼν τῶν παρόντων ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ προσιών εἶη. καταπλαγείς ... ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς στρέψας τὸν ἴππον ὀπίσω ἀπῆλυνε ("he came to Varananes on foot. And when Varananes saw him, he asked one of those present who the approaching person might be. Astounded ... the

understood to imply that the participle is obsolete in *N*, but the ancient variety of uses is greatly circumscribed. *N*<sup>162</sup>, however, has all the different types of the ancient circumstantial participle (temporal, causal, conditional, concessive, etc.)<sup>163</sup>, but uses more frequently their analytic equivalents. Cf. the instructive example of the conditional participle in Lk 9:25: τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς; with its equivalent, the conditional protasis, in Mt 16:26: τί γὰρ ὠφελήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐάν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;

## VIII. Subordinate Clauses

### 1. Final Clauses

Here the New Testament departs from *A* usage in several respects. In *A* times final clauses were expressed by ὅπως (more often), ἵνα (less often), and sometimes ὥς with the subjunctive before primary tenses<sup>164</sup> and before secondary tenses with the subjunctive or the optative and one of the above particles<sup>165</sup>. Thus, while, for example, Thoukydides uses ἵνα some 53

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king turned his horse around and rode away"). This is generally true of the Atticistic authors of *P-B* times.

<sup>162</sup> Three genuine participial forms are in use in *N*: (a) participles ending in ὄντα(ς) (ὄντα(ς) formed from the active present stem and corresponding to the English gerund in *-ing* (e.g. ἔρχεται γελῶντας, "he is coming smiling"; βλέποντας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀλλάξας πορείαν, "seeing the danger, I changed course"), (b) participles ending in *-μένος* and formed from the middle or passive aorist stem (e.g. λυμένος, δεμένος) (e.g. ὁ ἥλιος ἦταν ὥρα βασιλεμένος, "the sun had set sometime ago"), and (c) participles ending in *-όμενος* or *-όμενος*, and formed from a present stem: e.g. τρέχω gives τρεχόμενος and τρεχάμενος, πετῶ gives πετούμενος and πετάμενος, λαλῶ gives λαλούμενος, λέγω gives λεγόμενος and λεγάμενος, χαίρομαι gives χαρούμενος, etc.

<sup>163</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις* I, § 207-213, on the uses of *N* participles.

<sup>164</sup> E.g. Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* III. 2, 3: βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελῇται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι ("a king is chosen not in order that he might take good care of himself, but also that those who chose him will do well on account of him"), *Anabasis* I. 3, 15: πείσομαι ἢ δυνατόν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ("I will obey, if possible, so that you may know that I know how to be ruled, too").

<sup>165</sup> E.g. Optative after a secondary tense: Xenophon, *Anabasis* I. 3, 4 λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμεν, ἵνα εἴ τι δεοίτο ὠφελοῖν αὐτόν ("I took you and went, so that I might be of use to him if he needed anything"); II. 6, 21: φίλος ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην ("he wanted to be a friend to the powerful, so that if he wronged someone he would not have to come under judgment"); Platon, *Kriton* 43b: ἐπίτηδες σε οὐκ ἤγειρον ἵνα ὥς ἤδιστα διάγῃς ("I did not wake you up on

times, ὅπως occurs in the same work no fewer than 171 times. This is in sharp contrast to the NT, where ἵνα occurs 683 times as against 54 times for ὅπως<sup>166</sup>. The fact that the use of ὅπως was revived for a time by the Atticistic movement indicates the more popular character of ἵνα.

Another departure from *A* usage is the absence from the NT of final clauses that employ the optative after a secondary tense<sup>167</sup>. Yet another departure is the failure of examples of the fourth-class potential conditions that employ the optative<sup>168</sup>. Finally, one more area of departure is the gradual disappearance of ὅπως and the total disappearance of ὥς in final clauses during the subsequent period. Thus, the tendencies that are at work in NT times continue their logical course of evolution until ἵνα, in the form of *vá*, becomes and remains the sole telic particle.

## 2. Consecutive Clauses

In *A* times a distinction was made in ecclastic (i.e. consecutive) clauses between those clauses that expressed an actual occurrence and those that

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purpose, so that you might spend your time enjoyably"); Thucydides III. 22, 8: παρα-  
νίσχον ... φρυκτούς ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν ("they [the Plataians],  
too, put up fire-signals in answer, in order to confuse the messages given and impede  
help"); Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 3, 21: ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κύρος ἤρρισκεν,  
ὥς καὶ σὺ εὐ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι  
("Kyros found many excuses, as you, too, know well, so as to take you unprepared and  
to bring us here"); II. 5, 4: ἔδοξε μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα,  
ἐξέλκομεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν ("it seemed to me right that we speak with one  
another, so as to remove / in order that we might remove, if possible, each other's  
distrust"). Optative after a primary tense: Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV. 7, 19: ὁ ἄρχων τοῖς  
"Ἑλλήσιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς ("the  
governor sent a guide to the Greeks in order to lead them through their hostile country");  
Platon, *Apologia* 22a: δεῖ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν πλάνην ἐπιδειξάι ... ἵνα μοι καὶ ἀνέλεγ-  
κτος ἡ μαντεία γένοιτο ("but it is necessary that I show you my wandering ... so that  
my oracle might be made thoroughly irrefutable").

<sup>166</sup> Based on MOULTON-GEDEN's *Concordance*, i.e. ἵνα alone 569 times, ἵνα μὴ 109 times, and ἵνα τι 5 times. The figures for ὅπως include the simplex form, ὅπως ἂν, and ὅπως μὴ. A count in the *Vollständiges Konkordanz* would no doubt give slightly different figures, but in this comparison the difference is thoroughly negligible.

<sup>167</sup> See JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1953, for a list of *P* authors who employ the optative erroneously, revealing the fact that they had lost the feeling for it.

<sup>168</sup> The NT contains but parts of this type of conditional clause: I Pt 3:14: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχετε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. The apodosis is probably intended as μακάριοι ἔστέ (i.e. first class [objective] condition). If this had been a potential case, it would have taken the form μακάριοι ἂν εἴητε. Other examples of incomplete potential cases are: Act 8:31 (only the apodosis) and 24:19 (only the protasis).

expressed only a resulting possibility. Those clauses that expressed an actual occurrence resulting from a preceding cause ("so that") were constructed mainly by ὥστε and a finite mood (usually indicative): e.g. Sophokles, *Elektra* 1172: θνητὸς δ' Ὀρέστης, ὥστε μὴ λίαν στένε ("Orestes was mortal, so do not mourn him excessively"), while those clauses that expressed a possible occurrence resulting from a preceding cause ("so as to") were constructed with ὥστε and an infinitive, e.g. Euripides, *Hekabe* 730: σὺ δὲ σχολάζεις, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐμέ ("but you have leisure so as to admire me").

In the NT ὥστε with infinitive occurs about 50 times, almost always in ecbatic clauses<sup>169</sup>. In two cases (Jn 3:16 and Gal 2:13) ὥστε occurs with indicatives. Blaß tried, unsuccessfully, to excise these instances of ὥστε from the NT<sup>170</sup>.

Bearing in mind classical usage, we find that ὥστε as a hypotactic conjunction with indicative in Jn 3:16: οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, and Gal 2:13: καὶ συνεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη, are used with their classical force, where the ecbasis is portrayed as an actual occurrence. Here then we have a classical construction which seems to be absent from the LXX.

Nevertheless, the NT occurrences of ὥστε with infinitive seldom express a consequent possibility; they are used mostly to express actual result<sup>171</sup>. As Burton puts it "Since, however, an actual result may always be conceived of as that which the cause in question is calculated or adapted to

<sup>169</sup> ΜΑΝΔΙΛΑΡΑ, "Ἐρευναι", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 65 (1961), 174, refers to four of the exceptions, in which ὥστε + inf. expresses purpose (e.g. Mt 10:1: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτά and Mt 27:1: συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ... ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν), and finds the same construction in the non-literary Papyri: *Φ Oxy* XVI. 1901, 51-3 (A.D. VI): κελεύω ὥστε τὸ ἡμισυ μέρος ... δοθῆναι ("I command that the half part ... be given"); XVI. 1899, 12-3 (A.D. 476): ἤξιωσα ὥστε ταύτην μοι παρασχεθῆναι ("I demanded that it [a machine] be given to me"); *Φ Oxy* VI. 891, 12-15 (A.D. 294): ἔδοξεν ὥστε σὲ μὲν προστῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα ... δοθῆναι ("it was decided that you be proposed, but that the expenditures ... be given").

<sup>170</sup> Cf. *BDR* § 391, n. 4, and see ROBERTSON, *Grammar* 1000. BLAß is criticized also by MOULTON, *Prolegomena* 209, for his cavalier treatment of the present texts.

<sup>171</sup> E.g. Mt 8:28: δαμονιζόμενοι ... χαλεποὶ λίαν ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύειν, 13:32: καὶ γίνεται δένδρον, ὥστε ἐλθεῖν τὰ πετεινὰ ... καὶ κατασκηνοῦν, 15:32: καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς, ὥστε τὸν ὄχλον θαυμάσαι, Mk 2:2: καὶ συνήχθησαν πολλοὶ ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν, Lk 5:7: καὶ ἔπλησαν ἀμφότερα τὰ πλοῖα ὥστε βυθίζεσθαι αὐτά, Act 15:39: ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμὸς ὥστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, 1 Cor 5:1: ἀκούεται ... τοιαύτη πορνεία ... ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν, 1 Th 1:8: ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ... ἐξεγλήλυθεν ὥστε μὴ χρειᾶν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν τι.

produce, the infinitive may be used when the result is obviously actual"<sup>172</sup>. Thus, we may grant that Mt 15:33: πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ἄρτοι τοσούτοι ὥστε χορτᾶσαι ὄχλον τοσούτον;<sup>173</sup> expresses only a possible or prospected result. However, Mt 8:24: ἰδοῦ σεισμός μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων and 12:22: προσηνέχθη ... τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν are clearly cases where the infinitive construction has encroached on the classical indicative construction.

Thus, not only is the distinction between actual and possible result blurred in the NT, but in line with popular development – according to which ecclastic clauses are shunned, while at the same time ὅτι, ἵνα, and even ὅπως are substituted – the NT, too, follows these developments in expressing result (with the consequence that now telic and ecclastic clauses are not always clearly distinguished), e.g. Mt 8:27: ἐθαύμασαν λέγοντες· ποταπὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὅτι (= ὥστε, so that) καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ; Mk 11:28: τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα (= ὥστε, so as to) ταῦτα ποιῇς; Lk 16:26: μεταξύ ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως (= ὥστε, so as to) οἱ θέλοντες μεταβῆναι ... μὴ δύνωνται<sup>174</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> BURTON, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses* 99. BURTON exemplifies: "Thus if senselessness tends to credulity, one may say οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε ὥστε τὸ ἀδύνατον πιστεύετε or οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε ὥστε τὸ ἀδύνατον πιστεύειν, with little difference of meaning, though strictly the latter represents believing the impossible simply as the measure of the folly, while the former represents it as the actual result of such folly".

<sup>173</sup> Mt 10:1: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν seems to be intended result.

<sup>174</sup> Further examples: ὅτι: LXX Ex 3:11: τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ὅτι πορεύσομαι πρὸς Φαραῶ, ... καὶ ὅτι ἐξάξω τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ; Jn 7:35: ποῦ μέλλει οὗτος πορεύεσθαι ὅτι οὐχ εὐρήσομεν αὐτόν; Theodoretos († A.D. 457), *Interpretatio in Psalmos* 80, 168: τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπέσχον τοῦ πιστεῦσαι τῷ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ, ὅτι τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ... ἤραντο πόλεμον ("so much did they desist from believing in the God of all things, that they took up the fight against them"), *Apophthegmata Patrum* (c. A.D. 500) 252c: εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθε μέτρον ὅτι ἡσθένει καὶ κληνῆρης ἦν ("he came to such a state that he became sick and was bed-ridden").

With ἵνα: LXX Job 7:16: οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσομαι ἵνα μακροθυμήσω, Lk 22:32: προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν, Josephos, *War* I. 596: φάρμακον ... ἡμῖν φέρε καὶ βλέποντός μου ταχέως ἀφάνισον ἵνα μὴ καὶ καθ' ἄδου φέροιμι τὸν ἀλάστορα ("bring to us the poison and destroy it before my eyes, so that I may not carry with me the avenging demon to Hades"); *Antiquities* I. 70: δύο στήλας ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ... ἵνα καὶ τῆς πλινθίνης ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἡ λιθίνη μείνασα παράσχη ("making two columns, one of brick and one of stone, so that though the one made of brick might wear off because of the heavy rain, the one made of stone would remain and supply"), XII. 152: διδῶσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρεῖας ὑπηρετοῦσι τὰ αὐτάρκες, ἵνα ... προθυμότερας παρέχωσιν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ("let enough provisions be given to those who

Bearing in mind that *N* has no functional infinitive, popular speech uses πού (ὅπου) with indicative (so that) and πού (ὅπου) with νά and subjunctive (so as to): εἶπε, εἶπε πού μᾶς (ἐ)ζάλισε (“he talked and talked so that we became [he made us] dizzy”), κλαίει καὶ δέρνεται πού σοῦ ξεσχίζει τὴν καρδιά (“he weeps and beats himself so that it tears your heart”), εἶναι πού νά σέ πιάνη τρέλλα (“this is such (so) as to make you mad”).

### 3. Concessive Clauses

Among the particles used in concessive clauses are: (a) εἰ καί, ἐὰν καί, whereby the clause assumes the truth or the ultimate possibility of the supposition<sup>175</sup>, having the meaning of “(al)though”, (b) καί εἰ, καὶ ἐάν, whereby the clause assumes that the supposition is untrue or unlikely and without any significance for the fulfilment of the apodosis<sup>176</sup>. Its meaning is “even if”, “even though”.

serve, so that they will be the more eager to give themselves for our cause”), Plutarchos, *The Fortune of Alexander* 333a: ὃ κακίστ’ ἀνθρώπων, τί μοι πάποτε τοιοῦτον συνέγνωσ, ἵνα τοιαύταις μὲ κολακεύσης ἡδοναῖς (“Oh vilest of men, when did you ever learn of such behavior on my part, that you should now flatter me with such pleasures?”), Athanasios, *History of the Arianists* 76, 4: οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις, ἵν’ ὡς βασιλεὺς πιστευθῇς (“for it is not a question of a Roman court, so that you might be believed as a king”), Malalas (c. A.D. 480-570), *Chronographia* 26: οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς τοιοῦτος ἔρως κατεῖχεν, ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσετε (“nor had such an eros taken hold of you, so that you would ask about it”).

With ὅπως: LXX Ex 14:12: πάρες ἡμᾶς ὅπως (= ὥστε) δουλεύσωμεν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, 20:26: οὐκ ἀναβήσῃ ἐν ἀναβαθμίῃ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν μου, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃς τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου, Num 32:9: καὶ ἀπέστησαν τὴν καρδίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ὅπως μὴ εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν γῆν.

<sup>175</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Ilias* V. 419: τῷ νῦν Τυδεΐδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστιν, φραζέσθω (“... though he is very brave”), Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 408: εἰ καὶ τυραννεῖς, ἐξισωτέον τὸ γοῦν ἴσ’ ἀντιλέξαι· τοῦδε γὰρ καὶ γὰρ κρατῶ (“although you are king, I will oppose you with my words as an equal, for here I, too, am king”), Demosthenes, *Peri Eirenes* 15: ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καὶ πάννυ φησί τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθητοὺς εἶναι (“they know exactly, though someone said that they are quite insensitive”), Platon, *Laws* 829d: ὅσοι δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τίμιοι ... τὰ τῶν τούτων ᾄδέσθω ποιήματα, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ μουσικὰ πεφύκη (“as for those who are excellent and honorable ... let their poems be sung though they are not musical”).

<sup>176</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Odysseia* XIII. 291: κερδαλέος κ’ εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ὅς σε παρέλθοι ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι, καὶ εἰ θεὸς ἀντιάσειε (“... even if a god were to encounter him”), Aischylos, *Choephoroi* 298: καὶ μὴ πέποιθα, τοῦργον ἔστ’ ἐργαστέον (“and even if I do not trust it [i.e. the oracle], the work must be accomplished”, see Βερναρδάκι, *Ἑρμην. Λεξικόν* s.v. καὶ εἰ), Xenophon, *Anabasis* III. 2, 24: ὁδοιορῆσαιεν ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίποισι βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι (“and he would make roads for them



In the NT the first type occurs some twenty times, but there is no example of the second type. In most of the texts instancing the first type, the meaning is “although” or “though”<sup>177</sup>, and in a few “even though”, “even if”<sup>178</sup>. In four instances the sense seems to be “if also”<sup>179</sup>.

The text that has caused the greatest difficulties in interpretation is 1 Cor 7:21: δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. For a detailed discussion of this text, see Ch. Five, 7.

#### 4. Conditional Sentences

The NT generally adheres to the classical constructions of conditional clauses. The most conspicuous departure here is that there is no complete conditional sentence of the fourth (potential) type using the optative in both the protasis (the *if*-clause) and the apodosis (the *then*-clause). The few examples that exist use the optative either in the protasis or in the apodosis.

Among the peculiarities of conditional sentences is the fact that sometimes a conditional sentence may be composed of elements that belong to two different types of condition. This phenomenon appears already in *A*. There, conditional sentences occur whose protasis belongs to one type while the apodosis belongs to another, e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 4, 19: οὐδὲ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὄσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι σωθῶμεν<sup>180</sup> (“even though there were many bridges, we would not be able to save ourselves”). This fact raises the question whether the mixed conditions of the NT are a

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even if they wanted to go away in four-horse chariots”), Thucydides VII. 68, 3: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν ὁμοίως δράσουσιν (“for even if they win, they will do this likewise”), Platon, *Symposion* 210b: ὥστε καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιεικὴς ᾖ τὴν ψυχὴν τις ... ἔξαρκεῖν αὐτῷ (“so that even if one is moderate in soul ... it will be enough for him”), *Lysis* 221b: ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ μῆτε ἀγαθαὶ μῆτε κακαὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ ἐὰν ἀπόληται τὰ κακὰ (“therefore, there will be good and bad desires even though evil is destroyed”).

<sup>177</sup> Mk 14:29; Lk 11:8; 18:4; 2 Cor 4:16; 5:16; 7:8 (2 x); 7:12; 12:11; Phil 2:17; Col 2:5; Heb 6:9.

<sup>178</sup> 2 Cor 7:8b; 11:6 (εἰ δὲ καί); 1 Pt 3:14 (These, too, belong to the first type).

<sup>179</sup> 2 Cor 5:3 (εἰ γε καί); 11:15; Gal 3:4 (εἰ γε καί), and Phil 3:12.

<sup>180</sup> Platon, *Apologia* 25b: πολλὴ γὰρ ἂν εὐδαιμονία εἴη περὶ τοὺς νέους εἰ εἷς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς διαφθεῖρει, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὠφελοῦσιν (“the youth would be most fortunate if there was only one who corrupted them but many who profited them”), Xenophon, *Anabasis* V. 6, 7: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δεῖξαιμι ἂν, εἰ μοι τινα βούλεσθε συμπέψαι (“I would also show you these, if you will send someone with me”).

result of inability to use the optative correctly<sup>181</sup> or whether they are dictated by the special twist that the author wants to give his conditional sentence.

The nearest we come to a potential condition in the NT is 1 Pt 3:14: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχετε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. The apodosis is incomplete. The simplest thing to do here is to add the indicative ἐστέ (objective case). In a regularly constructed potential condition, on the other hand, the apodosis would have been: μακάριοι ἂν εἴητε. However, had this been the intended sense, the author would hardly have left the apodosis with the simple μακάριοι. The question then is: was the author incapable of forming a regularly potential condition, or did he intentionally choose the objective case for the apodosis, because only in this way could he express his meaning? A comparison between the eventual condition of vs. 13 and the potential condition of vs. 14 seems to imply that there was probably "a method in the madness". 1 Pt 3:13: καὶ τίς ὁ κακῶων ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ γένησθε; ("who is ever going to harm you if you zealously follow that which is good?") uses the eventual type of condition as the more probable case, since he builds his argument on a citation from the OT that supports the general notion that a righteous person will ordinarily receive praise rather than harm. However, the possibility always exists that Jesus' followers might suffer unjustly. This was their Lord's own experience. So, the author contemplates now also this second possibility, which is more remote, yet fully possible. To express this, he switches over to the potential mode: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχετε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι ("but even if you should suffer for the sake of righteousness, blessed"). He leaves it at that. Had he completed his sentence regularly, he ought to have written μακάριοι ἂν εἴητε ("you would be blessed"), but this would have been too unreal<sup>182</sup>. It would have put a question mark to a basic experience of the

<sup>181</sup> The circumstance, that attempts to using the optative in conditions are concentrated in Luke-Acts, would probably imply lack of facility on the part of NT authors in handling the optative.

<sup>182</sup> So *Acta Ioannis* 113: Ἰωάννη, εἰ μὴ ἦς ἐμός, εἴασα ἂν σε γῆμαι ("John, if you were not mine, I would have let you marry"). Conditional sentences, where the protasis is thought of as a mere possibility (potential) while the apodosis is expressed as more definite, obtain in all periods of the language: e.g. Euripides, *Antigone* Frg. 211: τί δεῖ καλῆς γυναικός, εἰ μὴ τὰς φρένας χρηστάς ἔχοι ("what must be required of a good woman / wife, other than that she has good senses"). Platon, *Charmides* 173c: εἰ δὲ βούλοιο γέ, καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν εἶναι συγχωρήσωμεν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ("and if you should wish, we would accept that prophecy, too, is a science of future events"), *Menon* 80d: εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐντύχοις αὐτῷ, πῶς εἴσῃ ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ σὺ οὐκ ᾔδῃσθα; ("even if you should meet it, how will / would you know that this is what you do not know?"), Loukianos, *Timon* 15: εἰ γέ τἀληθές ἐξετάζοις, ἄμφω σοι εὐλόγα δόξω ποιεῖν ("if you should really investigate the truth, you will / would

early Christian Church. By leaving it incomplete, he either intended his readers to understand it as an objective condition with ἐστέ, or to let the reader supply the appropriate apodosis (ἐστέ or εἴητε) according as the case might be.

Owing to the gradual retreat of the future indicative, those conditions of the objective and eventual type that referred to the future were now expressed by the subjunctive (with ἐάν), which already had made inroads at the expense of the optative (in the potential type of conditions). This can be seen in the disagreement of the MSS over the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive: Mt 18:19: ἐάν συμφωνήσουσιν (X C D E L N Δ), but v.l. ἐάν συμφωνήσωσιν (B K W Γ f<sup>1</sup> 28 565 1010 1241), Lk 19:40: ἐάν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν (X A B L N W Δ 1010), but v.l. ἐάν οὗτοι σιωπήσωσιν (Θ Ψ 063 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup>), Rev 2:22: ἐάν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν (X A 2050), but v.l. ἐάν μετανοήσωσιν (C). The use of ἐάν spread also to the present indicative, e.g. 1 Jn 5:15: ἐάν οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀκούει ἡμῶν, 1 Th 3:8: νῦν ζῶμεν ἐάν ὑμεῖς στήκετε (in reverse order to emphasize the apodosis). All these phenomena are but part of the developments that were taking place and that are witnessed also in the LXX and the Papyri<sup>183</sup>. This development

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think that I do both with reasonableness”), Kyrillos Hierosol., *Katechesis* 13, 22: καὶ εἴ τις ἐρευνήσῃ, εὕρησιν καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας (“and if someone should investigate, he will / would find additional causes”). Since these examples are exact parallels to the kind of construction we have in 1 Pt 3:14, they confirm the suspicion that the mixed condition is an intentional construction rather than the result of ignorance or inadvertency.

<sup>183</sup> For the LXX see Lev 22:9: ἐάν βεβηλώσουσιν αὐτά (B) (v.l. -σωσιν M), and Jb 22:3: ἐάν σὺ ἤσθα τοῖς ἔργοις ἀμεμπτος (*pace* MOULTON, *Prolegomena* 168, cf. also SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἐάν). For the Papyri, see *ᾤ Tebt* 58, v, 2, 56 (111 B.C.): ἐάν δεῖ σε συνπτεσεῖν (“if you must meet”), *BGU* 2333, 19 (A.D. 143-44): ἐάν φαίνεται (“if it appears”), *ᾤ Tebt* 333, 13 (A.D. 216): ἐάν ἦσαν τι παθόντες (“if they had suffered in any way”), *ᾤ Par* 18, 10 (A.D. III): ἐάν μάχουσιν μετ’ ἐσοῦ (“if they fight with you”). For later times the following may be cited: *Test XII Patr.*, Justin, *Trypho*, 67: ἐάν ἀποδείκνυτε (“if you prove”), Ailianos (A.D. II-III), *Varia Historia* 4, 24: ἐάν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ὀρέξεις ἐξίστασθε (“if you shun your desires for one another”); Theodoretos († A.D. 457), *Interpretatio in XIV Epist. sancti Pauli* (MIGNE 82: 352): ἐάν τε καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ... εὐαγγέλιον ἐκκήρυχθη (“if the gospel was preached by me, too”); I. Malalas († c. A.D. 570): φύγωμεν ἐάν σωθῇσόμεθα (“let us flee, if we are going to save ourselves”); Theophanes († A.D. 817) 281: ἐάν ἐστιν, Leo († 910), *Taktika* (MIGNE) 107: 9, 75: ἐάν χωροῦνται. For early and middle *N* see *Διγενής Ἀκρίτας* (A.D. X), who still uses εἰ with the indicative: 4373: εἰ γὰρ ἀνδρείος γέγονεν (“if he has shown himself brave”), 4525: εἰ δὲ ... μέλλεις, 4672: εἰ ... ἠθέλησε, and ἐάν with the subjunctive: 217: ἂν φύγῃς ἔχω τὰ περὰ, ταχέως σὲ καταφθάνω (“if you flee, I have the wings, I’ll overtake you in no time”), 185, 191, 197, though *Χρονικὸν Μορ-έως* (c. A.D. 1300) uses ἂν with ind. or subj.: 1249: τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ τὰ ἀβάπτιστα [ἀβάπτιστα] ὄρκον ἂν σὲ ποιήσουν (“if unbaptized folk take an oath ...”). *N*, in which ἐάν

finally led not only to the disappearance of the optative in these uses from *N*, but also to that of εἰ as well as to the general use of the subjunctive with εἰάν (ἄν)<sup>184</sup>.

Conditions of the first class (objective) may take a variety of forms.

a. The protasis may be introduced by an interrogative particle, the apodosis being the answer to the question, e.g. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 274: ἐξήμαρτε τις ἐκῶν; ὀργή καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτε τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτου ("if anyone has sinned willfully ... if anyone has sinned unwillingly ...")<sup>185</sup>. The NT is not without its examples: Jas 5:13: κακοπαθεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, προσευχέσθω· εὐθυμεῖ τις, ψαλλέτω· ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν, προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ... καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτόν ("if anyone among you is suffering ... if anyone is glad ... if anyone is sick ...")<sup>186</sup>.

b. The protasis may be an imperative, in which case the apodosis is introduced by καί, e.g. Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 1027: φράζε καὶ πεπράζεται (lit.: "say it, and it will have been done")<sup>187</sup>. For the NT may be cited Eph

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(ἄν) is almost the only conditional particle, is a direct continuation of this development. It constructs the first type of conditions (which corresponds to the objective case) with εἰάν (ἄν) and the indicative of any tense: Σολωμός (A.D. XIX) 53: ἐὰν μισοῦνται ἀνάμεσά τους, δὲν τοὺς πρέπει ἐλευθερία ("if they hate each other, no freedom is becoming them", i.e. "they do not deserve freedom"), Λασκαράτου (A.D. XIX), *Γραφή Ἀποκριτική*: κί· ἂν οἱ γυναικες λὲν [λένε = λέγουσιν] πῶς σ' ἀγαποῦνε ("even if women say that they love you"), Κρυστάλλη (1868-1894), *Σκιαὶ τοῦ Ἄδου, I, Τὸ Φάντασμα*: ἂν θές [= θέλεις] νὰ δεῖς τὰ Τάρταρα, ... 'κεῖ κάτω νὰ κατέβεις ("if you want to see Tartaros, ... you must go down there"). See also ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, II, 62.

<sup>184</sup> E.g. the fourth type of conditions in *N* using εἰάν (ἄν) (less frequently ἅμα, σὺν ὁσάκις) – often expressing iteration – with the subjunctive in the protasis and the present or future indicative (or imperative) in the apodosis: ΤΡΑΥΛΑΝΤΩΝΗ, *Διηγήματα*, 262: θὰ γελάσετε, ἂν σᾶς τὸ πῶ [= εἴπω] ("you will laugh, if I tell you"), εἰάν δεχθῆς χρήματα ἀπ' αὐτόν, θὰ εἶσαι γαῖδαρος ("if you accept money from him, you will be an ass"), ἅμα ἀκούσης νέα, πές μου ("if you hear any news, inform me"). For more examples, see ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις* Vol. B, 64-66.

<sup>185</sup> See also Epiktetos, *Encheiridion* 15: περιφερόμενον γέγονέ τι κατὰ σέ; ἐκτεῖνας τὴν χεῖρα κοσμίως μετάλαβε. παρέρχεται; μὴ κάτεχε. οὕτω ἤκει; μὴ ἐπίβαλλε πόρρω τὴν ὀρεξιν, ἀλλὰ περίμενε, μέχρις ἂν γένηται κατὰ σέ ("Has anything that is passed around been brought to you? Stretch forth your hand elegantly and take it. Is it being taken away from you? Do not detain it. Has it not been passed to you? Do not let your appetite force its way to it, but wait").

<sup>186</sup> Another examples is: 1 Cor 7:21: δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μὴ σοι μελέτω ("if you have been called as a slave, let not that trouble you").

For *N* may be cited: πεινᾷς, φάε! ("if you are hungry, [go ahead and] eat!"), ἔχεις χρήματα (λεπτά), δώσε ("if you have money, give [sc. pay]").

<sup>187</sup> Other examples include: Sophokles, *Elektra* 1207: πείθου λέγοντι κούχ ἀμαρτήση ποτέ ("trust my words and you will never falter"), Platon, *Theaitetos* 149b:

4:26 (citing LXX Ps 4:4): ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε (“if you [happen to] get angry, [see to it that you] don’t sin”) and Jn 2:19: λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν (“if you destroy this temple, I will build it again in three days”)<sup>188</sup>.

c. The protasis may use a prepositional phrase or its equivalent, e.g. Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 142: ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν (“so that if it had depended on him [sc. the king of Persia], they would have disbanded many times over”), Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 49: ἐπεὶ διὰ γ’ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπωλώλειτε (“since if it had depended upon you, you would have perished long ago”). I am not aware of any such examples in the NT.

d. Finally, the protasis may take the form of a relative clause. For examples of this, see under “Relative Clauses”.

Jannaris<sup>189</sup> points out that in *P* times εἰ and εἰάν gradually took on identical meaning – as did also their correlatives ὅτε and ὅταν at a later time – being different only with respect to their construction. But already before our era the syntactical difference, too, broke down, and the more phonodynamic alternatives of the two pairs of words prevailed over their weaker associates. This means that by NT times εἰ and ὅτε are retreating gradually to

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ἐννόησον δὴ τὸ περὶ τὰς μαίας ἅπαν ὡς ἔχει, καὶ ῥῶον μαθήσῃ ὃ βούλομαι (“understand how the whole matter stands about the midwives, and you will learn more easily what I want you to”), Lukianos, *Dialogues of the Gods* 6, 2: εὐρυθμα βαῖνε, καὶ ὄψει ὅτι πλείους ἀκολουθήσασί σοι ἢ τῶν Διονύσου Μαινάδων (“walk in rhythm, and you will see that more people will follow you than Mainads Dionysos”), *Ignorant Book Collector* 29: τοὺς κουρέας τούτους ἐπίσκεψαι, καὶ ὄψει τοὺς μὲν τεχνίτας αὐτῶν ξυρὸν καὶ μαχαιρίδας καὶ κάτοπτρον ... ἔχοντας (“pay a visit to the hairdressers, and you will see that masters have only a razor, a pair of scissors and a mirror”).

<sup>188</sup> Most of the following passages are referred to by JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1977: Mt 4:19: δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁγίους ἀνθρώπων, 7:7: αἰτήτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ζητήτε καὶ εὕρησεται· κρούετε καὶ ἀνοίγησεται ὑμῖν, 11:29: ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ... καὶ εὕρησεται ἀνάπαυσιν, Lk 7:7: εἰπέ λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήτω ὁ παῖς μου, 10:28: τοῦτο ποιεῖ καὶ ζήσῃ (“if you do this, you will live”), Jas 4:7: ἀντίστη τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ φεύζεται ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, ἐγγίσσατε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐγγιεῖ ὑμῖν, Rev 4:1: ἀνάβα ὧδε, καὶ δεῖξω σοὶ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα.

The LXX, too, exhibits this phenomenon: Sirach 2:6: πιστευσον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀντιλήμψεται σοι, 3:17: τέκνον, ἐν πραύτητι τὰ ἔργα σου διέξαγε, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου δεκτοῦ ἀγαπηθήσῃ.

For post-NT literature may be cited Hermas, *Shepherd: Vision* I. 1, 9: προσεύχου πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ ἰάσεται τὰ ἀμαρτήματά σου, *Life of Epiphanius* (MIGNE) 41c, 49b, 96c, 85d, *passim*.

For *N I* may cite: κάνε αὐτὸ ποῦ σοῦ λέ(γ)ω καὶ δὲν θά τὸ μετανοιώσεις (“if you do what I tell you, you will not regret it”), πῆγαινε νὰ τὴν ἐπισκεφθῇς καὶ θά σὲ δεχθῇ μὲ χαρὰ (“if you go and visit her, she will receive you with joy”). Very frequent.

<sup>189</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1987.

yield totally to *ἐάν* and *ὅταν* respectively by A.D. 600, particularly in popular speech. Thus, from Polybios' time on also *ἐάν* and *ὅταν* are constructed with the indicative<sup>190</sup>.

The above development had the opposite effect whereby authors who aimed at a more literary level than colloquial speech began substituting *εἰ* and *ὅτε* for *ἐάν* and *ὅταν*. It is in this light of morphological evolution that the NT use of these conjunctions with the subjunctive is to be understood, e.g. Phil 3:11: *εἰ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*<sup>191</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. the following passages: Polybios IV. 32, 5: *ὅταν μὲν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἢ πρὸς ἐτέρους πολεμοῦντες ἐν περισπασμοῖς ᾗσαν* ("when they, fighting against each other or against others, were distracted"); VI. 39, 4: *ἀλλ' ἐάν ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς ... τινες ἐκουσίως καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο διδῶσι* ("but in skirmishes or some other such occasion ... some of them willingly and of set purpose give themselves to it"); XIII. 7, 8: *ἐπειδὴν ἐκ τῆς καθέδρας ἀνέστησε τὴν γυναῖκα* ("whenever he raised the woman from the chair"); XIII. 7, 10: *ὅταν προσήρεισε ταῖς χερσὶ πρὸς τὰ νῶτα τῆς γυναίκος* ("when he thrust his hands on the woman's hind parts"); Strabon, *Geographia* I. 1, 7: *ὅταν οὕτω φησὶ* (v.l.); XII. 3, 27: *ὁ δ' ἀληθής, ὅταν δεικνύται ψεῦδος λεγόμενον τι* ("but the test is true only when it shows that something that is being said is untrue") (cf. ib. *ὅτε γε ἐθάρρησε*), LXX Gen 2:19: *ἐάν ἐκάλεσεν*, Jdg 6:3 (B): *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐάν ἔσπειραν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ*, Tob 7:11: *ὁπότε ἐάν εἰσεπορεύοντο*, Jer 49 (42): 4: *ὁ λόγος ὃν ἂν ἀποκριθῇσεται Κύριος*, (cf. vs. 5: *ὃν ἂν ἀποστείλῃ*), Ez 17:16: *ἐάν μὴ ... τελευτήσῃ*, 1 Mc 6:36: *οὐ ἐάν ἐπορεύετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἅμα*, Gen 38:9: *ὅταν εἰσῆρχετο*, Ex 17:11: *καὶ ἐγίνετο ὅταν ἐπῆρε Μωϋσῆς τὰς χεῖρας ... ὅταν καθῆκεν τὰς χεῖρας*, Num 11:9: *καὶ ὅταν κατέβη ἡ δρόσος*, Dt 4:29: *καὶ ὅταν ἐκζητήσετε αὐτόν*, Jdg 6:3: *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅταν ἔσπειρεν*, 1 Kgds 10:7: *καὶ ἔσται ὅταν ἦξῃ τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα*, Ps 77(78):34: *ὅταν ἀπέκτενεν αὐτούς*, Dan (Θ) 3:7: *ὅταν ἤκουσαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* (BA), NT 2 Cor 10:8 (X L P): *ἐάν τε γὰρ περισσώτερόν τι καυχῆσομαι*, 1 Jn 5:15: *καὶ ἐάν οἶδαμεν*, Mk 3:11: *τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, ὅταν αὐτόν ἐθεώρουν*, 11:19: *ὅταν ὡς ἐγένετο*, Barnabas IV. 14: *ὅταν βλέπετε*, XII. 2: *ὁπότεν καθεῖλεν*, Ignatios, *Ephesians* VIII. 1: *ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἔρις ἐνῆρκεται ἐν ὑμῖν*, Hermas, *Shepherd: Similitude* IX. 1, 6: *ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπικεκαύκει, ξηραὶ ἐγίνοντο*, IX. 4, 5: *καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθησαν*, IX. 6, 4: *καὶ ὅταν ἐπάτασεν*, IX. 17, 3: *ὅταν ἐτέθησαν οἱ λίθοι αὐτῶν*, *Apokalypsis Mariae* (IX A.D.) 122, 29: *ὅταν ἀνέβαινον*. More examples in JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 779.

<sup>191</sup> See further Gen 31:50: *εἰ λήμψῃ*, Jdg 20:23, 28: *εἰ προσθῶμεν* (B), Dt 8:5: *καὶ γνώσῃ ... ὅτι ὡς εἰ τις ἀνθρώπος παιδεύσῃ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* (A), 1 Kgds 14:37: *εἰ καταβῶ*, 23:2: *εἰ πορευθῶ*, 2 Kgds 2:1: *εἰ ἀναβῶ*, 5:19: *εἰ ἀναβῶ*, 2 Kgds 24:13: *εἰ ἔλθῃ σοι τρία ἔτη λιμός*, 3 Kgds 22:6: *εἰ πορευθῶ*, 22:15: *εἰ ἀναβῶ*, 1 Chr 14:10: *εἰ ἀναβῶ*, 2 Chr 18:5, 14: *εἰ πορευθῶ*, Sirach 22:26: *εἰ κακὰ μοι συμβῇ* (B), Mich 6:7: *εἰ δὴ*, Ez 14:3: *εἰ ἀποκρινόμενος ἀποκριθῶ αὐτοῖς*.

For the NT, see Lk 13:35: *ὥς ἦξῃ* (partly), *ὅτε εἶπτε*, Rom 11:14: *εἰ πως παρὰ ζηλώσω ... καὶ σώσω*. Further, Kyrrillos Hierosol. († A.D. 386), *Prokatechesis* 15, 19: *ὅτε εἰσέλθῃτε*, (cf. 13, 1: *ὅταν εἰσέλθῃτε*), *Concilium Carthaginense* (A.D. 403) 1319e: *ὅτε λάβωσιν*, *Acta Thomae* (A.D. III-IV, cf. ABD, VI, 531) 5, 8: *εἰ τις δὲ παραιτήσεται καὶ μὴ παρατήχῃ*, 5, 27, 6: *εἰ δὲ εἵπωμεν*, 5, 28, 8: *εἰ μὴ ἐπάρητε*

In view of the above state of affairs the subjunctive εἰ θερίσωμεν in 1 Cor 9:11 need not be corrected to an indicative, just as εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύη in 1 Cor 14:5<sup>192</sup>.

With regard to unreal conditions, they were kept intact until c. A.D. 500. After that date εἰ gave way to the εἰάν, which already had dislodged εἰ from its construction with the present indicative, and since that date εἰάν (ἄν) became the sole conditional particle, particularly in Demotic speech. The NT shows no idiosyncrasies in this regard.

## 5. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are normally introduced by relative pronouns. Relative clauses are divided between definite, that is, when the relative pronoun refers to a definite antecedent, in which case the definite form of this pronoun is used (ὃς, ἡ, ὅ), and indefinite, that is, when the relative pronoun refers to an indefinite antecedent, in which case the indefinite form of the pronoun is used (ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅτι). This distinction is not always observed in the NT,

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ἐαυτούς, *Apophthegmata Patrum* (A.D. 500), 105b: ὅτε δ' ἔλθῃ ἡ ὥρα, 112b: ὅτε θέλῃ, *Greek Alchemists* (A.D. IV-X), 311, 15: ὅτε ψυγῇ καλῶς ("when it is well-frozen"), 312, 16: ἕως ὅτε ὁσμὴν θείου μὴ ἀποπέμψῃ ("until it does not give the odour of sulphur"), 413c: ὅτε πεινᾷς φάγε, ὅτε διψᾷς πίε, Kallinikos (A.D. V), 83, 11: ὅτε πράξῃ, 83, 20: εἰ δυνήθῃ, 87, 28: ὅτε ἀλοήσῃ, 134, 9: εἰ δὲ ἐπέλθωσιν. *Narratio Zosimi* (A.D. V-VI) 105, 13: ὅτε δὲ ἔλθωσιν, 105, 29: ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ, Konstantinos Porphy. († A.D. 959), *De Ceremoniis* 211, 10: ὅτε ἀπέλθῃ, (see also 220, 16, and 380, 9), *Vita S. Andree*, 6c: εἰ μοι ἐνέγκῃς, 14c: εἰ μὲν ἡ φίλος αὐτοῦ.

<sup>192</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1991, finds the construction of εἰάν, ὅταν and ἵνα with the indicative "indefensible". He proposes, for example, that such cases as the following ought to be emended: Lk 11:12: εἰάν αἰτήσῃ\* (ᾠ<sup>45</sup> A C D R W Θ Ψ Π), Jn 8:36: εἰάν ἐλευθερώσῃ (not noted in *N-A*), Act 5:15: ἵνα ἐπισκιάσῃ (B 33 614 1241 2495), 8:31: εἰάν ὁδηγήσῃ\* (ᾠ<sup>50</sup> N B\* C E L 6 614 1175), 21:24: ἵνα ξυρίσονται\* (ᾠ<sup>74</sup> D<sup>c</sup> B\* D<sup>e</sup> E 33 614 11 75 etc.), Rm 14:8 εἰάν τε ἀποθνήσκομεν (A B D F G P Ψ 048 1739 etc.), Gal 6:12: ἵνα διώκονται (ᾠ<sup>46</sup> A C F G L P 6 81 104 etc.), 1 Jn 5:20: ἵνα γινώσκωμεν (N A B\* L P 049 33 81 614), Rev 14:13: ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται\* (046 051\* 2329 etc.), Hermas, *Shepherd: Similitudes* IX. 12, 4 f.: εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται εἰ μὴ λάβοι\* (instead of λάβῃ) τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. εἰάν γὰρ εἰς πόλιν θελήσῃς εἰσελθεῖν τινα κάκειν ἢ\* (instead of ἢ) πόλις περιτετειχισμένη κύκλῳ καὶ μίαν ἔχει πύλιν, μήτι δυνήσῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην εἰσελθεῖν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης ἧς ἔχει, Barnabas X. 3: ὁ χοῖρος ὅταν τρώγῃ\* τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἶδε. 15, 5: ὅταν καταργήσῃ\* τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ κρινεῖ\* (instead of κρίνῃ) τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξῃ\* τὸν ἥλιον. (Examples marked with an (\*) indicate the reading chosen in the current editions. In these cases the MS evidence is divided). For more examples, see Chapter Eight, VII, "The Bearing of the *HGP* on the Crux of 1 Cor 13:3", 3.

where the two types of clauses occur interchangeably<sup>193</sup>. Another, more telling deviation is that in a rougher style the relative pronoun is sometimes substituted for by a local adverb, as e.g. Homeros, *Ilias* XXI. 44: πέμψεν δ' ἐς διαν Ἀρίσβην· ἔνθεν ὑπεκπροφυγὼν πατρώϊον ἵκετο δῶμα ("he sent to fair [lit.: god-like] Arisbe; whence he escaped and came to his father's house")<sup>194</sup>. The NT contains a number of such constructions, e.g. Rev 2:13: παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπου ὁ Σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ<sup>195</sup>. This construction is very frequent in *N*<sup>196</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> E.g.: Definite: 2 Th 3:3: πιστὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, ὃς στηριξεί ὑμᾶς (definite pron.) and Lk 9:30: ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, οἵτινες ἦσαν Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας (indefinite pron.). Indefinite: Mk 4:25: ὃς γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ (definite pron.) and Mt 23:12: ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν, ταπεινωθήσεται (indefinite pron.).

<sup>194</sup> See further Homeros, *Ilias* XVII. 703: οὐδ' ἄρα σοί, ... ἤθελε θυμὸς τειρομένοις ἐτάροισιν ἀμυνέμεν, ἔνθεν ἀπήλθεν Ἀντίλοχος ("nor did your heart wish to defend your hard-pressed comrades, from whom Antilochos had departed"), *Odysseia* XVIII. 157: ἂψ δ' αὖτις κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἔνθεν ἀνέστη ("thus he sat down again on the throne / chair from which he had risen"), Sophokles, *Trachiniai* 701: ἐκ δὲ γῆς ὅθεν προῦκειτ' ἀναξέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί ("from the earth on which it lay came up clot-like foams [of blood]"), Euripides, *Herakles* 7: οἱ Κάδμου πόλιν τεκνοῦσι παίδων πατρίν· ἔνθεν ἐξέφυ Κρέων ("the city of Kadmos ... from which Kreon sprang up"), Herodotos, I. 125: ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γηγόνασι ("among them the Achaimenians is a clan, from which [= ἐξ ὧν] spring the Persian kings"); Platon, *Gorgias* 501e: ὅπως ἐρεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὅθεν ἂν οἱ ἀκούσαντες βελτίους γίγνιντο ("in order that he may say something by which those who hear it will become better"); Xenophon, *Hellenika* V. 1, 10: καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίου, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται ("and they went up beyond Herakleion to a place about eleven stadia, which is called Tripirgia"); *Acta Barnabae* (A.D. V-VI acc. to HENNECKE-SCHNEEMELCHER, *NT Apocrypha* II, 578), 16: καὶ ἦλθομεν εἰς πόλιν Λαμπαδιστοῦ, ὅθεν ὑπῆρχεν καὶ Τίμων ("and we came to the city of Lampadistos, in which Timon also was"); *Acta Thomae* (A.D. III) 170: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἔνθα τὰ ὀστά τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἔκειτο ("from that place, where the apostle's bones lay"); Achilles Tatios (Astronomos, A.D. III), *Isagoge, Excerptis* 4: τὴν γῆν ... μετέωρον ἐστῶσαν μέντοι καὶ ἀκίνητον, ὅθεν καὶ Ἀρατος φησὶν ("the earth ... being, however, suspended and at rest, of which also Aratos speaks"); Georgios Akropolites (A.D. XIII), *Annals* 33: εἰς Λάμψακον, ἔνθα ἦν ἡ βασιλίς Εἰρήνη ("to Lampsakos, where queen Irene was").

<sup>195</sup> See further Mt 2:9: ἐστάθη ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον (sc. ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν τὸ παιδίον), 12:44: εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον, 26:57: ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὅπου οἱ γραμματεῖς ... συνήχθησαν, Lk 23:53: ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὐ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὐπω κείμενος (= ἐν ᾧ), Jn 1:28: ἐν Βηθανία ... ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων (sc. ἐν ᾧ), Act 14:26: κακεῖθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, ὅθεν ἦσαν παραδεδομένοι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>196</sup> In *N* relative clauses are introduced in a multitude of ways (see TZAPTZANOS, *Neoellinikῇ Σύνταξις*, Vol. I, 163-170 (§ 112-122) and Vol. II, 102-112 (§ 264-268) and 198-204 (§ 282 ΠΔ)), but chiefly by the articular relative pronoun: ὁ ὅποιος, ἡ ὁποία, τὸ ὅποιον. Originally the meaning was "of what sort". As such it occurs already



Indefinite relative clauses (sometimes also definite) may exhibit a variety of relations to the main clause, taking the place of the various types of subordinate clauses: final, causal, conditional, etc. This is so in those cases where the particular element (final, causal, conditional) is not emphasized sufficiently for the clause to take the regular form of, e.g. a final, causal, or conditional clause.

#### a. Final

If a final relative clause is definite the predicate stands in the future indicative and the negation is μή, e.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I. 3, 14: ἡγεμόνα αἰτήσομεν Κύρον ὅστις ἡμᾶς ἀπάξει ("we will ask Kyros for a guide in order to (who will) lead us")<sup>197</sup>. However, if a final relative clause is indefinite the predicate is normally in the subjunctive or sometimes even in the optative, e.g. Thukydides VII. 25: τῶν νεῶν ... μία ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὄχετο πρέσβεις ἄγουσα οἵπερ τὰ τε σφέτερα φράσωσιν ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν

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in Homeros in the form ὁποῖος. After 300 B.C. it came to replace οἷος ('such as', 'of what sort') in the Attic inscriptions. In Modern times, as a relative pronoun it has taken the place of ancient ὅς and ὅστις, e.g. ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὁποῖος ἦλθε (cf. Mt 20:1: οἰκοδεσπότη, ὅστις ἐξῆλθεν), τὸ πρόσωπο γιὰ τὸ ὁποῖο σοῦ ἐμίλησα ("the person of whom I spoke to you"). In Demotic this more literary form is very often substituted for by the relative local adverb πού, e.g. Mt 4:16: ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει which is translated by the Rheims version as "the people that sat in darkness" and is reproduced in VAMVAS' Katharevousa version (sc. ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει). In Demotic, this would be rendered by ὁ λαὸς πού κάθεται (κατοικεῖ) στὸ σκοτάδι. Ps (LXX) 118:24: αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος is rendered by VAMVAS' tr. with αὕτη εἶναι ἡ ἡμέρα, τὴν ὁποῖαν ἔκαμεν ὁ Κύριος, while in Demotic it could have been: αὕτη εἶναι ἡ ἡμέρα πού ἔκαμε ὁ Κύριος. Thus, "Happy is the man who has never known fame" in *N* would be rendered by εὐτυχισμένος εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὁποῖος ποτὲ δὲν ἐγνώρισε φήμην (Katharevousa), or εὐτυχισμένος εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος πού ποτὲ δὲν (ἐ)γνώρισε φήμην (Demotic). Similarly, "this is the desk that I bought yesterday" will be rendered by αὐτὸ / τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ γραφεῖον τὸ ὁποῖον ἡγόρασα ἐχθές (Katharevousa), or αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ γραφεῖο πού ἀγόρασα (ἐ)χθές (Demotic). A further example is: τελευταίως ἐσυνάντησα ἕναν φίλο πού εἶχα γνωρίσει πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ("lately I met a friend whom I had come to know three years ago"). The above examples indicate that the relative pronoun πού is often equivalent to the English relative pronoun "that".

<sup>197</sup> See also Xenophon, *Hellenika* II. 3, 2: ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέριους νόμους συγγράψουσι καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσιν ("the people decided to choose thirty men, who would write down the fathers' laws in accordance with which they would rule / live as citizens"), Sophokles, *Aias* 658: κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος τοῦμόν, ἐχθιστον βελῶν, γαίας ὀρύξας ἐνθα μὴ τις ὄνεται ("I will hide this pointed arrow of mine, the most hated of arrows, in the earth I have dug, where no one will see it").

εἰσίν, καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐποτρύνωσι γίγνεσθαι ("of the ships ... one sailed to Peloponnesos with ambassadors who would explain their [the Syrakousians'] own viewpoint that they were hopeful, and to urge them further to continue with the war there"), Sophokles, *Trachiniai* 903: κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μὴ τις εἰσίδοι. ("hiding herself where no one might see her")<sup>198</sup>. The gradual though relatively early disappearance of the optative, and the retreat of the future indicative before the aorist subjunctive afforded the latter free territory and made it the sole mood in final clauses.

In the NT an example of a final relative clause is Mk 1:2: ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου ... ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου, where the relative clause is not simply a description of the messenger (i.e. adjectival), but supplies the *raison d'être* for the mission of the messenger, viz. to prepare the way. English versions have generally rendered it by "who shall / will prepare", but the logical nuance here is telic: "in order that he may prepare". Nevertheless, the telic hue was not sufficiently strong to transform the clause into an ordinary telic clause: ἵνα κατασκευάσῃ<sup>199</sup>.

## b. Consecutive

In *A* times consecutive clauses used for the most part the future indicative and the negation οὐ, as, e.g., Lysias, *Hyper Adynatou* 24, 6: παῖδες δέ μοι οὐπω εἰσίν οἱ με θεραπεύουσιν ("I have no children who will (take) care

<sup>198</sup> Other examples include: Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 44: τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδωσαν ... ὥστε ... ἐκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν ("they have passed on to us such a custom, ... so that all have something on which to exert their love of honor"), Xenophon, *Oikonomikos* VII. 20: τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔξειν ὅ,τι εἰσφέρωσιν ("however, it is necessary that future people will have that which they bring in"), Platon, *Symposion* 194d: εἰάν ἀποκρίνη Σωκράτει, οὐδὲν ἔτι διοίσει αὐτῷ ὅπρουν τῶν ἐνθάδε ὅτιον γίγνεσθαι, εἰάν μόνον ἔχη ὅτῳ διαλέγεται ("if you answer Sokrates, he will no longer care for whatever happens here and in whatever way, if he only has someone to talk to"), Sophokles, *Philoktetes* 281: ὁρῶντα μὲν ναῦς, ... ἄνδρα δ' οὐδὲν ἔντοπον, οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσου κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο ("seeing ships ... but no man from this place, no one who defends, nor any who might help one in the grip of sickness"), Xenophon, *Hellenika* II. 3, 11: αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὗσιν αὖς πολιτεύουσιντο ("they were chosen on condition that they would prepare laws in accordance with which they would rule / live as citizens").

<sup>199</sup> Other examples in the NT are: Lk 7:4: παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν σπουδαίως λέγοντες ὅτι Ἄξιος ἐστὶν ᾧ παρέξη τοῦτο, Act 21:16: συνήλθον ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν ... ἀγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι τινι, Heb 8:3: ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν τι καὶ τοῦτον ὁ προσενέγκη.

of me"). A parallel to this is Phil 2:20: οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον<sup>200</sup>, ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει, the relative clause expressing the result of the main clause: "I have no one of the same mind, *so as* to take a genuine interest in your affairs / to be genuinely concerned about you".

The NT contains a number of consecutive relative clauses which follow the *A* pattern of a formulaic expression such as: εἰσὶν οἱ, τίς ἐστιν ὅς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ὅστις οὐ: e.g. Mt 10:26: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται<sup>201</sup>. What is new during *LH-B* times, however, is the tendency to replace the indicative with the subjunctive: Lk 18:29-30: οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἢ γυναῖκα ... ὃς οὐχὶ μὴ ἀπολάβῃ πολλαπλασίονα<sup>202</sup>.

In *N* ὅπου or πού has replaced ὅς or ὅστις sometimes with νά. Jannaris (*Historical Grammar*, § 2017) quotes ποιὸς εἶνε<sup>203</sup> (= εἶναι) πού δὲν ἀγαπᾷ τὸ συμφέρον (= συμφέρον) του; ("who is it who doesn't care about his own interest?"), κανεὶς δὲν εἶνε τόσο τυφλὸς (ποῦ) νά μὴ βλέπῃ ("none is so blind as not to be able to see").

However, less refined writers from *A-H* times often avoid relative clauses with the consecutive nuance, preferring, instead, the more direct mode of the consecutive clauses (e.g. Jn 9:2: 'Ραββί, τίς ἡμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ,<sup>204</sup> or of the final clauses<sup>205</sup>. This type of con-

<sup>200</sup> On this word, see FRIDRICHSEN, "Ἰσόψυχος=ebenbürtig, solidarisch", *Exegetical Writings* 221-27.

<sup>201</sup> See also 1 Cor 6:5: οὕτως οὐκ ἔνι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς σοφὸς ὃς δυνήσεται διακρίναι ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ;

<sup>202</sup> Further, Lk 8:17: οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται (indicative) οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ (subjunctive) καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ (subjunctive), *Acta Thomae* 133:3: ἄρτον ζωῆς ὃν οἱ ἐσθιόντες ἀφθαρτοὶ διαμεινώσιν ("bread of life, by which those who eat it will remain incorruptible").

<sup>203</sup> On the form εἶναι or εἶνε, see the debate between JANNARIS and HATZIDAKIS in HATZIDAKIS, "Περὶ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας τῶν κατ' ἀναλογίαν γενομένων τύπων", *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 12 (1900), 383 ff., JANNARIS, "Ὁρθογραφικὰ ζητήματα", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 13 (1901) 214-16, and HATZIDAKIS, "Ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν κ. Α. Γιάνναριν", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 13 (1901), 225-30. On the derivation of *N* εἶναι, see the debate between ANAGNOSTOPOULOS (*Glotta* 25 (1936), 9-11) and BESCHEWLEW (*Glotta* 23 (1955) 270-73), as well as *Glotta* 26 (1938) 262-3, in which the latter modified his standpoint. EIDENEIER (*Glotta* 54 (1976) 106-17) has made a new attempt to explain it, following ΚΑΨΩΜΕΝΟΥ's detailed investigation, "Συμβολή", *Ἑλληνικά*. Παράρτημα 4, (1953) 305-25.

<sup>204</sup> See also under "Consecutive Clauses". Other examples are: Lk 9:45: ἣν παρακεκαλυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ αἰσθονταὶ αὐτό, Gal 5:17: ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε; 1 Jn 1:9: οὐκ ἔστε ἐν σκότει, ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης καταλάβῃ.

<sup>205</sup> E.g. Jn 5:7: Κύριε, ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ βάλλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν, 2 Cor 12:7: διὸ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι, ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, Gal 4:5: ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ... ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, Rev

struction is extremely frequent in *N*, where the ἵνα has given place to νά: ἦλθα νά σοῦ πῶ τὰ νέα ("I came to tell you the news"), ἔστειλε νά τὸν εἰδοποιήσῃ ("he / she sent [in order] to notify him").

### c. Causal

A causal relative clause takes the indicative and is negated by οὐ<sup>206</sup>. The causal nuance is clearly witnessed in the NT: in Gal 5:4: κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, the relative οἵτινες has causal significance: "you are severed from Christ *since* you seek to be justified by the law". The same is the case in Rm 6:1: οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ; in which the relative clause supplies the ground for the rhetorical question "How shall we be able to live in it [sc. sin]?" understood: "*since* we have died to sin". In *N* the relative clauses are divided between *pure relative clauses* and *impure relative clauses*, the former of which are the regular relative clauses while the latter are the clauses that evince a special nuance<sup>207</sup>. This latter type is often introduced by the indeclinable relative pronoun ποῦ (formerly ποῦ): μάχεται μὲ τὴν φύσιν, ποῦ τὸν ἔκαμεν ὅπως εἶναι ("he fights against Nature, *because* it made him as he is")<sup>208</sup>.

19:15: ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη.

<sup>206</sup> See Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* II. 7, 13: θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὅς ἡμῖν μὲν ... οὐδὲν δίδως ("since ... you do not give").

<sup>207</sup> See ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, Vol. II, § 266, 2 (p. 107).

<sup>208</sup> See further: χαίρω πολὺ ποῦ εἴσθε καλὰ ("I am very glad that [*because*] you are well"), λυποῦμαι ποῦ ἄργησα νά ἔλθω ("I am sorry that [*because*] I came late"), ἃς ἔλθῃ νά μιλήσῃ μὲ μένα, ποῦ μὲ ξέρει ("let him come and talk with me, *since* he knows me"), Ζαλοκώστα, Γ., *Ἀνθολογία*, 91: χαρὰ σέ 'κείνη τὴν καρδιά, ποῦ δὲν τὴν δέρνουν πόνοι ("happy is that heart that is not [sc. because it is not] plagued by pain"), POLITIS, *Ἐκλογαί*, 23, 6: μὴ μὲ μαλῶνῃς, Κίσσαβε, ποῦ σέ πατάει ἡ Κοναριά ("do not chide me, Kissavos [the ancient Mountain Όσσα] *because* Konaria [sc. Turks from Iconium, particularly fierce against Christians (see MEE, Vol. 14, p. 807, s.v. κονιάρης)] tramples on you"). JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 2013, too, quotes one example here: εἶσαι καλότηχος ποῦ ἔχεις τέτοιους φίλους ("you are lucky to have [*because* you have] such friends").

## d. Concessive

This construction seems to be quite infrequent. I have found only two relative clauses with concessive meaning in the NT<sup>209</sup>. Heb 10:8 reads: ἀνώτερον λέγων ὅτι θυσίας καὶ προσφορὰς ... οὐκ ἠθέλησας οὐδὲ εὐδόκησας, αἵτινες κατὰ νόμον προσφέρονται<sup>210</sup>. The concessive interpretation of the relative clause is eminently apposite in this passage, where the author states that God rejects the usual sacrifices and offerings *although* they were being offered in accordance with the prescription of the law. The other text is Jas 4:13-14: ἄγε νῦν οἱ λέγοντες, Σήμερον ἢ αὔριον ... ἐμπορευσόμεθα καὶ κερδήσομεν· οἵτινες οὐκ ἐπίστασθε τὸ τῆς αὔριον. Here, too, the meaning of the relative is not merely “who do not know ...”, but “although you do not know ...”

This construction receives light from *N. For Demotic* examples, see Τζάρτζανος, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, Vol. II, 73, who quotes Ξενοπούλος, *Θέατρον* 187: νὰ ἰδοῦμε ὅμως ἂν θὰ σὲ κρατήσῃ, πὺ δὲν ἔχεις πιστοποιητικό (“however, let us see if he will keep you *although* you do not have a certification”)<sup>211</sup>.

## e. Conditional

The conditional relative clause corresponds to the protasis of an ordinary conditional clause but is less emphatic. The emphasis lies on the person rather than the action. “Ὅς and ὅστις resolve themselves to εἴ τις, while ὅς ἂν and ὅστις ἂν resolve themselves to ἐάν τις. The various types of condi-

<sup>209</sup> I have found no examples with ὅστις and ἥτις in the LXX or in the following Christian works: *Acta Alexandrinorum* (A.D. II-III), *Acta Barnabae* (uncertain date), *Acta et Martyrium Apollonii* (A.D. II-IV), *Acta Eupli* (after A.D. IV), *Acta Ioannis* (A.D. II), *Acta Iustini et septem sodalium* (A.D. II-III), *Acta Pauli* (A.D. II), *Acta Petri* (A.D. II), *Acta Phileae* (after A.D. IV), *Acta Philippi* (uncertain date), *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum* (A.D. II-III), *Acta Thomae* (A.D. III), *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* (A.D. III), and the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* (II B.C. - A.D. III).

<sup>210</sup> In his commentary on *Hebrews*, BRUCE quotes the RV text but has no pertinent comment to make on the construction. HUGHES, *Hebrews* 394, inserts the relative-concessive clause as an explanation within parentheses (these are offered according to the law) and has nothing to say about it. Similarly, MONTEFIORE, *Hebrews* 168, is silent on it. LANE, *Hebrews* 255 f. mentions the possibility of taking the relative clause concessively, contemplated by NEB, TEV, NIV, but settles for the usual relative sense.

<sup>211</sup> See also Βενέζη, *Αἰγαιο: Διηγήματα* 71: τὸν ρωτοῦσαν νὰ τοὺς πῇ πάλι τὴν ἱστορία μὲ τοὺς γλάρους, μόλο πὺ τὴν ἤξεραν (“they asked him to tell them over again the story about the seagulls, *although* they knew it”), καὶ πὺ τὸν προσκάλεσαν, πάλι δὲν ἐπῆγε (“*although* they invited him, he did not go [even this time]”).

tional protases are represented: Platon, *Apologia* 21d: ἃ μὴ οἶδα οὐδὲ οἶμαι εἰδέναι (“whatever I do not know, I do not presume to know”). The relative clause corresponds to εἴ τινα μὴ οἶδα (“if I do not know certain things”); Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 24: ἀπόκριναι ὅ,τι ἂν σὲ ἐρωτῶ (= εἰάν σέ ... “answer to whatever I ask you”); Platon, *Menexenos* 92c: πῶς οὖν ... ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπειρος εἴης; (“how then would you know about this matter, of which you were altogether without experience [if you were altogether without experience, how then ...]”); Platon, *Symposion* 196e: πᾶς γοῦν ποιητὴς γίγνεται, ‘κἂν ἄμουσος ᾗ τὸ πρὶν’, οὐ ἂν Ἔρως ἄψηται (“everyone whom Eros touches [if Eros touches him] becomes a poet, even though he were ignorant of music before”); Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1431: ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην (“each one should keep to his art / profession”, sc. “if anyone knows an art / profession, let him perform that”); Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 98: οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν [= εἴ τινες ἦσαν], ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο (“your children, if there were any, would be mistreated by them”).

The NT has a number of such constructions: Mt 10:32: πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ. The conditional character of the sentence is shown by the parallel saying in the next verse: ὅστις δ’ ἂν ἀρνήσῃταί με, in which the relative pronoun is strengthened by ἂν, and by Mk 8:34-35: εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν and ὅς γὰρ εἰάν θέλει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι (similarly Lk 9:23-24: εἴ τις θέλει ... ὅς γὰρ ἂν θέλει). Because the conditional meaning of the relative clause is clear enough, these authors change back and forth between a regular condition and a conditional relative construction which emphasizes the personal element. However, in Rm 10:9: εἰάν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ πιστεύσῃς ... σωθήσῃ, which has confessional character, the author lays the emphasis on the conditional action by using – quite appropriately – a conditional sentence<sup>212</sup>.

Jannaris points out that “conditional relative clauses have become commoner since *P* times owing to the propensity of popular speech to replace suppositions, especially those of general character (“if one ever”, “if any thing”, etc.) by the clearer and more emphatic relative clauses (“whoever”,

<sup>212</sup> See also Mt 5:39: ὅστις σὲ ῥαπίζει (εἴ τις σὲ ῥαπίζει) εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σιαγόνα, στρέφον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, 41: ὅστις σὲ ἀγγαρεύσει (εἴ τις ...) 13:12: ὅστις ἔχει (εἴ τις ἔχει) δωθήσεται αὐτῷ, Lk 10:35: ὅ,τι προσδαπανήσῃς (εἴ τι ...), Jn 2:5: ὅ,τι ἂν λέγει (εἴ τι ...), 14:13: ὅ,τι ἂν αἰτήσῃτε (εἴ τι ...), also 15:16, Phil 3:7: ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη (εἴ τινα ...), Jas 2:10: ὅστις γὰρ ὅλον τὸν νόμον τηρήσῃ (εἰάν τις ...), 1 Jn 4:15: ὅς εἰάν ὁμολογήσῃ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μένει. Occasionally also the articular participle is used conditionally: 1 Jn 2:23: ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει (“if anyone confesses the son, he has also the Father”).

“whatever”, etc.)”<sup>213</sup>. This tendency is exemplified by the combination of the conditional particle *εἰ* and the indefinite particle *ἄν*: e.g. Kallinikos, 31, 10: *εἰ τι ἄν εἶδες ἀγαθόν, ἀδελφέ, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν* (“brother, if you have seen anything good, it is from God”), 118, 14: *ἤλεγχε τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰ τι ἄν συνέγνω ἄτοπον* (“he reproved the leaders, if he was conscious that they were doing anything improper”).

*N* is rich in such constructions. They are introduced by such particles as: ὅποιος, -α, -ο, ὅ, τι (= ὅστις, ἥτις, ὅ, τι), ὅπου: e.g. ὅ, τι δὲν γνωρίζω οὐτε στοχάζομαι πῶς τὸ γνωρίζω (“whatever I do not know, I do not even think that I know”) <sup>214</sup>.

The above discussion has showed that the NT tendency to use relative clauses in order to express the nuance of causality, finality, conditionality, etc., is wholly within the parameters of the evolution of the language.

<sup>213</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 2024. A few examples I have gathered from *LB-B* times are: *Acta Pauli & Theclae* (A.D. II), 37, 8: *ὅς ἐάν μὴ πιστεύσῃ εἰς αὐτὸ, οὐ ζήσεται*, *Acta Xanthippae & Polyxenae* (A.D. III) 27, 16: *καὶ ὅς ἂν μὲ κατελεῇσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὸν πορεύσομαι* (“and whoever shows mercy to me, to him I will go”), *Acta Thomae* (A.D. III) 93, 11: *ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀπόσκληρος, καὶ πᾶν ὅ, τι τῷ βασιλεῖ εἴπῃ τοῦτ᾽ πεῖθεται* (“he is a very hardened man, and whatever he tells the king, he follows his counsel”), *Testament of XII Patriarchs: Levi* (II B.C. - A.D. III) 13, 3: *πᾶς ὅς γνώσεται νόμον θεοῦ, τιμηθήσεται*, *Acta Philippi* (A.D. IV) 142, 34: *πᾶς ὅς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμήσῃ αὐτήν* (cf. Mt 5:28), *Chronikon Paschale* (A.D. VII) 8, 12: *εὐχερὴς δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ πᾶς ὅστις τολμᾷ ... αἰτιᾶσθαι* (“rather whoever dares ... accuse Moses, is reckless”), Theophanes *Chronographia* (A.D. VIII-IX) 223, 23: *καὶ ἐκέλευσεν δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον, ὃν ἂν θελήσωσιν* (“and he commanded that a bishop be given to them, whomsoever they wished”), Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX) 260, 13: *πᾶς γὰρ ὅς ἂν ἀπολειψῇ οὐ ζήσεται* (“whoever is absent will not live”), Glykas († c. 1150) *Annales* 366: *ὅς ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ λάβῃ ψυχὴν εὐάγωγον εἰς ἀπώλειαν πάντα τρόπον αὐτῇ καταχρώμενος οὐκ ἀνίησιν* (“who [the devil], once he has caught a soul that is easily led to perdition, misuses it in every way and does not let it go”), 375: *ὅς ἂν εὐρεθῇ εὐζάμενος εἰς θεόν* (“if any were found praying to God”).

<sup>214</sup> See also: Βλαχογιάννη, 63: *ὅποιος θέλει, ἃς ἀκολουθήσῃ* (“whoever wants to, let him follow”, i.e. “if anyone wants to ...”), Φωτιάδης, 105: *ὅποιος καθίσῃ, θὰ ἀποκοιμηθῇ* (“whoever sits down will fall asleep”, sc. “if anyone sits down ...”), Καρκαβίτσα, *Παλιᾶς Ἀγάπες*, 92: *ὅπου γύριζες, ἀπάντινες ἄντρες [= ἄνδρες], παιδιὰ, γυναῖκες*, (“wherever you turned around you met men, children, women”, i.e. “if you turned around you saw ...”), *μὴ λέγεις ὅ, τι δὲν πρέπει* (“do not say whatever is not proper”, i.e. “if it is not proper to say”), *ἀπάντησέ μου σὲ ὅ, τι σὲ ἐρωτῶ* (“answer me whatever I ask you”, sc. “if I ask you anything”), *θὰ ὑπακούσω εἰς ὅποιον καὶ ἂν διαλέξετε* (“I will obey whoever you may choose”, i.e. “if you choose”), *ὅποιος καὶ ἂν μοῦ τὸ ἔλεγε δὲν θὰ τὸ ἐπίστευα* (“I would not have believed it no matter who told me”, sc. “if anyone told me”).

## IX. Interrogative Clauses

## 1. Direct Questions

In the NT we often meet with a direct question after verbs of *saying, deliberating, asking, etc.*, e.g. Mk 8:5: ἡρώτα αὐτοὺς, Πόσους ἔχετε ἄρτους;<sup>215</sup> This phenomenon occurs also in *A* times though infrequently<sup>216</sup>. The increase of its incidence in the NT and generally in works from *P* times to the present<sup>217</sup> is to be explained by the fact that popular speech preferred the

<sup>215</sup> The construction is rather frequent: Mt 16:13: ἡρώτα τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων, τίνα λέγουσιν ... εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; Lk 23:3: ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἡρώτησεν αὐτὸν λέγων, σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Jn 1:21: ἡρώτησαν αὐτόν, τί οὖν; σὺ Ἥλιος εἶ; 5:12: ἡρώτησαν αὐτόν, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ εἰπὼν σοι ...; 9:19: ἡρώτησαν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμῶν; Act 1:6: ἡρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθιστάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; Mt 11:7: ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγειν τοῖς ὄχλοις περὶ Ἰωάννου, τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι; Mk 11:28: καὶ ἔλεγον αὐτῷ, ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς; Jn 5:6: λέγει αὐτῷ, θέλεις ὑγιὲς γενέσθαι; Lk 2:49: εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς, τί ὅτι ἐζητεῖτε με; Mt 6:31: μὴ μεριμνήσῃτε λέγοντες, τί φάγωμεν; ἢ, τί πίωμεν; ἢ, τί περιβαλόμεθα; (cf. the indirect question in Lk 12:22: μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι τί ἐνδύσῃτε; see also Mt 10:19: μὴ μεριμνήσῃτε πῶς ἢ τί λαλήσῃτε).

<sup>216</sup> E.g. Xenophon, *Anabasis* I. 6, 8: ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτόν· Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἀδίκος γεγενῆσθαι; ("Do you confess that you have been unjust to me?"). Cf. the indirect form in Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 1, 15: Κλέαρχος ἦκε καὶ ἡρώτησεν εἰ ἦδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν ("Klearchos came and asked whether they had already given an answer").

<sup>217</sup> *Testament of Abraham* (A.D. I): (rec. A), 10, 15: καὶ ἡρώτησεν Ἀβραάμ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον· 'τίνες εἰσιν οὗτοι;' ("and Abraham asked the chief commander: 'who are these?'"); *Acta Ioannes* (A.D. II), 56, 6: καὶ σκανδαλισθεὶς ἐν ἐαυτῷ ἔλεγεν· "ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος τέρπεται ἐπὶ πέρδικος κονιαζομένης;" ("such a man of such an age is delighted by a partridge that wallows in dust [sc. powders herself]"); *Amphilochios* (A.D. IV) *In Illud: Pater si possibile est* (Oration 6), 325: θεασάμενος ἡρώτα· "Ἰνα τί σου ἐρυθρὰ τὰ ἱμάτια;" ("why are your clothes red?") (cf. indirect: *Amphilochios, Fragmenta in Johannem, Frsg.* 580: ἡρώτα τί ἐδίδασκεν τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ μαθητὰς ("he asked [him] what he taught his own pupils"), ἡρώτα αὐτόν, εἰ συναινεῖ ("He asked whether he was in agreement")); *Acts of Philip* (A.D. IV-V), 128: καὶ διακινῶν ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ ἡρώτησεν· 'τίνες οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ διὰ τί τιμωροῦνται;' ("and moving about in the square he asked: 'who are these men, and why are they being punished?'"); *Apocryphon Ezechiel Fragmenta* (of uncertain date) *page fraga*, line 14: ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἡρώτα· 'ποῖω τρόπῳ;' ("the other one asked: 'in what manner?'"), line 30: καὶ ἡρώτησεν τὸν τυφλόν, 'μὴ σὺ κατήλθες εἰς τὸν παράδεισον;' ("he asked the blind man: 'you did not go down to paradise, did you?'"); *Georgios Akropolites* (A.D. XIII), *Annales* 63, 64: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς διερχόμενος 'τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν λελεγεμένων;' αὐθις ἡρώτα ("and the king, passing by, asked again: 'what do you think about what has been said?'"); 63, 68: πρὸς μὲ τὸν λόγον ἀποστρέψας ἡρώτηκε· 'σὺ δὲ τί φῆς πρὸς



direct rather than the indirect mode, since this was considered to be more lively and colorful than indirect discourse. It is a sign of unassuming literary pretensions.

ταῦτα;’ (“turning to me for an answer, he asked: ‘what do you say to these things?’ ”); *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X) 483-4: ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀμηνρᾶς μεγάλως ἐφοβήθη, ἤρξατο τοῦτούτοις ἐρωτᾶν· ‘Τίνες καὶ πόθεν εἴστε;’ (“when the emir heard these things he was greatly afraid and began asking them: ‘who are you, and where are you from?’ ”); 764-5: τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς γελῶντες προσελάλουν· ... ‘τί ὧδε ἐπελεύσατε, οὐκ ἦλθατε εἰς οἶκον;’ (“laughing they said to them the following: ‘why have you dismounted your horses here, you have not come into the house?’ ”); 355-56: στραφεῖσα δὲ ἡ Μαξιμὴ λέγει τῷ Φιλοπάπῳ· ‘Λέγε μοι, ὦ Φιλόπαππε, ποῦ ὁ τὴν κόρην ἔχων;’ (“Maximo [the Amazon leader] turned and said to Philopappos: ‘tell me, Philopappos, where is he who has the girl?’ ”); *Chronikon tou Moreos* (A.D. XII-XIII), 597-8: καὶ λέγουσι οὕτως πρὸς αὐτὸν· ‘Δέσποτα, βασιλέα, ἀφῶν ἐπρόσταξεν ὁ Θεὸς κ’ ἔχεις τὴν βασιλείαν σου, τί σὲ ἤφερεν, ἀφέντη μας, εἰς τὴν Συρίαν νὰ ἀπέλθης;’ (“and they said this to him: ‘Master, King, since God decreed and you have your kingdom, what made you, our lord, go to Syria?’ ”); Σαχλίκης (A.D. XV), *Στίχοι καὶ ἐρμηνεῖαι*, line 300: Κι’ ἐκεῖνος λέγει εἰς τὴν μίαν· ‘ἵν’ ἔχεις, συναδιά μου, φῶς μου, ψυχὴ μου, ὁμμάτια μου, γλυκοπαρηγοριά μου;’ (“and he said to one of them: ‘what ails you, my comrade, my light, my soul, my eyes, my sweet comfort?’ ”); Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης (A.D. XVI), *Ἱστορία τοῦ Πέ τῆς Σκοτίας*, line 121-22: καὶ λέγει του ἡ ρήγισσα· ‘Τί ἔχεις, τί ἀναστενάξεις;’ (“and the queen said to him: ‘what is the matter, why do you sigh?’ ”); Βισσέντζος Κορνάρης (A.D. XVI-XVII), *Ἐρωτόκριτος*, line 671: Καὶ λέει τῇ· ‘Παιδάκι μου, ἵν’ αὐτὰ δηγᾷσαι;’ (“and he said to her: ‘My little child, what use is it to speak of these things?’ ”); Ἀντώνιος Μάτεσις (1794-1875) *Ἀπομάκρυνσις*, lines 9-12: καὶ λέω του· ‘Κῦμα ἀλύπητο ... ὡς πότε τὴν ἀγάπῃ μου νὰ ἰδῶ θὰ μ’ ἐμποδίξης;’ (“and I said: ‘You, merciless wave, ... how long will you hinder me from seeing my love?’ ”).

The above authors contrast sharply with such puristic Byzantine authors as Prokopios (A.D. VI), Anna Komnene (A.D. XI-XII) (for the presence of *N* elements in Anna, see ANDONIADIS, “Présence de la langue grecque moderne dans l’Alexiade d’Anne (Comnène)”, *Acts du XIV<sup>e</sup> CIEB*, Bucharest, 1976, 683-687), and to a certain extent, Konstantinos VII, Porphyrogenetos (A.D. X) (cf. *De thematibus* 17:11-14: Ἡ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶττα εἰς πέντε διαλέκτους διήρηται· ... πέμπτην δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ἢ πάντες χρώμεθα.), who striving for an Atticistic diction consistently construe the verb ἐρωτῶ with an indirect question, e.g. Prokopios *De bellis* III. 24, 14: ἡρώτα ὅτου ποτὲ ἔνεκα ἤκοιεν (“he asked on account of what he had ever come”), VI. 8, 8: καὶ μέγα ἀναβοῶν ἡρώτα εἰ ταῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ βασιλέως νόμοι (“and with a loud voice he asked whether the king’s laws say these things”), Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis* 453: ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξένευσε, καὶ ὅπως ἔχουσιν, ἡρώτα (“but he beckoned to them, and asked them how they fared”), Anna Komnene, *Alexias* II. 3, 1: προσελθὼν ἡρώτα ὅτου χάριν παρεγένετο (“he came forth and asked what he had come for”).

## 2. Indirect Questions

Another point of interest is the use of the relative pronoun in direct questions, which – once the construction was established in indirect questions – invaded also the province of direct questions. Unlike classical style, however, where the construction occurs sparingly<sup>218</sup>, *P-B* writings show a profusion in the use of this construction<sup>219</sup>.

## 3. The Use of τό in Indirect Questions

A further point of interest is the habit during *P-N* times of introducing indirect questions by the neuter form of the definite article. Here, it appears as if the question is objectified and treated as a direct quotation, as for exam-

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<sup>218</sup> Cf., for example, Euripides, *Rhesos* 703: τίς ἦν; πόθεν; ποίας πάτρας; ποῖον (*P*: ὁποῖον) δ' εὐχεται τὸν ὑπατον θεόν; ("who was he?, wherefrom? of which clan? which supreme god does he pray to?"), Aristophanes, *Frogs* 198: οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; Διόν. ὅ,τι ποιῶ; ("you, there, what are you doing? [Dion.]: What(ever) am I doing?"); Platon, *Euthyphron* 2b-c: ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα γραφήν σε γέγραπται; Σωκ. ἦντινα; ("but what indictment has been levelled against you? [Sok.]: which one [indictment]?"), *Lysis* 212c: πότερος οὖν αὐτῶν ποτέρου φίλος ἐστίν; ("which of them is the friend of which of the two?").

<sup>219</sup> Here the relative acts as an interrogative particle, hence it should be written not as ὅτι, but as ὅ τι or ὅ,τι. see, e.g., LXX 1 Chr 17:6: ὅ,τι οὐκ ὠκοδομήκατέ μοι οἶκον κέδρινον; For the NT the construction is – as expected – limited almost exclusively to the second Gospel: Mk 2:7: ὅ,τι (W-H marg., see *N-A*: B Θ) οὗτος οὕτω λαλεῖ; 2:16: ὅ,τι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει; 9:11: ὅ,τι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι Ἡλίαν δεῖ ἔλθειν πρῶτον; 9:28: ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν, "Ὁ,τι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό; 14:60: ὅ,τι (B W P) οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; Mt 26:50: ἐταῖρε, ἐφ' ὃ πάρει; See further: *Acta Philippi* 13:3: Ἄρα ὅ,τι ὁ πλάνος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐχώρησεν ἀπατῆσαι αὐτούς; ("then, has that deceiver gone to Athens among the philosophers to deceive them?"). The following examples are quoted from JANNARIS, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 2038: Pseudo-Justinos Martyr (A.D. III-V), *Exhortation to Greeks* 5: δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, ὦ Ἀριστότελες, ... ὥς ἀληθεύοντι προσέχεις Ὀμήρῳ; ("for what reason, Aristoteles, do you pay attention to Homeros, as though he spoke the truth?"), Theodoretos (A.D. IV-V), *Hereticarum fabularum compendium* (MIGNE Vol. LXXXIII) 512, 18: ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ βρέφη βαπτίζομεν; ("on account of which we baptize babies"), I. Malalas († A.D. 570), *Chronographia* 256, 20: εἰ ὁ αὐτοῦ μαθητὴς τοιαῦτα θαυμάσια ἐποίει, ὁ ὁποῖος ὑπῆρχεν ἐκεῖνος δυνατός; ("if his disciple performs such wonders, how mighty he must have been?"), *Apophthegmata Patrum* (c. A.D. 500) 105 34: Ἀρσένιε, δι' ὃ ἐξῆλθες; ("Arsenius, what have you come out for?"). The current *TLG* text has διὸ, but this must be regarded as a mistake). Theodoros Studites (A.D. VIII-IX), *Epistles* 158: ὅτου χάριν πυνθάνομαι, ὁσιώτατε ("for whose sake I am asking, most holy one?").

ple Lk 1:62: ἐνένευον δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι καλεῖσθαι αὐτό<sup>220</sup>. Commentators have generally misunderstood this construction. Thus, in his massive commentary on Luke, Nolland comments “τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι, ‘what he would want,’ is Lukan in its use of τό and the optative”<sup>221</sup>. To start with, this construction is not peculiarly “Lukan” but part of a general trend of development in post-classical Greek<sup>222</sup> and second, τό, as the

<sup>220</sup> This peculiarity occurs a number of times in the NT and was rather common in subsequent compositions down to *N*, but has fallen in disuse in *N*. See further: NT Lk 9:46: εἰσῆλθεν δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη μείζων αὐτῶν, 19:48: οὐχ εὗρισκον τὸ τί ἂν ποιήσωσιν, 22:2: ἐξήτουν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ... τὸ πῶς ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν, 22:4: συνελάλησεν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ... τὸ πῶς αὐτοῖς παραδῶ αὐτόν, 22:23: ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτούς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ... ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν, 22:24: ἐγένετο φιλονεικία ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων, Act 4:21: μὴδὲν εὗρισκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς, 22:30: βουλόμενος γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Rm 8:26: τὸ γὰρ τί προσενώμεθα καθὼς δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, 1 Th 4:1: καθὼς παρελάβετε παρ’ ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν.

<sup>221</sup> NOLLAND, *Luke*, Vol. I, 79. PLUMMER’s remarks (*Luke*, Vol. I, 36) are no more enlightening: “τό turns the whole clause into a substantive ... τό serves the purpose of marks of quotation”. BOVON, *Luke* I, 71: “The indirect question addressed to him is expressed by means of an introductory article and a potential optative, in good Lukan idiom, and good Greek”.

<sup>222</sup> See, e.g., the following texts: *Pseudo-Clementina (epitome)* 112, 3: κατεσκόπουν τὸ τί ἂν ἐν κρυφῇ πράττοιτε (“I was watching [to see] what you might do in secret”), *Acta Ioannis* 88:17: ἀλλ’ ἐξέλθωμε [sic] καὶ ὁψόμεθα τὸ τί βούλεται (“but let us go out and we will see what he wants”), *Acta Pauli et Thecla* 45, 17: ἐμνηχανοῦντο κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλης τὸ τί αὐτῇ ποιήσωσιν (“they intrigued against Christ’s servant what they might do to her”), *Acta Philippi* 12, 18: ἵνα αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλῃς τὸ τί βούλεται εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα (“so that you tell us yourself what the name should be”), *Acta Thomae* 18, 4: καὶ περὶ τῶν θεμελίων τὸ πῶς τεθῶσιν (“and about the foundations, how they are to be laid”), 21, 24: δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς τοῦτο ἐσκεπτόμην, τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν θανατώσω (“I was thinking of this the whole night, namely, how to put him to death”), 106, 18, *Amphilochios, In Lazarum* 39: μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπέψυξεν μὴ εὗρισκοντος λόγους προφασιολογίας, τὸ πῶς συκοφαντήσουσι τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Λαζάρου (“they almost fainted, not finding plausible reasons how to slander Lazaros’ resurrection”), *Leontios* († A.D. 543), *Mesopotekosten* 345: καὶ ἡ ὥρα καὶ τὸ πῶς δεῖ ἀποθανεῖν (“the time and how one should die”), *Martyrium Pionii* 18, 6: μὴ εὗρισκοντες τὸ τί ποιήσωσιν αὐτοῖς, *Eriphanios, Panarion* II. 147, 22: ὃ φρενοβλαβία τοῦ Μαρκίωνος. ‘συνελάλησεν’, τίς ἀλλ’ Ἰούδας; τὸ τί ποιῆσαι ἀλλ’ ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν σωτῆρα; (“Oh Markion’s insanity; ‘he agreed’, but who did that but Judas? to do what – other than betray the Savior?”), *Georgios Akropolites* (A.D. XIII), *Historia* 76, 2: σκέψιν ἔθεντο τὸ τίς ἂν εἴη ἀξιός (“they reasoned who might be worthy”), *Eustathios, De engastrimytho* III. 7, 1: ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφησεν αὐτῇ ‘μὴ φοβοῦ’ καὶ ‘τὸ τί ἐώρακας;’ (“when the king said to her ‘don’t be afraid’ and ‘what have you seen?’ ...”), III. 5, 5: ἐπυνθάνετο τὸ ‘τί ἐώρακας;’ (“he asked: ‘what have you seen?’”), *Testament of Solomon, Narratio* (LB times?) 105, 10: ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἐλυπᾶτο πολὺ τὸ τί νῦν κάμη (“he was perplexed

cited examples fully indicate, is not influenced by the optative (since it occurs also with the subjunctive), but functions as a kind of introductory particle. The same holds true of constructions in the affirmative<sup>223</sup>.

#### 4. Interrogative Particles

Questions beginning with *why?* are in *E-A* times introduced by τί, διὰ τί, ἵνα τί, etc.<sup>224</sup> In the NT the simple τί and the compound διὰ τί occurs each about twenty times<sup>225</sup>, while ἵνα τί and εἰς τί occur six and four times re-

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and was sorely pained as to what he should do"). See also the examples cited by JANNARIS, *Historical Greek Grammar*, § 2041.

<sup>223</sup> E.g. Mk 9:23: τὸ εἰ δύνη, πάντα δυνάτα τῷ πιστεύοντι, Lk 22:37: τὸ καὶ μετὰ ἀνόντων ἐλογίσθη, Rm 13:9: τὸ γὰρ Οὐ μοιχεύσεις (introducing an OT quotation), I Cor 4:6: ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἅ γέγραπται (introducing a quoted gnomic), Gal 5:14; Eph 4:9; Heb 12:27. Pseudo-Clementines (epitome), 77, 6: ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἀθήνας χρήματα τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἅμα τε καὶ μαθεῖν τὸ πῶς διάγουσιν ("he sent money to his own at Athens, at the same time [inquiring] to learn how they were doing"), Eriphanios, *Panarion* 449, 12: Δία ... ἄϋπνον παννύχως διατετελεκότα, τὸ πῶς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιβουλεύσῃ ("Zeus ... spending the night sleeplessly, [to figure out] how to harm the Achaians"), I. Malalas, *Chronographia* 206, 18: καὶ γνοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὸ τί πέπραχεν κατ' αὐτοῦ ("and learning of the Jews in Jerusalem, what they had done against him").

The construction occurs also in *N*: τὸ τί ἐγινε εἶναι ἄλλο πρᾶγμα! ("what happened is quite another thing / something else", sc. "you can't imagine what happened!"), μᾶς εἶπαν τὸ τί ἔπαθον ("they told us what happened to them"), νᾶ σοῦ διηγηθῶ τὸ πῶς ἐγλύτωσα ("let me tell you how I escaped"), etc. etc.

<sup>224</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Odysseia* I. 62: τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσσαο, Ζεῦ; ("why then did you get so angry against him [sc. Odysseus], O Zeus?"), *Ilias* X. 159: τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἄωτεῖς; ("why do you sleep through the whole night?"), Platon, *Kriton* 43c: ἀλλὰ τί δὴ οὕτω πρῶ ἀφῖξαι; ("but why have you arrived so early in the morning?"), Demosthenes, *Against Phormion* 33: τί ἐτι περὶ τῆς νεῶς διαλέγεις; ("why do you still speak of the ship?"), *In Theocritum* 52: ἀλλὰ σὺ τί διδάσκεις με πάντας τοὺς τρόπους οἷς δεῖ με τιμωρῆσθαι τοὺς ἐχρούς; ("but why are you teaching me all the ways in which I must punish the enemies?"), Xenophon, *Hellenika* I. 7, 26: τί δὲ καὶ ... ἐπείγεσθε; ("and why were you in a hurry?"), διὰ τί; Demosthenes, *De Halonneso* 43: διὰ τί οὐ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Χερρονήσιτας τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἔσται; ("why is not the same justice / right shown to the other inhabitants of Cher(s)onnesos?"), *In Dionysodorum* 24: διὰ τί οὖν, φησὶν, ἐμισθωσάμην ἕτερα πλοῖα; ("why then did I hire other ships?"), ἵνα τί; Platon, *Apologia* 26d: ὦ θαυμάσιε Μέλητε, ἵνα τί ταῦτα λέγεις; ("Excellent Melitos, why do you say these things?").

<sup>225</sup> Τί; occurs in Mt 6:9; 17:10; 19:7, 17; 20:6; 22:18; 26:10; Mk 4:40; 5:35; 10:18; 14:46; Lk 6:2, 41, 46; 12:57; 18:19; Jn 9:27; 10:20; 18:21; Act 1:11; Col 2:20. Διὰ τί; occurs in Mt 9:11, 14; 13:5, 10; 15:2, 3; 17:19; 21:25; Mk 2:18; 7:5; 11:31; Lk 5:30; 9:7; 20:5; 24:38; Jn 7:45; 8:43, 46; 13:37; Act 5:3; Rom 9:32; 1 Cor 6:7; 2 Cor 11:11.

spectively<sup>226</sup>. Πρὸς τί occurs only once in an indirect question in Jn 18:28. The NT increase of διὰ τί questions is interesting, since this has become the universal *N* Katharevousa interrogative particle for *why*?<sup>227</sup>. It is usually spelled as one word (διατί)<sup>228</sup>. The corresponding interrogative particle in Demotic is γιατί;<sup>229</sup>. Τί is very seldom used in *why*?-questions<sup>230</sup>, keeping to its basic meaning of *what*?<sup>231</sup>, while the νά, which has developed from ἵνα, cannot be used interrogatively<sup>232</sup>. Once again, we see that in interrogative clauses, too, the NT has developed in the direction of *N*, and that the changes completed in *N* explain the phenomena of the NT.

### 5. Μὼν, μὴ ἄρα (μὴ γάρ), ἦ

In *A* times we often meet with the particle μὼν<sup>233</sup>. This is derived from μὴ οὖν (in Doric μὴ ὄν)<sup>234</sup> and is used by *i.a.* tragedians<sup>235</sup>, comedians<sup>236</sup>, and philosophers<sup>237</sup> in questions that expect a negative answer.

<sup>226</sup> Ἰνα τί; is found in Mt 9:4; 27:46; Lk 13:7; Act 4:25; 7:26; and 1 Cor 10:29. Εἰς τί; is met with in Mt 14:31; 26:8; Mk 15:34; and Act 3:3. In early Christian authors ἵνα τί; is almost obsolescent. It occurs three times in *Testament of Abraham* (rec. A) (I A.D.), 8:37: ἵνα τί ταῦτα εἴρηκας ("why have you said these things?"); also 8:19 and 8:36.

<sup>227</sup> Its frequency can be gauged from its occurrences in the medical author Adamantios Judaeos (IV-V A.D.), e.g. *De ventis* 37, 15: διὰ τί οἱ ἄνεμοι ... λοξὴν πρὸς τὴν γῆν τὴν φορὰν ποιοῦνται; ("why do the winds ... blow in a curved direction on earth?"), 37, 26; 38, 16; 38, 25; 39, 14; 39, 21; 40, 6, 22; 41, 5; 42, 24; 43, 25, etc.

<sup>228</sup> For the spelling and accentuation of ἵνατί and διατί see the Grammarian Arkadios (II A.D.), *De accentibus* 209, 18: τὸ ἵνατί καὶ διατί καὶ ἐν συνεπείᾳ ὀξύνεται ("ἵνατί and διατί receive the acute even in composition").

<sup>229</sup> For the development of γιατί out of διὰ see under "Cases: Genitive", above.

<sup>230</sup> It is still frequently used in the sense of *why*? in early Christian authors, e.g. *Acta Pauli* frg. 7, 30: τί οὕτως στυγνὸς καὶ κατηφής, κύριε; ("why are you so gloomy and downcast, Oh Lord?"), *Martyrium Pauli* 3, 4: τί σοι ἔδοξεν λάθρα εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν; ("why did you decide to go secretly in the Roman imperium?") (similarly *Acta Pauli* frg. 9, 2), *Acta Philippi* 59, 2: ὦ μητερ, τί ταῦτα λέγεις; *Acta Thomae* 114, 6: τί σε ἡ χαλεπὴ αὕτη κατέχει νόσος; ("why does this terrible sickness hold you in its grip?"), *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* 33, 10: τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; For *N* I may cite: τί φωνάζεις; ("why are you shouting?"), τί κτυπᾷς; ("why are you banging?"), τί κλαῖς; ("why are you weeping?"), etc.

<sup>231</sup> Τί, as γιατί in the sense of "because", occurs in Κρυστάλλη, *Σταυραϊτός*, 45: αἰτέ, πάρε με ἀπάνου στὰ βουνά, τί θὰ μὲ φάη ὁ κάμπος ("eagle, take me up to the mountains, because the plain will consume me").

<sup>232</sup> Εἰς, which in Demotic has been turned to σέ, σ', or been conflated with a following article in the accusative (στόν, στήν, στό, etc.), is not used in interrogative clauses.

<sup>233</sup> E.g. Hipponax, 52: μὼν χαραδριὸν περνᾷς; ("do you sell a curlew?").

Mōn has disappeared from *P* Greek<sup>238</sup>, having given place to μὴ ἄρα (or μὴ ἄρα)<sup>239</sup>, and especially to μὴ γάρ, which occurs only four times in the NT<sup>240</sup>. According to Moeris, 203, 24: μὼν Ἀττικοί, μὴ ἄρα Ἑλληνες (“μὼν is used by Atticists, μὴ ἄρα by Greeks in general”).

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Apollonios Dyskolos, *De conjunctionibus* II. 1, 1 σύνθετος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ καὶ οὖν (“compounded of μὴ καὶ οὖν”). Tryphon, *Περὶ τρόπων* 10. 6 disagreed with this derivation both on account of its semantics, that the prohibitive μὴ could not be joined to the reasoning οὖν in order to create a deliberative (i.e. μὼν), and as to phonetics, that μὼν had in that case elided the υ (of οὖν), which did not happen with other *synaloiphes* (e.g. δὴ αὐτε = δηῦτε). Others maintained that the υ had been elided on account of cacophony. Apollonios (*De conjunctionibus* II. 1, 1) explains that οὐ παρὰ τὸν οὖν ἡ σύνθεσις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ὦν, ὄντα καὶ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ Αἰολικὸν καὶ Δωρικόν (“the compound was made not with οὖν, but with ὦν, which was Ionic, Aiolic, and Doric”).

<sup>235</sup> E.g. Aischylos, *Iketides* 417: μὼν οὐ δοκεῖ δεῖν φροντίδος σωτηρίου; (“does it not appear that we need to take thought of escape?”), *Agamemnon* 1203: μὼν καὶ θεὸς περ ἱμέρω πεπληγμένος; (“surely, a god is not struck by longing?”), Sophokles, *Philokletes* 734 μὼν ἄλγος ἴσχεις τῆς παρεστώσης νόσου; (“so, you are not in pain on account of your present illness?”), Euripides, *Kyklops* 158: μὼν τὸν λάρυγγα διεκάναξέ σου καλῶς (“has anything run gurgling through your larynx?”), *Alkestis* 484: πῶς οὖν δυνήσῃ; μὼν ἄπειρος εἰ ξένου; (“how are you going to manage it? You are not without experience of a stranger?”), *Frg.* 1008: μὼν φόνον τιν’ εἰργάσω; (“so, you have not committed a murder?”).

<sup>236</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 396: μὼν ὁ γέρων πη διαδύεται αὐ; (“the old man isn’t slipping away again?”), *Ekklesiazousai* 976: οὗτος, τί κόπτεις; μὼν ἐμὲ ζητεῖς; (“you there, why are you crying? you are not looking for me?”).

<sup>237</sup> E.g. Platon, *Sophistes* 263a: μὼν μὴ μακρὸς ὁ λόγος; (“the speech is not long?”), *Lysis* 208e: Ἡράκλεις, ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, μὼν μὴ τι ἡδίκηκας τὸν πατέρα ἢ τὴν μητέρα; (“Herakles! said I, you haven’t wronged your father or your mother?”), *Protagoras* 310d: μὼν τι σε ἀδικεῖ Πρωταγόρας; (“in what does Protagoras wrong you?”), *Menon* 84b: μὼν τι ἐβλάψαμεν; (“what wrong have we done?”).

<sup>238</sup> It does not occur in Xenophon, Demosthenes nor Aischines. Cf. Lukianos, *Lexiphanes* 21: πρῶτον τοῦτ’ ὁ μὼν, εἴτα μετ’ αὐτὸ ἐξελήλυθεν τὸ κᾶτα; (“first, this μὼν, then after this κᾶτα came up”).

<sup>239</sup> Μὴ ἄρα does not occur at all in Demosthenes, Xenophon, Polybios, Ploutarchos, Ailios Aristides, Dion Chrysostomos, LXX, *Testament of XII Patriarchs*, NT, the Apostolic Fathers (Polykarpos, Hermas, *Didache*, Barnabas, Ignatios), the Apologists (Justin, Tatianos, Athenagoras, Theophilos, *Letter to Diognetos*), and Klement of Alexandria. Only Klement of Rome has it once (100, 6). Of the above authors μὴ ἄρα occurs very infrequently in Xenophon, Polybios, Ailios Aristides, Dion Chrysostomos, Klement of Rome, and Klement of Alexandria. Μήπως and μή τι seem to have replaced these particles, at any rate in the NT, where they occur ten times in the Pauline letters and three times in John.

<sup>240</sup> Jn 7:41; 1 Cor 11:22; Jas 1:7, and 1 Pt 4:15.

## 6. Εἰ - ἦ, ἦ-ἦ, εἰ μήν - ἦ μήν (ἡμήν)

The question of whether the NT spelling should be εἰ or ἦ, ἦ or ἦ, and εἰ μήν or ἦ μήν is a tricky one. ἦ is an adverb with two main uses: confirmatory ('verily', 'certainly', 'in truth')<sup>241</sup> and interrogative both in direct and indirect questions without alternatives, often suggesting the answer to a previous question<sup>242</sup>. It was very popular in archaic and A times: it occurs hundreds of times in Homeros and it is frequent in Aischylos, Aristophanes, Euripides, Platon, Sophokles, Thoukydides, and Xenophon. In its interrogative function it was more popular than the interrogative particle ἄρα, which does not occur at all in Homeros and Thoukydides, and achieves only a fraction of the combined occurrences of ἦ in Aischylos, Aristophanes, Euripides, Platon, Sophokles, and Xenophon.

ἦ is often intensified by other particles, such as ἦ ἄρα<sup>243</sup>, ἦ γάρ<sup>244</sup>, ἦ δῆτα<sup>245</sup>, and ἦ μήν (see below).

In the NT there are a number of interrogative and asseverative clauses which constitute a problem. In the interrogative clauses the introductory particle η has been interpreted as the disjunctive and comparative *or* and been accented as ἦ. A disjunctive particle presupposes a double question, whereas in the cases under review the ἦ introduces simple direct questions, as, e.g., Mt 26:52-53: τότε λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀπόστρεψον τὴν μάχαράν σου εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς ... ἦ δοκεῖς ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ παραστήσει μοι ἄρτι πλεῖω δώδεκα λεγιῶνας ἀγγέλων; The ἦ here has been explained as a rhetorical device to introduce a rhetorical question: "or do you think that ..."<sup>246</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> Homeros, *Ilias* V. 800: ἦ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τυδεύς ("in truth the son that Tydeus begat was little like himself").

<sup>242</sup> Homeros, *Ilias* I. 203: τίπτε αὐτ', αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, εἰλήλουθας; ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃς Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαιο; ("Why have you come again, Daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus? Is it in order that you see the hybris of Agamemnon, son of Atreus?"), Platon, *Apologia* 25a: καὶ μοι ἀποκρίναι· ἦ καὶ περὶ ἵππους οὕτω σοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν; ("answer me: do you think that this is really the case with horses, too?").

<sup>243</sup> Homeros, *Odysseia* XXIV. 193: Ὀλβιε Λαέρτιο πάϊ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, ἦ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτίσω ἀκοιτην ("Happy are you, wily Odysseus, son of Laertes, truly the wife you won was of great virtue").

<sup>244</sup> Homeros, *Ilias* I. 78: ἦ γάρ οἶομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων Ἀργείων κρατέει ("for in truth I believe I will anger a man who bears sway over all the Argives").

<sup>245</sup> Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 429: ἦ ταῦτα δεῖτ' ἀνεκτὰ πρὸς τοῦτου κλύειν; ("is it really bearable to listen to him?").

<sup>246</sup> The same is thought to be the case with Rm 3:29; 6:3; 11:2; 1 Cor 6:9; 14:36; 2 Cor 11:7; 1 Th 2:19; and Jas 4:5.

In the nature of the case it is not impossible to introduce a question by a “rhetorical” *or*. The question introduced by “or” must, however, be naturally occasioned by the foregoing and be closely related to it. It is at this point – the smooth and natural relation of the question to the foregoing clause – that the difficulties arise. For example, Rm 3:28-29: λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίσται ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου. Ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; makes a disjunctive *ἢ* introducing the question quite abrupt and unnatural.

The fact that the question is (in the modern editions) separated from the previous clause by a period accentuates the problem of relation. In Rm 11:2: οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω. Ἡ οὐκ οἶδατε ἐν Ἠλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή ...; *H* does not introduce a rhetorical question which contains the answer. The answer is explicitly supplied by Paul himself in the following verses. The *ἢ* οὐκ οἶδατε of 1 Cor 6:9 does not follow naturally from vs. 8: ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε καὶ τοῦτο ἀδελφούς even though both verses treat the same general theme. 1 Cor 14:35-36: αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἢ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξηλήθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν; is instructive in that it shows that the two occurrences of *H* are dissimilar in function. The second *η* is a true disjunctive connecting the two questions, whereas the function of the first *η* is to introduce the question and should be spelled as *ἦ*. In 2 Cor 11:7, where the difference of theme in vv. 6 and 7 disallows their standing together, this ‘rhetorical’ *ἦ* is (in the *GNT*) made to introduce a new paragraph! Finally, in 1 Th 2:19: τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἢ ἐλπὶς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος καυχήσεως – ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ...; the disjunctive significance of the last *ἦ* is grammatically impossible<sup>247</sup>. Neither can *ἦ* be interpreted as comparative. It is not without interest that the versions have disregarded this *ἦ* or have translated it as though it were *ἦ*<sup>248</sup>.

In introducing questions Paul uses the phrase *ἢ ἀγνοῖτε* twice, in Rm 6:3 and 7:1, while he uses the phrase *ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε* six times: Rm 11:2; 1 Cor 6:2, 9, 16 (*v.l.* without *ἦ*), 19; 9:13, and its variant *οὐκ οἶδατε* also six

<sup>247</sup> See also Jas 4:5.

<sup>248</sup> E.g. *Rheims*: “Are not you?”, *AV*: “Are not even ye?”, *Amplified*: “Is it not you?”, *NASB*: “Is it not even you?”, *NAB*: “If not you yourselves?”, *NIV*: “Is it not you?”, *NRSV*: “Is it not you?”. *Luther*: “seid nicht auch ihr es?” and *Elberfelder*: “nicht auch ihr” follow suit. *Einheitsübersetzung*: “nicht etwa auch ihr”. In the above passages the *Italian* has “or” only in Rm 6:3 and Jas 4:5, the *Spanish* admits it nowhere, while the *Swedish Bibeln 2000* rejects “or” everywhere except in Rm 3:26 and Jas 4:5. The *French* allows “or” in Rm 3:29 and 2 Cor 11:7, rejecting it or translating it as *ἦ* in Mt 26:53: “Penses-tu que je ne?”, Rm 6:3: “ignorez-vous que?”, Rm 11:2: “ne savez-vous pas ce que?”, 1 Cor 6:9: “ne savez-vous pas ce que?”, 1 Cor 14:36: “est-ce de chez vous que?”, Jas 4:5: “croyez-vous que?”, 1 Th 2:19: “n’est-ce pas vous aussi?”



times: Rm 6:16 (v.l.  $\eta$ ); 1 Cor 3:16; 5:6; 6:3, 15; 9:24<sup>249</sup>. Comparing the two sets of οὐκ οἶδατε questions in Paul with and without the  $\eta$  shows that there is no reason whatsoever why Paul should not have introduced also Rm 6:16; 1 Cor 3:16; 5:6; 6:3, 15 with  $\eta$ <sup>250</sup>. The effect of this 'rhetorical'  $\eta$  is to give a critical sting to the question.

If this were really the function of  $\eta$  here, its presence in the other questions would only have served to make them more pointed. Paul's failure to use it in the second group of texts is unaccountable. If, however, the  $\eta$  is the well-known adverb introducing questions like the ἄρα, then its presence or absence can easily be accounted for. This  $\eta$  was a mere interrogative particle which did not add anything more to the question except a faint nuance of *really, in truth*, and, like ἄρα, it had by this time become optional.

But as the proof of the pudding is the eating thereof, we might try to substitute this 'rhetorical'  $\eta$  by the interrogative  $\eta$  or ἄρα in a few of the above texts to see whether the substitution spoils the 'broth'. Rm 3:28-29: λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιουῖσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.  $\eta$  / ἄρα Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; ("for we reckon that a man is justified by faith without works. Is God [in truth] the God of the Jews only?"); Rm 11:2: οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω.  $\eta$  / ἄρα οὐκ οἶδατε ἐν Ἠλῖα τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; ("God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew. Do you not [really] know what the Scripture says in connection with Elias?"); 1 Cor 6:8-9: ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε καὶ τοῦτο ἀδελφούς.  $\eta$  / ἄρα οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἀδικοὶ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν; ("But you defraud and deprive and that your brothers. Do you not [really] know that unjust people will not inherit the kingdom of God?"). Finally, 1 Th 2:19: τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐλπὶς ἢ χαρὰ ἢ στέφανος καυχήσεως;  $\eta$  / ἄρα οὐχὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς; ("For what is our hope or our joy or the crown of our boasting? Is it not [actually] you [among others]?"). It is instructive at this point to quote Chrysostomos, *Contra Ioudaios* 56, 266, 18: μοιχείας ἐγένου πεπληρωμένος, καὶ ἐρωτᾷς, ποία κακία;  $\eta$  οὐκ ἤκουσας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος: Ὁ ἐμβλέψας γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμήσαι, ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν.<sup>251</sup> This construction is identical with the NT examples, above. The  $\eta$  might, therefore, have been accented as  $\eta$  and made to mean: "Or have you not heard what Christ said?" Yet in this case the editors have allowed the adverbial  $\eta$  which gives the meaning: "Have you not [really]

<sup>249</sup> To these may be added Jn 19:10 (οὐκ οἶδας), and Jas 4:4.

<sup>250</sup> 1 Cor 9:24 could not be introduced by this 'rhetorical' disjunctive  $\eta$ .

<sup>251</sup> "Have you been filled with [the thought of] adultery, and you ask, what is wrong? or have you not heard Christ saying: 'He who looks upon a woman with desire has already committed adultery against her'?"

heard what Christ said?" All of the above-quoted passages could be introduced by the interrogative *ἤ* or *ἥρα* with the same result.

And now we may ask: What is the difference between 1 Cor 6:2: *ἡ οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινοῦσιν*; and 6:3: *οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ἄγγέλους κρινοῦμεν*; From the point of view of the 'or -position' there is no difference at all! In fact, the disjunctive *ἤ* could have been used with greater reason at 6:3 to connect its question with the previous one. If, however, we accept the *ἤ* at 6:2, then Paul is adding a little more emphasis on the first question, with its startling implications, which would have been too clumsy (spoiling the effect) if he had repeated it in the second: "Do you not [really] know that the saints will judge the cosmos?" and then proceeds to specify it more narrowly by involving the Corinthians themselves in this cosmic judgment: "do you not know that we (you and I) are going to judge angels?"

The problem is an acoustic one. First, the earliest (uncial) MSS had no accents, and second, the pronunciation of the times made no distinction between the disjunctive conjunction *ἤ* and the interrogative adverb *ἤ*. Since *ἤ* had by early Christian times fallen in disuse in popular compositions<sup>252</sup>, the only near alternative was to take it as the disjunctive conjunction *ἤ*. When at a later period accents came to be applied in the minuscules, the word was accented accordingly.

Related to the above, though a separate problem, is the NT phenomenon of introducing direct questions with *εἰ*. This conditional particle is the normal particle for introducing indirect questions in most periods of the language<sup>253</sup>. It is, however, claimed that Biblical Greek, under the influence of the Hebrew *אם*, uses this particle also to introduce direct questions. This is said to be the case, for example, in Mt 12:10: *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος χεῖρα ἔχων ξηράν. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασι*

<sup>252</sup> Indicative of this is the fact that *ἤ* occurs only once in *Acta Alexandrinorum* (A.D. II-III) and not at all in *Acta Barnabae* (uncertain date), *Acta et Martyrium Apollonii* (A.D. II-IV), *Acta Eupli* (A.D. IV), *Acta Ioannis* (A.D. II), *Acta Iustini et septem Sodalium* (A.D. II-III), *Acta Pauli* (A.D. II), *Acta Petri* (A.D. II), *Acta Phileae* (A.D. IV), *Acta Philippi* (uncertain date), *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum* (A.D. II-III), *Acta Thomae* (A.D. III), *Acta Xanthippe et Polyxenae* (A.D. III), *Adamantius Theologus* (A.D. IV), nor in *Testaments of XII Patriarchs* (II B.C. - A.D. III), *Testamentum Abrahæ* (A.D. I), *Testamentum Jobi* (A.D. II-III), *Testamentum Salomonis* (? A.D. III), and *Testamentum XL Martyrum* (after A.D. IV).

<sup>253</sup> *ἢ* occurs, however, in such Atticizing Church Fathers as Basilios fourteen times (often in the combination *ἢ μὲν*), about twenty-eight times in Gregorios Nazianzenos, some forty times in Gregorios Nysses (usually followed by *γάρ*), and about sixty times in Chrysostomos.

<sup>253</sup> Until in *N* *εἰ* gave place to *ἐάν*.

θεραπεῦσαι; Lk 13:23: εἶπεν δέ τις αὐτῷ κύριε, εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι; Act 7:1: εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει;<sup>254</sup> *LSJ* and Δημητράκου, *Μέγα Λεξικόν* s.v. do not quote any examples of εἰ introducing direct questions in Greek authors. If, in spite of this, this is still to be accepted for the NT, it must be a new development<sup>255</sup>.

The construction occurs relatively infrequently in the LXX<sup>256</sup>, but it is unknown in *N*. In the currently available inscriptional material, *PHI*, εἰ occurs some 3,600 times, but of the hundreds of random passages I checked I found not a single occurrence of εἰ in direct or indirect questions. They were all conditional or exceptive usually in the form εἰ δέ τι, εἰ δέ τις, and εἰ δέ μή. In the Papyri currently available, εἰ occurs almost 2,800 times, but a random check of many hundreds of these passages produced not one example of εἰ in direct questions, and only six instances of εἰ in indirect questions. Doubtless, there are more instances of the latter, though their total number cannot be but negligible. This result is in line with the observation, above, that indirect speech was shunned at this time, having given place to direct discourse<sup>257</sup>.

<sup>254</sup> See also Mt 19:3; Mk 8:23; Lk 22:49; Act 1:6; 19:2; 21:37; 22:25, and 23:9.

<sup>255</sup> *BDAG*, s.v., recognizes the use of εἰ in direct questions. For this they refer to *BDF* § 440 and ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 916, both of whom regard it unclassical usage and as being under the influence of the LXX. *BDAG* cite as New Testament examples Mt 12:10; 19:3; Lk 14:3 v.l.; Act 21:37 and 22:25, which they precede by a few LXX examples, such as Gen 17:17 and 44:19. The German edition, *BDR*, § 440, accept the direct question use of εἰ, which they think is unclassical, but only under the influence of the Hebrew הִיא. ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 916, who admits that "the construction with a direct question is unclassical and may be due to the Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew הִיא (sic)", understands it either as an elliptical condition or that "it is an indirect question". He quotes WINER-THAYER as saying that the idiom has "attained all the rights of a direct interrogative". However, the proffered texts for the direct question use of εἰ in the NT (and the LXX) could conceivably be interpreted differently under the influence of indirect reported speech, especially Hebrew.

<sup>256</sup> E.g. LXX Gen 17:17: Καὶ ἔπεσεν Ἀβραάμ ... καὶ εἶπεν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ λέγων Εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετῇ γενήσεται, καὶ εἰ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξεται; 24:23; 43:7; Ex 2:14; 17:7; Jdg 13:11; 1 Kgds 9:11; 2 Kgds 2:1; 3 Kgds 13:14; 4 Kgds 1:3; 2 Chr 18:5.

<sup>257</sup> This result is borne out also by a look at the earliest popular Christian writings: for example, *Acta Alexandrinorum*, *Acta Barnabae*, *Acta et Martyrium Apollonii*, *Acta Eupli*, *Acta Ioannis*, *Acta Iustini et Septem Sodalium*, *Acta Pauli*, *Acta Petri*, *Acta Phileae*, *Acta Philippi*, *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum*, *Acta Thomae*, *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae*, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, *Testamentum Abrahæ*, *Testamentum Jobi*, *Testamentum Salomonis*, and *Testamentum XL Martyrum* contain εἰ about 221 times, but only 9 (10) times in indirect questions, and only once in a direct question: *Acta Joannis* 90, 20: Κύριε, εἰ τὸ τίμα σου παίζοντος τοιαύτην ἀληθὴν ἀγαθὴν πεποιήκειν, τί εἰ ῥαπίσμασιν μοι ἔλαβες; ("Lord, if your playing the *tiama* [a kind of musical instru-

At the same time the above data poses the following dilemma: either *ei* is used in direct questions in the LXX and the NT as a result of Hebrew influence or *ei* replaced in the MS tradition an original *h̄*, which was no longer understood, and therefore *ei* should now be emended to *h̄*.

The Heb. אִם 'if' is actually used in direct questions, though rarely<sup>258</sup>, as for example:

1 Kg 1:27: הֲזֶה נַחֲמֵךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ נְהִיָּה הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה אִם

"Has this thing been done by my lord the king?"<sup>259</sup> Since Hebrew is averse to reported speech, reports are normally reproduced in direct discourse. But even so, examples of indirect questions are not altogether absent, e.g.

Cant 7:13: נִשְׁכִּימָה לְבֹרָמִים נִרְאָה אִם פָּרְחָה הַנֶּפֶן

"let us rise early [and go] to the vineyards to see if the vine has budded"<sup>260</sup>. אִם occurs also as a disjunctive in double questions, i.e.

Josh 5:13: וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הֲלֵנוּ אִתָּהּ אִם לְצָרֵינוּ

"and he said: Are you for us or for our enemies?"<sup>261</sup>. The LXX renders אִם in these three texts with *ei*, *ei*, and *h̄* respectively.

These circumstances make it possible to conceive of *ei* as having come under the influence of Heb אִם both with regard to the LXX and the NT. However, the problem cannot be settled before taking into consideration the asseverative phrase *ei* ἢν or ἢ ἢν and treating the MS variants.

As was pointed out above, the other function of *h̄* was asseverative or confirmatory. The Byzantine Lexicon *Etymologicum Magnum* (XII A.D.) 416, 50, defines *h̄* as ἐπίρηγμα ὀρκιστόν, "an adverb pertaining to oaths". In this capacity it was often strengthened by the particle ἢν (Aeolic μάν, related to μέν), 'truly', 'verily', which at an earlier time had been defined

ment? the word is not found in any Lexicon] produced so much pain to me, what / how much more if you were to take me with slaps on the face?").

<sup>258</sup> GESENIUS, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 150 f.

<sup>259</sup> See also Jb 6:12: אִם-כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים כֹּחִי "is my strength the strength of stones?"

<sup>260</sup> GESENIUS, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 150 i, note 2, cautions that "the distinction between direct and indirect questions cannot have been recognized by the Hebrew mind to the same extent as it is in Latin or English. In Hebrew there is no difference between the two kinds of sentence, either as regards mood (as in Latin) or in tense and position of the words (as in English)".

<sup>261</sup> See also Gen 17:17:

וַיִּצְחַק וַיֹּאמֶר בְּלִבּוֹ הֲלֵב "מֵאֵה-שָׁנָה יוֹלֵד וְאִם-שָׂרָה הִבְתָּ-הַשְׁעִים שָׁנָה חֵלֶל

"and he laughed and said to himself, 'Shall a son be born to a man one hundred years old, or shall Sara who is ninety years old bear?'"; Job 6:12: נָחוּשׁ אִם-בָּשָׂר נָחוּשׁ "or is my flesh bronze?", both cases rendered in the LXX with *h̄*.

by the last great Grammarian (II A.D.), Ailius Herodianos<sup>262</sup>, son of Apollonios Dyskolos, as ὀρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα, the two words having merged to form one word: ἡμὴν<sup>263</sup>.

Thus, in *E-A* times ἡ μὴν (ἡ μάν, ἡ μέν) occurs not infrequently in asseverations and oaths<sup>264</sup>.

In the NT the expression ἡ μὴν does not occur at all, but the expression εἰ μὴν occurs just once, in Heb 6:14. This text quotes Gen 22:17, which in Rahlfs' edition runs: ἡ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου. Rahlfs has based his text on the Polyglot reading. In Heb 6:14 the witnesses are divided: the Egyptian tradition (P<sup>46</sup> X A B C) has εἰ μὴν whereas the M text reads ἡ μὴν.

In Rahlfs' edition of the LXX, the expression ἡ μὴν occurs eleven times<sup>265</sup> and the expression εἰ μὴν nine times<sup>266</sup>. A comparison of the function of these two expressions within their context shows, however, that they are used interchangeably<sup>267</sup>. The function of both of them is to make a sol-

<sup>262</sup> Cf. CARAGOUNIS, "Scholarship, Greek and Roman, 5. 5. 1", *Dictionary of NT Background* 2000, 1065-86.

<sup>263</sup> Herodianos, *De prosodia catholica* 3, 1, 508: τὸ δὲ ἡμὴν ὀρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα ὁξύνεται ("ἡμὴν is an adverb for oaths and receives the acute"). Similarly also his *Peri Iliakes prosodias* 3, 2 23: ἡμὴν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὀρκικὸν ἐπίρρημα, and *Peri pathon* (supplementum), 3, 2, 359.

<sup>264</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Ilias* II. 291: ἡ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι ("truly there is also such toil as to make a man return dejected"), VII. 393: κουριδίην δ' ἄλοχον Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο οὐ φησιν δώσειν· ἡ μὴν Τρῳᾶς γε κέλονται ("he [Paris] refuses to give up the wedded wife of glorious Menelaos, though in fact the Trojans have urged him to do so"), Aischylos, *Prometheus* 73: ἡ μὴν κελεύσω κάπι-θωύξω ("I will truly command and shout"), Homeros, *Ilias* II. 350: ἡ μάν (old epic; the speaker is Agamemnon) αὐτ' ἄγορῃ νικᾶς, γέρον ("verily once more, old man, you win in discourse"), Sappho, *frg.* 31, 5: τό μ' ἡ μάν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόοισεν ("truly the heart within the breast is passionately excited"), Herodotos, IV. 154: ἡ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσιν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῇ ("verily to serve him in whatever he might request"). Finally, in Platon's *Phaidon* 115d, the expression is used twice by Sokrates to impress upon his disciples his teaching on the immortality of the soul: οὗτος γὰρ ἐγγυᾷτο ἡ μὴν παραμενεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡ μὴν μὴ παραμενεῖν ἐγγυήσασθε ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνω ("he [Kriton] was giving guarantees in order that I might certainly remain in life (i.e. not to be condemned to death), but you [must guarantee] that I will certainly not remain [here] as soon as I have died [sc. my dead body will remain, but not I]").

<sup>265</sup> Gen 22:17; 42:16; Ex 22:7; 22:10; Num 14:23; 14:28; 14:35; Job 13:15; 27:3; 45:23, and Bar 2:29. Some of these have εἰ μὴν as v.l.

<sup>266</sup> Jdg 15:7, Jud 1:12; Job 1:11; 2:5; Ez 33:27; 34:8; 35:6; 36:5, and 38:19.

<sup>267</sup> Cf., e.g., Job 13:15: ἐάν με χειρώσῃται ὁ δυνάστης, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἥρκαται, ἡ μὴν λαλήσω καὶ ἐλέγξω ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ with Job 1:11: ἀλλὰ ἀπόστειλον τὴν χειρὰ σου καὶ ἄψαι πάντων, ὧν ἔχει· εἰ μὴν εἰς πρόσωπόν σε εὐλογήσει. In Job 1:11 (as also in

emphatic affirmation, to confirm a statement, or to introduce an oath, or an oathlike utterance<sup>268</sup>.

This would seem to imply that ἡ μήν and εἰ μήν are variants of one and the same phrase.

In the LXX the simple adverb ἡ occurs c. thirty-eight times in introducing direct questions<sup>269</sup> and three times in introducing solemn statements<sup>270</sup>. When it is remembered that the LXX on occasion also uses εἰ to introduce direct questions, the conclusion is unavoidable that the two forms ἡ and εἰ are but two different spellings of the same word. Since ἡ μήν and εἰ μήν are, as we have already seen, used interchangeably, it must be regarded as established that Greek does not use εἰ in direct questions nor εἰ μήν in asseverative, confirmatory utterances, but that these two forms are misspellings for ἡ and ἡ μήν respectively.

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that εἰ μήν is totally unknown to such representative *A* authors as Aischines, Aischylos, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Euripides, Platon, Sophokles, Thoukydides, and Xenophon. These authors evidence only the form ἡ μήν with the following frequency: Aischines once, Aischylos five times, Aristophanes 13 times, Demosthenes 19 times, Euripides four times, Platon 12 times, Sophokles five times, Thoukydides nine times, and Xenophon 23 times.

The Jewish authors Josephus and Philon do not know εἰ μήν. They use ἡ twelve and seven times respectively, but ἡ μήν occurs only in Josephus (twenty times)<sup>271</sup>.

Of significance is also the fact that later authors barely use the expression. Thus, ἡ μήν occurs four times in Polybios, seven times in the volumi-

2:5) εὐλογῇ (like the Heb עֲבָדָה) is used euphemistically for "to curse" (not noted by the *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, I, s.v.). So, too, 3 Kgds 20:10.

<sup>268</sup> Cf., e.g., Num 14:28: Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ἡ μήν ... ποιήσω ὑμῖν with Ez 35:6: Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, εἰ μήν εἰς αἷμα ἡμαρτες, καὶ αἷμα σε διώξεται. καὶ δώσω ... καὶ ἀπολῶ ... Num 14:35: καὶ γνώσεσθε τὸ θυμὸν τῆς ὀργῆς μου. ἐγὼ κύριος ἐλάλησα· ἡ μήν οὕτως ποιήσω τῇ συναγωγῇ τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ with Ez 38:19: λέγει κύριος κύριος ... ἐν πυρὶ τῆς ὀργῆς μου ἐλάλησα. Εἰ μήν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσαι σεις μὲν μέγας ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰσραὴλ.

<sup>269</sup> Jdg 14:15; 1 Kgds 10:11-12; 21:16; 22:15; 24:17; 2 Kgds 2:26; 3:25; 18:13; 2 Chr 13:9; 2 Esd 12:19; Job 6:13; 8:10; 9:26; 10:3, 4, 5, 10, 20; 11:7; 13:8, 25; 15:8; 17:15, 16; 22:4, 13; 27:9; 31:26; 38:12, 14, 32; 39:19; 40:9; Isa 66:8; Jer 7:17; Lam 2:15; Bel & Draco 6:2.

<sup>270</sup> 2 Kgds 14:13: καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνή, ... ἡ ἐκ στόματος τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὡς πλημμέλεια τοῦ μὴ ἐπιστρέφειν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐξωσμένον αὐτοῦ. Job 9:14: ἡ διακρινεῖ τὰ ῥήματά μου, and 12:2: εἴτα ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἄνθρωποι· ἡ μεθ' ὑμῶν τελευτῇ-σει σοφία.

<sup>271</sup> Philon has it once in a quotation from Gen 22:17 in *Legum Allegoriarum* 3, 203.

nous Ploutarchos, thrice in Dion Chrysostomos, six times in Ailios Aristides, and not at all in Diodoros Sikeliotes.

To the above evidence must be added also the fact that neither εἰ μήν nor ἤ μήν are known to the many Christian Acta (A.D. I-IV)<sup>272</sup>, while of the following *P* and *B* authors Apollodoros of Athens (II B.C.), Appianos (A.D. I-II), Athenaios (A.D. II-III), Palladios (A.D. IV-V), Kallinikos (A.D. V), Ioannis Malalas (A.D. V-VI), Prokopios (A.D. VI), Leontios (A.D. VII), Georgios Chiroboskos (A.D. V/IX), Theophanes Confessor (A.D. VIII-IX), Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX), and Anna Komnene (A.D. XI-XII) ἡ μήν is found only in Athenaios (twice)<sup>273</sup>, Appianos (twice)<sup>274</sup>, and in the Atticist Prokopios (eight times)<sup>275</sup>.

The adverb ἤ was dying out, hence the intensive particle μήν, too, was becoming obsolescent. The LXX exhibits remnants of survival for both ἤ and ἡ μήν, but the tendency is now to confuse them with the still vigorous εἰ – which, too, in time was to give place to εἰάν (so in *N*). The reason for this was that ἤ and εἰ were at this time pronounced identically. It is precisely this confusion that explains how εἰ came to be used in direct questions. For once it had become confused with ἤ in indirect questions and substituted for it, it was only a matter of natural consequence that it would invade also the territory of direct questions. Thereby the fate of ἡ μήν, too, was sealed.

The conclusion from the above discussion is that the NT occurrences of εἰ in direct questions, of ἡ where no double questions are involved, and of εἰ μήν should be emended to the correct forms ἤ, ἤ, and ἡ μήν respectively.

## X. Prepositions

Of the many prepositions that might be taken up here, only one preposition will be discussed, by way of example<sup>276</sup>.

In 2 Cor 11:23 we read: διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ. The construction ὑπὲρ ἐγώ is so un-Greek that Jannaris called it

<sup>272</sup> For the list, see above.

<sup>273</sup> Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* IV. 44, 25 and IX. 2, 9.

<sup>274</sup> Appianos, *Syriaka* 317, 2, and *Bellum civile* 11, 20, 145, 1.

<sup>275</sup> Prokopios, *De bellis* I. 5, 15, 3; III. 20, 23, 1; IV. 1, 11, 4; IV. 21, 20, 6; VI. 1, 14, 4; VIII. 27, 21, 4, and *Historia Arcana* V. 10, 3, and XXI. 16, 2.

<sup>276</sup> As was explained at the beginning of this chapter, this ch. is highly selective: it takes up only one or a few points from each of the areas of syntax in order to illustrate the relevance of later Greek for many of the exegetical issues of the NT.

a “monstrous construction”<sup>277</sup>. W-H understood ὑπέρ as ὑπερ<sup>278</sup>. This lends some credence to the suggestion that ὑπερ is a mistake for εἰ περ on account of the then current pronunciation, according to which the two words would have sounded similarly. The options are three: (a) ὑπέρ functions as an adverb: “I, more” or “I, above”. Against this view is the fact that ὑπέρ is not found elsewhere as an adverb;<sup>279</sup> (b) the second possibility is Jannaris’ own suggestion that the expression is an abbreviated form for the fuller and well-established expression εἴ (περ) τις καὶ ἄλλος meaning “if anyone, it is he”. Here the meaning would be “if anyone, it is I” (corresponding to εἴ (περ) τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐγώ);<sup>280</sup> (c) a third possibility would be to understand ὑπέρ ἐγώ elliptically for ὑπέρ αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, i.e. “I, more than they” or “I,

<sup>277</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1685<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>278</sup> See *The New Testament in the Original Greek* by B. F. WESTCOTT and F. J. A. HORT, London: MacMillan 1896.

<sup>279</sup> RIESENFELD, Art. ὑπέρ in *TDNT*, Vol. VIII, 516, assumes the adverbial use of the word (“rare”), and cites as support the grammars by SCHWYZER, BLAB-DEBRUNNER, and ROBERTSON as well as BAUER’s *Lexicon*, etc. SCHWYZER, *Grammatik* II, 422 assumes the adverbial use of ὑπέρ, but cites as examples such composites as ὑπεράγαν, ὑπερλίαν, ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, and refers to BLAB-DEBRUNNER’s *Grammatik* § 230. BLAB-DEBRUNNER-REIHKOPF, *Grammatik* § 230 cite no evidence, but refer to A. T. ROBERTSON. ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 629, in his turn cites the composite ὑπέρ ἄγαν and refers to BLAB for the form ὑπέρ. Thus none of these authors has produced any evidence to support the contention. The commentators (e.g. HUGHES, *Second Corinthians*; MARTIN, *2 Corinthians*) follow suit, but without any more success with regard to evidence.

<sup>280</sup> ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν* Vol III, 2254 s.v. εἰ, gives the forms εἴ τις ἄλλος (e.g. Euripides, *Andromache* 6: εἴ τις ἄλλη, δυστυχεστάτη γυνή, “if there ever was a most unfortunate woman”), εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος (e.g. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* V. 1, 6: εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, καὶ Κύρος ἀξιός ἐστι θαυμάζεσθαι, “if ever there was a man worthy of admiration, it is Kyros” (a variation of this is Dionysios Halikarnasseus, *Isokrates* 3: εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος “if ever another [orator]”; similarly Palladios, *Dialogos* 106: φιλόξενος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, “hospitable, if ever there was one”)); εἴ περ τις ἄλλος (e.g. Platon, *Republic* 501d: τὴν τοιαύτην [φύσιν] ... οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τελέως ἔσεσθε καὶ φιλόσοφον εἴ περ τινὰ ἄλλην; “will not such a nature be wholly good and philosophic if ever there was one?”); Chrysostomos, *Πράξεις* 52:2: τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, εἴ περ τι ἄλλο, ἀξιον δόξης, “for this was to him, if ever anything, worthy of glory”; Anna Comnene (A.D. XI-XII), *Alexias* III. 6, 2: ἀλλ’ ἦν καὶ φιλόπαις, εἴπερ τις ἄλλη γυνή, “she was also a lover of children, if ever there was such a woman”); εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι (see Herodotos, III. 3) as well as the Neohellenic form εἴ περ τις καὶ ἄλλος. An example of this occurs in HATZIDAKIS’ preface to his book (1924), *Ἀκαδημεικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα*, Vol. I, ε’ (written in Katharevousa): ἡ σεβαστὴ σύγκλητος τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου ἐπισταμένη, εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, τὰς ἀνάγκας ταύτας σπεύδει νὰ ψηφίσῃ 30,000 δραχ. πρὸς ἐκδοσὶν τῶν παραδόσεών μου, (“the august senate of the University [of Athens], understanding better than anyone else these needs, was quick to vote 30,000 drs. for the publication of my lectures”).





neither telic nor ecclatic. In a large number of instances the *ἵνα* clause appears to stand in place of a participle or infinitive<sup>287</sup>. For instance, in Mt 5:29: *συμφέρει γὰρ σοι ἵνα ἀπόληται*, the *ἵνα*-clause takes the place of the infinitive *ἀπολέσθαι* in precisely the same way as Mt 19:10 has *οὐ συμφέρει γαμήσαι*<sup>288</sup>. In *N* this would be translated by *νά* (the form *ἵνα* took already in *B* times<sup>289</sup>) = 'to', i.e. *σοῦ συμφέρει νά ἀπολεσθῇ / χαθῇ*.

that he may learn to not trample under foot the decrees of the gods"), Isokrates, *To Demonikos* 26: *τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων μέμνησο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα δοκῇς μὴδὲ τούτων ἀπόντων ὀλιγωρεῖν* ("mention your absent friends to those present, so that (in order that) you may not give them the impression that you neglect them, too, when absent").

<sup>286</sup> Mt 8:8: *οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς ἵνα [= ὥστε] μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσελθῆς* (= 'so that'); Jn 9:2: *τίς ἡμαρτεν οὗτος ἡ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ*; Earlier Greek is not without its examples, see, e.g., Homeros, *Ilias* XIX. 353: *ἡ δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ νέκταρ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι καὶ ἀμβροσίῃν ἐρατεινὴν στάξ', ἵνα μὴ μιν λιμὸς ... ἵκοιτο* ("but she [Athena] poured into Achilleus' breast nectar and pleasant ambrosia, so that no hunger might come to him"); *Odysseia* I. 301-302: *καὶ σύ, φίλος ... ἄλκιμος ἔσσι', ἵνα τίς σε ὀπιγόνων ἐν εἴπει* ("and you, too, friend, ... be valiant, so that someone of those to be born may praise you"); Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 164: *Διὸ δεῖ σπεύδειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι διατριβήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν* ("for this reason we should hurry and not tarry at all, so that what befell our fathers will not befall us").

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Mt 27:26: *τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ... παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ* with Acts 12:4: *παράδους ... φυλάσσειν αὐτόν*, Mk 7:26: *ἡρώτα αὐτόν ἵνα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκβάλῃ* with Jn 4:40: *ἡρώτων αὐτόν μεῖναι παρ' αὐτοῖς*, Jn 1:27: *οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος* with Lk 15:21: *οὐκέτι εἰμι ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱὸς σου*.

<sup>288</sup> Expressed with an *ἵνα* clause this would have been *οὐ συμφέρει ἵνα τις γαμήσῃ*. Other examples include: Mk 7:26: *ἡρώτα ἵνα ... ἐκβάλῃ*, Mk 8:22: *παρακαλοῦσιν ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἄψῃται*, Mk 9:30: *οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοῖ*, Mk 11:16: *οὐκ ᾔφειεν ἵνα τις διενέγκῃ*, Mk 10:51: *Ραββουνι, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω*, Mk 11:28: *ἔδωκεν ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇς*, Jn 12:23: *ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα δοξασθῇ*, Jn 13:29: *[λέγει] ... ἡ τοῖς πτωχοῖς ἵνα τι δῶ* (elliptically). In all of these cases the *ἵνα*-clause would be translated in *N* by *νά* with subjunctive. ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 981 ff., 991 ff., 997 ff. recognizes only three uses for *ἵνα*: final, subfinal, and consecutive. *BDR* § 456, concedes the causal use.

<sup>289</sup> On this see ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE*, Vol., I, 210 and Vol. II, 493-99: "Περὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ χρήσεως τῶν μορίων *νά, διὰ νά - γιανὰ*" (a reprint from *Ἀθηνᾶ*, Vol. VIII (1895), 63-68). For examples, see the long article in ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λεξικό*, XI, 190-198, with a multitude of examples. On the shifting of the accent from the penult (*ἵνα*) to the ultima (*νά*) see ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *MNE*, Vol., II, 152 f. and TRYPANIS, "Early Medieval Greek *ἵνα*" *Glotta*, 38 (1960), 313, who shows that between ancient *ἵνα* and *Neohellenic* *νά* intervened the mediaeval form *ινά*. ΜΑΝΔΙΛΑΡΑΣ, "Ἐρευνᾶν" *Ἀθηνᾶ* 65 (1961), 169 f. points out that, when *ἵνα* μὴ, in analogy to οὐχ *ἵνα*, was changed to μὴ *ἵνα*, the conjunction *ἵνα* lost its *i*- on account of the previous *η* (pronounced as 'i') and gave the *N* form *νά*. See also A. F. CHRISTIDIS, "Deixis and Anaphora", *Minos* 20-22 (1987), 97-111.

It appears that the NT is not devoid of instances in which *ἵνα* has made inroads into the province of commands and prohibitions<sup>290</sup>. This development is quite clear and frequently occurring in *N*. For instance, *νὰ πᾶς στὸ καλὸ* ("go in peace!"), *νὰ ἔλθῃς τὸ πρωῒ* ("come [back] in the morning"), *νὰ μὴ τὸ λησμονήσῃς* ("don't forget it"), *νὰ τὸ βάλῃς στὸ τραπέζι* ("put it on the table") *νὰ μὴ ἔλθῃς αὐριο* ("don't come tomorrow"). *Αὐτὸ νὰ μὴ σὲ πειράζῃ* ("don't let this trouble you")<sup>291</sup>.

In a number of NT passages the corresponding *ἵνα*-clause cannot be understood in any other way than as a command or prohibition. Mt 4:3: *εἶπε ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται*, in which the *ἵνα*-clause, usually explained as the object of *εἶπέ*, strictly speaking is an embedded command within the imperative *εἶπέ*. *N* would render it with *νὰ γίνουν οἱ πέτρες / τὰ λιθάρια ἄρτοι / ψωμιὰ*. Similarly, Jn 13:34: *ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους*, the *ἵνα*-clause is the command Jesus gives: *νὰ ἀγαπᾶτε ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον* ("love one another")<sup>292</sup>.

There ought to be no doubt at all that in the NT *ἵνα* occurs also temporally<sup>293</sup>. Jn 16:2: *ἔρχεται ὥρα ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνῃς ὑμᾶς δόξῃ λατρεῖαν προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ* is a clear instance of this. The *N* equivalent would be *ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅταν ...* ("a time is coming when ...")<sup>294</sup>, though time can be expressed also by *νὰ: ἦλθε(ν) ἡ ὥρα νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃς* ("the time has come for you to depart", i.e., "when you must depart"), *ν' ἀλλάξουν τὰ*

<sup>290</sup> In *Digenes Akritas* IV. 819 (MS of Grotta Ferrata) *ἵνα* occurs in a wish: *Ὁ Θεὸς, ἔφη, τέκνον μου, ἵνα σᾶς εὐλογήσῃ* ("my child, he said, may God bless you"). In *N* this would be rendered by *Παιδί μου, εἶπε, ὁ Θεὸς νὰ σᾶς εὐλογήσῃ*. However, the same MS at I. 100-104 uses *νὰ* in a similar context of wishes: *Ἀμην, ... νὰ φθάσῃς ... νὰ προσκυνήσῃς ... νὰ ἀκούσῃς* ("Emir, may you reach ... may you worship ... may you hear ...").

<sup>291</sup> The examples that might be cited here are innumerable.

<sup>292</sup> Other examples are: Mk 7:36: *διεστέλλετο ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν*, Mk 8:30: *ἐπετίμησεν ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν*, Mk 12:19: *Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ... ἵνα λάβῃ*, Mk 13:34: *δοὺς ... τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκάστῳ ... καὶ τῷ θυρωρῷ ἐνετείλατο ἵνα ἀγρυπνῇ* (*N*: *νὰ ἀγρυπνῇ*, "he commanded the doorkeeper to be watchful"); 1 Jn 4:21: *ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔχομεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ... ἀγαπᾶ*.

<sup>293</sup> The well-known local use of *ἵνα* may be illustrated by Platon, *Apologia* 17c: *εἰώθα λέγειν καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ... ἵνα ὑμῶν πολλοὶ ἀκηκόασι* ("I have made it my habit to speak also in the marketplace, ... where many of you have heard me"). Here may belong the following maxim: *σιγᾶν ὅπῃ δεῖ, καὶ λέγειν ἵν' ἀσφαλές* ("to keep quiet where one must, and to speak where it is safe"). Alternatively, it may be understood temporally: "... to speak when it is safe".

<sup>294</sup> This may be the meaning even in Jn 12:23: *ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα δοξασθῇ*. *N* could certainly use temporal *νὰ: ἦλθε(ν) ἡ ὥρα νὰ δοξασθῇ* .... "the time has come for the SM to be glorified / when the SM is to be glorified".

πράγματα, καὶ θὰ σοῦ δείξω ("when the state of things has changed, I'll show you")<sup>295</sup>.

None of the above possible meanings of ἵνα, however, suits Jn 8:56. To be sure, *N* can render it rather literally by Ὁ πατέρας σας Ἀβραὰμ ἀγαλιόσθηκε νὰ [ἰ]δῇ τὴν ἡμέρα μου ... But this would have the same significance as the explicitly causal clause: Ὁ πατέρας σας Ἀβραὰμ ἀγαλιόσθηκε διότι (ἐπειδὴ) εἶδε τὴν ἡμέρα μου<sup>296</sup>. That the two ways of translating it are equivalent is made clear by the following examples: χαίρομαι νὰ σὲ γνωρίσω ("I am glad to make your acquaintance", i.e. "I am glad because ..."), ἐχάρηκα νὰ τὸν [ἰ]δῶ (= ποὺ τὸν εἶδα) ("I was glad to see him", i.e. "because I saw him"), δὲν ἔκαμες καλὰ νὰ ταξιδεύσης μὲ τέτοιον ἄγριο καιρό<sup>297</sup> (lit. "you did not do well to travel [i.e. because you traveled] in such bad weather"). Καζαντζάκης offers a good example of this: Ἡ κυρα-Πίκα, ν' ἀκούσει τὰ λόγια αὐτὰ, τίναξε τὸ κεφάλι ("When Mrs Pica heard these words, she jolted up her head")<sup>298</sup>. However, this is not purely a question of time. It was the hearing of "these words" that made Mrs Pica jolt up her head, i.e. "because she heard ..."

The English "to ..." functions in exactly the same way as the Greek: "I am glad to see you", where the meaning obviously is "because I see you". Jn 20:20 expresses the same idea by means of the participle: ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Κύριον, which might easily have been ... ἵνα ἴδωσιν τὸν Κύριον. We may, therefore, conclude that according to this usage the "seeing of my day" was the ground for Abraham's rejoicing and that the ἵνα is causal.

This causal use of ἵνα<sup>299</sup> enjoys the authority of the great Alexandrian grammarian Apollonios Dyskolos A.D. II). In *De Conjunctionibus* II. 1, 1, 243 he writes: ἔχει δὲ [ὁ σύνδεσμος ἵνα] καὶ τὰς συνδεσμικὰς διαφορὰς δύο οὔσας, μίαν μὲν αἰτιολογικὴν, ἑτέραν δὲ ἀποτελεσματικὴν. ἐν γὰρ αἰτία τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι φαμέν οὕτως ἵνα ἀναγνῶ ἐτιμήθην, ἵνα λοιδορήσω ἐπεπλήχθην<sup>300</sup>. Further down in II. 1, 1, 244 he continues: ὁ γοῦν λέγων

<sup>295</sup> Cf. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, Vol. 6, 4836, *sub* νὰ 5.

<sup>296</sup> Even the temporal ὅταν might be used, which would still imply a causal relation. Some commentators, whose attention was drawn to the *N* evidence, actually espouse this understanding, e.g. BARRETT, *John* 351.

<sup>297</sup> Cited by ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, Vol. 6, 4836 *sub* νὰ 4.

<sup>298</sup> Καζαντζάκη, *Ὁ φτωχούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ*, p. 110.

<sup>299</sup> The causal use of ἵνα is well-attested in post-classical literature, see, e.g., Lk 8:10 (cf. Mt 13:13: ὅτι.). For more *P* examples, see note 301.

<sup>300</sup> Apollonios Dyskolos, *De Conjunctionibus* II. 1, 1, 243: "The conjunction ἵνα is used in two different ways, one is causal, the other is consecutive. When we read it causally, we say thus: 'Because (ἵνα) I read, I was honored; because (ἵνα) I mocked, I was reprieved'".

ἵνα γράφω ταῦτα μοι ἐγένετο, ὁμολογεῖ τὸ ἤδη γεγραφέναι, ὥστε ἐνήργησεν ἤδη τὸ ἔγραψα καὶ αἰτίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπῆγαγε ("He who says, this happened to me because I wrote, he confesses to having already written. Thus, 'I wrote' has already taken place and this brought a cause against him"), and in *De Constructione* II. 2, 283: ἵνα φιλολογήσω παρεγγένηται Τρύφων (= διότι ἐφιλολόγησα)<sup>301</sup>.

The NT contains more such instances. Mk 4:12 (par. Lk 8:10): ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν<sup>302</sup> ought to be translated causally: "everything is / comes in parables because ..." This interpretation of ἵνα is confirmed by Mt 13:13, which actually uses the causal ὅτι strengthened by διὰ τοῦτο: διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσιν<sup>303</sup>. The difference between the final and the causal interpretations of ἵνα here is considerable. In the first case, the purpose of the parables is to veil truth, while in the second case parables are used because the audience has chosen to turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to Jesus' message. In general, commentators have been unaware of

<sup>301</sup> This is recognized by many later authors, e.g. Titos of Bostra († 378 A.D.) 1241d: οὐχ ὁράτε, φησίν, ἵνα παῖδια λοιδορήσωσι τὸν Ἑλισαῖον, κατηράτο; ("do you not see, he says, that children were cursed because they mocked Elissaios?"), Theodosios of Scythopolis († 553) (Migne) 1035, 2: ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ αἰτίαν [ἡ ὑποτακτικὴ δηλοῖ], ὡς ἐν τῷ ἵνα τιμηθῶ ἐλυπήθης ("... you were sad because I was honored"). See further Amphiloichios (A.D. IV), *Oration on Mesopentecosten* 61-3: καὶ ἵνα μίαν ὥραν ὁ παράλυτος κλίνην βαστάσῃ καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν παράσχῃ ἀγανακτεῖτε; ("are you full of indignation because the lame man took up his bed for just one hour?"), Chrysostomos (A.D. IV-V) *Α' πρὸς Κορινθίους*: Ὁμιλία 8, 5: ἵνα στυγνάσῃ μόνον. φησίν, ἀφῆκα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ("I forgave his sins only because he was downcast"), I. Moschos († 610?) 2988c: καὶ γὰρ ἵνα στρέψω τὸ καμάσιόν μου ἐγκαλεῖτε με ("you accuse me because I turned over my coat"). For evidence in the Papyri, see *BGU IV* (A.D. II-III) 1081, 3: ἐχάρην ἵνα σε ἀσπάζομαι ("I was glad because I greeted you"). The usage occurs already in Epictetos, *Discourses* III. 4, 10: γελοῖον οὖν ἴν' ἄλλος νίκησῃ κωμῶδων, ἐμὲ βλάπτεσθαι (= διότι ἐνίκησε; "it is ridiculous that I should be hurt because someone else has won") wrongly translated by Oldfather (Loeb ed.) as a final ἵνα. For the LXX the following example may be quoted: Gen 22:14: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Κύριος εἶδεν, ἵνα εἰπῶσιν σημερον Ἐν τῷ ὄρει κύριος ὤφθη ("because they said ...").

<sup>302</sup> The versions have generally rendered it by "in order that ..." or "so that ..."

<sup>303</sup> Other passages include Rev 14:13: μακάριοι οἱ νεκροί ... ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται (ἀναπαύσονται 051 M), where, as the reading ὅτι of Ψ<sup>47</sup> indicates, the sense is causal: "because they will rest"; Rev 16:15: μακάριοι ... ὁ πηρὼν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ. Similarly, it makes quite a difference between understanding Rev 22:14: μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς in the traditional way as final, "blessed are those who have washed their clothes, in order that they may have power / right over the tree of life", and understanding it as causal, "blessed are those who have washed their clothes, because they will have power / right over the tree of life", cf. the ὅτι in the beatitudes: μακάριοι ... ὅτι ...

the causal use of ἵνα, and this has led to considerable embarrassment with this text<sup>304</sup>.

The above evidence for the causal use of ἵνα is pertinent to the interpretation of Rm 5:20: νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα· οὐ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις.

The ἵνα-clause has traditionally been understood as final: "the law was given in order to make sin abound"<sup>305</sup>. This interpretation is probably influenced by theology. According to vs. 13, sin was present in the world but was not reckoned, since there was no law. Consequently, the argument goes, the law was given in order to make sin manifest (i.e. "to abound"). This verse is then seen to be in agreement with a basic tenet in Paul's theology, namely that the law was given in order to make humans conscious of their sin, cf. διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας (Rm 3:20; 7:7). The law's function of making sin known, however, is not its only function. Another of its functions is to curb sin. Indeed, according to Gal 3:19 the law was 'added' (the idea seems to be similar to παρεισῆλθεν in Rm 5:20) on account of the many<sup>306</sup> transgressions: τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη. According to this text the law becomes necessary because of the proliferation of sin.

If we take, then, ἵνα in Rm 5:20 as causal, Paul would be ascribing to the law a function that is characteristic of all law systems, namely, to distinguish right from wrong and its corollary, to punish evil. The meaning of the text, then, would be "the law was given because sin had abounded; but where sin had abounded, grace superabounded"<sup>307</sup>.

The causal interpretation of 5:20 finds a twofold support in Rm 6:1. The argument here is not "shall we continue in sin (in order) that grace may abound?"<sup>308</sup>. Such a notion is out of place here, where the abounding of sin is not a future hypothetical condition, but already a fact; see 5:20a: "be-

<sup>304</sup> See, e.g., TAYLOR, *Mark* 256; LANE, *Mark* 156-59; NOLLAND, *Luke* 1-9:20, 380. GUNDRY, *Mark* 202, is aware of the existence of a causal ἵνα, but follows C. A. EVANS' arguments for a telic one. With regard to Revelation, CHARLES, *Revelation*, II, 177 (on 22:14), totally misunderstands the causal significance of ἵνα here, and equates it with its use in 3:9, *Revelation*, I, 88). Similarly LADD, *Revelation* 198 (on 14:13). AUNE, *Revelation* chs. 6-16, too, fails to appreciate the causal use (cf. 788), translating: "that they might ..." (839) and "so that they will have ..." (1221).

<sup>305</sup> E.g. SUNDAY, *Romans* 143; BARTH, *Romans* 184-85; BARRETT, *Romans* 118; MURRAY, *Romans* 207; CRANFIELD, *Romans*, I, 292-93; DUNN, *Romans* I, 299; FITZMYER, *Romans* 422; STUHLMACHER, *Romans* 88.

<sup>306</sup> The plural παραβάσεων has this force.

<sup>307</sup> Pertinent to this whole passage (Rm 5:12-21) is CARAGOUNIS' study, "Romans 5.15-16 in the Context of 5.12-21: Contrast or Comparison?", *NTS* 31 (1985), 142-48.

<sup>308</sup> This is the usual way of understanding this text.

cause sin abounded" and 20b: "where sin abounded grace superabounded." At the same time the rhetorical question ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ; which presupposes 5:20, does not go behind it but picks up where 5:20 left off. Thus, what Paul is asking in his rhetorical question is: "shall we continue in sin because grace has abounded?"

Chrysostomos, who holds to the ecclastic use of ἵνα here, combines the telic with the ecclastic use in a way that comes rather close to the causal interpretation: οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόθη, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐδόθη μὲν ὥστε μειῶσαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὸ παράπτωμα, ἐξέβη δὲ τοῦναντίον<sup>309</sup>. The continuation of the verse is much more consonant with the causal interpretation. The use of παρεισῆλθεν ("to be inserted as something subsidiary or temporarily") fits better the function of the law as checking (though temporarily) sin rather than simply making it known. Moreover, if the meaning desired were 'making known', there were other more appropriate verbs to use. And finally, the verb πλεονάσῃ (repeated twice) supports the causal sense of ἵνα, rather than the telic: "because sin increased"<sup>310</sup>.

The ecclastic or consecutive use of ἵνα is clearly witnessed in the NT. In *E* and *A* times ἵνα was used mainly in purpose clauses<sup>311</sup>, and ὥστε with the infinitive or a finite mood in consecutive clauses<sup>312</sup>, though "the ancient

<sup>309</sup> Chrysostomos, *Παροιμίαι*: Ὀμιλία 11 (MIGNE 4789) 33: "For [the law] was not given in order to increase sin, but it was given so as to minimize and extinguish it, but it turned out to be the opposite". Cf. also *ibid.*: τὸ δὲ ἵνα, ἐναντιῶσα οὐκ αἰτιολογίας πάλιν, ἀλλ' ἐκβάσεως ("the ἵνα here is not again aetiological, but ecclastic"). This shows, of course, that Chrysostomos was aware of the causal use of ἵνα.

<sup>310</sup> The causal ἵνα is accepted by SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon*, sub ἵνα 15, and JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1741.

<sup>311</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Odysseia* II. 111: σοὶ δ' ὦδε μνηστῆρες ὑποκρίνονται, ἵν' εἰδῇς αὐτὸς σὺ θυμῷ ("... that you may know in your own heart"), Aischylos, *Prometheus Bound* 61: καὶ τῇνδε νῦν πόρπασον ἀσφαλῶς, ἵνα μάθῃ ("... fasten her safely that she may learn"), Herodotos VIII. 76: τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ἑλλησι μὴδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ ("... in order that it would not be possible for the Greeks to escape"), Platon, *Republic* 420e: ἵνα δὴ ὅλη ἡ πόλις εὐδαιμονῇ ("in order that the whole city may prosper"), Xenophon, *Kyrou Paideia* I. 2, 15: ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι ("in order that the whole Persian state may become clearer ..."), Demosthenes, *Against Aristokrates* 93: τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔγραψεν οὐχ ἵν' ... μὴδὲν ἀηδὲς ὑμῖν συμβῇ ("this proposal that he wrote was not in order that nothing unpleasant should happen to you ...").

<sup>312</sup> E.g. Homeros, *Iliad* IX. 42: εἰ δέ τοι αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται ὥστε νέεσθαι ("if your own heart is set so as to go back ..."), Hesiodos, *Works and Days* 44: ῥηιδίως γὰρ κεν καὶ ἐπ' ἡματι ἐργάσαιτο, ὥστε σε κεῖς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἄεργον εὐόντα ("otherwise you would easily work a day so as to have enough [supplies] for a whole year though not working"); Pindaros, *Nemean Odes* V. 62: Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ποντίαν χρυσοαλακᾶτων τινὰ Νηρεΐδων πράξειν ἀκοιτην ("Zeus, king of the immortals ... decreed that he would speedily have one of the Nereids with golden dis-

grammarians do not seem to distinguish the *ecbatic* use from the *telic* <sup>313</sup>. From *A-H* times on, however, in consecutive clauses ὥστε begins to give way to ἵνα<sup>314</sup>, which explains the latter's non-negligible incidence in the NT<sup>315</sup>. This is continued by νά in *N*.

taffs for his bedfellow"); Euripides, *Hippolytos* 1327: Κύπρις γὰρ ἤθελ' ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τόδε ("for Aphrodite willed this to happen"), Thoukydides V. 17: ξυνεχωρεῖτο ὥστε ἅ ἐκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι ("it was agreed so that each give back what they had got through war, and make a truce"), Platon, *Protagoras* 314b: ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἔτι νέοι ὥστε τοσοῦτον πρᾶγμα διελέεσθαι ("because we are too young to decide such a big issue"), Xenophon, *Aponmoneumata* III. 5, 17: ἔγωγε μάλα φοβοῦμαι αἰεὶ, μή τι μεῖζον ἢ ὥστε φέρειν δύνασθαι κακὸν τῇ πόλει συμβῇ ("I am always very afraid in case some bigger evil may befall the city than [that] it can bear").

<sup>313</sup> SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon*, 600, 19.

<sup>314</sup> E.g. ὥστε with infinitive substituted by ἵνα with subjunctive: LXX: Jb 7:16: οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσομαι ἵνα μακροθυμήσω, Prov 23:35: πότε ὄρθρος ἔσται, ἵνα ἐλθὼν ζητήσω μεθ' ὧν συνελεύσομαι ... Tob 3:15: οὐδὲ ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ υἱός, ἵνα συντηρήσω ἐμαυτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, Wisdom 13:9: εἰ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσαν εἰδέναι ἵνα δύνωνται στοχάσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα, 2 Mac 6:24: οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡλικίας ἄξιον ἐστὶν ὑποκριθῆναι, ἵνα πολλοὶ ... πλανηθῶσιν, Dionysios Thrax, *Grammatike Technē* I. 6: ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαστολῆς τὸν περιεχόμενον νοῦν ὀρώμεν: ἵνα τὴν μὲν τραγῳδίαν ἡρωϊκῶς ἀναγνῶμεν ("... so that we read tragedy in heroic meter"), Dionysios Halikarnasseus, *Antiquitates Romanae* VI. 29, 5: οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν στρατὸν, ἵνα μηδένα χρόνον οἱ πολέμοι διαναπαύσαιτο ("he did not call back the army, so that the enemy might not have time to rest"), Philon, *The Confusion of Tongues* 25: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τι μέρος διέφθαρτο τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑγιαίνουσι σῶξεσθαι δύναιτο ("for not only one part of the soul had been corrupted, so that it might be saved through the others being healthy"), Plutarchos, *How to Tell a Flatterer* 67f–68a: μὴ γένοιτό σοι οὕτως, ὧ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς, ἵν' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα σὺ βέλτιον εἰδῆς ("... so that you get to know these things better than I"), Klement of Rome, *Homilia II* 30: τίς τῆς ψυχῆς χρεία γίνεται ἵνα χωρισθῇ τοῦ σώματος... ("what need is there of the soul to be separated from the body?"), Ignatios, *Trallianus* V. 2: πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα ("for much is lacking to us so that we might not abandon God" [The Loeb editor has misunderstood the meaning of λειπώμεθα: 'that we might not lack God']), Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* VIII. 13, 7: εὐξάμενος δ' ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ κρείττων εἶναι τῶν πατέρων, ἵνα ἐκεῖνον ἀπολωλὸς αὐτὸς ζῆν γλίσχηται ("for he was not better than his fathers, so that he might long after life when they perished"), Hermas, *Shepherd: Similitude* VII. 3: λέγω αὐτῷ: Κύριε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα εἰργάσαντο, ἵνα παρακικρανθῇ ὁ ἐνδοξος ἄγγελος ("... if they did such things so that the glorious angel might become angry"), Dion Chrysostomos, *Oration* 46 11: ἀλλ' εὐθὺς λιθάζειν καὶ κατακαίειν τὰς οἰκίας, ἵνα, εἰ ἐδύνασθε, μετὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν συμφλέξετε ("but straightaway throw stones and burn the houses down, so that if you could, you might burn them up together with their children and their wives"), Epiktetos, *Discourses* I. 7, 31: ἀνδράποδον, ποῦ γὰρ ἐνθάδε πατήρ ἦν, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνης... ("you knave, where was there a father here so that you might kill him?"), Sextos Empirikos, *Pyrrhoniai hypotyposes* I. 9: δύναται προσαρμόζεσθαι καὶ τῇ δυνάμει, ἵνα ... τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ὄνομα ... παραλαμβάνωμεν ("... so



Finally, one more use of ἵνα, illustrated by *N*, is the relative use. Jn 5:7 Κύριε, ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν, and 2 Cor 12:7 ἐδόθη μοι σκόλωψ τῇ σαρκί, ... ἵνα μὲ κολαφίζῃ both use ἵνα as relative: "who would ..." <sup>316</sup>.

The variety of the uses of νά in *N* so exceeds the uses of the older ἵνα that, after devoting fifteen pages to describing its various uses, Tzartzanos gives up in despair "The multifarious uses of νά and its polysemy make it often difficult to distinguish a particular meaning" <sup>317</sup>.

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that we may receive ..."), Loukianos, *Erotes* 21: οὐδὲ ῥηθῆναι δυναμένης εὐπρεπῶς νόσου κατῴλισθεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοῇ μέρος ἀσελγείας ("[thus sensual pleasure] has fallen into such a sickness which cannot even be spoken of decently, so that it does not disregard any area of lust"), Hippolytos, *Proverbs*, Frg. 26: τὸν Ἰωσήφ σιτομετροῦντα παῖσιν, ἵνα μὴ διαφθαῶσι λιμῶ ("Joseph dealing out wheat to everyone so that they might not perish by famine"), Plotinos, *Enneades* I. 2, 5: ποιουμένην καὶ ἰατροεῦσεις καὶ ἀπαλλαγὰς πόνων, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖτο ("... so that she might not be annoyed"), Athanasios (A.D. IV), *History of the Arianists* 76, 4: οὐ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις, ἵν' ὡς βασιλεὺς πιστευθῇς ("... so that you might be trusted as a king"), Eriphanios (A.D. IV), *Anchoratos* 2, 4: ἵνα μὴ πολυθεῖα ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι ᾖ ("so that polytheism might no longer be among us"), Malalas 26, 17: οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς οὗτος ἔρως κατεῖχεν ἵνα περὶ τούτου ζητήσαιτε ("neither were we in the grip of such love so that you might ask for this"), *Chronikon Paschale* (A.D. VII) 575, 15: ἐγὼ θέλω εὐρεῖν νεωτέραν εὐμορφον πᾶν ἵνα τοιοῦτον κάλλος μὴ ἔχῃ ἄλλη γυνὴ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ("I am going to find a younger woman extremely beautiful, so that no other woman in Constantinople will possess such beauty"), Theophanes († A.D. 800), 104, 15: τίς γὰρ εἰμι ἵνα εἰς ἐμὲ τοῦτο γένηται; ("who am I that this thing might happen to me?").

<sup>315</sup> See, e.g., Mk 11:28: τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα ποιῇ ...; Lk 9:45: οἱ δὲ ἠγνόουν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο καὶ ἦν παρακαλυμμένον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἰσθῶνται αὐτό (perhaps the causal meaning should not be ruled out: "they were ignorant [of the meaning] of the word [result], it was hidden from them [result], because they had not perceived / grasped / sensed it [reason]"); Jn 9:2: τίς ἡμαρτεν ... ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; 9:36: καὶ τίς ἐστίν, κύριε, ἵνα πιστεύσω εἰς αὐτόν; Rm 3:8: ποιήσωμεν τὰ κακὰ ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, 1 Cor 7:29: ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν ... ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσιν, 1 Th 5:4: ὑμεῖς ... οὐ ἐστέ ἐν σκότει, ἵνα ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτῃς καταλάβῃ, 1 Jn 3:1: ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν, Rev 13:13: καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιεῖ ... καταβαίνειν.

<sup>316</sup> This usage is very frequent in *N*, e.g. τῆς ἔδωσε μία κτένα νά κτενισθῇ ("he gave her a comb with which to comb herself").

<sup>317</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, Τόμος Β', 195: "Ὅπως εἶναι πολὺχρηστο καὶ πολυσήμαντο τὸ μόριο νά, δύσκολα ξεχωρίζει κανεὶς πολλὰς φορὲς μία ὀρισμένη σημασία του.

## XII. Particles

### 1. Conditional

In *A* Greek the most frequent conditional particle was  $\epsilon\iota$ . This was used particularly for the so-called real and unreal conditions constructed with the indicative as well as for potential conditions constructed with the optative.  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  ( $\grave{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\eta\nu$ ) was used in the so-called future conditions, constructed with the subjunctive<sup>318</sup>. There is a marked increase of  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  with a corresponding decrease of  $\epsilon\iota$  from Thoukydides and Xenophon to Polybios and the NT. Thus, a comparison of approximately the same text-mass in Thoukydides, Xenophon (*Kyrou Paideia* and *Hellenica*), and Polybios (*History*, first half), as well as the NT (which is half as long as the others) gives the following figures:

AUTHOR	$\epsilon\iota$	$\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$	%
Thoukydides	440	12	2.72
Xenophon	583	96	16.46
Polybios	280	176	62.85
NT	464	335	72.20

These figures show unmistakably that  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is increasingly taking the place of  $\epsilon\iota$ . The development continues further with *First Klement* (c. A.D. 96) in which  $\epsilon\iota$  occurs 13 times and  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  20 times, and still further with the *Shepherd of Hermas* (mid-II A.D.), where the figures for  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  are 44 and 155 times respectively.

According to Jannaris<sup>319</sup>,  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  owed its ascendancy to its "phonodynamic superiority" over  $\epsilon\iota$ , and that by the close of *LH* times  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , having been reduced to  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , reigned supreme,  $\epsilon\iota$  having come to be regarded as a kind of literary alternative<sup>320</sup>. At the same time  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  was confused or used inter-

<sup>318</sup> Their comparative frequency may be gauged from the figures obtained from the *TLG* (including literature down to A.D. 600):  $\epsilon\iota$  202,000;  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  39,500;  $\eta\nu$  10,800, and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  174,600 times (the last figure includes the instances of the modal  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  as well, whose incidence is far more frequent than that of the conditional  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ). This implies that  $\epsilon\iota$  is by far the most frequently occurring conditional particle. This frequency is enhanced in *A* times, when it is remembered that in later times  $\epsilon\iota$  is increasingly being substituted for by  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

<sup>319</sup> JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1772.

<sup>320</sup> An Atticizing reaction seems to have set in with some authors to recapture the lost significance of  $\epsilon\iota$ . Accordingly, we find that Chrysostomos uses  $\epsilon\iota$  some 8,766 times as

changeably with the modal particle ἄν<sup>321</sup>, and this confusion became even greater when ἐάν was abbreviated to ἄν. It is in this historical development that we must understand the NT conditions that use ἄν instead of ἐάν: Jn 12:32: καὶ ἄν ὕψωθῶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἑλκύσω πρὸς ἑμαυτόν [B pc], 16:23: ἄν (v.l. ἐάν K, Θ) τι αἰτήσητε τὸν πατέρα ... δώσει ὑμῖν, 20:23: ἄν τινων ἀφήτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς<sup>322</sup>.

This development gradually led to the rise and establishment of νά in LB and N times, which is also sometimes used in conditional clauses<sup>323</sup>. However, the normal conditional particles in N are ἐάν and ἄν. The particle εἰ is now practically obsolete<sup>324</sup>.

## 2. Temporal

1. *Before, Until*. The NT use of πρὸ τοῦ (or προτοῦ) and πρίν are still quite rife in N. In the NT they both occur with the infinitive. However, N constructs both with the subjunctive. Originally πρὸ τοῦ was an adverb<sup>325</sup>.

against 2,643 for ἐάν. It may be that a number of instances where ἐάν would have appeared have been resolved to ἄν, which in this author occurs no less than 15,150 times.

<sup>321</sup> This begins already in the IV B.C.: Xenophon, *Apomnemonemata* III. 10, 12: ὃ ἐάν (= ἄν) ἀρμόττει, IV. 2, 29: ὅσαι ἐάν (= ἄν) ἀγνοήσασαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν δύναμιν κρείττους πολεμῆσων, Demosthenes, *Against Euergos* 43: ὃ ἐάν (= ἄν) κελεύσω (v.l.), Aristoteles, *Athenaion Politeia* XXX. 2: οἱ ἐάν (v.l.) διαχειρίζωσι τὰ χρήματα. NT: Mt 5:19: ὃς ἐάν οὖν λύσῃ (cf. in the same vs. ὃς δ' ἄν ποιήσῃ), 10:14: ὃς ἐάν (v.l.) μὴ δέξηται, Lk 17:33: ὃς ἐάν ζητήσῃ (cf. in same vs. ὃς δ' ἄν ἀπολέσῃ [v.l. ἀπολέσει]).

<sup>322</sup> See further Jn 20:23: ἄν τινων κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται. The following v.l. show confusion among the MSS: Act 3:23: πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἥτις ἄν (v.l. ἐάν) μὴ ἀκούσῃ, 2 Cor 3:16: ἡνίκα δὲ ἄν (v.l. ἐάν) ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς τὸν κύριον, 2 Cor 8:12: καθὼς ἄν (v.l.) ἔχῃ, Col 3:17: πᾶν ὃ τι ἄν (v.l.) ποιῆτε, 1 Jn 3:22: ὃ ἄν (v.l.) αἰτῶμεν λαμβάνομεν.

<sup>323</sup> E.g. N: νά ἐρχόσουν τὸ πρωὶ καὶ θὰ τὸν ἐβλεπες ("if you came in the morning, you would see him"), νά εἶχα λεπτὰ θὰ σου ἔδινα ("if I had money, I would give you"), νά ἔκανες κι' ἐσύ τὸ ἴδιο, δὲν θὰ σέ ξεχνούσε κανεὶς ("if you, too, had done the same thing, no one would forget [have forgotten] you").

<sup>324</sup> In N it occurs in such set phrases as εἰ δυνατόν ("if possible"), εἰ μὴ μόνον ("except only").

<sup>325</sup> See Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1203: προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε ("earlier it would have been shameful for me to say this"); Herodotus I. 122: ὁ δὲ σφί ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον ("he said to them that earlier he had not known but had been quite mistaken"); Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai* 418: ἂ δ' ἦν ἡμῖν πρὸ τοῦ αὐταῖς ταμειῦσαι ... οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἔτι ἔξεστιν ("what earlier we could store up for ourselves ... now is no longer allowed"); Thucydides I. 32: ζύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐκούσιοι γενόμενοι ("for they became allies with no one willingly in earlier times"), Platon, *Symposium* 173a: πρὸ τοῦ

From *H* times on it begins to be used as a conjunction like *πρίν*<sup>326</sup>, and this usage is reflected in the NT: cf., for example, Mt 6:8: *πρό τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν* with Mt 26:34: *πρίν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι*, Lk 2:21: *πρό τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν* with Jn 4:49: *πρίν ἀποθανεῖν τὸ παιδίον μου*, Jn 13:19: *πρό τοῦ γενέσθαι [ταῦτα]* with Jn 8:58: *πρίν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι*<sup>327</sup>. The tendency to use *πρό τοῦ* and *πρίν* with a finite mood as well is already seen in the NT: Act 25:16: *πρίν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγοροῦς*. This tendency develops further in *PB* and *B* times<sup>328</sup> until in *N*, which has lost a properly functioning infinitive, both of these adverbs / conjunctions are constructed with the subjunctive<sup>329</sup>.

δὲ περιτρέχων ὅποι τύχοιμι ("earlier [before] I used to run wherever I chanced"). Similarly Polybios, I. 16, 7: *διὰ τὸ καὶ περὶ τὰ πρό τοῦ διαβάνα στρατόπεδα πολλὴν ἔνδειαν γεγονέναι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων* ("because there was a great shortage of victuals even for the armies that had crossed earlier"), I. 72, 5: *αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ τὸν πρό τοῦ χρόνον ἀπαγομένους περιορῶσαι τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνδρας καὶ γονεῖς* ("the women who had earlier seen their husbands and parents led away"), III. 41, 1: *οἶαν ἔν τε τοῖς πρό τοῦ καὶ νῦν διεληλύθαμεν*.

<sup>326</sup> Cf., e.g., Polybios II. 63, 2: *δεῖ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκκυβεῦν τοῖς ὅλοις πρό τοῦ συνεῖναι τὰ προσπεπτωκότα τὰς δυνάμεις* ("he must at once take the risk with all his forces before what was feared befall them"), V. 49, 2: *ὥς ἔδει μὲν πάλαι μὴ μέλλειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ συμβουλίαν πρό τοῦ τηλικαῦτα προτερήματα λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς* ("... before the enemies had got such great advantages"), V. 100, 5: *πεσεῖν συνέβη τὸ τεῖχος πρό τοῦ πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας* ("it so happened that the wall fell before the Macedonians put fire to it").

<sup>327</sup> It is instructive to see how NT *πρό τοῦ* has been treated in Greek translations. "Katharevousa 1851", "N 1967" reflects the educated language of the second part of XX<sup>th</sup> century. "Demotic 1997" is a low-level colloquial.

Original Greek	Katharevousa 1851	MGr 1967	Demotic 1997
Mt 6:8 <i>πρό τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι</i>	<i>πρίν σεῖς ζητήσετε</i>	<i>πρίν ζητήσετε</i>	<i>προτοῦ νὰ ζητήσετε</i>
Lk 2:21 <i>πρό τοῦ συλληφθῆναι</i>	<i>πρίν συλληφθῇ</i>	<i>πρίν συλληφθῇ</i>	<i>προτοῦ συλληφθεῖ</i>
Lk 22:15 <i>πρό τοῦ με παθεῖν</i>	<i>προτοῦ νὰ πάθω</i>	<i>προτοῦ νὰ πάθω</i>	<i>πρίν ἀπό τὸ θανατό</i>
Jn 1:48 <i>πρό τοῦ σέ φωνῆσαι</i>	<i>πρίν σέ φωνάξῃ</i>	<i>πρίν σέ φωνάξῃ</i>	<i>πρό τοῦ σοῦ τὸ πεῖ</i>
Jn 13:19 <i>πρό τοῦ γενέσθαι</i>	<i>πρίν γείνῃ</i>	<i>πρίν γίνη</i>	<i>πρίν γίνουιν</i>
Jn 17:5 <i>πρό τοῦ τὸν κόσμον</i>	<i>πρίν γείνῃ</i>	<i>πρίν νὰ ὑπάρξῃ</i>	<i>προτοῦ νὰ γίνει</i>
Act 23:15 <i>πρό τοῦ ἐγγίσει</i>	<i>πρίν αὐτὸς πλησιάσῃ</i>	<i>πρίν πλησιάσῃ</i>	<i>πρίν πλησιάσει</i>
Gal 2:12 <i>πρό τοῦ γὰρ ἔλθεῖν</i>	<i>πρίν ἔλθωσι</i>	<i>πρίν ἔλθουν</i>	<i>πρίν ἔρθουν</i>
Gal 3:23 <i>πρό τοῦ δὲ ἔλθεῖν</i>	<i>πρίν δὲ ἔλθῃ</i>	<i>προτοῦ ἔλθῃ</i>	<i>πρίν ἔρθῃ</i>

<sup>328</sup> E.g. Malalas, 447, 15: *προτοῦ ἐπιρρίψωσιν εἰς τὰ κτήματα* ("before they fell on the farmsteads"), Moschos († A.D. 610) 2989d: *προτοῦ ἐγκλεισθῶ ἀπὴν* ("...before I was put in"), Theophanes († A.D. 800), 318, 13: *προτοῦ ἐνωθῶσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τρισχίλιοι* ("before the three thousand joined up with them"), *Chronikon Paschale* († A.D. 630) 627, 8: *προτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καυθῇ* ("before the whole city was burned").

<sup>329</sup> E.g. *προτοῦ ν' ἀκούσω τὰ νέα* ("before I listen(ed) to the news"), *προτοῦ νὰ ἔλθῃ* ("before he comes"), *ἔφυγε πρίν (νὰ) με ἀποχαιρετίσῃ* ("he left before saying goodbye

2. *After, Since.* Ἐπει and ἐπειδή, more frequently occurring as temporal particles – less often as causal – in classical times, do not occur temporally in the NT except once (ἐπειδή) in Lk 7:1<sup>330</sup>. Their ‘temporal’ sense has been swallowed up by their causal sense. This continues into *N*, which has retained ἐπειδή<sup>331</sup> along with διότι<sup>332</sup> and Demotic γιατί<sup>333</sup> as causal particles, ἐπει having fallen in disuse<sup>334</sup>. The ideas of ‘after’ and ‘since’ are expressed by ἀφ’ οὗ and ἀφ’ ἧς<sup>335</sup>. This is the case still in *N* (especially ἀφ’

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to me”), πρὶν ἀρχίσης τὸ μάθημα (“before you begin your lesson”), Proverb: τῶν φρονιμῶν τὰ παῖδιὰ πρὶν πεινάσουν μαγειρεύουν (“the children of the wise cook their meal before they become hungry”).

<sup>330</sup> *V.I.* ἐπει in  $\aleph C^2 L R \Xi \Psi f^1 f^{13} 33 \text{ M}$ .

<sup>331</sup> See, e.g., The Epic of *Digenes Akritas* V. 2052: ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ἐποίησα, κακῶς ἀποθανοῦμαι (“because I acted badly, badly shall I perish”); ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΙ, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης* 73: “Ἐπειδὴ δ’ ὅμως ἦδη π.Χ. οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμιμήθησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας συγγραφεῖς ...” (“But because the Romans already before Christ imitated the Greek authors ...”); *IEE* II (1971), 417A: “Ἡ ποίησὶς τοῦ ὅμως, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ λίγα ἀποσπάσματα, χάθηκε, ἐπειδὴ ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ δὲν ἱκανοποιῶσε τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἀττικιστῶν” (“His [Alcman’s] poetry, however, with the exception of a few fragments, was lost, because his language did not satisfy the world of the Atticists”), *IEE* IIIB (1972), 470A: “Ἐκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Αἰγίνα εἶχε ἐχθρικές σχέσεις μετὰ τὴν Ἀθῆνα, πωληθήθηκε ὡς δοῦλος” (“There [in Aigina], because Aigina was hostile to Athens, Platon was sold as a slave”).

<sup>332</sup> E.g. *Chronikon Moreos* 5240-41: πολλὰ ἐπεθύμουν νὰ σὲ ἰδῶ, κύρις μου κ’ ἀδελφέ μου, διὰτὸ [a Mediaeval form for διότι] εἶσαι ἀπὸ Ῥωμανίαν ἀνθρώπος παιδευμένος (“I was very desirous of seeing you, my lord and brother, because you are from Romany [i.e. Byzantium], an educated man”), so, too, lines 5233, and 6965, etc.; ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΙ, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 24: “Τὸ Χεταῖον ἀλφάβητον διαφέρει καθ’ ὁλοκληρίαν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ... διότι εἶναι καθόλου εἰπεῖν συλλαβογραφικόν” (“The Hitite alphabet as a whole differs from our own ... because it is, generally speaking, syllabographic”). In the NT διότι occurs in Lk 2:7; 21:28; Act 18:10; Rm 1:19; 1 Cor 15:9; Phil 2:26; 1 Th 2:8; Hb 11:5, etc.

<sup>333</sup> *IEE* II (1971), 350A: “ὡς ἐκείνη τῇ στιγμή οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲν εἶχαν ἀντιμετωπίσει ἐπιθεσὴν, γιατί βάδιζαν κρυμμένοι” (“up to that point the Athenians had not been attacked, because they proceeded in a concealed manner”). *IEE* III B (1972), 484A: “Ὁ Πλάτων καταργεῖ τὴν οἰκογένειαν, γιατί θέλει οἱ φύλακες νὰ εἶναι ἐξ ὁλοκληροῦ ἀφοσιωμένοι στὴν πολιτεία” (“Platon does away with the family, because he wants the watchers to be wholly dedicated to the State”).

<sup>334</sup> Causal ἐπεὶ occurs still in the Epic *Digenes Akritas*, e.g. line II. 570: ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρκους ἔδωσαν γαμβρόν νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν (“because they swore to accept him as a brother-in-law [i.e. bridegroom for their sister]”).

<sup>335</sup> See Lk 7:45: αὕτη δὲ ἀφ’ ἧς εἰσῆλθον, 13:25: ἀφ’ οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, 24:21: τρίτην ἡμέραν ἄγει ἀφ’ οὗ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, Act 20:18: ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ’ ἧς ἐπέβην, 24:11: ἡμέρας δώδεκα ἀφ’ ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων, Col 1:6: ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσατε, 2 Pt 3:4: ἀφ’ ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, Rev 16:18: οἶος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ’ οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

οὐ), which also uses ἀφ' οὗτου<sup>336</sup>, an expression that does not occur in the NT.

### XIII. Negative Particles

The negative particles οὐ and μή are frequently used in the NT, but their territory is now being increasingly invaded by their neuter compounds οὐδέν and μηδέν. These words had been used occasionally in *E-A* times as more emphatic equivalents for οὐ and μή<sup>337</sup>, but their frequency increases dramatically in the NT. For example, Mt 13:34: καὶ χωρὶς παραβολῆς οὐδέν ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς is a clear instance of the use of οὐδέν in place of οὐκ. The same goes for Mt 26:62: οὐδέν ἀποκρίνη τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν (do you not answer to what they accuse you of?)<sup>338</sup>. The use of οὐδέν for οὐ is owing to the popular desire to emphasize, once the feeling for the proper meaning of words had been lost. The phenomenon continues in later times<sup>339</sup>. The development in *PB* and *B* times is apposite. According to Jan-

<sup>336</sup> E.g. ἔχουν περάσει δύο μῆνες ἀφ' οὗτου ἦλθαμε ἐδῶ ('two months have passed since we came here').

<sup>337</sup> See Homeros, *Ilias* 1. 412: ὁ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδέν ἔτισεν ("who did not at all honor the best of the Achaeans"); XXIV. 370: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδέν σε ῥέξω κακὰ ("but I am not going to harm you"); Aischylos, *Prometheus* 128: μηδέν φοβηθῆς ("do not be afraid") / "fear nothing"; also 47, 179, etc.; Sophokles, *Aias* 11: καὶ σ' οὐδέν εἶσω τῆσδε παπταίνειν πύλης ("and you do not peer within this gate"); 115: φείδου μηδὲν ὥνπερ ἐννοεῖς ("do not forbear [from doing] what you have in mind", cf. the identical construction in Rev 2:10: μηδὲν φοβοῦ ὃ μέλλεις πάσχειν ("do not be afraid on account of what you are going to suffer")); also 124, 276, 940, 1114; Euripides, *Andromache* 88: μηδὲν τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσῃς ἐμοί ("do not reproach me for this"); Aristophanes, *Wasps* 356: οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκείνῳ προσόμοιον ("this is not similar to that"); Xenophon, *Anabasis* V. 4, 19: Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἔνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων ("Soldiers! do not lose your courage because of what has happened"). For more examples, see Δ. ΜΑΤΡΟΦΥΤΗ, *Δοκίμιον ἱστορίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 627 f.

<sup>338</sup> Other instances include: Act 4:21: μηδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσονται αὐτοῖς, 15:9: οὐθὲν διέκρινεν μεταξύ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν, 25:10: Ἰουδαίους οὐδὲν ἡδίκησα, 2 Cor 12:11: οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων, Gal 2:6: ὅποιοι ποτὲ ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοὶ διαφέρει (cf. *N* ὅποιοι καὶ νῦν ἦσαν δὲν μὲ ἐνδιαφέρει). See further Mt 27:12, 24; Lk 23:9; Jn 18:20; Act 16:28 (?); 22:11 (v.l.); 1 Cor 10:25; 2 Cor 11:5; Gal 4:1 (?); 4:12; 5:2; Phil 2:3; 4:6; 2 Th 3:11; Hb 7:19; Jas 1:6; Rev 3:17.

<sup>339</sup> See, e.g., Hermas, *Shepherd*, *Mandate* XI. 8: καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται ἐπερωτώμενος (cf. Mk 16:8: καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν, which, however, might also be rendered by "and they did not say anything to anyone"), *Acta Ioannes* (recension) 16: οὐδὲν ἰσχύσαν κατ' αὐτοῦ, *Acts of Paul*, *Frsg.* 2: οὐδὲν γὰρ σε ταῦτα ὠφελήσει, *Acta Pauli et Thecla* 18: καὶ οὐδὲν ἐδεδοίκει ὁ Παῦλος, *Acta Pilati* 2, 4: ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν

naris, οὐδέν comes during this period to coincide wholly with οὐ and μηδέν with μή<sup>340</sup>. Οὐδέν is now shortened to δέν, but μηδέν, which could not be shortened likewise, gives in to its corresponding simple form μη. In this way *N* got its two negative particles: δέν and μή in use today.

The distinction between οὐ (or δέν), as the more objective particle, *negating* a statement, and μή, as the more subjective particle, *prohibiting* an occurrence, obtains in all periods of the language<sup>341</sup>.

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ὀρίζει ἵνα μηδέν ὀμνύομεν ("our law stipulates that we do not swear"), *Acta et Martyrium Apollonii* 32: ἐπεὶ οὐδέν ὀφελεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀνοήτοις προσφθεγγόμενος ("since a man cannot profit fools by talking to them"), *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* 70, 2: διατί καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν ἀποκρίνη; ("Why do you not answer yourself?"). Hesychios, *Lexicon*, O 1557 explains that οὐδέν is used ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ.

<sup>340</sup> See the long list of examples in JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1799, some of which include: *Greek Alchemists* (PB-B times) (ed. M. BERTHOLET & Ch. RUELLE, 1887-8), 326, 24: εἰ δὲ θέλεις νὰ μηδέν γένῃ βαθύ ("but if you wish that it does not become deep"), 329, 22: ἐὰν γοῦν οὐδέν ἐκαθάρισεν ("if then it has not been cleansed"), 330, 9: νὰ μηδέν ἐβγῇ ὁ ἀτμός ("the vapor must not come out"), Spaneas (A.D. XII) 195: τῶν νέων δὲ τὰς συμβουλὰς πολλὰ μηδέν τὰς πιάσης ("do not take the advice of youth seriously"), Prodromos (A.D. XII), III. 42: ψωμὶν μηδέν τὸν δώσουσιν ("they must not give him bread [food]"), Hermoniakos (A.D. XIV), Index πδ': διατί οὐδέν ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον; ("why did not Achilles want to go to war?").

<sup>341</sup> As illustrations of this for *A* times, see Demosthenes, *Cheronessos* 68: ἐγὼ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὐτ' εἰμί, μήτε γενοίμην ("I am neither insolent nor abominable, nor could I have been") and Sophokles, *Antigone* 500: ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων ἄρεστόν οὐδέν, μηδ' ἄρεσθείη ποτέ ("none of your words is pleasing to me, nor will it ever be"), and for the NT Mt 15:32: καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν· καὶ ἀπολύσαι αὐτοὺς νήσταις οὐ θέλω, μήποτε ἐκλυθῶσιν, Mt 10:26: μὴ οὖν φοβηθῆτε αὐτοὺς· οὐδέν γὰρ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, Mt 24:21: οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται, Mk 4:22: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτόν ἐάν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ, Mk 13:11: μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε, ... οὐ γὰρ ἔστε ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Lk 8:17: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτόν ... οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ, Act 4:20: οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἃ εἶδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μὴ λαλεῖν, Act 15:1: ἐάν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι, Rm 14:16: μὴ βλασφημεῖσθε οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, 1 Cor 6:9: ἄδικοι θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν, μὴ πλανᾶσθε, Gal 6:7: μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# The Significance of the Developments for the Exegesis of the New Testament

Chapter Four was concerned in a general way with developments ranging within the entire area of syntax. Consequently, all the main areas of syntax were treated although not all of the details that would fall under the category of syntax were discussed. As pointed out there, the intention with Chapter Four was not to present exhaustively the entire history of development from ancient to modern Greek in all its ramifications. It was rather to choose out of an immense range of material a sufficient number of developments representing all the main areas of syntax in order to place the language of the NT in its true historical setting, that is, in its proper place within the development of the Greek language.

In the present Chapter I intend to go one step further towards fulfilling my aim by taking up for discussion a number of syntactical points, some of which are, at the same time, exegetical cruxes in NT interpretation. Some of the areas treated in Chapter Four occasionally have entailed a NT crux, which has been dealt with in greater detail. A few of these discussions might have been placed within the present Chapter. But I leave them there because of the relation they bear to the larger picture of syntax as treated in Chapter Four.

The material in this Chapter will still be syntactico-philological, but this time exegetical questions will come to the fore. In the process, a critical *Auseinandersetzung* with commentators and other scholars will be inevitable, but if my verdict is ever felt to be adverse to any espoused point of view, this is because I subordinate interpretative questions to the meaning of language as communication. Indeed, I must do that, if my work is to be done without inhibition. Exegetical discussion and interpretative discourse build on language and syntax, not the other way around. This means that before we even start interpreting a text, we must be certain of its meaning on the linguistic-syntactical level. At least we must be aware of the options which word significance and syntax afford, where the choices, occasionally difficult to come by in a definite sense, will nevertheless make us aware of how far we may go. This linguistic-syntactical emphasis does not neutralize



the interplay between language and theology. Language, too, is informed and influenced by theology. The sensitive exegete, therefore, will keep all avenues open, remembering that although lexicon and syntax are the basis of all interpretation, lexicon and syntax may sometimes be bent by a particular author in the interests of theology. It is just as important that we do not miss the contribution of theology.

The above emphasis on language is a particularly crucial point, because many times I will be in the unenviable position of having to take up as illustrations current interpretations in order to show that the absence of true historical perspective as well as a deeply-seated belief that Greek lays before the reader an immense number of possibilities have led to the propagation of quite untenable interpretations. In spite of its richness and in spite of its occasional options, Greek, too, was modulated in such a way as to render strict communication possible. It is not the case then that a given string of words could be understood in a dozen different ways. If this were so, it would have made precise communication impossible. Even though the Greek sentence was not as strictly formed as, e.g., the English sentence is – because Greek inflection made allowance for wide variation – the notion that a Greek sentence could be equally well-understood in several different ways is a dangerous notion engendered from a lack of feeling for the genius of the Greek language<sup>1</sup>.

In the present Chapter, then, I would like to look at the Greek of the NT from within, insofar as this is possible, given the two thousand years of distance, but at the same time bearing in mind the unity of the Greek language.

The investigation will concentrate on a number of NT texts with whose help I will try to exemplify the importance of the later evidence for a more accurate understanding of the NT. Sometimes, rusty ancient constructions or special usages that have gone unnoticed in scholarly work will be brought to life by the later evidence showing that they were never dead. This tenacity of usage throughout the centuries signals its relevance also for the NT. At other times, the sense and content forthcoming from the investigation will show the NT to be adumbrating later developments. Such developments help decide the meaning of the NT constructions.

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<sup>1</sup> This problem is illustrated well by CRANFIELD, who in his meticulous commentary on *Romans* often cites multiple interpretations of various passages. As a concrete example of such commerce with the Greek sentence I mention the recent dissertation by THORSTEINSSON, *Paul's Interlocutor in Romans 2*, pp. 43 f., who, without regard to what is possible in Greek syntax, punctuates Rm 1:13-15 in an unnatural way (καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, "Ἐλλῆσιν τε καὶ βαρβάροις, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις. ὀφειλέτης εἰμι οὕτως τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι) with the result that he constructs a sentence that is impossible in Greek.

## I. The Use of the Neuter instead of the Masculine

Mt 12:6: τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζον ἐστὶν ὧδε

Mt 12:41-42 (= Lk 11:31-32): ἰδοὺ πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶνος ὧδε

This comparative expression in the neuter occurs once in the Gospel of Matthew in the comparison that Jesus makes between himself and the temple, and twice in the parallel passage in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in the double comparison that Jesus makes between himself on the one hand, and Jonas and Solomon on the other. The meaning and reference of the construction has often gone unnoticed or been simply misunderstood. Sometimes it has been correctly interpreted by means of the exigencies of the context, but the expression as such appears not to have been grasped.

In his painstakingly meticulous commentary<sup>2</sup> H. Alford appears to understand πλεῖον as referring to the gospel. He refers to the similar construction in Mt 12:6: τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζον ἐστὶν ὧδε, which, he thinks, bears “a more general and sublime sense than the masculine”, and refers it to Jesus.

W. C. Allen seems to understand πλεῖον somewhat diffusedly of “the preaching of Christ, who had been a greater sign to them than Jonah had been to the Ninevites”, while on the actual phrase πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ all he has to say is “cf. 12:6 τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζον”<sup>3</sup>. At the latter passage Allen explains “‘the more than the temple’ of the Son of Man = Messiah”<sup>4</sup>. Again no explanation of the construction is offered, but a mere guess as to its meaning.

The difficulties that this construction has engendered can be illustrated from the following specimen of scholarly reasoning and how this has been affected by as well as affected various interpretations of Jesus and the Kingdom of God. C. H. Dodd considered that πλεῖον did not refer to Jesus himself because it was neuter, but to the Kingdom of God<sup>5</sup> while Fuller agreed, for the same reason, in not interpreting πλεῖον of Jesus, however, the “something greater” was referred to Jesus’ preaching of the Kingdom of God rather than to the Kingdom itself<sup>6</sup>. Lindars did the same: “The reference is to the preaching (wisdom) of Jesus rather than to Jesus himself”<sup>7</sup>. In

<sup>2</sup> ALFORD, *The Greek Testament* I, 124-5.

<sup>3</sup> ALLEN, *Matthew*, 140.

<sup>4</sup> ALLEN, *Matthew*, 128.

<sup>5</sup> DODD, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 38.

<sup>6</sup> FULLER, *The Mission and Achievement of Jesus*, 34.

<sup>7</sup> LINDARS, B., *Jesus Son of Man*, 40. For criticism of Lindars see CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 31.

a rather generic way Perrin applied *πλεῖον* to Jesus' ministry<sup>8</sup>. It is obvious that the neuter gender of *πλεῖον* is for these scholars an inhibitive factor in applying this word to Jesus personally.

Of more recent commentators, Davies and Allison similarly consider the neuter gender of *πλεῖον* a problem in referring the word to Jesus, and they ask: "Can we not understand *πλεῖον* to cover the 'Christ event' in general ... can it not be equated with the coming of the kingdom and its herald, Jesus?"<sup>9</sup>. However, with regard to 12:6 these authors conclude that "the reference must be to Jesus"<sup>10</sup>. Finally, in his massive commentary on Luke<sup>11</sup>, Nolland tacitly bypasses the problem posed by *πλεῖον*<sup>12</sup>. English translations have exhibited the same embarrassment<sup>13</sup>.

From the point of view of Greek grammar, the above commentaries have missed the significance of the construction. Two points can be made at once: first, the neuter gender is no obstacle to referring *μεῖζον* and *πλεῖον* to Jesus personally. And second, the neuter does not imply "a more general and sublime sense than the masculine" (Alford). The expression is idiomatic.

The neuter gender may be used of a person when the emphasis is not on the person as such, but on qualities or characteristics that are true of persons or that the person in question also possesses<sup>14</sup>. Thus, Heb 7:7 uses the

<sup>8</sup> PERRIN, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, 75.

<sup>9</sup> DAVIES-ALLISON, *Matthew II*, 358.

<sup>10</sup> DAVIES-ALLISON, *Matthew II*, 314. Here, in line with many other scholars, DAVIES-ALLISON see the rabbinic hermeneutical principle of *qal wahomer* at work (see DAVIES, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 103 f.). The reasoning is that the Sabbath law could be broken by a higher law, e.g. the law of the temple (for types of work allowed by rabbis on the Sabbath, see, e.g., *m Sabbath* 19 and further references in *Str-B*, I, 620-22). Thus, although the priests every Sabbath violated the Sabbath in order to attend to the demands of the temple, they were guiltless, because the temple, as the dwelling of the Deity, was above the Sabbath. This explains why Jesus claims τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζον ἑστίν ὡς rather than make the comparison with the Sabbath. Therefore, inasmuch as Jesus, in whose presence and for whose sake the disciples broke the Sabbath, is greater than the temple, they, too, are likewise guiltless.

<sup>11</sup> NOLLAND, *Luke II*, 654.

<sup>12</sup> The same is the case with PLUMMER, *S. Luke*, 307 f.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. KJV as well as the *Rheims* version rendered μεῖζον in Mt 12:6 with the masculine: "one greater". However, the more recent translations of *NAB*, *NASB*, and *NRSV* as well the *Amplified Bible* render Mt 12:6 with "something greater". The *NIV* renders with "one greater", but in a note adds: "or, something". They take the same line with regard to Mt 12:41-42.

<sup>14</sup> In his *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II*, 1, p. 13, KÜHNER (-GERTH) notes the collective use of the neuter singular to refer not only to a plurality, but also to persons (i.e. masculine), where the emphasis is on some characteristic. He cites, e.g., Thucydides VIII. 66: ὁρῶν πολὺ τὸ ξυνεστηκός (= πολλοὺς τοὺς ξυνεστ-

neuter (τὸ ἑλαττον) behind which stands Abraham – because what is said applies to persons in general, of whom Abraham is one such individual. By the same token, the neuter gender τοῦ κρείττονος has Melchisedek in mind: χωρὶς δὲ πάσης ἀντιλογίας τὸ ἑλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται. In 1 Cor 1:27: the neuter τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου is used of men and women who share in the characteristic of being “foolish”. Similarly, in Jn 17:24: ὁ δέδωκάς μοι is a reference not to something that Jesus has received but to his disciples.

The neuter, however, also expresses an inclusiveness that is absent from the masculine (and even more so from the feminine)<sup>15</sup>. Thus, the neuter tends to assume an all-encompassing significance (cf. Jn 3:6: τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σὰρξ ἐστίν), especially when strengthened by πᾶν: Jn 17:2: πᾶν ὁ δέδωκας αὐτῷ, and 1 Jn 5:4: πᾶν τὸ γεγεννημένον. One of the *loci classici* here is Gal 3:22: ἀλλὰ συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν, an expression that emphasizes the fact that no one is exempted<sup>16</sup>, though Paul can also say (somewhat less emphatically): συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπειθειαν (Rm 11:32)<sup>17</sup>.

Although the above texts explain how the neuter can be used in reference to a person, the use of μείζον and πλεῖον are different in their import. Here the neuter is used instead of the masculine<sup>18</sup> in order to make the reference more indirect and modest<sup>19</sup>. At the same time a measure of irony may sometimes also be included in the neuter, which would have had no place in the more direct and self-asserting masculine: τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζων ἐστίν ὧδε and ἰδοὺ μείζων<sup>20</sup> τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ ὧδε (i.e. “one greater than the temple / Jonah is here”, *sc.* myself). This would have been too assertive, too provocative. The use of the neuter “something more / greater” is a neat and delicate way of comparing the temple and Jonah / Solomon with himself

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ῶτας), and Xenophon, *Apomnemoneumata* I. 2, 43: τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως (= οἱ / τοὺς κρατοῦντας τῆς πόλεως) and I. 58; Xenophon, *Apologia* 4: οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ Ἀθηναίων δικαστήρια (= τοὺς δικαστάς), ὥς πολλάκις μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας λόγῳ πραχθέντας ἀπέκτειναν ...;

<sup>15</sup> As in French, so in Greek, the masculine may be used to include the feminine, but not vice versa.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also the similar πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο (Jn 1:3), whose omission of the τὰ is compensated for by the negating explanation: καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν [ὃ γέγονεν].

<sup>17</sup> The alternative *v.l.* τὰ πάντα is witnessed in a few MSS:  $\Phi^{46}$  vid D\* (F G; Ir), latt.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the use of the plural instead of the singular, in the following unit, on Mt 2:20.

<sup>19</sup> This use of the neuter is not discussed by KÜHNER, and although its occurrence in classical Greek cannot be categorically denied, I am not presently aware of any such evidence. Therefore, at present, it may tentatively be taken as a later development.

<sup>20</sup> If the masculine were chosen, then the πλεῖον, which in its masculine form could not do service here, would have been exchanged for a word signifying ‘greatness’.

without a too assertive and offensive self-reference. In other words, this indirect reference to oneself by means of the neuter softens the staggering personal claim made in the assertion<sup>21</sup>.

The history of the text shows that the scribes, to whom the expression was obviously well-known, had no problems with it. The neuter form *πλεῖον* is witnessed in all text forms, while the masculine *μεῖζων* – probably a pronunciation mistake – occurs in a negligible number of MSS<sup>22</sup>.

Chrysostomos, who spoke and wrote a form of Greek that was close to that of the NT, even if upgraded, understands both expressions to refer to Jesus<sup>23</sup>. The expression evidently was so well-known in his time that he did not consider it necessary to explain it. He simply took it for granted that the reference was to Jesus.

The idiomatic expression is fairly consistently understood and interpreted of Jesus in the history of the Greek translations. Thus, Maximos of Kallioupolis, in his translation of the NT in 1638 into the simple, current language of the time, at the suggestion of the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, renders Mt 12:6 as follows: *καὶ λέγω σας, ἐδῶ εἶναι μεγαλύτερος ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερό* (and I say to you: here is [someone] greater than the temple). At 12:41-42, however, he seems to understand it of something that would correspond to the preaching of Jonah and the wisdom of Solomon: *καὶ νὰ ἐδῶ ὅπου εἶναι περισσότερο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ / τοῦ Σολομῶντος* (and see, here is [something] more than Jonah's / Solomon's<sup>24</sup>).

<sup>21</sup> Such niceties can be achieved in *N* in various ways: by the use of the indirect third person in lieu of the second person: *τί ἀγαπᾷ ὁ κύριος*; (instead of the direct *τί ἀγαπᾷτε, κύριε*; ("sir, what would you like?"), in trying to avoid undue personal or egotistic emphasis by using the plural instead of the singular, as, for example, do authors (plural of discretion or humility), etc. (see also the next unit, "The Use of the Plural instead of the Singular"), and the use of the third person instead of the first person in order to enhance the emphasis on "I", "me": *διορθώσου, διότι αὐτὰ δὲν περνοῦν στὸν Γιάννη* (sc. *σ'* ἐμένα: "see to it that you correct yourself, because such behavior is not acceptable to John" (sc. "to me")).

<sup>22</sup> I.e. C L Δ 0233 f<sup>13</sup> 1424. See also *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text, ad loc.* In substance, however, the masculine form is correct, since the reference is to a man.

<sup>23</sup> Chrysostomos, *In Matthaeum* (PMG 57). Thus, commenting on τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζων ἐστὶν ὧδε, he says: αὐτὸς γὰρ πάρεστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ τοῦ ἱεροῦ δεσπότης (p. 436), while with regard to the comparison between Jonah and Jesus, he says: ὁ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος, ἐγὼ δὲ δεσπότης (p. 459).

<sup>24</sup> Leaving the genitives τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶντος in ellipsis, whereas in the similar construction in Mt 5:20: ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων he supplies the missing δικαιοσύνη and renders: ἂν δὲν περισσεύσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σας περισσότερον ἀπὸ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων.

This touches upon an important difference between Mt 12:6: τοῦ ἱεροῦ μείζον ἐστὶν ὧδε and Mt 12:41-42 (par.): ἰδοὺ πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶνος ὧδε. In the first text the comparison is made simply with the temple. In the second text, however, the genitives Ἰωνᾶ and Σολομῶνος may be either comparative genitives, i.e. the comparison being between the “something” that is here, on the one hand, and Jonah / Solomon on the other, or they may be subjective / possessive genitives with a non-expressed but understood word corresponding to Jonah’s preaching and Solomon’s wisdom. This elliptical construction is found in Mt 5:20, which on the surface appears to compare the disciples’ righteousness to the scribes and Pharisees. However, since things cannot be compared to persons, we need to supply the word ‘righteousness’ in connection with the scribes and Pharisees: “... to the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees”.

There is, therefore, an initial presumption that also in Mt 12:41-42 the comparison is made at the level of the preaching of Jonah / wisdom of Solomon and something corresponding in Jesus, e.g. his proclamation of the Kingdom of God.

On closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that the construction in Mt 12:41-42 is not identical with the one at Mt 5:20. In Mt 5:20 the thing compared is expressly said to be “your righteousness”. This indicates that the thing to which “your righteousness” must be compared is an implied “the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees”. The elliptically written sentence, written completely, would have been: ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον [τῆς δικαιοσύνης] τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων. In Mt 12:41-42 (par.), however, the emphasis is not on “the preaching of Jonah” / “the wisdom of Solomon”, but on the “preaching of Jonah” / “the wisdom of Solomon”. Consequently, when it says ἰδοὺ πλεῖον Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶνος ὧδε, the emphasis is on [something] / someone who can be compared to Jonah / Solomon, in other words, Jesus himself, not his proclamation.

A second issue here is the word πλεῖον as such. Can such a word, that normally expresses amount, refer to a person? This difficulty would, of course, apply also if the reference were to the preaching of Jesus. For it is not a question that Jesus had a greater amount of preaching than Jonah, but rather that Jesus’ preaching was still better, more true, more authentic and authoritative than Jonah’s. But all these adjectives could be as well used of a person. In other words, the use of πλεῖον here rather than μείζων / μείζον is no problem in referring the word to Jesus.

In his notable translation (or, rather, paraphrase) in *Katharevousa* from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Professor N. Vamvas renders Mt 12:6 with σὰς λέγω δὲ ὅτι ἐδῶ εἶναι μεγαλύτερος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, while at 12:41-42,

where the retention of the neuter gives the reference sufficiently clearly, he paraphrases: καὶ ἰδοῦ, πλεϊότερον τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶντος εἶναι ἐδῶ<sup>25</sup>.

In Demotic Mt 12:6 could be rendered with ἐδῶ εἶναι κάτι μεγαλύ-τερο ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερό ("here is something that is greater than the temple"), sc. in a discreet, delicate, ironic sense referring to Jesus, or it could be expressed in the more direct masculine form: ἐδῶ εἶναι κάποιος μεγαλή-τερος ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερό ("here is someone who is greater than the temple") and 12:41-42 with ἐδῶ εἶναι κάτι περισσότερο τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ (ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰωνᾶ) / Σολομῶντα ("here is something that is more than Jonah / Solomon") or in the masculine: ἐδῶ εἶναι κάποιος μεγαλύτερος ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶντα ("here is someone greater than Jonah / Solomon"). As a matter of fact, the latest Demotic translation renders the first passage with: ἐδῶ ἔχουμε κάτι ἀνώτερο ἀπὸ τὸν ναό ("here we have something that is superior to the temple"), and the second: ἐδῶ ὑπάρχει κάποιος μεγαλύτερος ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶντα ("here is someone who is greater than Jonah / Solomon")<sup>26</sup>.

The conclusion, therefore, must be that the above expressions are idiomatic and that the neuter μεῖζον and πλεῖον refer to Jesus personally, not to the kingdom or his messiahship, nor to his preaching or teaching *per se*.

## II. The Use of the Plural instead of the Singular

Mt 2:20: τεθνήκασιν γὰρ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου

Mt 9:8: ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν δό-  
ντα ἐξουσίαν τοιαύτην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

Since long ago there has been uncertainty as to the meaning of the plural τεθνήκασιν. Alford stated: "The plural here is not merely idiomatic nor, as Wordsworth] 'for lenity and forbearance in speaking of the dead;' but perhaps a citation from Ex iv. 19 ... or, as Meyer, betokening, not the number,

<sup>25</sup> The same is the case with a Demotic version of VAMVAS' translation by Spyros PHILOS, 'H 'Αγία Γραφή, 'Αθήνα 1998.

<sup>26</sup> 'H Καινή Διαθήκη 1985 (included in the 1997 edition of the entire Bible: 'H 'Αγία Γραφή). The 1967 translation of the Καινή Διαθήκη into a simple Katharevousa retains the neuter in both passages, both of which are intended as a delicate reference to Jesus: ἐδῶ εἶναι κάτι μεγαλύτερον ἀπὸ τὸν ναόν ("here is something greater than the temple") and ἐδῶ πρόκειται γὰρ κάτι μεγαλύτερον ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰωνᾶ / Σολομῶντα ("here we are concerned with something greater than Jonah / Solomon").

but the category"<sup>27</sup>. Allen followed suit in deriving the phrase from Ex 4:19, but without giving any explanation<sup>28</sup>.

Two of the most recent commentators on Matthew, Davies and Allison<sup>29</sup>, come to similar conclusions:

Herod is the only immediate antecedent. This might be explained as a 'rhetorical' or 'allusive' plural (*BDF* § 141), with reference to Herod's co-actors in 2. 3-4. But it is easier to believe that the language of Exod. 4.19 has been retained without perfect grammatical adjustment ...<sup>30</sup>

The second text, Mt 9:8, receives from Davies and Allison the laconic remark that:

Whereas the ending of Mark stresses the miracle, in our gospel the emphasis comes down upon the authority given to Jesus and (implicitly) to his followers (τοῖς ἀνθρώποις is plural ...). We are probably to see in Matthew's conclusion an assertion of the right of Christian authorities to pronounce absolution<sup>31</sup>.

This embarrassingly brief comment on the plural in an otherwise exhaustive commentary has led the authors to an even more problematic interpretation: the absolution. Here the plural ἀνθρώποις has been taken at face value, i.e. to refer to more than one person. Thus, traditio-historical and redactional concerns take precedence over the syntactical aspects of the passage, determining its import, not by means of the text's communication on the literary level, but by means of hypothetical reconstructions. The interpretation of the text is here made to fit theories of how the text was put together, instead of making the natural import of the text's wording the point of departure and then determine whether or not any such theories are necessary to explain the text.

There is, however, in the context not a shred of evidence that any followers of Jesus were recipients of this authority. Hence, the interpretation has to be referred to the time of the evangelist by means of redactional considerations.

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<sup>27</sup> ALFORD, *The Greek Testament*, Vol. I, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> ALLEN, *Matthew*, 16.

<sup>29</sup> DAVIES-ALLISON, *Matthew* I, 271-2.

<sup>30</sup> *BDR* § 141, explains it as "der Plural in bezug auf eine Person steht verallgemeinernd". ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, p. 392, comes closer, when he writes: "Sometimes the plural purposely conceals the identity of the person referred to" though he, too, does not seem to fully appreciate the construction, and cites no more evidence.

<sup>31</sup> DAVIES-ALLISON, *Matthew* II, 96.



With regard to Mt 2:20, the claim that we have here an allusion to or a reproduction of the wording of Ex 4:19 does not solve the problem; it only moves it one stage further back, to the LXX text. These commentators have not explained why Ex 4:19 uses the plural rather than the singular. In both texts the context shows that there was one and only one who was after the life of Jesus and Moses, *viz.* Herod and the Pharaoh, respectively. Therefore, the plural cannot refer to any other persons than these two individuals<sup>32</sup>.

The question now arises why Matthew does not use the singular (τέθνηκεν) since he only intends one single person, *sc.* Herod<sup>33</sup>. The answer to this question is that the use of the plural in lieu of the singular is a special use whereby Greek avoids a direct reference. If Matthew had used the singular τέθνηκεν γὰρ ὁ ζητῶν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου the reference to Herod would have been altogether too direct in pointing him out. In that case Matthew might as well have used Herod's name. But if Matthew avoids the name, we can understand also why he prefers the plural to the singular.

To avoid pointing a finger at someone, popular Greek often uses the plural instead of the singular. The plural has the advantage of expressing the subject of the action in a more general, indefinite, and indirect fashion, although those who are aware of the background circumstances know exactly to whom the plural refers.

All this is entirely in line with Matthew's use of circumlocutions in order to express himself more diffidently. We may here recall, for example, Matthew's habit of using the circumlocutional "the kingdom of Heaven" rather than the more direct "the kingdom of God", as Mark does<sup>34</sup>.

Why the speaker or writer does not wish to directly point out the person concerned may be owing to a number of different reasons. It may, for example, be an attempt to cover him or it may be prompted by shame to admit an action by someone that is demeaning to oneself, or it may be owing to reasons of delicacy<sup>35</sup>. The reasons may, indeed, be many. The important

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<sup>32</sup> The fact that the Pharaoh and Herod each had entrusted the commission of killing Moses and Jesus to their servants is of no consequence, since these servants had no personal interest in the affair, but were merely obeying orders. The persons to be benefited by the killing were the Pharaoh and Herod respectively. Thus, they are the real perpetrators of the assassination, not the actual executioners.

<sup>33</sup> Nor would any Greek reader be likely to assume that not only Herod, but also all those servants of Herod who had been sent out to find Jesus, had perished within such a brief period of time.

<sup>34</sup> Besides, this indirect way of reference also has stylistic value.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the delicate question by Zeus to his wife, Hera, in Loukianos, *Dialogues of the Gods* IX. 1 (217). Hera complains of Ixion's outrageous behavior towards her during

thing is the fact of occurrence of the construction and that it is used to avoid direct reference.

From the silence of standard grammars on this issue it might appear that extant classical literature does not evidence this usage<sup>36</sup>, though the example from Loukianos, cited earlier, ought to caution us against assuming that the expedient was unknown. A search in early Christian writings, too, has so far given a negative result. Neither Mayser nor Gignac illustrate this usage in their respective grammars<sup>37</sup>. All this is, however, no guarantee that this usage does not exist in these materials; it may only mean that it has not yet been detected. The usage is frequent in *MGr*. It might then be a case of later developments, in which the NT adumbrates a construction that fully emerged in later Greek. Perhaps further search in later, popular works may produce striking examples.

The usage in Matthew probably shows that it belongs to the less stringent use of the language; it is at home more in the context of popular Greek rather than of strict, literary Greek. It is precisely on this popular level that the usage occurs also in *MGr*. The construction is just one of those areas that shows how popular Greek handles delicate matters, and it is to Matthew's credit that he was in a position to utilize some of the niceties which the Greek language placed at his disposal.

The use of the plural instead of the more natural singular in a number of different constructions is well-illustrated for classical times by Kühner-

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their party. Zeus demands to know what Ixion has done, upon which Hera says she is ashamed to mention it (αἰσχύνομαι εἰπεῖν αὐτό). Zeus inquires again: καὶ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μάλλον εἰποῖς ἂν, ὅσῳ καὶ αἰσχροῖς ἐπεχείρησε ("That's all the more reason to tell, if he undertook to do anything shameful"). And now comes the delicate question: μὴν δ' οὐν ἐπέιρα τινά; ("he wasn't making attempts on anyone, was he?"). By 'anyone' Zeus was referring to Hera, though he did not want to put the matter so bluntly. In the next sentence he states that he can guess what Hera is referring to, upon which Hera admits Αὐτὴν ἐμέ, οὐκ ἄλλην τινά ("It was me he was after, and no one else"). Although the expedient used to express delicacy this time was different, it nevertheless shows that Greek does use different expedients to put a matter more delicately. The same point is made in Epiktetos, *Discourses* II. 22. 12, who counts it a victory for someone who, seeing a beautiful woman, can refrain from saying to himself ὥφελον τις μετὰ ταύτης ἐκοιμήθη "I wish that someone slept with her", where 'someone' really is an evasive way of saying "I". Similarly Aischines, *Ktesiphon* 3: καὶ γράφουσι τε τινὲς ῥαδίως παρὰ νόμους γνώμας ("and some all too easily move illegal motions"), where τινὲς refers to no other than Ktesiphon himself.

<sup>36</sup> Such standard works as KÜHNER-GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik* I-II; SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* Vol. II; ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek NT*; BLAU-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*; TURNER, *Syn-tax*, do not appear to have anything to offer on this construction.

<sup>37</sup> MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*; GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek papyri*.

Gerth<sup>38</sup> and for the Papyri by Mayser<sup>39</sup>. And although the present construction is different, the examples adduced by Kühner–Gerth and Mayser for the other plural constructions, make it easy to understand how this construction, too, could find a place within the genius of the language.

Thus, *Acta Barnabae* (uncertain date) 16:2 uses the third person plural of an indefinite subject, which probably in the context is plural, although the singular cannot be completely ruled out: οὐκ εἴσαν ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει (“they did not let us enter the city”). This might refer to just one individual. In his *Βαβυλωνία* p. 30, Δ. Βυζάντιος (XIX<sup>th</sup> cent.) has an Anatolian Greek say to a restaurant keeper in his uncouth style τί τρῶνε ἐντῷ, γιά; (= τί τρώγουν ἐδῶ, λοιπόν; “what do they eat here, then?”), meaning “what does / can one eat here ...?”<sup>40</sup>. The expression occurs quite frequently in *N*, as is witnessed also by Τζάρτζανος (below). Ζ. Παπαντωνίου, *Διηγήματα* (1927), p. 39: ἡ προσβολή μας νὰ μᾶς ἀγνοοῦν κ’ αὐτὲς ἀκόμα οἱ πέτρες (“what an insult against us, that even the very stones should ignore us!”). Such a saying might have a plural subject (they ignore), but it is usable also with a singular subject (he / she ignores). Thus, it is possible to say: Λυποῦμαι, ἀλλὰ πρέπει νὰ φύγω. Ἦλθαν ἀπὸ τὸ σίτι / τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ μὲ καλοῦν (“I am sorry, but I must go. They have come from (my) home and they / to call me [there]”), where “they” refers simply to one particular individual who has come to fetch ‘me’. Τζάρτζανος<sup>41</sup> quotes another example: καλύτερα νὰ σὲ φθοιοῦν παρὰ νὰ σὲ λυποῦνται (“It is better that they hate you rather than that they feel sorry for you”).

<sup>38</sup> KÜHNER–GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, I, 15–19.

<sup>39</sup> MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* I, 34–43. On the other hand, *Acta Ioannis* 92 evidences also the use of the singular for the plural: ἄνθρωπος γὰρ εἰσὶν instead of ἄνθρωποι ... This usage, signifying category, is in the NT often expressed by the plural: 1 Cor 1:27: τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ ἀσθενῆ, τὰ ἰσχυρά, τὰ ἀγενῆ, τὰ ἐξουθενημένα, τὰ μὴ ὄντα, although the singular masculine in 1 Cor 1:20 τοῦ σοφός, τοῦ γραμματεῦς, τοῦ συζητήτης; refers to a plurality of persons: τοῦ οἱ σοφοί, τοῦ οἱ γραμματεῖς, τοῦ οἱ συζητηταί;

<sup>40</sup> This is the standard Greek equivalent of English “one ...”, German, Swedish, etc. “man ...”. The construction occurs in Rev 2:24, where οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βάθεα τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὡς λέγουσιν, literally “as they say”, where ‘they’ is indefinite, really means “as it is said” (German: “wie man sagt”; Swedish: “som man säger”). Most translations have rendered in a pedantically literal way, thus, *Luther Bibel* (rev.): “wie sie sagen”; *Einheitsübersetzung*: “wie sie es nennen”; *KJV*: “as they speak”; *NEB*: “what they like to call”; *NASB*: “as they call them”. Some translations render more dynamically, thus *NAB*: “the so-called”; *NRSV*: “what some call”; and *NIV*: “so-called”. The Swedish *Bibeln 2000*: “som det heter” (= “as it is called”). The Neohellenic translations (VAMVAS 1851; K. Δ. 1967, and *Ἀγία Γραφή* 1997) are of no help, since they keep to the form of the original, which still obtains in *N*.

<sup>41</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις* Vol. I, p. 77.

Again here, 'they' may refer to just one particular person. In his *Axion estin* p. 50, Odysseas Elytis has a Nazi officer address Lefteris, an indomitable Greek youth, before planting a bullet in his head, the words: ὀρίστε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποὺ θέλουνε, λέει, ν' ἀλλάξουνε τὴν πορεία τοῦ κόσμου! ("see [/ here are] the men who", he said, 'want to change the course of the world'), in which "the men" refers simply to Lefteris, and to no one else<sup>42</sup>.

We must, therefore, conclude that the use of the plural τεθνήκασιν in Mt 2:20 is analogous to the use of plural instead of the singular in *N*. There should, therefore, remain no doubt that the plural refers to king Herod alone, and that the current interpretations of this text have failed to detect that this is a special use of the plural.

The use of the plural instead of the singular at Mt 9:8 is similar to that in Mt 2:20 but the reasons are different. The author is trying to depict the depth of the spontaneous reaction of the multitudes springing from their great astonishment at Jesus' miracle. To have written ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεὸν τὸν δόντα ἐξουσίαν τοιαύτην τῷ Ἰησοῦ would have completely taken away the edge of it. By substituting τῷ Ἰησοῦ with τοῖς ἀνθρώποις he has succeeded in creating a beautiful and effective *dénouement*. To them Jesus was a mere man (even if extraordinary), and since God had given this authority to a representative of the

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<sup>42</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙΣ (writing in Katharevousa) uses another expedient. To avoid referring by name to his friend the grammarian A. JANNARIS, with whom he disagreed on a grammatical point, he refers to him as "a certain friend": Ἐπειδὴ φίλος ἀνὴρ ἐπεβαλετο ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς Τόμ. ΙΓ' σελ. 214 (1901) κ. ἐξ. νὰ ὑποστηρίξῃ τὴν γραφὴν εἶνε ... διὰ τοῦτο ἐπανήλθον ἐπὶ τὸ ζήτημα τοῦτο ... (*MNE* Vol. I, 1905, 565) ("Because a certain friend undertook in Ἀθηνᾶ Vol. 13, p. 214 (1901) to uphold the form εἶνε ... I returned to this matter and wrote *ibid.* p. 225 ff. the following ..."). In another connection (*MNE* I, 533), HATZIDAKIS has recourse to another device: an impersonal description in the third person. He writes: ὅτε παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐφάνη νέος ὑποστηρικτικῆς ("when contrary to [my] expectation a new supporter [of a position considered as settled] emerged ..."). HATZIDAKIS nowhere explains who this new "supporter" was, but it may be supposed that KRUMBACHER was intended, who was sharply criticized by HATZIDAKIS for the particular issue referred to here. HATZIDAKIS expressly refers to his custom of avoiding, when disagreeing, to mention by name persons whom he held in high esteem. With regard to Adamantios KORAËS – a διδάσκαλος τοῦ Γένους ("a Teacher of the Greek Nation") – HATZIDAKIS says: "These men, especially Koraës, I respect and honor to the highest degree. Therefore, whenever I find that their teachings are, in my judgment, correct, I mention them explicitly, but whenever I consider them to have been mistaken, I avoid mentioning their revered names" (Τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκείνους καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Κοραῖν σέβομαι καὶ τιμῶ μέγιστον, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ὁσάκις μὲν εὐρίσκω ὅτι τὰ διδάγματα αὐτῶν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν κρίσιν ὀρθά, μνημονεύω διαρρηθῆναι αὐτῶν, ὁσάκις δ' ὁμως κρίνω ὅτι ἐσφάλησαν, παρασιωπῶ τὰ σεβαστά αὐτῶν ὀνόματα in "Ὁρθογραφικά", *MNE* I, 639).

human race, it appeared, he had given it "to men", i.e. to one of them! The plural 'men' is used to signify category.

Related to this is the story in Mt 28:17 of the meeting of the disciples with their risen Lord on a mount in Galilee, with the double reaction of the disciples: καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. There is a discrepancy here between Matthew and the other evangelists. According to Matthew the disciples see Jesus for the first time after his resurrection on this occasion. This agrees with Mark's shorter text, i.e. ending at Mk 16:8. The longer ending of Mark, however, makes room for the events described in more detail in Luke's gospel. The relevant text in Mk 16:14 is: ὕστερον [δὲ] ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἐφανερώθη καὶ ὠνειδίσεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγγεγερμένον οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν. Luke has a longer text, the gist of which is: αὐτὸς ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ... πτοηθέντες δὲ καὶ ἐμφοβοὶ γενόμενοι ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ... διὰ τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν; εἶδετε τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός ... ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστοῦντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ θαυμαζόντων εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ... (Lk 24:36-41).

These two accounts agree with John in having Jesus meet the disciples in Jerusalem, the difference being that in the latter gospel Thomas is absent on the first occasion, and refuses to believe when told that Jesus has been seen alive. The relevant text runs as follows: ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταί· ἐωράκαμεν τὸν κύριον. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ... ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω ... οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. ἔρχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς ... λέγει τῷ Θωμᾷ ... μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός (Jn 20:25-27).

The problem here is that according to Mark's longer ending and Luke, all of the disciples refused to believe (ἠπίστησαν, ἀπιστία, οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν) that Jesus had risen from the dead, whereas according to Matthew, only some of the disciples doubted (οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν), and according to Jn 20:25-27 only one disciple, Thomas, refused to believe (οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος)<sup>43</sup>. The question, therefore, is: Is the account in Mt 28:17 related to the ones in Mk 16:11-14 and Lk 24:36-41, does it go back to a tradition shared commonly with John, or is it an independent account? In other words, how many disciples expressed doubt or unbelief at the report that Jesus had risen from the dead?

Leaving aside the difference of the locale of the meeting (Galilee or Jerusalem) between Matthew and the other three evangelists, and concentrating on the number of doubting or unbelieving disciples (which is of more consequence than the question of locality), the account in Matthew cannot be brought into line with the accounts of Mark and Luke, according

<sup>43</sup> In the context, there ought to be no difference between unbelief and doubt.

to whom all of the disciples refused to believe. Matthew's account can, however, reflect the tradition found in John, according to which only one disciple remained in doubt. As we have already seen, from the point of view of the language used, there is no problem in bringing Mt 28:17 and Jn 20:25 together. John's "one disciple" has in Matthew become "some disciples": John's Thomas may be hidden behind Matthew's purposely indefinite expression οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. By using the indefinite οἱ δέ ('some') Matthew avoids singling out Thomas from the rest.

Such an interpretation would be in line with Matthew's general policy in preferring circumlocutions as well as general and indefinite rather than definite and specific descriptions. If this interpretation of Matthew's procedure is correct, then here we have another example of the use of the plural for the singular in order to avoid direct reference in an attempt to describe an unpleasant incident more delicately<sup>44</sup>.

### III. Is Jesus the Vine or the Vineyard?

John 15:1-7: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα ...

#### 1. Introductory

A look at the way in which this text has been treated in standard commentaries shows that the two terms have been interpreted quite unproblematically<sup>45</sup>. The two words have simply been taken in their old, traditional, and well-attested sense of 'vine' and 'branches' respectively, and no further considerations have been deemed necessary<sup>46</sup>. Yet awareness of the historical development of the language raises unsettling thoughts as to the way John uses these words. A discussion of the evidence is therefore justified, if

<sup>44</sup> On reading this unit, Michael GOULDER, who welcomed my interpretation, in a letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1999, actually reminded me of two more NT texts, which should be interpreted in the light of this idiomatic usage: Act 17:28: ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν, which simply refers to Aratos and no one else, and Lk 24:24: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τινες τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, which refers to Peter, who according to Luke is the only one who went to the grave (cf. vs. 12).

<sup>45</sup> See, e.g., BERNARD, *John* II; BARRETT, *John*; MORRIS, *John*, 668; BROWN, *John* II, SCHNACKENBURG, *Johannesev* III, 108-15; LINDARS, *John*, 488 f.; BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 271 ff.

<sup>46</sup> The information of *MM*, s.v. ἄμπελος, that this term occasionally has another sense in the Papyri, is considered gratuitous by MORRIS, *John*, 668, n. 3: "there is no reason for thinking that this is the meaning here".

for no other reason, at least in order to bring certainty with regard to the current position. It may turn out, however, that at the close of this investigation the accepted interpretation will no longer appear the only viable or even the preferable interpretation.

The NT makes use of four related words from viticulture: ἄμπελος, ἀμπελών, ἀμπελουργός, and κλήμα. The first three of these are thought to derive from a non-Indoeuropean root, which existed in the pre-Hellenic Mediterranean linguistic substratum<sup>47</sup>, while κλήμα derives from the root κλα > κλαῖω > κλάω = 'to break'<sup>48</sup>. In the NT ἀμπελουργός occurs just once, ἄμπελος 9 x, ἀμπελών 23 x, and κλήμα 4 x. Ἀμπελών signifies 'vineyard' and ἄμπελος is generally taken to signify 'vine'.

In *E* and *A* Greek ἄμπελος usually signifies the plant *vitis vinifera*. At the other end of the linguistic spectrum, following the historical linguistic development in *N*, ἄμπελος signifies a 'vineyard'. Ἀμπελών is infrequent<sup>49</sup>, having been substituted largely by classical ἄμπελος, 'vine', which via its diminutive form τὸ ἀμπέλιον<sup>50</sup> and the Byzantine form τὸ ἀμπέλιν<sup>51</sup> has given the *N* Demotic neuter form τὸ ἀμπέλι = 'vineyard'.

Classical κλήμα, originally 'branch of the vine', now signifies what ἄμπελος signified originally, viz. the vine itself. Somewhere in the course of history there was a shift in the meaning of these words from their ancient (original?) to their 'modern' significance. Since the NT is written during the time of transition from ancient to modern Greek, it is not only meaningful but also desirable and even necessary to investigate (a) the time when the words took on their new meaning, and (b) to analyze the Johannine use of ἄμπελος and κλήμα in the light of both the older and the newer meanings in order to determine which of the two meanings is the more appropriate for our text.

## 2. The Meaning Shift in ἄμπελος

The earliest work that uses ἄμπελος in its new sense of 'vineyard' is Aiosopos' *Fable* 42. The *Fable* relates how a dying father told his sons that his possessions were all hidden in his ἄμπελος: 'τεκνία, ἐγὼ τοῦ βίου ὑπεξ-

<sup>47</sup> See FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 95 and BABINIOTIS, *Λεξικό*, 142 f.

<sup>48</sup> See also FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 866.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, s.v.: οἱ ἀμπελῶνες τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Acharnes* 512; *Peace* 596.

<sup>51</sup> For references, see ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, E., *Λεξικό*, s.v. ἀμπέλι(v).

έρχομαι· πλὴν ἅπερ ὑπάρχει μοι, ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ εὐρήσετε πάντα'. οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες θησαυρόν τινα ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν λαβόντες δικέλλας καὶ ἀξίνας καὶ δρέπανα κατέσκαψαν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐκ πόθου<sup>52</sup>. That ἄμπελος here bears the sense of vineyard and not of vine is proved beyond any possible doubt by the fact that the sons understood it in precisely this way; they, therefore, dug up the whole plot of the ἄμπελος in search of their father's treasure. If we could be certain that this story is original to Aisopos (VI B.C.), or rather that its wording has not been tampered with, it would imply that the change was introduced already in pre-classical times. From Aisopos we must make a long leap of several centuries to the next extant literary occurrence of ἄμπελος in the sense of vineyard. In his *On the Characteristics of Animals* XI. 32, Ailianos (c. A.D. 165-230) writes: ἐν ἀμπέλῳ<sup>53</sup> δὲ γεωργὸς εἰργάζετο τάφρον, ἵνα ἐμφυτεύσῃ κλῆμα καλὸν τε καὶ εὐγενές ("a farmer was digging a trench in a vineyard in order to plant a fine, choice vine"). In this text, too, it is altogether certain that the ἄμπελος was a vineyard in which a trench could be dug<sup>54</sup>.

Unfortunately, literary works of the last pre-Christian centuries give us no more help with the sense of vineyard, while the wide gap between Aisopos and Ailianos is something of a problem. It would appear, moreover, that authors aspiring to higher literary standards kept to the old, established usage. This tradition was continued by Atticistic writers and even such Atticizing Christian authors as Athanasios, Eusebios, Basilios, Chrysostomos, and Theodoretos, who had received classical training and aimed at literary excellence<sup>55</sup>.

This gap is, however, filled to a considerable extent by papyrological and epigraphic evidence, which attest the meaning of vineyard in popular use from the first half of the third century B.C. continuously to *N*. From that time on the sense of vineyard for ἄμπελος occurs in the papyri times without number<sup>56</sup>. A more detailed treatment of a few examples may suf-

<sup>52</sup> "My children, I am about to die. However, you are going to find whatever I possess, in the vineyard'. They, supposing that he had hidden some treasure there, when their father died, took two-pronged forks, hoes, and scythes and dug the whole plot in their desire to find the treasure".

<sup>53</sup> The *v.l.* ἀμπελῶν is read here, but this, in view of κλῆμα, should be regarded as improbable.

<sup>54</sup> This meaning is endorsed also by SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἄμπελος.

<sup>55</sup> In spite of this, Chrysostomos has at least one example of ἄμπελος referring to a 'vineyard', *De Virginitate* 79. 21-22: οὐ γὰρ ἀμπελῶν αὐτοῖς ἐδέησεν οὐδὲ ληνῶν οὐδὲ λητῶν οὐδὲ ἀμητοῦ ("for they were not in need of vineyards, nor of wine-presses, nor of un-reaped fields, nor of a reaper").

<sup>56</sup> See, e.g., *ᾤ Cair Zen* V, 59827, r, 1: (250 B.C.): πεπαύμεθα τέμνοντες τὴν ἄμπε-



fice. *BGU* XIV, 2380, 5 (265 B.C.) has as its subject the payment of tax (ἐκφόριον) on a vineyard: ἐ[ξ] ἀμπέ[λ]ου τῆς π[ ] ... α[ ] ... ρου[ ] ν κεχω[ρ]ισμένον ἐκφόριον [τοῦ μηνός]<sup>57</sup>. According to *ϕ Hib* II, 205, 13 f. (260-250 B.C.) there was a complaint from certain vineyard owners for the high tax (φόρον) exacted from them: [μη]δενὸς πρᾶσσειν [τὸν φόρον τῆς [ἀ]μπ[έ]λου]. Over the damaged [ἀ]μπ[έ]λου the *ϕ* has been corrected to τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς τοῦ λα[<sup>58</sup>]. "Ἀμπελος occurs frequently with the sense of vineyard in the Zenon correspondence. Thus, according to *ϕ Cair Zen* II, 59222, r, 2 (254 B.C.) Apollonios commands Zenon to plant a vineyard:

λον ("we have finished pruning the vineyard"), *ϕ Cair Zen* III, 59350, v, 11 (244 B.C.): φυλάκων τῆς ἀμπέλου, *IG* VII, 1740, 5 (Megara, 250-200 B.C.): τὰν ἀμπελον Ῥεγκίας Φιλογίτονος τρισκηδεκάτας ἐφό(δω), *ϕ Cair Zen* IV, 59604, r, 2 (III A.D.): ἀμπελον πεφύτευκας, *OBodl* I, 96, r, 5 (Hermonthis, 180 B.C.): ἀπομοίρας (ἔτους) χα(κοῦ) [... (γίνονται) φόρων ἀμπέλου, *BGU* XV, 2524, 3 (Karanis, A.D. 179-80): [ἀμπέλου ἐννεακαὶ]δεκάτου (ἔτους) ἀπομ(οίρας) [δραχ(μὰς) τρεῖς (ὀβολοὺς)], *IG* IX, 205, 9 (Thessaly, c. 145 B.C.): ὡς ὕδωρ ρεῖ ... ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλιπέως εἰς τὸ νέμος τὸ ἄγον ἐν τὰν Ἀ[μπε]λον, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμπέλου (as a proper name, presumably on account of its vineyards), *ϕ Fouad* 001, 67, r, ctr, 11 (A.D. 39): εἰς πλήρωσιν τῶν τῆς ἀμπέλου τε[λεσ]μάτων, *ϕ Gen* II, 91 gr, 2, 22 (A.D. 50-51): κώμην κληρο(ς) κατοικ(ικῆς) (ἀρουρῶν) ἀξι(ος) (δραχμῶν) 1500 καὶ ἀμπελος {αμπελου} (ἀρουρῶν), *ϕ Berl Leihg.* II, 36, 1, 2 (also 1, 9; 1, 10; 1, 12; 1, 15) (II A.D.): ἀμπ(έλου) ν(αυβίου) προ(σδιαγραφομένων) (in Egypt ναύβιον was a land measure; in singular a tax paid by farmers in exchange for the obligation to dig certain ναύβια), *ϕ Oxy* IV, 707, v, 2, 23 (A.D. 136): πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τῷ κτ[ή]ματι διάπιλον (διαπειλον) γῆν ἀνάξει ἀμπέλω, *ϕ Berl Leihg.* II, 37, 3, 50 (A.D. 142-43): ἀμπ(έλου) 3000, ν(αυβίου) 150, ἐπ(αρουρίου) (= ταξ) 2000 *ϕ Col* V, 1, v, 6, 4, 40 (A.D. 160): ἀμπέλου ναυβίου ἐπαρουρίου, *ϕ Oxy* VII, 1032, 11 (A.D. 162): ὡς συνεχωρήθη ἀμπέλου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ὄγδοον (ογδωον) ἑκκαδέκατον, *ϕ Dura* 001, 25, int, 6 (Dura, A.D. 180): κατὰ τὰς προ[υ]παρχούσας τῆς ὅλης ἀμπέλου ὀρι[.], *ϕ Dura* 001, 25, ext, 22 (Dura, A.D. 180): καὶ τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῷ μέρος ἡμισυ ἀμπέλου τῆς ἐπιφυτευτικοῖς περὶ Ναβαγάτα, *ϕ Dura* 001, 25, ext, 24 (Dura, A.D. 180): Ἡλιόδωρον Λυσίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἔχοντα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμπέλου μετοχῆς, and 25, ext, 25: τὸ μέρος ἡμισυ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀμπέλου, *BGU* XIII, 2290, r, 8 (Bacchias, A.D. 203): τε(λέσματος) ἀμ(πέλου) ἑνδεκ(άτου) ἔτους δραχμὰς δέκα. See further: *ϕ Gen* II, 91 gr, 2, 22 (A.D. 50-51); *ϕ Hamb* I, 82 ctr, 15 (A.D. 165); Asia Minor: *IG* XII, 1, 19, 3; 7 (293-305 A.D.); *BGU* X, 1928, 13 (244 B.C.); *ϕ Col* V, 1, v, 1b, 1, 6 (A.D. 160); *ϕ Gen* II, 116 gr, 20 (A.D. 247); *ϕ Mert* I, 27, r, 9 (III A.D.); *ϕ HermLandl* 001 Anhang II gr r, 1, 34 (A.D. III-IV); *ϕ Freer* 001, 1+2, 7, 240 (A.D. VI); *ϕ Freer* 001, 1+2, 5, 153 (A.D. VI); *ϕ Freer* 001, 1+2, 9, 304 (A.D. IV); *ϕ Herm* 001, 32, 4 (? A.D. VI); *ϕ Herm* 38, 6 (A.D. V), etc. etc.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *ϕ Tebt* 24, 1, 3 (117 B.C.): ἐλα[σ]σόνων ἐκφορίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνα[ ] τοῦ νομοῦ ἐφ' ἧς καὶ ἰκανὰ κεφάλαια [ ἀμπέλου τῆς ἐν σιτικῇ μισθώσει.

<sup>58</sup> *OBodl* I, 96, r, 5 (180 B.C.) has the plural form: φόρων ἀμπέλου.

φύτευσον τῆς ἀμπέλου<sup>59</sup>. Another papyrus, *ᾤ Cair Zen* III, 59350, v, 11 (244 B.C.), mentions watchmen of a certain vineyard: φυλάκ[ων ...] τῆς ἀμ[πέλου ...] *ᾤ Petri* I, 29, 4 (III B.C.)<sup>60</sup> speaks of the planting of a vineyard: πεφύτευται δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀμπελος πᾶσα<sup>61</sup>. BGU VI, 1216, A, 5, 86 (110 B.C.) makes mention of ἀμπέλου καὶ παραδείσου (“a vineyard and a park”)<sup>62</sup>.

*ᾤ Mich* II, 123, r, 2, 49 (A.D. 45-47) relates that a vineyard of two *aroura* (ἀμπέλο(υ) ἀρούρων 2<sup>63</sup>) was leased out to an Egyptian by the name of Peteesis. The meaning of vineyard for ἀμπελος occurs also in *ᾤ Oxy* XLII, 3063, r, 13 (A.D. II), which questions the need of three pairs of oxen to draw water for a vineyard of moderate size: θαυμάζω εἰ χρεια ἔστι τριῶν ζευγῶν εἰς ἐπαντλησὸν τῆς ἐν Χαλώθει ἀμπέλου εἰς ὀλίγον περιεσταμένης. Another papyrus, *ᾤ RossGeorg* V, 54, 14 (A.D. II), speaks of “a part of the vineyard that is on the royal [way?], *arourai*”: μέρος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς (ἄρουραι)<sup>64</sup>. *ᾤ Soter* 001, 1, 22 (A.D. 69), which takes ἀμπελος as masculine, uses it indiscriminately with ἀμπελῶν (the old term for ‘vineyard’), stipulating that the division of the ἀμπελος be in the middle (i.e. in two equal halves) and just: τὴν τοῦ ἀμπέλου τομὴν ποιῆσθω μέσῃ καὶ δικαίαν<sup>65</sup>.

### 3. The Meaning Shift in κλῆμα

The development of the meaning of κλῆμα went hand in hand with the development of the meaning of ἀμπελος. Correspondingly as the word ἀμπελος took on the significance of ‘vineyard’, so, too, the word κλῆμα

<sup>59</sup> The genitive τῆς ἀμπέλου is problematic. Perhaps it has to do with something that concerns a vineyard. The parallel text in *ᾤ Cair Zen* IV, 59604, r, 2, (III B.C.) correctly uses the accusative: ἀμπελον πεφύτευκας.

<sup>60</sup> See also *ᾤ Petr* III, 53, 4 and III, 53, 15.

<sup>61</sup> *MM* s.v. ἀμπελος prefer a collective sense. They admit, nonetheless, “This use of ἀμπελος (cf. *MGr* ἀμπέλι), which makes it equivalent to ἀμπελῶν, occurs also in the Median parchments, *ᾤ Said Khan* (B.C. 88 and 22), deeds concerning the transfer of a ‘vineyard’, which is never called ἀμπελῶν in the documents”.

<sup>62</sup> Line 18 reads: (ἡμισυ) μέρος τῆς ἀμπ(έλου) and BGU VI, 1216, B, 1, 105 (110 B.C.): ἀμπέλῳ σὺν ἡμί μέρος ἐν ὑπολόγῳ ἄρουραι, both of them clear cases of the sense of vineyard.

<sup>63</sup> In Egypt the *aroura* was 22,500 square feet, or a little more than 2,000 square meters.

<sup>64</sup> In *ᾤ RossGeorg* V, 54, 19 (A.D. II) a similar wording occurs: μέρος τῆς ἀμπ(έλου) [ἄρουραι].

<sup>65</sup> Both in this papyrus and *ᾤ Soter* 2, 19 (A.D. 71) ἀμπελος is masculine. So, too, SB X, 10575, 7.

took the significance of 'vine'. The semasiological shift in the meaning of the two words ran concurrently.

The earliest occurrence of κλήμα in the sense of 'vine' is met with in Xenophon (430-355 B.C.), *Oikonomikos* XIX. 8, 3. Here Sokrates asks Isomachos whether a vine cutting (τὸν βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος) is likely to shoot forth sooner if planted in soft and well-worked soil than in hard and undug soil (πότερον ὑποβαλὼν ἂν τῆς γῆς τῆς εἰργασμένης οἶει τὸ βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος θάττον χωρεῖν διὰ τῆς μαλακῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀργοῦ εἰς τὸ σκληρόν);<sup>66</sup> The next instance in point of date is Theophrastos (372-288 B.C.), *History of Plants* II. 6, 12, in which he discusses the various, types of palm-trees grown in Egypt, on Krete, and on Sicily. He writes "With regard to the cultivation of the other plants, the layers are to be laid in the opposite way, like those of the vines" (ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων φυτεῖαις ἀνάπαλιν τίθενται τὰ φυτευτήρια, καθάπερ τῶν κλημάτων).

Ailianos is quite instructive in that he uses both ἄμπελος in the sense of 'vineyard' and κλήμα in the sense of 'vine' in the same sentence. I here repeat the passage cited above in relation to ἄμπελος: ἐν ἁμπέλῳ δὲ γεωργὸς εἰργάζετο τάφρον, ἵνα ἐμφυτεύσῃ κλήμα καλὸν τε καὶ εὐγενές ("a farmer was digging a trench in a vineyard in order to plant a fine, choice vine")<sup>67</sup>. There is no doubt whatsoever here that κλήμα is used of a vine which was to be planted. The *Anthologia Graeca*, which received its final compilation about A.D. 940, but which contains material that goes back to as early as the third century B.C., clearly witnesses the significance of vine for κλήμα. An epigram (IX. 561) from Nero's time speaks of the root of a κλήμα: ὥς ἀπὸ ρίζης κλήματος ὠμότοκον (-ου) βλαστὸν ὅλον θερίσεις "you will cut off a whole unripe shoot as if from the root of a vine"<sup>68</sup>. Still clearer is *Anthologia Graeca* XVI. 255: 'Οδῖτα, μὴ πρόσσερπε πρὸς τὰ κλήματα ("Wayfarer, do not creep towards the vines").

The meaning of 'vine' for κλήμα is witnessed also in the inscriptions and the papyri. The earliest document here is SB XVIII, 13861, r, 15 dating

<sup>66</sup> A little further down, *Oikonomikos* XIX. 9, 2, he says: πότερα ὅλον τὸ κλήμα ὀρθὸν τιθεῖς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἢ γῆ μάλλον ἂν ριζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιον τι ...; ("what do you think, will the vine take better root if you place the whole of it upright looking, as it were, towards the sky, or if you put it somewhat slanting?").

<sup>67</sup> Ailianos, *On the Characteristics of Animals* XI. 32.

<sup>68</sup> Apollodoros (180-120 B.C.), *Bibliothēke* III. 14, 7, relates the arrival of Demeter at Eleusis and of Dionysos at Athens. Dionysos bestowed upon his host a vine cutting and taught him the production of wine: Δήμητρα μὲν Κελεὸς [εἰς Ἐλευσίνα] ὑπεδέξατο, Διόνυσον δὲ Ἰκάριος· ὃς λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ κλήμα ἁμπέλου καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἶνοποιεῖν μαθάνει ("Demeter was welcomed by Keleos to Eleusis, but Dionysos by Ikarios. He received from him a vine cutting and learned how to make wine"). On this cf. *Scholium in Lucianum* LII. 5, 2.

from 210 B.C. In this document it is related that a monthly hireling will not stay on to bring vines unless he receives copper (= pay): σὺ οὖν καλῶς ποιήσεις [ποιεῖσεις] φροντίσας ὥς οὐ περισπασθῆσόμεθα. καὶ ὑπὲρ κλημα[το]ατων [i.e. κλημάτων] οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ [ἔάν μ] (sic) κατάγειν [ὁ] καταμήνιος, ἐάν μὴ χαλκοὺς λάβῃ. ἔρρωσο<sup>69</sup>. Another document, *ᾠ Graux* II, 9, 19 (A.D. 33), gives the price of an unspecified number of vine suckers (κλημάτων) for planting as 120 drachmai: καὶ τιμῆς (sic) κλημάτων εἰς μοσχίαν [i.e. μοσχείαν] (δραχμαί) 120. *SB* XIV, 12143, 18, from the time of Claudius (A.D. 41-54), is another clear instance for the meaning of vine for κλημα. The writer instructs someone by the name of Nemesion, to go to a certain Patynios, the son of Malon, to inquire about vines (κλημάτων), which he, if he receives them, is to send to Sarapion, the general's scribe: ἐρωτηθεὶς ἀπελεύσῃ πρὸς) Πατ(ύ)νιον τοῦ Μάλου καὶ ἐρωτήσης (sic) α(ὐτὸ)ν περὶ κλημάτων. ἐά(ν) δ(ᾧ) (πέμψ)ον αὐτὰ τῷ Σαραπί(ωνι) (γρα)μματέως (sic) τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. According to *ᾠ Soter* 001, 3, 35 (A.D. 89-90) a certain Soterichos promises Tamystha, the owner of a vineyard, to plant new vines (κλήματα) every year in her vineyard (ἀμπελῶνα), which he begs to hire: φ[υ]τεύσω δὲ κ[α]τ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι κλήματα. Of special interest here is the fact that while Soterichos uses ἀμπελῶν no less than seven times of the vineyard, he never uses ἀμπελος for vines, but only κλήματα.

*Asia Minor MAMA* I; IV-VII; VIII (part); IX-X, IV, 297, 17 an inscription dated to c. A.D. 250 from Dionysopolis in Phrygia, uses the plural of ἀμπελος four times of vineyards and κλήματα once of vines. In atrocious orthography it rules, for example, against overseers of the villages, because they did not hinder shepherds from entering certain vineyards (ἀντέλους) with their flocks: κὲ (sic) τῶν ἐ[πιμελητ]ῶν τῶν χωρίων τῶν μὴ κωλυσάντων τοὺς ποιμέν[ας τοὺς] ἰς (sic) τὰς ἀντέλους (sic) ἰσβάλλοντας (sic) θρέμματα κὲ (sic) τ[οὺς ἐν αὐτ]ῇς (sic) περισπῶντας τὰ κλήματα ἰσπραξομένους (sic) αὐτῶ[v]<sup>70</sup>. Finally, *ᾠ Flor* II, 148, r, 9 (A.D. 266/7) directs τὸ μὴδὲ ἓνα τόπον τῶν χοιραφίων (i.e. χωραφίων) ἐνδεῆσαι ἀμπέλου. τὰ δὲ ἐπίπεδα ὁμοίως πρὶν [τ]ῆς τομῆς ἀπωρυγίσατε μὴ πρότερον τέμνοντες ἢ μὴ πληρωθῶσιν οἱ ἐνδεόντες τούτων χοιραφίων τῆς ἀμπέλου. ... συλλέξατε δὲ κλήματα Θηβαϊκὰ καὶ λευκὰ μὴ ἔλαττον παλαιστῶν 20<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> "You will do well taking care that we are not distracted. As regards vines, the monthly hireling will not wait to bring them down if he has not received his pay".

<sup>70</sup> "And of the overseers of the villages who did not hinder the shepherds from entering the vineyards with their flocks and breaking the vines, they will exact ..."

<sup>71</sup> That "no part of the fields shall lack a vineyard (ἀμπέλου), and that the flat areas similarly shall be dug up before they are divided, they should not be divided before the fields lacking vineyards (τῆς ἀμπέλου) have been filled with such. ... And you shall

## 4. Conclusions about the Meaning of ἄμπελος and κλήμα

The above investigation into ancient Greek literature, inscriptions, and papyri has demonstrated the semantic shift of ἄμπελος and κλήμα from *vine* and *vine-branch*, to *vineyard* and *vine* respectively. The shift in meaning, though witnessed already in the fourth century B.C., becomes well-established by the third century B.C., particularly in the Egyptian papyri. The new meanings continue to the present day (*N*).

The shift in meaning was neither unnatural nor forced. In fact, it was a logical development. Κλήμα, originally 'vine-branch' or 'vine-twig'<sup>72</sup>, was used as μόσχευμα (a 'sucker for planting') to propagate a new vine (cf. e.g. Apollodoros, *Bibliothēke* III. 14, 7, who tells of the arrival of Demeter to Eleusis and of Dionysos to Athens, the latter of whom presented his host with a "vine-twig" to plant and instructed him in "wine-making": Δήμητρα μὲν Κελεὸς [εἰς Ἐλευσίνα] ὑπεδέξατο, Διόνυσον δὲ Ἰκάριος· ὃς λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ κλήμα ἄμπέλου καὶ τὰ περὶ οἰνοποιῖαν μανθάνει). What more natural, then, than that in time this should come to upgrade the significance of κλήμα from 'twig', 'branch', to signify the whole plant, the vine.

The development of the meaning of ἄμπελος from 'vine' to 'vineyard' followed a different, though in this case, too, a natural route. Ἀμπελος 'vine', planted closely together with other vines to form a 'vineyard', was looked upon collectively. Since all the vine plants together made up the vineyard, it was easy to pass from the meaning of 'vine' (a single vine plant) to the meaning of 'vineyard' (a place containing many such vine plants).

Nonetheless, by whatever route these changes in meaning were attained, what is indisputable is that already several centuries B.C. these shifts in meaning had become a fact. The usage from that time to the present day witnesses a continuous, unbroken tradition of some twenty-three centuries. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that ἄμπελος and κλήμα had at the time of the NT in popular use the meaning they have today in *N*, i.e. 'vineyard' and 'vine' respectively.

This result is certain. What at this point of the argument is an open question, which needs to be inquired into, is whether or not John, too, uses these terms in their 'recently'-acquired meanings.

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collect (i.e. choose) white Theban vines (κλήματα) not smaller than 20 palms of the hand".

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Platon, *Republic* 353a.

## 5. The Usage of the Fathers and Early Christian Authors

It was noted above that Atticizing Church Fathers and early Christian authors in interpreting this text usually kept to the old distinctions between ἄμπελος and κλήμα as vine and branch<sup>73</sup>. But with some of them there appears to have been a theological reason as well. The author who set the tone for this was Athanasios. As a staunch defender of the reality of the incarnation, he sought corroboration for his doctrine of the *homoousion* of the human nature which Christ took through his incarnation in the sameness of nature shared by the vine (= Christ) and the branches (= the Christians). Precisely as the vine and the branches are of one nature (something that is not true of the vine and the vinedresser), so too, Christ in his incarnation came to share our nature<sup>74</sup>. This explanation found favor with some of the later Fathers. For example, Basilios of Kaisareia repeats the argument in his *Against Eunomios*<sup>75</sup>, while Theodoretos of Kyrhos in his *Eranistes* refers explicitly to Athanasios' interpretation<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Of early Christian authors who adhere to the old distinction, mention may be made of Klement of Rome, Ignatios, *Didache*, Justin Martyr, Klement of Alexandria, Irenaios, Hippolytos, Origen, Eusebios, Gregorios of Nazianzus, Gregorios of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Amphilochios, Chrysostomos, Palladios, and Johannes of Damaskos. These authors have an aggregate of some 560 occurrences of ἄμπελος, all of which have been examined by me. See also note 11, above.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Athanasios, *De sententia Dionysii* 10, 3: ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρωπίνως εἴρηται ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος, σκοπεῖν ἐντεῦθεν προσήκει· ὁ μὲν γεωργὸς ξένος ἐστὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, τὰ δὲ κλήματα ὁμοούσια καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ ἀδιαίρετα τῆς ἀμπέλου τυγχάνει ὄντα καὶ μίαν ἔχει καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γένεσιν ταῦτα τε καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος. ἔστι δέ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, 'αὐτὸς ἡ ἄμπελος, ἡμεῖς τὰ κλήματα'. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁμοούσιός ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ἔχει γένεσιν, ἔστω κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἀλλότριος κατ' οὐσίαν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος τοῦ γεωργοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς παρ' ὃ ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, κάκεῖνος μὲν λόγος τοῦ πατρός, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ γῆς γεγόναμεν καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἔσμεν ἔκγονοι, οὐκ ὀφείλει τὸ ῥητὸν εἰς τὴν θεότητα ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν.

<sup>75</sup> Basilios, *Against Eunomios* 29, 697: Εἰ ἄμπελος, φασίν, ὁ Σωτήρ, κλήματα δὲ ἡμεῖς, γεωργὸς δὲ ὁ Πατήρ· τὰ δὲ κλήματα ὁμοφυῆ μὲν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, ἡ δὲ ἄμπελος οὐχ ὁμοφυῆς τῷ γεωργῷ· ὁμοφυῆς μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ μέρος ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ὁμοφυῆς δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα ἀλλότριος. Πρὸς οὓς ἐροῦμεν οὐ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς σαρκὸς εἰρηκέναι ἡμᾶς κλήματα.

<sup>76</sup> Theodoretos, *Eranistes* 101: Ὁ ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ ... 'Εγὼ ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα· ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργὸς ἐστίν.' Ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τὸ σῶμα συγγενεῖς ἐσμεν· ... Καὶ ὥσπερ εἰσὶ τὰ κλήματα ὁμοούσια τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὁμογενῆ σώματα ἔχοντες τῷ σώματι τοῦ κυρίου. ... Ὁ δὲ πατήρ εἴρηται ὁ γεωργός· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰργάσατο διὰ τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἄμπελον, ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα. ... Ἀμπελος δὲ ἐκλήθη ὁ κύριος διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ κλήματα, ἅπερ ἐσμέν ἡμεῖς, συγγένειαν σωματικὴν.

In spite of the venerable origins of this theological interpretation, it must be rejected on exegetical grounds. The new relationship of the disciples to Christ (to obtain after he “has gone away”) illustrated by the imagery of the ἄμπελος and the κλήματα is not based on the relation that once existed between the disciples and the incarnated Jesus, but is thought of as a future relationship between the disciples and the pneumatic Christ. The whole question of “abiding in Christ” sets the relationship between the believer and Christ on a transcendental, almost mystical plane, which has nothing to do with the incarnated state of the Logos, even though it is precisely the incarnation of the Logos that has made this pneumatic relationship possible. For this reason it is not possible to argue that this parable illustrates the sameness of nature which the believer shares with the Logos following the latter’s incarnation. However, it is important to emphasize that this “abiding” is not a mystical union of the kind which some find in the Eucharist or in the sense of mere passive contemplativeness, but an active, everyday abiding and utter dependence on Christ that issues into fruit bearing. This emphasizes the distinctiveness rather than the sameness between Christ and the believer.

The Fathers’ exegesis of ἄμπελος as vine and κλήματα as branches, therefore, has no more in its favor than that these authors used these terms in their old, well-established distinctions, and that they took no account of the semasiological shifts that had been at work for several centuries.

This opens the way for a fresh exegesis of the important details of Jn 15:1-6 in the light of the new meaning which these terms had assumed by this time.

## 6. Is Jesus the Vine or the Vineyard?

We may make Rev 14:18-19 our point of departure:

Καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος [ἐξῆλθεν] ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου [ὁ] ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός, καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὅξυ λέγων. Πέμψον σου τὸ δρέπανον τὸ ὅξυ καὶ τρύγησον τοὺς βότρυας τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ σταφυλαὶ αὐτῆς. καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ἄγγελος τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐτρύγησεν τὴν ἀμπελον τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν.

There can hardly be any doubt here that the two occurrences of ἄμπελος are used in the developed sense of ‘vineyard’<sup>77</sup>. This is borne out first by

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<sup>77</sup> AUNE, *Revelation 6-16*, 790 and ΑΓΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ, *Ἡ Ἀποκάλυψη τοῦ Ἰωάννη*, 351 have understood it correctly.

the grammatical construction of τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, which is an appositional genitive (i.e. the vineyard, which is the earth), and secondly by the fact of the winepress, which is a natural and conspicuous feature of a vineyard but does not feature in connection with single vines. The fact that the developed sense of ἄμπελος occurs in a writing of the Johannine corpus increases the probability that this is the intended meaning also in Jn 15.

If we now exegete the passage on the assumption that ἄμπελος stands for vineyard and κλήματα stands for vines, the following interesting exegesis emerges.

The saying ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή makes good sense against the background of Israel both as a vine and as a vineyard<sup>78</sup>. However, vs. 2: πᾶν κλῆμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ φέρον καρπὸν αἶρει αὐτό, καὶ πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον καθαίρει αὐτό makes sense only if it is understood as “he takes away every vine in me (i.e. the vineyard) that does not bear fruit, and ‘prunes’ every vine that does bear fruit”. The use of αἶρω is natural for the activity involved in uprooting and removing a vine from a vineyard, but unnatural for cutting a branch from a vine. In general, the idea of cutting was in *A* expressed by such verbs as (ἀπο)τέμνω and (ἀπο)κόπτω. The specific idea of pruning was in *P* times expressed by κλαδῶ (-έω)<sup>79</sup>. (See also Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue Grecque*, Vol. I, 537f.). From this verb developed the verb κλαδεύω, which is the normal verb with this meaning in *N* and which has been in use at least since the time of Artemidoros (A.D. II) (see note below). Now Phrynichos, a slightly younger contemporary of Artemidoros, condemned the verb κλαδεύειν: κλαδᾶν ἀμπέλους, ἀλλὰ μὴ κλαδεύειν φαθί<sup>80</sup>. It is, however, hardly likely that Phrynichos would have recommended the use of κλαδᾶν in place of κλαδεύειν, i.e. in lieu of an unclassical word recommending another unclassical word. Phrynichos’ current text is most probably corrupt. He must have written κλαῶν. This hypothesis finds support in Phrynichos’ Atticist ally, Moiris, who in a similar vein says: κλάσαι Ἀττικοί, κλαδεύσαι Ἑλληνες<sup>81</sup>. Moreover, we have also Hesychios’ testimony that κλαδεύειν had

<sup>78</sup> On the OT background to this imagery and its relation to John, see my study “Vine, Vineyard, Israel, and Jesus” *SEA* 65 (2000), 201-14, esp. 201-07.

<sup>79</sup> See Arrian, *Indica* XI. 10: καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἀρουσιν ἢ τρυγῶσιν ἢ κλαδῶσιν ἢ θερίζουσιν (“in quietness they are either ploughing or gathering the fruit of the vine or pruning or reaping”). A similar verb, κλαδῶ (-άω) means ‘to shake’, which explains E. I. ROBSON’s mistaken translation of the above passage (Loeb ed.) with “shaking down”.

<sup>80</sup> Phrynichos, *Ekloge* (familia q) 143 “say κλαδᾶν vines, not κλαδεύειν”.

<sup>81</sup> Moiris, *Lexikon Atticum* 201, 19: “κλάσαι is used by the Attic authors, κλαδεύειν by the Hellenes”.



in his time taken the place of classical κλᾶν: κλᾶν ... τέμνειν ἀμπέλους, ὅπερ ἡμεῖς κλαδεύειν<sup>82</sup>.

Now John's use of καθαίρω is intentional. The verb as such does not mean 'to prune', but it is here used to express that idea<sup>83</sup>. There are two reasons why the evangelist uses a strictly speaking improper word. The first reason is in order to create a word-play with αἵρειν. Such a word-play could not have been achieved if he had used the *A* κλᾶν or the *P-N* κλαδεύειν. In this particular context on the level of the imagery, καθαίρειν stands in place of a word meaning 'to prune', though the word as such has its own particular connotation. Concentrating, for the moment, on the idea of 'pruning', it must be emphasized that this meaning is totally inappropriate (on the level of the imagery) if it is applied to a branch but thoroughly appropriate if it is applied to a vine. In viticulture, what is pruned is the vine, not the branches<sup>84</sup>. The vine is a stock, say, one meter

<sup>82</sup> Hesychios, *Lexikon*, K 2862: "κλᾶν [means] to prune vines, which we express by κλαδεύειν". For the use of κλᾶν see, e.g., Theophrastus (c. 372-288 B.C.), *On the Causes of Plants* I. 15: καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω γίνεσθαι πληγὴν κλωμένων ἢ καρφολογουμένων (of i.e. vines) ("and since through the above procedure no hurt comes to the vines when they are pruned or have dead branches removed from them"), Longos (? A.D. IV), *Daphnis and Chloe* III. 29: [οἶδα] καὶ κλᾶν ἀμπέλον καὶ φυτὰ κατορύττειν ("I know how to prune a vineyard and how to set plants in the earth").

<sup>83</sup> The latest edition of BAUER's *Lexicon*, *BDAG*, s.v. καθαίρω, is misleading when it describes as a second meaning of καθαίρω "to remove superfluous growth from a plant, clear, prune of a vine (cp. Philo, *Agr.* 10, *Somn.* 2, 64) J 15:2". This description is mistaken on several scores. First, καθαίρω as such does not signify 'to clear' or 'to prune' a vine, nor does it mean 'to remove superfluous growth from a plant'. Moreover, it appears that the quotations of Philo, *Agr.* 10 and *Somn.* 2, 64 were quoted without first being examined. These texts have nothing to do with a vine, let alone with pruning it. The first text (ὅσα παθῶν ἢ κακιῶν δένδρα ἀναβλαστόντα εἰς ὕψος ἐξήρθη φθοροποιούς φέροντα καρπούς, ὑποτεμνόμενα καθαίρεται, ὥς μηδὲ βραχὺ τι λείψανον ἐαθῆναι ("whatever trees of passions or vices have shot up and grown tall bringing forth corrupting fruit, are cut down and cleared away, without the slightest part being left")) is concerned (in a metaphor about the human soul) not with pruning, but with a radical clearing away where nothing evil is left. The second text: καθάπερ γὰρ τοῖς δένδροσιν ἐπιφύονται βλάσται περισσαί, ... ὥς καθαίρουσι καὶ ἀποτέμνουσι ... τὴν βλαβερὰν ἐπιφύσιν αὐταῖς ρίζαις ἀπέκοψε ("for as in the case of trees, superfluous twigs shoot up ... which they clear away and cut off ... to cut away the mischievous overgrowth from its roots") again has nothing to do with pruning, but with excision and uprooting. Similarly Theophrastus, *Causes of Plants*, I. 15. 1: διὰ τὸ ἀκλάστων ὄντων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων. Thus, if special reasons have led an author to make an improper use of a word and in a particular context make it carry a meaning which it does not normally have, it is not justifiable to treat such an untypical meaning as though it were part of the semantic field of that word.

<sup>84</sup> This way of describing pruning is still used in *N*, which uses κλαδεύω (< κλάδος 'branch', see also FRISK, *Gr. Etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 864, s. v. κλάδος) = 'to cut

high from the top of which there shoot several branches 2-3 meters long. At the time of pruning the vinedresser chooses a few (often about three) good, strong, promising branches, and cuts off the rest. This is pruning a vine. The branches are never pruned. If the vine were understood of Jesus, then he would be the object of pruning, not the disciples. But such an interpretation would be absurd. The purpose of pruning is to remove from the vine any shoots that will not be fruit bearing, but, instead, will weaken the fruit-bearing ones by supping away the vine's energy. It is thus obvious that this picture is applicable only to the disciples.

The other reason for using the word καθαίρω rather than an ordinary verb for pruning is that the author fluctuates between symbol and reality. A similar fluctuation was observed in the Philon passages, quoted above<sup>85</sup>. The same is true of gospel parables, where the *Bild*-part is sometimes influenced by the *Sach*-part<sup>86</sup>. Here, καθαίρω is used rather than κλῶ or κλαδεύω because the application is to the disciples. They are in need, not of a literal κλαδεύεσθαι like ordinary vines, but of an inner one – an inner cleansing – which can better be expressed by the verb καθαίρω.

Vs. 3 is concerned not with the imagery, but with its application to the disciples.

Vs. 4 μέναιτε ἐν ἐμοί, κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν. καθὼς τὸ κλῆμα οὐ δύναται καρπὸν φέρει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐὰν μὴ μέναι ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ἐμοί μένητε. The exhortation to "abide in me" would be unnatu-

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off the branches' of pruning any tree, and especially a vineyard, e.g. κλαδεύω τὸ ἀμπέλι "I prune the vineyard" (i.e. all the vines within a vineyard). This verb has been in use since the time of Artemidoros (II A.D.), *Oneirokritikon* I. 51, 20: θερίζειν δὲ καὶ τρυγᾶν καὶ κλαδεύειν, in which, interestingly enough, κλαδεύειν is specifically used in connection with a vineyard (cf. τρυγᾶν = 'to gather in the grapes of a vineyard'), see also Klement Alex., *Stromateis* VII. 12: φυτεύων, κλαδεύων, ἀρδεύων "planting, pruning, watering". LAMPE, *Patristic Lexicon*, cites no examples for κλαδεύω for the Patristic authors, who were under Atticistic influence. SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon*, however, takes up no fewer than eight related words for the period 146 B.C. - A.D. 1100: κλαδεῖα 'pruning' (e.g. *Geoponica* (X A.D.), 3, 14, 1; κλάδεις 'pruning' (Aquinas and Symmachos at *Canticles* 2:12, where the LXX has τομή); κλαδευτήριος 'fit for pruning' (cf. Hesychios, *Lexicon*, B 629: βίσβην: δρέπανον ἀμπελοτόμον λέγουσι Μεσάπιοι, καὶ εὐρτήν Βισβαῖα, ἣν ἡμεῖς κλαδευτήρια λέγομεν ("βίσβην is called by the Mesapians the knife used in pruning vines, and the feast is called Βισβαῖα, which we call κλαδευτήρια, the feast of pruning")); κλαδίον = 'little branch' (Dioskorides (A.D. I), *Euporista* 1, 129); κλαδίσκος = 'little branch' (Galenos, *De simplicium medicamentorum* XII. 35, 12: ἀπαλοῖς κλαδίσκοις); κλάδος = 'branch' (since classical times); and κλαδοῦχος = 'holding branches' (Ioannes Lydos (A.D. VI), *De mensibus* 1, 15). See also Λογοθέτου, B., "Ἱστορικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς ἀμπελογραφίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι", *ΕΓΔΣΠΘ* 1958, 1-59.

<sup>85</sup> Philon, *De Agricultura* 10 and *De Somniis* 2, 64.

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., CARAGOUNIS, *The Son of Man*, 246 and note 2.

ral if it were directed to a 'branch', since the branch is a natural and integral part of the vine, but it makes good sense if directed to a 'vine', since the vine is not a natural or integral part of the soil (i.e. the vineyard in which it is planted), and a vine that does not have its roots in the soil (of the vineyard) cannot bear fruit.

Vs. 5 again relates to the disciples rather than the imagery of the vine.

Vs. 6 εἰ μὴ τις μένη ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἔξω ὡς τὸ κλήμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλουσιν καὶ καίεται again would be altogether inappropriate if it were applied to a branch. The detail ἐβλήθη ἔξω has an immediate application to the disciple symbolized by the κλήμα. Such a disciple is driven out of Christ. On the level of the symbol, the action contemplated is one of uprooting. Since uprooting cannot be predicated of a branch, we are again driven to the conclusion that the choice of verb here indicates that the κλήμα is a vine, not a branch. It is only the vine that can be uprooted from the soil and be *thrown out* (of the vineyard). The idea of uprooting here recalls the similar idea of the uprooting of those plants that Jesus speaks about in Mt 15:13: πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται. If a branch had been intended here, then a verb other than ἐβλήθη ἔξω would have been used. In that case ἐκκόπτω (ἀποκόπτω) or (ἀπο)τέμνω would have been natural candidates. This detail, too, supports taking κλήμα as a vine. It is the κλήμα (the vine) that is uprooted and thrown out (ἐβλήθη ἔξω) of the ἄμπελος (the vineyard).

Finally, we have here also the idea of protection. In his capacity as the spiritual vineyard, Jesus not only supplies the spiritual nourishment for the disciples who abide in him, but also ensures the protection to his disciples (cf. Jn 17:9-15), which, on the level of image, the vineyard provides through its walls and hedges for the vines<sup>87</sup>.

The above exegesis finds apt support in the imageries of vine and vineyard which the OT uses of Israel. Especially significant is the fact that the most detailed OT passage of Israel as a vine (Ps 80) gradually passes on from the image of the vine to that of the vineyard. Such details as the breaking down of the walls and the foraging of the boars and other animals (80:12-13) are more appropriate for a כִּרְמֵךְ than for a יֵבֶשֶׁת<sup>88</sup>. This together with the detailed treatment of Israel as a vineyard in Isa 5, some of whose details are echoed in Jn 15, support the view that the prototype for the imagery of the ἄμπελος in Jesus' parable is primarily the OT כִּרְמֵךְ ('vineyard') rather than יֵבֶשֶׁת ('vine').

<sup>87</sup> See especially CARAGOUNIS, "Vine, Vineyard, Israel, and Jesus", 205-7.

<sup>88</sup> On this see CARAGOUNIS, "Vine, Vineyard, Israel, and Jesus", 204.

This exegesis does not change the relations between the entities involved in the *Sach*-part of the parable, i.e. Jesus and his disciples. That relation remains intact. But the picture changes considerably: its details receive another meaning, one that is more correct and more consonant with the science of viticulture, the proper use of imagery, and the post-Easter relationship between Christ and his disciples. Finally, this interpretation is in line with the new and definitive meanings which these words had assumed already before the time of the author of the Fourth Gospel.

#### IV. Does the Aorist Indicative Support Realized Eschatology?

Mt 12:28: εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ

##### 1. The Importance of This Text in Discussions of the Kingdom of God

Mt 12:28 has played an important role in discussions of the Kingdom of God. Its significance has been underscored by the important place it has assumed in the argument for realized eschatology. In particular its aorist indicative ἔφθασεν is one of the main pillars on which C. H. Dodd erected his edifice of realized eschatology.

In his book, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, Dodd noticed that in the synoptic gospels there are two kinds of utterances about the coming of the kingdom of God, one using ἤγγικεν, perfect indicative of ἐγγίζω, "to draw near", and the other using ἔφθασεν, aorist indicative of φθάνω, in *A* "to overtake", but in *P-N* chiefly "to arrive". The former kind of utterance is found in, e.g., Mk 1:15 (= Mt 3:2): πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. The second kind of utterance occurs only on one occasion, i.e. Mt 12:28 (= Lk 11:20): εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι (Lk: ἐν δακτύλῳ) Θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. Since the two verbs figured in similar utterances about the coming of the kingdom of God, Dodd supposed that the two verbs were used synonymously. Thus, in countering the claims of the rival interpretation of eschatology, the German position known as *konsequente* or *thoroughgoing* (or *futuristische*) *Eschatologie*, Dodd argued, in his answer to J. Y. Campbell's criticism<sup>89</sup>, "I take ἔφθασεν at its face value, and try to make ἤγγικεν conform"<sup>90</sup>. He thus made ἔφθασεν his point of departure and forced

<sup>89</sup> CAMPBELL, *ExpT* 48 (1936-7), 91-4.

<sup>90</sup> DODD, *ExpT* 48 (1936-7), 188.

ἤγγικεν into the mould. The proponents of *konsequente Eschatologie* had done the exact opposite; they had made ἤγγικεν their point of departure and then tried to make ἔφθασεν conform, i.e. they interpreted ἔφθασεν as though it were ἤγγικεν<sup>91</sup>.

For his postulation of an identical meaning for ἔφθασεν and ἤγγικεν Dodd appealed for support to the LXX<sup>92</sup>, while for his interpretation of the ἔφθασεν as “has come / arrived” he sought the support of Neohellenic. Dodd was mistaken on both counts. In the case of the LXX he misstated the facts about these words, and in the case of *N* he misunderstood the meaning of the expression which he thought supported his argument. Dodd’s error with regard to the LXX was pointed out immediately by Campbell<sup>93</sup>, while his misunderstanding of the *N* evidence was first shown by the present author in 1989<sup>94</sup>.

With regard to the *N* evidence Dodd wrote that when a Greek waiter answered a call, he said: ἔφθασα, κύριε! Dodd interpreted this as meaning “Here I am, sir!” In criticism, Campbell pointed out that, “Surely when a Greek waiter says, ἔφθασα, κύριε!, he does not mean, ‘Here I am, sir!’ (Dodd, 43, n. 1), but, ‘Just coming, sir!’”<sup>95</sup>. In the third, corrected edition of his book, Dodd’s text now runs: “If you call a waiter, I am told, he will say as he bustles up, ‘ἔφθασα κύριε!’. Thus ἔφθασεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ expresses in the most vivid and forcible way the fact that the Kingdom of God has actually arrived”<sup>96</sup>. On the strength of this reasoning Dodd concluded that “It would appear therefore that no difference of meaning is intended between ἔφθασεν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ and ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ”<sup>97</sup>.

Campbell’s guess that the Greek waiter would not have meant “‘Here I am, sir!’”, but rather ‘Just coming, sir!’” was, for obvious reasons, inadequate to overturn Dodd’s conclusion, and Dodd felt, therefore, free to make

<sup>91</sup> Cf. DODD’s charge against CAMPBELL in *ExpT* 48 (1936-7), 188: “Mr Campbell takes ἤγγικεν at its face value and tries to make ἔφθασεν conform”.

<sup>92</sup> DODD found that “in the LXX ἐγγίζειν is sometimes used (chiefly in past tenses) to translate the Hebrew *naga’* and the Aramaic *m’la*” (*Parables* 36). Because these two verbs are translated by φθάνειν, DODD concluded that ἐγγίζειν and φθάνειν must be identical in meaning.

<sup>93</sup> See J. Y. CAMPBELL, *ExpT* 48 (1936/7), 91 ff. For the detailed evidence of the LXX on these Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek verbs, see CARAGOUNIS, “Kingdom of God, Son of Man, and Jesus’ Self-Understanding” *TB* 40 (1989), 13-15.

<sup>94</sup> In the annual lecture at the Tyndale Fellowship, Cambridge, CARAGOUNIS, *TB* 40-40.2 (1989), 20-23.

<sup>95</sup> CAMPBELL, *ExpT* 48 (1936/7) 93. Another critic of DODD was K. CLARK, *JBL* 59 (1940), 367-83.

<sup>96</sup> DODD, *Parables*, rev. ed. 1961, p. 36, n. 15.

<sup>97</sup> DODD, *Parables*, 36 f.

a minimal concession to him with respect to the LXX data, and then to continue, undisturbed, to advocate his position. He thus perpetuated a linguistic error, upon which was based an important conclusion about a central aspect of NT theology.

Dodd's position has been adopted by countless scholars<sup>98</sup>, particularly in the Anglo-American region, who have accepted his conclusion without due critical scrutiny<sup>99</sup>, and as it would appear, without perceiving the linguistic problem involved<sup>100</sup>. A recent example of this is K. Giles, who after stating that "It is now generally agreed that the Greek verb *ephthasen*, translated here as 'has come to you' means 'to come in the sense of to arrive'<sup>101</sup>, refers to an encyclopaedic article by the present author<sup>102</sup> – but shows no awareness of the study in which I presented the evidence against Dodd's position<sup>103</sup> – and says: "However, see C. C. Caragounis ... for another opinion"<sup>104</sup>. Giles has failed to appreciate that this is not merely a question of "another opinion". In my study I showed how the idiomatic use of the aorist indicative functions in the Greek language, what the Greek waiter actually means when he says "ἔφθασα, κύριε!", and how a saying such as Mt 12:28 would be understood by a Greek. The study to which I refer presents linguistic evidence that requires us to understand the saying differently from

<sup>98</sup> For representative positions depended on, or congenial to DODD, see CARAGOUNIS, *TB* 40 (1989), 16-20. For a more extended history of research discussions see LUNDSTRÖM, *The Kingdom of God*, PERRIN, *The Kingdom of God*, and LADD, *Jesus and the Kingdom* (rev. ed. *The Presence of the Future*), *passim*.

<sup>99</sup> Note the unsure handling of ἡγγικεν and ἔφθασεν by those who have essayed to tackle the linguistic issue, as, e.g., KÜMMEL, *Verheissung und Erfüllung*, 99 f.; FULLER, *The Mission*, 25 f.; LUNDSTRÖM, *The Kingdom of God*, 114 f., and LADD, *Jesus and the Kingdom*, 135 ff.

<sup>100</sup> How much the meaning of ἔφθασεν here has been misunderstood is shown, for example, by R. FARMER, in *The Kingdom of God*, 122, who, in spite of his opinion that DODD's interpretation of ἔφθασεν as ἡγγικεν has "failed to establish itself", thinks that Mt 12:28 "proved an insurmountable obstacle" to the advocates of thoroughgoing or future eschatology, but not to DODD's realized eschatology. In his latest book, *Jesus Remembered*, 407-409, J. DUNN is critical of DODD, who "famously blurred [the] difference" between ἡγγικεν and ἔφθασεν, although he, too, understands the latter term as signifying "that the kingdom had [already] come (*ephthasen*)". And although he settles for the meaning of "imminence rather than presence" for ἡγγικεν, he has not taken into account the linguistic evidence which I had presented in 1989.

<sup>101</sup> See, e.g., PERRIN, *The Kingdom of God*, 87; LADD, *Jesus and the Kingdom*, 135, 139 n. 51.

<sup>102</sup> CARAGOUNIS, "Kingdom of God / Kingdom of Heaven", *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, 417-30.

<sup>103</sup> CARAGOUNIS, "Kingdom of God, Son of Man and Jesus' Self-Understanding", *TB* 40 and 40.2 (1989), 3-23 and 223-38.

<sup>104</sup> GILES, *What on Earth Is the Church?* 29 and 251, n. 12.

verb φθάνω and the special use of the aorist indicative, presenting evidence from all periods of the Greek language.

Φθάνειν is a punctiliar verb denoting point of time. In *A* it is used mainly in the comparative sense of 'to overtake', 'to anticipate' 'to come / arrive before [someone else]'.<sup>108</sup> In the NT this meaning is witnessed only in 1 Th 4:15: ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας ("... will not come before / anticipate ..."). Gradually, however, a tendency becomes apparent for the verb to set aside the comparative element and to keep to its simple meaning of 'to come', 'to arrive' absolutely. Contrary to what is normally believed (see, e.g., *LSJ* s.v. φθάνω), this meaning occurs already in *A* times, e.g. Xenophon, *Kyrou Paideia* V. 4, 9: οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες εἰς πόλιν τινα τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου μεγάλην ("they arrived at a certain large city in Assyria"). This meaning competes for a number of centuries with the older, comparative meaning<sup>109</sup> and finally almost supplants it<sup>110</sup>. The sense of 'to anticipate',

<sup>108</sup> See, e.g., Hesiodos, *Works and Days* 569: τὴν φθάμενος οἶνας περιταμνέμεν ὥς γὰρ ἄμεινον ("before she [the swallow] comes, prune the vine for it is best so"); Euripides, *Phoinissai* 975: κἂν μὲν φθάσωμεν, ἔστι σοι σωτηρία ("and if we come first, you will be saved"); Herodotos VII. 161: φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖον ἀγγελοῦ τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμείβετο μιν τοισίδε ("having overtaken the messenger of the Lakedemonians, the Athenian messenger said the following"); Thukydides VIII. 100: ἐπείγόμενος μὴ φθάσῃ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσπλεύσας ("in a hurry that he [Mindaros] might not anticipate him [Thrasylos] in reaching the Hellespont"); Demosthenes, *To Euboulides* 67 (1319): οὐ γὰρ ἔφθη μοι συμβᾶς ἡ ἀτυχία ("my misfortune had not occurred before..."); cf. the standing phrase οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι -ς (-τε) ("make haste to ...").

<sup>109</sup> The older comparative sense still occurs sporadically down to the Middle Ages, see, e.g., Ioannes Philoponos (A.D. VI), *In Aristotelis analytica posteriora commentaria*, 388, 29: ἔφθασαν γενέσθαι ("they had time to happen"); Photios (A.D. IX), *Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos* 487, 25: οὐκ ἔφθασαν τοῦ δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν ("they did not have time to glorify God"); Anonymi *In Aristotelis artem rhetoricam commentarium* (B-LB), 94, 28: ἐπεὶ ἔφθασαν τὸν Καλλισθένην τιμωρῆσαι ("because they had time to punish Kallisthenes"); Eustathios (A.D. XII), *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* I. 351, 36: οὐπώ ἔφθασαν τὰ ἐν βάθει ἀποφυγεῖν ("the deep things did not have time to be burned"); Georgios Pachymeres (A.D. XIII-XIV) 651, 3: τὰ δ' οὐκ ἔφθασαν τελεσθῆναι ("there was no time for the rest to be accomplished"); Ioannes Actuarius (A.D. XIII-XIV), *De urinis* 3, 19, 3: ἐκέλευν μὲν ἔφθασαν λυθέντες ("those had time to dissolve"); also 5, 3, 11; Nikephoros Gregoras (A.D. XIII-XIV), *Historia Romana* I. 224, 11: ἔφθασαν ἀπαγγέλλοντες ("they had time to notify").

<sup>110</sup> The passages that I have checked are innumerable. Here I give a few specimens representative of all periods, e.g. Diodoros Sikeliotes (I B.C.) IV. 32, 3, 11: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ συνδιωχθέντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔφθασαν ("the rest, having been chased away, arrived at the boats"); *id.*, XIV. 24, 5, 1; *Acta Ioannis* (A.D. II) 7, 1: πολλοῦ χρόνου διηπεύσαντος ἔφθασαν τὴν ὁδόν ("having ridden a long time they reached the way"); Josephos (A.D. I-II), *Antiquitates* II. 341, 2: Ἑβραῖοι ... ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν ἀντίπεραν ("the Hebrews ... reached the other side"); LXX Sirach 33:17: ἐν εὐλογία Κυρίου

the way in which Dodd interpreted it. This evidence cannot be set aside as merely "another opinion". This is the way in which the Greek language functions. It is rather a question of whether we are willing to take seriously the way in which the language functions and to allow it to guide our exegesis, or are determined to bend the language and make it say what we want it to say.

The issue raised here is of significance also for the questions that have been actualized in the magisterial work on Johannine eschatology by J. Frey<sup>105</sup>, who treats in detail the saying in Jn 5:25: ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν<sup>106</sup>. Perhaps the insights forthcoming from my research, when applied to the Johannine sayings, might not only modify some of the conclusions but also add some deeper dimension to the understanding of Johannine eschatology.

In view of the above points, the linguistic examination of these crucial kingdom sayings in the light of the syntactical developments of the language ought to be considered a *sine qua non*.

## 2. Linguistic Considerations

Elsewhere<sup>107</sup> I have discussed ἡγγικεν, especially its rendering of the MT as well as the LXX data. In the present study I intend to concentrate on the

<sup>105</sup> J. FREY, *Die Johanneische Eschatologie*, 3 Vols., Tübingen: Mohr 1997-2000. FREY refers to one of my relevant studies. I seem there to be presented as a "Nachfolger" of L. v. HARTINGSVELD. The fact is that I was not aware of v. HARTINGSVELD until I read FREY.

<sup>106</sup> The Johannine sayings that have often been interpreted as supporting realized eschatology have been treated in my "The Kingdom of God in John and the Synoptics. Realized or Potential Eschatology?" in A. DENAUX (ed.), *John and the Synoptics* 473-80 as well as in my more recent "The Kingdom of God. Common and Distinct Elements Between John and the Synoptics" in FORTNA-THATCHER (eds.), *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, 2001, 125-34. Unfortunately, in the last-named book the text of my article was tampered with after I had read the proofs. It was shortened by some twenty-five per cent, with the result that the present text does not represent faithfully what I wrote. Here, I take the opportunity to correct only four brief *loci*, two of which render my text self-contradictory: p. 129, line 6, should read "In the Theodotion of Daniel 4:24"; p. 129, line 16, the reference should be Mt 12:28, not Mt 18:3; p. 130; line 14, the correct text was "This position of *partial* presence faces its first serious problems", not as it stands now, "A position of 'potential presence' faces its first serious problems", which is the position I argue for. Finally, p. 133, last line and following page, "FE has interpreted the common tradition", needs to be corrected to "the eschatology of John has been interpreted ..." For the complete text revised and entirely rephrased, see CARAGOUNIS, "Ἡ Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ In Johannine and Synoptic Tradition" (*G. Galitis Festschrift*).

<sup>107</sup> CARAGOUNIS, *TB* 40 (1989), 12-15.



'to have (not) time to' has a restricted use in *N*<sup>11</sup>, the classical meaning of 'anticipation', 'having time to ...' now being expressed by προλαβαίνω (= *A* προλαμβάνω) or προφθάνω. In *N* φθάνω normally means 'to come', 'to arrive' absolutely. This meaning is also the usual one in the NT, in which φθάνειν occurs in Mt 12:28; Lk 11:20; Rm 9:31; 2 Cor 10:14; Ph 3:16; 1 Th 2:16, and 4:15.

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ἔφθασα, Aprian (A.D. I-II), *Libyca* 146:3: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ... ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸν λιμένα ("the rest arrived at / reached the harbor"); Klement Alex. (A.D. II-III), *Paidagogos* II. 8: προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον ... οὗ ἔφθασαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ("let us worship in the place ... to which his feet [sc. the apostle's] have arrived"); Polyainos (A.D. II), *Strategemata* 6: 11, 1: ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν Καυλωνίαν ("they reached Kaulonia"); *Acta Ioannis* (A.D. II) 7, 1 καὶ δὴ φθάσαντες τὴν Ῥώμην ("and having reached Rome"); Plotinos (A.D. 205-270), *Enneades* IV. 3, 12: ἔφθασαν μὲν μέχρι γῆς ("they came as far as the earth"); Eusebios (A.D. IV); *Demonstratio Evangelica* VIII. 2, 105: ἕως τέλους πολέμου ... ἔφθασαν ("they reached the end of the war"); Gregorios Nysses (A.D. IV), *Enkomion of XL Martyres* II, XLVI. 781: οἱ μὲν τρισμακάριοι ἔφθασαν ὅπου ἔσπευδον ("the thrice-blessed reached the place to which they were hurrying"); Gregorios Nazianzenos (A.D. IV), *Funebris in laudem Caesaris fratris oratio* IV. 4: οὕτω τοι καὶ εἰς λιπαρὸν ἔφθασαν γῆρας ("in this way they reached an affluent old age"); Athanasios (A.D. IV), *Apologia contra Arianos* 42, 4, 5: ἴσως γάρ καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔφθασαν αὐτῶν αἱ διαβολαί ("perhaps their slander has reached even you"); Basilios (A.D. IV), *Homilia de virginitate* VII. 79, 5: καὶ εἰς ἀφθαρτον νυμφῶνα οὐκ ἔφθασαν ("and they [the virgins] did not reach the incorruptible bridechamber"); Asterios (A.D. IV), *Commentarii in psalmos* 19:3: πολλάκις εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔφθασαν ("many times they came [near?] to perdition"); Chrysostomos (A.D. IV-V), *In Genesim* 53, 183, 34: εἰς τοσαύτην ἔφθασαν ἀρετὴν ("they reached such virtue"); Palladios (A.D. IV-V) *Historia Lusitana* 21, 1: ἔφθασα ἕως τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου ("I came as far as the mountain of St. Antonios"); Hesychios (A.D. V), *Homilia II in sanctum Longinum centurionem* 25, 6: ἀνεπαύοντο εἰς ὃν ἔφθασαν τόπον ("they rested in the place they reached"); Ioannes Malalas (A.D. V-VI), *Chronographia* 140, 11: οἱ δὲ καταδιώκοντες ... ἔφθασαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην ("pursuing ... they reached Palestine"); Maximus Confessor (A.D. VI-VII), *Capita de caritate* 4, 42: ἔφθασας εἰς τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀπαθείας ("you have reached the measure of apathy"); Michael Psellos (A.D. XI), *Poemata* 23, 29: τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔφθασας τὰ τάγματα ("you have reached the orders of the angels"); Anna Komnene (A.D. XI-XII), *Alexias* VII. 2, 9: ἐπὶ τὴν μικρὰν Νίκαιαν ἔφθασαν ("when they reached Nikaia minor"); Manuel Philes (A.D. XIII-XIV), *Carmina* I. 213, 82: εἰς ἀνδρικὴν ἔφθασας αὐτίκα στάσιν ("you have reached a man's standing"); *Apophthegmata patrum (P-LB)* 413, 25: ἔφθασα πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ διηγησάμην αὐτοῖς ("I came to the brethren and told them"); *History of Alexander the Great (P-LB)* III. 21, 5: ἔφθασαν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ("they arrived at the capital") etc.

<sup>11</sup> See ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, s.v. φθάνω 9.

### 3. The Peculiar Use of the Aorist

As we saw above, for his understanding of φθάνειν Dodd relied on having heard of an example of the use of ἔφθασα by a Greek waiter. This story is mentioned by J. H. Moulton in his *Prolegomena* 247, who quotes an anonymous traveler to the Island of Kos. But in spite of his mention of this example as well as the Euripides passage (see below), Moulton does not appear to have grasped the evidence correctly, and his discussion (pp. 134-40) is quite inadequate<sup>112</sup>. He relegates most of the NT aorist indicatives which he discusses to “things just happened” – among which he includes Mt 12:28 (par.) as well as several other similar texts – a number of others to “indefinite time reference”, and finally a few to gnomic aorists. What will concern us here is the first group, “things just happened”<sup>113</sup>, which includes texts that exhibit the special idiomatic use of the aorist indicative.

Since very early times the aorist (sometimes also the perfect) indicative has been used in a peculiar way to refer to an action which, from the standpoint of the speaker or writer, is not past, but future. Consequently, when the Greek waiter says ἔφθασα, κύριε! he does not mean “Here I am, sir!” (C. H. Dodd), nor “Just coming, sir!” (Campbell), nor that the action of coming has “just happened” (Moulton). What he means is “I’ll be there at once”! The aorist indicative refers to a wholly future action, an action that has not yet transpired.

The fact that the aorist is used here to express a future rather than a past action may raise the question: “Why do not waiters use the future, instead?” Strictly speaking the future, too, would be appropriate in this kind of context. The waiter has heard the call and intends to come to the customer’s table at some future point of time. Therefore, he could very well

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<sup>112</sup> How entrenched this position is among scholars and to what lengths some are willing to go to preserve intact a favorite dogma may be illustrated by the following incident. Following the presentation of my lecture at the Tyndale Fellowship, I was requested to respond to the comment and question of an anonymous reader before the publication of the article. After making a kind of patronizing, condescending remark to the effect that we do not need dispute “Chrys’ knowledge of the meaning of Greek waiters”, this scholar went on, nevertheless, to suggest that MOULTON in fact seems to support the idea that “when the traveler called for the waiter, he was pleasantly surprised to find that the man was already there with the coffee, and the phrase might mean that his wishes had been anticipated”. All I need say here is that this desperate suggestion is wide off the mark. For my answer, see *TB* 40 (1989), 20, n. 110.

<sup>113</sup> Among the texts included by MOULTON under this category are: Mt 5:28; 12:28 (= Lk 11:20); 18:15; Jn 13:1; 15:6; 13:31; Rm 14:23; Rev 14:8, and Euripides, *Alkestis* 386.

answer by saying  $\theta\acute{\alpha}$  ἔλθω! (= ἐλεύσομαι) ("I will come")<sup>114</sup>. Both forms ἔφθασα and  $\theta\acute{\alpha}$  ἔλθω in such a context have essentially the same time reference: they both express a future action. However, beyond that, the difference is considerable. The future  $\theta\acute{\alpha}$  ἔλθω merely makes a promise to be fulfilled at some future point of time, but says nothing as to how soon the waiter intends or is able to come – a matter of paramount importance to a hungry customer, a businessman pressed for time, or a tourist, none of whom want to spend half their day in a restaurant. The use of the aorist is not merely a promise to come, but an assurance that the customers' order will be received and expedited without any delay. For this reason the waiter does not use the future – which would tend to put off the customers – but the aorist, in order to encourage them to stay.

The use of the aorist indicative in place of the future indicative underscores two points which the future indicative does not: the *certainty* and *immediacy* (or *imminence*) of the action contemplated<sup>115</sup>. "Εφθασα! means "you can consider me as being virtually there!" This is a very different message from that of the future indicative, the flat and colorless:  $\theta\acute{\alpha}$  ἔλθω! ("I will come!"). "Εφθασα is vivid, colorful speech. It implies that things are happening, they are moving forward, 'your' turn is about to come – although experience has all too often shown that waiters can take an awfully long time to come. But the important thing is not how long it will actually take before the waiter comes, but the way the waiter wants the customer to understand his signal: ἔφθασα communicates *certainty* (he *will* come without fail) and *imminence* (he will come *at once*, i.e. as soon as circumstances permit).

It should now be explained that this idiomatic use of the aorist indicative is neither confined to the verb φθάνειν nor to the language of waiters. The idiom may be used by anyone, in connection with various other verbs, and in a variety of contexts. Appositely, in his Neohellenic Syntax, Τζάρτζανος writes: "Sometimes [the aorist is used] *instead of a future*, when what is said is expressed with full certainty and the speaker wants to underscore that the action of the verb will take place *certainly or immediately*, and thus can be considered as though it has already occurred"<sup>116</sup>. Τζάρτζανος quotes

<sup>114</sup> The future ἀφίξομαι is inappropriate in this context.

<sup>115</sup> See also JANNARIS, *An Historical Grammar*, § 1855, who briefly says: "Sometimes it is used, particularly in colloquial speech, for the present or future, to denote a speedy or certain realization of an action". JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 1836, says that in animated speech also the present is used by anticipation for the future, quoting a number of examples.

<sup>116</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική σύνταξις*, Vol. I, §179, 2: Μερικὲς φορές ἀντὶς γὰ μέλλοντα, ὅταν ὁ λόγος ἐκφέρεται μὲ τόνο πλήρους βεβαιότητος κί' ἐκεῖνος πού μιλεῖ θέλει νὰ φανερῶση, πὼς ἐκεῖνο πού σημαίνει τὸ ρῆμα ἐξάπαντος ἡ ἀμέσως θὰ

a few *N* examples: Δὲ θὰ μιλήσης καθόλου, γιατί ἂν μιλήσης ἐχάθηκες [= θὰ χαθῆς ἐξάπαντως] (“you will not speak at all, because if you speak, you are done with”) [= it will most certainly be the end of you];<sup>117</sup> ἄφησέ με ἡσυχῇ δέκα λεπτὰ τῆς ὥρας κι’ ἔφτασα [= ἔφθασα] στὸ κιόσκι [= θὰ ἔρθω (= ἔλθω) ἀμέσως] (“give me ten minutes and I am in [have come to] the kiosk [= I will come at once]”);<sup>118</sup> σταθῆτε, φυλαχτῆτε [= φυλαχθῆτε], μὴ καὶ τρακάρουμε [= θὰ συγκρουστοῦμε (/ συγκρουσθοῦμε) χωρὶς ἄλλο, ἀμέσως] (“Hold it, take care, so we have not collided [= we will surely collide, at once]”)<sup>119</sup>. To these examples I may add: (ἐ)κάϊκες κακομοίρη μου! (lit. “you are / will be burned ...”, i.e. “it will be all over with you / that will be the end of you, my little wretch!”); ἐὰν σὲ πιάσω ἐχάθηκες (lit.: “If I catch you, you are lost”, i.e. “it will be the end of you”). A Greek might even use ἔφθασα when making an appointment by telephone to meet somebody in an emergency (even across countries), when obviously the time of arrival may be hours or even days away.

As hinted above, this idiomatic use of the aorist has always existed in the language. It may be related to the gnomic aorist, but it is a distinct use. Here I will present the evidence from classical and Post-classical times.

1. In his tragedy, *Alkestis*, first played in 438 B.C., Euripides relates the intimate conversation between King Admetos and his devoted wife, Alkestis, who has chosen to die in his place. I quote the last exchanges between them before she breathes her last:

- 379 Ἀλκ. ὦ τέκν', ὅτε ζῆν χρῆν μ', ἀπέρχομαι κάτω  
 380 Ἀδμ. οἴμοι, τί δράσω δῆτα σοῦ μονούμενος;  
 381 Ἀλκ. χρόνος μαλάξει σ' οὐδὲν ἐσθ' ὁ κατθανών.  
 382 Ἀδμ. ἄγου με σύν σοί, πρὸς θεῶν, ἄγου κάτω  
 383 Ἀλκ. ἀρκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ προθηήσκοντες σέθεν.  
 384 Ἀδμ. ὦ δαῖμον, οἷας συζύγου μ' ἀποστερεῖς.  
 385 Ἀλκ. καὶ μὴν σκοτεινὸν ὄμμα μου βαρύνεται.  
 386 Ἀδμ. ἀπωλόμην ἄρ', εἴ με δὴ λείψεις, γύναι.  
 387 Ἀλκ. ὥς οὐκέτ' οὐσαν οὐδὲν ἂν λέγεις ἐμέ.  
 388 Ἀδμ. ὀρθρου πρόσωπον, μὴ λίπης παῖδας σέθεν.  
 389 Ἀλκ. οὐ δῆθ' ἐκούσα γ', ἀλλὰ χαίρετ', ὦ τέκνα.  
 390 Ἀδμ. βλέψον πρὸς αὐτοὺς βλέψον. Ἀλκ. οὐδὲν εἰμ' ἔτι.  
 391 Ἀδμ. τί δρᾷς; προλείπεις; Ἀλκ. χαῖρ'. Ἀδμ. ἀπωλόμην τάλας.

γίνῃ, κι' ἔτσι μπορεῖ να θεωρηθῇ πὼς ἐγίνε κιόλας. Tzartanos' emphasis on the two elements of *certainly* and *immediacy* coincides with the definition I gave in 1989, before I had consulted his grammar.

<sup>117</sup> Μινώτου, *Παραμύθια ἀπὸ τὴν Ζάκυνθο* 453.

<sup>118</sup> Δροσίνῃ, *Διηγήματα Γ. Δροσίνῃ: Ἔρση* 11.

<sup>119</sup> Καρκαβίτσα, *Θαλασσιὰ διηγήματα* 123.

- 379 *Alk.* Oh my children, I am going down when I ought to stay alive.  
 380 *Adm.* Ah me, what shall I do, then, left alone without you.  
 381 *Alk.* Time will relieve you; let the dead be as nothing to you.  
 382 *Alk.* Take me with you, by the gods, take me down.  
 383 *Alk.* We are enough who die before you.  
 384 *Adm.* Oh demon, what kind of wife you deprive me of.  
 385 *Alk.* My dim eye is becoming heavier.  
 386 *Adm.* Oh my wife, I am lost – if you leave me.  
 387 *Alk.* You can't mean me, since I am no more.  
 388 *Alk.* Face of Dawn! Do not leave your children.  
 389 *Alk.* Certainly not willingly, but, goodbye, my children.  
 390 *Adm.* Look at them, look. *Alk.* I am not, anymore.  
 391 *Adm.* What are you doing? Are you departing? *Alk.* Goodbye. *Adm.* I am lost, poor wretch.

As Admetos realizes that his wife is nearing the point of death, her eyes having lost their brilliance and becoming dim and heavy, he cries in despair ἀπωλόμην ἄρ', εἴ με δὴ λείψεις, γύναι. ("oh my wife, I am lost, if you leave me"). This has a perfect parallel in *N*: ἐχάθηκα ἐάν μ' ἀφήσης! ("I am lost – if you leave me!"), i.e. "I will be lost – if you leave me"). In line 391, when Alkestis has said "Goodbye", Admetos breaks down weeping: ἀπωλόμην τάλας! ("I am lost, poor wretch!"), i.e. "I shall be lost, poor wretch!"). Structurally, line 386 is almost identical with Mt 12:28; they are both conditional sentences of the first-class condition (objective or *realis*), whose protasis may use the indicative of any tense. The apodosis expressed by the aorist indicatives (ἔφθασεν, ἀπωλόμην) is dependent upon and subsequent to the fulfilment of the condition. From the standpoint of the speaker, therefore, the apodosis is future, following the fulfilment of the condition. That in these texts the time of the condition is in the one case present continuous (εἰ ἐκβάλλω) and in the other case future (εἴ με δὴ λείψεις) is immaterial as is also the further question of the time span involved between the fulfilment of the condition and the effect of the apodosis. In both texts the natural tense to use in the apodosis would have been the future indicative. Its substitution by the aorist indicative is in both cases undertaken in order to emphasize the *certainly* and *immediacy* of the result expressed by the apodosis.

2. A second example is supplied by Euripides. In the introductory scene of his *Medeia*, the nurse converses with the *paidagogos*:

- 74 *Τροφ.* καὶ ταῦτ' Ἰάσων παῖδας ἐξανέξεται  
 75 πάσχοντας, εἰ καὶ μητρί διαφορὰν ἔχει;  
 76 *Παιδ.* παλαιὰ καινὸν λείπεται κηδευμάτων  
 77 οὐκ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνος τοῖσδε δώμασιν φίλος.  
 78 *Τροφ.* Ἀπωλόμεσθ' ἄρ', εἰ κακὸν προσοίσομεν  
 79 νέον παλαιῷ.

- 74 Nurse And will Jason tolerate that his children such things  
 75 suffer, in spite of his quarrel with their mother?  
 76 Paid. Old marriage connections are dropped before new ones,  
 77 and he is no friend to this house.  
 78 Nurse Then we are lost, if we bear a new evil, in addition  
 79 to an old one.

We find that here, too, the poetic aorist ἀπωλόμεσθα is used of an action that is contingent on the conditional clause εἰ κακὸν προσοίσομεν – hence its time is future. The aorist is chosen here, as in the above case, in order to emphasize the *certainty* and *imminence* of their fate.

3. In his *Knights* (presented first in 424 B.C.), Aristophanes, after describing Kleon's threats to Agorakritos, the sausage seller, has Agorakritos laugh at him using verbs in the aorist:

- 694 Κλέων εἰ μὴ σ' ἀπολέσαιμ', εἴ τι τῶν αὐτῶν ἔμοι  
 695 ψευδῶν ἐνεῖη, διαπέσοιμι πανταχῇ.  
 696 Ἀγορ. ἦσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπίαις,  
 697 ἀπεπυδάρισα μόθωνα, περιεκόκκασα  
 694 Kleon If I do not destroy you, if anyone of those lies  
 695 against me are used, may I fall to pieces.  
 696 Agor. I felt amused at your threats, I laughed at your thunderous talk  
 697 I kicked the mothon<sup>120</sup>, I played the cuckoo all around.

In this case, too, the four verbs in the aorist express not actions that have occurred in the past, but actions that either occur now<sup>121</sup> or are relegated to the future (e.g. 'I will kick the mothon', 'I will play the cuckoo')<sup>122</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> The word μόθων has three main meanings: (1) At Sparte, a *child* by Helotes, or by a Spartan father and a Helot mother; (2) at Athens, a *shameless, insolent, and lascivious* person; (3) an *indecent, sensual dance*; cf. Hesychios, *Lexicon*, M 1543 μόθων: εἰδός τι ὀρχήσεως, and (4) (later) a type of flute tune. The verb ἀπεπυδάρισα μόθωνα means "to dance the mothon", an indecent Spartan dance, in which the dancer hit his back parts with his heels.

<sup>121</sup> Another example with present meaning is Ps-Longinos, *Περὶ Ὑψους* 1. 4: ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τὰ τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθύς ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο δύναμιν ("with regard to sublimity, a timely expression is enough to disperse everything as a thunderbolt and to show forth the rhetor's whole power").

<sup>122</sup> In Platon, *Gorgias* 484, Kallikles, who advocates the principle that "might is right", and that the present law systems are an invention by weak and inferior individuals who speak of right, justice, and equality only because they are incapable of attaining wealth and power, but who, nevertheless, want to share in these good things, which only the powerful and mighty are entitled to, goes on to accuse the present setup for taking such persons as are best and strong, and turning them into slaves, teaching them what is good and right. He proceeds:

4. In his *Ploutos* 1027, Aristophanes relates a conversation between an old woman and a chorus of men, in which the old woman questions the justice of the gods:

1025 *γραῦς*: ταῦτ' οὐν ὁ θεὸς ὧ φίλ' ἄνερ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ,  
1026 φάσκων βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἀεὶ.

1025 *old wom.*: Then my friend, the god does not rightly do these things,  
1026 claiming to assist always those treated unjustly.

to which Chremylos replies:

1027 *Χρέμ*: τί γὰρ ποιήσῃ; φράζε, καὶ πεπράξεται.

1027 *Chrem*: What shall he do? Say it and it will have been done.

In this case the future perfect is used, but all the same the action is presented as *completed* at a future point of time<sup>123</sup>. Strictly speaking the meaning is future and should have been expressed by a future: φράζε καὶ πράξεται or πραχθήσεται (“say it and it will be done”)<sup>124</sup>. The aorist was also possible, if the author had wanted to express it more strongly: φράζε καὶ ἐπράχθη corresponding to the *N*: πές το κ' ἔγινε (“say / name it and it's done already”). The author, however, chose to present the action as completed in the future and hence uses the infrequent future perfect<sup>125</sup>.

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εἰάν δέ γε οἶμαι φύσιν ἱκανὴν γένηται ἔχων ἀνὴρ, πάντα ταῦτα ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ διαρρήξας καὶ διαφυγὼν, καταπατήσας τὰ ἡμέτερα γράμματα καὶ μαγανεύματα καὶ ἐπωδὰς καὶ νόμους τοὺς παρὰ φύσιν ἅπαντας, ἐπαναστάς ἀνεφάνη δεσπότης ἡμέτερος ὁ δοῦλος, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐξέλαμπεν τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον (“But I think, that if a man is of capable nature, he will shake off, smash and break off from all these things, he will trample under foot our education, spells and charms and all laws contrary to nature, and the slave has risen up (i.e. will rise up) and prove himself to be our master, and hereby has shone (i.e. will shine) the right of nature”).

In *Menexenos* 234c, Platon has Sokrates ‘praise’ the good fortune of a man who dies in war, since he is going to receive a sumptuous public burial, and if he is poor he will receive praise by wise men who have prepared their speech a long time ago: καὶ εἰάν πένης τις ὦν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ἐπαίνου αὐτὸν ἔτυχεν (“and if one who is poor dies, he has also received praise” [i.e. “he will receive praise, too”])).

<sup>123</sup> A similar example using the future perfect occurs in Xenophon, *Anabasis* II. 4, 5: ἅμα ταῦτα ποιοῦντων ἡμῶν εὐθύς Ἀριαῖος ἀφελήσεται (“If we do these things, Ariaioi will have withdrawn from us immediately”). See also ΧΑΤΖΙΑΔΑΚΙ, *Γενική Γλωσσική*, 333.

<sup>124</sup> SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* II, 289, too, recognizes the partial similarity to the simple future.

<sup>125</sup> It should not be overlooked that the future perfect – always infrequent – becomes a rarity in post-classical times. *N* has resurrected its use, though it forms it periphrasti-

5. The idiom occurs in, e.g., *The Testament of Levi* (II B.C.) VI. 11, where the certainty of the coming judgment of God on the Shechemites is expressed by the use of the aorist: ἔφθασεν δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος, a saying that recalls 1 Th 2:16<sup>126</sup>. Because this special use of the aorist has been unknown, the latter passage has been taken uniformly by commentators as a reference to an event already transpired, and many implausible guesses have been hazarded to identify the reference<sup>127</sup>.

6. In *Acta Ioannis* (A.D. II) 3, 1, it is related to the emperor that the Apostle John has changed the religion of the Ephesians, and that "unless you hurry and quench him, he has destroyed (i.e. he will destroy) both the people and the land": καὶ εἰ μὴ σπεύσας τοῦτον ταχέως σβέσης, ἀπώλεσε καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τὴν χώραν. The *Acts of Thomas* (A.D. III) 33.1 ff. also uses the idiom: παῦσαι λοιπὸν ἀναιδέστατε, καὶ αἰσχύνθητι νεκρούμενος ὅλος: ἔφθασεν γάρ σου τὸ τέλος ("... your end has come"). That the aorist ἔφθασεν has future reference here is shown by line 8 ff., where the dragon, using the verb literally, objects that "the end has not yet come as you claim": οὐπω ὁ καιρὸς ἔφθασεν καθὼς εἶπας.

7. The Mediaeval epic *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X), after relating how the Syrian Emir had captured a young girl of noble birth, has her brothers address him with the words:

τὴν ἀδελφὴν ποὺ ἤρπασας, νὰ μὴν μᾶς τὴν στερήσης,  
εἰ δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἀνομα, πάντως ἐθανατώθης (Athens MS II, 478-9)

("do not deprive us of our sister, whom you captured,  
for if you deal lawlessly, you are assuredly a dead man").

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cally. The NT MSS show a tendency to substitute it by the simple future, see, e.g., Lk 19:40: κεκράζονται / κρᾶζονται in the witnesses.

<sup>126</sup> The basic writing of the *Test. XII Patr.* is usually dated to the II B.C. (H. C. KEE, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. CHARLESWORTH) 775-828, p. 777 f.). However, Christian interpolations are recognized.

<sup>127</sup> E.g. WANAMAKER, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* 117, mentions B. PEARSON who thinks of the reference as an interpolation referring to the fall of Jerusalem; Bammel sees in it the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in A.D. 49; while JEWETT opts for a massacre of the Jews in Jerusalem in A.D. 49. J. J. COLLINS chooses to explain the text as apocalyptic rather than as a historical description of an actual event, a mere symbol articulating "a sense or feeling about the world". BEST and H. I. MARSHALL understand it in the light of their interpretation of Mt 12:28 as "draw near", "so near that it was inevitably about to manifest itself". See also BEST, *First Thessalonians* 119 ff. for more guesses. WANAMAKER himself is, like the above referred authors, at a loss to make sense of the passage, and supposes that it may refer to the hardening of the Jews by God. All of these interpretations are, from the point of view of what is being shown in the present discussion, unnecessary hypotheses; the aorist is being used idiomatically of an event that lies in the future.



Here again, the aorist indicative ἐθανατώθης is used of an event that has not yet transpired<sup>128</sup>.

8. The LXX and Θ afford interesting and important evidence. To start with, Ez 7:2-5 is quite instructive. The prophet describes the end, which is accompanied by God's judgment, with the words: Πέρας ἤκει, τὸ πέρας ἤκει ... ἤκει τὸ πέρας ἐπὶ σέ τὸν κατοικοῦντα τὴν γῆν, ἤκει ὁ καιρός, ἤγγικεν ἡ ἡμέρα, ... νῦν ἐγγύθεν ἐκχεῶ τὴν ὀργήν μου ἐπὶ σέ καὶ συντελέσω ... καὶ κρινῶ σε ... καὶ δώσω ... The end is described as having come (ἤκω is used as 'present' but its meaning is perfect: 'to have come' > 'to be present'). The interesting thing, however, is that the reference of ἤκει ὁ καιρός is more closely defined by the equivalent phrase ἤγγικεν ἡ ἡμέρα, which denotes mere nearness, not actual arrival. Finally, vs. 5, by its use of the futures ἐκχεῶ, συντελέσω, κρινῶ, and δώσω, puts it beyond all possible doubt that the whole event envisaged here is purely future. To achieve a lively, dramatic effect, the prophet introduces his startling announcement by the use of the perfect<sup>129</sup>. The future would have spoiled the effect.

9. Dan (Θ) 4 is no less instructive. The judgment on Nebuchadnezzar is spoken of as having come upon him: τοῦτο ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ, βασιλεῦ, καὶ σύγκριμα Ὑψίστου ἐστίν, ὃ ἔφθασεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν μου τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ σέ ἐκδιώξουσιν ... (4:24 f.). That ἔφθασεν here is used in the idiomatic way in place of a future becomes clear from the future ἐκδιώξουσιν<sup>130</sup>. In vs. 28 ἔφθασεν is used constatively. However, vs. 31: παρῆλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ is another instance of the 'futuristic' use of the aorist. This is shown by the immediately following future καὶ ... σέ ἐκδιώξουσιν (vs. 32)<sup>131</sup>. It should not be overlooked that the interpretation of the handwriting on the wall at 5:26 ff. is also given through the use of the aorist (ἐμέτρησεν, ἐπλήρωσεν, ἐστάθη, εὐρέθη, διήρηται, ἐδόθη) although it is obvious that the fulfilment takes place afterwards. The same holds true of (Θ) 7:27, where the kingdom is described as having been given (ἐδόθη, the LXX uses the active ἔδωκε), although the context makes it clear that this is a future event. Although we are interested only in the use of the aorist, it is

<sup>128</sup> In *Digenes Akritas* III. 676, the present of εἶμαι + perf. ptc. is used: εἰ δὲ καὶ μείνεις ἀπειθής, εἶσαι καταραμένος (periphrastic perf. instead of fut. θά εἶσαι ...) ("but if you remain obstinate, you are accursed", i.e. "you will be accursed").

<sup>129</sup> See also Ez 7:7-12.

<sup>130</sup> The LXX confirms this by using the future ἔξει.

<sup>131</sup> The same point is made in the LXX by the perfect ἀφῆρηται (4:31), which is 'futuristic'.

perhaps not without interest to note that in all these instances the Aramaic uses the perfect<sup>132</sup>.

#### 4. The Use of the Idiom in the New Testament

The NT contains relatively many examples of this peculiar use of the aorist (and perfect) indicative. We may begin with Jn 12:23: ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. These words constitute Jesus' answer to Andrew and Philip's information that certain proselytes wished to meet him. The time to which ἐλήλυθεν refers is the time of the cross, which is still some time away. But perhaps the presence of gentiles who seek him occasions this utterance, which views the cross as an imminently approaching event. The time of ἐλήλυθεν is at all events future<sup>133</sup>. At the exit of Judas in Jn 13:31, Jesus is presented as knowing that the final phase of the process which is to lead to his glorification through the cross has begun. He can, therefore, already envisage the end result. Thus, he turns to the rest of his disciples and announces: νῦν ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ. Now, according to the Gospel of John, Jesus' glorification does not take place until he is lifted up on the cross<sup>134</sup>. This otherwise mystifying statement finds its explanation in the fact that the aorist indicative can be used to underscore the *certainly* and *imminence* of an action which will take place sometime in the future. In this case John himself makes it clear further down in his text. The three occurrences of ἐδοξάσθη are followed by the future δοξάσει (vs. 32), whereby John indicates that he has been using the aorist indicatives in a special way, and that it should not be taken at face value.

<sup>132</sup> MT: Dan 4:21: מלכא (מלך) על-מראי משה על-מראי (מלך); 4:28: מלכותה עתה מנף; 5:26: מנהיגהו שלמה; 5:27: מנהיגהו שלמה; 5:28: מנהיגהו שלמה; 7:27: מנהיגהו שלמה.

<sup>133</sup> This is facilitated by the fact that ἔρχομαι, among other verbs, by nature expresses an action that is essentially future.

<sup>134</sup> How John can pass on from aorist to future in his description of future events becomes clear at several points. In 7:39, where he does not wish to emphasize the imminence of an action but presents it as a historical occurrence, he speaks of the time of Jesus' earthly ministry as a time when the Spirit was absent, "because Jesus had not yet been glorified" (ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη). The glorification here refers to his death, at the end of his earthly ministry. The same point is being made in Jn 12:16, according to which the events of Palm Sunday become clear to the disciples first after Jesus is 'glorified' (ἐδοξάσθη), which refers to his death and resurrection.

Perhaps this is the place to take up 5:25, a text that plays a crucial role in Frey's massive and important *opus* on Johannine eschatology<sup>135</sup>. Jesus says: ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτε οἱ νεκροὶ ἀκούσουσιν τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσουσιν. The natural reference of ἔρχεται is future, while the νῦν ἐστὶν only emphasizes the imminence in ἔρχεται. Moreover, the temporal context in which this event is placed is the time after the crucifixion of Jesus, and this is further confirmed by the future verbs ἀκούσουσιν, ζήσουσιν. It is thus difficult to follow Dodd's explanation and interpret this text as supporting realized eschatology<sup>136</sup>.

In the parable of the vineyard and the vines (Jn 15:6<sup>137</sup>), Jesus speaks of the rejection and judgment of the person who does not abide in him in the aorist tense, as though it were an already accomplished event: ἐὰν μὴ τις μένῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἐξω ὡς τὸ κλῆμα καὶ ἐξηράνθη. The verbs ἐβλήθη and ἐξηράνθη emphasize primarily *certainly*. That the reference is future is shown (a) by the conditional clause ἐὰν μὴ τις μένῃ, which expresses future time and (b) by the present tenses which complete the sentence: καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλουσιν (gnomic present)<sup>138</sup>. Similarly, ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου (Jn 15:8) is used of a future event, although the aorist may be understood as the related gnomic aorist.

Matthew offers a good example of this aorist in 18:15: ἐὰν δὲ ἀμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ὕπαγε καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτόν ... ἐὰν σοῦ ἀκούσῃ, ἐκέρδησας τὸν ἀδελφόν σου. From the viewpoint of the speaker, this hypothetical action is placed in the future. Therefore, the apodosis should have used the

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<sup>135</sup> FREY takes up this text and generally the idea of realization at many points of his discussion, though the linguistic question touched upon here is only one – even if important – of the many aspects addressed in this so far most detailed and masterly investigation of Johannine eschatology: for Vol I, see the indices on Jn 5:24 f. at p. 526, Vol. II, *passim*, where he enlarges on the use of tense and aspect by means of recent discussions, and Vol. III, esp. 326–481. With regard to recent ideas about the ‘non-temporal use of the Greek tenses’, see my critique in the present chapter under section 9 ‘Time and Aspect’. In previous contributions I have indicated that aoristic assertions are often occasioned by the special, idiomatic use of the aorist, which does not imply that the event has occurred. Thus, the way to look at this whole question is summarized in my study, ‘The Kingdom of God in John and the Synoptics’, *John and the Synoptics* (ed. DENAUX) 480: ‘The Eschaton, eternal life, and judgment, which are essentially future events, are potentially ‘present’ in Jesus during his ministry, since they are bound up with his destiny, and they are spoken of as ‘present’ realities only in principle inasmuch as the predetermined hour of Jesus, which is to actually initiate them, is irrevocable and imminent’.

<sup>136</sup> See further my comments in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, 131 f.

<sup>137</sup> See the discussion in section III, above.

<sup>138</sup> See further section 3 in the present chapter.

future indicative: ἐὰν σοῦ ἀκούσῃ, κερδήσεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου. The author wishes, however, to dramatize the effect of winning a failing brother, and expresses the idea by the aorist, as though it had already been accomplished<sup>139</sup>.

Lk 12:49 offers another example of this idiom: πῦρ ἤλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθῃ, "I came to set fire on earth, and what do I wish other than that it had already been kindled"<sup>140</sup>. The aorist expresses the action merely as wished to have already taken place.

In 1 Cor 7:28 Paul uses the same idiom when he says: ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃς, οὐχ ἥμαρτες. It is again obvious that ἥμαρτες refers to a future time, since the question of whether one has sinned or not is contingent on the act of marriage, which has not yet taken place (ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃς). In Gal 5:4 Paul tells those who want to be justified by the law (future action), that they already have been severed from Christ: κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε, a text whose aorist forms emphasize the *certainty* of the outcome contingent on the fulfilment of the condition. 1 Th 2:16 has been treated, above.

Finally, this idiom obtains also in the perfect indicative. An example of this is Rm 14:23: ὁ δὲ διακρινόμενος ἐὰν φάγῃ κατακρίνεται ("he who doubts, if he eats, has already been condemned"), instead of writing ἐὰν φάγῃ, κατακριθήσεται ("if he eats, he will be condemned"), where the result of condemnation is considered so certain as to be presented as a fact at the point of the fulfilment of the condition (the eating).

## 5. Conclusions

The above evidence, culled from all periods of the Greek language, has shown beyond any possible doubt that the aorist indicative, in addition to its many uses, has all along been used also in a peculiar way in place of the future indicative to enhance vividness and animation in discourse, to emphasize *certainty* and *immediacy* of action, by describing actions that

<sup>139</sup> The way versions have treated this problem is interesting. Rheims is the only translation of those I have consulted which renders it with a future: "thou shalt gain thy brother". From Tyndale's time on, English versions render it as an accomplished fact with the perfect: "thou hast gained" (Tyndale, AV, Amplified, NASB, NAB, NEB, TEV, NIV, NRSV, JB). Similarly Luther and Einheitsübersetzung.

<sup>140</sup> The versions translate it similarly as something future: Rheims: "what will I, but that it be kindled"; Amplified, NASB, NIV, NRSV: "how I wish [that] it were already kindled" (NAB, JB: "blazed"). Similarly N 1967: καὶ πῶς θὰ ἤθελα νὰ εἶχε ἤδη ἀνάψει, and N 1997: καὶ τί ἄλλο θέλω ἂν εἶχε κιόλας ἀνάψει. So, too, rev. Luther, Einheitsübersetzung, etc.

strictly belong to the future as though they had already transpired. We have seen that this idiom has far-reaching consequences for the doctrine of realized eschatology as well as for the understanding of a number of other texts which, viewed in this light, must be interpreted differently.

Returning now to Mt 12:28, I may note the following points:

1. The three questions relative to the theme of the kingdom of God actualized by the scholarly discussion, *sc.* (a) "What is the essence of the kingdom of God?", (b) "How is it related to Jesus' person and ministry", and (c) "When does it come?" cannot find a satisfactory answer in realized eschatology<sup>141</sup>. For example, if the kingdom of God had come already at the time when Jesus uttered the saying in Mt 12:28 (= Lk 11:20), how is the remainder of Jesus' earthly life and ministry to be understood, according to the synoptics? And what about the cross? – the Son of Man's duty to give his life a ransom for many? What is the significance of his death? How did Jesus relate his death to the kingdom of God? And why, during the last supper, is he speaking of the kingdom of God as something still future (Mk 14:25 = Mt 26:29 = Lk 22:16)? These questions are unanswerable on any theory of realized eschatology. And with regard to the linguistic evidence set forth above:

2. To have used the future indicative  $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  would have spoiled the effect which the speaker / writer wished to produce. The desired effect could have been achieved only by the use of the aorist indicative.

3. The aorist indicative  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu$  refers to an event that is viewed as both certain and imminent.

4. The aorist indicative  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\nu$  actually functions as a warning to Jesus' hearers that the kingdom of God is about to break in and that they, therefore, should prepare themselves for it by adopting the right attitude toward him. In order to bring out its meaning, the saying may be paraphrased: " 'If it is by the Spirit / finger of God (rather than by Beelzebul, as you claim) that I drive out the demons (i.e. preparing for the coming of the kingdom of God by defeating the forces of evil), then the kingdom of God is about to break in upon you (and overtake you in your obstinate and unrepentant state). ...' This means that the force of the saying is not purely informative, in which case the force of  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$   $\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  would have been eliminated, but one of warning, almost a threat."<sup>142</sup>

<sup>141</sup> See the discussion in CARAGOUNIS, *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, 420-23.

<sup>142</sup> CARAGOUNIS, *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, 423.

## V. Does ἀπολαμβάνω in Lk 16:25 and Rm 1:27 Mean 'Receive' or 'Enjoy'?

Lk 16:25: τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ σου, καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά

Rm 1:27: ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες

All commentators understand the words ἀπέλαβες and ἀπολαμβάνοντες in the usual, basic sense of ἀπολαμβάνω = *to receive*<sup>143</sup>. In the case of Lk 16:15 a number of commentators actually follow Alford, who made the point that the preposition ἀπό gives to the verb the force of 'in full'<sup>144</sup>. Consequently, the translation of this verse basically is: "[My] child, remember that in your life you *received in full* your good things, and Lazaros likewise the bad things"<sup>145</sup>.

Neither *LSJ* nor *MM* have anything special to contribute to the understanding of the verb except that the former illustrates the traditional meanings by means of ancient authors and the latter does the same by means of the papyri.

The new edition of *BDAG*<sup>146</sup>, which as a whole, is a considerable improvement on the older edition of *BAGD*<sup>147</sup>, does not shed any more light on this particular text. It translates "you have already received your good things"<sup>148</sup>.

Finally, the versions, likewise, render ἀπολαμβάνω with some form of 'to receive'<sup>149</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> Cf., e.g., ALFORD, *The Greek Testament* I, 603; PLUMMER, *Luke*, 395; GELDENHUYS, *Luke*, 430; MARSHALL, *Luke*, 638 ('experienced'); NOLLAND *Luke*, II, 830.

<sup>144</sup> ALFORD, *Greek Testament* I, 603, followed by, e.g., PLUMMER, *Luke*, 395, and GELDENHUYS, *Luke*, 430.

<sup>145</sup> Rm 1:27 is similarly understood: "They *received* in themselves ..."

<sup>146</sup> *BDAG* (= BAUER-DANKER-ARNDT-GINGRICH, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*).

<sup>147</sup> *BAGD* (= BAUER-ARNDT-GINGRICH-DANKER, etc.).

<sup>148</sup> *BDAG*, s.v. ἀπολαμβάνω I. "to obtain something from a source, receive".

<sup>149</sup> *Tyndale* "receivedst"; *KJV*: "receivedst"; *Rheims*: "didst receive"; *NEB*: "fell to you"; *Amplified*: "fully received"; *TEV*: "you were given"; *NASB*: "received"; *NAB*: "received"; *NIV*: "received"; *NRSV*: "received"; *JB*: "came your way". Similarly, *Luther (rev.)*: "du hast empfangen"; *Elberfelder*: "du hast völlig empfangen"; *Einheitsübersetzung*: "du hast erhalten". The French translations by L. Segond, *La Sainte Bible* (1979) and the Alliance biblique universelle edition *La Bible* (1997) have both "tu as

Over against this formidable international tradition of rendering ἀπολαμβάνω in Lk 16:25 with 'to receive' or equivalent stands the Neohellenic tradition. N. Vamvas' translation of the Bible in Katharevousa *N* (1851) uses the same form as the original: ἀπέλαβες, and thus the point may be obscured or missed. But the Neohellenic translations of 1967 (the current, somewhat refined, language of Athens) and the Demotic of 1997 (NT 1985) render with ἀπήλαυσε and ἀπόλαυσε respectively<sup>150</sup>. As a matter of fact, the last rendering was introduced at least as far back as 1638, when Maximos of Kallipolis, at the instigation of Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, translated the NT into the current popular language, rendering the passage with the Demotic form ἀπόλαυσε<sup>151</sup>.

What is the explanation for this strange situation? The answer to this question is: semantic development.

The main meanings of the verb ἀπολαμβάνω are:

1. *to receive* (something from someone)<sup>152</sup>. In the NT this meaning is represented by Gal 4:5. Possibly Lk 15:27 (*to receive back*), too, belongs here.

2. *to receive what is one's own or is owed to one, to receive (get) back*<sup>153</sup>. Here belongs Lk 6:34, Col 3:24, and 2 Jn 8.

3. *to have a right to receive*<sup>154</sup>. This meaning is not represented in the NT, unless 2 Jn 8 is understood as coming under it.

4. *to take someone aside*<sup>155</sup>. This meaning is found in Mk 7:33.

5. *to exclude, to hinder*<sup>156</sup>. This sense does not occur in the NT.

reçu"; the Italian *Sacra Bibbia*: "tu ricevesti"; and the Spanish *Santa Biblia*: "a ti te fue muy bien en la vida" ("for you it went very well in life"). So, too, the Swedish *Bibeln 2000* (NT: 1981) and *Folkbibeln* (1998): "du fick ut" ("you received") and the Dutch *Bijbel* (1952): "gij hebt ontvangen" ("you have received"). *Delitzsch's tr.*: תִּקְבַּלְךָ תִּקְבַּל, the *Trinitarian tr. into Hebrew*: תָּבַל תִּקְבַּל, and the *Hebrew-Aramaic*: תִּבְלָרְבִּי (Hebrew) and תִּבְלָרְבִּי (Aramaic).

<sup>150</sup> *H' Αγία Γραφή* of 1998, which is a rendering of Vamvas Katharevousa into Demotic, does the same: ἀπόλαυσε. Did the paraphraser understand Vamvas' ἀπέλαβες in the sense of ἀπόλαυσε?

<sup>151</sup> *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου Ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* εἰς ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον γενομένη μετὰ φρασὶς διὰ Μαξίμου Καλλιουπολίτου, 3 Vols, gr. [Μορφωτικὸν Ἰδρυμα Ἑθνικῆς Τραπέζης] Ἀθήνησι, ἔτει 1995.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. Platon, *Politeia* 332b: φίλοι δὲ ὧν ὅ τε ἀπολαμβάνων καὶ ὁ ἀποδιδούς ("both he who receives and he who gives back are friends").

<sup>153</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1274: τὰ χρήματ' ἀπολαβεῖν εἰ βούλομαι; ("if I want to receive back the money I loaned?").

<sup>154</sup> E.g. Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon* 27: παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων λόγον ἀπολήνεσθαι ("from whom [the city] was to receive an account of the money spent").

<sup>155</sup> E.g. Herodotos I. 209: καλέσας Ἵστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μόνον εἶπε ... ("he called to himself Hystaspes and taking him aside, he said ...").

Lk 18:30 and 23:41 come rather close to a meaning that might be subsumed under meanings 2 and 3, above.

There remain Lk 16:25 and Rm 1:27. Since Rm 1:27 seems to imply that what is being experienced is a kind of reward, this text might be taken together with Lk 18:30 and 23:41. But, as we shall see, there is good reason for assigning to it another meaning.

Along with the above verb, *A* uses also ἀπολαύω, a verb that does not occur in the NT. The chief meanings of ἀπολαύω are:

1. *to have the enjoyment or benefit of something received*<sup>157</sup>.
2. *to have advantage of*<sup>158</sup>.
3. *Absolutely to live in enjoyment*<sup>159</sup>.
4. *Ironically to have the benefit of (of negative circumstances)*<sup>160</sup>.

The various tenses of the two verbs take the following forms (with their current pronunciation subjoined<sup>161</sup>):

Present	Imperfect	Future	Aorist	Perfect
ἀπολαμβάνω apolamváo	ἀπελάμβανον apelámbanon	ἀπολήψομαι apolípsome	ἀπέλαβον apelávon	ἀπέειληφα apílifa
ἀπολαύω apolávo	ἀπέλαυον ἀπήλαυον apelávon apíllavon	ἀπολαύσομαι apoláfsome	ἀπήλαυσα <sup>162</sup> ἀπέλαυσα apílafsa / apeláfsa	ἀποτέλαυκα apolélafka

<sup>156</sup> E.g. Demosthenes, *Cherronesos* 35: νόσῳ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποληφθέντος ("hindered by sickness, winter and wars").

<sup>157</sup> E.g. Herodotos VI. 86: τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, δικαιοσύνης βουλόμενος ἀπολαῦσαι ("desiring, oh Glaukos, to enjoy [or have the benefit of] your justice"). Diogenes Laertios VI. 25, has Diogenes the Cynic address to Platon, on seeing him in a sumptuous dinner partake of olives, the following words: τί, φησὶν, ὁ σοφὸς εἰς Σικελίαν πλεύσας τῶν τραπέζων τούτων χάριν, νῦν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἀπολαύεις; ("How is it that you, the wise one, who sailed to Sicily for the sake of such tables, now when they are laid before you, you are not enjoying them?").

<sup>158</sup> E.g. Xenophon, *Apomnemonemata* IV. 3, 10: τί γάρ ἄλλο ζῶν ... τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύει ὅσα ἄνθρωποι; ("for what other animal ... enjoys so many good things as man?").

<sup>159</sup> E.g. Aristoteles, *Problemata* 917b: Διὰ τί οἱ πονοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀπολαύοντες αὐλοῦνται; ("why are those who suffer and those who enjoy life pleased to listen to [or play] the αὐλός?").

<sup>160</sup> E.g. Euripides, *Phoinissai* 1204-5: Κρέων δ' ἔοικε τῶν ... Οἰδίου δύστηνος ἀπολαῦσαι κακῶν ("It seems that Kreon is going to enjoy the evils of wretched Oidipous"). So, too, Ploutarchos, *Moralia* 135e.

<sup>161</sup> For the sake of clarity I use 'f' for φ rather than the usual 'ph'.

<sup>162</sup> According to Herodianos, *De locutionum pravitatibus* 258, 27: ἀπέλαυσα διὰ τοῦ ε μόνως ῥητέον ("ἀπέλαυσα should be said only with ε").



Although the two verbs developed different meanings, owing to the common elements they shared together, *sc.* the prep. *ἀπό* as well as the obsolete *λαύω* (root: (σ)λαφ > λαμβάνω [*take*] < λεία (Ionic: λῆϊη) (Epic: λῆϊς) [*booty*], λῆϊάς [*woman taken captive*])<sup>163</sup>, and *ἀπολαύω* (*enjoy*), it was easy for them to be confused with one another. Moreover, the derivatives of *ἀπολαύω*, *sc.* *ἀπόλαυσις* (*enjoyment*), *ἀπόλαυσμα* (*enjoyment*), *ἀπολαυστός* (*that can be enjoyed*), *ἀπολαυστικός* (*enjoyable, delightful*) came to be associated with *ἀπολαμβάνω*. The pronunciation, too, played its own role in the confusion. For these reasons the verb *ἀπολαμβάνω*, too, came to assume the sense of *to enjoy, to relish, to feel (experience) pleasure*<sup>164</sup>.

This development led to the state of affairs whereby *ἀπολαύω* in *N* has two basic meanings: (1) *to enjoy, to be glad, to have pleasure in* and (2) *to be recipient (of something), to be granted (something), to enjoy (a privilege, etc.)*. Under its first meaning, it completes the verb *ἀπολαμβάνω* in its various tenses, whose primary meaning now is *to enjoy (something), to relish, to receive pleasure*<sup>165</sup>. The differences between the two verbs may be set forth by the following examples:<sup>166</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, s.v. *ἀπολαύω* and *ἀπολαμβάνω*. Cf. also FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, s.v. *ἀπολαύω* and II s.v. *λαμβάνω*, though no etymological help is given in the second case.

<sup>164</sup> This is borne out also by the *Lexicon* published by the Academy of Athens, *Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς* (Vol. II, 505 and 507) s.v. *ἀπολαβαίνω* and *ἀπολαύω*, where appropriate examples are given. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ (*Λέξικο*, p. 250, s.v. *ἀπολαμβάνω*) has the following to say: Τὸ ἀπολαμβάνω ... ξεκινώντας ἀπὸ τῆς σημασίας τοῦ "παίρνω πίσω πρὸς ὠφέλειά μου", ἐξελίχθηκε στὴ σημασία "εὐχαριστιέμαι μὲ κάτι, νιώθω χαρὰ γιὰ κάτι", πιθανότατα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπίδραση τοῦ ἀπολαύω. Ἐφτάσε μάλιστα νὰ ὑπάρξει σύγχυση μεταξύ τοῦ ἀπολαμβάνω καὶ τοῦ ἀπολαύω καὶ ἔτσι ἄρχισε νὰ χρησιμοποιεῖται καταχρηστικά καὶ ἐσφαλμένα ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπολαύω. Ἡ χρῆση "ἀπολαμβάνει τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης" δὲν πρέπει νὰ προτιμᾶται ἔναντι τοῦ "ἀπολαύει τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης ..." Ἡ σύγχυση στὴ χρῆση ὀφείλεται καὶ στὸ ὅτι τὸ οὐσιαστικὸ ἀπόλαυση ταιριάζει σημασιολογικά ὡς "εὐχαρίστηση" περισσότερο στὸ ἀπολαμβάνω παρὰ στὸ ἀπολαύω ("Starting with the sense of 'to receive back for my profit', the verb ἀπολαμβάνω developed the meaning 'to enjoy something', 'to feel pleasure at something', most probably under the influence of ἀπολαύω. A confusion was created between ἀπολαμβάνω and ἀπολαύω, and so the first came to be used improperly and mistakenly in place of ἀπολαύω. The use "ἀπολαμβάνει τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης" should not be preferred in lieu of "ἀπολαύει τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης" ... The confusion in this use is owing partly also to the fact that the substantive ἀπόλαυση as 'enjoyment' semantically suits better ἀπολαμβάνω than ἀπολαύω").

<sup>165</sup> The *A* meaning of 'to receive (back)' now is given through the form *ἀπολαβαίνω*. Thus, *N* expresses the meaning of 'to enjoy' by combining various tenses of *ἀπολαμβάνω* and *ἀπολαύω*: present: *ἀπολαμβάνω*, imperfect: *ἀπελάμβανα*, instantaneous fu-

Ἀπολαμβάνω. Ἀπολαμβάνω (imprf.: ἀπελάμβανα, aor.: ἀπήλαυσα, fut.: θὰ ἀπολεύσω, perf.: ἔχω ἀπολεύσει) τὸν ὡραῖο(ν) κήπο(ν) μου, ('I enjoy (was enjoying, etc.) my beautiful garden'); ἀπολαμβάνω τὴν ὁμορφὴν θέαν ('I enjoy (feel pleasure at) the beautiful view'); ἀπολαμβάνω τὸ πρωῒνό(ν) μου ('I am enjoying my breakfast'); imperfect: ἐνῶ ἀπελάμβανα (or ἀπολαμβάνα) τὸν καφέ(ν) μου, ἔλαβα τὰ εὐχάριστα νέα σου ('while I was enjoying my coffee, I received your pleasant news'); future: τὴν Ἀνοιξιν θὰ ἀπολεύσω (< ἀπολεύω) τὰ νησιὰ (= τὰς νήσους) τοῦ Αἰγαίου ('in Spring I am going to enjoy the Aegean islands'); aorist: ἀπήλαυσα (< ἀπολεύω) τὸ χθεσινὸ(ν) βραδυνὸ(ν) ('I enjoyed last evening'); perfect: ἔχω ἀπολεύσει (< ἀπολεύω) τὴν ζωή(ν) μου ('I have enjoyed my life')<sup>167</sup>.

Ἀπολεύω. Ἀπολεύω τῆς ἐκτιμήσεώς του ('I enjoy [i.e. I am recipient of] his esteem'); ἀπολεύω τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης της ('I enjoy [i.e. I have] her confidence'); ἀπολεύω τιμῶν ('I am a recipient of honors')<sup>168</sup>.

The question now is, when did this development take place? Is it purely a phenomenon of *N* times, or does the evidence for these shifts of meaning go back sufficiently long as to be of any value for interpreting the NT? Can the *N* evidence be connected with the earlier stages of the language in order to prove continuity, or is the *N* data a purely recent development without any relevance to the state of Greek in NT times? In order to obtain an answer to these questions, it is necessary to make an investigation into the diachronic use of these words.

The LXX distinguishes between the meanings of the two verbs. Thus, ἀπολαμβάνω occurs seven times<sup>169</sup>, always in the sense of 'to receive', but never in the sense of 'to enjoy'. Correspondingly, ἀπολεύω occurs five times<sup>170</sup>, always with the sense of 'to enjoy'. The substantive ἀπόλαυσις

ture: θὰ ἀπολεύσω, continuous future: θὰ ἀπολαμβάνω, aorist: ἀπόλαυσα, perfect: ἔχω ἀπολεύσει, pluperfect: εἶχα ἀπολεύσει, future perfect: θὰ ἔχω ἀπολεύσει.

<sup>166</sup> See the difference in ΚΟΝΤΟΥ, "Γλωσσικαὶ Παρατηρήσεις", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 1 (1889), 435 ff.

<sup>167</sup> The aorist, future, and perfect (italicized) are formed from the verb ἀπολεύω.

<sup>168</sup> Chrysostomos, *De virginitate* 60. 19, uses it actually of the enjoyment of pleasure: πόσαι τούτων ἀπολεύουσι γυναῖκες; ('How many women enjoy these things?'). The confusion between the two verbs is pointed out also by ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, s.v. ἀπολαμβάνω (so, too, ΚΟΝΤΟΣ, in "Γλωσσικαὶ Παρατηρήσεις", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 1 (1889), 403) as well as by the fact that there has been confusion in writing "earnings" as ἀπολαβή (< ἀπολαμβάνω) – correct, and as ἀπολαυή (< ἀπολεύω) – wrong! NB both forms are pronounced identically: 'apolavi'.

<sup>169</sup> Nu 34:14; Dt 26:5; Isa 5:17; II Mac 4:46; 6:21; 8:6 and IV Mac 18:23.

<sup>170</sup> Pr 7:18; Wis 2:6; IV Mac 5:8; 8:6; 16:18. It seems to occur also in Symmachos: Ecc 5:18 and 9:9.

(‘enjoyment’) occurs once in III Mac 7:16. It is thus obvious that the shift in meaning is not yet witnessed in the LXX.

The confusion of the two verbs (ἀπολαμβάνω *to receive / enjoy* and ἀπολαύω *to enjoy / to be recipient of* [something]), witnessed in *N* times, as evidenced in Κριαράς, *Λεξικόν s.v.*, obtains already in demotic speech for the period 1100-1669 A.D. Thus, in *Ῥιμάδα Βελισαρίου* (A.D. XV-XVI) 224, we read: ὁ φθόνος μὲ κατήφερε ἀδίκως ν' ἀποθάνω κι' ὀνειδισμούς ἀπὸ πολλῶν αἰεὶ ν' ἀπολαμβάνω (“malice brought about so that I would die unjustly and always enjoy [i.e. *experience, receive*] reproaches from many”). In another text, *Καλλιμάχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη* (A.D. XII-XIII) 1849, we read: ἰδοῦ καιρὸς γλυκύτατος τῷ Καλλιμάχῳ λάμπει ... καὶ συμπαθείας τυχικῆς μικρὸν ἀπολαμβάνει (“see, a most pleasant time shines upon Kallimachos ... and he can briefly enjoy (i.e. *have the benefit of*) the sympathy of chance”). For ἀπολαύω may be cited *Πένθος Θανάτου* (*LB* times) 529: ὅλα σχεδὸν τὰ χρήματα τοῦ κόσμου ν' ἀπολαύσουν (“may they enjoy almost all the money in the world”) and *Digenes Akritas* (A.D. X) 412:12 (ed. Πασχάλη): ἀπόλαυσεν τὴν ζωὴν τῆς καλὰ ὥσαν ἤθελεν (“she enjoyed her life well, just as she pleased”)<sup>171</sup>.

Actually the evidence takes us all the way back to the time of the NT. Of a total of 2,900 instances of ἀπολαμβάνω<sup>172</sup> in its various meanings from the first to the eleventh century A.D., I found at least some 50 occurrences in which the meaning was either clearly or implicitly *to enjoy*. It is thus obvious that this meaning is by no means overrepresented in the literature of this period. Connected with this is the further problem that it is not always easy to distinguish between the meanings of *to receive* and *to enjoy*. In many contexts what is being enjoyed is something that has been received, often as a favor. Because of this, it is always possible to translate such instances with *to receive*, a rendering that gives a fully satisfactory sense. However, many times it is not merely a question of recording the factual reception of something, as for example, reward, honors, or position, but also a question of *experiencing*, i.e. *enjoying* (both in positive and negative

<sup>171</sup> The thin semantic line dividing the two verbs can be seen also in Chrysostomos, *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους* 1, 1: καὶ ... λογίζεσθαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐλάττους πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, δείκνυσι ταύτη μᾶλλον μειζονος ἀπολελυκότας χάριτος καὶ σφόδρα ὑπερεχούσης (“and because they considered themselves to be inferior to all others, ... he shows by this that they had *enjoyed* greater and more surpassing grace”). Chrysostomos might easily have used the participle of ἀπολαμβάνω (“they had received greater ... grace”), but in this context the result would have been the same, for ‘receiving’ and ‘enjoying’ here coalesce in meaning.

<sup>172</sup> These include only words formed from the stems ἀπολαμβάν-, ἀπέλαβ-, ἀπολάβ-, i.e., the stems more readily lending themselves also to the sense of ‘to enjoy’.

senses) what has been given<sup>173</sup>. These are border cases, but cannot be rejected out of hand. Therefore, some of these instances will be quoted below. On the other hand, there are instances which clearly cannot be understood in any other way than as *to enjoy*.

In what follows I will present examples from each one of the intervening centuries between the XI<sup>th</sup> and I<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

In his *Chronographia* 7 (*Konstantinos*), 1, Michael Psellos (A.D. XI) relates how he ate at the king's table and enjoyed / received indescribable favors: καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκοινωνοῦν τραπέζης, καὶ ἀδιηγῆτων χαρίτων ἀπέλαβον. Emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos (A.D. X), *De virtutibus et vitiis* 1, 288, similarly speaks of ἀναντίρρητον ἀπολαμβάνων ἔπαινον χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ("enjoying an incontrovertible praise for goodness and magnanimity")<sup>174</sup>. An incontestable example is Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX), *Chronikon* (lib 1-4) 553: καὶ ἀποπλύνων [τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς] ἐκ τοῦ ἀντληθέντος ὕδατος ἐξαίφνης τὴν θεὰν ἀπολαμβάνει ("and washing his eyes with the water that had been drawn up, he suddenly enjoys (catches a glimpse of) the view")<sup>175</sup>. Another clear instance is Theodoros Studites (A.D. VIII-IX), *Epistulae: Epistle* 399: ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἀνειρώδη ταῦτα καὶ μάταια, ἀλλὰ τὰ αἰδία καὶ ἀληθινὰ καὶ ἀνεκλάλητα ἀγαθὰ ἀπολάβοιμεν ("in order that we might not enjoy these dreamy and vain things, but the eternal, true and indescribable gifts"). The medical author Meletios (A.D. VII-VIII), *The Human Constitution* 84, who also offers a curious etymology, connecting ἀπολαμβάνω and ἀπολαύω, writes: λαιμὸς δὲ καὶ λάρυγξ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφέρουσι μόνον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ λαίειν, ἢ λαύσειν, ὃ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπολάβειν, ἀμφοτέρω παράγεται· διὰ γὰρ λαίμου καὶ λάρυγγος τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχομεν τῶν τροφῶν ("throat' and 'larynx' differ only as to their name; since both of them derive from λαίειν<sup>176</sup> or λαύσειν which means ἀπολάβειν; for through the neck and larynx we experience the enjoyment of food"). The anonymous *Περίπλους τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου* (A.D. VI) 47 describes the region between Lake Maiotis and Bosphoros as enjoying much plain, i.e. having or including a lot of plain (rather than mountainous terrain): χώραν ἀπολαμβάνουσα πολλὴν πεδιάδα. The *Catena (Novum Testamentum) in Acta (Catena Andreae)* (A.D. V) 240, speaks of the "indescribable joy of those who sorrow"

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Ploutarchos, *Γυναικῶν ἀρεταί*, 259e: ἀπολαυοῦσαι τι and Αἴτια ῥωμαϊκά 272f: ἀπολαύων σχολῆς.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. also Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De virtutibus* 1, 250: ἀπολαμβάνειν τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας καρπὸν κάλλιστον τὸν ἔπαινον ("enjoying, for his magnanimity, a most beautiful reward, praise"). See also Nikolaos Mystikos, *Epistulae* 79, 7.

<sup>175</sup> Similarly Georgios Monachos, *Chronikon* breve (lib 1-6) (redactio recentior), Vol. 110, 681.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Hesychios, *Lexicon* Λ: 125: "λαίειν· φθέγγεσθαι".

(ἀνεκδιήγητον χαρὰν ἔχουσιν οἱ οὕτως λυπούμενοι) by contrasting the present pain in sowing (νῦν τὰ σπέρματα ἐν κλαυθμῷ καταβάλλοντες,) with the enjoyment of the fruit they will have (τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει μετὰ τὴν ἔνθεν ἐκδημίαν ἀπολαμβάνουσιν)<sup>177</sup>.

In several of his *Paraenetical sermons to the monks of Egypt*, the Syrian Father, Ephraem (A.D. IV), describes the Tempter's words to the tempted, urging them that since they have already sinned with their minds, they might as well fulfill their heart's desire and enjoy the thing they have longed for: *Sermon* 37, 51: νῦν ἐπιτέλεσόν σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ... ἀπόλαβε οὖν τῆς σεαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμίας ("now fulfill your desire ... enjoy your desire"); *Sermon* 42, 110: εἰπὼν ὑποβάλλει σοι ὁ Ἐχθρὸς, λέγων· ἔστι μετάνοια· διὸ ἀπόλαβε τοῦ βουλήματός σου, εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτόν ... ("if the Enemy whispers to you, saying: 'There is repentance; so enjoy what you wanted', say to him ..."); *Sermon* 45, 41: πολλὰκις ὁ Ἐχθρὸς ὑποβάλλει σοι, λέγων· τέως νεώτερος εἶ, ἀπόλαβε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν σου ("many times the Enemy whispers to you, saying: you are still young, enjoy your desires"), while in his *Sermon in pretiosam et vivificam crucem* 148, he alludes to the parable of the rich man and Lazaros, when he says: ἐν-τρυφήσατε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἀπελάβατε τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν ("you have had your pleasure on earth; you enjoyed the good things in your life")<sup>178</sup>.

For the third century may be cited: Diogenes Laertios X. 143: ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν ("it was

<sup>177</sup> Cf. also Stobaios (A.D. V), *Anthologion* II. 9, 6, 39-42: ψυχὰι ἀνθρώπων, φύσιν ἔχουσαι θνηταί τε εἶναι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καὶ ζωὴ μὲν τῇ ἐπὶ γῆς νομιζομένη θανάτῳ ἐγκυρέουσαι, θανάτῳ δὲ τῷ δοκέοντι αὐτόθι ζωὴν ἀπολαμβάνουσαι ("the souls of men being by nature both mortal and immortal, they meet death in what on earth is considered life, that is, death for him who thinks that here they enjoy life").

<sup>178</sup> From the same century come the following examples: Theodoreos, *Epistles* (1-95) *Epistle* 82, 19: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν τριπόθητον ἀπέλαβον ἡσυχίαν ("first of all I enjoyed the longed-for quietness"); *Ecclesiastical History* 164, 19: καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν παρρησίαν καὶ ἀγάπην πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολαμβάνειν ("and to enjoy their previous relations and love with us") (said of recalcitrants on the condition of their repentance); Pseudo-Makarios, *Sermons* 64 (collection B), *Homily* 3, 4, 9: ἐν ὑδρῶτι τοῦ προσώπου σου ἀπολάβεις τὸν πλοῦτόν σου ("in the sweat of your face you will enjoy your wealth"); Chrysostomos, *Ad populum Antiochenum* (*Homiliae* 1-21), (MIGNE Vol. XLIX), 86, In 61: καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦσιος ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ δεινὸν ἀπέλαβε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπετηγανίζετο ("for the rich man did not enjoy / experience anything bad in this life, that is why he was being fried in the other life"), similarly: Vol. XLIX. 87, In 3; Chrysostomos, *De decem millium talentorum debitore*, Vol. LI, 17, In 14; Chrysostomos, *Habentes eundem spiritum* (*homiliae* 1-3) Vol. LI, 289, In 50t; Chrysostomos, *Epistulae ad Olympiadem* (*epistulae* 1-7) *Epistle* 13, 3, 36; Didymos Caecus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiastem* (3-4, 12) 106, 27; Epiphanius, *Panarion* Vol. I, 300, 14; Athanasios, *De virginitate* 18, 31; *Apologia contra Arianos*, Vol. LVII, 3, 4; Eusebios, *De martyribus Palaestinae* (rec. brevior), Ch. 3, 7.

therefore not possible to enjoy pleasures completely without the study of nature");<sup>179</sup> *Acta Xanthippe et Polyxene* (A.D. III) 8: ὅτι σου τῶν κρασπέδων ἀπῆλανσα, ὅτι σου τῶν εὐχῶν ἐπέτυχον, ὅτι σου τῆς ἡδίστης καὶ μελισταγοῦς διδασκαλίας ἐν ἀπολαύσει γέγονα ("since I enjoyed the hem of Thy garments, since I won Thy blessings, since I came into enjoyment of Thy honey-dropping teaching"); *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* 31:18: εἵπατέ μοι ποίας πίστεως ἐστέ, ἵνα οὕτως ἀπολαύσωμεν. ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφέ, οἴνου οὐκ ἀπολαύομεν ("tell me of which faith you are, that we may enjoy (wine?). But Polyxene said: Brother, we do not enjoy (i.e. partake of) wine")<sup>180</sup>.

Other clear examples are: Origenes (A.D. II-III), *De oratione* 29, 15: τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τῆς πλάνης δι' ἧς ἠγάπησαν ψωρῶδους ἡδονῆς ἀπολαμβάνοντες ("receiving / enjoying the reward of their delusion through which they loved scabby (lecherous) pleasure")<sup>181</sup>. In his inimitable manner Lukianos, *De parasito* 14, satirizes the parasites of his day: καὶ μὴν αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι τὸ τέλος ὕστερον τοῦτο ἔχουσι, μετὰ τὸ μαθεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἡδέως ἀπολαμβάνουσιν· ... ἡ δὲ παρασιτικὴ μόνη τῶν ἄλλων εὐθύς ἀπολαμβάνει τῆς τέχνης ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ μανθάνειν καὶ ἅμα τε ἄρχεται καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει ἐστίν ("certainly the other arts reach this end late, they reap the benefit of (enjoy) the fruit after the time of learning ... but the parasitic art alone of them all benefits from it immediately while in the apprenticeship, and as soon as it begins it is also perfected")<sup>182</sup>.

Finally, a couple of examples from the first century A.D. Ploutarchos, *Alexandros* 38, 3, relates how the hetaira Thaïs in a drinking bout held a speech in which she made reference to her own experience: ὦν πεπόνηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαμβάνειν χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐντρυνῶσα τοῖς ὑπερῆφάνοις Περσῶν βασιλείοις ("for what she went through wandering over Asia she enjoyed herself that day revelling in the Persians' proud palace"); Ploutarchos, *Sayings of Kings* 178e: ἔφθη γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πρὶν ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς φιλίας ἀπολαβεῖν ("he

<sup>179</sup> See further Diogenes Laertios X. 141; X. 145; X. 154; Aelianos, *Epistulae rusticae*: *Epistle* 8, 13.

<sup>180</sup> See also Hippolytos, *Refutatio* V. 7, 18, who after citing Rm 1:27: ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες explains how he understands it: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις ... ὅλον φασὶ συνέχεσθαι τὸ κρύφιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἄρρητον τῆς μακαρίας μυστήριον ἡδονῆς ("for in the[se] words ... they say, is included the whole secret and ineffable mystery of their blessed pleasure") (used derogatorily). It is obvious that Hippolytos understood the participle ἀπολαμβάνοντες in the sense of 'enjoying', not merely 'receiving'.

<sup>181</sup> Origenes, *Selecta in Genesim* X. 132, 28: ἀπολαμβάνοντι τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ("enjoying his good things in his life"); *id.*, *Selecta in Exodum* XII. 292.

<sup>182</sup> See also Lukianos, *Imagines* 21; *id.*, *Phalaris* 1, 12.

died before he had time to enjoy / receive from me a favor worthy of our friendship")<sup>183</sup>.

Of 410 instances of ἀπολαμβάνω in the inscriptions and the papyri only one instance appears to have the sense of *to enjoy*. In *PSI* Vol. III, 210, 10 (A.D. IV-V) we read: ἐάν παραγένηται ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς Οἰ[υ]α]λεριανὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκί[α]ν σοῦ, ἄγ]γειλὸν μοι, ὅπως γένωμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ πολλοῦ αὐτὸν κατ' ὅψιν ἀπολάβωμεν ("if our excellent Valerianos comes to your house, let me know so that I may come to you and we may enjoy his presence at length (i.e. have pleasure to meet him personally)").

The above evidence shows that during the first century A.D. the verb ἀπολαμβάνω begins to acquire a new meaning. At present the NT offers the earliest literary instances. Although this meaning is not witnessed in the inscriptions and papyri (with the exception of the above example), it occurs in Greek authors from the first century and continues to obtain in Hellenistic, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Neohellenic times. The later Greek literature, therefore, is indispensable for its appreciation. Lack of knowledge of this semantic development has robbed NT exegesis of a more nuanced insight into two not unimportant passages of the NT.

With regard to Lk 16:25, the following considerations speak for the proposed meaning: (1) The rich man is placed on the scene not merely by the bald statement that he was rich, but by means of describing his manner of life: he was dressed in purple and fine linen (i.e. clothing associated with kings), and he enjoyed a sumptuous and luxurious life (16:19: ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον εὐφραϊνόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς). In other words, Luke concentrates upon the rich man's enjoyment of life rather than merely upon stating the fact of his being rich. (2) The rich man's enjoyment of life is contrasted with the miserable life led by Lazaros: he lay (ἐβέβλητο!) at the gate, he had sores, he longed to fill his belly with what fell off the rich man's table (i.e. what dogs usually picked up, cf.

<sup>183</sup> In his *Γυναικῶν ἀρεταί* (*Moralia* 258b-c), Plutarchos relates the revenge of the beautiful Galatian Kamma on Sinorix, who had killed her husband, Sinatos, and then tried to woo her. She finally promised to give herself to him, after Sinorix had drunk with her what proved to be a poison. Having achieved her purpose, she exclaimed: μαρτύρομαι σε, ... ὃ πολύτιμε δαίμων, ὅτι ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέζησα τῷ Σινάτῳ φόνῳ, χρόνον τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ἀπολαύουσα τοῦ βίου χρηστὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς δίκης ("I call you to witness, oh much-revered goddess, that I have lived on since the murder of Sinatos for the sake of this very day, and during this long time I have enjoyed nothing good from life except the hope of justice"). There ought to be no doubt that τοσοῦτον χρόνον οὐδὲν ἀπολαύουσα τοῦ βίου does not mean "I did not receive from life", but "I did not enjoy". WYTTENBACH's correction of ἀπολαβοῦσα to ἀπολαύουσα (see Γρ. ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΗ, *Λεξικὸν Ἑρμηνευτικόν*, I, 131) shows clearly how closely the two meanings come to one another.

the 'doggies' of Mt 15:26), and the dogs licked his sores (16:20 f.). (3) Lazaros being taken into Abraham's lap signifies everlasting enjoyment and comfort, which contrasts with his previous experience of misery at the rich man's gate (16:22). (4) Correspondingly, the rich man is in torment in Hades (16:23), or as Chrysostomos expressed it, "he was being fried" (16:24)<sup>184</sup>. This underscores the reversal of fates of the two men, and emphasizes their enjoyment or experience (positively and negatively). (5) Finally, when Abraham says to the rich man: μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου, καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά (16:25), he draws a contrast not between the facts of riches and poverty of the rich man and Lazaros respectively, but emphasizes in the clearest possible manner what each 'enjoyed' or experienced in this life, i.e. the rich man *enjoyed* his good fortune whereas Lazaros 'enjoyed' (i.e. *suffered in*) his misfortune<sup>185</sup>. We should not fail to detect the play intended by exploiting the double meaning (positive and negative) of this word<sup>186</sup>.

With regard to Rm 1:27 there is an initial presumption for taking the participle ἀπολαμβάνοντες in the sense of 'receiving'. This presumption is strengthened by the object of receiving, i.e. 'reward' (ἀντιμισθίαν), since it is natural to speak of receiving a reward or salary<sup>187</sup>. Nevertheless, there are certain considerations that suggest that we ought to understand this participle, too, in the sense of *to enjoy*. Firstly, the word ὄρεξις means *appetite, desire, longing, yearning*<sup>188</sup>. Secondly, the *reward* (ἀντιμισθία) received is no ordinary reward or salary, i.e. something additional, but simply the satisfaction of the ὄρεξις (desire). This means that ἀντιμισθία is here used figuratively of the satisfaction or pleasure derived from performing the acts described. Thirdly, the verb used for experiencing the satisfaction

<sup>184</sup> Chrysostomos, *Ad populum Antiochenum* 49, 86 (see above note 36).

<sup>185</sup> It is not without reason that the detail on enjoyment is emphasized by several ancient authors, e.g. Origenes, *Selecta in Genesim* XII. 132. 28 and Chrysostomos, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, 49, 86 and 87.

<sup>186</sup> The verb ἀπέλαβεν is only semantically 'present' in the Lazaros clause, i.e. only implicitly present, inasmuch as the same verb does service for both clauses. Thus, the full statement would have been: μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου, καὶ ὁ Λάζαρος [ἀπέλαβεν] ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. Notice, too, that there is no αὐτοῦ after τὰ κακά corresponding to τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου. The reason for this must be, on the one hand, the close connection between the rich man and his possessions (i.e. his own), and on the other, the absence of such a connection between Lazaros and the evils he experienced (i.e. they were not his own, they merely came his way).

<sup>187</sup> Also κομίζω can be used of receiving a reward or salary, cf. Mt 25:27; 2 Cor 5:10; Eph 6:8; Col 3:25; 1 Pt 5:4; 2 Pt 2:13.

<sup>188</sup> See FRISK, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v., and literature referred to there, for its etymological connections.



or pleasure that the particular relations afforded is a verb that can signify both *to receive* and *to enjoy*<sup>189</sup>. It ought to be quite clear, of course, that neither ἀντιμισθία nor ἀπολαμβάνοντες has any reference to an eventual divine judgment. That thought is not present here. Since the reception of such a reward does not consist in the reception of any material things (i.e. reward, payment) over and above what has been performed for it, but the performance in and of itself carries with it its own reward (in the form of the pleasure derived therefrom), we may ask: Do not *to receive* and *to enjoy* here coincide in meaning? And is not the reception the enjoyment itself (since nothing more is received)? And in the light of the exigencies of the case, is not *to enjoy*, *to derive pleasure from* the only fitting interpretation of Paul's use of ἀπολαμβάνω in this context?<sup>190</sup>

For all these reasons, it is quite likely that Paul, too, like Luke, uses the verb ἀπολαμβάνω also in its recently acquired significance of *to enjoy*, *to have* (or *experience*) *pleasure* (in something), a sense that is illuminated by Greek literature down to the present day. And this sense enjoys the support of several ancient Christian authors<sup>191</sup>.

<sup>189</sup> My attention was drawn to ἀπολαμβάνοντες in Rm 1:27 and generally to the meaning of this verb already in 1999, when I was commenting on this text in my *Homosexuality. Ancient and Modern – and the Christian Church*, published first in Swedish in 2000, (Greek edition: Ὁμοφυλοφιλία etc. Ἀθήναι: Ἀστήρ τῆς Ανατολῆς, 2005).

<sup>190</sup> There is an interesting parallel in Plutarchos, *On the Fortune of Alexander* 333F: Διονύσιος γοῦν ὁ τύραννος, ὡς φασι, καθαρωδοῦ τινος εὐδοκίμουτος ἀκούων ἐπηγγείλατο δωρεὰν αὐτῷ τάλαντον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀπαιτοῦντος, 'χθές,' εἶπεν 'εὐφραίνόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ παρ' ὃν ἦδες χρόνον εὐφρανα καὶ γὰρ σε ταῖς ἐλπίσιν· ὥστε τὸν μισθὸν ὃν ἑτερπες ἀπελάμβανες εὐθὺς ἀντιτερόμενος' ("Dionysios the tyrant, it is related, as he listened to a famous harpist, promised to give him a talent as a gift. The next day, when the man requested what had been promised, Dionysios said, 'Yesterday I was being delighted by your accomplishment, and while you were singing I also delighted you with hopes. Thus, for the delight you were giving you were enjoying the reward that consisted in your being also delighted'"). First, here it is not a question of any salary or pay, despite the term μισθός, but simply a question of a gift. Second, Dionysios does not use the aorist ἀπέλαβες, but the imperfect ἀπελάμβανες, which draws attention to the singer's enjoying himself while singing in the hope of the talent. Third, Dionysios' point is that the man had already enjoyed (since he had not received anything) what had been promised, in that during the time of singing, the bare thought of the promise had exhilarated him, i.e. his reward had been the sheer enjoyment of the promise. In particular the imperfect ἀπελάμβανες is difficult to construe with the thought of pay, and as the participle ἀντιτερόμενος ('being delighted in return') indicates, it should be understood in the sense of 'enjoy'.

<sup>191</sup> E.g. Hippolytos, *Refutatio* V. 7, 18: τὸ κρύφιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἄρρητον τῆς μακαρίας μυστήριον ἡδονῆς ("the secret and ineffable mystery of their blessed pleasure"); Origenes, *De oratione* 29, 15: τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τῆς πλάνης δι' ἧς ἡγάπησαν ψωρδούς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαμβάνοντες ("enjoying the reward of their perversion through which they loved lecherous pleasure"); Chrysostomos, *Epistula ad Olympiadem* Epistle 13, 3: Τί

The above treatment of the diachronics of the verbs ἀπολαμβάνω and ἀπολαύω as well as the interesting and not unimportant conclusions to which the treatment has led with respect to the exegesis of Lk 16:25 and Rm 1:27 is just one more example of how NT terms can receive significant light from the later phases of the Greek language – a light that can only enrich the exegesis of the NT.

## VI. What Did Jesus Mean by *παιδιά* in Jn 21:5?

Jn 21:5: Λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· *παιδιά*, μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε;

The word *παιδιά* seems to occur as an introductory address word both in affirmative and in interrogative sentences. In the NT it occurs just once, introducing a question. According to Jn 21:5, following a whole night's fruitless fishing endeavor, Jesus addresses the exhausted and disappointed disciples with the words: *Παιδιά, μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε;*

Commentators of John have generally treated this word here as an ordinary plural of the word *παιδίον*, that is, "children" or "little children", without any special overtones<sup>192</sup>. How much this word has been misunderstood can be gauged by the following quote from a semantic discussion: "the word *παιδιά* ('children') denotes persons who are between infancy and adulthood. Yet Jesus' use of the word in John 21:5 seems to imply that the persons concerned (his disciples) are also likely to be awkward, immature, obstinate, and impulsive"<sup>193</sup>. It is obvious that our author has taken the word to denote youthfulness, immaturity, impulsiveness, etc. in distinction to a grown up, mature, thoughtful person. Needless to say, one will search in vain for such connotations in this particular context.

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λέγεις, ὦ Παῦλε; Καὶ μὴν ἡδονταὶ οἱ τὰ ταῦτα τολμώντες καὶ μετ' ἐπιθυμίας τὴν παράνομον ταύτην ἐργαζόμενοι μίζιν; ("What are you saying, Paul? Do those who venture to perpetrate such things and lustfully perform the lawless intercourse enjoy it?"); Ephraem, *Sermon in pretiosam et vivificam crucem* 148 uses ἀπολαμβάνω synonymously with ἐντρυφῶ: ἐντρυφήσατε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἀπελάβετε τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν ("you have had your pleasure on earth; you enjoyed the good things in your life").

<sup>192</sup> E.g. LINDARS, *John*, 626, The same is essentially true of MORRIS, *John*, 862, BEASLEY-MURRAY, *John*, 394 and BARRETT, *John*, 579, in spite of their referring to MOULTON's *Prolegomena* 170, who cites a *N* example. The reason for this is that MOULTON himself has not explained the *N* use, which he, in turn, cited from ABBOTT. It is thus symptomatic that BROWN, *John*, II, 1070, confuses the present expression with τεκνία.

<sup>193</sup> BLACK, *Linguistics for Students of New Testament Greek* 131.

The expression does not seem to occur in ancient authors<sup>194</sup>. Among the 279 instances of *παιδιά* in the inscriptions and the papyri (according to *PHI*), I did not find a single example of the use under consideration. Nor has search into Christian works of the early centuries proved any more successful. The reason for this is no doubt that the expression is more at home in oral than in written communications.

In modern Demotic speech the expression occurs frequently as an introduction in various contexts both in affirmative sentences and in questions. It may be directed (a) by an older person to younger persons, (b) by a person of higher social status than those addressed irrespective of age (as for example by an employer to his employees), or (c) simply by peers to express familiarity with those addressed<sup>195</sup>. A few examples of the above uses are: *καλῶς τὰ παιδιά!* (welcome, boys!), *γεια σας, παιδιά!* (hi, guys!), *Παιδιά, ἔχετε ἀκούσει τὰ νέα;* (boys [= friends], have you heard the news?)<sup>196</sup>. This is, no doubt, the correct literary level at which to interpret John's colloquial expression<sup>197</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> The suggestion that the expression occurs in Aristophanes is not entirely without its problems. The passage in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 408, is punctuated as: *ἀλλὰ θαίματ' α βαλόντες ὡς τάχιστα, παιδία, θεῖτε καὶ βοᾶτε*, in which *ὡς τάχιστα* is treated as an adverb ("but casting off your garments, oh boys, run as fast as you can and cry"), so, e.g., MACDOWELL, *Aristophanes: Wasps* 190. The prompting comes from the chorus composed of old men. A different punctuation, less plausible in my opinion (deleting the comma after *τάχιστα*), would make *τάχιστα* a plural adjective: "... as fast-[running] boys, run and cry". However, even accepting the current punctuation as correct, the position of *παιδία* in the sentence, which is markedly different from the introductory position the word has in John's sentence, makes it very precarious to understand it in the idiomatic sense of Jn 21:5.

<sup>195</sup> This is the case in *Καζαντζάκη, Ὁ φτωχούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ*, where the speaker addresses equals: *ὁμπρός, (= ἐμπρός) παιδιά, ὅλοι μαζί* ("Come on, boys / guys, [let us sing] all of us together!").

<sup>196</sup> Perhaps I might be permitted to relate the following incident that took place on Good Friday of 1996. I stood outside the Church of St. George on Lykavettos, the steep hill opposite the acropolis of Athens, when the Epitaphios (the funeral procession symbolizing the burial of Jesus' body) was being carried around. The priest, a strong, staunch man, who exuded a clear consciousness of leadership and fatherly initiative, in a brief moment's pause, afforded by the musical notation of the lively procession hymn, addressed parenthetically a rapid exhortation to the throng gathered around him (men, women and children!) with the words: *ὅλοι μαζί, παιδιά!* ("all together, lads!", meaning: "guys / fellows, let us all sing together") and then went on with the hymn's next stanza.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙΣ in *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Μελέται* I, p. 212: *ἡ λέξις παιδιά περιῆλθεν εἰς τύπον προσφωνήσεως, ὥστε σήμερον δι' αὐτοῦ προσφωνοῦμεν ἀνθρώπους πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ παντὸς γένους* ("The word *παιδιά* came to be used as a form of address, so that today we address through it persons of all ages and [both] genders"). Jn 21:5 had, obviously, escaped him.

The expression obviously existed in the time of the NT, but being a colloquial expression, it was not preserved in writing<sup>198</sup>. It has, however, been preserved on the lips of the Greek people for two thousand years<sup>199</sup>.

## VII. Did Paul Encourage Liberation or Slavery?

One of the texts that have caused the greatest difficulties in interpretation is 1 Cor 7:21: δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. Versions are divided into two camps: those which advocate the freedom of the slave lay the emphasis on the adversative element (ἀλλά)<sup>200</sup>, while those which advocate the discouragement of the gaining of freedom lay the emphasis on the concessive character of καὶ (even)<sup>201</sup>. According to Bartsch, commentators, too, have been fairly evenly divided<sup>202</sup>. This prompts Fee to argue that "On its own the sentence is ambiguous" and that "the difficulties are best illustrated by the

<sup>198</sup> Here we must recall the Greek 'diglossia' or more correctly *dimorphia* of Hellenistic times – one Greek form for speaking, but another for writing – that has deprived us of many forms, syntactical structures, idioms and expressions in use in the first century A.D. It is obvious that recourse to Neohellenic can salvage part of that loss.

<sup>199</sup> For more ancient Greek words surviving orally in *N*, see GEORGACAS, "Ancient Greek Terms Surviving Orally" in *Fs* for P. Kretschmer, *Μνήμης Χάρτιν*, 1956, 114-129.

<sup>200</sup> *Tyndale*: "Nevertheless if thou mayest be free, use it rather"; *Rheims* and *KJV*: "but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather"; *Amplified Bible*: "But if you are able to gain your freedom, avail yourself of the opportunity"; *NEB*: "but if a chance of liberty should come, take it"; *TEV*: "but if you do have a chance to become a free man, use it"; *NASB*: "but if you are able also to become free, rather do that"; *NIV*: "although, if you can gain your freedom, do so"; *Rev. Luther*: "doch kannst du frei werden, so nutze es um so lieber"; *Elberfelder*: "wenn du aber auch frei werden kannst, mach um so lieber Gebrauch davon"; *Italian*: "ma se puoi divenir libero è meglio valerti dell'opportunità"; *Spanish*: "aunque si tienes oportunidad de conseguir tu libertad, debes aprovecharla"; *French* (Segond 1979): "mais si tu peux devenir libre, profite-en plutôt"; *La Bible* (ABU 1997): "mais si une occasion se présente pour toi de devenir libre, profite-en"; Neohellenic (Katharevousa): "ἀλλ' εἰ δύνασαι νὰ γέινῃς ἐλεύθερος, μεταχειρῆσου τοῦτο καλῆτερα".

<sup>201</sup> *NAB*: "but, rather, even if you can gain your freedom, make the most of it [i.e. of your slave's state]"; *NRSV*: "Even if you can gain your freedom, make use of your present condition now more than ever"; *Einheitsübersetzung*: "auch wenn du frei werden kannst, lebe lieber als Sklave weiter"; *Swedish* (Bibeln 2000): "och även om du kan bli fri, så förbli hellre vad du är"; *Swedish* (Folkbibeln): "även om du kan bli fri, så förbli hellre slav".

<sup>202</sup> BARTSCH, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ*, 6 f.

fact that grammar and context are argued in support of both options"<sup>203</sup>. In the light of such a view of what grammar can achieve here, it is no wonder that many infelicitous "grammatical points" have been made in support of one or the other position<sup>204</sup>.

The context of the utterance is one in which Paul exhorts his converts not to be troubled by their external circumstances, but to be content to remain in the state in which they received their Christian calling. It is therefore natural to interpret the clause *εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι* as a concessive clause – particularly in the light of the exhortation *μὴ σοι μελέτω* – in which apparently Paul discourages slaves from seeking to effect their liberation or even longing for it.

The interpretation of this text needs to deal with three problems: the meaning of *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι*, the force of *ἀλλά*, and whether *εἰ καὶ* is concessive or not.

Beginning with the third problem, it must be pointed out that not all occurrences of *εἰ καὶ* are concessive in sense. Not infrequently the expression means 'if also', 'if, too', and this is true already of *A* times, e.g. Platon, *Euthyphron*, 6a: *νῦν οὖν εἰ καὶ σοὶ ταῦτα συνευδοκεῖ* ("now therefore, if you, too, are of the same opinion"), and Xenophon, *Symposion* III. 14: *καὶ πολλοὶ ἅμα ᾤοντο εἰ καὶ σφίσι δηλώσοι αὐτούς* ("many asked if he would tell them, too, who they were")<sup>205</sup>. This meaning is witnessed in inscriptions and papyri<sup>206</sup> and continues to obtain in later authors<sup>207</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> FEE, *First Corinthians* 316. See also BARRETT, *First Corinthians* 170-71. BARTCHY, *ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΧΡΗΣΑΙ* 155 ff. and GROSHEIDE, *First Corinthians* 170, differently, propose neither freedom nor slavery, but God's calling as the object of *χρῆσαι*.

<sup>204</sup> See FEE, *First Corinthians* 316 ff., GROSHEIDE, *First Corinthians* 170, BARRETT, *First Corinthians* 170, SEVENSTER, *Paul and Seneca* 189.

<sup>205</sup> See further, Herodotos V. 13: *ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι εἶψαν αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες οὕτω ἐργάτιδες*, ("he asked if all the women, too ..."), Platon, *Kratylos* 436e: *οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν εἰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα συμφωνεῖ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς* ("if also ..."), *Theaitetos* 171c: *ἀλλὰ τοι, ὦ φίλε, ἄδηλον εἰ καὶ παραθέομεν τὸ ὀρθρὸς* ("if also ..."), *Charmides* 161c: *νῆ Δία, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ εὐρήσομεν αὐτὸ ὅπῃ ἔχει, θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν* ("but if we also find ..."), Xenophon, *Hellenika* IV. 1, 11: *οὐ πυθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ ταῦτ' ἐστί* ("if also"), *Apomnemonemata* III. 9, 14: *ἐρομένου δέ τινος αὐτὸν τί δοκοῖ αὐτῷ κράτιστον ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι, ἀπεκρίνατο: εὐδοξία. ἐρομένου δὲ πάλιν εἰ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζοι εἶναι, πᾶν μὲν οὖν τούναντίον ἐγὼγ', ἔφη, τύχην καὶ πρᾶξιν* ("if also"), *Oikonomikos* II. 2: *ἡ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν ... πλουτεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν δοκοῦμέν σοι προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων; οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼγε, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγεις οὐδὲν μοι δοκῶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων* ("but if you speak of me, too ..."), *Apologia Sokratous* 5: *θαυμαστὰ λέγεις, τὸν δ' αὖ ἀποκρίνασθαι: Ὡ θαυμαστὸν νομίζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἢ δὴ τελευτᾶν*; ("if the god, too, thinks that it is better for me ..."), *Anabasis* VI. 1, 13: *καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες ᾤοντο εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς*, ("... if (their) women, too, fought with them"), *Kyrou Paideia* II. 4, 31: *ἦν δ' ἐρωτᾷ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς*

In literary compositions of LB times (1000-1453) *εἰ* καὶ often obtains with its concessive force of “(al)though”<sup>208</sup> and this is regularly the case in Anna Komnene (A.D. XI-XII). In *N*, in which *εἰ* has become obsolete, having given place to *ἐάν*, or *ἄν*, the concessive sense is conveyed by *ἄν* καὶ<sup>209</sup>.

ἐρχομαι, λέγε κἀνταῦθα τάληθῃ ὅτι οὐκ οἶσθα (“if he asks, if I, too, will come ...”), *The Republic of the Lakedaimonians* 14, 1: *εἰ* δὲ τίς με ἔροιτο *εἰ* καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν (“whether Lykurgos’ laws were still valid [sc. if also now / in the present valid]”).

<sup>206</sup> E.g. *PSI* V, 488, r, 3 (258-257 B.C.): καλῶς δὲ ποι[ήσ]εις, *εἰ* καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ (“you will do well, if it seems good to you, too”), *φ* *Tebt* I, 28, 16 (114 B.C.): ἀξιούμεν ἐμβλέψαντα εἰς τὰ ὑποδεδειγμένα κα[ί] *εἰ* καὶ ἂν [κᾶν] δύναται ἐκ τῶν ἐσομένων ἐπισκέψεων εἰς τὸ βασιλικ[όν] περιγενέσθαι (“... and if at all it is possible ...”), *φ* *Oxy* LX, 4060, 1, 5 (A.D. 161): φανερόν δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ καὶ ἐγλογιστῇ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομοῦ ἵν’ *εἰ* καὶ αὐτ[οῖ] ἐχουσ[ιν] τὸ αὐτὸ πράξωσι (“... so that if they, too, have ...”), *φ* *Ryl* IV, 569 rp, 4 (A.D. III): καλῶς οὖν [ποιήσ]εις *εἰ* καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ (“... if you, too, think”), *PSI* IV, 423, r, 31: *εἰ* καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, *PSI* VI, 589, 3 (A.D. III): καλῶς ἂν ποιήσας (sic) ἂν καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, (similarly *PSI* VI, 589, 13, and VI, 666, 3 (*εἰ* καὶ σοὶ φαίνεται), *SB* V, 8002, 14 (? A.D. III): [προσ]φωνήσ[ας] μοι ... *εἰ* καὶ Παβούς σοι ἔδωκεν ἑτέρα[ν] ἐπιστολή[ν] (“... if Pavous, too, has given you ...”), *SB* X, 10297, 12 (? A.D. III): *εἰ* καὶ ἂν οἶνω θελήσης, πᾶν δῆλωσόν μοι (“and if you want [to pay] by means of wine ...”). For inscriptional evidence, see *Karia, Panamara* XIII, *εἰ* καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν μου ταύτην ἄσμενοι λάβοι[τε] πρὸς τε] τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο δηλώσατε (“if you also received my letter gladly ...”), *Greece, Mystras* 150, 50, IV, 13, 64 (A.D. 1389): *εἰ* καὶ φύλον χριστιανῶν δεινὰ παθόν (“if, also, a tribe / group of Christians”).

<sup>207</sup> Basilios (A.D. IV), *Epistulae Ep.* 5, 1: “Ὡστε οὐδὲν μέγα, *εἰ* καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ βάθους ἦψατο τὸ κακόν (“therefore, it is not a big thing, if the evil has touched deeply even you”), *Ep.* 20, 1: καίτοιγε οὐδὲν ἔργον σοφιστῇ ἢ τὸ γράφειν μᾶλλον δὲ, *εἰ* καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἔχεις ἀργῶς, οὐδὲ γράφειν δεήσει (“... especially, if you are slow with your hand, too, ...”), Theodoretos (A.D. IV-V), *Graecarum affectionum curatio* VI, 19: Τί θαυμαστόν, ἔφη, *εἰ* καὶ ὁ μῦς τὸν θύλακον διέτραπε, οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι φάγη (“what is so astonishing if the mouse, too, who had nothing to eat, gnawed through the food-bag?”), *Ecclesiastical History* 11: ὥς *εἰ* καὶ Παῦλος τοῦτο βιαίσατο καὶ Πέτρος (“as though Paul and Peter, too”), Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos (A.D. X), *De virtutibus et vitiis* I, 13: ἀλλὰ δοκιμάσαι θέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, *εἰ* καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασόμενος ὑπακούει (“... if also, when ordered such things, he obeys”), *De sententiis* 243: *εἰ* γὰρ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ πάντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἐπλανήθη, τί θαυμαστόν *εἰ* καὶ ἐγὼ συνεξηπατήθην; (“if the emperor, who has exact knowledge of all things, was deceived, where is the wonder if I, too, was deceived along with him?”), *De sententiis* 288: ὁ δὲ διασύραι βουλόμενος Ἀνάχαρσιν ἠρώτησεν *εἰ* καὶ σοφώτατα τὰ θηρία (“but wishing to disparage Anacharsis, he asked if the animals, too, were most wise”).

<sup>208</sup> E.g. for the most part in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos.

<sup>209</sup> E.g. ἂν καὶ δὲν μου ἔγραψες, ἐγὼ ὅμως σὲ (ἐ(ν))θυμήθηκα (“even though you did not write to me, I remembered you”).

At the same time καὶ εἰ began in *P* times to lose its concessive force of “even if” and was gradually reduced to the meanings of its constituent parts: “and if”<sup>210</sup>. In *N* this became καὶ ἐάν, κί’ ἂν “even if”, “and if”, often with the addition of ἀκόμη (κί’ ἂν ἀκόμη)<sup>211</sup>. Even the confusion of ἂν with νά (treated in Chapter Four) has impinged on this construction as well, the latter being used in a concessive sense along with the above forms<sup>212</sup>. Thus, the ancient καὶ εἰ (‘even if’, ‘and if’) gradually became καὶ ἐάν, καὶ ἂν,

<sup>210</sup> For the sense of “even if” see the orator Aischines (IV B.C.), *Epistulae* 5, 2: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ εἰ φαυλότερα τῶν Ἀθήνησι (“the other things even if they are worse than those in Athens”). For the sense of “and if” see Aischines Sokratikos (IV B.C.), *Frg.* 35: καὶ εἰ περὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων διαφέροντες φανοῦμεθα, μὴ θαυμάζειν, (“and if with regard to the use of money we shall appear honorable”); Anaximenes (IV B.C.), *Frg.* 2a, 72, F, frg. 11a: καθάπερ τὸ ὀρρωδεῖν ἥκιστα Δημοσθενικὸν ὄν καὶ εἰ τινα ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτῳ (“... and if there are certain other things like this”); Andokides, (V-IV B.C.), *Mysteries* 79: καὶ εἰ ἀντίγραφον πού ἐστι, παρέχειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχάς (“and if there is a copy ...”); *Acta Pauli* (A.D. II) 7, 30: καὶ εἰ πονεῖ[ι]ς, ἐκδ[ι]ήλωσον, κύριε (“and if you are in pains ...”); Alexandros Phil. (A.D. II-III), *Commentary on Aristoteles Topoi* 334: εἰ τὸ γεννητικὸν ποιητικόν, καὶ τὸ γίνεσθαι ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ γένεσις ποιήσις· καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν τούτων, οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα (“if begetting is poetic (sc. creative), becoming is making (creating), generation is also poetry (creation); and if something is none of these things, nor are the others”); Achilleus Tatios, *Leukipe* (III A.D.) II. 22, 4: καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπηδᾷ καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἄτριχον τῶν προσώπων (“... and if there is anything else without hair”); Ammonios (A.D. V), *Commentary on Aristoteles' Categories* 79: καὶ εἰ οἶδεν ὅτι κάλλιον ἔστιν, ὀφείλει εἰδέναι καὶ τίνας κάλλιον (“and if it knows that it is better ...”); Alexandros (A.D. VI), *Therapeutika* II. 131: καὶ εἰ καταπίοι τις (“and if anyone swallows”); Aetios (A.D. VI), *Latricorum* I. pr.: καὶ εἰ τις γεύσαιτο ποτὲ κυδωνίων (“and if someone ever tasted quinces”); Agathias (A.D. VI), *Historiae* 23: καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπώσασθαι αὐτοὺς τελεώτατα δυνηθείεν (“and if you could definitively repel them”); Digenes Akritas (A.D. X) 499: καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖ ἐτυγχάνομεν δὲν ἦθελε γένει τούτο (“and if we chanced to be there, this thing would not have happened”); 684: τὸ φέγγος φέγγει ὅλονυκτι καὶ ἂν βούλῃ πορευθῶμεν (“the moon shines all night, and if you so wish, let us go”); 780: καὶ εἰ ταῦτα βούλοιο καὶ μελετᾷς ποιῆσαι (“and if you desire these things and consider doing them”); Anna Komnene (A.D. XI-XII), *Alexias* I. 15, 6: καὶ εἰ μὴ τούτων οἰκτίστω θανάτῳ παραδοίην αὐτίκα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀνασταυρώσας, τάδε καὶ τάδε πείσομαι ἐκ Θεοῦ (“and if I do not deliver him to a most pitiable death by crucifying him in the midst of the city, let me suffer this or that from God”); Georgios Akropolites (A.D. XIII), *Annales* 43, 27: καὶ εἰ εὐχερὲς ἔστιν ἄλλωνι ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν Σερρών ἄστυ (“and if it is feasible for us to take the city of Serrai”); *Chronikon Moreos* 1349: Κί’ ἂν ἔχεις ὀρεξίν νά ἀκούης πρᾶξεις καλῶν στρατιωτῶν (“and if you have a relish for hearing of the deeds of good soldiers”).

<sup>211</sup> E.g. Ἐγὼ θὰ πάω κί’ ἂν (ἀκόμη) δὲν ἔλθῃς ἐσύ) (“I will go even if you do not go along (with me”)”).

<sup>212</sup> E.g. καὶ νὰ μὴν εἶχα ρωτήση, ἔπρεπε νὰ μοῦ τὸ πῆς (“even though I had not asked about it, you should have told me”). *N* uses a multitude of concessive particles: ἂν καί, καὶ ἂν, καὶ νά, ἐνῶ, καὶ πού, κί’ ἂς, παρ’ ὅλο, παρ’ ὅτι, μολονότι, etc.

κι' ἄν *with the same meanings, while the ancient εἰ καὶ* ('although', 'though', 'if also') *took the form of ἄν καὶ retaining its various senses*<sup>213</sup>.

In more popular texts such as *Digenes Akritas* and *Chronikon tou Moreos* εἰ occurs, but of εἰ καὶ I have found only two instances in *Digenes Akritas* but none in *Chronikon tou Moreos*<sup>214</sup>.

The upshot of the above evidence is that the phrase εἰ καὶ is not always used concessively, but often carries the sense of "if also" "if, too", in which the καὶ brings into focus a new situation. This usage, as shown above, is well-attested from *A* times – especially from *P* times – to the present.

In fact, in this case any concessive force in εἰ καὶ is thoroughly neutralized by the ἀλλά. Thus, had the text run δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μή σοι μελέτω· (καὶ) εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι ... there would have been an initial presumption to take the conditional clause concessively in line with the spirit of μή σοι μελέτω. However, the force of ἀλλά is to set the conditional clause in opposition to μή σοι μελέτω, i.e. "were you called as a slave, let that not trouble you: *but* if you can gain your freedom ..."<sup>215</sup>

Grammar – properly understood – is thus quite unequivocal in deciding the meaning of ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι to be *not* concessive, *but* exceptional to the previous statement: "but if you [also] are able".

The interpretation of Paul's words in line with Greek grammar does not imply any contradiction with the spirit of Paul's previous thoughts. Here, *how* the freedom is obtained is of primary importance. Paul sent Onesimos back to Philemon, because Onesimos had achieved his freedom by means which were not to characterize Christian behavior. However, in antiquity there were more ways open for obtaining liberty than through desertion. Nor must it be forgotten that while Paul sent Onesimos back to Philemon,

<sup>213</sup> See JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, § 598; TURNER, *Syntax* 321; Chrysostomos, *On 1 Cor*, *ad loc.*

<sup>214</sup> For the above statements I have read afresh the Athens MS, which contains the fuller account. I have not examined for this construction the shorter accounts in the Grotta Ferrata and Escorial Codices. The two instances are: *Digenes Akritas* 2455: εἰ καὶ νομίμῳ γυναικί, καλλίστῳ ἀρμολογίῳ ("even though he is lawfully united to a most beautiful wife") and 2766: εἰ καὶ πολλὰ ἀνθίστατο ἡ κόρη πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ("even though the girl offered much resistance to the deed").

Concessive meaning is here also expressed by εἰ γὰρ καὶ (3467: εἰ γὰρ καὶ εἶναι μοναχός, μὴ πλανηθῆς καταβῆναι ("even though he is alone, do not be deceived to go down"), cf. 3465) or εἰ οὖν καὶ (3565: εἰ οὖν καὶ εἶναι μοναχός, σὺ μόνῃ μὴν πηγαίνης ("even though he is alone, do not go down [to him], alone")). In *Chronikon tou Moreos* concessive meaning is expressed by καὶ ἄν: 3848: ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ ἄν εἴμεθεν ὀλίγοι, πρὸς ἐκεῖνους, ὅλοι εἴμεθεν ὡς ἀδελφοί ("as for us, even though we are few, ...") (also 3991, 4048). There are no examples of ἄν καὶ.

<sup>215</sup> Those versions and commentators who translate the text prohibitively altogether neglect ἀλλά.



he did not neglect to tell Philemon that he should receive Onesimos no longer as a slave, but as a brother, thereby intimating in a delicate and tactful manner what he expected Philemon to do with Onesimos: *sc.* to set him free. It would, therefore, have been nonsense if Paul's advice to Christian slaves, who were being offered their liberty by their master or were in a position to procure it through manumission, was to decline it because they were slaves at the time when they came to faith in Christ. Hence, translating this text in such a way as to forbid the slave to accept the proffered freedom is not only contrary to the spirit of Paul, but it also misunderstands the historical evolution of the phrase and the significance of Greek grammar<sup>216</sup>.

Finally, the apodosis *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι*. The basic and normal meaning of the verb *χρῶμαι* (*χρήομαι*)<sup>217</sup> is 'to use'. If the meaning intended were that the slave should remain in his state, the verse would have run: *δοῦλος ἐκλήθης, μὴ σοι μελέτω· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μένε ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ / κλήσει σου*. The verb *μένω* is used twice in this paragraph to express the idea of remaining in the same state. It would have been the natural verb to use if that was what Paul wanted to convey. On the contrary, *χρῆσαι* is a very appropriate verb for expressing the idea of 'use', or 'make use of'. The fact that he uses the aorist tense, which expresses instantaneous action, aptly describes the synoptic view of the event that is involved in the gaining of freedom, i.e. snatch the opportunity. By the same token, the use of the aorist form undermines the prohibitive interpretation, which demands a linear verb form<sup>218</sup>.

The force of *μᾶλλον*, which in the prohibitive interpretation becomes unintelligible<sup>219</sup>, is, in the positive interpretation, used properly with its comparative adverbial force: 'much more', 'rather': "Were you called as a slave? Do not let that trouble you; but if you can gain your freedom / have the possibility to achieve freedom, use it rather". The English "it" naturally refers to the "freedom". In the Greek elliptic phrase *μᾶλλον χρῆσαι* there is

<sup>216</sup> The information in *1 Klement*, 55, 2, that in his time there were Christians who sold themselves to slavery in order to provide for poor Christians, is totally irrelevant. See CARAGOUNIS, "From Obscurity to Prominence", in DONFRIED – RICHARDSON (eds.), *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* 272.

<sup>217</sup> For the uncontracted form see ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Νεώτατον λεξικὸν ὅλων τῶν ῥημάτων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*, 651 and ΡΑΠΤΗ, *Μεγάλο λεξικὸ ῥημάτων*, Vol. III, 1506.

<sup>218</sup> But even a linear verb here would by no means unequivocally have referred to remaining in the slave's state. It might also refer to the use of the newly-acquired freedom.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. the problems which translations, taking the prohibitive view, have had with this word.

a double reference. As an aoristic verb, χρῆσαι refers in the first place to the instantaneous action involved in taking the opportunity to gain freedom. At the same time the goal of the freedom that Paul has in mind is concerned with the service of God. Now the service of God is a process (durative) not an aoristic action. Something of this process, the continued use of freedom after it has been obtained, seems to be hinted at by the comparative adverb μᾶλλον: "use your freedom much more / all the more to serve God"<sup>220</sup>. Thus, the two ideas, the instantaneous one of gaining freedom and the durative one of devoting that freedom to God's service, are here combined in the compressed phrase μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. The clause can be paraphrased: "but if you can gain your freedom, do so by all means and use it all the more to serve God".

### VIII. Fiancée, Daughter, or Virginity? The Interpretation of 1 Cor 7:36-38

Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἡ ὑπέρακμος καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, γαμεῖτωσαν. ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἔδρατος μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει. ὥστε καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρείσσον ποιήσει.

Two basic interpretations (respecting the reference of τις) have been pro-  
pounded for this difficult passage<sup>221</sup>, which are also reflected in the transla-  
tions<sup>222</sup>, and both of them are equally unsatisfactory.

<sup>220</sup> But freedom cannot be taken for granted here; it is only an eventuality. Thus, in order to express the complex idea of the possibility of obtaining freedom and of the continued use of that freedom, he chooses to use the aorist imperative χρῆσαι for the obtaining of freedom, and, by modifying it through μᾶλλον, he makes it do double work also for the continued use of freedom after it has been obtained, treating the latter summarily.

<sup>221</sup> FEE, *First Corinthians*, 349 ff., recognizes three views; THISELTON, *First Corinthians* 595-97, takes up five views; SCHRAGE, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* II, 196-204, six views: All of these interpretations are basically refinements of the above two views.

<sup>222</sup> On the one hand, the view that Paul addresses the father of the virgin is taken by RV, NASB, JB and on the other, the view that the referred person is the fiancée of the virgin is reflected in Tyndale, Rheims, AV, NAB, NIV, NRSV, Amplified, NEB, and TEV. Of non-English translations, the French *La Sainte Bible* by SEGOND, the Italian *La Sacra Bibbia*, the *הַבְּרִית הַחֲדָשָׁה* by DELITZSCH, and the *Trinitarian* tr. of the NT into Hebrew see a father-daughter relationship, while *Die Bibel* (revised Luther), *Elberfelder*,

The first interpretation sees behind τις (7:36) the father of a virgin girl<sup>223</sup>, who, for some reason, withholds his daughter from marriage<sup>224</sup>. The second basic view is that τις refers to a Christian young man who is engaged to a virgin. This interpretation is then subdivided into two views: one relating to a "spiritual marriage" between a Christian young man and his virgin, assumed to have been in practice in the early Church or in the Church of Corinth, and one referring to a young man engaged to a virgin ("engaged couples"). In this last case the man labors under the influence of celibate tendencies rife at Corinth.

Thus, we get the three main views of this passage. These views, as well as their refinements, have been discussed at length in recent commentaries, particularly, in the detailed works by Fee, Schrage, and Thiselton.

Nothing would be gained by once again reiterating in detail the various views, the arguments in their favor or the arguments in their disfavor. This work has been done well by the above-named commentators, and the results are also well-known. Consequently, only a brief mention of the most salient points is here considered necessary before I address the issue myself.

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*Einheitsübersetzung*, the French *La Bible en français courant*, the Spanish *Santa Biblia*, the Swedish *Bibeln 2000*, as well as the Swedish *Folkbibeln* see the relationship between a man and his virgin (fiancée).

<sup>223</sup> See, e.g., Chrysostomos, *Peri Parthenias* 73; Theodoros of Mopsuestia, *I Kor.* Frg. (ed. K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentar* 183), and Theodoretos, *Interpretation of St Paul's Epistles* (MPG LXXXII) 284.

On the definition of 'virgin', see Ptolemaios Grammatikos (II B.C.-A.D. II), *Περί διαφορᾶς λέξεων*, Γ, 61, 2: γυνή παρθένου διαφέρει. γυνή μὲν γάρ καλεῖται κυρίως ἡ ἤδη ἀνδρὸς πεῖραν εἰληφύια, παρθένος δὲ ἡ μήπω μνηθεῖσα ποτε ἀνδρὸς ("the word 'wife' has a different meaning from the word 'virgin'. 'Wife' is called the woman who has had experience of a man, 'virgin' the one who has never been initiated to a man (i.e. has never had experience of a man)"). Further *Etymologicum Gudianum* (A.D. XI), Γ. 326. 21, following Ptolemaios. Cf. also *id.*, M. 396. 28: ἡ δὲ γυνή πρῶτον παρθένος, εἴτα μνηστὴ, εἴτα νύμφη, εἴτα γυνή ("a woman is first a virgin, then a fiancée, then a bride, and finally a wife").

<sup>224</sup> Epiphanius thought that the reason was lack of marriageable Christian men, see *Panarion* 2, 385: νέου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ κηρύγματος οὕτω πλῆθος κατὰ τόπον καὶ τόπον Χριστιανῶν ὑπῆρχε καὶ Χριστιανικῆς διδασκαλίας. οἵπνες οὖν τότε ἔσχον θυγατέρας παρθένους, μὴ εὐποροῦντες ἐκδίδοσθαι Χριστιανοῖς, ἐφύλαττον τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρθένους ἄχρι πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐκεῖναι δὲ ὑπερακμάζουσαι περιέπιπτον πορνείᾳ διὰ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνάγκην ("Because the preaching [sc. of the gospel] was new, there were not many Christians and Christian teaching in various places. Therefore those who had virgin daughters in those times were unable to give them in marriage to Christian men, and thus kept their virgin daughters for a long time, but these in the heat of their sexual urges (ὑπερακμάζουσαι!) fell into harlotry on account of the natural compulsion on them").

The first view, according to which the father of a girl, here called 'virgin', is addressed, was more popular in ancient times, whereas of the other two views – both of which refer τῷς to a Christian man, not unexpectedly in view of the currently usual exegesis of 1 Cor 7 – the second one (that is, View Three) has become the decidedly more popular interpretation.

Fee speaks of the three "options" represented by *NIV*<sup>225</sup>, *NASB*<sup>226</sup>, and *NEB*<sup>227</sup>. His own preference lies with the third view, mentioned above<sup>228</sup>, namely that Paul addresses a man who is engaged with a girl but who is being urged by the Corinthians not to go through with marriage, because sexual relations are sinful. Paul assures the man that marriage is not sin, but above all, he wants the man to make up his own mind in whatever decision he makes and not to do anything under pressure. In this interpretation, Fee admits freely that the various exegetical details cannot be explained satisfactorily<sup>229</sup>.

Schrage mentions five alternative interpretations<sup>230</sup> but like Fee, he holds to the third one, the "engaged couple". His exegesis is sober, careful, and generally correct in details. He contents himself with arguing against the father-daughter interpretation, while, unlike Fee, he avoids objections

<sup>225</sup> *NIV*: "If anyone thinks he is acting improperly toward the virgin he is engaged to".

<sup>226</sup> *NASB*: "But if any man thinks he is acting unbecomingly toward his virgin daughter".

<sup>227</sup> *NEB*: "But if a man has a partner in celibacy and feels that he is not behaving properly towards her".

<sup>228</sup> Or the first of his three options. Cf. *FEE, First Corinthians* 349: "the virgin he is engaged to".

<sup>229</sup> Among other things he points to the following difficulties: (1) With regard to ἀσχημονεῖν νομίξει, it is not clear what would make this man think that his behavior toward his betrothed was 'unseemly'. He wonders whether this might refer to the man's wanting to marry, which would draw the disapproval of the Corinthians, or to his abstaining from marriage in which case he would put the girl in a difficult position (351). (2) The reference of ὑπέρακτος to the woman or the man is "under any view ... a particularly difficult clause". If referred to the woman, it would mean "fully developed sexually", but if referred to the man, it would mean "strong passions" (352). (3) The imperative γαμήτωσαν 'let them marry', *FEE* says, "is particularly difficult for both the other views", implying that it fits better the view he espouses (352). (4) In vs. 37 *FEE* thinks that Paul turns from the man who wants to marry (vs. 36) to a man who wants to follow the recommendation of the Corinthians for celibacy. This man is told to work out the matter in his own mind and not to make a decision under compulsion. The decision, of course, relates to his keeping his virgin (τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον). Once again *FEE* thinks "this tends to be difficult for any view" (353). Finally, (5) *FEE* admits that "It is not clear why he calls her 'his own' virgin" (ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον) (354) – a detail that on his own interpretation is inexplicable.

<sup>230</sup> These are mentioned in connection with *THISELTON's* treatment of the problem.

against his own view, but finally he runs into difficulties with τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, for which he has no persuasive explanation<sup>231</sup>.

Thiselton discusses five (six) interpretations: (1) father-daughter; (2) spiritual marriages; (3) engaged couples; (4) levirate marriage; and (5) an interpretation which, following *i.a.* Schrage, he subdivides into two: (5a) guardian persons and (5b) owner of a slave girl. As becomes clear from the following quote, Thiselton agrees with Fee and Schrage in opting for View Three:

Some writers (e.g. Orr and Walter) hold that the issues are too finely balanced and complex to permit any exegetical decision. But Hurd lists eight significant factors which influence the exegesis, of which only one, namely, the use of the normally transitive γαμίζω, counts in favor of (i). But Schrage and Lietzmann have adequately disposed of this problem: it can be used intransitively. Since (iv) is highly improbable and (v) possible but speculative, we are left with (ii) and (iii). Deming's sustained attack on 'spiritual marriages' deserves respect, which causes us to favor (iii), but we cannot exclude (ii) and should not forget (v). However, Paul's advice remains in practice the same, whether (ii) or (iii) is accepted<sup>232</sup>.

In choosing View Three, commonly with Fee and Schrage, Thiselton's choice labors under the same difficulties that Fee enumerated against this view. Although Thiselton does not discuss the specific problems that Fee took up, his own exegesis bristles with alternative explanations in matters of detail, depending on which interpretation is chosen. These alternative ways of construing the text reveal how slippery the ground is. In fact, the uncertainty as to the meaning of the text is considerable, since it rests on shaky foundations. The result is that the chosen view is hardly better than its rivals<sup>233</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> SCHRAGE, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* II, 197-204, does not cite any ancient evidence for the intransitive meaning of γαμίζω, only modern authors who claim it to be so. Among them is BLAB-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF, *Grammatik*, § 101, 16, but the only evidence this grammar cites for the intransitive sense "=*γαμεῖν*" is our very passage (1 Kor 7:38)! (Schrage, II, 198). As we shall see below, the transitive meaning of γαμίζω makes perfect sense here. SCHRAGE's objections to ἀσχημονεῖν are correct but insufficiently strong. In objecting to the father-daughter view, he fails to cite ancient evidence to substantiate the claim that in Hellenistic times the daughter was free to decide her own marriage (see below).

<sup>232</sup> THESELTON, *First Corinthians* 597 f.

<sup>233</sup> A few specimens of THESELTON's uncertain exegesis include: (a) the interpretation of καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει "depends partly on our view of the options" (598); (b) γαμεῖτωσαν causes difficulties for this view (598); (c) "we cannot escape the problem of how we interpret v. 36" (599); (d) ἐξουσίαν ἔχει etc. "the whole phrase, however, can be understood in an entirely different way" (599), not to speak of the unnatural interpreta-

The difficulties underlying all current interpretations are felt so strongly that in his translation, Barclay, in desperation, tries to hold all three options together, listing them one after the other, thereby suggesting that Paul's meaning is unattainable<sup>234</sup>.

This *impasse* is the result of not having taking the whole evidence into account. Since the object of the present study is to put forth a new interpretation, I will content myself with a few indications as to why the above two (three) interpretations along with their various refinements are untenable. In doing so, I take for granted two things: first, the above commentators have pointed out the weaknesses of each one of the proposed interpretations, even of the one they espouse, and second, the above commentators admit that all of the suggested interpretations are problematic, including the interpretation of their own choice. It is thus freely admitted that none of the interpretations hitherto proposed is based on satisfactory evidence. This makes my task much simpler.

*1. The Father-Daughter Interpretation.* To begin with, the text does not speak explicitly of any father. The father is abstracted from the expression τὴν πατὲρνον αὐτοῦ. But this expression is capable of other interpretations that are at least as good. Secondly, this interpretation is shipwrecked on the meaning of the verb ἀσχημονεῖν. Not only does the verb have the sense of 'acting shamefully / indecently' but that meaning is also loaded with sexual connotations. Thus, unless Paul is thinking here of an incestuous relationship, this verb is not appropriate for describing the relationship envisaged by some versions and commentators, namely that the father, by his refusal to let his daughter be married, acts unseemly<sup>235</sup>, i.e. wrongly or unjustly towards her. If that were the meaning Paul had in mind, then ἀσχημονεῖν is the wrong verb to use. The verb occurs just twice in the NT, here and at 1 Cor 13:5, where the meaning is more general, but the cognate words ἀσχημοσύνη (Rm 1:27 and Rev 16:15) and ἀσχήμων (1 Cor 12:23) have in all their occurrences sexual connotations<sup>236</sup>. The fifty occurrences of the entire word-group, i.e. ἀσχημονεῖν, ἀσχημοσύνη, and ἀσχήμων, in the LXX

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tion of ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος as "a full right to make his own decision" (600).

<sup>234</sup> BARCLAY, *The New Testament. A New Translation II*, 46-7.

<sup>235</sup> "Not according with established standards or good form or taste", *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, s.v. *unseemly*.

<sup>236</sup> See also PSI 340 (257/6 B.C.), where, in a sexual context, fragmentarily preserved, we read: νῦν οὖν συμβαίνει αὐτῷ ἀσχημονεῖν ("now it so happens that he behaves unseemly").

have, with one exception<sup>237</sup>, sexual connotations. Thirdly, the detail ἐὰν ἡ ὑπέρρακος καὶ οὕτω ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι ... γαμείτωσαν also shows that ἀσχημονεῖν is used in a sexual capacity, and that the father, of necessity, would, in this case, be marrying his own daughter<sup>238</sup>. Fourthly, the details in vv. 37 and 38 confirm the same interpretation, namely, that ἀσχημονεῖν expresses something that transpires within the relation of this mysterious person and his 'virgin'.

In view of the above decisive objections, the father-daughter interpretation, in spite of its *a priori* plausibility on account of the father's prominent role in antiquity in deciding the marriage of his daughter, must be rejected because it does not fit the exigencies of the text;<sup>239</sup> it does not explain the various details in these verses, and such an idea would have been expressed differently.

**2. The Fiancée Interpretation.** Under this heading I subsume both variants (2 and 3), since both refer τις to a Christian man, who is either engaged to a virgin with a view to marriage, or who lives with a virgin in a so-called "spiritual marriage"<sup>240</sup>. As becomes obvious from the adoption of this interpretation by both the more recent versions and commentators, this inter-

<sup>237</sup> I.e. Wis 2:20, where θανάτῳ ἀσχήμονι καταδικάζομεν αὐτόν means "we shall condemn him to a miserable death" or "to an undignified death".

<sup>238</sup> I am aware that versions and commentators do not imply such a union, but the structure of the verse necessitates it on the premises adopted.

<sup>239</sup> SCHRAGE, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, II, 199, thinks that "In hellenistischer Zeit konnte, ja durfte der Vater keinen Zwang auf die Tochter bei einer Verheiratung ausüben, wurden Ehen vielmehr durch den Konzens der Ehepartner geschlossen" – however, SCHRAGE does not give any evidence for his supposition.

<sup>240</sup> This view was popularized by H. ACHELIS, *Virgines Subintroductae. Ein Beitrag zum VII. Kapitel des I. Korintherbriefs*, Leipzig, 1902, who works with late sources. I have found no evidence that such a custom existed in the first century A.D. or, really, in the second century. Tatian's disciples, the *Encratites*, held that marriage was sinful, but that movement was more or less confined to Syria (see Epiphanius' criticism, below). For the second century, the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* 5 makes Paul say in a speech of beatitudes: μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὸν Θεόν. In *Hermas, Shepherd: Similitude IX*, 11, 3-4, Hermas is told by the virgins: Μεθ' ὑμῶν ... κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνὴρ· ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφός εἶ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σοῦ κατοικεῖν λίαν γὰρ σὲ ἀγαπῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡσυχνόμεν μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτη αὐτῶν εἶναι ἤρξατο με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὁρῶσαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην μοι καὶ αὐταὶ ἤρξαντο με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. No clear conclusion can be drawn from these 'romances', whether such a practice existed at this time, or an attempt was being made to introduce it by claiming, in the second case, a revelation and, in the first case, Paul's authority, who, otherwise, as FEE also shows, was adverse to the idea (cf. 1 Cor 7:1-5).

pretation is inspired by modern theories about the existence of an influential celibate movement in the Church of Corinth. It is currently the most popular interpretation of 1 Corinthians in these respects.

No doubt in the counsel of many there is safety. However, certain fundamental difficulties, intrinsic to this interpretation, make it inadvisable to take refuge in that safety.

The first problem with this interpretation lies outside our text (vv 36-38) at the very beginning of Paul's discussion of marital relations, and in general, of sex matters. 1 Cor 7:1b is currently interpreted by many as constituting a letter from the Corinthians to Paul, in which the charismatics of Corinth, particularly spiritually-minded women, considered sex relations as being beneath their standing as pneumatics. They thus told Paul: "it is good for a man not to touch a woman".

Elsewhere I have given reasons why καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι in the present context and in the present form syntactically cannot be the words of any supposed pneumatics, but must be Paul's own words<sup>241</sup>. In the present discussion I take that position for granted.

First, then, there is no explicit mention of any *engagement* between a Christian young man and a virgin, as some translations render vs. 36 ("the virgin he is engaged to")<sup>242</sup> and commentators assume ("his betrothed")<sup>243</sup>. Second, the current interpretation assumes that a Christian man was engaged to a virgin without having marriage in view<sup>244</sup>. This strange understanding would not only have been an insult to the young lady, but also to her family. And we know that such insults were not taken kindly to in antiquity or in later times (the honor and shame of the family!), but sometimes even led to acts of revenge. Third, the engaged man *has to be told* that if he decided to marry, he would not be committing a sin! Fourth, the virgin girl and her wishes are totally disregarded, the whole matter being simply up to the fiancé's whim. This is a caricature of the social standing and rights of women in ancient Greece, and the active part they took in the marriage decision<sup>245</sup>. Fifth, if the engaged man does not feel any (external)

<sup>241</sup> See CARAGOUNIS, "'Fornication' and 'Concession'?" in BIERINGER (ed.), *The Corinthian Correspondence* 543-59.

<sup>242</sup> E.g. *NIV*.

<sup>243</sup> E.g. THISELTON, *First Corinthians* 566.

<sup>244</sup> If there had existed any evidence of spiritual marriages for the time of the NT, then certainly Chrysostomos, who wrote a whole study to extol virginity (*De virginitate*), would not have failed to avail himself of it, in order to press his point.

<sup>245</sup> In archaic and classical Greece the recommended age for marriage for the man and woman respectively fluctuates from author to author (Hesiodos: 28 and 15; Solon: 35; Lykourgos: 36; Aristoteles: 37 and 18; and Platon: 30 and 20 [see *Politeia* 460e]). In spite of certain changes introduced since the archaic age as well as local variations,



compulsion to change his relation to the young woman, i.e. to marry her, he may go on keeping this strange and unnatural relation to her for the rest of his life. Sixth, this implies that the young woman is bound to him all her life and is not at liberty to marry another man, inasmuch as he is unwilling to go through with their marriage (as originally understood). This would have run counter not only to Greek common sense, but also to Paul's Jewish background, according to which divorce was instituted for the sake of the wronged woman, who then was free to marry someone else (Mt 19:7-9 and Dt 24:1-2). If a woman who had lost her husband was free to marry "in the Lord" (1 Cor 7:39), and presumably a Christian woman left by her husband was likewise free to do so (1 Cor 7:15), how much more would it have been considered reasonable and fair for a young woman, who had been let down by her fiancé, to want to and to be free to marry someone else.

The above arguments against the twin views, in addition to the criticism against them pointed out by commentators, make it imperative to look for another interpretation, one that is more consonant with Paul's words.

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the tradition was, in the main, constant. When the girl came of age, the father would invite those he considered potentially worthy bridegrooms. If the father-daughter relationship was amiable (which must have been the rule), the girl would be consulted as to her wishes. The chosen young man offered his ἔδνα to his future father-in-law, receiving the latter's gifts (μείλια). There followed the wedding feast (εἰλαπίνη), after which the bridegroom took his bride to his home (GARDIKAS has given a detailed, if all too positive, account particularly of the Homeric woman's place in society, 'Ἡ γυνὴ ἐν τῷ ἐλληνικῷ πολιτισμῷ, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 14 (1912) 387-492). In classical times, the choice of bridegroom was followed by the engagement (ἐγγύησις), a legal enactment, and the settlement of the dowry (φερνὴ or προίξ). This was to assist the new household and was also a means of averting divorce. The wedding, which lasted three days, consisted of three ceremonies: (a) τὰ προαύλια (with a sacrifice called προτέλεια) (Platon, *Laws* 774e; *Souda* Π 2865), when the bride had a kind of hen-party, bride and groom took a special bath, and offerings were made on the Akropolis, (b) the main wedding feast (θεῖνη γαμικὴ or γάμος [cf. γάμος in Mt 22:8-10]), including the taking of the wife to her husband's house, and (c) τὰ ἐπαύλια, the following day, when relatives and friends brought gifts to the newlyweds (see Hesychios, *Lexicon*, E 4259 and *Souda* E 1990). Once married, the wife took full responsibility in running the household: she was the queen of the household, making all the decisions with regard to finances, personnel, servants, etc. (Xenophon, *Oikonomikos*; also Ploutarchos, *Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα*). Now wedding conditions in Corinth must be considered in the light of Greek, not Jewish customs. Nor was the Roman presence of any particular consequence, because, first, such basic customs, rooted in a people's existence, do not change by the military or administrative presence of representatives of another people (many ancient customs still live on in Greece today despite the passage of two or three millenia and the foreigners that treaded Greek soil), and second, as history informs us, Greeks exerted greater influence on those who came in contact with them, than they underwent.

To lay down a few preliminaries, verses 36-38 are certainly a part of the discussion about virgins begun in vs. 25. But vv. 36-38 are a particular case. While vv. 25 ff. were concerned in a general way with the implications of remaining a virgin or marrying, and particularly with how this might affect one's service to God, vv. 36-38 take up the problem of incontinence for those who would have liked to remain virgins<sup>246</sup>.

The indefinite pronoun τις refers not to the father of a virgin girl, but to a Christian young man, one of the παρθένοι of vs. 25. The word παρθένος is applicable to both women and men, as becomes clear from a look at examples garnered from NT times to the present<sup>247</sup>. The infinitive ἀσχημονεῖν has its usual sexual connotations, which, as we saw, makes it impossible to apply it to any conceivable course of action on the part of a father toward his daughter, unless it is a question of incest – a matter that is out of the question here. The person addressed in vs. 36 is none other than a young person who experiences a frame of mind towards his own παρθένος that makes it difficult or impossible to continue in the state he (or she) would have rather chosen. The situation described here is analogous to that

<sup>246</sup> The phrase περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων (vs. 25) constitutes the strongest indication that the παρθένοι is a special class of persons (cf. the ἄγαμοι and χῆραι of vs. 8), recognized as such, and that hence there was a virgins guild in Corinth. This would be the strongest argument for seeing behind παρθένος of vs. 36 either a "spiritual wife" or a fiancée. But, alas, this understanding is totally shipwrecked on vs. 26, which shows that the παρθένων refers *not only to men but also to any man* (!) (cf. καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι. δέδεσσαι γυναῖκί, μὴ ζῇται λύσιν, etc.). In other words, the παρθένοι are not a particular group in Corinth, but any young unmarried member of the Church.

<sup>247</sup> By way of example, I offer the following evidence: Rev 14:4: οὗτοι ... μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, παρθένοι γὰρ εἰσιν; *Joseph et Aseneth* (? A.D. II) 9, 1: Καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωσήφ ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς καὶ σώφρων καὶ παρθένος; *Evangelium Bartholomei* (A.D. III) 2, 14. 5: σύ δὲ Ἰωάννη πάρθενε; Hesychios (A.D. V), *Lexicon* H 252: ἡίθεος· ὁ ἀκμάζων νεανίας ... ἄπειρος, ἄγαμος, παρθένος; Ioannes Malalas (A.D. V-VI), *Chronographia* 3, 12: καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀβελ παρθένος τε καὶ δίκαιος ὑπῆρχε (similarly Georgios Monachos, *Chronikon* 6, 11); John of Damaskos (A.D. VII-VIII), *Sacra parallela* 96, 144, 56: Μωσῆς γυναῖκα εἶχεν, καὶ τέκνα, Ἥλιος παρθένος ἦν, Theodoros Studites (A.D. VIII-IX), *Epistulae* 211, 20: ἀδελφός ... παρθένος, *idem, Iambi de variis argumentis* 111, 7: γυναῖκα μὴ γνοῦς, ἀλλὰ παρθένος μένων, Georgios Syncellos (A.D. VIII-IX), *Ekloge chronographike* 111, 19: Μελχισηδέκ ... παρθένος καὶ ἀγενεαλόγητος (so, too, Georgios Monachos, *Chronographia* 102, 4); Theophanes Confessor (A.D. VIII/X), *Chronographia* 223, 25: καὶ παρθένον, ὀνόματι Ἰωάννην; Georgios Monachos (A.D. IX), *Chronographia* 568, 4: ἔστι ... διάκονος τις παρθένος; Photios (A.D. X), *Lexicon* 397: παρὰ δὲ Γοργία παρθένος ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀμετόχου τέτακται; Emperor Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (A.D. X), *De virtutibus et vitiis* I. 122, 6: ὅτι ὁ Ἀβελ παρθένος καὶ δίκαιος ὑπῆρχεν; John of Damaskos, *Homilia in transfigurationem*, 96, 548, 27; *Etymologicum Magnum* (A.D. XII) 143, 31: ὁ παρθένος, ἡ παρθένος. So, too, in Neohellenic.

of the ἀγάμοις and χήραις of vv. 8-9, who were advised that, if they could not control themselves, they should marry, since “it is better to marry than to burn with passion”. This much is clear, and need not detain us.

Now with regard to statistics, the latest *TLG* version gives 8,215 instances of the word παρθένος in the singular in Greek literature from Homeros to mediaeval times<sup>248</sup>. In the inscriptions and the papyri it occurs in the singular 327 times (plus 15 instances in Coptic texts<sup>249</sup>). Having read all of these 8,542 passages, I have found that the term παρθένος is always used in the sense of ‘virgin’<sup>250</sup> mostly of women, but a sufficient number of times also of men. In pagan contexts the word occurs often of goddesses such as Athena or Artemis, and among Astrologers of the Zodiac *Virgo*. There are also a fair number of references to various young girls. Among Christian authors the word is used preponderately of the mother of Jesus, particularly in extolling her virginity. Moreover, many passages discuss the Isaiah prophecy (Isa 7:14), where also an attempt is made to controvert Jewish translators such as Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachos’ preference for the word νεάνις (‘young woman’). Further, there are also many instances of various virgins<sup>251</sup>. 1 Cor 7:36-38 figures very sparingly, but it is

<sup>248</sup> The instances are divided as follows: nominative 2,675 x; genitive 2,281 x; dative 897 x; accusative 2,060, and vocative 302 x. The etymology of παρθένος has proved insoluble, see FRISK, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.; ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, s.v., mentions various attempts at etymology, considering them all unconvincing. ΜΩΡΑΛΙΔΗΣ, “Ετυμολογικά και σημασιολογικά” in *Πλάτων* 26 (1974), 69-70, by means of Homeric and Euripidean texts, attempts to derive it from the verb πέρθω, πορθέω (‘to capture’, ‘to pillage’, ‘to destroy’) > passive participle: ἡ περθόμενη (cf. Homeros, *Ilias* IV. 291: ἀλούσα τε περθόμενη τε “taken and plundered”), which would give παρθένος = ἡ περθόμενη, ἡ λαμβανομένη ὡς λάφυρον νέα καὶ ἄγαμος κόρη “the young unmarried girl taken as spoils of war, the plundered one”. This etymology seems to be more probable than the ones previously suggested, but absolute certainty is at present impossible.

<sup>249</sup> By contrast, the word παρθενία in the singular occurs in the inscriptions and papyri 15 times, of which 5 times as a proper name.

<sup>250</sup> But see the exceptions in the discussion, below.

<sup>251</sup> For example, John of Damaskos (*Laudatio Sanctae Barbarae*, MPG 96: 801, 53) relates of Maximian’s order that the martyr Barbara should be exhibited naked to towns and villages, an exhibition that would have been most shameful to any virgin, especially one of Barbara’s caliber, whose body even the sun had not seen. In his eulogium, John alludes to the putting away of the old man with his passions as an undressing, an act that is usually connected with shame, but says the virgin, suffering this for the love of Christ, did not think she behaved unseemly (Τὸν γὰρ παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν, ὧν καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη αἰσχὺν ἐνυπάρχει τῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἡ παρθένος προεκδύσασα, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἀσημονεῖν ἐλογίζετο).

usually interpreted by Christian authors of a father and his virgin daughter<sup>252</sup>.

We have seen, however, that taking παρθένος in 1 Cor 7:36-38 in the sense of 'virgin', that is, a fiancée or a girl to whom one is engaged, meets with insuperable difficulties. The following suggestion is offered in the hope that it does solve the various problems by which scholarship has hitherto been baffled.

It is well-known that Greek is capable of substantivizing the adjective. For example, 1 Cor 1:27 τὰ μωρά τοῦ κόσμου stands for τοὺς μωροὺς τοῦ κόσμου. But as τὰ μωρά is still an adjective, the Greek mentally supplies a substantive, such as 'things' in order to complete the idea: 'the foolish things of the world', 'things' being in Greek more inclusive than the proper masculine form τοὺς μωρούς (which would have referred specifically to men), but it still refers to human beings (men, women, and children). How it is possible to glide from the concrete to the abstract is shown by Emperor Justinian (A.D. V-VI), who, trying to refute the Nestorians, expresses himself thus: Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀσεβὴς Νεστόριος λέγει· ἡ μακαρία παρθένος οὐκ ἐγέννησεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγέννησεν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα (i.e. "she did not give birth to the Son of God" [as a concrete individual], but to humanity" [i.e. to human nature])<sup>253</sup>.

Greek is also capable of using the neuter form of the adjective as an equivalent to an abstract substantive. An excellent example of this is 1 Cor 1:21-25. In vs. 21 the subject is ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ. This is contrasted to ἡ μωρία τοῦ κηρύγματος. In vs. 22 Greek wisdom comes in, according to which the preaching of Christ is μωρία. In vs. 25, however, Paul, instead of using the already contrasted words σοφία - μωρία, goes on to speak of τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ and τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ as being wiser and stronger than the wisdom and strength of men. It is obvious that τὸ μωρὸν and τὸ ἀσθενὲς are here used in place of the abstract substantives μωρία and ἀσθενεία. Moreover, in the above-mentioned search in Greek literature the articular adjective in the neuter τὸ παρθένον is found to occur in place of παρθενία. Thus Proklos (A.D. V), speaking of virtue, writes: εἰς δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς βλέπει πηγὴν καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνη τὸ παρθένον οὐ προΐησιν<sup>254</sup> ("She [Artemis] looks to the source of virtue and welcomes her virginity, for she does not give up / abandon her

<sup>252</sup> This result stands in spite of THISELTON's doubt, *First Corinthians* 595.

<sup>253</sup> Justinian, *Contra monophysitas* 38. 1.

<sup>254</sup> Proklos, *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria* 179. 13. Cf. also *Oracula Chaldaica* (A.D. II): Λαίης ἐν λαγόσιν Ἐκάτης ἀρετῆς πέλε πηγὴ, ἔνδον ὅλη μίμνουσα τὸ παρθένον οὐ προΐεῖσα ("At the left side of Hekate was a virtue-pouring spring, keeping it all within, not letting go her virginity").

virgin state" (= virginity)). Here Proklos uses once παρθενία and once τὸ παρθέον to refer to 'virginity'. In similar fashion, Georgios Kedrenos (A.D. XI-XII) says: ἀδύνατον εἶναι λέγων, ὅσον ἐπ' ἀνθρωπίνη φύσει, τὸ παρθέον τεκεῖν, in other words: "it is impossible for virginity (sc. the virgin nature), so far as human nature goes, to give birth"<sup>255</sup>. Here the intended idea in παρθενία, 'virginity', is made more concrete by being expressed as τὸ παρθέον in order to facilitate the use of the verb τίκεται, 'to give birth'. In a similar fashion, the *Lexicon Vindobonense* (A.D. XIV)<sup>256</sup> equates παρθενία with παρθένος, when it states: παρθενίας ἀρσενικὸν ὁ ἀπὸ παρθένου υἱὸς παρὰ τισι λέγεται ("some people call the son of a virgin a male [born] of virginity").

The above texts show that παρθένος may be used in such a way that it is not primarily the person virgin that is in focus, but rather his / her virginal state (i.e. παρθενία) and sometimes παρθενία may be used in such a way as to express not so much the state of virginity, but the concrete person of a παρθένος. The two terms are *not* interchangeable as such, but under certain conditions they *may stand for* one another.

In view of these considerations, it is easy to understand how Paul could afford to express himself somewhat loosely in using the term παρθένος, when by it he really intended παρθενία, sc. the virginal state of τις.

However, the most important evidence for this understanding comes from Epiphanius (A.D. IV) and the *Catenae (Novum Testamentum)* on First Corinthians (A.D. V). While opposing various encratite heresies<sup>257</sup> in his *Panarion*<sup>258</sup> for considering marriage unclean and sinful, Epiphanius alludes to our passage in the following way:

ὁ γοῦν ἀπόστολος ὁρῶν τὸ ἐπιζήμιον <τὸ> διὰ τῆς ἀκριβολογίας συμβαῖνον ἐπέτρεψε λέγων "εἰ δέ τις βούλεται <ἐκδοῦναι> τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθέον", καὶ οὐκ εἶπε "τὴν ἰδίαν παρθενίαν" οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς φυλάσσοντος παρθέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθέον τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα λέγει, οὐδὲν κωλύσει. φησὶν οὖν "<ὁς> ἔστηκεν ἐδραῖος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νῷ καὶ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ποιῆσαι, γαμεῖτω, φησὶν, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει. γαμεῖτω, ὃ δ' ἂν εὐποροίη, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει"<sup>259</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> Georgios Kedrenos, *Compendium historiarum* I. 328, 11.

<sup>256</sup> *Lexicon Vindobonense* (auctore Andrea Lopadiota) [Ed. A. NAUCK], Π 56, 1.

<sup>257</sup> Ἐγκρατιῶν τε καὶ Ταπεινῶν καὶ Καθαρῶν.

<sup>258</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, MPG II. 385, 25-386. 1.

<sup>259</sup> "For the Apostle, seeing the harm that would be caused by a strict observance, gave his permission, saying: 'if anyone wishes to give [in marriage] his ἑαυτοῦ virgin'. He did not say 'his ἰδίαν virgin' for he was not referring to the man's own body, but he spoke of a father keeping a virgin [daughter]; but if by his ἑαυτοῦ virgin he meant the man's own body, nothing would hinder this, for he says 'whoever stands fast in his own

Several observations are in order here. First, Epiphanius does not give a strict quotation of Paul's words, he probably cites the gist of them. Second, since he understands τις to refer to the father of the virgin girl, he adds the word ἐκδοῦναι – which is not found in Paul's text – to complete the idea of 'giving in marriage'. Third, he makes a distinction between ἐαυτοῦ – used in the text – and a hypothetical ἰδίου in order to show that by ἐαυτοῦ παρθένον Paul does not refer to the man's own body, but to someone's virgin daughter. Fourth – and now comes the crucial point – although he distinguishes between ἐαυτοῦ and ἰδίου to undergird his argument, Epiphanius nevertheless realizes and *admits that grammatically the phrase ἐαυτοῦ παρθένον could also have referred to the man's own body*, in other words, to the man's virgin state or virginity. Fifth, Epiphanius uses the singular γαμείτω rather than the plural γαμείτωσαν that is in our text. The singular refers entirely to the young man's course of action. Though marriage involves two persons, the woman is not in view here.

If Epiphanius' extant text represents what he wrote, then he has expressed himself inconsistently. To interpret τις and ἐαυτοῦ of a father is not in harmony with the singular γαμείτω, which cannot refer to anyone else than to a would-be bridegroom. The second alternative that Epiphanius presents, namely that ἐαυτοῦ παρθένον could refer to the bridegroom's own body (i.e. παρθενία), of course, offers a perfect solution of the problem. Indeed, this alternative finds an echo in Epiphanius' words a page earlier: ἐὰν νομίζῃ ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν παρθένον καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει ποιῆσαι, γαμείτω· οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, where it is the same person (τις) who behaves unseemly (ἀσχημονεῖν), towards his own (ἰδίαν!) virgin-body (i.e. παρθένον) and who is exhorted to marry (singular γαμείτω).

Here, finally, we have an understanding that meets all the conditions in our text. As far as I can see, this interpretation does not leave any textual difficulties. *That παρθένος can refer to the virginity of the young man*, i.e. to his own body, even Epiphanius, who espouses the father-daughter view, *assures us*.

What in Epiphanius is still implicit, namely that the word παρθένος is understood as referring to the young man's παρθενία, in the *Catena* (*Novum Testamentum*) becomes quite explicit. Here the word παρθένος actually has been exchanged for the word παρθενία. The text runs: Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτοῦ νομίζει, ἐὰν ἢ ὑπέρακμος, καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιῆτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· γαμείτωσαν. It is quite obvious that this scribe understands the problem of ἀσχημονεῖν to be strictly and wholly connected with the young man's own self-control

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mind and he must do that, let him marry, says he, he does not sin, let him marry whomsoever he can. he does not sin' ”.

(i.e. his παρθενία), and thus speaks of the young man's decision to marry in the singular (ὁ θέλει ποιήτω). However, the last point, the act of marrying, is not presented wholly from the man's standpoint (in which case he would have had the singular γαμείτω), but from the standpoint of both partners (hence the plural γαμείτωσαν). Grammatically, the text, as it stands, is unimpeachable, although the singular γαμείτω would have been more in harmony with the whole tenor of the passage as well as its details. Nevertheless, the crucial thing is not whether or not this scribe envisages the presence of a woman (who at all events is presupposed in every marriage), but the fact of his referring to the young man's παρθενία, toward which he behaves unseemly.

Thus, in Epiphanius' *Panarion* and the *Catenae on First Corinthians* we are offered insights that suggest that by ἐαυτοῦ παρθένον Paul could have referred to the young man's own virginity, which was a problem to him, and that Paul was telling him that if he could not control himself, he should marry.

The above evidence confirms the suspicion that I have had for many years with respect to this passage, and which finally led me to this investigation, namely, that by παρθένος, Paul probably referred not to a virgin, a fiancée, or a spiritual 'wife', but to the young man's own virginal state. Having established the possibility of understanding the word παρθένος of the παρθενία of the person referred to as τις, I will now proceed to treat the other details in this passage to test whether they fit the proposed interpretation.

The aggregate of thoughts that an author has decided to bring together, or the angle from which one has decided to approach an issue, is often responsible for the form which his discourse takes. Here it is evident that Paul did not wish to speak statically about the state of virginity. In that case he would have used the word παρθενία. His intention was rather to deal in a dynamic way with the question of remaining a virgin or *giving ... in marriage*. Now the expression "to give his virginity in marriage" would have sounded harsh and violent, since 'virginity' and 'being given in marriage' do not collocate naturally. Even though no one would have missed the intended meaning had Paul done so, the expression was simply too awkward. Paul, therefore, objectified virginity by turning it to 'virgin'. This should easily be understood as "if anyone thinks he is behaving unseemly towards his virgin [nature (φύσις)]" (i.e. his state as virgin, in other words, his virginity). And indeed, if the early Christian authors had not been obsessed by the view of the father-daughter situation, dictated by their inclination to celibacy, they might well have explored the suggested avenue.

If the above reasoning is correct, the clause εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει ought to be translated by “If anyone thinks he is behaving unseemly with regard to his virgin state (i.e. virginal nature, or simply, virginity)”. To “behave unseemly towards his virgin state” is a different way of saying the same thing as he said in vs. 9 with regard to the unmarried and widowers / widows: εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεῦνται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι. The ‘unmarried’ is, of course, a different class of persons from the ‘virgins’. Consequently, Paul is not here repeating vs. 9, but says something similar to what he there said to a different group of addressees<sup>260</sup>.

The term ὑέρακος – the first occurrence in Greek literature<sup>261</sup> – is a compound of ὑέρ and ἀκμή. Both the substantive ἀκμή and the verb ἀκμάζω are used of the prime of life, the time when a person has reached his or her full vigor, or the time when something is at its zenith or most critical point<sup>262</sup>. In Neohellenic both the verb and the substantive are often used of the *floruit* of various persons, particularly authors. Occasionally the terms are used also in a sexual capacity, as here<sup>263</sup>. What is then the meaning of

<sup>260</sup> The group referred to here consists of such as ἄγαμοι, ‘unmarried’ and widows. The first category must be distinguished from παρθένοι, inasmuch as an unmarried person need not be a virgin.

<sup>261</sup> This word is probably formed on the analogy of the verb ὑερακμάζω, which occurs in Myron (III B.C.) *apud* Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* XIV. 74: εἰ τινες ὑερακμάζοιεν τὴν οἰκετικὴν ἐπιφάνειαν (“if any surpassed the appearance of the servants”).

<sup>262</sup> Cf., e.g., Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 741: ἀκμή ἥβης (“the full vigor of youth”, i.e. when one is between 18-20 years old); Platon, *Politeia* 461a: Γυναῖκι μὲν, ... ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ εἰκοσιέτιδος μέχρι τετρακονταέτιδος τίκτειν τῇ πόλει· ἀνδρὶ δέ, ἐπειδὴν τὴν οὐζυτάτην δρόμου ἀκμὴν παρῇ, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου γεννᾶν τῇ πόλει μέχρι πεντεκαίπενηκονταέτους. Ἀμφοτέρων γούν... αὕτη ἀκμή σώματος τε καὶ φρονήσεως (“The woman, beginning at twenty, should give birth [to children] for the Polis until she becomes forty; and the man, when he arrives at his greatest vigor, should father [children] to the Polis till he becomes fifty-five. This is the highest point of both their physical and mental development”); Pindaros, *Pythian Odes* IV. 64: φοινικανθέμου ἥρος ἀκμή (“in the prime of rosy Spring”).

<sup>263</sup> Thus, Achilleus Tatios, *Leukippe and Kleitophon* I. 9, 6, 3, speaking of how a young man can win the love of a virgin at the heat of passion, says: τὸ δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐπέειγον εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι τίκτει πολλάκις ἀντέρωτα (“the urgency during the time when in nature’s way passion reaches its peak, and the consciousness of being loved often generates mutual love”). Basilios of Ancyra (A.D. IV), *De virginitate* 797, 28, warns virgins of the danger of being herded together with so-called ‘mystical eunuchs’, for, he urges, “If women inwardly disposed embrace other women in bed, while their passion (ἀκμή) is boiling within them ... how much more should the virgin keep away from men’s bodies – even when they are eunuchs” (Εἰ γὰρ θήλειαι θηλείαις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κοίτης ἐνδιαθέτως περιπλεκόμεναι, ζεούσης αὐτῶν ἐνδοθεν τῆς ἀκμῆς ... πόσῳ πλέον δεῖ τὰ ἄρρενα σώματα, κἂν εὐνόχων ἢ, τὴν παρθένον φυλάττεσθαι;). Finally, the philosopher Lycon (III B.C.),



the compound ὑπεραγκμος here? Epiphanius seems to give us the needed clue. Speaking of the fathers who were not able to find marriageable Christian men for their daughters, he says, they “kept their virgin daughters for a long time, but these *in the heat of their sexual urges* (ὑπεραγκμάζουσαι!) fell into harlotry on account of the natural compulsion on them”<sup>264</sup>. Irrespective of how Epiphanius interpreted the “virgin” of our passage, his understanding of ὑπεραγκμάζουσαι is of great value for our understanding of ὑπεραγκμος. The term denotes the peak of sexual urges in a young person’s life. In other words, the person in question has inclined towards adopting a celibate form of life, but though he has passed the time when he should have gotten some respite from his sexual urges, he finds that he is still disturbed by them. The word ὑπεραγκμος then refers to the young man’s own virginity, which he tried to preserve by abstention (note παρθένον αὐτοῦ, which makes no sense in the other interpretation). His sexual urges are far too strong for him<sup>265</sup>. Paul, therefore, advises that in this case he should marry (γαμέτω) – “since it is better to marry than to burn”! (vs. 9).

This last remark brings up the problem of whether Paul wrote the singular γαμέτω or the plural γαμέτωσαν. The *GNT* gives the plural form without offering the least information of any alternative. The *N-A* text also adopts the plural form, but in the text-critical apparatus they cite D\* F G 1505 pc d Vg<sup>st</sup> Syr<sup>p</sup> as having the variant γαμέτω. That this citation of the evidence is incomplete is obvious from the fact that it fails to cite, for example, Epiphanius, who, as we saw, contains that alternative. We do not precisely know which MSS have the plural form, but we may presume that that alternative is found in older witnesses.

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*Fragmenta* 27, 2 (*apud* Diogenes Laertius) bemoans the heavy burden of a father who, for lack of dowry, cannot give his daughter in marriage while she is in the prime of her age (βαρὺ γὰρ φορτίον πατρὶ κόρη διὰ σπάνιν προικὸς ἐκτρέχουσα τὸν ἀκμαῖον τῆς ἡλικίας καιρόν).

<sup>264</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion* II. 385, cited above.

<sup>265</sup> The opposite case is contemplated in which a virgin youth is steadfast in his own mind, considering that he does not need to marry, since he is in control of his will, i.e. of his emotional life. The expression μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην has sometimes been construed of an external compulsion on him put by, e.g., the Corinthian pneumatics. There is no reason, however, to resort to such far-fetched interpretations (as, e.g., FEE, *First Corinthians* 353, does), since the Greek expression, which occurs in Neohellenic as well, simply refers to one’s own inner compulsion. Thus, the saying οὐκ ἔχει ἀνάγκη in such a context simply means “he does not need [to marry]”, i.e. he does not feel within himself the need for this, since he can make it in life as a bachelor. Epiphanius, for whom the expression was natural, paraphrases it with διὰ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνάγκην (“on account of his natural need”).

As it becomes clear from the text-critical discussion in Chapter Eight, the old confidence in **N** and **B** has lately been shaken, and many of the text-critical axioms have been called into question. As an example, I may mention the thoroughgoing eclecticism of Kilpatrick and Elliott. They would be guided primarily not by the age and text-form of the MSS, but by internal considerations regarding which reading fits best the exigencies of the case. In Comfort and Barrett's edition,  $\Phi^{15}$  (A.D. III) reads  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ <sup>266</sup>. The last three letters have dots under them, a practice in papyrological publications to indicate that the text is unreadable, and hence uncertain. In this case, however, it appears that the space for the three letters is there, and hence the singular  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$  cannot be presupposed with any degree of certainty. Whether the singular  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$  was found that early in the textual tradition or not is impossible to say. The plural  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$  may have been influenced by the father-daughter or the later virgins-club interpretations. But, as we have seen, even if we accept the plural, it would not affect the interpretation of  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  as  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . On the other hand, the fact that the singular is attested in the MS tradition is a strengthening factor for the proposed interpretation, since it follows naturally from  $\theta\ \acute{\omicron}\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\chi\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\omega$ .

Finally, the causative  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$  (vs. 38), i.e. 'to give in marriage', is quite consonant with the view that it refers to the young man's giving his own  $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (virginal state, virginity) in marriage, i.e. 'giving himself in marriage', or simply 'marrying'<sup>267</sup>. It is thus unnecessary to resort to improbable interpretations to the effect that  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  also had an intransitive sense<sup>268</sup>.

<sup>266</sup> COMFORT-BARRETT, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts*, p. 97.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Apollonios Dyskolos, *De constructione* II. 400: ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν [ $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}$ ] γάμου μεταλαμβάνω, τὸ δὲ  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  γάμου πινὶ μεταδίδομι (' $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}$  means to partake of marriage [i.e. 'to marry'], while  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  to give [somebody] to someone in marriage').

<sup>268</sup> THISELTON, *First Corinthians* 597, appeals for the intransitive sense to LIETZMANN, *An die Korinther* 35-6; BLAß-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF, *Grammar*, and SCHRAGE, *Der erste Korintherbrief* II, 198. *BDAG* s.v.  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  also refers to LIETZMANN and BLAß-DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik*, § 101. LIETZMANN, *An die Korinther I-II*, 35 f. offers no evidence for the intransitive meaning of this verb; he only cites a number of other verbs that end in  $-\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ . BLAß-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF, *Grammatik*, § 101, 16 'prove' the meaning of 'zu Frau geben' in a circular way. They quote Mt 24:38:  $\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  ('marrying and being given in marriage') and then equate the latter verb with "=  $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  1 Kor 7, 38a.b"! SCHRAGE, *Erste Korintherbrief* II, 198, relies upon the intransitive meaning, which he thinks BLAß-DEBRUNNER has, among others, proved, for rejecting the father-daughter interpretation. THISELTON, *First Corinthians* 597, relies on SCHRAGE, who "finds intransitive uses in the LXX", i.e. Dt 25:3 and Ez 16:7. But neither Dt 25:3 nor Ez 16:7 has anything to do with  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ . There, SCHRAGE seeks to illustrate the 'intransitive' meaning of  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\eta\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}$ , but this is something entirely different from claiming that  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , too, has as intransitive sense.

In the light of the above evidence for the interpretation of this text, the passage ought to be translated as follows:

"If anyone thinks that he is behaving unseemly towards his virgin state, if his sexual urges are far too strong for him and there is no way out, let him do whatever he wants, he does not sin, let him marry. But he who stands firm in his mind and is not constrained by any necessity, but has power over his own will, and has decided in his heart, to keep his virginity intact, will do well. Therefore, both he who gives his virgin state (i.e. himself) in marriage does well, and he who does not give it in marriage will do [even] better".

## IX. Time and Aspect in the Ancient and Modern Phases of the Greek Language

The question of time and aspect in the Greek verb has recently attracted considerable attention. Within the New Testament area, the three major participants have been my old Australian friend of happy memories in Cambridge, Kenneth McKay, and the younger scholars, Stanley Porter and Buist Fanning. McKay's interest and work goes back to the 1960's<sup>269</sup>, though he produced his book on *Syntax* in 1994<sup>270</sup>. Porter and Fanning seem to have worked simultaneously, the first publishing his dissertation in 1989 and the second in 1990<sup>271</sup>. As the titles of all three works indicate<sup>272</sup>, there is a move from the earlier understanding that the verb expresses time as well as aspect, to the view that the verb expresses primarily or exclusively aspect. Of the above-mentioned three scholars, the one who holds the most radical view is Porter.

These views are put forward as new insights, never before utilized in the exegesis of the NT, to the extent of speaking of the "pre-verbal aspect" period. Such ponderous claims make it incumbent on me, both as a NT scholar with a keen historical and linguistic interest in Greek and as a user of the Greek language as my mother tongue, to critically examine the views

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<sup>269</sup> See, e.g., his "The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect down to the End of the Second Century AD", *BICS* 12 (1965), 1-21, and his grammar, MCKAY, *Greek Grammar for Students: A Concise Grammar of Classical Attic with Special Reference to Aspect in the Verb*, 1974.

<sup>270</sup> MCKAY, *A New Syntax of the Verb in the New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach*, 1994.

<sup>271</sup> Many others have joined in the debate, but these are the authors who have written most extensively with reference to the New Testament.

<sup>272</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood*, 1989; and FANNING, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek*, 1990.

advanced and the grounds on which they have been founded. At the same time, this affords me an excellent opportunity to exemplify the importance of taking account of the later Greek – in this case Neohellenic – evidence in order to solve central problems of the language. To this intent, I will concentrate on the work of Porter.

This book shows clearly how lack of Greek linguistic perspective (not linguistics) can lead to the propagation of quite untenable positions. Inasmuch as my concentration on Porter's work is made only with a view to showing the unsound results obtained when trying to analyze a part of the Greek language without reference to the whole, what is said of Porter's work applies also to the work of the other two scholars, insofar as they assume a similar stance and arrive at similar conclusions.

It is quite natural that speakers of English should be intrigued by a certain 'oddity' of the Greek language, whereby its verb expresses not only time, but also aspect<sup>273</sup>. It is also understandable that English-speaking scholars should take a great interest in the question of aspect. It is *per se* a very interesting linguistic phenomenon. For Greeks, on the other hand, it is commonplace; they use it all the time without being self-conscious about it. Consequently, they do not make a big issue of it. They know, of course, that it is there and that it is a basic ingredient of their language.

Aspect is not something that Greeks learn first at school; they learn it from their mother. From childhood they learn to distinguish, for example, the forms of the imperfect from those of the aorist, and small children do it quite clearly and correctly. At school they learn the terminology, the grammatical categories, the theory, etc., but the practice of aspect has been learned already from the very beginning, at the time when they began constructing their first sentences. Aspect is extremely important for Greeks, because it plays such a crucial role in their communication, in expressing the shades of meaning that they intend.

However, while a Greek would never deny or minimize the importance of Aspect, he would, at the same time, insist that the verb signals not only aspect, but also time, and that the two are equally pronounced. This has been recognized from the very first attempts that Greeks made in ancient times to reduce their language to grammatical analysis all the way to the present day. The evidence for this claim is overwhelming, but here I will content myself with mentioning a few grammarians from ancient and modern times.

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<sup>273</sup> English, too, is capable of expressing linear aspect by means of the auxiliary 'to be' + the present participle of the appropriate verb, but the aspect of Greek is a much more complex phenomenon.

1. The great Alexandrian grammarian, Dionysios Thrax (170-90 B.C.), distinguished three tenses (χρόνος, -οι): present (ἐνεστώς), past (παρελθούσως), and future (μέλλον)<sup>274</sup>. The past was subdivided into imperfect (παρατατικός < παρατείνω ['stretch', 'lengthen']), perfect (παράκειμενος < παράκειμαι ['to be at hand', 'to be present']), pluperfect (ὑπερσυντέλικος < ὑπέρ + συντελῶ ['an action completed in past time before another action which was also completed in past time']), and aorist (ἀόριστος < α + ὀρίζω ['not define']). Dionysios also relates the present with the imperfect, the perfect with the pluperfect, and the aorist with the future. Unfortunately the extant fragments of Dionysios' *Grammar* (c.11, 5 pages in *TLG*)<sup>275</sup> tell us nothing more about tense and aspect<sup>276</sup>.

Nevertheless, from what he does say, it becomes quite clear that Dionysios isolated two important categories: time and aspect. He did this, first, by calling the various tenses χρόνος, i.e. 'time', secondly, by dividing time into present, past, and future, and thirdly, by bringing together the imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist under the umbrella of past, as denoting past action<sup>277</sup>. His isolation and distinctions of aspect can be gathered from the fact that he calls one of the tenses παρατατικός, a designation that expresses the main characteristic of this tense, i.e. one of *duration*. Moreover, Dionysios connects the imperfect with the present, again underlying the *durative nature* of these tenses, and the aorist with future, whose chief characteristic is its *punctiliar aspect*<sup>278</sup>.

It must be said of this description that if "brevity is the soul of wit", Dionysios has succeeded in giving an essentially sound – though admittedly laconic – analysis of the main characteristics of the verb<sup>279</sup>. This analysis is not satisfactory to some modern students<sup>280</sup>, but it proved satisfactory (in its

<sup>274</sup> Dionysios Thrax built on the work of the Stoics, especially Chrysippos.

<sup>275</sup> Dionysios Thrax, *Ars Grammatica*, ed. G. UHLIG, *Grammatici Graeci*, Vol. 1. 1, Leipzig 1883. Here cited from the *TLG*.

<sup>276</sup> There are nine more pages of fragments preserved in different authors.

<sup>277</sup> The division of time as past, present, and future is recognized also by the strict critic of Attic diction, Phrynichos (A.D. II), *Ekloge* 11, who while allowing the use of ἄρτι ('just', 'just now') with the present and past (ἐπὶ ἐνεστώτος καὶ παρωχημένου: ἄρτι ἦκω καὶ ἄρτι ἀφικόμην), he forbids it with the future (ἐπὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος: ἄρτι ἦξω μηδέποτε εἴπηρ).

<sup>278</sup> Porter has failed to understand this and mistakenly contrasts Dionysios' teaching with that of the Stoics, cf. *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics*, p. 40 f.

<sup>279</sup> It must be emphasized that we do not have all that Dionysios wrote. Thus, he may have treated the moods and tenses at greater length.

<sup>280</sup> E.g. FANNING, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* 9, who needs no less than c. eighty pages to define aspect, and PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 18-20. PORTER's criticism of Dionysios about the supposed lack of aspect is unjustified. In his attempt to prove Dionysios wrong and to establish the correctness of his own analysis, PORTER has not

original form) to the Greek grammarians who followed Dionysios. Hence, there are no dissenting voices. The Romans adopted Dionysios' analysis, applying it to Latin, and through it Dionysios' grammatical terminology and understanding became the analytical tool for the various languages of Europe, and has been in force till this day.

That the Greek verb expresses both time and aspect has been the consistent understanding of the verb throughout the history of the Greek language, as is proved by the following modern grammarians:

2. In his impressive work, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, §§ 667-99 and §§ 1829-99, in which he traces morphological and syntactical developments, Jannaris makes it quite clear that the Greek verb throughout its history signals both aspect and time. The examples he quotes to illustrate this are drawn from all periods of Greek literature.

3. The great Hatzidakis, who, like Jannaris, has treated the entire history of the Greek language, although aware that the verb in its primitive stage did not express time<sup>281</sup>, recognizes that once the tenses were formed, they expressed both time and aspect, and that these are essential to the Greek verb<sup>282</sup>.

4. In his "Historical Grammar of Ancient Greek", Stamatakos, who thinks that the Indo-European mother tongue originally expressed aspect, rather than time, underlines that in historical times the Greek verb expressed both time and aspect<sup>283</sup>.

5. In his rightly acclaimed "Modern Greek Syntax", Tzartanos explains exemplarily the temporal and aspectual properties of the verb in Neohellenic, illustrating the various uses with an amplitude of examples<sup>284</sup>. It should be noted that Tzartanos has written also a "Syntax" of ancient Greek<sup>285</sup>. The two works evidence the continuity from classical Greek to Neohellenic in the understanding of time and aspect.

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made the necessary effort to understand what Dionysios says. Cf. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik*, Vol. II, 248 f., who interprets Dionysios correctly.

<sup>281</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Γενική Γλώσσική* (= *Ακαδημεικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα*, Vol. III), 325 f., here thinks of the expression of time, not merely as past, present, and future, but in its various complex psychological relations exemplified in the many standpoints the speaker takes and the time of different actions relative to his utterance. The primitive period of language is of no interest here, since the categories of tense came into being precisely in order to express time, and they have done it ever since.

<sup>282</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Ακαδημεικὰ Ἀναγνώσματα*, Vol. II, pp. 160-290.

<sup>283</sup> ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΥ, *Ιστορική Γραμματική τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλληνικῆς* (4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1990), 234 f.

<sup>284</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Σύνταξις* (τῆς Κοινῆς Δημοτικῆς), Vol. I, pp. 256-316.

<sup>285</sup> ΤΖΑΡΤΖΑΝΟΥ, *Συντακτικὸν τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, 1961, pp. 2000, pp. 89-106.

6. The most recent grammar of Neohellenic has been written by a member of the Academy of Athens, A. Tsopanakis<sup>286</sup>. In the introductory remarks of his treatment of the verb (pp. 318-502), he shows its two basic categories of time and aspect (see 318-63, esp. 360-63).

7. Finally, the current professor of Linguistics at the University of Athens, George Babiniotis, in his recent *Λεξικό της Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, (1998), which is abreast of modern linguistic theory, explains the verb system as expressing both time and aspect<sup>287</sup>.

The above is only a brief list of significant Greek grammarians, all of whom are agreed that the Greek verb expresses time as well as aspect, both with regard to the ancient and to the modern phases of the Greek language<sup>288</sup>.

Porter is one of those modern scholars who emphasize the preeminence of aspect over time, and perhaps the only one who goes so far as to claim that the Greek verb expresses aspect, but no time. His doctoral dissertation is a remarkable book in several ways. First, we must admire Porter's industry. Its 492 packed pages contain an extraordinary amount of detail. Second, Porter refers to an enormous amount of secondary literature, so the reader may be led to think that here he has a treasure trove of opinion and discussion. However the value of this is vitiated by the fact that Porter's reading betrays cursoriness and lack of the appropriate degree of meticulousness expected of such a work as well as a failure to understand and represent correctly those with whom he disagrees. Finally and more seriously, misinterpretations of Greek texts abound, which implies that the mistranslated texts do not supply the 'evidence' for which they are invoked. It appears, then, that the author, believing that he had discovered something new and momentous, plunged into his task without paying sufficient attention to the intractable evidence of the language, that is, the facts the contradicted his thesis. What I am referring to will soon become obvious.

Porter is aware that the ancient Greek grammarians do not support his views. He must, therefore, rid himself of this troublesome evidence. He starts by complaisantly citing Lyons' dictum, that "practical familiarity

<sup>286</sup> A. ΤΣΟΠΑΝΑΚΗ, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική* (1998).

<sup>287</sup> See, e.g., the definitions of the various tenses as well as the article under *rĥma*.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. also B. ΒΑΦΗ's fine study on the future perfect, "'Ο τετελεσμένος μέλλων, κτλ." in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 47 (1937), 3-27, who shows the continuity from its ancient to its modern use: 'Ο μέλλων γενικῶς σημαίνει πράξιν ἢ ἐνέργειαν μέλλουσας, ὅτι ἡ διάθεσις τοῦ ῥήματος θὰ λάβῃ ὑπόστασιν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ὅτι θὰ συμβῇ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, νοουμένων ἐξ ἀφετηρίας τοῦ λέγοντος (p. 3) ("The future generally indicates a future action or activity, that the *diathesis* of the verb will be fulfilled in the future, that it will transpire in the future, from the speaker's point of view").

with language tends to stand in the way of its objective examination"<sup>289</sup>. The implication here probably is that being a Greek, for example, would be a liability rather than an asset in understanding Greek aspect. In contradiction to this, but still in an effort to bolster up the adopted standpoint, he nevertheless goes on to say that " 'a purely epigraphic language' ... such as ancient Greek is made more difficult because *there are no native speakers to give opinions on the use of their language*, the corpus of available material is limited, a skewing of registers (*the oral level is completely missing*) results ..." (my emphasis)<sup>290</sup>. This statement, which would make Hatzidakis turn in his grave, makes it quite obvious that the author has no idea of the unity of the Greek language, nor of how the modern phase of it relates to the ancient phase<sup>291</sup>. What is worse, however, is that he does not even seem to be interested in investigating the question, evidently since familiarity with the language would, according to him, be a hindrance to its proper understanding anyhow<sup>292</sup>. Accordingly, he readily assumes that Greek is a " 'dead' language" "*with no possible resource to native speakers for verification*"<sup>293</sup> (my emphasis), and thus he conveniently formulates his task in such a way that his work will not be interfered with by the disturbing "use of language by a native speaker"<sup>294</sup>.

Porter thinks that his systemic linguistics frees him from all external controls. Thus, he is happy to state that "In systemic linguistics, with its emphasis upon meaning as choice within a given system network, the ability or lack of ability to translate a given linguistic item into another language, or even into a concise description in a meta-language, must be viewed with appropriate scepticism"<sup>295</sup>. This statement might easily be interpreted as a plea or justification for defective acquaintance with Greek, but it actually raises the much more crucial question: How can a language

<sup>289</sup> LYONS, *Language and Linguistics* 38.

<sup>290</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 4. See similar comments in *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics*, e.g. p. 42 n. 3.

<sup>291</sup> In fairness to PORTER, it must be said that this view is quite rife today, as shown in other parts of the present work, esp. Ch. Six.

<sup>292</sup> He seems to think that the theoretical analysis of the language need not be in harmony with its factual use by its speakers or the texts. Thus, he rejects the principle of the proof of the pudding, cf., for example, *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* 43: "I reject the notion that a grammatical analysis must have 'practical' or exegetical value to be valid or worth discussing". But if one frees one's theory from empirical verification, what checks are there to ensure that the theoretical analysis is not a pure fantasy without correspondence to the real language, and, moreover, what is the value of a theoretical analysis which contradicts or is contradicted by the real language?

<sup>293</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 7.

<sup>294</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 9.

<sup>295</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 16.



be described if it is not understood?<sup>296</sup> And why, in this case, the earlier special pleading that “there are no native speakers to give opinions on the use of their language”, if such opinions are not in the least necessary to begin with?

As indicated above, on pp. 18-22 our author is unfair to the ancient grammarians<sup>297</sup>, while on p. 24 he misunderstands what Jannaris is doing. Thus, he undertakes (1) to criticize Jannaris (*Historical Grammar*, § 1836) for having used certain conditional sentences as examples, without being able to show why conditional sentences should not be used in the way Jannaris applies them. For as a matter of fact, these examples function in precisely the way in which Jannaris uses them. (2) He chides Jannaris (*Historical Grammar*, § 1852) for exemplifying the gnomic aorist with an example that is “a conditional statement” (i.e. Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* II. 9, without quoting the text), which actually turns out to be a *temporal* statement! – but even if this were a “conditional statement”, how would it disprove Jannaris’ point? (3) Unaware of the development of Greek, he makes bold to criticize Jannaris (*Historical Grammar*) for stating that “the Perfect stands for the Aorist”<sup>298</sup>. This is both a misquotation and misrepresentation. What Jannaris actually says (*Historical Grammar*, § 1870) is that “On the other hand the perfect sometimes stands for the aorist, even in A” (= Attic). Jannaris – quite correctly – quotes two relevant examples from Thoudydides I. 21 and Demosthenes, *Peri Halonnesou* 29. This mixing together of the perfect with the aorist is well-documented. As a matter of fact, in Chapters Three and Four, above, I have quoted a large number of examples from later times, where the perfect is used instead of the aorist. (4) Moreover, he fails to give the nuanced wording of Jannaris (*Historical Grammar*, § 1881) when he demurs at what Jannaris says about the future. Finally, (5) the way in which Jannaris’ treatment of the problem is referred to and discussed by Porter seems to imply a casual or inadequate acquaintance with Jannaris’ book.

On pp. 26 f., evidently unaware of the fact that since the time of Homeros, and even earlier, to the present, there has never been a day when

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<sup>296</sup> PORTER’s statement is made from the standpoint of General Linguistics, which looks mainly for general linguistic laws or patterns, applicable to all languages, and which can make statements also about unknown languages. But such a general approach will not do in this case, where we are concerned strictly with a concrete language (Greek), and furthermore with a concrete literary work (the New Testament), where empirical knowledge is a *sine qua non*.

<sup>297</sup> Quite differently P.-H. MATTHEWS, “Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι γραμματικοί”, in *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας*, ed. A. F. CHRISTIDIS (2001), pp. 895-900.

<sup>298</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 24.

the Greeks have not expressed aspect, Porter κομίζει γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας<sup>299</sup>, when he writes: "Most credit for making grammarians aware of the issue of verbal kind of action goes to Curtius, who was the first to attempt a reconciliation of comparative linguistics and Greek philology"<sup>300</sup>. He seems to believe that before Curtius, Greeks had no idea of aspect!<sup>301</sup> The critical question, of course, is, If the Greeks were not aware of aspect, how come their writings are full of aspect distinctions? And why did they have two past tenses, imperfect and aorist, if they were not conscious of the aspect difference between them? And why did they have a tense for present time (the present) and tenses for past time (imperfect, aorist), if their verbs did not express time? But if the Greeks were aware of aspect, then neither Curtius nor Porter is the first to 'discover' it. What is, however, more astonishing, is that Porter, with reference to Thumb's work on modern Greek<sup>302</sup>, can criticize Jacobsohn: "If he had examined modern Greek, however, he would have seen that aspect has grown in importance (especially in its connection with morphological categories), while *Aktionsart* is still a matter of lexis"<sup>303</sup>. One wonders, here, why Porter did not examine modern Greek himself, for, if he had done so, he would have been saved the embarrassment of adopting a position that is simply *falsch*. This time, because he read in Thumb of a point in Neohellenic, which he thought supported his position of the importance of aspect, he readily availed himself of the Neohellenic evidence. However, he is not interested in the other half of the evidence that Neohellenic supplies, namely, that the verb expresses also time! But if he really has learned that the importance of aspect has grown in Neohellenic, how can he write: "*there are no native speakers to give opinions on the use of their language*", a statement made precisely in connection with aspect and time? And how can Greek be characterized as a "dead language", if this fine nuance among innumerable other grammatical points – lexical, morphological, structural and syntactical – is not only still alive,

<sup>299</sup> The phrase means "to carry owls to Athens", i.e. which was full of owls – used of someone who brings an old, well-known and worn-off idea as though it were a new discovery. The English equivalent is "bringing coals to Newcastle".

<sup>300</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 26-9. FANNING, *Verbal Aspect*, e.g. 10-5, is just as euphoric about CURTIUS' 'discovery'.

<sup>301</sup> See also *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* (ed. PORTER-CARSON) 36, where he chides FANNING for admitting that the nineteenth century grammarians were actually discussing aspect, and speaks of "the pre-verbal aspect literature" and of "grammarians before the advent of verbal-aspect"! (p. 37 n. 4). The same mistaken view, though softer, is taken by FANNING, *Verbal Aspect* 10-12.

<sup>302</sup> THUMB, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* 151-78 (i.e. ET of *Handbuch* etc.).

<sup>303</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 36.

but actually "has grown in importance"? It is obvious that our author is not in harmony with such information about Neohellenic, obtained from non-Greek scholars, who, nevertheless, have become aware of the interesting evidence it supplies. This impression is strengthened by Porter's failure<sup>304</sup> to take account of Schwyzer's information that "das Gefühl für die Verschiedenheit der beiden Systeme [i.e. time and aspect] vom Altertum bis zum heutigen Tag lebendig geblieben ist"<sup>305</sup>.

Believing that Schwyzer supports his views on aspect, Porter draws attention to Schwyzer's discussion to the effect that, in Porter's formulation, "all three tense categories in Greek are essentially aspectual"<sup>306</sup>, but Schwyzer's evaluation is taken out of context. Schwyzer is thinking here of the early Indo-European stage, for a few lines further down, where he speaks of historic times, he actually says: "So hat, wie gewöhnlich in den indogermanischen Sprachen, auch im Griechischen vom Beginn der Überlieferung an die Kategorie Tempus Boden gewonnen"<sup>307</sup>. But this is tacitly omitted.

J. Humbert is one of those authors whom Porter discusses with some appreciation (cf. p. 50: "... Humbert's ... grammar provides a firm basis for future study"). It is, therefore, interesting to consider the basic assumption at the outset of this work. Porter writes: "Humbert begins with the assertion that it is difficult to render the Greek tenses since the Greeks had a different psychological view than does modern man"<sup>308</sup>. This extraordinary judgment, attributed by Porter to Humbert, must imply one of two things: either Humbert is unaware of the fact that the Neohellenic phase has the same aspect system as the ancient phase of the Greek language, or else he must think that modern Greeks have a different psychological view than modern man! One other author, who is similarly appreciated by Porter, is McKay, who denies time value to the future tense, considering it as a fourth aspect<sup>309</sup>. On bases such as these Porter would like to erect future work on the Greek verb. On the other hand, in pp. 62-3 he is critical of Mandilaras' work on the illiterate papyri, because this author finds that both time and aspect are in force in the Papyri.

It is evident that Porter cannot accept any other point of view than his own, and woe to him who dares claim that the Greek verb expresses time as

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<sup>304</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 38.

<sup>305</sup> SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* II, 262.

<sup>306</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 37.

<sup>307</sup> SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* II, 254.

<sup>308</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 47.

<sup>309</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 50. Perhaps McKay is unaware that Neohellenic has developed two different forms of the future in order to express its two kinds of aspect.

well as aspect. Thus, he concludes that almost all of the major New Testament grammars “are out of touch with current linguistic thought but, more than that, apparently with the Greek language itself”<sup>310</sup>. The unreasonableness of the last claim becomes especially apparent from the fact that it implies that the Greeks, too, must be out of touch with the Greek language, inasmuch as they believe that the Greek verb expresses time as well as aspect! That Porter does mean that becomes evident from what he says a little further down: “Grammarians since have been fooled on more than one occasion ... but perhaps the Greeks themselves were fooled”<sup>311</sup>.

Such statements with respect to the natural speakers of a language raises an important question of principle. A language has a group of speakers. By a “group” I mean the total number of those who speak a particular language as their *mother* tongue. A language has no existence outside the group that speaks it<sup>312</sup>. It is their means of communication with one another. The use of the language by the totality of its members (speakers), must, of necessity, represent all the uses (meaning-units) that the language is capable of. That is, the wealth of the language in forms, constructions, meanings, etc., must be in correspondence to the things that the group in its totality has expressed, or has ‘meant’ at different times. Theoretically it is possible that the potential of a language might include more possibilities, but if these hypothetical possibilities have never been realized or ‘meant’ in actual communication by anyone in the group, they are no part of the language<sup>313</sup>. This means that the language can never ‘mean’ anything that anyone within the totality of its speakers has never ‘meant’ at some particular point of time. Nothing that has never been ‘meant’ by any of its speakers can be said to have objective existence in a language. This applies to all languages without distinction. In our case, it implies that the Greek language can never ‘mean’ anything that Greeks have never ‘meant’ by and through it.

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<sup>310</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 65.

<sup>311</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 81. One may rightly wonder – if PORTER’s position were correct, namely, that the Greeks, too, mistakenly thought that they expressed time through their verbs – do not their texts, therefore, express the time they intended whether they were right or wrong? Moreover, what other final court of appeal than the natural speakers of a language is there to settle an issue such as this? Can a modern theory falsify the witness of the natural users of a language?

<sup>312</sup> This is particularly emphasized in modern linguistics, whose primary target is the living language (rather than written documents), regarding language as a speech occurrence.

<sup>313</sup> In the case of an ancient language, the issue is complicated by the fact that we do not have all the evidence of what was spoken and written in ancient times. However, precisely this ought to make it all the more necessary to avail ourselves of the evidence of Neohellenic.

Thus, we must lay down that, if a non-Greek claims to have found a use in the language which no member of the group has ever used or 'meant', that 'use' is no valid part of the Greek language. Conversely, if the Greeks claim that when they use their verbs they intend, 'mean', and express both time and aspect, a non-Greek has no justification for claiming that the Greek verb expresses only aspect.

Now it is an indisputable fact that the continuity between ancient Greek and Neohellenic is such, that the two constitute, not two different languages, but two phases of one and the same language<sup>314</sup>. As amply documented in the present volume, the basic language system is still intact. In particular, the understanding of the verb as expressing both time and aspect is the same ever since the time of Homeros. Greeks of all periods – and that goes for the educated and the uneducated<sup>315</sup> – have made a clear distinction with regard to aspect between the imperfect and the aorist indicative, with regard to time between the present indicative and the imperfect and aorist indicative, and with regard to time and aspect between the present indicative and the aorist indicative.

The construct that Porter, and less drastically Fanning and McKay, have created runs counter to the *Gefühl* of the Greek people and their use of the Greek language throughout its history. We may, therefore, conclude, when a non-Greek scholar claims to find things in the Greek verb that have never been 'meant' by natural speakers of Greek, these things are no part of the Greek language, and we must therefore, bid him *χαίρετω*!

But Porter claims that he understands Greek better than the Greeks and charges the grammarians and the Greeks with having been "fooled". Here our author has fallen into the same logical fallacy as the logician of Königsberg. As is well-known, Kant claimed that he understood some of Platon's writings (e.g. the Platonic doctrine of Ideas) better than did Platon himself<sup>316</sup>. Hirsch pointed out that in saying this Kant had made a logical blunder. What he should have said, instead, was that he understood (if he really did) some of the implications of Platon's doctrine of Ideas better than Platon, but not that he understood better than Platon what Platon 'meant'<sup>317</sup>. Now, this is precisely the problem here. When Greeks tell Porter that in their use of the verb they intend, 'mean', and express both time and aspect,

<sup>314</sup> This claim has been signally demonstrated by the rich material cited in this book, in the works of other Greek scholars, and by the opinions given by non-Greek scholars, who have studied Neohellenic.

<sup>315</sup> Cf. the example given in Chapter Two, 11, above, of the old Greek lady, who without a formal education, could distinguish the aspect of the aorist (1 Jn 2:1: ἀμαρτήτε, ἀμαρτή) from that of the present (1 Jn 3:9: ποιεῖ, ἀμαρτάνειν).

<sup>316</sup> I. KANT, *Critique of Pure Reason* (tr. N. K. SMITH), B, 310.

<sup>317</sup> HIRSCH, *Validity in Interpretation* 19-23.

Porter replies: "No, you do not know. You express only aspect, because according to my linguistic construct, the Greek verb does not express time, but only aspect!"

When the discussion has sunk to such a level, it has already gone too far, and it is time to stop. I will now illustrate by means of a few examples how the Greek language fares in Porter's hands.

Porter's misunderstanding of Jannaris' examples has been noted, above. Here I will take up a few other examples. *Φ Magd* 12. 8 (218 B.C.): οὐδένα λόγον ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλὰ ἐγβεβλήκασιν με ἐκ τῶν κλήρων is translated as "they took no account, but cast me out by casting lots"<sup>18</sup>. Surely, ἐκ τῶν κλήρων does not mean "by casting lots", but "out of the lots (i.e. tenures)", i.e. "they took no account, but they (nonetheless) cast me out of the lots (tenures)"<sup>19</sup>. His explanation (p. 62, note 29) of the use of the perfect (ἐγβεβλήκασιν) along with aorist (ἐποίησαντο) as "the Aorist ... simply stating a simple fact, and the Perfect ... stressing the state the speaker found himself in" as explaining "the use of the tense forms" together is simply wishful thinking in the interests of his theory. This is a typical example of the mixing of the perfect with the aorist, so well-documented in Hellenistic and later times.

*Φ Petri* III. 42 H1 (according to: Porter: *P. Petri* II. 11 [1]. 4-5): εἰ ἂν γὰρ σὺ παραγένηι, πέπεισμαι ῥαδίως με τῷ βασιλεῖ συσταθῆσθαι is translated as "for if you give support, I am convinced that I will easily engage the king in battle". This text, too, has been misunderstood. If Porter had at least taken the trouble to read the whole papyrus, he might have discovered that the writer is no general or king intending "to engage" another "king in battle", but a poor boy writing to his father, asking him to come to him, and saying "for if *you come* (to me), I am convinced that I shall easily *be introduced* (i.e. recommended) to the king"!

On p. 82 Porter mistranslates Platon, *Politeia* 329d: διήγησις οὓσα τυγχάνει ἡ γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἢ μελλόντων "it is a narration of the things that have come about, that are and *are intended*" instead of "*are to come / will come*". His intent to remove every vestige of futurity from the future and instead interpret it as signifying "expectation" and "intention" is responsible for this misrendering. His eagerness to prove the thesis, that the future does not express future time, leads him to treat reference and meaning less carefully than desired. Believing that he has found his sought-after intention meaning rather than future meaning for the future tense in what he mistakenly refers to as Platon, *Parmenides* 141d-e, he quotes the text: πάσχω τε καὶ πέπονθα καὶ πείσομαι and translates: "I am suffering and I

<sup>18</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 62.

<sup>19</sup> His misinterpretation is also reflected in footnote 29.

have suffered and I intend to suffer". Actually the text comes from Euripides, *Troades* 467-8. If our author had read the context in Euripides' work, he should have discovered that he had not quoted the amount of text necessary for a correct translation, and that he had missed Euripides' point. The text is: ἐατέ μ' ... κείσθαι πεσοῦσαν· πτωμάτων γὰρ ἄξια πάσχω τε καὶ πέπονθα καὶ πείσομαι. Far from expressing intention (which is what Porter needs for his thesis), this text expresses the hopelessness of Hekabe, the queen of King Priamos of Troy, on account of her captivity. Having fallen down (line 465: πεσοῦσαν) she tells the friendly throng "let me lie fallen (on the ground); the things that I suffer and have suffered and *will yet suffer* are only fit for corpses (i.e. those that lie down (fallen) on the ground)"<sup>320</sup>. Rev 1:8: ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος is rendered by "the one who is and who was and who is coming" (i.e. present time).

Unaware that he has misunderstood the meaning of and mistranslated the above texts, Porter claims with regard to the last three examples: "It is noteworthy that in none of these examples are the Aorist, Present and Future tenses used of past, present, and future time as some would expect. Instead, the Perfect and Present are each used for past reference, and the Present is used for future reference"<sup>321</sup>.

The above was a critique of Porter's Introduction and first chapter, in which he tried to prove previous scholars wrong in order to establish his own theory. It was shown that Porter often fails to represent his opponents correctly, considers all scholars to have misunderstood the nature of Greek including both ancient and modern Greeks, and seems to regard himself as the only one who really knows what the verb expresses<sup>322</sup>. Further, he often misunderstands and mistranslates the ancient authors.

<sup>320</sup> See also ΒΕΡΝΑΡΔΑΚΙ, *Λεξικὸν ἐρμηνευτικόν*, Vol. II, 862.

<sup>321</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 82, n. 5. This claim leaves me dumbfounded. I have already pointed out the problems with the classical texts. With regard to Rev 1:8, is not ἦν imperfect and expressing past time? ὁ ἐρχόμενος expresses future time not because it is a present participle, but because future time is natural to this verb, cf. ὑπάγω, etc.

<sup>322</sup> In *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* 41 f., where he criticizes J. D. G. DUNN's commentary on *Romans*, he says with regard to 3:23: πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον and 5:12: πάντες ἥμαρτον: "Had the writer, Paul, chosen another tense-form ... for example the imperfect or present, the event he refers to would not have changed in and of itself but the aspectual semantics grammaticalized by the choice of another tense-form would have indicated a change in the writer's perspective". According to PORTER, then, πάντες ἥμαρτανον (impf.) is not substantially different from πάντες ἥμαρτον (although the former could not have referred to those who would sin in the future)! And what of the future tense? Would not πάντες ἁμαρτήσουσιν refer only to those who would sin in the future, but not to those who had already sinned in the past? Not only this, but even the aorist πάντες ἥμαρτον, occurring in a different context, might refer to a particular number of persons living in a particular locality at a particular time, rather than the entire

I will now take up a few of his translations and interpretations of NT texts to show that this material, too, has not fared any better in his hands.

On pp. 75 ff. Porter quotes a few NT texts, mistranslates some, and then uses them to prove his theory. For example, Mk 11:27: καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα is rendered as “and they were coming again into J.” In Greek no linearity is perceived; it is simply a historic present: “And they came again to J.” Jn 17:14: ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν αὐτούς should not be translated “the world is going to hate them”. John presents it as being a fact already (cf., e.g., Jn 15:18 ff.), though it is true that this process, which has already begun, will continue and be accentuated in the future<sup>323</sup>. The force of the gnomic aorist in Eph 5:29: οὐδεὶς ... τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν is somewhat weakened in Porter’s translation: “no one ever hates ...” Formally it may be so rendered; however, “no one has ever hated his own flesh” corresponds closer to the original intention, and it is still gnomic<sup>324</sup>. Greek, too, was capable of expressing it in the present: οὐδεὶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα μισεῖ – if this was really what the author wanted to say.

On p. 78 Porter rightly objects to Rijksbaron, Moorhouse, *et al.* with regard to Lk 16:4: οἶδα (ἐγνων) referring to past time, although he does not take account of the special force of the verb itself. In English it corresponds to “I (’ve) got it!”

On p. 79, on Jas 5:2-3, Porter recognizes that the reference of σέσηπεν, γέγονεν, κατῴται is future, but fails to understand the reason for this<sup>325</sup>.

In pp. 316-19 our author confuses the aorist (and perfect) in the apodosis of certain conditions with the present, as a result of which his translations are inaccurate in more than one respect. Here I will comment on his translations of the tenses. He translates both present and aorist alike. For example, he renders Mt 18:15: ἐάν σου ἀκούσῃ, ἐκέρδῃσας τὸν ἀδελφόν σου with “if he hears you, *you gain* your brother”. This is really to miss the force of the aorist. We may ask: Why did the author not use the present? Is there any difference between present and aorist? But cf. also his translation of Mk 3:24: καὶ ἐάν βασιλεία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἢ βασιλεία ἐκεῖνη with “if a kingdom might be divided upon itself, that *kingdom is not able* to stand”. I ask: What is the difference between ἐκέρδ-

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humanity as it does in Paul’s context. It is then not merely the subjective perspective of the writer, but the referents that are affected by the change of tense-form.

<sup>323</sup> But if, in spite of this, the main weight is placed on the future, then it is the special use of the perfect treated in the present Chapter, 4, above. In either case it is not susceptible to PORTER’s interpretation.

<sup>324</sup> See PORTER’s uncertainty in *Verbal Aspect*, p. 78.

<sup>325</sup> This use has been discussed at length in CARAGOUNIS, “Kingdom of God, Son of Man, and Jesus’ Self-Understanding”, *TB*, 40 (1989) 3-23 and 40.2 (1989) 223-38, and is treated in still greater detail in the present Chapter, section 4.



ησας and οὐ δύνανται? In Porter's understanding and translation: None. But for Greeks there is a big difference. I have discussed this special use of the aorist (and perfect) at length already in 1989<sup>326</sup>, and again in greater detail in the present Chapter, section 4, above.

On p. 164 Porter translates Mk 3:22: ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια with "in the power of the demons he casts out demons". As is well-known, ἄρχων does not mean "power", but "Prince", "Leader". He must have mistaken ἄρχων for ἀρχή ('power'). On p. 378 Mt 10:39-40: ὁ εὐρὼν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὐρήσει αὐτήν. Ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με is translated: "the one who *finds* his soul will lose it, and the one who *loses* his soul on account of me will find it. The one who receives you receives me, and the one who receives me receives the one who sent me"<sup>327</sup>. No difference is made between the aorist and the present participles in Porter's translation. But more strange is his comment that "the perpetrator of a negative act is described using the aorist, and the perpetrator of a positive act with the present"! In astonishment we may ask, using his own terminology: Is not καὶ ὁ ἀπολέσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εὐρήσει αὐτήν a positive act? And is not ὁ ἀπολέσας aorist?

On p. 389 Act 15:38, according to which, Paul "demanded (or insisted) that they should not take with them the one who had deserted them ..." (ἡξίου τὸν ἀποστάντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ... μὴ συμπαραλαμβάνειν) is translated by Porter: "was thinking not to take him", again a strange translation. That this is not simply a question of a mere *thought* on Paul's part, but of a *demand* or *insistence*, is proved beyond any doubt by the quarrel that ensued between Paul and Barnabas. In the same page, Act 21:12: παρεκαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι τοῦ μὴ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτόν is translated as "we and *those with us* were beseeching him not to go". Surely, ἐντόπιοι does not mean "those with us", but the "local people", "the people who lived in that place". On p. 370 Mt 18:25: μὴ ἔχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν ὁ κύριος πρᾶτθῃν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει, καὶ ἀποδοθῆναι is rendered by "When he did not have by which to pay back, the master *ordered him to sell both his wife and children and all that he had*, and to be repayed"! This is a hair-raising translation. Since when has the passive aorist infinitive πρᾶτθῃν come to assume the active sense, "to sell"? This is nothing other than playing havoc with

<sup>326</sup> CARAGOUNIS, *TB* 40 (1989), 3-23, esp. 20-23 and 40.2 (1989) 223-38, esp. 226-28.

<sup>327</sup> Ψυχὴ, of course, normally means 'soul', but here, as in a number of other contexts, it stands for 'life'.

tense and voice! The correct translation, of course, is: "his master ordered that he and his wife and his children ... be sold, and that payment be made".

Finally, on p. 399, Phlm 21: πεποιθὼς τῇ ὑπακοῇ σου ἔγραψά σοι is rendered by "being persuaded of your *reputation* I write to you"! Again I must ask: Since when has the word ὑπακοή taken on the sense of "reputation"?

Perhaps I might here include a few more non-biblical examples from the rest of his book. On p. 288 Isokrates, *Panathenaikos* 233: ἀλλ' εὐθύς παρεκέκληντο μὲν οὕς εἶπον is translated "but immediately they called those I mentioned". The correct rendering is: "But immediately those I had mentioned were summoned". On p. 292, Demosthenes, *Kata Philippon I*, 42 (6): καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὕς ἂν ὁρῶσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρὴ receives the translation: "all want to *fight with* and *have regard for* those whom they see *preparing* and wanting to accomplish what is necessary". Several points are in order. Here συμμαχεῖν does not mean "to fight with", but 'to become an ally'. Προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν is a phrase meaning 'to be attentive', and the passive perfect participle παρεσκευασμένους does not mean "preparing", but 'prepared' or 'ready'. The correct translation is: "All want to *become allies of* and *to pay attention to* those whom they see *prepared* and *in a mind to do all that is necessary*". Finally, of *ᾠ* Oxy 1760, 10-11, he quotes on p. 406: πέ[μ]ψεις οὖν ἡμεῖν ἐπιστόλιον and, without noticing the anorthographous ἡμεῖν, he translates: "send to us the letter". The whole sentence reads: πέ[μ]ψεις οὖν ἡμεῖν ἐπιστόλιον πρὸς αὐτόν ἵνα ... τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβὼν τὸν χόρτον ἡμεῖν παραδῷ. A more correct translation would be: "Therefore, you *shall send* to us *a letter* addressed to him, so that having received the price (money), he may deliver the fodder (grass) to us"<sup>328</sup>.

At this point a matter of principle needs to be raised. The advocates of 'aspect only' have a tendency to choose as their Greek examples on which to base their theory either the secondary moods (imperative, subjunctive, optative along with the infinitive and the participle) or a few odd or special cases of the indicative. The first is Fanning's procedure, the second Por-

<sup>328</sup> I must here register my surprise that no one of the participants of the symposium volume *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics*, who treated PORTER's and FANNING's works – D. A. CARSON, D. D. SCHMIDT and M. SILVA – despite critical comments, noted any of the misquotations, mistranslations and misunderstandings that I have pointed out in PORTER's book, which are the mainstay of his theory. This raises the question: How critical are the adherents of "verbal-aspect"?

ter's<sup>329</sup>. This is a fatal methodological error that leads to a distorted picture of tense and aspect. The starting point must be the indicative, not, however, the indicative of odd, special cases<sup>330</sup>, but the ordinary indicative that represents the great majority of verbal occurrences<sup>331</sup>. This is the direct mood, the mood of fact and reality, the mood of the main sentence, and the mood most frequently-occurring. To test this I counted the various verbal forms used in one chapter in a variety of NT books. My results are as follows:

Ref.	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	Optative	Infinitive	Participle
Mt 5	81	18	36	0	12	21
Mk 1	86	10	3	0	11	47
Jn 1	140	8	8	0	5	35
Act 17	63	0	1	4	17	44
Rm 1	43	0	2	0	12	19
Total	413	36	50	4	57	166

The proper timeless moods (imp., subj., and opt.) have together 90 exx. in these chapters, whereas the indicative has 413 exx. Even if we reckon among the non-indicatives the infinitive and the participle, we get 313 exx. in all. It is thus quite obvious that the indicative is the mood that is most usual in Greek speech (in this case in the NT), and this must be the point of departure. We must begin from what is the usual, not what is unusual, special, etc. We cannot, therefore, disregard the 413 exx. of the indicative and try to establish a theory on the basis of the 90 exx. of the non-indicative moods, as Fanning does, or the special uses of the indicative, which is Porter's procedure.

Finally, I will proceed to a brief but critical discussion of the second chapter (pp. 75-109), in which Porter gives us his "Systemic Analysis of Greek Verbal Aspect". This is based on fifteen NT texts: five texts in the present, five texts in the aorist and five texts in the perfect<sup>332</sup>. The texts he has chosen are mainly special cases with most of them being gnomic present, aorist, and perfect. It appears that Porter is unwilling to face the ques-

<sup>329</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 75, n. 1, points out that he starts with the indicative.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. FANNING in PORTER-CARSON (ed.), *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* 59: "[PORTER] has missed the pattern evidenced by the vast body of usage in New Testament Greek in favor of a few anomalous instances".

<sup>331</sup> Even FANNING calls PORTER's method "too simplistic" and says "A theory of Greek present and aorist which centers its evidence on things like historical presents, gnomic aorists and dramatic aorists has the wrong end of the stick" in PORTER-CARSON (ed.), *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* 58.

<sup>332</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 75-6.

tion squarely and start, as he should, with the ordinary indicative of these tenses.

Since three of the present indicative texts (Mt 7:19 πᾶν δένδρον ἐκκόπεται, 2 Cor 9:7: ἰλαρὸν δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Θεός, and Mt 26:18 πρὸς σέ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα) are used of “omnipresent” (i.e. what is normally called ‘gnomic’), “timeless” (also ‘gnomic’) and “future” action respectively, he concludes that the present does not express present time! This means that “Greek does not grammaticalize present reference in the Present”<sup>333</sup>. He uses a similar syllogism with respect to the aorist and the perfect<sup>334</sup>. In the case of the perfect, he cites οἶδα, which, as is well-known, has (along with a few other verbs), perfect form but present meaning, and is, therefore, a special case. Of the other perfect examples which he cites, one is gnomic (2 Pt 2:19), while Jas 5:2-3 belongs to the special category I have discussed in the present chapter under section 4, above. The fifth text, Act 10:45, which is an ordinary perfect indicative with its ordinary perfect sense, is precisely the kind of indicative that Porter should have used to work out his thesis. But since this indicative does not support his thesis, it is disregarded.

This is Porter’s evidence. On the basis of this ‘evidence’, which he explains in an *eigensinnig* manner (texts, which are capable of other and better explanations), he arrives at the untenable conclusion that the Greek verb expresses no time – a conclusion that flies in the face of seventeen million Greeks, who daily use the verb to express time! And it is on the basis of these texts that he decides that the Greek verb expresses only aspect.

On p. 88 Porter gives his definition of aspect: “Greek verbal aspect is a synthetic semantic category (realized in the forms of verbs) used of meaningful oppositions in a network of tense systems to grammaticalize the author’s reasoned subjective choice of conception of a process”. Now it must be asked: How enlightening is this definition? What is the reader supposed to understand by this abstract, abstruse, and obscure ‘explanation of aspect’? Has scientific clarity and comprehensibility sank to recondite non-sense talk, that tries to impress by bombastic linguistic ponderosities?<sup>335</sup>

Porter concedes, however, that the Greek verb expresses relative time. But since even this kind of time does not have any place in his system, he must somehow explain it away. He does it by having recourse to Lyons’ definition of “Deixis”: Deixis is “the location and identification of persons,

<sup>333</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 77-8.

<sup>334</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 78-9.

<sup>335</sup> The three viewpoints that he finds in his BBC helicopter example (p. 91) are certainly not the process in which the Greek mind works in each of the envisaged situations, nor is his assertion (p. 92) that the aorist backgrounds an action, while the present and imperfect foreground it, generally true.

objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically, of a single speaker and at least one addressee<sup>336</sup>. The temporal deixis, which concerns us here, is signaled in three ways: (a) by "lexical items" (here he cites the temporal *vūn*), (b) the following words: "ἄρτι, ἤδη, πάλιν, ὥς, τότε, πάντως, ἔως, μέχρι, ὅταν, πρίν, etc.", and (c) "anaphorical words, especially near and remote demonstratives, the article and pronoun"<sup>337</sup>.

Porter does not really exemplify with concrete examples from the NT how these adverbs, etc. determine the time of the verb, and one is left wondering<sup>338</sup> what all this fuss is about, for, as a matter of fact, in the great majority of cases in actual speech and writing, these 'temporal' words are absent, and yet, in spite of their absence, the present does refer to the present and the imperfect and aorist to the past! The time reference seems to reside in the tense forms themselves.

Laboring under the uneasy feeling that his explanations and arguments with regard to time may fail to convince, he undertakes to pose and answer a hypothetical opponent's question: "if tense forms are non-temporal in reference why does the Aorist refer to the past in the great majority of uses, and the Present to the present?" This is a good question, which is so obvious that it cannot be bypassed. Porter, who has no convincing answer to this, undertakes a complicated explanation, which partly constitutes special pleading and partly a rather obscure formulation that confuses rather than illuminates the issue<sup>339</sup>. His answer, emerging under four points<sup>340</sup>, is essentially that we must not follow the explanation that accounts for the great majority of cases, i.e. that which is the usual or the normal (i.e. the indicative), but instead, the few exceptions, the special uses, which represent (ac-

<sup>336</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 99, referring to LYON's *Semantics* 637, etc.

<sup>337</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 101. It is difficult to see how all these adverbs, etc. are used to mark the time of the various verb forms, since PORTER has not been able to produce any examples.

<sup>338</sup> Curiously, PORTER cites Mt 3:1, claiming that ἐκείναις establishes which days "are specified", i.e. it is this phrase that marks the present as referring to the past. Here, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις shows that the present παραγίνεται marks the present as historic. However, since the same phrase could have been used with the aorist (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παρεγένετο), it shows that the temporal dative does not mark the time of the tense but merely specifies the *when* of the action. Without the dative phrase we would know (in the case of the aorist) that a past event was intended, but not when in the past it had taken place. The falsity of PORTER's reasoning here is seen from the fact that without the temporal phrase, the present παραγίνεται ὁ Ἰωάννης, depending on the context, might refer either to past (historic present) or present time.

<sup>339</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 75, n. 1, points out that he starts with the indicative.

<sup>340</sup> PORTER, *Verbal Aspect* 103.

cording to him) more than one type of usage. By this he refers to gnomic and other special uses, which, as a matter of fact, are excellently explained within the parameters which the normal uses provide.

It is not necessary to refer to more pages in Porter's work. It is in the pages discussed above that he tries to demolish the historical understanding that the Greek verb expresses time as well as aspect, and to establish his own view, that the verb expresses solely aspect<sup>341</sup>.

Hopefully the present discussion has shown that Porter's application to the NT of the analytical tool that he constructed has led to demonstrably mistaken results. These results are contradicted by the evidence from all the phases of the Greek language, by Greek grammarians, and by the *Gefühl* of the native speakers of Greek. Further it was shown that not seldom his treatment suffers from a failure to quote, to understand, to translate, and to represent correctly both ancient texts (including NT texts) and modern grammarians. Finally, it became evident that our author lacks the insight into and feeling for the Greek language necessary for investigating the fine shades of aspect and the reasons which induced the Greek writers to make their "subjective choices".

Porter uses various insights from modern linguistics in order to construct a system. Not only through other studies, but also throughout his own book it becomes evident that the linguistic teachings abroad today are multifarious, and because the discipline, or shall I say the disciplines – since there are many different systems or approaches – are still in a state of fermentation, development, and constant modification. Perhaps linguistics – which admittedly has given some interesting insights to the study of language – is not yet ready to supply the definitive model for explaining the Greek verb, one that can supercede the classical model. Disregarding the negative or intractable evidence and toning down the difficulties, Porter picks up whatever elements he thinks serve his purpose, and constructs his "systemic analysis" approach. This means that modern linguistics as such does not lead inexorably or necessarily to his conclusions. *Modern linguistic theory as such does not deny that the verb expresses both time and aspect*<sup>342</sup>. Porter's is just one mix of a number of disparate linguistic insights, which is applied by him in a peculiar manner on Greek texts, an application that, as we saw, is marred by basic methodological weaknesses as well as

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<sup>341</sup> PORTER's one-sidedness is discountenanced even by FANNING: "[Porter] has been misled by trying to formulate a theory which brooks absolutely no exceptions" in PORTER-CARSON (ed.), *Biblical Greek Language and Linguistics* 59.

<sup>342</sup> See, e.g., TSANGALIDIS, *Will and Tha: A Comparative Study of the Category of Future*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press 1999, e.g. 9-68, which treats time, aspect, and modality.

serious inadequacies in the treatment of Greek texts. We must therefore, distinguish modern linguistic theory (-ies) from Porter's construct.

To conclude, the above discussion has hopefully demonstrated once more the importance of Neohellenic in solving problems relating to the ancient phase of the Greek language. Sometimes Neohellenic casts light on developments, on changes that took place between the classical times and our own day, changes that help us locate the NT more accurately in this long process of evolution. This has been demonstrated repeatedly in Chapters Three, Four, and Five. But sometimes the significance of Neohellenic lies in its continuity with the ancient phase. The fact that it has kept intact ancient usages, constructions or other basic grammatical meanings – as in the present case – is of extreme importance in guiding us to sound judgments and keeping us from error.

In the present discussion I concentrated on Porter's work – which, admittedly involved an immense labor on his part – but this was not personal to point him out, but only because it offered an excellent example illustrating what kind of problems we face when we do not take a holistic approach to the study of Greek. My intention, therefore, was to illustrate what kind of mistaken conclusions we may arrive at, if we do not take the unity of the Greek language seriously, and if we fail to interpret its phenomena within its own historical evolution. The discussion has demonstrated signally the first half of the dictum of Hatzidakis<sup>343</sup>, that "*Ancient Greek is in many ways supplemented and better understood by Modern Greek* (and Modern Greek is clarified and understood by means of Ancient Greek)"<sup>344</sup>.

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<sup>343</sup> ΧΑΤΖΙΔΑΚΙ, *Γλωσσολογικαὶ Ἑρευναι*, Vol. 1, p. 488. See also Στ. ΔΕΙΝΑΚΙ, "Γλωσσικά", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 38 (1926), 67.

<sup>344</sup> The above discussion forces on me the following reflection on the question of scientific research and the Greek language. We are all aware of the great pressure on doctoral candidates to produce something new. But is novelty in and of itself sufficient? Has science given up its traditional search for Truth and been reduced to sensational writing? Surely, if the study of Greek and of the New Testament, in particular, is to be advanced, the primary emphasis must be on Truth – factual truth – rather than mere novelty.

### PART THREE

## Pronunciation, Communication, and Textual Transmission





## CHAPTER SIX

# The Historical Greek Pronunciation and the Dichotomy of the Language<sup>1</sup>

### I. The Problem

In his / her study of the Greek language, the student of the New Testament (or of classical Greek) is told that he or she is learning to pronounce Greek, not in the fashion in which *Modern Greek* or *Neohellenic* is pronounced, but in the fashion in which the ancient Greeks used to pronounce their language. The “Modern Greek pronunciation” is described as a late development, whereas the pronunciation that they are taught to use is presented as the genuine pronunciation of ancient times. A dichotomy is thus created between the ancient and modern ‘pronunciations’ of Greek, and the student is often given the impression that his or her pronunciation of Greek would be identical or almost identical with the way the great objects of their study – Paul, Luke, John – pronounced it, and to all intents and purposes identical or very similar to the way Greeks such as Sokrates, Platon, Aristoteles, and Demosthenes sounded it in V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> century Athens. This pronunciation is presented as *the scientific pronunciation* of Greek in contradistinction to the so-called *Modern Greek pronunciation*, which is considered to be a departure from it.

The above situation has inevitably led to certain widespread but inaccurate views with regard to the pronunciation of both Ancient and Modern Greek as well as to the relation between Neohellenic and the Greek of the New Testament<sup>2</sup>. The problematic situation that has ensued may be conveniently

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on my study “The Error of Erasmus and Un-Greek Pronunciations of Greek”, published in *FN VIII* (1995), 151-184. It has also been published in Greek in *Ἑλληστία* 66 (2003). The present revision has almost doubled the original material.

<sup>2</sup> This whole problematic, which constitutes the heart of the present volume, has already been elucidated by the earlier chapters of the present investigation.

illustrated by quoting three scholars, who should be left unnamed. One of them thought that what he called the “Modern Greek pronunciation” was the pronunciation that the Greeks applied to the *Dhimotiki* or Demotic<sup>3</sup>. The truth is that pronunciation is related to the letters, not to the form of words or the syntax. Another teacher of classical Greek thought that the Greeks had changed the pronunciation of certain letters, as for example, they pronounced “p” as “f” and cited as an instance the word *epta*, (= ‘seven’), which he thought Modern Greeks pronounced as *efta*<sup>4</sup>. As a matter of fact, in Modern Greek the word for ‘seven’ occurs in two forms: as *ἐπτά* (*epta*) and as *ἑφτά* (*efta*), and each of them is pronounced according to its particular spelling. Finally, a New Testament Professor thought that the relation of Neohellenic to the Greek of the New Testament was approximately that of Swedish or Norwegian to the Runic! The truth is that there is no truth in this statement.

It does not appear to be generally known what factors and circumstances led to this so-called “scientific” pronunciation of Greek. Those scholars who have worked with the very complex and technical evidence bearing on Greek pronunciation are today extremely few. The subject demands not only a thorough knowledge of Greek (preferably in all its periods), an in-depth acquaintance with the inscriptions and the papyri, which bear witness to the spelling in ancient times, a good grasp of the historical developments in ancient times with regard to the change of alphabet (the reasons for the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet and its consequent accommodations as well as with the spelling ratification under Eucleides (403-402 B.C.) and its consequences, but, what is not least, also a mastery of the Greek rules regarding *phonology* (the study of the evolution of sounds) and even

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<sup>3</sup> Note that, as has already become clear from the previous discussions, Neohellenic or Modern Greek has another form, the *Katharevousa*, or the ‘literary’ (and till 1975 official) Modern Greek, which has its roots in the Atticistic revival, though since 1975 most literature is written in *Dhimotiki* (= Demotic).

<sup>4</sup> The very same mistake along with a mispronunciation of two other words ascribed to Greeks occurs in no less a scholar than W. F. HOWARD, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Accidence and Word-Formation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1928, rp. 1979) 45: “φθάνω is in *MGr* *ftáno*, αἰσθάνομαι is *estánome* ... ἐπτά = *eftá*”, and other inaccuracies about Modern Greek. Such inexactitudes about Modern Greek abound in F. BLAß, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buch-Handlung, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1870, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1882, and 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1888), e.g., 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 83 (= 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 97), 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 103, while his ignorance of Modern Greek phonology is seen throughout his book (cf., e.g., the 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 132 ff.). BLAß introduced, or at least contributed to, the inaccurate notion about Modern Greek rife in the scholarly community ever since.

*phonopathy* (the pathology of sounds under various grammatical conditions for reasons of euphony, avoidance of hiatus, etc.). Finally, there is need for practical experience and feeling for the natural pronunciation, which is a *sine qua non* in understanding experientially the phonological laws that led to sound changes, the reasons for the gliding of kin sounds, and other phenomena as, e.g., the disappearance of skewing letters.

## II. The Error of Erasmus

From the introduction of Greek learning to the West in the XIII/XIV<sup>th</sup> century until early XVI<sup>th</sup> century, Greek was universally pronounced in the manner in which Greeks pronounce it today. In 1528, however, the humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, who for a time happened to live in Leuven, in the Low Countries, composed a dialogue in Latin between a bear and a lion<sup>5</sup>, in which he set forth a novel way of pronouncing Greek, which has since come to be called the “Erasmian pronunciation of Greek”, or “Etacism”, and to be regarded by its proponents as *the scientific pronunciation of Greek*. The incentive to write this book came from a practical joke that was played on Erasmus by the Swiss scholar Henricus (Loritus of Glarus, hence) Glareanus. Glareanus, who had arrived from Paris, met Erasmus, who, being “inordinately fond of novelties and credulous” (“plus satis rerum novarum studiosum, ac mirè credulum”), was eager to learn what was the latest news in the City of Lights; he told him that certain Greek scholars of stupendous erudition (“viros ad miraculum doctos”) had arrived in Paris who pronounced Greek in a different fashion than the one received in Europe, and proceeded to give him an account of the new pronunciation. Now there was a verisimilitude in the new suggestions inasmuch as the Greeks gave to several letters the sound of ‘I’. Moreover, Latin transliterated e.g. the η of the second syllable of ἐκκλησία with *e* (i.e. *ecclesia*) rather than with *i* (i.e. *ekklisia*.), as the η is pronounced by the Greeks<sup>6</sup>.

In writing this dialogue Erasmus was motivated by an obvious interest in

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<sup>5</sup> Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus*, Basiliae: Frobenius 1528.

<sup>6</sup> Speculations along similar lines had been made earlier by the Spaniard Antonio de Lebrixa, the Venice printer Aldus Manutius, and the Italian Girolamo (Hieronymus) Aleander. On Erasmus' scholarship see J. Gennadios' evaluation at the end of this chapter.

factual truth, and he initiated his novel pronunciation in the belief that it was actually used by Greeks. Not wishing to be anticipated, he immediately composed his *Dialogus*. Later, however, he found out the trick played on him, so he desisted from using the pronunciation he had concocted, abiding by the received pronunciation (and enjoined his closest friends to do the same), as did also his opponent Johannes Reuchlin and the latter's nephew Philip Melanchthon as well as Martin Luther. But the "news" spread like wildfire, and after centuries of struggle with the traditional pronunciation, Erasmus' error finally succeeded in ousting the Greek pronunciation of Greek and in establishing itself in all countries outside Greece (apart from a few exceptions)<sup>7</sup>.

This Erasmian pronunciation claims to represent a united system of

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<sup>7</sup> The story of the fraud (*fraude*) to which Erasmus fell victim is related in an account dated 27<sup>th</sup> October 1569, and cited in one of the fervent supporters of Erasmianism, in GERARDI IOANNIS VOSSII, *Aristarchus, sive de arte Grammatica libri septem* etc., (Amstelædami: I. Blaeu 1635, Editio secunda 1662) 106 f. My thanks are hereby due to de heer Martin Engels, Conservator of the Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland at Leeuwarden, Netherlands, who kindly sent me photocopies of the relevant pages of this book. The text runs as follows: "Ac Erasmus quidem quâ occasione ad scribendum de rectâ pronunciatione fuerit impulsus, paucis cognitum arbitror. Itaque visum hâc de adjicere, quod in schedâ quadam habeo, scriptâ olim manu Henrici Coracopetræi, viri egregiè docti, doctisque perfamiliaris. Ea ita habet: 'Audiui M. Rutgerum Reschium, professorem Linguae Græcæ in Collegio Buslidiano apud Lovanienses, meum piæ memoriæ præceptorem, narrantem, se habitâsse in Liliensi pædagogio unâ cum Erasmo, plus minus biennio eo superius, se inferius cubiculum obtinente: Henricum autem Glareanum Parisiis Lovanium venisse, atque ab Erasmo in collegium vocatum fuisse ad prandium: quò cùm venisset, quid novi adferret interrogatum, dixisse (quod in itinere commentus erat, quòd sciret Erasmum plus satis rerum novarum studiosum, ac mirè credulum) quosdam in Græciâ natos Lutetiam venisse, viros ad miraculum doctos; qui longè aliam Græci sermonis pronunciationem usurparent, quàm quæ vulgò in hisce partibus recepta esset. Eos nempe sonare pro B vita, BETA: pro H ita, ETA: pro α æ, AI: pro OI I, OI: & sic in cæteris. Quo audito, Erasmum paullò post conscripsisse Dialogum de rectâ Latini Græcique sermonis pronunciatione, ut videretur hujus rei ipse inventor, & obtulisse Petro Alostensi, typographo, imprimendum: qui cùm, fortè aliis occupatus, renueret; aut certè se tam citò excudere, quàm ipse volebat, non posse diceret; misisse libellum Basileam ad Frobenium, a quo mox impressus in lucem prodiit. Verùm Erasmum, cognitâ fraude, nunquam eâ pronunciandi ratione postea usum; nec amicis, quibuscum familiariter vivebat, ut eam observarent, præcepisse. In ejus rei fidem exhibuit M. Rutgerus ipsius Erasmi manuscriptam in gratiam Damiani à Goes Hispani pronunciationis formulam (cujus exemplar adhuc apud me est) in nullo diversam ab eâ, quâ passim docti & indocti in hac linguâ utuntur'. Henricus Coracopetræus Cuccensis. Neomagi. CI ♀ I ♀ LXIX. pridie Simonis & Iudæ."

pronunciation, but this is so only theoretically; in actual practice Greek is pronounced in conformity to German, English, French and so on, according to the mother tongue of the speaker<sup>8</sup> (hence in our international New Testament conferences we often become conscious of the problem of pronouncing Greek in so many different ways and sometimes are not quite able to make out which Greek word the speaker is trying to pronounce) – although a Finnish New Testament scholar once assured me that *his* pronunciation of Greek was identical with that of Sokrates and Platon!

This state of affairs, naturally, deprives *the Erasmian pronunciation* of the right to being called scientific, hence the so-called *scientific pronunciation of Greek* is – to paraphrase Hirsch's phrase<sup>9</sup> – nothing but *a chaotic democracy of un-Greek pronunciations of Greek*, each conceived according to what is deemed natural in the speaker's own tongue.

### III. The Historical Circumstances for the Establishment of the Erasmian Pronunciation and the Reasons for Its Preservation

One may wonder, how was the practical joke on Erasmus possible? Why could not the proponents of the new pronunciation check this novelty with the Greeks? Why did the Greeks not protest? What is the explanation for the rise and success of this novelty in pronouncing Greek?

There is a historical circumstance, which, as far as I can see, has not been taken into account. Following the move by Constantine of the Roman Empire's capital from Rome to Byzantion (which was now given the name *Konstantinoupolis*), the Roman Empire of New Testament times gradually was transformed into a new Greek Empire, the Byzantine Empire. This Byzantine Empire had a life span of some 1100 years till the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1453, when Constantinople was finally taken by the Turks. Although many Greek scholars, at the advance of the Mohammedans, took their libraries and moved to

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<sup>8</sup> This holds true also of the theorists. Cf., for example, the precepts of German theorists (e.g. F. BLAB, E. SCHWYZER) with those of American and British theorists (e.g. E. H. STURTEVANT and W. S. ALLEN).

<sup>9</sup> E. HIRSCH, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1967) 5. HIRSCH here argues against those who claim the validity of their own individual interpretation of an author, quite apart from what the author actually meant with his text.

Italy, helping initiate the Renaissance<sup>10</sup>, there was now no longer a Greek State which could watch over the fate of the Greek language and its pronunciation.

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<sup>10</sup> Of the Greeks, who brought the Greek letters – and hence the historical pronunciation of Greek – to the West both before and after the fall of Byzantium (Constantinople), the following specimen may be given: The Hesychian monk *Barlaam* the Calabrian (1290-1348) having studied at Constantinople University (founded in A.D. 1045) was one of the first Greeks to spread the knowledge of Greek in Italy. Among his pupils were Petrarch and possibly Boccaccio; *Leontios Pilatos* became professor of Greek at Florence University in 1360. His translation of Homeros was used by Petrarch and Boccaccio in their educational reforms; *Manuel Chrysoloras* was professor of Greek at Florence University (1396-1399); he lectured also in Pavia, Milan, and Rome; *Georgios Gemistos Plethon* (1360-1452), an observer at the Synod of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), lectured during that period to the learned of Italy on Platon, and the latter's superiority to Aristoteles, introducing his audience to the differences between the two philosophers. The impression he made upon the learned of Italy was such as to lead the Medici to found the Platonic Academy of Florence (1459); Archbishop *Bessarion* founded, with the help of Pope Nicolas V, an Academy for Greek philosophy in Rome; *Ioannes Argyropoulos* was professor of Greek at Florence 1456-1470, where one of his pupils was Politian; he was invited by Hungarian king Matthias I Corvinus to introduce Greek learning in Hungary; *Demetrios Chalkokondylis* (1423-1511) taught in Padua, then in Florence for 16 years, as well as in Milan at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, at whose court at this time resided also Leonardo de Vinci and Bramante; *Constantinos Laskaris* taught Greek in Milan as well as at the monastery of San Salvatore (1468-1501), where he succeeded another Greek, *Andronikos Galesiotis*; *Andronikos Kallistos* taught in Padua, Bologna, Rome, Florence (1471-1475), and presumably in London, where he died; *Georgios Hermonymos* was the first Greek to teach at the Sorbonne: among his pupils were German Joh. Reuchlin, Venetian Ermolao Barbaro, Dutchman Desiderius Erasmus, and Frenchman Guillaume Budé; *Janos Lascaris* (1445-1535) became Librarian of Florence, then succeeded D. Chalkokondylis as professor. At his recommendation Pope Leo X founded the Greek Gymnasium of Rome in 1514; *Markos Mousourios* together with Italian Aldus Manutius published Greek classics in Venice; he taught in Padua: among his pupils were Frenchman Germain de Brie, German Johan Konon, Desiderius Erasmus, French Ambassador Jean de Pin, Hungarian humanist Janus Vertessy, and Galenius of Prague. He was the first to publish the complete works of Platon; together with Battista Egnazzio he founded the famous Marcian Library of Venice; *Franciscus Portos* (1511-1581) taught in Venice and Geneva; *Aimilios Portos* (1550-1610), son of the former, taught in Geneva, Lausanne, Heidelberg, and other German cities; *Leon Allatios* (1586-1669) was Vatican librarian and edited many Fathers and other writers, such as Chrysostomos and Photios. Κ. ΣΑΘΑΣ' *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αυτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐθνεγερσίας* (1453-1821), 'Εν Ἀθήναις, 1868, contains many hundreds of brief biographies (usually with their works) of Greek scholars active between the Fall of Byzantium (1453) and the Greek Revolution (1821). See also SANDYS, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II, 59-80.

The Greeks were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Turks, a struggle that went on for more than 200 years after the fall of Constantinople. Naturally, then, not only did they lack the means of resisting the new pronunciation, but they were, for the most part, unaware of what was going on in central Europe.

The fall of the Byzantine Empire was understood to imply the end of Greek history and existence, and the various nations of Western Europe, not unnaturally, considered themselves to be the legitimate heirs to the legacy of Hellas, especially since they had already been the beneficiaries of her cultural heritage twice: first through Rome and more recently through the revival of Greek letters by Greek scholars active in the West. On their side, the Western Europeans, having preached their funeral sermon over Greece, now felt free to dispose of her legacy as seemed fit to them<sup>11</sup>.

The advent of the Greeks in Italy had marked the beginning of the new "Western School" of classical studies, which, following the death of its founders, passed on into non-Greek hands. The (historical) grammarian A. Jannaris<sup>12</sup> puts the matter pertinently when he says: "The first act of this school, still in its infancy, was to do away with the traditional pronunciation – which reflects perhaps the least changed part of the language – and then to declare Greek a dead tongue".

Greek was now divided into two broad periods: ancient and modern. Henceforth, European scholars concentrated their research interests on the classical literature<sup>13</sup>, but because of their religious interest in the New

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<sup>11</sup> It is in the light of this situation that the removal of the Greek literary and artistic treasures to the West must be understood. The example was set by the Greeks themselves, who, in the belief that they were saving the national literature from falling into the hands of the Turks, moved thousands of MSS to Italy. This was followed by the more systematic work of various 'travelers' to Greece in search of classical treasures. In the main three methods were employed to acquire the desired objects: (a) simply taking the objects quietly, (b) throwing a few florins into the lap of the Turks to get their 'permission' (the most notorious example being Elgin's removal of the Parthenon frieze, which called forth Lord Byron's poem, "The Curse of Minerva". In *Λόρδος Έλγιν*, Γεννάδιος gives a detailed and well-documented account of Elgin's sacrilege and of the activities of other hunters of antiquities in Hellas), and (c) the use of force, as in the case of the removal of the Aphrodite of Melos by the French army (see *MEE* Vol. VI, 358 for a narration of what happened).

<sup>12</sup> To whom, among others, I am greatly indebted in this study; see his *An Historical Greek Grammar Chiefly of the Attic Dialect as Written and Spoken from Classical Antiquity Down to the Present Time* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1897) Preface viii.

<sup>13</sup> See the incisive criticism of Leo PAPADEMETRE ("Φωνή Έλλήνων: Ideology of Fragmentation in the Scholarship of Its Diachronic Analysis", *Γλωσσολογία*, 11-12 (2000),



Testament (and LXX) as well, they extended the scope of their purview as far as early Christian times. The rest of the history of the Greek language was considered as of no consequence<sup>14</sup>, and was relegated to the dustbin<sup>15</sup>.

This, in brief, is the historical background which made possible the rise and establishment of the Erasmian pronunciation<sup>16</sup>. Having established it, its advocates proceeded to produce 'scientific proofs' for its correctness. One of its foremost proponents was Friedrich Blaß, whose arguments (set forth in a writing of 41 pages, then increased to 109 and again to 140 pages) have often been refuted<sup>17</sup>. Many scholars, English, German, American, and Greek, wrote

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73-88) of the cavalier treatment of Greek by modern linguists, such as W. S. ALLEN's *Vox Graeca*, Cambridge: CUP 1987 and A. M. DIVINE-L. D. STEPHENS, *The Prosody of Greek Speech*, Oxford: OUP 1994, who, disregarding the actual history of the language and its phonetic development, work within "an established ideology of fragmentation of the Hellenic language in water-tight compartments ... of taxonomic periods and subjectively-measured literary styles".

<sup>14</sup> Characteristic of this stance is the widespread but strange belief among NT scholars that Greek is a dead language.

<sup>15</sup> HORROCKS, too, speaks of the neglect of all post-classical Greek in his *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, Preface, xvi. BROWNING has the following to say: "The study of Greek in England, as in most other countries, has traditionally been concentrated upon the classical language. The New Testament was left to theologians, and a nineteenth-century schoolboy who attempted to imitate it in his prose composition would have got short shrift from his teacher. The mediaeval and modern stages of the language were largely ignored. Today the situation has changed. There is widespread interest in Modern Greek ... Classical scholars no longer regard it beneath their dignity to concern themselves with the Greek of the Middle Ages and modern times" (*Medieval and Modern Greek*, Preface vii). This interest in Neohellenic is even clearer in ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Adrados not only gives about equal space to the various periods of the Greek language, but he also emphasizes the influence of the entire history of Greek on the European languages. In spite of certain inexactitudes about the modern period, his book shows clearly that he is aware of the unity of the Greek language from the beginning to the present.

<sup>16</sup> Their task was made relatively easy on the one hand by the fall of the Byzantine Empire, which could no longer hinder this development, as well as the waning presence of Greek intellectuals in Western Europe, and on the other by their ignorance of the inscriptions, which contradicted their conclusions. As it turned out, the pronunciation of Greek was determined almost solely by the pronunciation of Latin as the arbiter.

<sup>17</sup> For example, a Greek scholar wrote a book of 752 pages (ΠΑΠΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Βάσανος τῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς προφορᾶς Ἑρασμικῶν ἀποδείξεων*) setting forth the evidence available then in vindication of the historical Greek pronunciation and at the same time showing the untenability of the arguments of BLAß as well as other advocates of Erasmianism.

against the Erasmian pronunciation, and the fight over the pronunciation of Greek – at its hottest in the nineteenth century<sup>18</sup> – ended in a stalemate: the Greeks continued to pronounce Greek in the Greek way, while the other camp considered that they had discovered the ‘authentic’ pronunciation of classical antiquity. Curiously enough, and self-contradictorily, they went on pro-

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<sup>18</sup> Regrettably the argumentation sometimes exceeded scientific propriety. F. BLAß, for example, impelled by the nineteenth-century romantic view of ancient Greece, according to which all subsequent development was a retrogression (cf. his evaluative comment that the Italians are not “*die reine Nachkommen der alten Römer*”, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. p.8), called the modern Greeks as well as the Byzantines “half-barbarians” (“Wohl sind die Neugriechen und waren die Byzantiner *μιξοβάρβαροι*” [1<sup>st</sup> ed. p. 8]) and condemned Modern Greek as barbarous, corrupt and worthless (despite the fact that the three editions of his book give ample evidence that he was quite ignorant of Modern Greek phonology and morphology), cf., e.g., 1<sup>st</sup> ed. p. 7: “Die Sprache eines Homer oder Platon nach derjenigen der Syrer des dritten Jahrhunderts oder der verkommenen Byzantiner umzuwandeln, wäre die reine Barbarei”; p. 8: “Folglich ist die historische Grundlage [i.e. the ‘Modern’ Greek pronunciation], welche die Reuchlinianer [who pronounced Greek in the Greek way] im Gegensatz zu uns [i.e. Erasmus] für sich in Anspruch nehmen, eine gänzlich *nichtige und wertlose*” (italics mine), and considered that *his* pronunciation of Greek was practically identical with the true and genuine pronunciation not only of Homeros, but also of the entire period during which the Greek language flourished – a strange position in view of the enormous epigraphical evidence to the effect that the pronunciation was undergoing deep changes in V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. He writes: “Unsere Aussprache ist in allen andern Punkten des Vokalismus fest genug begründet als die *wenigstens annähernd wahre und echte* nicht etwa nur der homerischen Zeit, sondern der gesamten Blütezeit der griechischen Nation. ...” (italics mine). He ended both the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> editions of his work by a remarkable sentence expressing arrogance and at the same time admission to having perverted (“Verhunzung”) the pronunciation of Greek: “... die wirkliche Sprache aber mag eher noch mannigfaltiger gewesen sein, und es ist hiernach wohl vollends klar, welche ungeheuren Schwierigkeiten die griechische Aussprache für den Ausländer dargeboten haben muss. Wir haben es leichter, da uns *niemand kontrollieren kann*, und wenn es sich nicht schickt, ganz gleichgültig gegen eine bessere oder schlechtere Aussprache zu sein, so wollen wir auch andererseits nicht in pedantischer Weise uns so geberden, *als ob eines Tages die alten Hellenen auferstehen und uns über die Verhunzung ihrer schönen Sprache zur Rechenschaft ziehen könnten*”! (italics mine).

That one who claimed to pay homage to the Greek Muses should exhibit such hybris toward the later history of the linguistic instrument he professed to admire, and, moreover, that he should express himself in such arrogant terms towards the scions of those he purported to revere, while at the same time making the absurd claim that *his* pronunciation of Greek reflected the genuine pronunciation all the way from Homeros to the Hellenistic age – that all this should have been tolerated without protest by the European intelligentsia is in itself a grand commentary on the deplorable state of European classical scholarship in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

nouncing Homeros, Platon, the New Testament and the papyri as well as the Church Fathers – all in the same way!

Today we might be inclined to show understanding for the error of Erasmus and his followers, because the novel pronunciation had been proposed and adopted at a time when there was no direct ancient evidence (inscriptions and papyri) to contradict the new teaching. And as for the people whose language and pronunciation it was, this was not expected to rise again and to form a distinct political entity in Europe<sup>19</sup>. Since the belief was rampant that there would never be a Hellas again, and the old Hellenes had been adopted by the various nations of Europe as their own (intellectual and cultural) ancestors, it is again understandable that the way Greek was pronounced was a matter of mere convenience for them.

However, the impossible did happen. After almost 400 years of wretched existence, the Greeks, drawing strength and inspiration from the depths of their history and their Greek consciousness<sup>20</sup>, arose, as of old, to drive out of their country the new invaders from the East. With Hellas having become a free nation again, what could be more natural than that the educated of Europe should seek to pronounce the language as its native speakers were wont to. All the more so since recent discoveries of inscriptions and papyri confirmed the Greek pronunciation as the correct one. This was the right time to put an end to the error of Erasmus and to return to the correct and natural pronunciation of Greek.

We may wonder why the ‘enlightened’ nations of Europe, which had benefited so much from Hellas’ *cornucopia*, did not render their intellectual and cultural homage to the resurrected Hellas. Pronouncing Greek in the Greek way would have been nothing more than what is expected of and what is actually done with all languages. No one applies a home-made pronunciation to English or French, but respects and follows the way each language is pronounced by its native speakers.

The reason for this exception in the case of Greek seems to have been politically motivated<sup>21</sup>. The 940 Philhellenes, who came to Hellas to fight at

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<sup>19</sup> It is significant that appeals by Greeks to the mighty of Europe (e.g. M. Mousourous’ appeal to Pope Leo X), to help the Greeks free themselves, were left unheeded.

<sup>20</sup> Among those who incited the Greeks to liberate their country may be mentioned the fiery author and national martyr, Rhegas Pheraios (1757-1797/8), and the great scholar, Adamantios KORAËS (1748-1833).

<sup>21</sup> It might have been thought that politics and linguistic issues are unconnected. This is, however, a pious but mistaken sentiment. For a modern discussion of the history of Greek

the side of the Greeks<sup>22</sup>, were really an aberrancy in European sentiment toward Hellas, particularly political sentiment. The leaders of XIX<sup>th</sup> century Europe had other thoughts. What today might be described as the unacceptable sentiments of F. Bläß with regard to the Greeks of his time were shared by many others<sup>23</sup>. The Spanish scholar Adrados<sup>24</sup> relates how Friedrich II of Prussia rejected Voltaire's suggestion to assist the struggling Greeks to free themselves from Turkish tyranny. The reason which this 'paragon' of enlightenment gave for his refusal was that the Greeks were "unwürdigen und erniedrigt" and their language was "vollkommen verdorben" – therefore they did not deserve freedom! Friedrich II had no way of knowing the then state of the Greek language. His views reflect what he must have been told by his learned subjects, the classical scholars. This attitude explains the stance which the 'prince' of European politicians, Count von Metternich, took, when the Greek war of independence broke out. In his opinion the Greeks were rebelling against "lawful authority" – viz. the Turks on Greek soil! He, therefore, urged the European Powers to combine to help the Turks crush the Greek revolution. From the British side, the unintentional destruction of Ibrahim's armada in 1827 by the fleets of Russia, France, and England at Navarino, which, incidentally, proved to be of great help to the Greek cause, was described as an "untoward event"<sup>25</sup>.

This attitude to Hellas seems to imply that the refusal in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century to do the obvious thing – to adopt the Greek pronunciation of Greek – was inspired by political expediency and non-acceptance of the young Greek state on a par with the other states of Europe rather than by scientific reasons. As

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in which politics has played its part, see HORROCKS, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, and on Skopje's false claims to represent ancient Makedonia, see the collection of studies in BABINIOTIS, *The Language of Makedonia: Ancient Macedonian and the Pseudonymous Language of Skopje* ( 'Η γλῶσσα τῆς Μακεδονίας. Ἡ ἀρχαία μακεδονική καὶ ἡ ψευδώνυμη γλῶσσα τῶν Σκοπίων, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> For the figures of Philhellenes according to country of origin, see *IEE* vol. XII, 323.

<sup>23</sup> Somewhat earlier, another personage by the name of J. Ph. Fallmerayer (1790-1861), had propounded the myth, which probably influenced BLÄS' view of the Greeks, that the entire Greek nation had been wiped out, and that Hellas had since been reinhabited by Slavs and Albanians. This was definitively refuted by ΠΑΠΑΡΗΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ in his *Περὶ ἐποικήσεως σλαβικῶν τινων φύλων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον*, 'Αθήναι 1843 (see also his *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*).

<sup>24</sup> ADRADOS, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, 286.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., SOUTHGATE, *A Textbook of Modern European History 1643-1848*, London: 1964, 301 f.

these conditions do not obtain any more, it is hoped that international scholarship, particularly NT scholarship, will be more inclined to accept the verdict of historical truth.

## IV. The Historical Pronunciation of Greek

### 1. Preliminary Remarks

A classics professor once admitted to me that he was aware that the Erasmian pronunciation did not reflect the ancient Greek pronunciation, “but”, he explained, “it helps us to spell Greek correctly”. Indeed, the awareness that the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek is inaccurate is now fairly widespread, and a welcome openness is noted in international scholarship.

As a matter of fact, during its four-thousand-year-long history, Greek has not been pronounced uniformly. Our written records take us back three and one half millennia<sup>26</sup>. But there is no way of establishing how it was pronounced in the second millennium and in the early part of the first millennium B.C. The significant material comes to us in the form of inscriptions from the VII<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on<sup>27</sup> and of papyri a few centuries later<sup>28</sup>. In particular, especially the material that evinces not the official historical spelling, often found in public inscriptions, but the popular, often uneducated people’s spelling, who tried to reproduce the sounds of the spoken language, is the safest guide to the pronunciation of Greek in antiquity. Careful study gives the following results: The letters α, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, φ, ψ are not in dispute. They are pronounced by Greeks and Erasmians

<sup>26</sup> The *Linear B* tablets date to XV-XII B.C.

<sup>27</sup> I.e. with the exception of the three earliest inscriptions (Dipylon *oinochoë*, Nestor’s cup and Glaukos’ monument) dated to the second part of the VIII B.C. For photographs of these inscriptions and their text see ΒΟΥΤΗΡΑ, ‘Η εισαγωγή του ἀλφαβήτου in Α. Φ. ΧΡΙΣΤΙΔΗ (ed.), *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας*, 2001, 210-17 and ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ, ‘Η ελληνική γραφή, in *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους*, Vol. II, 198-9. Perhaps the first inscription cited in JEFFERY’s book, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, might be from 725 B.C.: ΗΟΣ ΝΥΝ ΟΡΧΕΪΣΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΣΤΑΛΩΤΑΤΑ ΠΑΙΖΕΙ (= ΗΟΣ νυν ορχῆστῶν παντῶν σταλωτάτα παιζει) (“who of all dancers dances [plays] most beautifully?”).

<sup>28</sup> The earliest papyri (a papyrus of the lyric poet Timotheos, *Persai*, and the burnt Orphic Ψ from a grave in Derveni (near Thessaloniki) date from the IV B.C. The rest date between III B.C. and A.D. VII.

alike or practically alike. The disputed letters are the consonants β, γ, δ, ζ, θ, χ, the vowels η, υ, ω, the diphthongs αυ, ευ, ηυ, αι, ει, οι, and υι as well as aspiration and accents. The pronunciation of the various letters and diphthongs is as follows (the letters pronounced differently by Erasmians are marked by an asterisk (\*)) and are given in the sixth column to the right. The *Historical Greek Pronunciation* (= HGP) is indicated only approximately; as in all other languages, the sound quality can be learned only from native speakers, not through phonetic charts):<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> All unaccented vowels are half-long (e.g. ι = between *i* and *ee*. When accented, they become somewhat longer.

Cap	Small	HGP		English equivalents	Eras.	Tran
A	α	a	as in	father		a
B	β *	v	-"	van	b	b
Γ	γ *	y gh (w)	-"	yet (when followed by <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> -sounds). Before all other positions: Try pronouncing as "go", but deeper from the throat: 'gho'. The result should be similar to 'w' in "woe", but harder and more guttural.	g	g
Δ	δ *	th or dh	-"	then	d	d
E	ε	e	-"	pen		e
Z	ζ *	z	-"	zero	zd,dz	z
H	η *	i	-"	Between did or see	ē	e
Θ	θ	th	-"	thin		th
I	ι	i	-"	Between did and see		i
K	κ	k	-"	keen (before <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> -sounds). kodak (before α, o, ω, and consonants).		k
Λ	λ	l	-"	lad		l
M	μ	m	-"	madam		m
N	ν	n	-"	name		n
Ξ	ξ	x	-"	extra		x
O	ο	o	-"	dot		o
Π	π	p	-"	page		p
P	ρ	r	-"	rock (trilled like Scottish 'r')		r
Σ	σ	s	-"	salt (almost never as Eng. 'z': e.g. 'rose')		s
T	τ	t	-"	top		t
Υ	υ *	i	-"	did	u, y	y / u
Φ	φ	f	-"	fact		ph
X	χ *	ch or kh	-"	German <i>ich</i> (before <i>e</i> and <i>i</i> -sounds). Germ. <i>Bach</i> or Scot. <i>loch</i> (before α, o, ω, & consonants). Try pronouncing 'khaki' deep from the throat.	k	ch
Ψ	ψ	ps	-"	topsy-turvy		ps
Ω	ω	o	-"	dot	ō	o

Diph	HGP		English equivalent	Erasmian	Transcr.
αι	as e	as in	pen	a+i	ai
ει				e+i	ei
οι	} as η	betw.	did and see	o+i	oi
υι	)			u+i, y+i	yi
ου	as English oo	as in	look	ou	ou
αυ	} av, ev, iv		before vowels and γ, δ, λ, μ, ν, ρ	a+u	au
ευ	}			e+u	eu
ηυ	/ af, ef, if		before all other consonants	ē+u	u

In addition, two important points to remember are that, unlike the Erasmian pronunciation, the *HGP* does not apply aspiration since this local phenomenon ceased to be observed already in classical times, while it heeds all the accents of which the Erasmian pronunciation does not take any account.

In studying the question of Greek pronunciation, two important facts to consider are (a) the change of alphabet from the pre-Phoenician alphabet (Mycenaean or *Linear B*) to the Phoenician, which took place before 800 B.C., and (b) the gradual adoption by Athens during the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. of the Ionic alphabet (that is, the Phoenician alphabet as perfected by the Ionians), which, following the motion by Archinos<sup>30</sup>, was finally ratified under the Archonship of Eukleides in 403 B.C. (being identical with the Modern Greek alphabet), and the consequent confusion in spelling in the pre-Ionic and the Ionic ways. That is, even after the Ionic spelling had set in, Greek words continued to be spelled in the pre-Ionic way down to the III<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. and in some cases to Byzantine times. This means that two systems were contemporaneously in use: the old, official system, often found in monuments of public character, such as a good many inscriptions are<sup>31</sup>, and the new

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Kleine Pauly: Lexicon der Antike*, sv. "Archinos".

<sup>31</sup> These inscriptions are written in *scriptio continua*, as, e.g., *IA 32 (V B.C.)*:

.. ΟΧΣΕΝΤΕΙΒΟΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΔΕΜΟΙΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣΕΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΕΜΝΕΣΙΘΕΟΣ Ε  
 . ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕΕΥΠΕΙΘΕΣΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΚΑΛΛΙΑΣΕΙΠΕΑΠΟΔΟΝΑΙΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
 . ΑΧΡΕΜΑΤΑΤΑΟΦΕΛΟΜΕΝΑΕΠΕΙΔΕΤΕΙΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙΤΑΤΡΙΣΧΙΛΙΑΤΑΛΑΝΤ  
 . ΑΝΕΝΕΝΕΓΚΤΑΙΕΣΠΟΛΙΝΗΑΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΤΟΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΣΗΜΕΔΑΠΟΑΠΟΔΙ  
 . ΟΝΑΙΔΕΑΠΟΤΟΝΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝΑΕΣΑΠΟΔΟΣΙΝΕΣΤΙΝΤΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΜ  
 . ΝΑΤΑΤΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΙΣΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣΟΝΤΑΝΥΝΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΑΕΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟΝ  
 . . Ι ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΚΤΕΣΔΕΚΑΤΕΣΕΠΕΙΔΑΝΠΡΑΘΕΙ.

Separating the words, this text would look like this:

.. ΟΧΣΕΝ ΤΕΙ ΒΟΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΕΜΟΙ ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΣ ΕΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΕ ΜΝΕΣΙΘΕΟΣ Ε  
 . ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕ ΕΥΠΕΙΘΕΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΕΙΠΕΑΠΟΔΟΝΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
 . Α ΧΡΕΜΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΟΦΕΛΟΜΕΝΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΕ ΤΕΙ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΡΙΣΧΙΛΙΑ ΤΑΛΑΝΤ  
 . ΑΝΕΝΕΝΕΓΚΤΑΙ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΗΑ ΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΤΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΗΜΕΔΑΠΟ. ΑΠΟΔΙ  
 . ΟΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝ Α ΕΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΣΙΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΜ  
 . ΝΑ ΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣ ΟΝΤΑ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ Α ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ  
 . . Ι ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΕΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΣ ΕΠΕΙΔΑΝ ΠΡΑΘΕΙ.

In the definitive orthography of the late V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., this text would have been written as follows (except for the i-subscript):



spelling which better expressed the actual sounds of the language, found mostly in inscriptions of a private character, but not seldom also in public inscriptions as well as in papyri. It is imperative to bear this constantly in mind if we are to solve a number of problems of detail. The argumentation here could become quite involved and complex. However, a lucid statement will be attempted here focusing on the spelling of the various sounds, the exchange of one letter for another, and the earliest date since this is documented<sup>32</sup>.

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. . ΟΞΕΝ ΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΚΕΚΡΩΠΙΣ ΕΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΕ ΜΝΗΣΙΘΕΟΣ Ε  
 . ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕ ΕΥΠΕΙΘΗΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΑΠΟΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ  
 . Α ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΝΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΗ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΡΙΣΧΙΛΙΑ ΤΑΛΑΝΤ  
 . ΑΝΕΝΗΝΕΓΚΤΑΙ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΗΑ ΕΨΗΦΙΣΤΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΗΗΜΕΔΑΠΟΥ. ΑΠΟΔΙ  
 . ΟΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ Α ΕΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΣΙΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΨΗΦΙΣΜ  
 . ΝΑ ΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣ ΟΝΤΑ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ Α ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ  
 . Ι ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΕΠΕΙΔΑΝ ΠΡΑΘΗ.

Written in the ordinary way today, the text would look like this:

[᾽Εδ]οξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Κεκρωπίς ἐπρυτάνευε, Μνησίθεος ἐ-  
 [γ]ραμματέυε, Εὐπειθὴς ἐπεστάτει. Καλλίας εἶπε· ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς  
 [τ]ὰ χρήματα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχιλία τάλαντ-  
 [α] ἀνενήνεγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἃ ἐψηφίστο, νομίσματος ἡμεδαποῦ. ἀποδι-  
 [δ]όναί δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐστὶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐψηφισμ-  
 [έ]να, τὰ τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ὄντα νῦν καὶ τάλλα, ἃ ἐστὶ τούτων  
 [τῶν] χρημάτων, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης, ἐπειδὴν πρᾶθῃ.

The Archaic orthography differs from the definitive orthography at 37 points in the following words: ΕΔΟΞΕΝ (= ΕΔΟΞΕΝ), ΤΕΙ ΒΟΛΕΙ (= Τῇ ΒΟΥΛῇ), ΤΟΙ ΔΕΜΟΙ (= Τῷ ΔΗΜῳ), ΚΕΚΡΩΠΙΣ (= ΚΕΚΡΩΠΙΣ), ΜΝΗΣΙΘΕΟΣ (= ΜΝΗΣΙΘΕΟΣ), ΕΥΠΕΙΘΗΣ (= ΕΥΠΕΙΘΗΣ), ΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕ (= ΕΠΕΣΤΑΤΕΙ), ΑΠΟΔΟΝΑΙ (ΑΠΟΔΟΥΝΑΙ), ΧΡΕΜΑΤΑ (= ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ), ΟΦΕΛΟΜΕΝΑ (= ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΝΑ), ΕΠΕΙΔΕ (ΕΠΕΙΔΗ), ΤΕΙ (= Τῇ), ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙ (= ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΙ), ΑΝΕΝΕΝΕΓΚΤΑΙ (= ΑΝΕΝΗΝΕΓΚΤΑΙ), ΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΤΟ (= ΕΨΗΦΙΣΤΟ), ΗΗΜΕΔΑΠΟ (= [Η]ΗΜΕΔΑΠΟΥ), ΤΟΝ (= ΤΩΝ), ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝ (= ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ), Α (= ΗΑ; note no aspiration), ΕΦΣΕΦΙΣΜΕΝΑ (= ΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΕΝΑ), ΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣ (= [Η]ΕΛΛΗΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣ; note the absence of aspiration!), ΤΟΥΤΟΝ (= ΤΟΥΤΩΝ; note that this time the U-sound is written as ΟΥ). ΤΟΝ ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝ (= ΤΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ), ΤΕΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΣ (= ΤΗΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ), ΠΡΑΘΕΙ (= ΠΡΑΘῇ). The first 'letter' of line seven (Ι) is not an iota, but part of the letter 'N'.

<sup>32</sup> Of those who have gone before me, I mention in particular the works of JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar* and Π ΑΠΑΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Βάσανος τῶν περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς προφορᾶς Ἑρασμικῶν ἀποδείξεων*. For the purpose of this chapter, however, I have made a fresh and thorough search in the sources. The following statement is based chiefly on the evidence of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, particularly on the volumes of the

Prior to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet (V B.C.) letter and sound did not correspond exactly with each other. Thus, the letter E represented the sounds which later came to be represented by E, H (as a vowel), and EI<sup>33</sup>, while the letter O represented the sounds later represented by O, Ω, and OΥ<sup>34</sup>.

*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* (CIA, the most relevant material for Athenian pronunciation), the *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae* (IGA), the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (SEG), and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG). Of these I have read most B.C. inscriptions in CIA, many inscriptions in IG, all of the inscriptions in IGA, all the Attic inscriptions in the 41 volumes of SEG (available to me by early 2003) and consulted the rest as well as other publications. Relevant material is found also in other collections of inscriptions (as cited), as well as in various collections of Egyptian papyri. Of these I have read thousands of papyri in, e.g., the *Oxyrhynchos Papyri* (Φ Oxy), *Berliner griechische Urkunden* (BGU), the *Tebtunis Papyri* (Φ Tebt), *Papiri greci e Latini* (PSI) *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (UPZ), and other Papyrological publications, but because of their relatively later date, I have cited the Papyri more sparingly, and not after the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D. Nevertheless, it must be put on record that these documents confirm the results of my research in the epigraphical material, showing an increasing incidence of orthographical mistakes, an incidence that explodes from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. on. This material shows in a concise way the approximate pronunciation of the various letters.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Scholion on Dionysios Thrax* (BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, 780): "Ὅταν οὖν ἤθελον γράψαι ἔχουσιν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ ἥ λέξιν, ἔγραφον τὸ Ἐ, καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μακρᾶς ("Whenever they wanted to write a word having the sound of ἥ, they wrote Ἐ and above the Ἐ the sign marking a long [sound]"). See e.g. SEG XLII, 45 (525-500 B.C.): [ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛ]ΕΣ for Ἀριστοκλῆς. A good example of many of these changes are represented by IG I, 3, 490-480 B.C.: ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΝΔΡ[ΑΣ ΔΕ]ΤΟΝ ΑΓΟΝΑ ΕΠΙΟΦΑΣΘ[ΑΙ ΕΚ] ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΔΕΜΟΜ, ΤΡΕΣ ΕΚ [ΦΥΛΕ]Σ ΗΕΚΑΣΤΕΣ, ΗΥΠΟΣΧΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ] ΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΗΙΕΡΟΙ ΟΣ ΑΝ ΟΙ[ΟΝ Τ Ε]Ι ΞΥΝΔΙΑΘΕΣΕΝ ΤΟΝ Α[ΓΟΝΑ], ΜΕ ΟΛΕΖΟΝ Ε ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤ[Α ΕΤΕ] ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑΣ (= τριάκοντα ἄνδρας δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπόψασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδήμων [i.e. ἐπιδήμων], τρεῖς ἐκ φυλῆς ἐκάστης, ὑποσχομένους ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὅς ἂν οἶον τ' ἡ ξυνδιαθέσειν τὸν ἀγῶνα, μὴ ὀλίγων ἢ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας). See further on the interchange between E and H, E and EI, and O and OΥ in IG I, 1, 510-500 B.C.: ΕΣ ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟ[Ν] (ἐς δημόσιον) ... ΚΡΙΝ]ΕΝ [ΕΠ]Ι ΤΕΣ Β[Ο]ΛΕ[Σ] (= κρίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς); the ostraca against Megakles and Aristides: ΜΕΓΑΚΛΕΣ ΗΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΟΣ (for Μεγακλῆς Ἰπποκράτους) and ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟ (for Ἀριστείδης Λυσιμάχου) 482 B.C., see ΠΕΛΕΚΙΔΗΣ in *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, Vol. II, p. 311, and CIA IV, 27, a 75, 445 B.C.: ΕΦΕΣΙΝ ΕΝΑΙ ΑΘΕΝΑΖΕ ΕΣ ΤΕΝ ΗΕΛΙΑΙΑΝ (= ἔφεσιν εἶναι Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἡλιαίαν); IG I, 37, 447/6 B.C.: ΑΘΕΝΟΝ (for Ἀθηνῶν); ibid.: ΤΟ ΔΕΜΟ ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ (note the absence of i-subscriptum: τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων) and ΤΟ[Ν] ΔΕΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ (τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων); ibid.: ΤΕΝ ΔΕΜΕΤΡΑ (τὴν Δήμητρα). A late example of this is Φ Tebt 946 (III B.C.): ὑπὸ χερα for ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Scholion on Dionysios Thrax* (BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, 780): "Ὅταν δὲ ἤθελον γράψαι τὴν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ ω ἔγραφον τὸ ὀ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ ὀ ὡς προεῖρηται ἐπὶ

This means that in early times such words as the following could be read in several different ways:

ΒΟΛΕ could represent: βολή, βούλει, βουλή<sup>35</sup>

ΕΡΓΟΝ = ἔργον, ἔργων, εἶργον<sup>36</sup>, εἶργων<sup>37</sup>

ΕΡΕΣ = ἐρεῖς, εἶρεις<sup>38</sup>, εἶρης<sup>39</sup>

ΔΟΛΟΣ = δόλος, δόλους, δοῦλος, δῶλος<sup>40</sup>, δούλους

ΚΕΛΕΥΕ = κέλευε, κελεύει, κελεύη

ΔΕΜΟΝ = δῆμον, δῆμων, δημόν, δημῶν, δεμῶν<sup>41</sup>, δέμον<sup>42</sup>, δέμων<sup>43</sup> δεῖμον<sup>44</sup>.

This reveals what difficulties presented themselves to the reader of a text written in this incomplete way, and how much the later differentiation of these vowels contributed to the easy and correct interpretation of the text.

With regard to the consonants, the later *monograph* Φ was in archaic times represented by the *digraph* ΠΗ;<sup>45</sup> the monograph Χ was represented by the

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τοῦ ἑ τὸ σημεῖον τῆς μακρῆς (“When they wanted to write the sound of  $\bar{\omega}$ , they wrote the  $\bar{o}$ , and on the  $\bar{o}$ , as was explained earlier about the  $\bar{\epsilon}$ , the sign of the long [sound]”). See, e.g., JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Greece*, Plate 1 (725 B.C.):  $\text{HOC NYN OPXECTON PANTON STALOTATA PAIZEI} \dots$  (ὁς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν πάντων σταλάτα παίζει); the names  $\text{HIPOKRAOTOS, LYSIMACHOS}$  (= Ἱπποκράτους, Λυσιμάχου) in the preceding note; *SEG* XLI, 20 (550-500 B.C.):  $\text{KAI BOTON EPISKOPON, LACHES M IDRYSTATO}$  (= καὶ βοτὸν ἐπίσκοπον Λάχης μ' ἰδρύσατο); *SEG* XLI, 17 (500 B.C.):  $\text{[Eue]vop}$  instead of  $\text{Eúhvw}$ ; *IG* I, 1, 510-500 B.C.:  $\text{TRIA[K]ONTA AP[ACHMON]}$  (τριάκοντα δραχμῶν); *IG* I, 1, 510-500 B.C.; *SEG* XLI, 37 (V B.C.):  $\text{ARTEMIDOP[OS]}$  for Ἀρτεμίδωρος; *CIA* IV, b, 373, 121 (before 480 B.C.):  $\text{XOPIO}$  (for χωρίου), and *CIA* I, 32, A 9, 435 B.C.:  $\text{E BOLE AYTOKRATOP ESTO}$  (= ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔστω) – note the absence of aspiration!

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Platon, *Kratyllos* 420c: ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἡ ‘βουλὴ’ πως τὴν βολήν, καὶ τὸ ‘βούλεσθαι’ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι σημαίνει καὶ [τὸ] ‘βουλεύεσθαι’.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. imperfect of εἶργω (= hinder).

<sup>37</sup> I.e. present participle of εἶργω.

<sup>38</sup> I.e. present indicative of εἶρω (= bind, plate).

<sup>39</sup> I.e. present subjunctive of εἶρω.

<sup>40</sup> Doric for δούλος.

<sup>41</sup> I.e. ‘time’, according to Hesychios, *Lexicon* Δ 618.

<sup>42</sup> I.e. epic imperfect and present participle neuter of δέμω (= build).

<sup>43</sup> I.e. present participle of δέμω.

<sup>44</sup> I.e. aorist imperative of δέμω.

<sup>45</sup> Delos, however, offers examples of Φ + H: *Delos c*:  $\text{boustr d:c}$  (650 B.C.?) e: *LSAG* 303, 2: ΦΗΡΑΗΣΟ instead of Φράξου.

digraph KH; the monograph Ξ<sup>46</sup> was represented by the digraph ΚΣ<sup>47</sup> (later also ΧΣ);<sup>48</sup> the monograph Ψ<sup>49</sup> was represented by the digraph ΠΣ (later also ΦΣ)<sup>50</sup>, and the monograph Θ was obviously represented by the digraph ΤΗ<sup>51</sup>. These alternative spellings continue down to the III<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. and even later<sup>52</sup>.

The sign H originally had been used for aspiration. The sign was said to have been cloven into two, the left half becoming the *spiritus asper* ('), and

<sup>46</sup> Among the earliest examples of Ξ are: *CIA* I, 440, before 444 B.C.: ΞΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ, ΕΑΝΘΙΑΣ; *CIA* I, 299, before 444 B.C.: ΧΑΡΙΞΕΝΟ (=ΧαριΞένου).

<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., *Crete b: Eltynia c:d* (VII/VI B.C.): ἀμακσο[---] for ἀμαξο ... *Crete b: Eltynia d: (fin VI/init V B.C.)*: αἱ κ' ἄρκσει instead of ἄρξει. Even Η + Σ is used, e.g. *Delos c: boustr d:c* (650 B.C.?) e: *LSAG* 303, 2: ΦΗΡΑΗΞΟ instead of Φράξου.

<sup>48</sup> *CIA* IV, b, 1, a, 1, 570-560 B.C.: ΕΔΟΧΞΕΝ ΤΕΙ ΒΟΛΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ ΔΕΜΟΙ (= ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ). *IG* I, 1, 510-500 B.C.: ΕΔΟΧΞΕΝ ΤΟΙ ΔΕΜΟΙ; *IG* I, 4, 485/4 B.C.: ΕΞ ΠΡΑΧΞΙΝ (ἐξ πρᾶξιν). This practice turns up occasionally in the later papyri. However, on *Delos* there occur also examples with Η + Σ: e.g. *Delos c: boustr d:* (620-600 B.C.?) e: *LSAG* 304, 3: Εὐθυκαρπίδης μ' ἀνέθεκε Ηο ΝΑΗΞΙΟΣ ποιέσας instead of Νάξιος.

<sup>49</sup> Among the earliest examples of Ψ, are: *CIA* I, 13, 4, before 444 B.C.: ΨΕΦΙΣΜ[Α] (= ψήφισμα) and *ibid.* line 7: ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝ.

<sup>50</sup> BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-Figure Vase paintings*, p. 172 (Archaic times?): ΣΑΚΟΝΙΔΕΞ ΕΓΡΑΨΞΕΝ (for Σακονίδης ἔγραψεν); and p. 184: ΚΞΝΟΚΛΕΞ ΕΠΟΙΕΞΕΝ (for Ξενοκλῆς ἐποίησεν); *SEG* XXV, 59, 520 B.C.: ΟΦΞΙΟΣ (= Ὀψιος); *IG* I, 6, 460 B.C.: [Π]Υ-ΑΝΟΦΞΙΩΝΟ (Πυανοψιδῶνος); *IG* I, 460-450 B.C.: ΕΦΞΕΦΙΣΜΕΝΑ ΑΝΑ[ΓΡΑΦΞ]ΑΝΤΑΣ (ἐψηφισμένα ἀναγράφαντας); *CIA* I, 32, A, 4, 435 B.C.: ΕΦΞΕΦΙΣΤΟ (= ἐψηφίστο). In citing the inscriptions ordinary lower case letters will be used. Capitals will be reserved for special emphasis.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Scholion on Dionysios Thrax* (BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca* II. 780): 'Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Ξ ἔγραφον κ̄ καὶ σ̄, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ψ, π̄ καὶ σ̄. Πάλιν ἂν ἤθελον γράψαι λέξιν ἔχουσαν τὴν ἐκφώνησιν τοῦ θ̄, ἔγραφον ἀντὶ τοῦ θ̄ τὸ τ̄, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐτίθεσαν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημεῖον τῆς δασείας ... ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως τοῦ θ̄ ἔγραφον τὸ π̄, προστιθέντες, ὡς προείρηται, τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημεῖον τῆς δασείας. Ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ χ̄ ἐκφωνήσεως τὸ κ̄ ἔγραφον, τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δασείας προστιθέντες. [Ἦν δὲ] τὸ παλαιὸν σύμβολον τῆς δασείας τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν νῦν Η. ("In place of ξ they wrote κ̄ and σ̄, instead of ψ, π̄ and σ̄. Moreover, if they wanted to write a word with the sound of θ̄, they wrote in place of θ̄, τ̄ adding their sign of aspiration ... in place of the sound θ̄, they wrote π̄, and added, as was said above, their sign of aspiration. Instead of the sound χ̄ they wrote κ̄ and then added the sign of aspiration. Now the old sign of aspiration was what is now our Η").

<sup>52</sup> These phenomena occur times without number in the inscriptions and the papyri, see, e.g., the κ before the ξ in *ᾠ Oxy* 259, 18 (A.D. 23): εκΞουσιαν for ἐξουσιαν (influence of the digraph?); see also *ᾠ Tebi* 825 (176 B.C.): εκΞακοσιας (= ἐξακοσίας); also εκΞηκοντα (= ἐξηκόντα); *ᾠ Tebi* 910 (162 B.C.): εκΞακωνος for Ἐξακῶνος.

the right half becoming the *spiritus lenis* ( ' ). Thus, the sign H originally had two functions: one, to mark aspiration, and two, as the second element in the digraphs ΠΗ, ΚΗ, and ΤΗ. In Ionia, where aspiration had ceased by the VII<sup>th</sup> century B.C., they made the sign H into a letter, the long sound EE (as French *tête*)<sup>53</sup>. Thus, until the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Attic had only five vowels: α, ε, ι, ο, υ for the five basic sounds of the Greek language (from Mycenaean times) ever since: *a, e, i, o, u*. The signs of H and Ω, not having taken the place of any other vowel-signs, nor representing existing sounds<sup>54</sup>, appear to have been adopted originally (V<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) as mere technical, compensatory marks for E and O respectively in accented (and therefore lengthened) position. Finally, however, they came to be regarded as long vowels<sup>55</sup>. This length was apparently due to *antectasis* (lengthening of vowel sound because of the dropping of a consonant, which thus disturbs the rhythm) or *ictus* (the stress placed on the syllable chosen to carry the beat of rhythm in verse, in distinction to the natural accent or stress of a word), since it is natural for Greek to pronounce all vowels *isochronously* (i.e. equally long).

Thus, in Attic inscriptions from early VI<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. on, E, besides representing E, also stands for EI<sup>56</sup> and later as H, while O, in addition to representing O, also occurs first as OΥ and later as Ω<sup>57</sup>. After mid-V<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>53</sup> Among the earliest examples of H as a letter before its official adoption in 403 B.C., are: στρατηγοῦς (CIA IV, 27, a, 77, 445 B.C.); ἄρρητοι (CIA I, 23, a, 2, before 444 B.C.); ἀνέθηκεν (CIA I, 398, 2, before 444 B.C.); Ἀριστοκράτης ... ἀνέθηκεν νικήσας (CIA I, 422, 1, 4, before 444 B.C.); IG I, 36, 424/3 B.C.: ἐν τῇ στήλῃ (ἐν τῇ στήλῃ); *ibid.*: τῆς Νίκῃς.

<sup>54</sup> As late as c. 340 B.C. the letters reckoned as vowels are five: α, ε, ι, ο, υ, cf. CIA IV, 4321, 3 f.: τὸ δὲ πέμπτον (i.e. the last) τῶν φωνηέντων Υ. This quite clearly excludes H and Ω from the list. These two letters are excluded even in an Ionic ABC of the V<sup>th</sup> B.C.

<sup>55</sup> It should be remembered that the names ὀμικρον and ὦμέγα have nothing to do with length of sound, but only with the physical size of the letters: 'small o' and 'big ω', cf. *Lexica Syntactica* 306, 29: "Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Ω μεγάλου".

<sup>56</sup> Thus, εἶμι occurs side by side with the infinitive μελεδαίνεν (= μελεδαίνειν) (CIG I, 8, B, c. 570 B.C.). See also IG II, 16 (394/3 B.C.): Γναθίος εἶπε· συμμαχος εἶναι (= εἶναι); IG II, 19 (394/3): εἶναι ἐπειδὴ ἐστίν; and IG II, 24 (387 B.C.): εἶσιν (= εἶσιν) ... εἶναι.

<sup>57</sup> Cf., e.g., the inscription on the metope of the Thermos temple (VII B.C.) (IEE II, 370): χελιδεον (for χελιδεων); IG I, 37, 447/6 B.C.: Ἀθων (= Ἀθωνῶν), Κολοφώνιον (= Κολοφώνιον), ἐπιμελ]εθέντων (= ἐπιμεληθέντων), λα[μβανέτω] (= λαμβανέτω); CIA IV, 27, a 75, 445 B.C.: ἔφεσιν εἶναι ἀθέναζε ἐς τὴν ἑλειαίαν (= ἔφεσιν εἶναι Ἀθήναζε ἐς τὴν ἑλειαίαν); ἔδοξε τεῖ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι (IGA III, 3, 8, 458 B.C.; CIA I, 32, 435 B.C.) for ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, but cf. IG I, 48 (440-30 B.C.): ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ

B.C., when H and Ω were taken as real letters, there is constant confusion of E with H and of O with Ω. Between 450 and 300 B.C. there is constant confusion also of E with EI<sup>58</sup>, of EI with E, of E with H, of H with E, of EI with H, of EI with HI, of O with OY<sup>59</sup> (but hardly ever of OY with O or Ω<sup>60</sup>), of O with Ω, and of Oi (i.e. *i-subscriptum*) with Ωi.

Following 403 B.C., H took the place of that E which appeared as 'long' in verse because of *ictus*, and which in other dialects had been represented by H<sup>61</sup>. This H, which was now adopted for technical purposes, was popularly used for EI, which at this time was pronounced as I.

A *diphthong* consists of two vowels. Owing to the paucity of contraction in the Homeric epics and other early works, such diphthongs, insofar as they were original to that period, ought to have had a pronunciation whereby both vowels were sounded. In classical times, however, when contraction had been fully developed, they were pronounced *monophthongally*, i.e. as one sound<sup>62</sup>.

καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ; and again in 435 B.C.: ἔδοχεν τε[ι] βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι (*IG* I, 50): ἔδοχεν τοὶ δέμοι (*IGA* I<sup>2</sup>, 1, 1 (446 B.C.) (for ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ); *IG* I, 69 (426/5 B.C.): ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τοῖ δήμῳ (note the η and the ω); but *IG* I, 72, 414 B.C.: πέν βόλεν κα[ι] ἐς τὸ[ν] δ[ε]μ[ο]ν (= τὴν βουλὴν καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον); *SEG* I, 4 (418 B.C.) στροματα (for στρώματα).

<sup>58</sup> A later example of this is *Ph* Tebt 866 (237 B.C.): χερα for χεῖρα.

<sup>59</sup> O occurs as OY in *SEG* XII, 100 (377/6 B.C.) Μονιχιῶνος ... ἰσταμένο (instead of Μονιχιῶνος ... ἰσταμένοϛ) (note the lack of aspiration!); *SG* Vol. I, 184 (361/0 B.C.): ἔδοξεν ... ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀ[θη]ναίων μὲν τος στρ[α]τιγος καὶ τ[η]ν βολὴν καὶ τος ἱπάρχος καὶ τος ἱπ[ε]α[ς] τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον. οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Θετταλία[ν] ἐξορκώσουσιν Ἀγέλαο[ν] (for ἔδοξεν ... ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὴν βολὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱπ[ε]ας τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον. οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐξορκώσουσιν Ἀγέλαον); *SEG* XII, 87, 19 (336 B.C.) βολεύη (for βολεῦη), cf. line 25: βολευντήριον.

<sup>60</sup> Ω occurs instead of O (= OY) a few times, e.g. *CIA* I, 358, before 444 B.C.: λευκολοφίδω (= λευκολοφίδου) and *CIA* I, 93, a, 8, c. 420 B.C.: θεΩ (= θεοῦ).

<sup>61</sup> The sign H continued for a time to be used as an aspiration mark, though its frequent absence in the same word implies that aspiration was not observed. Cf., for example, the aspirated form ΗΟΡΟΣ (= ὄρος) in *CIA* II, 1063; 1066; 1074; 1075, all early IV B.C. with the unaspirated form ΟΡΟΣ (= ὄρος) in *CIA* II, 1064; 1069; 1070; 1071; 1072; 1073; 1076; 1079; 1080; 1081; 1082; 1085; 1086; 1087; 1088; 1089; 1090; 1091; 1092; 1094; etc. all early IV B.C. *CIA* IV 54 b (363 B.C.) contains about forty words that should have received aspiration, none of which is aspirated. This may, however, be due to the practice after Eukleides. See the discussion under "Breathings", below.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, § 19a: "Properly or historically speaking, the term 'diphthong' originated in the combination δίφθογγος σύλλαβῇ, and thus meant a vowel-pair forming one syllable". Accordingly, Dionysios Thrax, *Τέχνη γραμματική*, on *περί συλλαβῆς*, says: Σύλλαβῃ ἐστὶ κυρίως σύλληψις συμφώνων μετὰ

This is seen from the many examples in which I replaces EI since the VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as well as from the Delphic Hymns (after 146 B.C.), where, when a diphthong stands under a long note, it is not dissolved into its constituent parts, but is repeated in whole, as if it were a simple vowel<sup>63</sup>. The pronunciation of diphthongs must take account of the accent. The basic rule of *trisyllabotomy* (i.e. that Greek words receive the accent on any one of the last three syllables) had as its effect that the accent was placed either on the first or on the second vowel of a diphthong:  $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\iota$  –  $\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\iota$  –  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\iota$  –  $\acute{\omicron}\iota$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\upsilon$  –  $\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ , etc. Those diphthongs that were accented on the first vowel became spurious (originally written as (AE =) AI, EI, OI, YI, later became AI HI  $\Omega$ I  $\Upsilon$ I) with the second vowel losing its sound and being reduced first to *-adscriptum* (e.g. ΤΥΧΗ<sub>Ι</sub> ΑΓΑΘΗ<sub>Ι</sub>), and later (XII<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.) to *-subscriptum* (τύχη ἀγαθῆ)<sup>64</sup>. Those diphthongs that were accented on the second vowel were pronounced monophthongally. Thus, the pronunciation of AI tended towards and finally became identical with that of E; the pronunciation of EI, OI, and YI was identified with that of I, while with Y increasingly moving towards I, the sound of U came to be represented by OY<sup>65</sup>. This process, as the evidence of

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φωνήεντος ἢ φωνήεντων, οἷον καρ βούς· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐνός φωνήεντος, οἷον α ἦ, and *Scholion on Dionysios Thrax*, *ad loc.* explains: συλλαβὴ ἐστὶ σύλληψις συμφώνων μετὰ φωνήεντος ἢ φωνήεντων ὅφ' ἕνα τόνον καὶ ἐν πνεύμα ἀδιαστάτως ἀγομένη. That this understanding of 'syllable' was the correct ancient view is proved by the Latin grammarians, who adopted this definition, e.g. Priscian I. 44: "syllaba est comprehensio literarum consequens sub uno accentu et uno spiritu prolata; abusive tamen etiam singularum vocalium sonos syllabas nominamus. possumus tamen et sic definire syllabam: syllaba est vox literalis quae sub uno accentu et uno spiritu indistanter profertur". The definition of diphthong is given by the Scholiast on Dionysios Thrax as: διφθογοὶ λέγονται ἐπειδὴ ἐκ δύο φθόγγων συνίστανται· φθόγγοι δὲ καλοῦνται κατὰ μουσικὸν λόγον τὰ γράμματα ("they are called diphthongs because they consist of two φθόγγους; by φθόγγους in music are meant the letters"), while Choeroboskos 520, 25 says: διφθογοὶ λέγονται διὰ τὸ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχειν δύο φωνήεντων φθόγγους· φθόγγους γὰρ λέγομεν ἐνταῦτα τὰ φωνήεντα, κἂν ἐκφωνῶνται κἂν μὴ ἐκφωνῶνται ("They are called diphthongs because each of them has the φθόγγους of two vowels: what we here call φθόγγους are the vowels, whether they are sounded or not sounded"). On the history and meaning of the diphthong (especially διφθογος συλλαβή), see JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, § 19.

<sup>63</sup> See the data bank *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: Delphi FD III:2 137, 2 ἐ[ρι]-βρόμοτο, 3 Φοῖοιβον, 8 and 21 μαντεῖειον, 11 βωμοῖοισιν, 12 ὁμοῖτο, 14 αειόλοιοις, 20 θνατοῖοις, 21 εἰείλες, ἐφοῖτο, 138, 15 ἀδεῖειαν, 22 ἔχειεις).

<sup>64</sup> E.g. *IG I*, 2: ΓΝΟΣΘΕΙ (= γνωσθῆ).

<sup>65</sup> Phonetically the various vowel-sounds are formed in the front (*i*), middle (*a*, *e*), and back (*o*, *u*) of the mouth cavity. As for the position of the lips, they are almost closed when

the inscriptions indicates, was, for the most part, initiated already in pre-classical antiquity.

Originally the diphthong AI was written as AE<sup>66</sup>. This was changed to AI by analogy with EI, OI, YI. However, because of its original composition as AE, it did not acquire the sound of I, as did the other diphthongs, but retained its original sound of E.

The two diphthongs AY and EY have fared differently. The original AY = *au* and EY = *eu*, where the accent was on the first element thus: áυ, éυ becoming áυ̣, éυ̣, gradually led to the consonantization of the υ and this finally took the sound of *v* before a vowel or a sounded consonant (see table, above) and the sound of *f* before a hard consonant. The *labialization* (the pronunciation with the lips, i.e. as consonants) of these diphthongs is witnessed since the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (see below). Analogous sound was given to the third diphthong, HY, which was added at this time.

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sounding *i* and *u*, half open for *e* and *o*, and open for *a*. Between these fixed points: front, middle, back, and closed, half-open, and open, there is an infinite scale of possibilities in pronouncing *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* -sounds, as is witnessed by the great variety of, e.g., English and Swedish vowel-sounds. Thus, the transition, for example, of EI, H, Y, YI, OI to I cannot have been sudden and complete in each case, but gradual, presumably passing through intermediary stages. Because of the lack of intermediary letters which could register the phonetic progress of each letter-sound in its inexorable, forward drive to the sound of I, we can no longer trace and pinpoint the stages of this process to a particular date in history. The mute evidence of the inscriptions and papyri can only tell us that H, Y, etc. are confused with I, but not whether in a particular case they were sounded completely identically or only similarly with I. However, the similarity must have been so great as to exclude other possibilities of confusion. Hence, we are justified in speaking of, e.g., H, Y, YI, EI, OI as taking on the sound of I, and these confusions begin in the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. (in some cases even earlier). When this process of levelling was completed for the entire Greek-speaking world – from Spain to India – is impossible to say. Presumably it was in the early Christian centuries. But this issue is irrelevant to the present quest, which is concerned with Athenian pronunciation in B.C. times and its relation to Neohellenic.

<sup>66</sup> See, e.g., IGA 153 (V B.C.): ΑΕσχρονδας ΑΕγίτ[ ] Διονυσσε (= Αέσχροندان εγιτ[αο] Διονυσσε); IGA 152 (V B.C. Tanagra): Αβαιοδορος (for Αβαιτόδορος); KRETSCHMER, *Die griechische Vasenschriften*, p. 126: ΑΕθρα; p. 33 f.: Αἴθων, Αθαναβα, περαβοθεν; Λαρισαἴων, Λυσανίαε, Πολυμίδαε. This is confirmed also by the Latin *ae*, which regularly rendered the Greek *ai* (cf. Q. Terentius Scaurus, ed. H. KEIL, 16. 10). G. MEYER, *Griechische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1886, cites also IGA 127 (V B.C.): Π[ρ]αυχαε; IGA 155 (V B.C.): Αμεινοκλειε, Φεργαβνετος, IGA 144 (V B.C.): ταε Δαματρι.



## 2. Criteria for Determining the Pronunciation of Greek

To determine the pronunciation of the various letters, evidence has been drawn from four areas: (a) indirect statements of ancient authors, such as, e.g., wordplays and cries of animals, (b) the inscriptions and papyri, (c) comparative philology, in particular, transcriptions from and to other languages, chiefly Latin, and (d) modern phonetic theory. Earlier Erasmians used all four types of evidence, but did not succeed in establishing a credible case because the material proved to be intractable. More recent Erasmians avoid the inscriptions (particularly the earlier ones) – the primary evidence for the pronunciation of Greek – and seek, instead, to establish the pronunciation of Greek chiefly by phonetic speculation and comparative philology<sup>67</sup>. Thus, in addition to Latin, English, German, French, Norwegian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Persian, Sanskrit, Gothic, Slavic, Armenian, etc. all have been used in the effort to determine the pronunciation of classical Greek, but strangely enough Byzantine and Neohellenic are almost completely left out of account! It thus becomes virtually a case of trying to establish the pronunciation of the English of Wycliffe, Tyndale, or even Shakespeare by setting aside Modern English and instead making use of all the other European languages. When Modern Greek is mentioned, it is usually to illustrate its presumed distance from classical Greek. This strange methodology is here deemed misguided and lacking in scientific stringency.

Of the four areas of evidence, above, (a) statements of ancient authors is of little value because classical authors never teach the pronunciation of the various letters and because their representations of animal sounds are not faithful to the actual sounds of animals;<sup>68</sup> (c) – and here it is mainly a question

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. W. S. ALLEN, *Vox Graeca. A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek*, Cambridge 1968. The same may be said of E. H. STURTEVANT, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Philadelphia, 1940<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> The cries of animals, often adduced by Erasmians, are not a safe guide to the pronunciation of Greek and should not be brought into the discussion unless we are of the opinion that frogs actually cry βρεκεκεκεξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ (Aristophanes, *Ranae* 210) and French oxen bellow *mu* (pronounce *mü* < *mugir*). How self-defeating this line of argument is can be readily seen from a comparison of the representation of such animal sounds in various European languages. According to Aristophanes (*Vespae* 903) the dog's howling is αῦ αῦ. In Neohellenic it is ᾶβ ᾶβ or more often γαῦ, γαῦ or γάβ γάβ (and the verb is γαυγίζω). In German, however, it is *wau wau*, while in Swedish it becomes *vov vov* (pronounce: 'voov voov'). Surely dogs make the same sound in all countries. Similarly the cat cries in Greek νιάου, but in German *miau*, while Shakespeare (1 Henry IV, 3, 1)

of transcriptions to and from Latin – is of meagre value because Greek sounds do not correspond to Latin sounds, transcriptional values being only approximate;<sup>69</sup> (d) can be quite useful, but only when applied to the internal history of the evolution of the sounds of the Greek language, i.e. from Ancient Greek to Neohellenic.

The fourth type of evidence, that is, (b), above, is composed of the inscriptions and the papyri. However, the dead letter of the inscriptions, taken by itself, cannot tell us anything about how the various signs were pronounced. We need a reference-point, both as an initial index for the value of each letter and against which to compare the phenomena of the inscriptions and evaluate the developments. This reference-point is (and was also for Erasmus) the living pronunciation of the Greek language. Hence, how some scholars can discuss ancient Greek pronunciation by ignoring or setting aside the Neohellenic evidence is difficult to understand<sup>70</sup>. But to be up to the task, it

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represents it as crying *mew*. The argument does not fare any better by associating ὠρύσσαι with the roaring of lions or wolves. This implies that it is hazardous to interpret Cratinus' βῆ βῆ as divulging the pronunciation of β as 'b' and of η as 'e'. See Jannaris, *American Journal of Philology* 16, pp. 46-51.

On the other hand, wordplays, in the nature of the case, are of particular value, because the play is often dependent upon the identical or similar sound of two words. The importance of wordplays for the pronunciation of Greek is discussed in Chapter Seven, section 6. Here I will take up only one example, pointed out to me by Aris CONSTANTINIDIS of Thessaloniki, author of *The Ecumenical Dimension of the Greek Language*. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 852, Kinesias identifies himself to Lysistrata as the husband of Myrrine, one of her associates: ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνις, Παιονίδης Κινησίας ('her husband, Kinesias, son of Paion'). In an Aristophanian context such as this, in which sexual motifs have free play, the name Παιονίδης is easily understood as Πειονίδης (< πέος 'penis') particularly as this is connected with Κινησίας (= Mover). The reading πειονίδης evidently was known, according to BENTLEY, to some Scholiast (see Aristophanes edition OCT, Vol. II, ad loc.).

<sup>69</sup> The fact that the Latin alphabet was developed from the Greek alphabet does not mean that the values given to the signs used in the new alphabet reflected the values of those signs in the Greek language. This has a later parallel. When Kyrillos and Methodios, the Greek brothers from Thessaloniki, created the Slavic alphabet, they used the Greek alphabet as their basis, but the sounds they gave to the letters they created for the Slavic languages were not quite the same as the sounds which the corresponding letters had in the Greek language.

<sup>70</sup> Thus, STURTEVANT, for example, hypothesizes on evidence he draws from other Indo-European languages apparently under the supposition that Greek must have had the same phonology. He largely disregards the evidence of the inscriptions, and makes a number of unproved assumptions. All his reasoning, however, is refuted by the concrete

is not enough to merely quote a few Neohellenic examples second-hand<sup>71</sup>. One must be able to speak Neohellenic as a Greek if he is really to understand (at least present) Greek phonology, and to appreciate phonetic changes and the reasons for them, and so be in a position to interpret the data correctly<sup>72</sup>.

We are thus left with the inscriptions and the papyri as the most relevant primary material. The reference-point is the traditional Greek pronunciation constituting the other end of the axis Ancient – Modern, within which the evolution of sounds can be properly evaluated.

The pronunciation of each vowel and diphthong, in particular, becomes apparent from their interchange with one another witnessed in the inscriptions and the papyri. This interchange, this writing of one letter instead of another, shows that the two letters (or diphthongs) in question were sounded identically or similarly and hence were confused by those not acquainted with historical *orthography* (i.e. the etymological spelling). As our interest centers at the beginning rather than at the end of this process, the inscriptional material is the more pertinent of the two.

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evidence of the inscriptions, which make his book hopelessly mistaken. His conclusions regarding the change of sounds for each letter are most of the time wrong by several centuries.

<sup>71</sup> For example, ALLEN, *Vox Graeca*, p. 19 states that τὸν πατέρα is pronounced in Modern Greek as *tombatéra*. The normal modern Greek pronunciation is *ton patéra*. However, in fast and careless speech, in which one does not adhere to *orthophony* (the strictly correct pronunciation), the sound of ν before that of π is often changed to μ and the sound becomes something between *tom patéra* and *to mpatéra* (cf. e.g. *IG* I, 34, 448/9 B.C.: κατὰ τὸμ πίνα]κα [= κατὰ τὸν πίνακα], see also *ibid.* τὸμ φόρον [= τὸν φόρον]; *IG* I, 37, 447/8 B.C.: ἐμ πόλει [= ἐν πόλει], and cf. τὸλ λόγον in *IG* I, 52, 434/3 B.C.). In Greek generally μ+π are used to render English, German, etc. *b*. In our case the 'b'-sound pends between *b* and *p*. This is true of Greek generally and especially of Southern Greece, including Athens (for the denasalization of μπ, ντ, γγ, γκ, i.e. the pronunciation of the above groups as *b*, *d*, *g*, see ANDRIOTIS, 'Ιστορία τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας, 116). In Northern Greece, however, especially among populations originating in Pontus, the μ+π tends to assume a thicker, rougher b-sound. But even so I have yet to hear a Greek, speaking properly, say *tombatéra*. In any case, this pronunciation, wherever and whenever it occurs, is not representative. On p. 67 ALLEN states that Neohellenic represents the bleating of lambs by μεε. Actually the form used in Greece is μπέ, or, to reproduce more faithfully the sound, it becomes μπέεεε. I give these as examples illustrating the elusiveness of sound-values for non-natives and of the impossibility of rendering them accurately in English, German, and other tongues.

<sup>72</sup> For a fairly insightful evaluation of the relation of Modern Greek to Ancient Greek by a non-Greek, see R. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge 1983<sup>2</sup>, rp. 1989.

## 3. The Pronunciation of the Vowels and Diphthongs

1. There is never any question as to the closed, thin *i*-sound of ι. This sound must be the reference-point for determining the sound of other vowels or diphthongs when they are confused with it.

2. EI = I. EI interchanges with I since the VI-V<sup>th</sup> century B.C., indicating both that it was sounded monophthongally, i.e. as one sound, and that it was sounded as 'I', or something very similar to it<sup>73</sup>. The interchange becomes

<sup>73</sup> See, e.g., Πισισ[τ]ρατος (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, 405, VII - 550 B.C.) for Πεισιίστρατος; 'Α[μ]ινίας (B. GRAEF-E. LANGLOTZ, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I-II, Berlin 1925-33, Vol. II, 1324, early VI B.C.) for 'Αμεινίας; Χίρων (*SEG* XXXV, 37, 580-70 B.C.) for Χείρων; Κλιτίας (J. C. HOPPIN, *A Handbook of Attic-Red-figured Vases*, I-II, Cambridge 1919, 150, 2, c. 570 B.C.) for Κλειτίας; Κλιτομένες (J. D. BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figured Vase-painters*, Oxford, 1956, 167, 550-25 B.C.) for Κλειτομένες; Κλιταρχος (BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figured Vase-painters*, 174, 1, 550-25 B.C.) for Κλείταρχος; Θάλια (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*: Deutschland, 21, pl. 56, 4, 9-10, c. 510 B.C.) for Θάλεια; VI B.C.: Ποτειδάν Ποτεδάν Ποτιδάν, *IGA* 20: 2, 6-9, 12, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24-32, 68, 74-84, 110-114; 'Αφιτρεταν, 'Αφιτρίτα, 'Ανφιτρίτα *IGA* 20, 2, 3, 71-73, 112, 114; 'Ανφιτρίτε *SEG* XXXV, 37, 580-70 B.C.; Τειμαρχος (*IGA* 372, 359) instead of Τιμαρχος, cf. Homer, *Iliad* II. 506 and *Odyssey* VI. 266. Ποσιδηϊον derived from Ποσειδών (*SEG* XXXV, 37, 580-70 B.C.); also the month Ποσιδηϊών (Anacreon Lyr. 6, 540 B.C.), later Ποσιδεών or Ποσειδεών; Χίρων (*CIG* IV. 8185 d) instead of Χείρων, V B.C.: χειλί[ω]ν (*IGA* 381 c 12, b 15; d 12) instead of χιλίων; Διοτίμουν ('Αθήναιον Ε', 419, 10, 1) instead of Διότιμος (*CIA* 179 and 362 both V B.C.; *ib.* 433, 460 B.C.; *IGA* 362, V B.C.); απόκτεινεν (*CIA* I, 9, 28) instead of ἀπόκτεινεν; Σταγίριται (*CIA* I, 230, 450 B.C.; 231, 449 B.C.; 233, 447, B.C.) instead of Σταγειρίται; again Σταγίριται (*CIA* I, 234, 447 B.C.; 339, 441 B.C.); *SEG* V, 35, i, 15 (420/17 B.C.); Χαλκιᾶται (*SEG* V, 6, i, 29, 449/8 B.C.; *CIA* I, 229, 451 B.C.; 263, V B.C.) instead of Χαλκειᾶται (230, 450 B.C.; 235, 445 B.C.; 237, 443 B.C.; 239, 439 B.C.; 259, 427 B.C.; 261, 427 B.C.) or Χαλκεᾶται (256, 428 B.C.); Ἐπαφρόδειτος (*CIA* II, 482, 108, 392 B.C.) instead of Ἐπαφρόδιτος; Ἀφροδείσιος (*CIA* II 482, 114) and Ἀφροδίσιος (in *ib.* line 110, 392 B.C.); διερίσματα (*CIA* II, 678 b, 47, 378-367 B.C.) along with διερείσματα (*CIA* II, 651, 4, same date); IV B.C. Μιλίχιω along with Μειλίχιω (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* VII, 507; 509); ὀρχαλκος (*CIA* II, 689) for ὀρείχαλκος (*CIA* II, 751 b 21; 766, 24 f.); ἄρχι (*SEG* XXIX, 220, 350 B.C.) for ἄρχει?; ἔχης (*SEG* XXX, 175, 350-300 B.C.) for ἔχεις; Ποσιδεών (*CIA* II, 191, b, 5, 320/19 B.C.; *SEG* XXV, 137, IV B.C., also *SEG* XXVIII, 60, 7, 270/69 B.C.); 'Αριστίδου (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XII, 254, 14, 332 B.C.) instead of 'Αριστείδου; Φιδίας (*CIA* III, Defixionum tabellae 29, 4 and 11, IV-III B.C.) for Φειδίας; ἔλλειπει (*CIA* I, 835, 66, 332 B.C.) side by side with ἔλλειπει; Δινίας (*SEG* XXV, 186, 266/5 B.C.) for Δεινίας (*SEG* XXXVI, 220, 320 or 290-280 B.C.); ἀπολέλιπται ἱκόνος ('Αθήναιον Η', 294 f. III B.C.) for ἀπολέλειπται εἰκόνος; Πεισιδης (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10080, IV B.C.) and Πισιδης (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10081, III-II B.C.).

very frequent from the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. as is witnessed by the various collections of Egyptian papyri<sup>74</sup>. The confusion between I and EI is

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g. *BGU* 1215 (III B.C.): [γ]ΕΙνωσκε for γίνωσκε; *BGU* 1501 (III B.C.): εἰσιηα for Ἰσιεῖα; *BGU* 1246 (III B.C.): βηγγ[Ε]ῖς; *Teht* 703 (III B.C.): συκαμεινοῖς for συκαμῖνοις; *BGU* 1289 (III B.C.): ποιμενεῖσσα; *BGU* 1418 (323-30 B.C.): ομολογῖ; *Teht* 299, 10 (299 B.C.): κοινῶι for κοινοῖ; line 15: ἀποτίσω instead of ἀποτεῖσω; *BGU* 1229 (257/56 B.C.): χιρογαφῆσον, εχῖ; *PSI* 350 (254/3 B.C.): γέινομαι for γίνομαι; *PSI* 354 (254/3 B.C.): παραγείνεσθαι for παραγίνεσθαι; *PSI* 365 (251/0 B.C.): σείτος for σίτος; *PSI* 361 (250 B.C.): λιτουργήσουσιν for λειτουργήσουσιν; *BGU* 1922 (246-22 B.C.): χαῖριν for χαίρειν; *Teht* 815 (228-21 B.C.): ερμπολε[ιτη]ῖ for Ἐρμπολίτη; *BGU* 2383 (215/14 B.C.): ἔτι ... ἔλιμμα for ἔτει ... ἔλειμμα; *Teht* 821, 6 (209 B.C.): ἀρχηου for ἀρχείου; *BGU* 1242 (III/II B.C.): τετρακισχειλίας; *BGU* 1214 (II B.C.): μεριδῖ, υμῖν, ημῖν, γείνεσθαι, πεπρακόσῃν, βουσεῖριτη; *BGU* 1251 (III/II B.C.): κ[τ]ῆνῃ; *Teht* 908 (II B.C.): ἐπῖ for ἐπεί; *Teht* 750 (187 B.C.): λ[ο]γιας for λογείας; *Teht* 813 (186 B.C.): σειτολόγοις for σιτολόγοις; *Teht* 823, 13 (185 B.C.): πετακοσείας for πεντακοσίας; line 20: ἐπέισθασθαι for ἐπίστασθαι; *Teht* 851 (175 B.C.): σειροῖς for σιροῖς; *Teht* 852 (174 B.C.): πόλῃν for πόλιν; *Teht* 701a (131 B.C.): προσεῖπτειν for προσρίπτειν; *Teht* 12 (118 B.C.): γείνωσκε, συμμείσγειν, ἐπισχῖν, διασαφῖς for γίνωσκε, συμμίσγειν, ἐπισχεῖν, διασαφεῖς; *Teht* 60 (118 B.C.): συντάξι for συντάξει; *Teht* 995 (114 B.C.): σύνταξις for σύνταξιν; *Teht* 1099 (114 B.C.): πολεμαῖδῖ for Πτολεμαῖδι; *Teht* 1094 (114/113 B.C.): κολπιτεῖκόν for κολπιτικόν; *Teht* 33 (112 B.C.): μῖζονι for μείζονι; *Oxy* 1723, 5 (109-107 B.C.): ικας for εἰκάδι; *Oxy* 46, 8 (A.D. 100): εἷσιδος instead of Ἰσιδος; *Oxy* 241, 11 (A.D. 98): ἀρχεῖπαστωφόρου for ἀρχεπαστοφόρου; *BGU* 1459 (I B.C.): χαῖριν for χαίρειν; *BGU* 1733 (I B.C.): σφραγε[ῖδῖ] for σφραγῖδι; *BGU* 1733 line 21: ἐπιτεῖμον for ἐπίτιμον; *BGU* 1740 (I B.C.): χιρογραφίας for χειρογραφίας; *BGU* 1741 (64/3 B.C.): συγγενῖ for συγγενῆ; *Oxy* 1453, 6 (30/29 B.C.): ησίου for Ἰσείου; *BGU* 1161 (24/23 B.C.): *BGU* 1118 (22 B.C.) 35: συντεῖμασθαι, 38: συντεῖμησιν, 46: τεῖμην for -τιμήν; *BGU* 1055 (13 B.C.): εχῖν for ἔχειν; χῖρος for χειρός; lines 23 and 28: μεχρεῖ instead of μέχρη; line 32: οφίλῃ for ὀφειλῇ; and line 42: οφίλει for ὀφείλει; περ[σ]εινης, εχῖν, χῖρος, ἀποδ[ω]σιν, δανῆ[ι]ον for Περσίνης, ἔχειν, ἀποδώσειν, δάνειον; *Oxy* (2 B.C.): ημῖν for ἡμῖν; *Oxy* 736, 37 (A.D. 1): περιδ[ι]πνο for περιδείπνον; line 38: διπνω for δειπνῶ; *Oxy* 731, 3 (A.D. 8/9): λιτουργησω for λειτουργήσω; υμῖν for ὑμῖν; Line 13: ἐκ[τ]ῖσω for ἐκτεῖσω; *Oxy* 721, (A.D. 13/4): ἰσιοντος for εἰσιόντος; *Oxy* 294, 12 (A.D. 22): εἶνα instead of ἵνα (similarly line 18); line 13: ποιήσις instead of ποιήσεις; line 18: εἶνα instead of ἵνα; line 22: πῖωσι instead of πείσωσι; line 23: εἰκανον instead of ἱκανόν; line 26: Διογενι instead of Διογένηι; line 27: εχῖ instead of ἔχει; line 31: εἰν' instead of ἔν' (note the absence of aspiration); and line 31: ἐπισκόπου instead of ἐπίσκοπον; *Oxy* 245, 8 (A.D. 26): ημῖν for ἡμῖν; *Oxy* 259, 19 (A.D. 48): οἰκῖν for οἰκεῖν; *Oxy* 238 (A.D. 72): γραφῖωι for γραφεῖω; *Oxy* 73, 26 (A.D. 94): υπαρχῖν instead of ὑπάρχειν; *Oxy* 46, 20 (A.D. 100): σείτοφορου instead of σιτοφόρου; *Oxy* 241, 32 (A.D. 98): χιρογραφον instead of χειρόγραφον; *Oxy* 296, 2 (I A.D.): κομῖζοντι for κομίζοντι; line 5: ημῖν for ἡμῖν.

represented also in Euboeia and Boiotia, as the following specimens make plain<sup>75</sup>.

3. EI = H. EI interchanges also with H already from the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.<sup>76</sup> Since EI had already in VI-V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. assumed or tended towards the sound of 'I', it is obvious that the H was tending in the same direction. This interchange becomes frequent around 200 B.C.<sup>77</sup>

4. Y = I. The letter Y (which originally was = u, later perhaps ü, though this is uncertain) interchanges with I already by 600-550 B.C. and especially from the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards. If its sound was not completely identical with that of I at this early stage, it was at least close enough to cause the confusion<sup>78</sup>. This is corroborated further by the fact that Y interchanges with

<sup>75</sup> For Euboeia the following examples may be cited: *IGA* 372 (VI-V B.C.): 29, 30, 31: 'Αριστοκλίδης along with 28: 'Αριστοκλείδης; 72: Λεωκρατίδης; 115 Εὐθυνειδης and 117: Εὐθεινίδης; 274, 281: Νεοκλείδης and 275: Νεοκλίδης; 312: Πίριθους (instead of Πείριθος) 359: Τειμαρχος and 365: Τιμαρχος; 364: Τιμαρχίδης, and for Boiotia I offer the following inscription from V B.C. or earlier: *IGA* 223: εὐτέλια (instead of εὐτέλεια); 259: Καλλιγίτον (instead of Καλλιγείτων); 300: [Ἀρ]ιστογίτον (instead of 'Αριστογείτων); Χαρόκλια (for Χαρόκλεια); Αὐτοκράτια side by side with correct Αὐτοκράτεια.

<sup>76</sup> V B.C.: Μείλιχος, Μήλιχος Μίλιχος (P. KRETSCHMER, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*, Gütersloh 1894, 133 f, 233), τύχει ἀγαθῇ (*SEG* XIV, 64, 21, 271/70 B.C.) for τύχη ἀγαθῇ; *ibid.* line 33: ἐν σήλῃ λιθίνει instead of σήλῃ λιθίνῃ; ἔδοξεν τει βο[υ][λ]ῃ κ[α]ί τῷ δῆμῳ for ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ; (*SEG* XIV, 65, 271/70 B.C.); Ἴρις ταχεῖα understood as Τριήρης ταχεῖα, Aristophanes, *Aves* 1204 (hence the question: Πάραλος ἢ Σαλαμινία; – the two fast State ships of Athens. See further ἀνατεθεικάσι (*CIA* II, 470, 71 and 80, 69-62 B.C.) along with ἀνατεθῆκῶν (*CIA* II, 403, 38, III B.C.) ἀνατέθηκεν (*CIA* II, 835, 35 and 45, (line 35 ἀνέθηκεν), 320-317 B.C.) and τεθῆκῶτας (*CIA* II, 1053, 7, I B.C.); καθῆλκον (*CIA* II, 470, 20, I B.C.) for καθεῖλκον; *BGU* 1271 (180-145 B.C.): τεθῆμαι for τέθειμαι; 543, 2 (27 B.C.): χρῆων for χρεῖων, and εἰ for ἦ; 174 (A.D. 7): ἐνατεῖ for ἐνάτη.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, the following papyri: *BGU* 1501 (III B.C.): εἰσιῆα instead of ἰσιεῖα *Tebt* 703 (III B.C.): ἐπιμελῆας instead of ἐπιμελείας; *BGU* 1502 (III B.C.): Ἀμμωνιον for Ἀμμωνιεῖον; *BGU* 1214 (II B.C.): χρῆαι for χρεῖαι; *BGU* 2381 (176 B.C.): ἱερῆας for ἱερείας; *BGU* 1499 (130 B.C.): ἡπητεῖ (bis) instead of ἡπητη; *Tebt* 1125 (116/115 B.C.): φατρις for Φατρείους; *Tebt* 7 (114 B.C.): συγγενεῖ instead of συγγενῇ; *BGU* 2421 (I B.C.): χρῆαν for χρεῖαν; *Tebt* 257 (I B.C.): ἐφοδῆας for ἐφοδείας; *BGU* 1185 (c. 60 B.C.): παραλογῶν, προστε[ι]μ[ων], ἐπῆ, φυτ[η]αν, ατελ[η]ας, τειμια for παραλογεῖων, προστίμων, ἐπί, φυτεῖαν, ἀτελείας, τίμια; *BGU* 1055, 8 (13 B.C.): δανῆον instead of δάνειον; so, too, line 24; line 18: βοῆον instead of βοείου.

<sup>78</sup> See, e.g., 600-550 B.C.: Σγκεῦσιν and Σιγενεῦσιν (*IGA* 492); Διόνσιος (BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters*, p. 176, 2, 550-525 B.C.) for Διόνυσος (writing the letters

H<sup>79</sup> and OI (which also had begun acquiring the sound of I) already by the IV<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>80</sup> Y interchanges also with EI by the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>81</sup> The thinning down of

in wrong order is a frequent phenomenon in inscriptions); further, Λισικλῆς (G. M. A. RICHTER-L. HALL, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, I-II, New Haven, 1936, 19, 4, 510 B.C.) for Λυσικλῆς; Ηιποτελε (BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figured Vase-painters*, p. 668, VI-V B.C.) for ΗΥποτελε; Ηιποκίμενος (BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figured Vase-painters*, p. 668, VI-V B.C.) for ΗΥποκίμενος; Τῆρινθι (*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*: Great Britain, 4, III, Ic pl. 8, 2 a-b, VI-V B.C.) for Τῆρινθι (KRETSCHMER, *Die griechischen Vasenschriften*, 119, 97, VI-V B.C.) for δάκρυον; Σιγείουσιν and Σιγείδον (SEG X, 13, 451/50 B.C.). Πίθις (SEG XXXII, 32, c. 500 B.C.) for Πῦθι-; Διονισιγένης (RICHTER-HALL, p. 72, 52, 490-480 B.C.) for Διονυσιγένης. V B.C.: Διονισιγένης for Διονυσιγένης; Κρισιής for Κρυσιής; Κρισεύς for Κρυσεύς; Διονίσις for Διονύσις; Διονίσιος instead of Διόνυσος and Τῆρινθι instead of Τῆρινθι (KRETSCHMER, *Vasenschriften*, 119, and 64, 90.); 'Αριστονίμο (Hesperia XIX, 383, 12, 2; 13 and 16, 2, 483/2 B.C.) for 'Αριστονίμω; Θρασιμέδ[ο]ν (SEG XVI, 23, 11, 465/4 B.C.) for Θρασιμέδον; Λισίστρατος (SEG XVI, 23, 32, 465/4 B.C.) for Λυσίστρατος; Κινδυής (CIA I, 37, 425 B.C.; 233, 447 B.C., 240, 440 B.C.) side by side with Κυνδυής (CIA I, 230, 450 B.C.); SEG III, 131 (400 B.C.) σβῆνῃ instead of σβύνη, σβήνη or σβίνῃ; ἡμῶν (CIA II, 17, a, 45, 378 B.C.; 794, d, 58, 356 B.C.; etc. SEG XXI, 527, 30, 363/2 B.C.) and ἡμῶν (CIA II, 1055, 37, 345 B.C.) instead of ἡμῶν (CIA IV, 3, a, 8, 444 B.C.); 'Αμφικτῶνες ('Αμφικτῶνικόν SEG XXV, 39, 409/8 B.C.) side by side with 'Αμφικτῶνες (CIA II, 54, 374 B.C.); Εὐθῦδικος (SEG XIX, 149 A col. I, 19, 336/5 B.C.) for Εὐθύδικος (CIA I, 437, V B.C.); Σίβιλλα (CIA II, 835, 54, 320 B.C.) for Σίβυλλα; 'Υομήνα (KRETSCHMER, *Vasenschriften*, 31, IV B.C.) for 'Υομήνα; Βλέπιρος (CIA III, Defix. tab. 7, IV-III B.C.) for Βλέπιρος; Σάτρας (CIA III, Defix. tab. 39, line 12, IV-III B.C.) and Σάτρα (line 9); Μῆλητον (SEG XXXII, 318, 300-250 B.C.) for Μίλητον; Εὐπῆχis (CIA II, 2935, III B.C.), for Εὐτυχis; Μουνυχῶν (CIA II, 247, 6, 306 B.C.) for Μουνυχία (-ιών) (CIA I, 215, 9, 434-403 B.C.; CIA II, 600, 30, 300 B.C.); Χοίρτος for Χοίριλος (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athens, XIV (1890), 389, 279 B.C.); ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν (230 B.C.); κυλῆχνιον Κυνθικῶ for κυλῆχνιον Κυνθικῶ (180 B.C.); ἡμῶν (*Greek Pap. in Brit. Mus.* 22, 6-10; 24, 5; 25, 15-7, II B.C.) for ἡμῶν, but ἡμῶν in 46, 24, ἀρχιπερέτην (*Greek Pap. in Brit. Mus.* 41, 121, 158-7 B.C.) along with ἀρχιπερέτην (at 97); βῆλος, βῆλιον (CIA II, add. 1, b, 25, 403 B.C.) and βῆλια, βῆβλος, βῆβλιοθήκη (CIA II, 468, 25 (early I B.C.; 478, d, 1, 68-48 B.C.); Μνύκιος ('Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική III, 1884, 100, 73 B.C.) but Μινύκιος (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* VII, 154, A.D. 45). See Ϝ Tebt 894 (II B.C.): λῆκιδον for λῆκυδον.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. Κηθῆρ (SEG XVI, 123, 28, 350 B.C.) for Κυθῆρ. See also the following papyri: Ϝ Tebt 857 (162 B.C.): τυς for τῆς; BGU 1358 (120 B.C.): ζυτῶρας for ζυτῶρας; Ϝ Oxy 46, (A.D. 100): ἡμῶν for ἡμῶν.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Kallias' wordplay κέρδος αἰσχύνῃς ἀμείνων: ἔλκε μοιχὸν εἰς μῆχόν (mid-V B.C.). See further Κοιβῶν (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1635, 81, 374/3 B.C.) for Κύβων; Ποιθικοῦ (IG II<sup>2</sup> 2407, 5, 350 B.C.) for Πυθικοῦ; Ποίτιος instead of Πύτιος (Dethier, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien*, 1859, Vol. 30, p. 431, III B.C.); φοίλοπις instead of φύλοπις (II B.C.,

the pronunciation of Υ towards Ι is also confirmed by the fact that already in classical times Υ had lost its original sound of U, which now came to be expressed by ΟΥ<sup>82</sup>.

5. ΥΙ = Ι. The Ι of this diphthong very early<sup>83</sup> had come to be swallowed by or contracted with the Υ, and the diphthong was pronounced as a simple Υ (see above). This phenomenon is clearly witnessed since the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.<sup>84</sup> ΥΙ is also confused with ΟΙ<sup>85</sup>.

6. ΟΙ = Ι. ΟΙ is confused with Ι at the latest by 329 B.C.<sup>86</sup> The pronunciation of ΟΙ as Ι is confirmed further by the fact that in the same inscription (above, dated 329 B.C.) ΟΙ interchanges also with ΕΙ (which, since

see *Δελτίον τῆς Ἑστίας*, 591, 24<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1888, p. 2); ἀνύγετε instead of ἀνοίγετε, *Louvre Papyrus* 50, 7 (160 B.C.). The exchange becomes very frequent after the first century A.D.: e.g. *BGU* 1732 (I B.C.): γεγονοῖα instead of γεγονοῖα; *BGU* 999, 8 (99 B.C.): ρῆει for οἶξει; *ᾤ Tebt* 299 (A.D. 50): ψῆφος in lieu of Ψοῖφος; *ᾤ Oxy* 44, 20 (A.D. 100): κῆνωνικόν instead of κοινωνικῶν; *ᾤ Fay* 115 (A.D. 101): χυρίδια (*bis*) for χοιρίδια, ὕκον (*bis*) for οἶκον, and πυήσεις for ποιήσεις.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Πειθαγόρα (*SEG* XXI, 126, 9, 430 B.C.) for Πυθαγόρας.

<sup>82</sup> Also L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Berlin 1980, p. 261 and 323, concedes that υ had in classical times become = y. Unfortunately THREATTE (like his predecessor, MEISTERHANS (revised by SCHWYZER) *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1900 generally explains the earlier evidence of the Attic inscriptions orthographically and the later evidence phonetically, which thus distorts the phonetic development at work during the earlier period.

<sup>83</sup> Traces of it appear already in Homer, cf. the epic optatives (see ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν*, s.v. δύω) in *Odyssey* XX. 286 δῶη instead of δῶη; XIX. 248 δαινύατο instead of δαινύατο; and *Iliad* XV. 99 δαίνυνται instead of δαίνυνται.

<sup>84</sup> The earliest example detected so far is Ηιλέθρα (*SEG* XXXV, 37, 580-70 B.C.) for Ἰλέθρα. See also ἀπεληλυθρας (*CIA* I, 273, V B.C.) instead of ἀπεληλυθίας; Ἰλειθρα (*CIG* 7403) instead of Εἰλειθια (*CIG* 7402); κατεαγρα (*CIA* II, 678 B, 65, 378-366 B.C.) instead of κατεαγυῖα; παρειληφρα (*CIA* II, 811 c, 150, 326 B.C.) instead of παρειληφῶια; Ὠρειθῶα (*CIA* II, 789, 64, 373 B.C.; 793 d, 7, 357 B.C.) instead of Ὠρειθυῖα; ἐκπεπλευ[κ]των (*CIA* II, 793 a, 7 f., 357 B.C.) for ἐκπεπλευκυῶν; κωδῶας (*CIA* II, 701, 1, 68, 70, 344 B.C.) for κωδυῖας; ὄργας (*CIA* II add. 834, b, I, 9, 54, 329 B.C.) for ὄργυῖας.

<sup>85</sup> See *ᾤ Oxy* 283, 10 (A.D. 45?): γέγονοιῖας for γεγονοῖας.

<sup>86</sup> An earlier example is Μῖραι (*SEG* XXXV, 37, 580-70 B.C.) for Μοῖραι. See further περιαλιφῖν (*CIA* II, add. 834, b, I, 61 = *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1883-4 p. 109, 329 B.C.) instead of περιαλοιφῖν; similarly *SEG* XIX, 58, vs. 85 (307/6 B.C.) ἀλιφῖν and *SEG* III, 147 (289/8 B.C.) τῖν ἀλιφῖν (for ἀλοιφῖν), and especially from the II B.C. on (e.g. συνηκολουθηκότοι instead of συνηκολουθηκότι, KENYON, *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 9, 13-14).



very early times, had acquired the sound of I)<sup>87</sup>. Further, since the V-IV<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. it interchanges with Y (see above), and finally, at the latest since 168 B.C. it interchanges also with H<sup>88</sup>, both of which had come to be confused with I. That it was impossible at this time to pronounce the diphthongs in *diaeresis* (i.e. as two distinct vowel sounds) becomes obvious also from such a word as Εὐδοῖοι (see IGA 110, 2, early VI<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.). This word, which consists of seven vowels, if pronounced in the Erasmian way, would give the comical sound: 'E-u-a-o-i-o-i' – as though it were an exercise in vowel mnemonics. Surely the correct pronunciation was between 'Eva-ü-ü' and 'Eva-i-i'.

7. H = I. The letter H interchanges with I already by the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., that is, before its official acceptance in the Athenian alphabet in 403 B.C. This fact again confirms that the popular pronunciation of H was that of I, i.e. contrary to the original intention of the theorists who had adopted it to represent positional E, (i.e. technical length)<sup>89</sup>. The frequency of its interchange with I

<sup>87</sup> Cf. δὲεῖν (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883-4 p. 125, line 73) along with the correct δὲοῖν (p. 119, line 34, and CIA 834 b II, 42 and 71, and 834 c 73, 329 B.C.). It is interesting to note that δὲεῖν occurs in CIA II, 167, 78, 307 B.C.; 281, 5 (Macedonian times); 1138, 7, 302 B.C.; 281, 5, c., 300 B.C.; 380, 27, 229 B.C.; 591, 4, before 200 B.C.; SEG XXI, 525, 42, 282/1 B.C. and SEG XIX, 80, 25 (date?), while δὲοῖν occurs always in the older inscriptions, e.g. CIA I, 273, f 31, 420-416 B.C.; 312, 409 B.C.; 324, 408 B.C., though also later, e.g. SEG XXV, 65, 336/4 B.C. and SEG XXXIX, 175 Face A col. II, 58, 300/299 B.C. See also CIA II, 168 (late IV B.C.) Φαληρεῖ (for Φαληροῖ); Περιθειδης (Bull. Corr. Hell. XIV (1890) p. 62, late IV B.C.) for Περιθοῖδης; CIA II, 476, 12 f., 101 B.C. τοῖς λοιπῆς for τοῖς λοιποῖς. SEG XIX, 129, 2, 352/1 B.C. ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῖχῳ (also lines 6, and 17) may be a confusion for τεῖχῳ.

<sup>88</sup> So far detected in papyri, e.g. Louvre Pap. 55, 11-15 (168 B.C.): ἡνον instead of οἶνου (3 times); Greek Papyri in Br. Museum, p. 9, 13-14 (162 B.C.): συνακολουθηκότοι σοι (for -κότι σοι); διοίκησαν (165-158 B.C.).

<sup>89</sup> The following may serve as examples: Δημοσθένης (SEG XIX, 37 V B.C.) instead of Δημοσθένης; Ἀθινᾶ (SEG XIX, 37, V B.C.) for Ἀθηνᾶ; Ἄρις (SEG XIX, 37, V B.C.) for Ἄρης; Δημοσθένης (SEG XIX, 37, V B.C.) for Δημοσθένης; Καμηρῆς (CIA I, 228, 12, 452 B.C.) instead of Καμῆρῆς (CIA I, 233, 447 B.C.; 237, 11, 443 B.C.; 239, 52, 441 B.C.; 240, 75, 440 B.C.); Σικινῆται (CIA I, 37, 79, 425 B.C.) instead of Σικινῖται; Εὐφῆβος (KRETSCHMER, *Vaseninschriften*, 138, V B.C.) for Εὐφηβος; Πιδασῆς (CIA I, 37, 425 B.C.) instead of Πηδασῆς (CIA I, 233, 447 B.C.); Ἡποκράτης (IGA 26, 425 B.C.) for Ἰποκράτης (CIA I, 273, b 3, 426 B.C.); συβῆνη (CIA I, 170, 19, 422-219 B.C.) instead of συβῖνη; also 172, 18 (420 B.C.); again Καμηρῆς (CIA I, 263, 9, 420 B.C.) and Καμῆρῆς (CIA I, 37, 425 B.C.; 256, 17, 430 B.C.); τινδε instead of τῆνδε and σῖμα instead of σῆμα (IGA 382, 3-4, IV B.C. or earlier); Σικινῆται (CIA I, 37 B, 31, 425 B.C.; II, 17 b, 31, 378 B.C.) for Σικινῖται; Μελησάνδρου (CIA II, 801, 14, c. 350 B.C.) instead of

increases dramatically from the III<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. in the Ptolemaic papyri, which may be illustrated here by a few examples<sup>90</sup>. The interchange of H with EI (which was pronounced as I already by the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) becomes very frequent from around 200 B.C., again leading to the same conclusion<sup>91</sup>. H

Μελισάνδρου; Θυαίνι (CIA II, 754, 13; 755, 7, **344 B.C.**) instead of Θυαίνη; θερμαστίv (CIA II, 754, 29, mid-IV B.C., cf. 755, 21; 756, 8) instead of θερμαστήν; ὕλιν (CIA II, 1059, 9, **321 B.C.**) instead of ὕλιν; ἀμαξήποδα (CIA II, add. 834, c, 42, **329 B.C.**) instead of ἀμαξίποδα; γεισηπους (CIA II, 167, 51, c. **307 B.C.**) instead of γεισίπους; γεισηπόδι-σιν (SEG XIX, 58, vs. 63, **307/6 B.C.**) and again γεισηπόδιση (CIA II, 167, 63 and 114, **305 B.C.**) instead of γεισιπόδιση; also γεισηπους for γεισίπους (**III B.C.**); ἀρετις (CIA II, 258, 16, **304 B.C.**) instead of ἀρετῆς; τηθη (CIA II, 836, c-k, 43 **III B.C.**) instead of τίθη (?); Ἡρακλεώτις (CIA II, 2936, **III B.C.**) for Ἡρακλεώτης; Ἐπικρατής (CIA II, 3222, **III B.C.**) for Ἐπικράτης; Διμήτριος (Bull. de Corr. Hell., V, 168, no. 33, **III B.C.**) for Δημήτριος; Διώνη (C. CARAPANOS, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Pl. XXXVI, no. 2 and 5, **III B.C.**) instead of Διώνη; οἰκῆας (CIG 1690, 21, **III B.C.**) instead of οἰκίας. The following readings are all dated before Roman times: Ἀριμνίστει instead of Ἀριμνήστη; Ἡπρωῶτις χρηστή instead of Ἡπειρωῶτις or Ἡπρωῶτις χρηστή; διαναγεῖλαι (DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge*, 195, 7) instead of διαναγεῖλαι; and ἱρώων (ROSS, *Inscr. græc. ined.* Fasc. III, p. 15, no. 264) instead of ἡρώων. In Egyptian papyri διδασκαλῆω (Louvre Pap. 51, 10, **160 B.C.**) instead of διδασκαλίω, and often in these papyri. See also SEG XIX, 124, 2 (**152/1 B.C.**) πέμπτει instead of πέμπτη. Further: τι (Louvre Pap. 15 a, 15, **120 B.C.**) for τῆν [μίαν]; Αὐριλίας side by side with Αὐρηλιος (Mittheilungen des Arch. Instituts, Berlin, 1876, XIV, 114, 72, 3-6, **120 B.C.**) for Αὐρηλία; ψίφισμα (Mittheilungen, 110, 66, **120 B.C.**) for ψήφισμα; φηλώτα (Mittheilungen, 105, 51, **120 B.C.**) for φιλώτα. An example from Selinus, Sicily, is: Ἀριστοφάνιος and Ἀριστοφάνιος (SEG XXVI, 1113, late **VI B.C.**).

The pronunciation of H as I seems to receive the support of Sokrates in Platon's *Kratyllos* 418b-c: οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῷ ἰῶτα καὶ τῷ δέλτα εὖ μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σῶζουσι. νῦν δὲ ἀντί μὲν τοῦ ἰῶτα ἦ εἰ ἢ ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν, ἀντί δὲ τοῦ δέλτα ζῆτα, ὥς δὴ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ὄντα ("Know that our ancestors made frequent use of 'iota' and 'delta', not least the women, who actually preserve the ancient sound. But nowadays they change ἰῶτα either to εἰ or ἦτα, and δέλτα to ζῆτα as being more magnificent"), and exemplifies by the earlier ἡμέραν, later written as εἰμέραν, and in his day as ἡμέραν. Since the pronunciation of the word could not have changed three times, the three alternative ways of writing the word suggest the identical or similar pronunciation of I, EI, and H.

<sup>90</sup> Among the later papyri, see *P Oxy* 47 (A.D. 83/4): ησιδ[ος] for ἰσιδ[ος]; *P Oxy* 241, 12 (A.D. 98): ησιδος for ἰσιδος.

<sup>91</sup> To the examples cited under EI, add e.g. Ἀριστίμηδης (IG II, 49, **IV B.C.**); τῆ βουλει (CIA II, 38, 7, before **376 B.C.**) instead of τῆ βουλῆς; χαλκοθήκει (CIA II, 61; 7, 13, **357-353 B.C.**) instead of χαλκοθήκη; ἐν στήλει λιθίνει and ἐν στήλει λιθίνει (SEG II, 7, **330-325 B.C.**) ἀγαθὴ τύχει (CIA II, 186, 26, **322 B.C.**) instead of ἀγαθὴ τύχη; ὀφείκε (CIA II, 811, c, 119) (**323 B.C.**) instead of ἀφῆκε; Αἰνῆου (CIA II, 1049 A 55, **120 B.C.**) for

interchanges even with Υ, which was also tending in the direction of Ι<sup>92</sup>. Owing to the historical orthography (i.e. spelling) prior to the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, which continued to be in use after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, Η interchanges more often with Ε down to Byzantine times<sup>93</sup>.

8. ΗΙ = Ι. The spurious diphthong ΗΙ interchanges with the proper diphthong ΕΙ very frequently from the time of the adoption of Η (V<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) to the first century B.C.<sup>94</sup> Since the diphthong ΕΙ was sounded

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Αίνειου; cf. also Αινέας (*CIA* IV, b, 34, c, 2, c. 434 B.C.) and Αινειᾶται (*CIA* I, 259, 18, 428 B.C.), with Αινεᾶται (*CIA* I, 234, 34, 446 B.C.); Ἄρμος πάγος (*CIA* III, 63, Augustan age; 452; 567, 39 B.C.; 587, 11 B.C. etc.) instead of Ἄρειος πάγος; εἶπεν (*CIA* II, 331, c. 280 B.C.) for ἦπεν. From the IV B.C. on ΕΙ stands for ΗΙ exceedingly often (e.g. *SEG* XXVI, 93, III B.C.). This may be due to the old, historical spelling, however, since the new spelling with Η occurs often in the same inscription (E.g. *SEG* XXVIII, 139, 42 (356-340 B.C.): ταῦτε παράκειται (also line 50); *SEG* XXVIII, 60 (270/69 B.C.): ὀγδόει, εἰκοστῇ, τεῖ βουλευί, καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ (!), τεῖ Ἀρχιγέτιδι, τεῖ θεῶι (!), τεῖ δημοκ[ρατί]αι, ἀγαθῇ τύχει, τεῖ διοικήσει, τεῖ ἀγορᾷ, στήλει λιθίνει) and even the same construction (e.g. *CIA* II, 38, 2 (c. 380 B.C.): ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνει (also line 19); *CIA* II, 61, 7 (357-353 B.C.): ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκῃ; *CIA* II, 114, 4 (343/2 B.C.): ἐν τῇ βουλῇ; *SEG* XXX, 69 (304/3 B.C.): τῇ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχει; *Tebe* 1110 (116/115 B.C.): κοινεῖ instead of κοινῇ), it would seem that the interchange is due to confusion on account of similar or identical pronunciation. See also *BGU* 1145, 6 (19 B.C.): τεληωθῆναι for τελειωθῆναι; 1143 (18 B.C.): ἀσ[φ]αλῆας for ἀσφαλείας; *Tebe* 1457, (4-3 B.C.): θηλῆας for θηλείας; *Tebe* 731 (A.D. 13/4): χρῆαν for χρείαν; *Tebe* 253, 19 (A.D. 19): ἀλῆθει for ἀληθῇ; *Tebe* 240, 4 (A.D. 37): εἰ instead of ἦ; *Tebe* 283, (A.D. 45?): ἀγειοχα for ἀγίοχα; *Tebe* 94, (A.D. 83): ἀποκαταστεισιν for ἀποκαταστήσιν.

<sup>92</sup> See, e.g., Κηθήρ (*SEG* XVI, 123, 28, 350 B.C.) for Κῆθήρ.

<sup>93</sup> The reason for this is probably that on the one hand Ε had a 'closed' rather than open sound, and on the other that Η had not yet been thinned down to such a degree as to coincide completely with Ι; for a long time Η lay somewhere between Ε and Ι. See, e.g., *BGU* 1465 (III B.C.): ἡαν instead of ἑάν.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. κλῆις (= κλῆς) (*CIA* II, 675, 44, c. 403 B.C.) and κλεις (*CIA* II, 675, 47, c. 403 B.C.; 678, b, 64 (κλῆς), 378-366 B.C.); ληιστῶν (= ληστῶν) (*Mitteilungen* X, p. 57 line 11 346 B.C.) and λειστῶν (*CIA* II, 804, B, b, 35, 344 B.C.); ληιτοργιῶν (= λητοουργιῶν) (*CIA* II, add. 554 b, 14, 386 B.C.) and λειτου[ρ]γοῦντες *CIA* II, 316, 11, 282 B.C.; πεντε-ληικούς (*Εἴρημ. Ἀρχ.* 1886, p. 199 ff. lines 79, 94, early IV B.C.; *CIA* II, 1054, 31, 33, 45, 347 B.C.) and πεντελε[ι]κούς (*Εἴρημ. Ἀρχ.* 1886, p. 201 f., early IV B.C.); Ἀριστιδῆς (*CIA* II, 814 a, B, 22; 864, 29, 400-350 B.C.) and Ἀριστειδῆς (*CIA* II, 814, a, A, 22 f., 374 B.C.); Ἀρρινῆδο (= Ἀρρενῆδου) (*CIA* II, 864, iii, 21, 400 B.C.) and Ἀρρενείδει (*CIA* II add. 834 b, II, 60, 329 B.C.); Ἀρχενῆδου (*CIA* II, 793, b, 70, 357 B.C.) and Ἀρχενείδου (*CIA* II, 811, d, 141, 323 B.C.). For examples of the interchange between ΗΙ and Η, see *Tebe* 895 (175 B.C.): ἐπιστατῆ for ἐπιστάται; *Tebe* 871 (158 B.C.): ἐπράθη for ἐπράθη. and *Tebe* 882 (155-144 B.C.): γραφή for γραφή.

monophthongally (i.e. as a simple I), and the H of the spurious diphthong was the only letter sounded<sup>95</sup>, it becomes again clear that the H and the I were, in these cases, sounded similarly if not identically, and hence were confused. The increasing substitution of HI by EI may be exemplified by the tribal names Αιγῆς, Ἐρεχθῆς and Οἰνῆς, in which HI preponderates around 400 B.C., while EI has completely eclipsed HI by 300 B.C.

9. O, OY, and Ω. The letter O interchanges with OY very frequently from the VI<sup>th</sup> century to the III<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>96</sup> However, it is interesting to note that OY, pronounced distinctly as U, is hardly ever written instead of O<sup>97</sup> or Ω<sup>98</sup>. This shows that there was little distinction between O and Ω<sup>99</sup>, but a clear distinction between O and Ω on the one hand, and OY on the other<sup>100</sup>. From the third century B.C. on O and Ω interchange very frequently, which implies that if there had ever been any distinctions between them originally, these letters had now become equivalent<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> See an example of this confusion in *Teht* 931 (136 B.C.): καταμεμετρημένῃ in lieu of καταμεμετρημένη.

<sup>96</sup> For spurious ou (written as o) see, e.g., μισθόντα (*Mittheilungen* IX, p. 117, line 6, 570 B.C.); ἐλθῶσαν (*CIA* IV, 27, a 13, 445 B.C.); ὑπουργοῖς (*CIA* I, 301, 31, 378 B.C.) for ὑπουργοῖς; [ἐν]οικόντων (*CIA* II, 17, 17, 378 B.C.) for ἐνοικούντων; ἀποστόλο (*CIA* II, 809, b 24, 325 B.C.) for ἀποστόλου; ναυστάθμο (*CIA* II, 809, a 220, 325 B.C.) for ναυστάθμου; and for original ou: βόν (439 B.C.) for βούν; again βόν (*SEG* I, 4, 418 B.C.); τῶτο (e.g. *CIA* I, 128, 415 B.C.) instead of τούτου.

<sup>97</sup> One example of this is *Teht* 934 (156 B.C.): αρμοῖζουσῆς in lieu of ἀρμοζούσης.

<sup>98</sup> However, three instances of Ω instead of OY are: *Teht* 185 (112 B.C.): χαλκοῦ instead of χαλκῶ; and *Teht* 793, 10. 17 (183 B.C.): ἀνείλημμενοῦ instead of ἀνείλημμένῳ; by *Teht* 910 (162 B.C.): ἐρμωδοῦ instead of Ἐρμωδώφ.

<sup>99</sup> O interchanges with Ω infrequently from the latter's appearance to the end of the III B.C. (e.g. on Attic vases of V-IV B.C.: Δίφιλος (beside Δίφίλος), Διώνυσος (for Διόνυσος), Ἀλκίμαχος (for Ἀλκίμαχος), καλῶς (for καλός); Λεωντίς (*CIA* II, add, 17, 4, 378 B.C.; *CIA* II, 73, 11, 368 B.C.) along with Λεοντίς (*CIA* II, 835, 62, 320-317 B.C.), cf. also Λεοντίνις (*SEG* X, 48, 433/2 B.C.); Σάμων (for Σάμων) *CIA* II, 808 a, 130, 326 B.C.); λιπόν (for λιπών) (*CIA* 2836, 6, c. 300 B.C.); μνημεῖον (*Mittheilungen* X. 363) for μνημεῖον; τὸν ἐγγονῶν, παραγγελλέτωσαν (*Ἐφημ.* Ἀρχ. 1884/85, p. 137, 11 and 14) (for ἐγγονον, παραγγελλέτωσαν); Θεοδοσία (*CIA* 3216) for Θεοδοσία; γνῶμη (*CIA* 3580) for γνώμη; Λυσίῳ side by side with Λυσίῳ (*Ἐφημ.* Ἀρχ. 1886, p. 158, 103; 264; 291); αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ (*CIA* II, 578, 23, 344 B.C.). The instances of confusion of these two letters in the papyri are without number.

<sup>100</sup> The infrequent exchange between ΩI and OY may be exemplified by *Teht* 910 (162 B.C.): ἐρμωδοῦ instead of Ἐρμωδώφ (see above).

<sup>101</sup> See, e.g., the following papyri: *BGU* 1462 (III/II B.C.): γεομετρίας for γεωμετρίας; *BGU* 1214 (II B.C.): κομων for κωμών; συνισπρά[ζονται] for συνεισπράζονται;

10. **OI** and **ΩΙ**. **OI** and **ΩΙ** (i.e. the older and new spellings with *ι-subscriptum*) interchange quite often<sup>102</sup>. This shows the identity or at least close similarity of sound between them.

11. **AI** = **E**. The diphthong **AI** (**AE**) interchanges with **E** already before 400 B.C. This happens, for example, in Boeotia (where the Ionic **H** had taken the place of **AI**) revealing the fact that **AI** was pronounced monophthongally and as **E**<sup>103</sup>. The pronunciation of **AI** as **E** in Athens is proved from the addition of *ι* to the diphthong<sup>104</sup>. It is, furthermore, confirmed by the fact that **AI** and **E** are from very early times frequently confused, and the confusion obtains throughout the entire period with which we are concerned<sup>105</sup>.

τασσονται for τάσσωνται; *Tebr* 858 (II B.C.): θεογαντα for Θεογονιδος; *Tebr* 894 (II B.C.): βομοις (11 times!) for βομοῖς; βομω for βομῶ; βομους for βομούς; *BGU* 1732 (I B.C.): παρακεχόρηκα for παρακεχώρηκα; 2425 (I B.C.): Λεοδάμας for Λεωδάμας; 1193 (27 B.C.): τῷ for τῷ; 543, 20 (27 B.C.): καθο for καθῶς, and ομομεκα for ὁμόμοκα; *Oxy* 1453, 23 (20/19 B.C.): κεχηρηγημενοις for κεχωρηγημένοις; *BGU* 1055, 17 (13 B.C.): οκτοκαιδεκακοτυρον for ὀκτωκαιδεκακότυλον; 1147 (13 B.C.): ενεβολων for ἐννεοβόλων; *Oxy* 743, 23 (2 B.C.): ολος for ὅλος, and απολε[σ]εν for ἀπώλεσεν; *Oxy* 744, 5 (1 B.C.): εαν εισπορευονται for ἐάν εισπορεύονται; *Oxy* 252, 6 (A.D. 19/20): εονημενος for ἐωνημένος; *Tebr* 299 (A.D. 50): ιερεος instead of ιερῆος, and γεγονωτ instead of γεγονότα; *BGU* 916, 16 (A.D. 69-79): βομον for βωμόν; line 39: τετρακωσιω[v] for τετρακοσίων; *Oxy* 241, 20 (A.D. 98): εισαδων for εισόδων; *Oxy* 46, 15 (A.D. 100): ιερεος instead of ιερῆος.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. κομοιδια (for κωμωδία) (IV B.C.); τῷ δήμοι (CIA II, 277, 7, c. 300 B.C.) for τῷ δήμῳ; τῷ ιερῷ (300 B.C.) for τῷ ιερῶ; *Tebr* 884 (210 B.C.): οια for φά (*bis*); but *Tebr* 1081 (II B.C.): οια for φά (13 times); and note *Tebr* 1084 (III/II B.C.): φια (!) for φά; *BGU* 1248 (148/47 B.C.): οικονομησαμεν for ὀκονομησαμεν. For a superfluous *i*-subscript see *Tebr* 980 (153 B.C.): αποδωι for ἀποδῶ and αποτεισωι for ἀποτεισῶ; *BGU* 1838 (51/50 B.C.): τυγχανωι ... γεωργωι (understood as substantives?) for τυγχάνω ... γεωργῶ (verbs).

<sup>103</sup> Ἀρίστηχος (cf. *IGA* 300, V B.C.?) (for Ἀρίσταιχος, cf. *IGA* 397 and 398, V B.C.?). Ἠγοσθενίτης (for Αἰγοσθενίτης), Δημήνετος (for Δημαίνετος), Ἠχμων (for Αἰχμων), Φήδιμος (for Φαίδιμος), χῆρε (for χαῖρε), ταμίη (for ταμίαι), τίπτομη (for τίπτομαι), κλῆω (for κλαίω) Ἀθανῆοι (for Ἀθηναῖοι).

<sup>104</sup> See, e.g., Ἐλαιῖται (CIA I, 228, 4, 452 B.C.) (pronounce *Ele-i-te*, not *Ela-i-i-ta-i*); ἐλαίνος (CIA II, 678, B, 10, 378 B.C.) (pronounce: *elē-i-nos*, not *ela-i-i-nos*); Ἀθηναϊκόν (CIA II, 780, 14, c. 300 B.C.) (i.e. *Athene-i-kón*, not *Athēna-i-i-kon*); Ἑρμαῖικόν (CIA II, 781, 4, 5, c. 300 B.C.) (i.e. *Erme-i-kón*, not [H]erma-i-i-kón).

<sup>105</sup> See ΔΙΚΕΑΙΚΕΣ (= Δικεάρκης?) in *Corp. Vas. Antiq.*: Gr. Brit., Vol. 4, pl. 39, 2 a-b (end of VI B.C.); Χαῖραια (W. KLEIN, *Die griechische Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1897, no. 38, 530 B.C.); χαῖρε καὶ πῖαι (J.D. BEAZLEY, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford 1971, p. 77, 1, 530 B.C.)

12. AY, EY and HY. The diphthongs AY, EY and HY retain the pronunciation of both letters, but already by the VI<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. the Y is sounded as a consonant: *v* or *f*: *av* or *af*, *ev* or *ef*, and *iv* or *if*. This is proved beyond possible doubt by the mistake of the stone-cutters in substituting *F* (digamma)<sup>106</sup>, which corresponded to the Phoenician letter *waw*, and had the sound of *v* in place of *y*<sup>107</sup>. It is further confirmed by the transliteration of these diphthongs into Latin, which use, e.g., *ev* for *ευ*<sup>108</sup>. That this *v* cannot be mistaken for *u* (i.e. *eu*) is rendered beyond all possible doubt by the fact that these

for *πίε* (?); *μά[ο]με καὶ ποτέο* (HOPPIN, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, 410, 29, late VI B.C.); *Ἀρισταίου* (*JG* I Suppl. 491<sup>35</sup>, line 3, 450 B.C.) and line 1 *Ἀριστέας*, line 4 *Ἀριστέου*; *Ἐλέρα* (*Corp. Vasor. Antiq.*: Gr. Br. 8, III Ic, pl. 91, 1 a-d (bis), late V B.C.) for *Ἐλαίρα*; *Πεδίαρχος* (*SEG* XV, 198, IV B.C.) for *Παιδίαρχος*; *Πέδαρχ[ος]* (*CIA* III, Defix. tab. 29, 5, IV-III B.C.) for *Παίδαρχος*; *Πλατεεύς* (*JG* II<sup>2</sup> 10089, I B.C. – I A.D.) for *Πλατατεύς*; *Πεανιεύς* (*JG* II<sup>2</sup> 2297, mid-I A.D.) for *Παιτανιεύς*; *ἐλαίου* (*JG* II<sup>2</sup> 4786, I A.D.) for *ἐλέου*. For papyri occurrences, see e.g. *Timotheos papyrus* III, 79-80, IV B.C.: *παλομίσσημα* for *παλαιομίσσημα* and *πα[λ]Ε[ο]νυμφαιογόνον* for *παλαιονυμφαιογόνον*. See further *ᾤ Col. Zen.* 39, 6, III B.C.: *τὸ παλιόν βαλανεῖον* (*παλιόν* = *MGr* Demotic [pron. *παλιόν*] < *παλαιόν*); *[ἐπίσ]ταμε* for *ἐπίσταμαι* (*PSI* 540, 10, III B.C.); *τελέσεσθαι* for *τελέεσεσθε* (*ᾤ Tebt.* 703, 255, III B.C.); *ἐσχέκνε* for *ἐσχέκναι* (*SB* 9874, 3, II B.C.); *ἐπιφέρηται* for *ἐπιφέρητε* (*ᾤ Tebt.* 816, 32, 192 B.C.); *ἀνύγετε* (*ᾤ Louvre Pap.* 50, 7, 168 B.C.) for *pass. ἀνύγεται*; *ὁράται* (*ᾤ Louvre Pap.* 1, 386, 165 B.C.) for *ὁρᾶτε*; *ἐξεναικεῖν* for *ἐξενεγκεῖν* (*ᾤ Weil* III, 9, before 160 B.C.); *παλεοῦ* instead of *παλαιοῦ* (*UPZ* 94, 8, 159 B.C.); *ὀλιγοψυχίσθαι* for *ὀλιγοψυχίσθε*, (*UPZ* 78, 10, 159 B.C.); *ἔφαίρ'* for *ἔφερ'* (*UPZ* 79, 7, 159 B.C.); *σημέαν* (*Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.* 38, 23; 39, 45; 40, 66, 158 B.C.) for *σημαίαν*; *εἰδῆται* (*ᾤ Louvre Pap.* 43, 4, 154 B.C.) for *εἰδῆτε*; *ᾤ Tebt* 703, 275 (III B.C.): *τετελεσθαι* (for *τετέλεσθε*); *BGU* 1300 (III/II B.C.): *συμυρνον*; *ᾤ Oxy* 252, (A.D. 19/20): *ἀσφαλειες* for *ἀσφαλείαις*; *ᾤ Oxy* 243, 38 (A.D. 79): *καίφαλεου* for *κεφαλαίου*.

<sup>106</sup> An archaic letter almost entirely substituted since V B.C. by *β* or consonantal *υ*.

<sup>107</sup> VI-V B.C.: *Να[φ]ακτίων* side by side with *Ναυπακτίων* (*JGA* 321); *ἔφθετος* (*JGA* 20, 101) instead of *εὐθετος*; *ἀριστέφοντα* (*JGA* 343, 4) instead of *ἀριστεύοντα*; *ἀφτοῦ* (*JGA* 409) instead of *αὐτοῦ*; *Ἀφλῶνι* (instead of *Αὐλῶνι*); *ἀμοίφαν* (*JGA* add. 20, 108 a, VI B.C.) for *ἀμοιβάν*; *ἔφπραγίεις* (instead of *εὐπραγίεις*). The pronunciation of *υ* as *v* is proved also by *Εὐφαιοίς* (*JGA* 110, 2, early VI B.C.); *Εὔανδρος* side by side with *Εἵβανδρος* (C. CARAPANOS, *Dodone*, Pl. XXXIV, nr. 3, IV B.C.); III B.C.: *ἔβδομον* (*CIG* 1563) for *ἔβδομον*, and *ἐβδομήκοντα* (*CIG* 1845, 47) for *ἔβδομήκοντα*; III-II B.C.: *ἐπίστεφσε* (*IRD*, no. 403, 5) instead of *ἐπίστευσε*.

<sup>108</sup> I.e. *Evenus* (*Εὐνός*) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (= *CIL*) V, 1009; *Evanthe* (*Εὐάνθη*, -ία) *CIL* V, 6107; *Evangelo* (*Εὐάγγελος*) *CIL* V, 647; *Evodiac* (*Εὐοδία*) *CIL* III, 2435; *Evodus* (*Εὐόδος*) *CIL* II, 4970; *Evelpistus* (*Εὐέλπιστος*) *CIL* II, 213; *Evonetus* (*Εὐόνητος*) *CIL* II, 1648.

words are also spelled with a double *νν*<sup>109</sup>. Accordingly, *Lavinia* becomes Λαῦνα (= *Lavna*) (Dionysius Halic. I, 70, 2) not Λάουνα, which should have been the case if the sound desired was άου, just as it happens with *auctoritas* = άουκτώριτας (Dio Cassius, 55, 3. 4) This is also confirmed by the name *Paulina*, which is transcribed as Παυλίνα (i.e. *Pavlina*), though when the Latin sound is desired the word becomes Παουλίνα (*CIG* 6665). These examples confirm the pronunciation of Παῦλος as *Pavlos*, not *Paoulo(u)s*<sup>110</sup>. In general, however, Greek seeks to transliterate foreign names by following the historical spelling as much as possible, even though it departs from phonetic faithfulness. Thus *Lord Byron* is not Λόρντ Μπάϊρον, but Λόρδος Βύρων, even though every Greek knows that this is not the correct pronunciation of the original name. There is also ambivalence from case to case. Thus, *Wilson* is Ούίλσον, but *Woodhouse* and *Watergate* become Γούντχαους and Γουωτεργκαίητ.

This evidence has hopefully made it clear that transliteration from other languages to Greek and conversely cannot lead to any safe conclusions as to the pronunciation of the Greek letters except in very broad lines<sup>111</sup>.

Today in Greece the confusion of the various representations of the I-sound, i.e. ι, η, υ, ει, υι, οι, is not infrequent among uneducated people. Thus, for example, writing a word with η or οι instead of the correct ι does not imply that these Greeks pronounce the particular word differently, but that their spelling is faulty. Exactly the same mistake took place in ancient times, and these misspellings, witnessed in inscriptions and papyri, divulge to us the actual pronunciation of the living speech. The above interchanges of vowels and diphthongs show clearly that the pronunciation of these letters already in the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. had begun to coincide with the so-called Modern Greek pronunciation (see table, above). This pronunciation may not have set in

<sup>109</sup> Evvenus (*CIL* II, 4534), Evvangelo (*CIL* V, 1200), Evvaristus (*CIL* V, 8110, 80a), Evvodia (*CIL* V, 2310), Evvantia (*CIL* V, 6222), Evvodo (*CIL* III, 2413), Evvagrio (*CIL* IV, 1198).

<sup>110</sup> Similarly Aulus, Aurelius become Αῦλος (*Avlos*), Αὐρήλιος (*Avrilios*) rather than Ἄουλο(υ)ς (*Aulo(u)s*) Ἀουρήλιο(υ)ς (*Aurelio(u)s*), and Claudius, Claudia, and Augustus become Κλαύδιος, Κλαυδία, and Αὐγουστος, not Κλαούδιο(υ)ς, Κλαουδία, Ἀούγουστο(υ)ς, which were possible. Accordingly, in Modern Greek, too, the natural form would be Παυλίνα (i.e. *Pavlina*), though if one prefers the foreign sound one may write Παουλίνα (= *Paulina*).

<sup>111</sup> How correct would one be if one were to determine the English sounds for *th* and *w* by means of the German pronunciation of these letters, and conversely to determine the German *v*, *j*, and *z* by means of the pronunciation of the corresponding English letters?

everywhere at the same time, but the process begun in classical times, or earlier, was not long (relatively) in establishing itself everywhere, even if in one or two cases it took many centuries to be completed (into Byzantine times, i.e. H). *The important thing is not when this process ended, but when it started.* The Ptolemaic papyri from Egypt confirm the above conclusions for the last three pre-Christian centuries. However, the Egyptian papyri, being often written by non-Greeks, who in their approximation of the pronunciation of the Greeks had brought in the sounds of their native tongues, cannot methodologically be relied upon as guides for the correct pronunciation of the Greek language<sup>112</sup>.

#### 4. The Pronunciation of the Consonants

The consonants in dispute are the *mediae* Β, Γ, Δ, the aspirates Θ, Φ, Χ, as well as Ζ. As expected, the interchange between these consonants, unlike the vowels, is very limited. Hence their sound can be determined chiefly (but not solely) by the principle of *syllabication*, i.e. the rule that these consonants build syllables together with the vowel following them, and this determines their sound. Confusion in inscriptions is also valuable, while transcription from and to Latin is obviously also of some assistance.

Now with regard to the aspirates Θ, Φ, and Χ, they took the place of the earlier digraphs TH, PH, and KH. Accordingly, Latin TH, PH, and CH were used to transcribe these Greek digraphs in the historical spelling of words. When the Greeks in time came to use the monographs Θ, Φ, Χ in place of the

<sup>112</sup> For example in the Egyptian papyri the spelling is often so atrocious that it becomes obvious that the speakers did not pronounce the Greek letters properly. Thus, τ is written for δ and for θ (*BGU* 1506 (III B.C.): αγατοκλῆς in lieu of Ἀγαθοκλῆς); γ for κ (*BGU* 1052, 16 (13 B.C.): ἐγβάλλειν for ἐκβάλλειν; 1115, 49 (13 B.C.): εγχωρησιν for ἐκχώρησιν); ν for γ (e.g. *BGU* 1001, (56/55 B.C.): αλληλεγγυοῖς for ἀλληλεγγύοις; ρ instead of β (*BGU* 1051 (30 B.C. - A.D. 14): παραπαινοντα for παραβαῖνοντα; ι-subscript in the wrong place (*BGU* 1012, 13 (170 B.C.): [αξι]ωι for ἀξιῶ), and there is even a gliding in the vowel values, such as ει instead of ε (e.g. *BGU* 999, 3 (99 B.C.): ιερειῶν [correct: ιερεῖων] and ιερῶν [correct: ιερεῖων]), and other grammatical monstrosities (e.g. *BGU* 1002 (56/55 B.C.): Ἀντιφίλου Ἑλλῆν [correct: ἐλλήνος] τῶν κατοίκων ἱππαρχῆς [correct: ἱπάρχου]; and αὐτὸς ἐπιτελέσωι [correct: ἐπιτελέσω]), which makes it clear that these letters were not equivalent when pronounced by Greeks. On the other hand, the Orientals' ignorance of historical orthography may in some cases represent more faithfully the actual sound than the documents of the more learned Athenians, who spelled orthographically.



digraphs, the Romans had no equivalents for these letters except for Φ, hence Latin F is usually transcribed with Φ! This is, moreover, confirmed by the fact that the Φ is confused with the *f*-sound of the diphthongs αυ, ευ (pronounced *af*, *ef*), but not with Π. Were the Φ sounded like ΠΗ (i.e. Π + aspiration), it ought to have been confused with the Π. Finally, the fact that the preposition ἐκ does not change before κ, τ, π, but before θ, φ, χ it actually often becomes ἐχ (e.g. ἐχ Θετταλίας<sup>113</sup>, ἐχ θητῶν<sup>114</sup>, ἐχ φυλῆς<sup>115</sup>, ἐχ Χαλκίδος<sup>116</sup>, which would be impossible to pronounce as ek+h-K+h-αλκίδος, etc. (i.e. aspirating the X as *k+h* and the Φ as *p+h*, which would necessitate the resumption of the original position of the tongue after the utterance of the first aspirate) shows that there is no question of aspiration, and that these letters were pronounced monophthongally as *th* (like Eng. “thin”), *ph* = *f* and *ch* (like Germ. “Bach” and “Ich” [as pronounced in North Germany])<sup>117</sup>. Θ and Φ had taken just these sounds in Boeotia already in the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

Analogical considerations to the above in the case of Β, Γ, and Δ lead to the conclusion that these letters already in Attic times were sounded as *v*, *gh* (a sound which, before α, ο, ω, and ου as well as the consonants β, δ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, χ, is impossible to reproduce in English, but which before ε, η, ι, and υ it = *y* in ‘yet’ or German ‘j’) and *th* (as English “then”), though it appears that in some positions (i.e. after a nasal) they could have had the sound of *b*, *g*, and *d*, as they do today<sup>118</sup>, especially in uncultivated Greek, just as the double ΓΓ and

<sup>113</sup> CIA II, 222, 5, 9, 322 B.C.

<sup>114</sup> CIA I, 31, B, 9, 444 B.C.

<sup>115</sup> CIA I, 31, A, 7, 444 B.C.

<sup>116</sup> See, e.g., CIA IV, 27, a 5, 17, 445 B.C. and IG I, 40, 446/5 B.C.: οὐκ ἐχσελο Χαλκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος. Also SEG I, 3 (420 B.C.) ἐχ χαλκῶ (= ἐχ χαλκοῦ). Similarly SEG III, 44 (before 420 B.C.) line 5: τόγ χρυσίον (change of *v* to *γ* before *χ*) supports the pronunciation of *γ* = *gh* and *χ* = *ch* (as *loch*).

<sup>117</sup> The pronunciation of words like συμφθεῖρω, ἤρχθην, ἡλέγχθην in the Erasmian manner, i.e. συμ-p+h-t+h-ε-ῖρω, ἥρ-k+h-t+h-ην, ἡλέ-γ-k+h-t+h-ην, are physiologically impossible in normal, esp. fast speech not only for Greek but for any language. Examples like *uphill*, *hothouse*, and *blockhead* are no parallels, since the *p-h*, *t-h* and *k-h* belong to two different syllables and even words, and furthermore they do not contain two consecutive aspirates.

<sup>118</sup> Doubtless there must have been occasions when the sound of ‘b’ was needed. In the absence of any other Greek letter, β was the letter that came closest to this sound. Thus, in Kratinos’ βη to represent the bleating of lambs, the β probably had the sound of ‘b’, since no Greek word in ancient times could begin with the only other alternative to represent the needed sound: μπ. It is instructive, that Neohellenic, which pronounces μ+π together (even at the beginning of words) as equivalent to ‘b’, represents the bleating of lambs not only by

ΓΚ: ἄγγελος (= a<sup>n</sup>gelos) and ἔγκλισις (= eglisis). The pronunciation of Β, Γ, Δ as *v*, *gh*, and *th* (as Eng. 'then') becomes clear from the following considerations:<sup>119</sup>

1. The κ of the preposition ἐκ before Β, Γ, and Δ as well as before Λ, Μ, and Ν is regularly changed to Γ for euphonic reasons<sup>120</sup>. This circumstance

'μπέ(εε) μπέ(εε)' (be-be), but also βέ-βέ (ve-ve) (see ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν*, Vol. II, s.v. βληχῶμαι). However, it pronounces the verb 'to bleat' with βελάζω (= 'velazo'), not μπελάζω (= belazo). Hence, Kratinos' βῆ, βῆ proves nothing in particular (see Jannaris, above).

<sup>119</sup> Cf. for example, the change of *v* to *μ* before β. If β were pronounced as Latin 'b', there would have been no need to turn the *v* to *μ*, since the transition from the sound of 'n' to the sound of 'b' is easy and natural, inasmuch as the one sound follows naturally on the other (*tenboulēn*), whereas no one can utter 'b' after 'm' without having to pause for the lips to take another configuration before they can form the sound of 'b' (cf. the awkwardness and hiatus in *temboulēn*). The pronunciation of τὲμ βολὲν (*IG* I, 65, 427/6 B.C.) (= τὴν βουλὴν) as *temvoulēn* is more natural, since the gliding from the 'μ'-sound to that of 'β' is smooth, whereas in the other case the lips need to configure afresh from the position of uttering the 'μ'-sound to that needed to utter the 'b'-sound.

<sup>120</sup> Before Β: ἐγ Βυζαντίου (*CIA* I, 40, 35, 444 B.C.); ἐγβολῆς (*Ἀθηναίων* Vol. II, p. 484, 15, 300 B.C.) for ἐκβολῆς; ἐγ βουλῆς (*Bull. de Corres Hell.*, VIII, p. 197, line 67, 71, 83; p. 198, line 1, 3, 329 B.C.) for ἐκ βουλῆς; ἐγ Βεν[δ]ιδέων (*CIA* II, 741, A, a, 22, 334 B.C.). Before Γ: ἐγγονος (*CIA* I, 381, V B.C.) for ἐκγονος, as well as ἐγ Γαργητίων (*CIA* III, 1640, 2, Imperial times). For the papyri, see *ᾠ Oxy* 104, 96, 17 (A.D. 96): ἐγβαλλόμενον for ἐκβαλλόμενον. Cf. also *v* before γ: τὸγ γραμματεῖα (*IG* II, 53, 387 B.C.). Before Δ: ἐγδῶ (*CIA* IV, I, a, 31, before 450 B.C.); ἐγ Διός (*CIA* IV, b, 53, a, 34, 418 B.C.); ἐγ Διονυσίων (*CIA* II, 741, A, a, 7, 16, 334 B.C.); ἐγ δέ (*CIA* II, 836, ab, 11, 320-295 B.C.) for ἐκ δέ; ἐγ Δελφῶν (*CIA* IV, b, 27, b, 5, 26, 439 B.C.); *IG* I, 78 (bis) (422 B.C.) for ἐκ Δελφῶν; ἐγ Δήλου (*CIA* II, 813, a, 3, before 400 B.C.); *ᾠ Hibeh* 209 (263/2 B.C.): ἐγδοθείσαν for ἐκδοθείσαν; *ᾠ Tebt* 910 (162 B.C.): ἐγ δραχμῶν for ἐκ δραχμῶν; *ᾠ Tebt* 736 (143 B.C.): ἐγ διαδοχῆς for ἐκ διαδοχῆς; *ᾠ Oxy* 267, 16 (A.D. 36): ἐγ δίκης for ἐκ δίκης; Before Λ: ἐγ Λίνδου (*CIA* I, 239, ii, 59, 441 B.C.) for ἐκ Λίνδου; ἐγλέγειν (for ἐκλέγειν), ἐγλεχθῆ (for ἐκλεχθῆ) etc. (*CIA* IV, b, 27, b, 8, 16, 439 B.C.); ἐγ Λεοντίων (*CIA* IV, 33, a, 1, 433 B.C.); ἐγλέξοντες (*CIA* I, 38, g, 22, 432 B.C.); ἐγ Λέσβου (*CIA* I, 170, 19, 421 B.C.); ἐγ Λέσβο (*SEG* III, 131, 400 B.C.); ἐγ λιμένος (*CIA* II, 1078, 4, V-IV B.C.); ἐγ Λήμνο (*IG* II, 30, 386/5 B.C.); ἐγ Λακεδαιμόνος (*IG* II, 106, 368/7 B.C.); *ᾠ Tebt* 844 (256 B.C.): ἐγ λόγου for ἐκ λόγου; *ᾠ Tebt* 1085 (II B.C.): ἐγ Λαγίδος for ἐκ Λαγίδος; *ᾠ Tebt* 1094 (114/113 B.C.): ἐγλημψεως for ἐκλήμψεως; Before Μ: ἐγ Μακεδονίας (*CIA* IV, b, 35, c, 440-432 B.C.); ἐγ Μυρίνης (*CIA* I, 443, 1, 430 B.C.); ἐγ Μυρρίνουττης (*CIA* II, 872, iii, 22, 341 B.C.) for ἐκ Μυρρίνουττης; ἐγ Μεγάρων (*CIA* II, add. 834, c, 28, c. 329 B.C.). Before Ν: ἐγ νήσων (*CIA* II, 62, 16, 357 B.C.); ἐγ νεωρίων (*CIA* II, add. 834, c, 12, c. 329 B.C.); *ᾠ Tebt* 701 (235 B.C.): ἐγ νεων in place of ἐκ νέων. All these examples as well as the interchanges of γ with κ (in e.g. γναφεῖον (*CIA* II, 817, a, 28, VI B.C., cf. κναφεύς, *CIA* IV, 373, f, IV B.C.), Γνίφωνος (*CIA* II, 671, 7, 376 B.C. and

indicates clearly that already in classical times the sound of  $\gamma$  was *gh* rather than *g*.

2. The pronunciation of  $\beta$  as *v* is, in addition to the above, borne out also by the confusion of this letter with the *v* of the diphthongs  $\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\eta\nu$ , which have already been treated (above)<sup>121</sup>. Moreover, the  $\beta$  replaces almost always the  $\phi$  (digamma), which was sounded as *v*. Furthermore, the LXX transliterated with this letter the Hebrew *waw*: e.g.  $\Delta\alpha\beta\acute{\iota}\delta$ ,  $\text{'Ιε}\chi\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}$ <sup>122</sup>. Finally the Latin U or V is often transliterated with the  $\beta$  in Greek, e.g.  $\text{Βεργίλιος}$  (Vergilius),  $\text{Βαλέριος}$  (Valerius),  $\text{Βατίνιος}$  (Vatinius),  $\text{Βενύσια}$  (Venusia),  $\text{Βεντίδιος}$  (Ventidius),  $\text{Βαλεντία}$  (Valentia),  $\text{Βέσβιος}$  (Vesuvius),  $\text{Βιέννα}$  (Vienna),  $\text{Βινίκιος}$  (Vinicius), and  $\text{Βονώνης}$  (Vonones). The transliteration of Greek  $\beta$  with Latin B and conversely is due to the historical spelling<sup>123</sup>. Moreover, the frequent transliteration of Latin U (V) with  $\omicron\nu$  (e.g.  $\text{Ούεργίλιος}$  (Vergilius),  $\text{Ούεσπασιανός}$  (Vespasianus),  $\text{Ουιτέλλιος}$  (Vitellius),  $\text{Ουάρρων}$  (Varro)), indicates that when Latin U (V) is rendered by Greek  $\beta$  the sound of the latter is not *b*, but *v*, i.e. not *Bergilios*, but *verghilios*, hence it can also be spelled *Ouerghilios*.

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SEG XXIV, 165, 7, IV B.C.), cf.  $\text{Κνίφων}$  (CIA IV, b, 446, a, 18, 409 B.C.);  $\alpha\gamma\rho\omicron\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$  (CIA II, 272, 11, end of IV B.C.) instead of  $\alpha\kappa\rho\omicron\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ;  $\phi$  *Tebt* 772 (236 B.C.) 6:  $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  for  $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$ ;  $\phi$  *Tebt* 703, (III B.C.) 205:  $\epsilon\Gamma\lambda\eta\psi\iota\nu$  for  $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\psi\iota\nu$  indicate that the  $\gamma$  was voiced as *gh* and that the  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  had the sounds of *v* and *th* (in 'then') respectively. As for the *y*-sound of  $\gamma$ , this is borne out by such examples as  $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$  instead of  $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\eta}$  (cf. BGU 1266 (203/02 B.C.):  $\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ ;  $\phi$  *Tebt* 703, 54 (III B.C.):  $\omega\lambda\iota\omega\rho\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\omega\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\rho\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ;  $\phi$  *Tebt* 264 (II B.C.):  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\phi$  *Tebt* 823 (185 B.C.):  $\iota\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha$  instead of  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ; also the later  $\text{Τραγεῖανου}$  for  $\text{Τραεῖανου}$ , (BGU 68), which would hardly have been possible if the  $\gamma$  was sounded as *g*, but is readily explainable if the  $\gamma$  is sounded voiced as the Greeks sound it.

<sup>121</sup> Thus, in  $\text{Εἰθανδρος}$ , as the form  $\text{Εἰθανδρος}$  shows, the  $\beta$  cannot have been pronounced as English B, i.e. *Evbandros*, but as V: *Evvandhros* (*dh* = like *th* in *then*). Similar assimilation occurs also in  $\text{Εἰθιοῖα}$ , i.e. *Envūa* (Envia), not *Envoia*.

<sup>122</sup> See further  $\text{Αὐά}$  (4 Kingd. 19:13);  $\text{Αὐίμ}$  /  $\text{Αὐείμ}$  (Josh 18:23);  $\text{Εὐά}$  (Gen 4:1);  $\text{Εὐί}$  (Josh 13:21);  $\text{Εὐιλά}$  (Gen 10:7);  $\text{Λευί}$  (Gen 29:34);  $\text{Λευιάθαν}$  (*Aquila*, *Symmachus*: Job 3:8);  $\text{Παγαῦ}$  (Gen 11:19);  $\text{Νινευή}$  (Gen 10:11);  $\text{Σαυή}$  (Gen 14:6). That the *v* had the sound of *v* in all these cases is proved by the original Hebrew *waw*, as well as by alternative spellings, e.g.  $\text{Δαυίδ}$  /  $\text{Δαβίδ}$ ,  $\text{Λεβιάθαν}$ ,  $\text{Σαβύ}$  (Cod. Sinaiticus). That *Hebr. beth* is also transliterated with Greek  $\beta$  is natural since they were the closest equivalents. It should, however, be remembered that *beth* was pronounced both as *b* and as *v*.

<sup>123</sup> E.g.  $\text{Βάκχος}$  > Bacchus,  $\text{Βακχυλίδης}$  > Bacchylides,  $\text{Βάκτρα}$  > Bactra and *barbatus* >  $\text{βαρβάτος}$ , *Barcino* (Barcelona) >  $\text{Βαρκελώνη}$ , *Burrus* >  $\text{Βούρρος}$ , and *Brutus* >  $\text{Βρούτος}$ .

3. With regard to Δ, in addition to what has been said above, it may be pointed out that μηθείς, μηθέν, μηθενός, οὔθείς, οὔθέν, οὔθενός etc. occur from 378 B.C. side by side with the earlier μηδεῖς, μηδέν, οὔδεῖς, οὔδέν, etc., from 300 B.C. to about 60 B.C. they dominate, and from that time on the older forms take over again. The fact that δ does not become τ shows that the sound of δ was closer to that of the θ and was not sounded as *d*. Δ interchanges with Β, e.g. Δελφός – Βελφός, ὀβελός – ὀδελός, which again precludes the sound of *d*. Also ἑβδομος and ὄγδοος speak against the *d*-sound; it is physiologically easier to pronounce *evthomos* (or *evdhomos*) than *[h]ebdomos* (and we know that the various modifications in spelling – contraction, elision, crasis, avoidance of hiatus, etc. – were undertaken for the sake of achieving a smooth, easy and well-sounding pronunciation). Now to sound a word such as ἐκγδημία<sup>124</sup> as *ekgdemia* (i.e. as three consecutive stops or plosives *k-g-d*) is almost impossible<sup>125</sup>. Here one should bear in mind that Greek, basically a polysyllabic, vowel-loving language, avoids the concentration of difficult-to-pronounce consonants so characteristic of German, cf. e.g. *Nietzsche* and other words with six or even seven consecutive consonants<sup>126</sup>. Greek pronunciation cannot be determined by what is possible or acceptable in other languages.

Finally, the letter Ζ, as its frequent replacing of Σ before Β, Γ, and Δ etc. shows<sup>127</sup>, had a voiced *s*-sound like English *s* or *z* in “rose” and “zebra” respectively, not the Erasmian *dz* (*ds*) or *zd* (*sd*)<sup>128</sup>. Besides, as Jannaris points out<sup>129</sup>, in the oldest inscriptions the letter ζ appears as Ι, whereas if it had been

<sup>124</sup> W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 200, 12 (196 B.C.).

<sup>125</sup> The voiced γ (*gh*) and δ (*dh*), sounded by Greeks, eases the pronunciation.

<sup>126</sup> Cf., e.g., *Blitzschlag*, *Bisamstorchschnabelkraut*, *Durchschrift*, *Dirnd[e]lschürze*.

<sup>127</sup> I.e. πρεζβεντοῦ (instead of πρεσβεντοῦ), ζμύρνα (instead of Σμύρνα), ἀναβαζμούς (instead of ἀναβασμούς), Πελαζγικόν (instead of Πελασγικόν) (IV B.C., see M.Ph. Le BAS, et al., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, II (Paris 1888), 122).

<sup>128</sup> In his *Τέχνη Γραμματική*, ‘Περὶ Στοιχείου’, Dionysios Thrax explains that the letters ζ, ξ, and ψ, are ‘double’: ὅτι ἐν ἑκάστω αὐτῶν ἐκ δύο συμφώνων σύγκειται, τὸ μὲν ζ ἐκ τοῦ σ καὶ δ, τὸ δὲ ξ ἐκ τοῦ κ καὶ σ, τὸ δὲ ψ ἐκ τοῦ π καὶ σ. From this the Erasmians have concluded that ζ must have had the individual sound of each of the consonants from which it was formed, and given it the sound of *sd* (or *ds*). It must be pointed out here that whereas in the case of ξ and ψ both sounds of the original κ+σ and π+σ could be retained in the new letter, since they could follow naturally on one another, the combination of σ+δ pronounced in the Erasmian way as *sd* or *ds* would have caused great difficulties in the actual utterance of words. The natural pronunciation from σ+δ (i.e. *th* as in *then*) or δ+σ was *z*.

<sup>129</sup> JANNARIS, *An Historical Grammar*, § 69.

## 5. The Evidence of Tradition

In addition to the above literary arguments from the inscriptions and the papyri, mention should be made of the argument from tradition. The current practice among Erasmians to speak of the pronunciation used in Hellas as the "Modern Greek pronunciation" cannot stand critical historical scrutiny. It raises the question: "When did the Greeks come to change their pronunciation from the assumed Erasmian to the "Modern Greek" way of pronouncing their language?" For, ever since ancient times, history knows of no dramatic event that caused such a radical break between the assumed "classical pronunciation" and the "Modern Greek pronunciation". Ever since the process of producing the 24-letter alphabet was completed in the fifth century B.C., and words took their definitive form in the new orthography, the spelling has remained constant. As was indicated, above, orthography and pronunciation have walked hand in hand. We know of no break in history between orthography and pronunciation<sup>139</sup>.

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these fundamental changes had been wrought, both alphabet and phonology have remained unchanged ever since.

<sup>139</sup> Hence, the question of the power of tradition in matters of language has not been sufficiently appreciated by Erasmians. The pronunciation has been handed down from one generation to another without break. Perhaps I might illustrate the grip of tradition by quoting by permission part of a letter to me from A. CONSTANTINIDIS. He writes:

The power of tradition has extraordinary force in its various expressions, but especially in matters of language. Five hundred years of hard slavery left the Pontic dialect unchanged ... Their dialect has preserved thousands of Homeric words ... The same goes today for the surviving Pontians in Northern Turkey, as well as for those who had been sent to various parts of the former Soviet Union. We become aware of this today through those who have returned to Hellas. The same holds true of the Greeks who lived in Bulgaria ... I know a young man (by the name of ...) who learned Greek, because his mother woke him up together with his brothers and sisters every night after midnight in order to teach them Greek for two hours from an old textbook from Venizelos' time ...

It was formerly thought that the continuity of Greek jurisprudence had been interrupted during Roman times till Justinian. In 1891 L. MITTIS [see *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 1891] discovered papyri which proved the customary application of Greek law in spite of the enforcement of Roman law in the South-eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

But quite apart from the question of tradition, we also have the transliteration of Greek words into Latin, and, by extension, into other European languages and especially in the International Scientific Vocabulary, the pronunciation of diphthongs overwhelmingly follows the traditional orthography and pronunciation, e.g. *oedema*, *oneiric*, *haemorrhage*, *haemoptysis*, *trauma*, *helicoides*, *siretrgia*, *heurette*, *chelmophobia*, *encyclopaedia*, etc.

formed from the combination of  $\sigma$  and  $\delta$ , it should have appeared as a digraph ( $\Sigma\Delta$  or  $\Delta\Sigma$ ), precisely as the other digraphs ( $K\Sigma$  or  $X\Sigma = \Xi$ ;  $\Pi\Sigma = \Psi$ ). The same is shown by the misspellings  $\Sigma\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (=  $\text{Ze}\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$ , 340 B.C.);<sup>130</sup>  $\text{B}\upsilon\sigma\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ <sup>131</sup> instead of  $\text{B}\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\psi\acute{\eta}\phi\iota\sigma\zeta\epsilon\nu$  and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\iota\sigma\acute{\zeta}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  instead of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\psi\acute{\eta}\phi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$  and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\iota\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ <sup>132</sup>. In Elis  $\Delta$  was often substituted by  $Z$ <sup>133</sup>. That this tendency occurred at Athens as well may be inferred from Platon, *Cratylus* 418: “ $\nu\ddot{\upsilon}\nu$  δὲ ἀντὶ ... τοῦ ... δέλτα ζῆτα (μεταστρέφουσιν)”. That this pronunciation of  $\zeta$  as  $z$  was classical is shown by  $\text{'}\text{A}\zeta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota$ ,  $\text{'}\text{A}\zeta\epsilon\iota\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ <sup>134</sup>, and  $\text{'}\text{A}\zeta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota$ <sup>135</sup>, as well as by  $\text{B}\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ <sup>136</sup> and  $\text{B}\upsilon\zeta\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ <sup>137</sup>. That the  $\zeta$  in all these cases could *not* have been sounded as  $dz$  or  $zd$  is shown by the resultant sound of the words, which is impossible to pronounce:  $A\text{-}zd\text{-}zd\text{-}e\text{-}i\text{-}o\text{-}i$  or  $A\text{-}dz\text{-}dz\text{-}e\text{-}i\text{-}o\text{-}i$  and  $Bu\text{-}zd\text{-}zd\text{-}a\text{-}nti\text{-}o\text{-}i$  or  $B\text{-}u\text{-}dz\text{-}dz\text{-}a\text{-}nti\text{-}o\text{-}i$ . No doubt the Greeks pronounced them as  $A(z)zi\ddot{u}$  (later  $A(z)zii$ ) and  $V\ddot{u}(z)zanti\ddot{u}$  (later  $Vy(z)zántii$ ) respectively<sup>138</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> No one could have mistaken  $\text{Ze}\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (pron. *Zefs*) for  $\Sigma\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (*Sefs*, pronounced as *ss*) if  $\text{Ze}\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma$  were pronounced as *Sdeus* or *Dseus*, let alone the German *Zeus* (= *Tsois*), whereas the gliding from ‘Zefs’ to ‘Sefs’ was very easy, almost imperceptible, the more so since  $\sigma$  in certain positions tended to take the sound of  $\zeta$  (e.g.  $\sigma\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\nu\alpha = \zeta\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\nu\alpha$ , i.e. *zmyrna*).

<sup>131</sup> *’Aθήναιον*, Vol. III, p. 480, line 20, **346 B.C.**

<sup>132</sup> *CIA* II, 325, a, 5, before **268 B.C.** How could one pronounce  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\psi\acute{\eta}\phi\iota\sigma\zeta\epsilon\nu$  and  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\iota\sigma\acute{\zeta}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  as ‘*epēpsifisdzen*’ (‘*epēpsifisdzen*’) and ‘*synagonisdsomenos*’ (‘*synagonisdsomenos*’)? See also *PSI* 532 (**III B.C.**):  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  τοῦ δεζμωτηρίου for δεσμωτηρίου.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. *IGA* 112 (**V B.C.** or earlier):  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}$  (= δέ),  $\zeta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha$  (= δίκαια),  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$  (= δέκα),  $\zeta\acute{\iota}$  (= Δί),  $\text{’}\text{E}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\zeta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ , (=  $\text{’}\text{E}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ , note the absence of aspiration!),  $\zeta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (= δαμιοϋργία),  $\zeta\acute{\iota}\phi\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  (= διφύιον).

<sup>134</sup> *CIA* I, 228, 5, b, **454 B.C.**

<sup>135</sup> *CIA* I, 238, 12, **442 B.C.**

<sup>136</sup> *CIA* I, 231, 22, **449 B.C.**

<sup>137</sup> *CIA* I, 230, 10 b, **450 B.C.**

<sup>138</sup> It must not be overlooked that Greek polysyllabism is responsible for the relative poverty of Greek vocalism. Ever since the Mycenaean times, Greek has had five vowel sounds:  $a$ ,  $e$ ,  $i$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ , clear and well-demarcated from one another. This contrasts sharply with other European languages, which tend to be more monosyllabic, with large concentrations of consonants, and which, therefore, are in greater need of vocalic differentiation, hence the great variation both in vowel-length and vowel-quality (as, e.g., German  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ ; French  $\acute{e}$ ,  $\acute{e}$ ,  $u$ ; Dutch  $aa$ ,  $oo$ ,  $oe$ ,  $eu$ ,  $ui$ ,  $ij$ ; Swedish  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $y$ ), which has no equivalence in Greek. The changes from Archaic Greek that were taking place in classical times, monophthongizing the diphthongs, levelling the  $i$ -class of vowels ( $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ ), applying crasis, elision, etc. at the same time as they completed their alphabet, indicate that the Greeks were seeking to perfect their linguistic medium. It is significant that once

## 6. Accents, Breathings, etc. (Prosody)

Although a scanty use of rudimentary reading-helps was made already in the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the traditional system of prosodical marks is an Alexandrian invention (III B.C.). In Hellenistic times the number of these marks was ten: αἱ δέκα προσῳδαί. These were of four types: stops, quantity symbols, accents and breathings.

1. *Stops*. The stops were the *comma* (ὑποστιγμή), the *period* (τελεία) and the *colon* (μέση στιγμή). (The interrogation mark (;) was added in the IX<sup>th</sup> c. A.D). These stops are normally absent from the inscriptions and early papyri since these texts were written in *scriptio continua*.

2. *Quantity*. Greek verse was based on 'quantity', which was indicated by the symbols – (long) and ∪ (short)<sup>140</sup>. Quantity is achieved by rhythmical beat. This had been physically represented by the putting down of the foot (θέσις or βάσις τοῦ ποδός), which symbolized the accented and therefore longer syllable, and the raising of the foot (ἄρσις τοῦ ποδός), which symbolized the relaxation of accent, and therefore the shorter syllable<sup>141</sup>. Hence the basic metrical unit was called πούς. Thus, if a syllable was placed in an 'accented' position within the foot, it was considered *long by position* (θέσει μακρά); if in an unaccented position, it was considered *short* (ἄρσει βραχεῖα). It would thus appear that the vowels as such were neither 'long' nor 'short', but isochronous – as in the *HGP*. The situation became complicated with the adoption of H and Ω. The syllables containing these letters came to be considered as *naturally long* (φύσει μακραί); consequently the syllables containing any of the other vowels, depending on their position in the metrical foot, were regarded as either μακραί, βραχεῖαι or δίχροναι, i.e. long, short or variable.

The remarks and speculations of the Alexandrian grammarians (e.g. Dionysios Thrax, Apollonios Dyscolos, and Herodian) and others (e.g. Dionysius Hal.) lead to the conclusion that quantity had ceased to be felt

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Whatever simplifications were carried out, for example, from 'oe' to 'e' (*economy*, *edema*, *encyclopedia*), were again based on the traditional pronunciation.

<sup>140</sup> These marks apparently came into use after 403 B.C. (cf. Aristotle, *Poetica* 26, 3 and I. BEKKER's *Anecdota Graeca*, III, 780) and are found in, e.g., HARRIS' *Iliad*, (I B.C).

<sup>141</sup> Later, when it became customary to use the hand rather than the foot, the raising of the hand (ἄρσις χειρός) came to symbolize the beat or ictus, while its lowering (θέσις χειρός) symbolized the dropping or absence of beat or ictus. This converse significance passed into modern terminology.

already by the III<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. The use of it in later versifiers (Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, Callimachos, Menander, Theocritus, *et al.*) would seem to have been a matter of tradition as it also was with the Byzantines (e.g. Nonnos, Musaios Grammaticos). Moreover, the use in Homer and the early inscriptions of E and O for what later was expressed by EI, H, OY and Ω – the κατ' ἐξοχήν 'long' sonic letters – their treatment of long vowels and diphthongs as though they were short and conversely, as well as other phenomena would seem to indicate that quantity even in the Archaic period was not intrinsic to certain vowels, but that it owed its *raison d'être* to position and accent. The soul of the verse was accordingly the rhythm, and this was indicated by the rising and falling of the accent *as stress*, the rising being indicated by the acute, and the falling by the grave<sup>20</sup>.

3. *Accents*. Since accent *as stress* is integral to all speech, its existence in Greek must be as old as the language itself. Though accent was not indicated by any marks in Archaic works, the inscriptions or the earlier papyri, it was nonetheless presupposed. Thus, the ancients, without writing accents, could distinguish, e.g., between Γλαῦκος<sup>21</sup> and γλαυκός<sup>22</sup>, Ξάνθος<sup>23</sup> and ξανθός<sup>24</sup>, ὄρος<sup>25</sup> and ὀρός<sup>26</sup>, οὐ and οὔ;<sup>27</sup> Platon spoke of Δίφιλος (< Διὶ φίλος) in which the original φί had lost its ὀξεῖα (acute) and in the compound form received a βαρεῖα (grave), i.e. became unaccented<sup>28</sup>. The introduction of such marks was recent in Aristotle's time<sup>29</sup> – though some of the accents attributed to Glaukos<sup>30</sup> (V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.) may have been written rather than merely acoustic.

Each syllable of a Greek word is accented. However, polysyllabic words stress one and only one of the syllables above all others. This dominant accent (stress) was called *acute* (ὀξεῖα) and was indicated by the mark (´), while all other syllables received the mark of the *grave* (`) (βαρεῖα), for example:

<sup>20</sup> On meter generally, see Dionysios Hal., *The Art of Composition*, and for a modern discussion, M. L. WEST, *Greek Metre*, Oxford, 1996, who describes the various kinds of meter.

<sup>21</sup> Homer, *Iliad* VII. 118.

<sup>22</sup> Homer, *Iliad* XVI. 34 (γλαυκή, masc. presupposed); Plato, *Timaios* 68c.

<sup>23</sup> Homer, *Iliad* XX. 74.

<sup>24</sup> Plato, *Timaeus* 68b.

<sup>25</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* XIX. 432.

<sup>26</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* XVII. 225.

<sup>27</sup> Aristotle, *Sophistici Elenchi* 166b, 3-6; 177b, 35; 178a.

<sup>28</sup> *Cratylus* 399a-b.

<sup>29</sup> *Sophistici Elenchi* 177b 6 ἥδη παράσχημα ποιοῦντες.

<sup>30</sup> Varro. IV. 530.



ΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ<sup>153</sup>. The third mark to come into being was the *circumflex* (i.e. περισπωμένη (˘˘)) (nowadays written as ˘ or ˘˘): This was placed on vowels that were contracted into one syllable and was explained as the combination of the acute with the grave (˘), i.e. the stress or percussion and its absence on two adjoining vowels prior to their contraction: e.g. ΝΟΪΣ > ΝΟΪΣ, ΣΩΪΣ > ΣΩΪΣ. When the contracted vowels were accented in reverse order the sign took the form (˘˘) and was called ἀντανακλωμένη, e.g. ΠΛΗΡΟΪΜΕΘΑ > πληροῦμεθα > πληροῦμεθα. However, the form of the circumflex only indicated that it was the result of the contraction of two vowels, one ὀξύνομενον the other βαρυνόμενον; it had no rising and falling tone in pronunciation<sup>154</sup> – an impossibility in actual speech – for once the contraction had taken place there was but one position in the mouth and one dominant accent, the acute<sup>155</sup>. This is confirmed also by the fact that in the rules governing accentuation, the circumflex functions exactly like the acute: cf., e.g., ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶν with ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν.

There are two important points about Greek accent which make it different from English and German accent. In English and German the stress of the accented syllable is stronger than that of the corresponding Greek syllable. In English, for example, the stressed syllable tends to overshadow the unstressed syllables, and some unaccented syllables are actually swallowed up in fast speech. (The same is the case with French). Hence also the great gradation in vowel-length. Greek, on the other hand, pronounces all syllables distinctly and isochronously with one of the syllables having a somewhat more dominant

<sup>153</sup> See *Scholia on Dionysios Thrax* (BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca* II. 756 f.): ὁ Σοφοκλῆς. ἡ κᾶε συλλαβὴ ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν, ἡ πς τὴν βαρεῖαν· ἐμάθομεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶς τόπος τῆς βαρεῖας, πλὴν ὅπου κεῖται ἡ ὀξεῖα ἢ ἡ περισπωμένη. συνελθουσῶν οὖν τῆς κᾶε καὶ τῆς πς εἰς μίαν συλλαβὴν τὴν κᾶπς, συνεισηλθον οἱ τόνοι ὀξὺς τε καὶ βαρὺς, καὶ ἀπετέλεσαν τὴν περισπωμένην· Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλῆς, Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφῶν ... (“The syllable κᾶε has the acute, the syllable πς the grave; for we have learned that except for the syllable of the acute all other syllables take the grave. Now when the κᾶε and the πς unite to form one syllable, κᾶπς, the acute and the grave unite to form the circumflex, thus: Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλῆς, Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφῶν ...”). Later the practice of placing the grave on every unaccented syllable was discontinued ἵνα μὴ καταχαράσσωνται τὰ βιβλία, Sch. Dionysios Thrax 139h (see also BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca* II. 714).

<sup>154</sup> Or falling and rising tone in the case of ἀντανακλωμένη.

<sup>155</sup> The adduction of *really!* against the above contention misses the point. Even if *really!* were really sounded in the way claimed, it is an adverb expressing astonishment. Is it really credible that Greeks would have pronounced all their circumflexed words as words expressing astonishment?

stress and hence being slightly longer than the others because of the percussion, but it is never so stressed as to eclipse any of the other syllables.

The second point is the rule of trisyllabotomy. Unlike, for example, English and German, in which the accent can recede further back than the antepenultima (English: *des'-ti-tute-ness*; *des'-spi-ca-ble-ness*; German: *Wie'-der-seh-en*; *voll'-au-to-ma-tisch*; *Be-klei'-dungs-vor-schrif-ten*), so that sometimes a secondary accent becomes necessary [here indicated by "] (English: *cir"-cum-lo-cu'-tion*; *tet'-ra-darch"-y*; *des"-pi-ca-bil'-i-ty*; German: *Wind'-schut-zschei"-be*; *Frau"-en-eman-ci-pa-tion'*), the Greek accent can never recede further back than the antepenultima, e.g.

συμπαρπληρωματικός, συμπροθυμοποιούμενος,  
έβδομηκοντακαιεκατονταπλασίων (Proklos, *Hypotyposis* 4, 104),  
έννεακαιεικοσικαιεπτακοσιοπλασιάκις (Platon, *Politeia* 587e), νικελιο-  
χρωμιοαργιλιομολυβδαινιοχάλυψ (*N* scientific term)

and even Aristophanes' jest-word (*Ekklesiazousai* 1169-75):

λοπαδοτεμαχοσελαχογαλεοκρανιολειψανοδριμυποτριμματοσιλφίτυρο-  
μελιτοκατακεχυμενοκιχλεπικοςσυφοφαττοπεριστεραλεκτρυονοπτεκεφαλλ-  
ιοκιγκλοπελειολαγφοσιραιοβαφητραγανοπτερύγων,

which consists of 169 letters, has but one accent! – in the penultima.

It is commonly assumed that ancient Greek accent was musical pitch-accent, not stress-accent, – as though the Greeks always sung and never used ordinary speech. This assumption is not free from serious difficulties, but no adequate discussion is possible here. Suffice it to point out the following: (1) Stress need not exclude pitch, and in fact no pitch is conceivable without stress. (2) All Indo-European languages are based on stress accent. In Swedish, for example, which, in my opinion (I mean 'rikssvenska'), is the most 'musical' of the Scandinavian languages, stress-accent is clear and important. If Greek were different in this respect, it would have been unique. (3) Since music was bound up with only one (the accented) syllable, then it must be denied to all the others; how could Greek then be musical? (4) If the accent was essentially musical, why was it disregarded by meter, which chose its own syllables – often unaccented – to express the pitch? (5) Was there any relation between quantity and accent? We have seen that before the period of

contraction there was no "natural quantity"; syllables were either naturally short or long by position. (6) Greek meter, therefore, must have been based on rhythm, which consisted in *thesis* (ictus) and *arsis* (fall) represented by the acute and the grave, the only προσωδιαί known in early times. And (7) the principle of trisyllabotomy implies an *expiratory stress-accent*. Since Greek accent lacked the intensity of, e.g., English and German accent, it lent itself readily to a treatment necessitated by meter.

However, irrespective of the situation in Archaic and classical times, it is readily conceded by Erasmians that quantity and musical accent had in post-classical times given place to stress-accent. The singing had apparently ceased. The question here is not so much that in the first Christian century accent was stress, which is conceded by almost everyone, but how far back in pre-Christian times does this stress-accent go?

It is a truism that the disappearance of quantity and the emphasis on (Erasmians would say, emergence of) stress-accent go hand in hand. From the remarks of the Alexandrian grammarians we gather that quantity was a matter of the past. But how long past? We have seen above that quantity had started to vanish with the reduction of the diphthongs to monophthongal pronunciation. Since this process was initiated already in the V<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., quantity had come under fire already by that time. This disinterest in quantity contradicts the thesis of Erasmians that Η and Ω had been adopted to express long vowels before left unexpressed. On the contrary, it supports the thesis, above, that they were adopted as compensatory marks to indicate technical length, and that they were not used for pre-existent values hitherto unexpressed. No unexpressed sound can have objective existence in a language! At any rate, the process for the reduction of quantity was a protracted one, but it was practically complete by the time of Jesus. The stress-accent therefore had come into prominence long before that time. Now since accent is that which gives every word its individuality and integrity, holding the sounds of the various syllables into a harmonic relation to one another thus to constitute a whole – a unique whole – the like of which cannot be found, to pronounce Greek words in the undifferentiated manner of the Erasmians as a string of unrelated sounds is to destroy the living pulse of the language, that which makes it a living entity, speaking, addressing the reader or listener, challenging him to understand and to respond. This stress-accent, which is supposed to have come into being around the beginning of our era, has ever since held its iron grip upon the language; its rules and principles are still unchanged in Modern Greek. If accent had been a freak of the times, an incidence in language development, would it have stayed unchanged for 2000 years? This tenacity of the Greek accent finds a satisfactory explanation only in its having been an integral part of the language; from the beginning (not

merely from the I<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.) it has held the language together, it has given it meaning and rhythm<sup>156</sup>.

4. *Breathings*. The *spiritus asper* and the *spiritus lenis* together with the other *prosodiai* were, according to tradition, created by the Alexandrian grammarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium (III<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C.), by splitting the H into two halves (the left half indicating the *spiritus asper* and the right half the *spiritus lenis*)<sup>157</sup>. The Alexandrians used the aspirate on such words as should originally have been aspirated, and this custom was applied on MSS in the VII<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. In the XI<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. the breathings took their present form.

With regard to earlier times the situation is as follows: in a number of inscriptions representing the lesser dialects, the sign H occurs as a kind of aspiration. However, the main dialects, Ionic, Aeolic and for the most part Doric, know nothing of aspiration<sup>158</sup>. Attic, which is crucial for the issue under consideration, is, during the period prior to 403 B.C., very ambivalent. The H is often absent<sup>159</sup>, more frequently it is present<sup>160</sup>, but not always placed correctly<sup>161</sup>. For example, in *CIA* I, 324 (408 B.C.) the H is placed in front of most initial vowels irrespective of whether the word is really an aspirate or not<sup>162</sup>, and again in *CIA* IV, b, 53, a, (418 B.C.) the H is absent from all initial

<sup>156</sup> On the question of quantity and rhythm, see the detailed discussion in JANNARIS, *Historical Grammar*, Appendix II. "Quantity in Greek", Vol. II, pp. 519-40.

<sup>157</sup> See BEKKER's *Anecdota Graeca*, II. 692: τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δασείας, ἦτοι τὸ διχοτόμημα τοῦ Η τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω ἀπεστραμμένον ... τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ στοιχείου διχοτόμημα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω ἐστραμμένον. See also II, 697.

<sup>158</sup> For Elis see *SEG* I, 94 (VII B.C.): ὈΥΨΕΛΙΔΑΙ ΑΝΕΘΕΝ ΕΞ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

<sup>159</sup> E.g. ἀλιεῦσι (*CIA* I, 433, 3, 460 B.C.; also 337, V B.C.) instead of ἀλιεῦσι.

<sup>160</sup> E.g. *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 372 (409/8 B.C.) lines 118 Ηέκποδες; 162 Ηέκποδε; 226 Ηέκπος.

<sup>161</sup> E.g. *IG* I, 22, 450/49 B.C.: Ηἔχον (εἶχον).

<sup>162</sup> We thus get such monstrosities as: a *col.* I: 4 κατιστᾶσιν (for καθιστᾶσιν); 5, 6, etc. ἐδραν (for ἔδραν); 9, 12, 13, etc. οἰκοῦντι (for οἰκοῦντι); 14 ηικριώματα (for ἰκριώματα); 14, etc. ηεν (for ἐν); 17, 19, 20, etc. οἰκῶν (for οἰκῶν); 22 ηεκ (for ἐκ); 24, 27, 28 etc. οἰκοῦντι (for οἰκοῦντι); 29, 35 ηεργαζομένοις (for ἐργαζομένοις); 37 ηοροφῆν (for ὀροφῆν); 44 ηεπὶ (for ἐπὶ); 45 ηεντός (for ἐντός); c *col.* I: 1 Ηέχοντα (for ἔχοντα); 5 ηοπισθοφανῆ (for ὀπισθοφανῆ); 7 ἄρμα for ἄρμα; 9 Ηάγοντα (for ἄγοντα); 13 ηεπικρούοντα (for ἐπικρούοντα); 15 ηαλοπεκῆ[σι] (for ἄλωπεκῆσι); 18 ηανδρα (for ἄνδρα); 19 εισηκότα (for εἰσηκότα); 21 ἦ (for ἦ); 31 ηες (for ἐς); 36 ηαπό (for ἀπό); 49 ηεύδοξος for Εὔδοξος; c *col.* II: 2, 5 ηεις (for εἰς); 13 ηεπὶ (for ἐπὶ); 13 ηεπιστυλίω (for ἐπιστυλίω); 14 ηεντός (for ἐντός); 17 ηροσηπαέδομεν (for προσηπαέδομεν); 27 ιερά (for ἱερά); 32 ηενεγράψαμεν (for ἐνεγράψαμεν); 52, 60 ηεχόμενος (for ἐχόμενος); 72

vowels except the word *ἱερός* (four times). The same or similar word frequently occurs both with and without the aspirate<sup>163</sup>, and this applies also in the case of interaspiration<sup>164</sup>.

The frequent occurrence of H with ρ, λ, γ, etc. and F (digamma)<sup>165</sup> – where aspiration is impossible – indicates that the sense of aspiration had been lost. This together with the evidence cited above respecting the extremely erratic use of H shows conclusively that aspiration had ceased in Athens already before the end of the classical period. When observed in script, it was as an

Heυμελί[δης] (for Eύμελίδης). See also *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 374 (408/7 B.C.): col. IX, 280 *heνεγράφασμεν*; 282 *heις*; 285 *hoικῶντος*, etc.

<sup>163</sup> The confusion of aspiration may be illustrated by the following examples: *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 16 (465 B.C.) line 6 *ὅτι* instead of *ὅτι* and line 24 *ὁ* instead of *ho*; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 17 (450 B.C.) *ὀρκῶσαι* (for *hoρκῶσαι*), 4 *ὅπος* (for *hόπως*) and *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 19 (453 B.C.) *hόρκον*, *hoι*, *hόπος*; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 14-15 (440/39 B.C. = *SEG* X, 17 (450 B.C.)) *ὅς* (for *hos*), *αιρεθέντες* (for *haipeθέντες*), *ὅπος* (= *hόπως*), *ἐκαστος* (= *hέκαστος*), *ἐμέρας* (= *heμέρας*), *ὅτι* (= *hότι*); *SEG* X, 14 (450 B.C.) *hέχον* (for *έχων*); *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 41 (446/5 B.C.) *Εστιαίας* and *hΕστιαίας*, *ἐάν δέ τις ἀγει*, *δέσθο ho* *hαλός* (= *άλλος*?); *SEG* X, 35 (446/5 B.C.) *ὀρκῶσαι* (for *hoρκῶσαι*), *ὀρκοτὸν* (for *hoρκοτῶν*) and *ὅπος* (for *hόπως*); *hΑσσηρῖται* (*CIA* I, 234, 26, 444 B.C.) and *Ασσηρῖται* (*CIA* I, 229, 230, 231, 238, 242-244); *hHσσοι* (*CIA* I, 230, frg. 25, 6, 450 B.C. and *Ησσοι* (*CIA* I, 226, 9, 454 B.C.; 264, 20, 420 B.C.); *hαριθμόν* (*CIA* I, 167, 9, 412 B.C.); and *ἀριθμόν* (*CIA* I, 322, a, 97, 409 B.C.; 228, 17, 452 B.C.); *hΑβδηρα* (*CIA* I, 242, 20, 438 B.C.); *hΑβδηρῖται* (*CIA* I, 226, 5 (454 B.C.) as well as *παρ' Αβδηρα* (*CIA* I, 228, 16, 452 B.C.); *hΑιραῖοι* (*CIA* I, 230, 5, 450 B.C.; 232, 6, 448 B.C.; 233, 5, b, 447 B.C. etc.) and *Αιραῖοι* (*CIA* I, 226, 6, b, 454 B.C.; 240, 7, 440 B.C.; 238, 11 (*Αιραιῆς*), 442 B.C.); *hΑισώνιοι* (*CIA* I, 240, 49, 440 B.C.) and *Αισώνιοι* (*CIA* I, 257, 53, 427/425 B.C.); *hΕλπίδι* (*CIA* I, 442, 8, 432 B.C.) instead of *έλπίδι*; *hΕΞιστράτη* (W. KLEIN, *Die griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, Wien 1887, 33, VII-VI B.C.) and *εὐξάμενος* (*CIA* IV, b, 373, 202, VI B.C.); *hέχει* (*CIA* IV, 373, b, beginning of VI B.C.) instead of *έχει*; *καθέχει* (i.e. aspirate: *CIA* I, 479, 3, c. 500 B.C.) instead of *κατέχει*; *hέχον* (*CIA* IV, 170, 7, 422 B.C.; 166, 6, 413 B.C.) instead of *έχον*; *SEG* X, 49 (432/1 B.C.) *ὁσεμέραι* for *hoσεμέραι*; *SEG* X, 63 (430 B.C.) *ἐαυτὸν* for *heαυτόν*; *SEG* X, 67, 13 (428/7 B.C.) *Ελληνοταμία* instead of *hΕλληνοταμία*; *BGU* 1269 (III/II B.C.): *καθ' ἑξῆς* for *κατ' ἑτος*; the reverse is the case with *Tebt* 1061 (226 B.C.): *υπ' εκαστου* instead of *υφ' ἐκάστου*; *Tebt* 918 (II B.C.): *εφ' ετη* for *ἐπ' ἑτη*.

<sup>164</sup> E.g. *πανhoπλίας* (*IG* I, 34, 448/7 B.C.); *προσηκέτω* (*CIA* I, 40, 15, 428/423 B.C.) and *προσῆκειν* (same inscription, line 45); *τριημιποδίους* (*CIA* I, 322, a, 12, 409 B.C.) and *τριημιπόδια* (*CIA* I, 321, 15, before 409 B.C.).

<sup>165</sup> See, e.g., *hHεων* (*Εφθμ. Αρχ.* 1886, p. 87, VII-VI B.C.); *hρος* in *CIA* II, 1066 (bis, IV B.C.); *hλαβὸν λίθον* (= *λαβὼν λίθον*), *IGA* 360, V B.C.?; *hκὸρ(η)* (*CIA* IV, b, 373, n. 97, b, VII-VI B.C.); *hμεγάλου* (*CIA* IV, b, 373, 208, VI B.C.).

old relic, not as a living item of language<sup>166</sup> – just as it has been till our own day!

## V. Corollaries

The above investigation has shown that the fifth century B.C. was a century of momentous changes for the Greek language (indeed, in certain respects the process had begun already in the sixth century B.C.). With the completion of the 24-letter alphabet, the old, inexact way of spelling was giving way to what came to be the normative spelling, which has been in force for the past 2500 years. At the same time these accommodations in spelling were accompanied by important changes in pronunciation. The diphthongs were receiving a monophthongal pronunciation, assuming the sound of their second vowel, which for the most part was I. The Y was thinned down (at first perhaps to French u and finally) to I, the *u*-sound being rendered by ου. Quantity, which evidently had never been integral to the vowels, but was a mere technicality, was now vanishing. The stress-accent, which must always have existed, comes clearly into prominence.

In short, all those elements that are characteristic of the pronunciation used in Hellas today begin to make their appearance at this time<sup>167</sup>. Even though we may not be altogether sure of the *exact quality* of sound for each letter we have considered above, we have sufficient evidence to know that the present Greek pronunciation was in all essentials establishing itself already in V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. This process was in some cases completed rather soon, while in other cases it was protracted. This means that the so-called “Modern Greek pronunciation of Greek” *is not modern at all*. Hence, it is incorrect to speak of

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<sup>166</sup> Platon never mentions aspiration in his *Cratylus*, although he ought to have had occasion to do so, while according to Aristotle the only difference between οὐ and οὔ was one of stress (the acute), *Sophistici elenchi*, 177b, 35-178a, 4; see also 166b, 3-6. Also the Rhetor Tryphon (I B.C.), *Περὶ πνευμάτων* 1. 6. 10, says that in words having two consecutive ρ, the first should receive the *spiritus lenis*, whereas the second should receive the *spiritus asper*, and comments: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν κανὼν, ὃς παρὰ τοῖς νέοις ἠθέτηται (“this is the rule of the ancients, which has been set aside by the moderns”). Tryphon thus testifies that in his own day aspiration was not observed.

<sup>167</sup> The change in pronunciation is borne out also by the rich material cited in S.-T. TEODORSSON in his *The Phonemic System of the Attic Dialect 400-340 B.C.* (SGEtLG XXXII) and *The Phonology of Attic in the Hellenistic Period.* (SGEtLG XL), Göteborg 1978, although he refrained from drawing the logical conclusions.

“the Modern Greek” and of “the scientific (i.e. Erasmian) pronunciation” of Greek. The correct procedure rather is to speak of *the Greek* or (still better) *the Historical Greek Pronunciation of Greek* and of *the un-Greek*, or *artificial*, or *Erasmian*, or *Etacistic pronunciation of Greek*.

Today the error of Erasmus has been perceived and lies at the basis of the awareness that the Erasmian pronunciation does not represent the ancient Greek pronunciation<sup>168</sup>. This has led to a change of argument from scientific fidelity to practicality. Pronouncing Greek in the Erasmian way is supposed to save the student of Greek from the trouble of distinguishing between the spellings of the different ι-sounds<sup>169</sup>, and this facilitarian argument has become the main argument for persisting in a variety of pronunciations which are unnatural for Greek<sup>170</sup>. However, this argument is not entirely correct. In

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<sup>168</sup> This recognition has led to a nonchalant attitude with regard to the pronunciation of Greek by teachers of Greek. This may be exemplified by a conversation among teachers of Greek (i.e. classical scholars) that I happened to witness one time. One of them, new in the circle, was asking the rest whether he should pronounce the letter Θ as *T* or as English *th* (in ‘thin’). Several of the group gave their opinion to the effect that it did not really matter how the letter was pronounced! To underline the unimportance of the issue one of them went on to say that since he was unable to pronounce the Greek sound X (in, e.g., the word *charis*) as *ch* sounded like German ‘*Bach*’, he pronounced it like English *sh* (i.e. *sharis*)!

<sup>169</sup> The complaint that Modern Greek has too many i-sounds – i.e. six (seven with η) in all – is totally unfounded. The i-sounds occurring in English have been computed to over twenty. A check of the first 100 vowels occurring in Matthew (ch. 2), John, Romans, Acts, and Revelation gives the following average of i-sounds per 100 vowels: Greek 19.2; English 32.4; German 19.6; French 13.6; Italian 20.2; and Dutch 21.8.

<sup>170</sup> Among the chief European languages the skewing between orthography and pronunciation is nowhere as great as in English. Leaving aside fine variations and shades of sound, and regarding the following sounds as general areas within the five main vowel areas (a, e, i, o, u), we may say that the sound of ‘a’ (as Latin ‘a’) is represented, for instance, by ‘a’ (e.g. *father*), ‘o’ (*brother*), ‘ou’ (*enough*), and ‘u’ (*cut*). Analogically, the sound of ‘i’ is represented by ‘i’ (*fit*), ‘e’ (*theology*), ‘ee’ (*meet*), ‘ea’ (*sea*), ‘a’ (*average*), ‘ae’ (*aerie*, *aery* cf. also *eyrie*), ‘y’ (*mystery*), ‘ei’ (*ceiling*), ‘ie’ (*corbie*), ‘ey’ (*covey*), ‘ui’ (*conduit*), ‘oe’ (*oedema* = *edema* [pr. *idema*]), etc. Indeed, in the words of HATZIDAKIS (as quoted by ANAGNOSTOPOULOS in the *Great Greek Encyclopaedia*, Vol. X, 107): “In the English language it is almost the rule that words are pronounced wholly differently than the way in which they are spelled” (καταντᾶ σχεδὸν κανὼν νᾶ προφέρονται αἱ λέξεις ὅλως ἄλλοίως ἢ ὅπως γράφονται). Years ago, during my first visit to Ireland, I was surprised to find out that what I knew by hearsay as something between ‘Donliri’ and ‘Dunliri’ was actually spelled as ‘Dun Laoghaire’! Further Irish examples are: *saoghal* (= *sil*); *lanamhain* (= *lanum*); *oidhehe* (= *i*); *cathughadh* (= *cahu*).

my thirty-four years of experience in teaching the Greek New Testament to Swedish students (as well as British, Belgian, Dutch, and others) – the first twenty-four and one half years of which I pronounced it in the Erasmian way! – I found that if my students were able to distinguish H from I, they confused it with E. They also tended to confuse X with K and Θ with T. Moreover, the disregard of stress (the accented syllable) by Erasmians not only produces an un-Greek sound, but it also confuses different words spelled identically, whose difference in meaning is indicated by their being accented on different syllables<sup>171</sup>. In other words, it is not quite true that this un-Greek pronunciation “helps us to spell Greek correctly”!

In view of the results of the above investigation, there seems to be but one course to take: to abandon the Erasmian pronunciations, which have brought only confusion and impeded a proper understanding of the communicative aspects of Greek, and to return to the Greek pronunciation. This is “a scientific demand and a practical desideratum”, to use a phrase coined by a great New

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The skewing between spelling and pronunciation in French is a very serious problem to the foreign learner, and French scholars have characterized the orthography of French as a “calamité nationale” (*MEE* 10, 107). As for Swedish, it has its own orthographical peculiarities.

In view of these facts (among many others), it is hardly serious to claim that Greek orthography poses a problem. After all, Greek is constant in the sound it gives to the various vowels and diphthongs, whereas in English, for instance, the same vowel or diphthong can be used with quite different sounds from one word to another.

<sup>171</sup> E.g. ἄκμηρος (fasting from food) ἀκμής (full-grown); ἀκράτως (without being mixed) ἀκρατῶς (in uncontrolled manner); βάτος (bramble-bush) and βατός (verbal adjective: ‘that can be passed’); δέρειν (pres. inf.) δερεῖν (fut. inf.); δῆμος (people) δημός (fat); διαίρω (lift up) διαιρῶ (divide); δόκος (= δόκησις, opinion) δοκός (beam); ἔδρανόν (neut. adj.: steady); εἶμι (go) εἰμι (I am); ἔλευσις (coming) Ἐλευσίς (Eleusis); ζῆτω (Pres. ind. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing of ζάω) ζητῶ (I seek); θέα (view) θεά (goddess); θερμή (warmth, heat) θερμή (adj.: warm); ἱέρεια (priestess) ἱερεία (festival, sacrifice); ἰὼ (Pres. subj. of εἶμι) ἰὼ (exclamation: alas!); κόνις (dust) κονίς (nit); μύω (close the eyes) and μυῶ (initiate); νόμος (law) νομός (pasture, district); οἶνος (wine) οἰνός (= οἶνη: the ace on the dice); πότε (*when* ?) and ποτέ (*ever*); τίς, τίνος, τίνι, τίνα (interrogative pronouns) τις, τινός, τινί, τινά (indefinite pronouns), as well as the verbs with Attic future, e.g. αἰσχύνω (present ind.) and αἰσχυνῶ (future ind.); κρίνω (pres. ind.) and κρινῶ (fut. ind.); μένω (pres. ind.) and μενῶ (fut. ind.); νέμω (pres. ind.) and νεμῶ (fut. ind.); μισητή (hateful) - μισητή (harlot); τροχοί (wheels) - τρόχοι (roads); ἀρπαγή (seizure) - ἀρπάγη (hook); πονηρός (evil) - πόνηρος (painful, toilsome).



Testament scholar in another connection<sup>172</sup>, and that for the following reasons:

1. The claim by Erasmians to pronounce Greek in a scientific way, that is, in the true ancient Greek fashion, is beset by insuperable difficulties.

First, it is common knowledge that no one can learn to pronounce a foreign language by merely reading books in that language or consulting dictionaries, even such as are provided with phonetic helps. One must expose oneself constantly to the sounds of that language by listening to and trying to imitate native speakers. And even then it will be extremely difficult to learn to pronounce the language as the natives do, if the learner is older than about eight years of age. In the case of ancient Greek we have no longer the possibility to hear Sokrates or Platon, let alone the ability as grown-up students of Greek to imitate its correct pronunciation.

Second, it becomes immediately incumbent upon the Erasmians that they apply to the texts of each particular period the pronunciation that was current at the time (according to their own argument). Thus, Homeros should be pronounced with the pronunciation that was used in his time, Platon and Aristotle with the V-IV<sup>th</sup> century Athenian pronunciation (which was undergoing important changes), the New Testament with a pronunciation that was practically identical with the Modern Greek pronunciation, and the Church Fathers in the Modern Greek way<sup>173</sup>.

Third, four and one half centuries of trying to establish the scientific nature of the Erasmian pronunciation has led to results that are demonstrably false, or that have failed to convince the theorists themselves. To illustrate this I will quote a few passages from one of the more recent defenses of Erasmianism, Allen's *Vox Graeca*. Practical difficulties in "distinguishing the voiceless unaspirated plosives from the aspirated, both in speaking and hearing", lead Allen to bypass the Erasmian pronunciation at these points and to counsel "pronouncing the aspirated plosives in the Byzantine manner" (i.e. Modern Greek) (p. 27)! On p. 35 a certain pronunciation is recommended not on scientific grounds, but "on practical grounds"! On p. 57 "any degree of aspiration that may have existed here can be ignored by the modern reader". When on p. 73 he cannot make up his mind, he recommends a certain course because "if we are wrong, at least we shall be doing nothing worse than, say,

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<sup>172</sup> The sub-title of an important study by Anton Fridrichsen, in A. FRIDRICHSEN, *Exegetical Writings. A Selection*, translated and edited by C. C. CARAGOUNIS and T. FORNBORG (WUNT 76) 1994, 21.

<sup>173</sup> The same principle should apply to the different dialects, Attic, Boeotian, Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, Thessalic, etc.

pronouncing Aeschylus as Demosthenes might have done; whereas, if we adopt the other alternative, we may be giving an author a pronunciation which he had never received in antiquity"! This revealing admission is most telling, but one also wonders why in the light of this Erasmians still persist in pronouncing, e.g., the New Testament (even from their point of view) in an anachronistic way? On p. 83 the conclusions to which his study has led him are not good enough for recommendation, so he counsels, "the simplest solution seems to be one which is in fact quite widely adopted, namely to anticipate developments by two or three centuries"! We may, therefore, ask: Why not substitute the entire concoction by what we know to have been the pronunciation "two or three centuries" later, i.e. practically Modern Greek? With regard to the notorious "musical accent" of ancient Greek, Allen says on p. 118: "The author has listened to a number of recordings, recent and less recent, of attempted tonal [i.e. musical] recitation of ancient Greek, and, whilst some are less objectionable or ridiculous than others, has found none of them convincing". After such a confession, which is tantamount to a total failure by Erasmians to tell us how the so-called ancient Greek musical accent sounded, one would have expected the author to recommend the so-called Hellenistic stress-accent, (which still lives in Modern Greek). But nothing of the kind. The author goes on: "The carefully considered advice is therefore given, albeit reluctantly, not to strive for a tonal rendering, but rather to concentrate one's efforts on fluency and accuracy in other aspects of the language"<sup>174</sup>.

In the light of the above admissions, the inevitable question arises: just what is the point of persisting in pronunciations in which even their advocates and theorists have lost confidence?

If it is so clear then that the pronunciation (in the strict sense, not only of the value of the various letters, but also of the sound quality) of Homeros and of classical antiquity is, in the absence of magnetic tape-recordings, forever lost to us and beyond the possibility of recovery or reconstruction, *is it not, in that case, historically and scientifically more honest and correct to pronounce the language according to its own natural and historical development, rather than to impose upon it foreign sounds imported from other sister or rather 'niece' languages within the Indo-European family?* If only one pronunciation is to be used in pronouncing all these types of writing – coming as they do from a time span of 1200 years and more, during which period the

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<sup>174</sup> Although on p. 142 he deplores the Hellenian pronunciation practised in England as a hindrance to, e.g., learning Modern Greek, he nowhere argues for a change.

pronunciation in fact evolved – then surely the *Historical Greek Pronunciation* (whose roots go back to the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.), is the only legitimate candidate, not the artificial construct of Erasmus.

2. The HGP of Greek is a *sine qua non* for textual criticism. The manuscript tradition is full of errors<sup>175</sup> that were often the inevitable consequence of the double tradition – the living language and historical orthography – exactly the same type of errors that we find in the Attic inscriptions of classical times. The Greek pronunciation is the key to many variants and must be made the basis for a correct evaluation of their origin as well as their solution.

3. There is also the pragmatic issue. Pronouncing Greek in the HGP will facilitate scholarly contact with Hellas. Moreover, it will open an avenue with the starting-point of a little knowledge of New Testament Greek (or even classical Greek) to enter the wealth of Byzantine and Neohellenic, which are the direct descendants of Hellenistic and New Testament Greek. In this way New Testament Greek will cease to be treated as an island with its attendant misconstructions; it will be seen as part of a greater living unity, the Hellenic language, Hellenic thought, and the Hellenic literature as a whole. This will not fail to enrich the scientific study of the New Testament, which for too long has been deprived of inestimable insights by its persistent adhesion to the error of Erasmus.

\* (Note on p. 341 note 5). Here I append a brief evaluation of Erasmus by J. Gennadios in his "Erasmus and the Pronunciation of Greek" *Nineteenth Century* No. 227 January 1896, pp. 87-97:

"... There will be no difficulty in showing conclusively, I think, that Erasmus was not a Greek scholar either; and that his *Dialogus* is neither scientific nor serious (p. 91). Erasmus learned Greek comparatively late in life, and then only imperfectly. During his early days he received the merest smatterings of the language from Alexander Hegius, the headmaster of the school at Deventer ... this may serve to explain the bungling way in which Erasmus Hellenized his own name". In a footnote, Gennadios continues: "Desiderius is barbarous Latin for beloved (Gerhard), and Erasmus is barbarous Greek for it ... The correct Greek form would have been 'Εράσμιος" (p. 91).

In this article Gennadios shows, by the quotation of many examples as well as the opinion of many scholars, that Erasmus was not an accomplished Greek scholar. He wrote only a hymn in Greek a few lines long, which was faulty, and his edition (i.e., of the New Testament) was not a great work. Although he lived in Italy, France, Low Countries, Germany, and England, he knew only Latin and his own native Dutch.

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<sup>175</sup> The bearing of pronunciation on textual criticism is treated at length in Ch. Eight.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

# The Acoustic Dimension in Communication

### I. Reading Aloud in Antiquity

Reading aloud (or publicly) was very widespread in antiquity. This was owing partly to scarcity of books, but partly also to lack of means to purchase books. Reading aloud went a long way towards remedying this deficiency.

But there were other reasons as well. Greeks had a long tradition of listening to texts read out or declaimed, as, e.g., the Homeric epics<sup>1</sup>. In his-

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the Homeric epics are supposed to have been composed by rhapsodists as they declaimed. Despite the extraordinary mnemonic powers often attributed to these bards, the epics, with all their metrical arrangements and their stupendous length, must have been composed in writing, before they could be memorized and recited.

The modern history of the so-called Homeric problem, the work of the precursors of Milman PARRY and of PARRY himself, who together with Albert B. LORD (for their works, see HARVEY, *Listening*, 4 ff. and bibliography), on the basis of their Yugoslavian researches, gave the formative 'solution' to the question, together with many other scholars who participated in the debate, is delineated in HARVEY's work, *Listening to the Text*, 1-16. Through his work HARVEY has earned the thanks of NT scholars. However, the model created by PARRY, LORD, and others is not free from difficulties; for example, their Slavic parallels have been challenged, and other objections have been raised as to the validity of their comparative materials. HARVEY's presentation, too, has its problems. The heavy emphasis, by means of HAVELOCK's work (for his works, see HARVEY, *Listening*, p. 9, n. 46 and bibliography), on the non-literate character of Greek culture "prior to the introduction of the alphabet around 700 B.C.", when "oral communication dominated all relationships and transactions" (pp. 9 f., cf. p. 47), useful in the attempt to prove the solely oral composition of the Homeric epics, is at variance with the facts. First, the Phoenician alphabet was adopted prior to 800 B.C. and second HARVEY has forgotten here the thousands of Mycenaean tablets in the so-called *Linear B* script (XV-XII B.C.), which to a very large extent are concerned precisely with transactions. These tablets contained real Greek words, many of which still survive in Neohellenic (see Ch. One). Nor is the statement "The introduction of the alphabet ... was merely the first step in the Greek journey to literacy" correct, since literacy had been acquired long before (cf. also the Cypriot syllabary, c. 1500 B.C. and later. By 1100 B.C. writing was very widespread on Cyprus). Therefore, to date "craft literacy

toric times, the Pnyx at Athens was the venue in which public reading occurred constantly, as for example, when the Athenian *Ekklesia* gathered to discuss foreign policy. Letters, proposals, drafts of treaties and other documents would be read aloud for all citizens to hear and debate. Thucydides mentions a γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως in Athens, whose duty it was to read such documents publicly<sup>2</sup>. Xenophon makes mention of the public reading

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(seventh and sixth centuries), recitation literacy (sixth and fifth centuries), and scriptorial literacy (fourth century)" (p. 10; see also the contradictory statements on pp. 35 f.) is strange, indeed. What about the written works of, e.g., Hesiodos, Terpandros, Tyrtaios, Aischylos, Pindaros? These questionable claims are only surpassed by the statement that dates Platon's flourish to 450 B.C., i.e. before he was born (cf. "Plato's writings (c. 450 B.C.)"! Platon's dates are 429-347. Moreover, how could Platon's writings be placed in the so-called recitation literacy period, and not in the scriptorial literacy period? The whole presentation here is very confused. However, despite the unreliability of HARVEY's historical delineation and statements, his book has brought together a large amount of literature relevant to the question of orality, and although the discussion is quite superficial – a pastiche of brief quotes from a variety of scholars exhibiting a chaotic democracy of discordant opinions (e.g. pp. 40-6), often one-sided and over-emphatic – his book does show the importance of orality in the ancient world. For this we are in his debt.

Nevertheless, the fact is that the reading culture was much more widespread than supposed. Peisistratos of Athens (tyrant in 560 B.C.) had his own private library, as did Polykrates of Samos (fl. 540 B.C.). Euripides (485-406 B.C.), Eukleides (fl. c. 403), Nikokrates of Cyprus and others had their own private libraries. Athens possessed a public library, that was carried off by the Persians in 480 B.C. Eupolis (fl. 430 B.C.), Platon and others inform of bookstores in Athens selling books cheaply (see CARAGOUNIS, "Scholarship, Greek and Roman", *DNTB*, 1068). Indeed – without implying that every single Athenian was literate – the fifth century B.C. was very much a reading culture.

Thus, I do not share the bizarre view that a shift took place from oral culture to manuscript culture in the first century A.D. (BOOMERSHIRE) or that "the interaction between oral and written cultures continued long after Platon (HAVELOCK), Isocrates, or Aristotle (LENTZ)" (HARVEY, *Listening to the Text* 37 ff.), as though it has ceased at some point in history. One cannot avoid here asking the question: Is not a very large part of modern culture characterized by different types of singing – opera, pop, 'gospel', etc.? Is not TV entertainment largely oral in character? Are not academic lectures delivered orally (even though the lecturer may have a manuscript before him)? Is not modern life full of speeches (e.g. Parliaments, courts), and declamations? Are not many agreements, that are made among common people today, based on a "gentleman's word"? It must be emphasized that orality has *never ceased*. It is therefore unhistorical to draw a dividing line between orality and written culture, in order to prove the importance of reading in antiquity. That importance must be freely recognized without our having to resort to absurd arguments to prove it.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides VII. 10: τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδσαν. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ("they delivered the letter. And the secretary of the city read it to the Athenians").

of the Persian king's letter to the Thebans<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, public reading was a necessary expedient at the courts. For instance, in their public speeches the orators often demanded the public reading of laws, on which they were basing their case<sup>4</sup>.

Public reading occurred everywhere in the Greek world<sup>5</sup>. The *Epistle of Aristeas* has the Jerusalem high priest gather the people to hear King Ptolemaios' letter read to them<sup>6</sup>. According to Diodoros Sikeliotes, Alexander sent a letter to Greek cities to be read to the masses (ἀναγνωσθῆναι τοῖς πλήθεσιν)<sup>7</sup>. Josephos relates that at the death of Herod, Salome and Alexas gathered the army into the Jericho amphitheater and had the letter of the king read to them<sup>8</sup>. In the *Paraleipomena of Jeremias* 7:21, Jeremiah is bidden: ἀνάγνωθι αὐτήν [sc. τὴν ἐπιστολήν] τῷ λαῷ ("read it [the epistle] to the people"), while in his *Life of Apollonios* V. 38, Philostratos has Emperor Vespasian read publicly (ἀνέγνω δημοσίᾳ πᾶσιν) a letter meant only for his own eyes<sup>9</sup>. Finally, with regard to the similar Roman practice, Ploutarchos mentions the letter sent by Caesar against Cato to be read pub-

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika* VII. 1, 39.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Aischines, *Embassy* 50: ἅμα δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ("at the same time he asked that the resolution of the *demos* be read"); Demosthenes, *Against Euergos and Mnesiboulos* 17 (1144): καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι πάλιν τὰς μαρτυρίας ("read for me again the testimonies"); 20 (1145): καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ("read for me again the resolution"); Deinarchos, *Against Demosthenes* 27: ἀναγίνωσκε τὰς ἐπιστολάς ("read the letters"); Andokides, *Mysteries* 96: καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον ("read me the law"); Hyperides, *Against Philippides* 13: ὁ μὲν γραμματεὺς ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται τὴν γραφὴν πάλιν ("the secretary will read to you the indictment again").

<sup>5</sup> For example, the Greek practice was that the laws were written on stone and placed in public places for the citizens to read. Those who could not read had someone read the laws to them.

<sup>6</sup> *The Epistle of Aristeas* 42. Similarly, *Ptolemaei II Philadelphi et Eleazari Epistulae* Epistle 2; Josephos, *Antiquities* XII. 52 and Eusebios, *Evangelike Proparaskewe* VIII. 5, 1. See also Josephos, *Antiquities* XIII. 39. Cf. CARAGOUNIS, "Aristeas, Epistle of" *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, 2000, 114-18.

<sup>7</sup> Diodoros Sikeliotes, *Bibliotheca historica* XVIII. 8, 4.

<sup>8</sup> Josephos, *Antiquities* XVII. 193.

<sup>9</sup> See further Chariton (II A.D.?), *Chaireas and Kallirhoi* IV. 5, 8: ἐν μέσῳ συμποσίῳ Διόνυσος ἀνέγνω ("Dionysos read [it] in the midst of the symposion"); Polyainos (II A.D.), *Strategemata* VIII. 17, 1; Libanios (IV A.D.), *Epistolai*: Epistle 7, 21. Public reading occurs several times in the records of the *Ecumenical Councils*, e.g. *Ephesos* I. 1, 2, p. 13; p. 68; I. 1, 7, p. 6; *Chalcedon* II. I, 1, p. 83; II. I, 3, p. 85, as well as in the Byzantine chronographer Ioannes Zonaras (XII A.D.), *Epitome Historion* I. pp. 274 and 326. Cf. also Justin's biting suggestion (*Against the Greeks*, 2): ἀνάγνωτε τῷ Διὶ ... τὸν νόμον ("read the law to Zeus").

licly in the Senate<sup>10</sup>, as well as Antonius' public reading of a letter of Caesar's (ἀνέγνω ... ἐν τῷ δήμῳ)<sup>11</sup>.

According to Eusebios, *Ekklesiastike Historia* IV. 23, 11, Dionysios, the second-century bishop of Corinth, addressed a letter to Soter, the bishop of Rome, in which he made reference to the letter of Klement to the Corinthians. He writes: Τὴν σήμερον οὖν Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν<sup>12</sup>. Eusebios comments thereby δηλών ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι<sup>13</sup>. From this we gather that in the early Church also letters from other sister churches could be read aloud to the entire congregation.

In his *Apologia*, Justin describes how the Christians celebrate the Sunday: καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, μέχρις ἐγχορεῖ<sup>14</sup>. The reading of the apostolic and the prophetic writings on the Sunday meetings appears to have been the main reading in the services of the various churches, while the reading of letters sent by sister churches, as evidenced by Dionysios, is to be understood as the exception<sup>15</sup>.

## II. The Acoustic Aspect and the New Testament

Without a doubt, the acoustic dimension plays an important role in human communication. As we saw, above, this was of special significance in ancient societies in general and in the Jewish society in particular, where books, though fairly rife, had a rather limited overall function as communication means<sup>16</sup>. Jesus' whole teaching had been orally delivered and orally

<sup>10</sup> Ploutarchos, *Cato Minor* 51.

<sup>11</sup> Ploutarchos, *Pompeius* 59.

<sup>12</sup> "Today we observed the current holy Sunday, reading your epistle [to us]".

<sup>13</sup> "Indicating that they read it in Church according to an old custom".

<sup>14</sup> Justin, *Apologia* 67: "And on the so-called Day of the Sun, all those who live in cities or out on the fields are gathered together, and the reminiscences of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as far as this is possible".

<sup>15</sup> On the Sunday in general, see W. RORDORF, *Der Sonntag. Geschichte des Ruhes- und Gottesdiensttages im ältesten Christentum*, Zürich 1962 and *id.*, *Sabbath und Sonntag in der Alten Kirche*, Zürich 1972.

<sup>16</sup> HARVEY thinks that "there were three factors that contributed to the practice of reading aloud. First, there was a cultural bias in favor of orality ... Second, there was a long-established practice of oral composition and dictation. Third, the very nature of first century documents made the task of reading difficult", i.e. on account of the

preserved in the first decades. Jesus' repeated "You heard that it was said to the men of old ..." (Mt 5:21, etc.) reflects the factual circumstance that in his day the ordinary Jew's knowledge of the OT was limited to what he had heard read out in the synagogue<sup>17</sup>, not to his own private reading – which must have been practically non-existent. The most important commandment to Israel, which Jesus reiterated in his teaching, was: "Hear Israel ...!" (Mk 12:29). In the NT the importance of hearing can be gauged from the fact that the verb "to hear" occurs no less than 410 times. The value of the spoken word *vis-à-vis* the written word comes out forcefully in Papias (mid-II<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.): οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφέλειν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης<sup>18</sup>.

This situation underscores the role of acoustics in the communication process, when the NT documents were first released from their authors to the various groups of recipients. For example, the epistles of Paul were written not in order to be read silently by each individual in turn, but in order to be *read aloud* and to be *listened to* in the various congregations<sup>19</sup>. The sound of the message was part of the message!

A text intended for the eye is written differently from a text intended for the ear. Hence, Paul often uses the direct mode of address (the vocative, see below), because his letters are, in the first place, intended as oral communications. Here, we enter the domain of the rhetorical aspects of his letters: his devices for achieving *captatio benevolentiae* with his readers, for exhorting them, criticizing their vices, instructing them. This is a subject

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*scriptio continua* and the absence of punctuation marks. Of these reasons, only the first one is here deemed pertinent to the question.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. I. H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke*, 181, J. NOLLAND, *Luke* Vol. I, 192-94. Cf. E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Vol. II, 447 ff. The existence of a synagogue in Nazareth at the time of Jesus has lately been questioned (see, e.g., KEE, *NTS* 36 (1990) 1-24; HACHLILI, *JSJ* 28 (1997), 34-47; HORSLEY, R. A., *Galilee*, 222 ff.; *id.*, *Archeology, History and Society in Galilee*, 131 ff.), but a number of recent studies have presented satisfactory evidence for the early existence of the institution and its religious character, cf. E. M. MEYERS, Art. "Synagogue" in *ABD*, Vol. VI, 251-60; R. RIESNER, "Synagogues in Jerusalem" in *The Book of Acts etc.* Vol. IV, 179-211; and especially LEVINSKAYA, *The Book of Acts: Diaspora setting, passim* (chiefly for Diaspora evidence), BINDER, *Into the Temple Court, passim*, and lately RUNESSON, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, esp. 171-93 (with further lit.).

<sup>18</sup> In Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 39, 4: "For I did not consider that I would profit as much from what I could read in books as from what I could obtain from a living and abiding voice".

<sup>19</sup> Cf. WEIB, *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik*, 4: "Wenigstens gefragt muß doch werden, ob nicht das Bedürfnis des Klanges, der Reiz des Tonfalls sehr häufig für die Wahl der Worte und ihre Anordnung stärker ins Gewicht gefallen ist, als Rücksichten der Lehre".



that relates to the whole rhetorical situation in antiquity, and hence to conventions used, which perchance have influenced Paul's formulations as well<sup>20</sup>.

The term acoustic(s) is used here in its broadest sense: (1) of the pronunciation of Greek current at the time (i.e. Phonology), (2) of the possibilities which this afforded the speaker / author in using various rhetorical devices such as *paronomasia*, *parechesis*, parallelism, and wordplays, and (3) of the way the recipients of the message might be affected through the acoustic dimension, i.e. they might misunderstand what was being said, take offence at it, or be persuaded and be led to remorse and change of mind.

This chapter will exemplify the acoustic dimension in communication by addressing (a) literary composition, that is, the art of making the communication attractive and effective, (b) the problem of "Diatribē", the 'Thou'-form of argumentation or the rhetorical *σύ*, (c) various rhetorical devices such as parallelism, and ways to achieving *captatio benevolentiae* and establishing contact, as well as (d) wordplays, which make the point more effectively.

### III. Literary Composition and the Acoustic Dimension

One of the areas in which the acoustic dimension may be exemplified is literary composition. Literary composition (and its investigation through literary criticism) – important in its own right for achieving beauty and sublimity in discourse – is of importance also for our present investigation, that is, in examining the literary forms and conventions applied for effective communication. Inasmuch as written communication intended for the ear shares common characteristics with oral communication, such an investigation comes within the scope of acoustics, as defined above.

In an earlier study, available electronically, I have discussed at length Dionysios Halikarnasseus' important work, *On the Composition of*

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<sup>20</sup> HARVEY, *Listening* 55-9 as well as 61-82, correctly tries to explore the importance of the aural and oral factors in antiquity. However, his exertions to prove the value of the acoustic situation, with which I am in basic agreement, are wasted, because he fails to tell how the message sounded, what the consequences would be, and why it is important to recapture the oral situation. Evidently he thinks that the Greeks made all this fuss about orality and auralness only to pronounce their words in the American brand of the Erasmian pronunciation. And although his book contains not a few instructive observations in the rhetorical aspects of e.g. Paul's letters, he has failed on the most important count, that of pronunciation.

*Words*<sup>21</sup>, as an analytical method, and applied a number of Dionysios' principles to various Pauline texts. This time the perspective is different, though most of what was said in the above study is relevant also for the problem at hand. Here, however, the discussion of Dionysios' system will be geared to the concerns of the present investigation.

The work of Dionysios had been preceded by the endeavors of many literary critics, active ever since Athens instituted its literary contests. The earliest literary critics were the Sophists. Among well-known predecessors of Dionysios, the most famous are Sokrates, Platon, and Aristoteles. The last author has written two major works: *Τέχνη Ῥητορική* and especially *Περὶ Ποιητικῆς*. In times closer to Dionysios, literary criticism had occupied several of the great scholars of the Alexandrian library<sup>22</sup>.

Dionysios, a fellow countryman of Herodotos, was born in Halikarnasos sometime in the first century B.C. He taught rhetoric in Rome between c. 30 and 8 B.C. and died early in the first century A.D. His literary work is partly historical<sup>23</sup> and partly literary-critical. The latter is exemplified in his works on the ancient Greek orators and on Greek style, particularly his *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* (*On the Composition of Words*).

Dionysios has enjoyed great fame as a literary critic both in antiquity and in modern times<sup>24</sup>. Dionysios claims that prior to him, few people had concerned themselves with literary questions and that to his day there existed no scholarly treatise of literary criticism.

## 1. The Two Parts of Style

Dionysios considers that style, i.e. the entire science concerned with literary writing, falls into two parts: choice of words (*ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων*) and composition of words (*σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων*)<sup>25</sup>. Dionysios' present work, as its title indicates, deals only with the second of these divisions, in the introduction of which, he promises to return to the first division on some later occasion. It is not known whether he ever wrote the promised treatise.

<sup>21</sup> See C. C. CARAGOUNIS, "Dionysios Halikarnasseus, the Art of Composition and the Apostle Paul" *JGRChJ* 1 (2000), 24-54.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. C. C. CARAGOUNIS, "Scholarship, Greek and Roman" in *DNTB*, 1066-72 and literature there.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. his *Roman Antiquities*.

<sup>24</sup> See CARAGOUNIS, *JGRChJ* 1 (2000), 25 f. for ancient and modern evaluations of Dionysios.

<sup>25</sup> This is the scheme admitted by Theophrastos.

The science of Literary Criticism is understood by Dionysios quite differently from the way it has often been applied, for example, in biblical studies, namely, to clarify the relationship of dependence between various documents. For Dionysios, literary criticism is the method to apply in analyzing the mental processes of an author in the arrangement of his words, in order to achieve a pleasant or enjoyable, beautiful, and successful discourse, in other words, an effective communication. It is obvious that no 'pleasant or enjoyable' communication can be achieved without the involvement of acoustics.

From the two rival schools of rhetoric in V<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Dionysios had inherited the concepts of εὐέπεια<sup>26</sup>, 'beauty of language' (Gorgias) and ὀρθοέπεια<sup>27</sup>, 'correctness of language' (Protagoras).

These two aspects of literary criticism were combined by Dionysios in his critical evaluation of ancient poetry and prose. Dionysios is the author, who, more than any other author before him had acquired to a high degree a sharp sense of penetrating insight into the beauty of language, and sought to reduce to a scientific discipline the fruits of his long and intimate occupation with texts. For Dionysios, literary criticism is not simply negative criticism that is concerned with dissecting the λέξις ('discourse'), but one that is concerned with the synthesis and appreciation of the whole. According to Dionysios, literary criticism must lead to the enjoyment of literature. His main interest therefore, is to look for beauty, pleasantness, sweetness, for the element that enraptures, that carries away the reader, the element that transports. In this respect his powers of sensitivity are not inferior to those of "Longinos", even though the latter author has composed antiquity's masterpiece on literary criticism<sup>28</sup> (if from another standpoint).

With this purpose in view, Dionysios analyzes a large number of passages from ancient authors in order to show why they composed the way they did, and what sort of effect they achieved. The magic of a beautiful discourse does not lie in the choice of words (i.e. in the intrinsic quality of

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<sup>26</sup> On εὐέπεια see Dionysios Hal., *Composition* 23: ταύτης τῆς λέξεως ἡ εὐέπεια καὶ ἡ χάρις ἐν τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ λειότητι γέγονε τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ("The beauty and grace of this composition consists in the sequence and smoothness of the connections"), see also *Demosthenes* 25: συκοφαντεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα, τάχ' ἂν εἴποι τις, εὐέπειαν ἀπαιτῶν καὶ καλλιλογίαν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς οὐ ταῦτα σοφοῦ ("Someone might say: 'You slander the matter, demanding beauty and elegance of language of a man who is incapable of these'"). See further Platon, *Axiochos* 369d; Philon, *De Iosepho* 79; Sophocles, *Oidippos Tyrannos* 932; Sozomen, IV. 21.

<sup>27</sup> On ὀρθοέπεια see Dionysios Hal., *Demosthenes* 25.

<sup>28</sup> Sc. *Περὶ Ὑψους*. The author of this work is unknown.

the chosen words themselves), but in their arrangement or composition<sup>29</sup>. This can be proved from Homeros, who portrays everyday events in a superb way<sup>30</sup>. Dionysios concludes: διὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων καὶ ταπεινοτάτων ὀνομάτων πέπλεκται πᾶσα ἡ λέξις<sup>31</sup>. From a passage in Herodotos (I. 8-11), dealing with King Kandaules' showing of his beautiful wife undressed to his favorite lancer, Gyges, Dionysios shows that, although the subject was undignified and improper, in fact, it was closer to ugliness than to beauty, Herodotos has succeeded in telling the story with great dexterity and charm<sup>32</sup>.

## 2. Word-order in the Greek Sentence

Determining the word-order in the Greek sentence is a hopeless undertaking. In trying to fix the word-order of the Greek sentence, non-Greek grammarians of Greek in general have been influenced by the spirit of their own language. Thus Kühner held that "The subject takes the first place, the predicate (verb, adjective or noun with εἶναι) takes the last place, and the object is placed before the predicate"<sup>33</sup>. Howard<sup>34</sup> follows Kieckers'<sup>35</sup> rather limited evidence according to which, the most usual position is that the verb takes the middle place. Blas-Debrunner-Rehkopf find as normal the order of conjunction-predicate-subject-object-complements<sup>36</sup>. Turner

<sup>29</sup> *Composition* 3: ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ κάλλει τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡ πειθὼ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ.

<sup>30</sup> *Composition* 3: πραγματί' ἅττα βιωτικά ἡρμηνευμένα ὑπέρευν, referring to *Odyssey* XVI. 1-16.

<sup>31</sup> *Composition* 3: "His entire composition is interwoven with the most trivial and unadorned words".

<sup>32</sup> *Composition* 3: πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὅτι σεμνὸν ἢ καλλιλογεῖσθαι ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδικὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐγγυτέρω· ἀλλ' εἴρηται σφόδρα δεξιῶς, καὶ κρεῖττον γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι λεγόμενον ἢ ὀφθῆναι γινόμενον ("the matter was not merely undignified or unsuitable for artistic embellishment, but also childish and hazardous; in fact closer to ugliness than to beauty. But it has been told with great dexterity, and it is better to hear it related than to see it done"). See the passage in Chapter One, "3. The Classical (Attic) Period".

<sup>33</sup> Κ ΤΙΝΗΡΟΥ, Ρ., *Μεγάλη Γραμματική τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης* (= R. KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik*) Part II, Vol. 2, § 605, 1.

<sup>34</sup> HOWARD, *Accidence and Word Formation*, Vol. II of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 416 ff.

<sup>35</sup> KIECKERS, *Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen*, 64. For criticism, see H. FRISK, *Studien griechischen Wortstellung*, 7 ff.

<sup>36</sup> BLAS-DEBRUNNER-REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 14 Aufl. § 472.

suggests that the order in ancient Greek normally was subject-object-verb, though in Biblical Greek he believes it to be verb-(personal pronoun)-subject-object-(supplementary participle), and in the NT in particular, it is subject-verb-object<sup>37</sup>. Robertson advocates greater freedom, though he thinks that usually the predicate begins the sentence<sup>38</sup>. Dionysios points out that he tried all the orders available, but came to the conclusion that his predecessors had used all of the orders equally successfully, and that consequently attractiveness and beauty in expression did not depend on any particular order of arrangement<sup>39</sup>.

### 3. The Tasks of Composition

The question of composition, as we shall see further down, has a bearing on the matter under discussion, *sc.* the acoustic dimension in communication.

Dionysios considers that the science of composition has three tasks: (a) to discover what is to be joined with what in order to produce beautiful and pleasant effect on the whole, (b) how to form the parts that will be joined together, so that the whole will be harmonious, and (c) whether anything in the parts needs to be added to, subtracted from, or modified in view of their future use within the whole<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> TURNER, *Syntax*, Vol. 3 of *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* ed. J. H. MOULTON, 347 and n. 2.

<sup>38</sup> ROBERTSON, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 417. Variety is advocated also by GOODELL, "The Order of Words in Greek", 5-47. See further E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig 1913, 365 f.; H. FRISK, *Studien zum griechischen Wordstellung*, who takes into account considerable material, and LUND, *Chiasmus in the New Testament*, *passim* (the NT chiasm is Semitically influenced).

<sup>39</sup> *Composition* 5: τοτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς ἡδεῖα ἢ σύνθεσις καὶ καλὴ, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων ἀλλ' ἐναντίων. διὰ ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρίας ἀπέστην ("sometimes the composition was made pleasant and beautiful by these and similar arrangements, and sometimes by their opposites. On account of this I abandoned such a theory").

<sup>40</sup> *Composition* 6. These points are illustrated by actual passages from ancient authors, e.g. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 1 (226): εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα ("in this [here] struggle"). Demosthenes might have said εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα ("in this struggle"), since this would have been enough, but he added a letter to the pronoun with a view to composition (προστέθηκε τι τῇ ἀντωνυμίᾳ γράμμα τῆς συνθέσεως στοχαζόμενος). Thucydides III. 57, 4 in giving the Plataians' appeal to the Spartans, has a sentence full of pathos: ὑμεῖς τε ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡ μὲν ἔλπις, δέδιμεν, μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε ("we are afraid, oh Spartans, lest you, our only hope, may not be steadfast") (Dionysios Hal. *Composition* 7). Dionysios argues that if the order of the clauses in this sentence changed – i.e. ὑμεῖς τε, ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ

Dionysios is of the opinion that the two most important effects which both poets and prose writers strive after are delightfulness or enjoyment (ἡδονή)<sup>41</sup> and beauty (τὸ καλόν)<sup>42</sup>. These are not always found in the same author: for instance, Thoukydides and Antiphon composed beautifully, but they lack in aesthetic pleasure. The converse is true of Xenophon and Ktesias, while Herodotos has both<sup>43</sup>.

Dionysios then proceeds to outline the characteristics that render composition delightful and beautiful.

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βέβαιοι ἦτε, ἡ μόνῃ ἐλπίς (“we are afraid, oh Spartans, lest you may not be steadfast, who are our only hope”) – the charm and the pathos would no longer be the same. A third example is taken from Demosthenes *On the Crown* 179. Had Demosthenes written ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἔγραψα, γράψας δ’ ἐπρέσβευσα, πρεσβεύσας δ’ ἔπεισα Θεβαίους (“having said this, I moved a resolution, and having moved a resolution, I went on the embassy; and having gone on the embassy, I persuaded the Thebans”) would the sentence have been composed as elegantly as it actually was composed: οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ’ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ’ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δέ Θεβαίους (“I did not say these things and then fail to move a resolution, I did not move a resolution and then fail to go on the embassy; I did not go on the embassy, and then fail to persuade the Thebans”)? (Dionysios Hal., *Composition* 8). It should be pointed out that the Greek is much more elegant than the English translation. This passage was used by *Ad Herennium* 4; Demetrios, *On Style* 270, and Quintilian VI. 3, 70 as an example of climax. Occasionally a sentence may be lengthened in order to produce equally long clauses, i.e. balance, as, e.g., Aeschines, *Against Ktesiphon* 202: ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς (“you call him against yourself, you call him against the laws, you call him against the democracy”). As Dionysios points out (*Composition* 9), Aeschines could have used just one clause: ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς (“you call him against yourself, and the laws and the democracy”), but his much-admired sentence has been divided into three clauses, not out of necessity, but “in order to make the harmony more pleasant” (τοῦ δὲ ἡδῖω ποιῆσαι τὴν ἁρμονίαν).

<sup>41</sup> This term is sometimes translated as “attractiveness”. I prefer to render it with “delight(ful(ness))”, “enjoyment”, “pleasant(ness)” because these English words bring out more clearly the personal, subjective enjoyment experienced at hearing or reading a well-composed discourse, whereas “attractiveness” would be a characteristic of the discourse, which is not a natural meaning for ἡδονή. In some contexts, however, “attractiveness” may be a more felicitous rendering.

<sup>42</sup> *Composition* 10.

<sup>43</sup> It might not be out of place to point out that Dionysios cherished an inordinate admiration for his fellow-countryman Herodotos.

#### 4. The Characteristics of Delightful and Beautiful Composition

The characteristics or qualities to be exhibited by a composition that aspires to be delightful or enjoyable are five:

1. Freshness (ώρα)
2. Charm (χάρις)
3. Euphony (εὐστομία)
4. Sweetness (pleasantness) (γλυκύτης)
5. Persuasiveness (τὸ πιθανόν)

and the characteristics or qualities necessary to make the composition beautiful are the following five:

1. Grandeur (μεγαλοπρέπεια)
2. Solemnity (βάρος)
3. Seriousness (σεμνολογία)
4. Dignity (ἀξίωμα)
5. Mellowness / Ripeness (πίνος)

#### 5. The Prerequisites for Delightful and Beautiful Composition

To achieve both delightful or enjoyable and beautiful composition, four things are necessary:

1. Melody (μέλος, ἀρμονία)
2. Rhythm (ρυθμός)
3. Variety (μεταβολή)
4. Appropriateness (τὸ πρέπον)<sup>44</sup>

##### a. Melody

With regard to melody Dionysios speaks of the harmonious effects produced by the sounds of the letters and syllables, the blending of rough with smooth syllables, of short with long syllables. It is in things such as these

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<sup>44</sup> As proof for the appositeness of this claim, Dionysios asserts that in theaters both educated and uneducated people show appreciation for the pleasurable and the beautiful, and that even those who could not play a single note of music can unerringly tell the difference between good and bad music. The reason for this is that aesthetic appreciation is innate in every man, whereas ability to play is acquired by practice (*Composition* 11).

that good taste or the sense of the fitness of things (καιρός)<sup>45</sup> appears<sup>46</sup>. Good taste is the best measure of what is pleasurable and what is nauseous<sup>47</sup>. He states, however, that it is impossible to give rules for what constitutes good taste. He admits an element of elusiveness and subjectivity since good taste cannot be pursued scientifically; it is a question of judgment, a judgment, however, that comes by training<sup>48</sup>.

*Dionysios expatiates on what makes for pleasant sounds, noble as well as ignoble vowels and consonants.* He has a peculiar taste for long vowel-sounds, giving first place to α and last place to ε, while calling σ “charmless and nauseating and when used overmuch excruciating”<sup>49</sup>. He counsels, however, using what he considers the finest vowels and smoothest of consonants to achieve freshness, beauty, and charm, just as Homeros, the πολυφωνότατος πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν, did<sup>50</sup>.

## b. Rhythm

With respect to rhythm, Dionysios asserts that every word consisting of more than one syllable is pronounced in some sort of rhythm. By rhythm he means the metrical foot. Here he presents the twelve primary types of foot, the majority of which are noble and give pleasure, while the *Trochee*, the *Choree*, and the *Amphibrach* are undignified:

### *With two syllables:*

1. Hegemon / Pygmic (ἡγεμών, πυρρίχιος): (U U) (οὐ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἢ σεμνός)
2. Spondee (σπόνδειος): (– –) (ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ σεμνότητα πολλήν)
3. Iambus (ἱαμβος): (U –) (οὐκ ἀγενής)
4. Trochee (τροχαῖος): (– U) (ἀγενέστερος)

<sup>45</sup> Καιρός carries the sense of appropriate timing, of fitness, and comes close to εὐπρέπεια and τὸ πρέπον. We may therefore render it with “good taste”.

<sup>46</sup> *Composition* 12.

<sup>47</sup> *Composition* 12: οὗτος γὰρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀηδίας κράτιστον μέτρον (“this is the best measure of what is delightful and nauseating”).

<sup>48</sup> *Composition* 12: οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐπιστήμη θηρατός ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς ἀλλὰ δόξη. ταύτην δ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ πολλῶν γυμνάσαντες ἀμεινον τῶν ἄλλων εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτόν (“nor is good taste generally apprehensible by science, but by judgment. Those who have exercised their judgment by frequently applying it to many cases are better in recognizing good taste than others (who have not exercised it)”).

<sup>49</sup> *Composition* 14: ἀχαρὶ δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ καὶ πλεονάσαν σφόδρα λυπεῖ.

<sup>50</sup> *Composition* 16: “The poet who has used more voices than anyone else”.



*With three syllables:*

5. Chorea (χορεῖος): (U U U) (ταπεινός, ἄσμενος, ἀγενής)
6. Molossus (μολοττός): (– – –) (ὕψηλός, ἀξιωματικός, διαβεβηκώς)
7. Amphibrach (ἀμφίβραχος): (U – U) (ἀσχήμων, ἀηδής)
8. Anapaest (ἀνάπαιστος): (U U –) (σεμνότης, μέγεθος, πάθος)
9. Dactyl (δάκτυλος): (– U U) (πάνυ σεμνός, κάλλος)
10. Cyclic (κυκλικός): (U U –) (πάνυ καλός)<sup>51</sup>

*Another type of three syllables:*

11. Cretic (κρητικός): (– U –) (οὐκ ἀγενής)
12. Bacchius (βακχεῖος): (– – U) (πάνυ ἀνδρώδες, σεμνολογία)
13. Hypobacchius (ὑποβάκχειος): (U – –) (ἀξίωμα, μέγεθος)<sup>52</sup>

Platon is one of those who often excelled in his composition, being most ingenious in finding true melody and fine rhythm (ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐμμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν συνιδεῖν δαιμονιώτατος)<sup>53</sup>. Had he only been as felicitous in his choice of words, then the first prize in prose literature would have been awarded to him. But now it must go to Demosthenes<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> The Cyclic is to be differentiated from the Anapaest, though its form is the same.

<sup>52</sup> *Composition* 17.

<sup>53</sup> *Composition* 18. He exemplifies Platon's superb composition by a quotation from *Menexenos* 236d, which he scans as follows:

ἐργῷ μὲν | ἡμῖν | οἶδε ἔ | χουσιν | τὰ προσή | κοντα | σφίσιν | αὐ | τοῖς  
 – – U – – – U U – – U/– U – – – U U/– – –  
 ὦν τυχόν | τες πορεύ | ονται | τὴν εἰ | μαρμένην | πορείαν  
 – U – – – U – – – – – U – – U – –

Dionysios comments "What has made the following passage of Platon's so adorned, dignified and beautiful, other than that it is composed of the most beautiful and most renowned rhythms?" (τὴν δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴν λέξιν ταυτηνὴν τίνι ποτὲ ἄλλῳ κοσμηθεῖσαν οὕτως ἀξιωματικὴν εἶναι φαίη τις ἂν καὶ καλὴν, εἰ μὴ τῷ συγκεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτων ῥυθμῶν; ). He goes on to show in detail that Platon has used the noblest kinds of foot, appropriate to the slow movement necessary in a mourning procession. The first is a bacchius, the second a spondee. The next is a dactyl (preserving the hiatus), the following a spondee. The fifth is a cretic or an anapaest, the following is, in my opinion, a spondee, and the last an hypobacchius, or else an anapaest. Thereafter comes the catalectic syllable. None of these rhythms is mean or ignoble. In the next clause the first two are cretics, and the following two spondees. Thereafter follows a cretic, while the sixth is a hypobacchius. A passage composed of such beautiful rhythms is inevitably a beautiful passage. There are countless such passages in Platon. This passage is praised also by "Longinos".

<sup>54</sup> Dionysios cites as an example of bad taste Hegesias the Magnesians, the founder of the Asianic movement in rhetoric. He quotes at length a passage according to which

## c. Variety

The third factor in beautiful composition is variety (μεταβολή):

The best style is that which contains the greatest freedom from uniformity and exhibits varieties in composition; when one thing is said within a period, and another outside of it; when one period consists of many clauses and another of a few; when one clause is shorter and another is longer; when one is more rough and the other more refined; when the rhythms are variable and the figures are of various kinds, and the intonations of voice, which are called *prosodiai*, by their variety remove every feeling of satiety. ... I am sure everyone knows that in discourse variation is a most pleasant and beautiful characteristic<sup>55</sup>.

As examples of such composition Dionysios recommends Herodotos, Platon, and Demosthenes, "For it is impossible to find any others who have used a greater number of parenthetical digressions, more timely variations, and more variegated figures"<sup>56</sup>.

## d. Appropriateness

Finally, appropriateness is defined: "it is admitted by all that a treatment is appropriate when it fits the entities concerned, persons or things"<sup>57</sup>. To bring out the meaning of things by the use of appropriate words and composition is the usual characteristic of that most demonic (δαιμονιώτατος) poet, Homeros.

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Alexander punished the treacherous prince of Gaza by having him dragged behind a chariot in the same way as Achilleus had done with Hektor's corpse (*Ilias* XXII. 395-411). In his comparison Dionysios shows that Hegesias lacks the dignity and elevatedness of Homeros in telling this horrible story, and attributes the bad effect mainly to the rhythms used.

<sup>55</sup> *Composition* 19: καὶ ἔστι λέξεις κρατίστη πασῶν, ἥτις ἂν ἔχῃ πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τε καὶ μεταβολὰς ἑναρμονίους, ὅταν τοῦτ' ἐν ἐν περιόδῳ λέγῃται, τοῦτ' δ' ἔξω περιόδου καὶ ἦδε μὲν ἡ περίοδος ἐκ πλείονων πλέκεται κῶλων, ἦδε δ' ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν κῶλων τὸ μὲν βραχύτερον ἢ, τὸ δὲ μακρότερον καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοργότερον [τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον], τὸ δὲ ἀκριβέστερον, ῥυθμοὶ τε ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι καὶ σχήματα παντοῖα καὶ τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσφῶδιαι διάφοροι κλέπτουσαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κόρον ... ὅτι γὰρ ἥδιστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον ἐν λόγοις μεταβολή, πάντας εἰδέναι πείθομαι.

<sup>56</sup> *Composition* 19: ἀμήχανον γὰρ εὐρεῖν τούτων ἐτέρους ἐπεισοδίοις τε πλείοσι καὶ ποικιλίαις εὐκαιροτέrais καὶ σχήμασι πολυειδεστέροις χρησαμένους.

<sup>57</sup> *Composition* 20: ὁμολογουμένου δὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι πρέπον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἀρμόττον προσώποις τε καὶ πράγμασιν. Cf. a few lines further down: οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ συνθέσει χρώμεθα ὀργιζόμενοι καὶ χαίροντες ("We do not use the same kind of composition when we are angry as when we are glad").

Here, Dionysios takes up the Homeric passage depicting Sisyphos' labors and gives us a fine example of his artistry and penetrating critique. The passage can be fully appreciated only in its entirety, though here only the highlights can be mentioned. The first part runs:

καὶ μὲν Σίσυφον εἰσεῖδον κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα,  
 λαῶν βαστάζοντα πελώριον ἀμφοτέρησιν·  
 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν σκληριπτόμενος χερσὶν τε ποσὶν τε  
 λαῶν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον.<sup>58</sup>

Dionysios' sensitive comments are:

Here we have a composition that shows each of the particulars: the weight of the stone, his difficulty in moving it from the ground, the stone's weight felt by his limbs, his slow ascent to the hilltop, the hardship in pushing the stone upward. No one would question this<sup>59</sup>.

Further down Dionysios continues:

First, in the two lines in which Sisyphos rolls the stone upward, except for two verbs, all of the words in this text are dissyllables or monosyllables. Next, the long syllables are half as many as the short ones in each line. Then, all the arrangements are such that the words have been so interspaced as to make the intervals clearly perceptible either on account of the collision of vowels or of the joining of semivowels and voiceless letters. ... The monosyllabic and dissyllabic words by leaving many breaks between them evoke the long span of time. The long syllables, by having a steadying, delaying characteristic in their being uttered, show the resistance, the weight and the arduousness. The inhalation of breath between the words and the collocation of rough letters show the intermissions of his exertions, the halts, and the immensity of his labor. With respect to the rhythms, when considered as to their length, they reveal the straining of his limbs, his effort input as he rolls his load, and the heaving of the rock. ... He has not used the same means to portray the stone's return from the top and its rolling downhill, but made his composition faster and briefer<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> "And Sisyphos I saw going through great toil  
 holding a huge stone with both his hands;  
 pushing it up with hands and feet  
 he raised it upwards to the hilltop

<sup>59</sup> *Composition* 20: ἐνταῦθα ἡ σύνθεσις ἐστὶν ἡ δηλοῦσα τῶν γινομένων ἕκαστον, τὸ βάρος τοῦ πέτρου, τὴν ἐπίπονον ἐκ τῆς γῆς κίνησιν, τὸν διερεϊδόμενον τοῖς κώλοις, τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρὸς τὸν ὄχθον, τὴν μόλις ἀνωθουμένην πέτραν· οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλως εἴποι.

<sup>60</sup> *Composition* 20: πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖ στίχοις οἷς ἀνακυλῖει τὴν πέτραν, ἔξω δεῖν ῥημάτων τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια πάντ' ἐστὶν ἦτοι δισύλλαβα ἢ μονοσύλλαβα· ἔπειτα τῷ ἡμίσει πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ μακραὶ συλλαβαὶ τῶν βραχειῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν στίχων· ἔπειτα πᾶσαι διαβεβήκασιν αἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμονίαι

Dionysios continues:

Then, having said in the same style as earlier:

‘Ἄλλ’ ὅτε μέλλοι  
ἄκρον ὑπερβαλέειν

(“But when it is about  
to pass the top”)

he adds this:

τότ’ ἐπιστρέψασκε κραταιίς·  
αὐτίς ἐπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής

(“then mighty force turned it back  
and at once down the plain rolled the impudent rock”)

and continues:

Does not the composition of the words roll downwards, as it were, together with the weight of the stone, or rather does not the speed of the declamation surpass that of the falling of the stone? I certainly think so. And what is the reason for this again? It is worthwhile noticing the following: the line depicting the stone’s rolling down has no monosyllabic word and only two disyllabic words. This, first of all, not only does it not retard the rhythms, but instead makes them faster. Then again, of the line’s seventeen syllables ten are short and seven long, and even these are not perfectly long. It is inevitable then that the diction is drawn downward and is compressed on account of the shortness of the syllables. ... And what excites greater astonishment is that not one long rhythm which naturally lends itself to the heroic meter, neither spondee nor bacchius, is blended within the line, except at the end. All the others are dactyls, and these are mixed together with their irrational syllables, so that some of them do not differ much from trochees. There is then nothing to prevent a composition formed of such rhythms from being smoothly-running, rounded, and flowing<sup>61</sup>.

διαβάσεις εὐμεγέθεις καὶ διεσθήκασιν πάνυ αἰσθητῶς, ἢ τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων συγκρουομένων ἢ τῶν ἡμιφώνων τε καὶ ἀφώνων συναπτομένων. ... αἱ μὲν μονοσύλλαβοι τε καὶ δισύλλαβοι λέξεις πολλοὺς τοὺς μεταξύ χρόνους ἀλλήλων ἀπολείπουσιν τὸ χρόνιον ἐμιμήσαντο τοῦ ἔργου· αἱ δὲ μακრაὶ συλλαβαὶ σπριγιμούς τινας ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐγκαθίσματα τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν καὶ τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὸ μόλις· τὸ δὲ μεταξύ τῶν ὀνομάτων ψῆγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν τραχυνόντων γραμμάτων παράθεσις τὰ διαλείμματα τῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς ἐποχὰς καὶ τὸ τοῦ μόχθου μέγεθος· οἱ ῥυθμοὶ δ’ ἐν μήκει θεωρούμενοι τὴν ἑκτασιν τῶν μελῶν καὶ τὸν διεκνυσμὸν τοῦ κυλίνοντος καὶ τὴν τοῦ πέτρου ἔρεισιν. ... τὴν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπιστρέφουσιν πάλιν καὶ κατακυλιόμενῃν πέτρῃ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡρμηνευκε τρόπον, ἀλλ’ ἐπιταχύνει τε καὶ συστρέφει τὴν σύνθεσιν.

<sup>61</sup> *Composition* 20: οὐχὶ συγκυλίεται τῷ βάρει τῆς πέτρας ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔφθακε τὴν τοῦ λίθου φορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τάχος; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. καὶ τίς ἐνταῦθα πάλιν αἰτία; καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἦν ἄξιον ἰδεῖν· ὁ τὴν καταφορὰν δηλῶν τοῦ πέτρου στίχος μονοσύλλαβον μὲν οὐδεμίαν, δισυλλάβους δὲ δύο μόνas

The above points are, according to Dionysios, the most important to consider for every writer aspiring to write poetry or prose<sup>62</sup>. It is therefore important to see how the NT, particularly Paul's writings, relate to Dionysios' standards, as this question is inextricably bound up with the acoustic dimension.

## 6. Three Kinds of Style

No one would dispute that style, too, is intimately connected with the acoustic issue under discussion. The sound of the communication is affected by the discourse collocations chosen, and hence the choice of one style can imply nuances that may not be in the other.

Dionysios recognizes three kinds of style;

1. Austere (αὐστηρά)
2. Polished (elegant) (γλαφυρά, or ἀνθηρά)
3. Temperate (well-mixed) (εὐκράτος)

### a. The austere style

The austere style is characterized by perceptible intervals between the parts of speech, it allows harsh sounding collocations, it is more apt to expansion, admitting long syllables. It uses grand and dignified rhythms, setting forth its clauses in grandeur; it exhibits naturalness rather than artificiality, portraying pathos rather than moral character. It is flexible with regard to the cases, uses many different figures of speech, few conjunctions, and omits articles. It is plain, magnanimous and unadorned, its beauty lying in

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ἔχει λέξεις. τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ πρῶτον οὐ δίστησι τοὺς χρόνους ἀλλ' ἐπιταχύνει· ἐπειθ' ἑπτακαίδεκα συλλαβῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῷ στίχῳ δέκα μὲν εἰσι βραχεῖαι συλλαβαί, ἐπὶ δὲ μακραί οὐδ' αὐταὶ τέλειοι· ἀνάγκη δὴ κατασπᾶσθαι καὶ συστέλλεσθαι τὴν φράσιν τῇ βραχύτητι τῶν συλλαβῶν ἐφελκομένην. ... ὁ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ῥυθμὸς οὐδεὶς τῶν μακρῶν οἱ φύσιν ἔχουσιν πίπτειν εἰς μέτρον ἡρωικόν, οὔτε σπονδεῖος οὔτε βακχεῖος ἐγκαταμέμικται τῷ στίχῳ, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες εἰσὶ δάκτυλοι, καὶ οὗτοι παραμεμιγμένας ἔχοντες τὰς ἀλόγους, ὥστε μὴ πολὺ διαφέρειν ἐνίοις τῶν τροχαίων. οὐδὲν δὲ τὸ ἀντιπράττον ἐστὶν εὐτροχον καὶ περιφερῆ καὶ καταρρέουσιν εἶναι τὴν φράσιν ἐκ τοιούτων συγκεκριμένην ῥυθμῶν.

<sup>62</sup> *Composition* 20: ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἡδεῖαν καὶ καλὴν ποιῆσιν σύνθεσιν ἐν τε ποιητικῇ καὶ λόγοις ἀμέτροις, ταῦτα κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν ἐστὶ τὰ γοῦν κυριώτατα καὶ κράτιστα ("these then, according to my opinion, are the main and most important points to consider for those who aspire to achieve delightful and beautiful composition both in poetry and prose").

its archaic character<sup>63</sup>. This style has been used in epic poetry by Antimachos of Kolophon and Empedokles, in lyrics by Pindaros, in tragedy by Aischylos, in history writing by Thoukydides, and in forensic oratory by Antiphon. Dionysios criticizes roughness, discordance, and dissonance in this style, taking as examples Pindaros and Thoukydides.

In order to gain an insight into the kind of literary qualities that Dionysios looks for, I will quote in abbreviated form his criticisms of Pindaros and Thoukydides. With regard to Pindaros' frag. 75:

Δεῦτ' ἐν χορὸν Ὀλύμπιοι  
ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί,

("Come to the dance\*, Olympians  
And send your glorious favour, Oh gods divine")

(\* or song, i.e. the choir).

Dionysios has the following to say:

The first clause consists of four parts of speech: a verb, a connective (σύνδεσμος), and two appellatives. By being fused together, the verb and the connective have produced a delightful harmony, while the appellative, by being placed alongside the connective, has roughened considerably the combination. Ἐν χορὸν is unharmonious and lacks in euphony, because the conjunction ends in a semivowel letter, ν, and the appellative begins with a mute, χ. These consonants are by nature unmixable and non-fusible. For it is not natural to place a ν before a χ in the same syllable. Consequently, when they fix the boundaries of syllables they do not unite into a continuous sound, but it is inevitable that there occurs a pause between them, which distinguishes the sound-value of each letter. This then is the reason why the first clause gets its roughness in the composition. ... The following clause ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί is a long way away from the previous one and contains many discordant joints (ἁρμονίας). The clause begins with a vowel, ε, and near it is another vowel, ι, with which letter the previous clause, too, ended. The two letters cannot be fused together, nor can an ι precede an ε in the same syllable. There occurs a pause between them separating the parts from each other and safeguarding their basic difference. With respect to the detailed composition of the clause, the appellative κλυτὰν which is joined to the connectives ἐπὶ τε (or shall I call the first of these a preposition), makes the composition discordant and rough. How so? Because the first syllable in κλυτὰν is supposed to be short, but it is actually longer than an ordinary short, consisting of a voiceless consonant, a semivowel, and a vowel. The fact that it is not purely short, together with the difficulty in pronouncing the letters so fused, retards and disconnects the harmony. Now if one were to remove the κ from the syllable and make it ἐπὶ τε λυτὰν then the slowness and the harshness in the composition would be eliminated. Again, letting the verb πέμπετε follow the ap-

<sup>63</sup> *Composition 22.*

pellative κλυτάν does not make for a harmonious and well-unisoned sound. It is necessary for the ν to be firmly pronounced, and when the lips have been sufficiently squeezed then the π is heard, for the π cannot be connected onto the ν. The cause for this is the configuration of the mouth; it does not pronounce the two letters at the same place or in the same way. With respect to ν the sound is formed in the palate with the tongue rising to the edges of the teeth and the breath dividing between the nostrils, while for π the mouth is closed and the tongue is inactive, the breath taking a compact sound at the opening of the lips, as I have said above. In that the mouth takes a different configuration from the previous one, that is not akin or similar, it involves a certain time during which the smoothness and euphony of the harmony is interrupted. At the same time the first syllable of πέμπετε does not have a soft sound either, but is harsh to the hearing, beginning as it does with a voiceless consonant (π) and ending in a semivowel (μ). Juxtaposing θεοί next to χάριν has the effect of breaking up the sound and creating a considerable interval between the parts, the one ending in a semivowel, ν, and the other having as its first letter the voiceless θ. And it is unnatural for a semivowel to be placed before a mute<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> *Composition 22*: Τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῷ κῶλον ἐκ τεττάρων σύγκειται λέξεως μορίων, ῥήματος καὶ συνδέσμου καὶ δυεῖν προσηγορικῶν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ῥῆμα καὶ ὁ σύνδεσμος συναλοιφῇ κερασθέντα οὐκ ἀδηλὴ πεποιήκε τὴν ἁρμονίαν· τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν τῷ συνδέσμῳ συντιθέμενον ἀποτετράχκεν ἀξιολόγως τὴν ἁρμονίην· τὸ γὰρ ἐν χορὸν καὶ ἀντίτυπον καὶ οὐκ εὐεπές, τοῦ μὲν συνδέσμου λήγοντος εἰς ἡμιφῶνον στοιχεῖον τὸ ν, τοῦ δὲ προσηγορικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος ἀφ' ἐνός τῶν ἀφῶνων τοῦ χ· ἀσύμμετρά δὲ τῇ φύσει ταῦτα τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀκόλλητα· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν τοῦ χ προτάττεσθαι τὸ ν, ὥστε οὐδὲ συλλαβῶν ὅρια γινόμενα συνάπτει τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σιωπὴν τινα γενέσθαι μέσση ἀμφοῖν τὴν διορίζουσαν ἐκαστέρου τῶν γραμμάτων τὰς δυνάμεις. τὸ μὲν δὲ πρῶτον κῶλον οὕτω τραχύνεται τῇ συνθέσει. ... τὸ δὲ γέ τοῦτ' ἀρκεῖ παρακείμενον κῶλον τὸ 'ἐπὶ τε κλυτάν πέμπετε χάριν θεοί' διαβέβηκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου διάβασιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ περιεῖληφεν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰς ἁρμονίας ἀντιτύπους. ἄρχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ στοιχεῖον ἐν τῶν φωνηέντων τὸ ε καὶ παράκειται ἐτέρῳ φωνήεντι τῷ ι· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔλγηε τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ. οὐ συναλειφεται δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀλλήλοις οὐδὲ προτάττεται κατὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν τὸ ι τοῦ ε· σιωπὴ δὲ τις μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν γίνεται διερείδουσα τῶν μορίων ἐκαστέρον καὶ τὴν βᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδούσα ἀσφαλῆ. ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ μέρος συνθέσει τοῦ κῶλου τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τε συνδέσμοις ἀφ' ὧν ἄρχεται τὸ κῶλον, εἴτε ἄρα πρόθεσιν αὐτῶν δεῖ τὸ ἡγούμενον καλεῖν, τὸ προσηγορικὸν ἐπικείμενον μόριον τὸ κλυτάν ἀντίτυπον πεποιήκε καὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν σύνθεσιν· κατὰ τί ποτε; ὅτι βούλεται μὲν εἶναι βραχεῖα ἡ πρώτη συλλαβὴ τοῦ κλυτάν, μακροτέρα δ' ἐστὶ τῆς βραχείας ἐξ ἀφῶνου τε καὶ ἡμιφῶνου καὶ φωνήεντος συνεστῶσα. τὸ δὲ μὴ εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῆς βραχὺ καὶ ἄμα τὸ ἐν τῇ κράσει τῶν γραμμάτων δυσεκφόρητον ἀναβολὴν τε ποιεῖ καὶ ἔγκοπὴν τῆς ἁρμονίας. εἰ γοῦν τὸ κ τις ἀφέλοι τῆς συλλαβῆς καὶ ποιήσειεν ἐπὶ τε λυτάν, λυθήσεται καὶ τὸ βραδὺ καὶ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας. πάλιν τῷ κλυτάν προσηγορικῷ ἐκφῶνον καὶ φωνηέντον ἐπικείμενον οὐκ ἔχει συνφῶνον οὐδ' εὐκέραστον τὸν ἦχον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σπληνίζηται τὸ ν καὶ πιεσθέντος ἱκανῶς τοῦ στόματος τότε ἀκουστόν γενέσθαι τὸ π· οὐ γὰρ ὑποτακτικὸν τῷ ν τὸ π. τοῦτου δ' αἷτιον ὁ τοῦ στόματος σχηματισμὸς οὔτε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον οὔτε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκφῶνον ἐκαστέρον· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν γίνεται ὁ ἦχος καὶ τῆς γλώττης ἄκροις τοῖς ὁδοῦσι προσανισταμένης καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῶν ῥωθῶνων μεριζομένου, τοῦ δὲ π μύσαντος τε τοῦ στόματος καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς γλώττης

The criticism of Thoukydides may be exemplified by his very first sentence (I. 1): Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. This involves many clashes: the *ς* in Ἀθηναῖος clashes with the *ξ* in ξυνέγραψε (demanding a stop after the *ς* before the *ξ* can be uttered). The *ν* in τὸν with the *π* in πόλεμον, the *ν* in πόλεμον with the *τ* in τῶν, the *ν* in τῶν with the *Π* in Πελοποννησίων, the *ν* in Πελοποννησίων with the *κ* in καὶ as well as a vowel clash between the *ι* in καὶ and the *Α* in Ἀθηναίων.

#### b. The polished style

The main characteristics of the polished style are that it does not place each word in prominence. There are no long intervals between words, instead it has a fast movement, and the various parts are interwoven so as to convey one meaning. To this contributes the exact fitting together of the parts, which does not leave place for perceptible intervals. All its words are melodious, smooth, and soft, and it detests rough and discordant syllables. Fine fitting together relates not only to words, but also to clauses, forming the period. The clauses are neither too short nor too long, so as to encompass the total length of the period within a man's breath. The figures of speech must not be archaic, exhibiting grandeur or solemnity, but soft and flattering, having much that is alluring and appropriate to the theater. In short, the polished style is the exact opposite of the austere style<sup>65</sup>. This style is represented in epos by Hesiodos, in lyric by Sappho, Anakreon, and Simonides, in tragedy by Euripides, in prose by Ephoros and Theopompos, and in oratory by Isokrates.

As an example of this style I will quote a part of Dionysios' comments on Sappho and Isokrates. The text from Sappho is frg. 1:

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,  
καὶ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαι σε,  
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,  
πότνια θῦμον·

συνεργούσης τοῦ τε πνεύματος κατὰ τὴν ἀνοιξιν τῶν χειλῶν τὸν ψόφον λαμβάνοντος ἀθροῦν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν τὸ στόμα σχηματισμὸν ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου μήτε συγγενῇ μήτε παρόμοιον ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται τις χρόνος, σὺν ᾧ διίσταται τὸ λεῖόν τε καὶ εὐεπὲς τῆς ἁρμονίας. καὶ ἅμα οὐδ' ἡ προηγουμένη τοῦ πέμπετε συλλαβὴ μαλακὸν ἔχει τὸν ἦχον ἀλλ' ὑποτραχύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀρχομένη τε ἐξ ἀφώνου καὶ λήγουσα εἰς ἡμίφωνον. τῷ τε χάριν τὸ θεοὶ παρακείμενον ἀνακόπτει τὸν ἦχον καὶ ποιεῖ διερεισμόν ἀξιόλογον τῶν μορίων, τοῦ μὲν εἰς ἡμίφωνον λήγοντος τὸ ν, τοῦ δὲ ἀφώνου ἔχοντος ἡγούμενον τὸ θ· οὐδενὸς δὲ πέφυκε προτάττεσθαι τῶν ἀφώνων τὰ ἡμίφωνα).

<sup>65</sup> *Composition* 23.



(“Immortal Aphrodite, who sittest on a richly ornamented throne,  
 Daughter of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I beseech Thee  
 Do not crush my spirit with vexation and distress,  
 August Queen” )

Dionysios comments:

The eloquence and gracefulness of this composition lies in the continuity and the smoothness of its arrangement. The words are placed side by side and are interwoven according to the natural affinities and unions of the letters. For almost throughout the entire ode only such vowels are joined to the voiceless letters and the semivowels as naturally may precede or follow one another in the same syllable. There are very few cases of semivowels joined to semivowels or voiceless letters and vowels joined to one another which disturb the flow of sound ...

He quotes Isokrates *Areopagitikos* 1-5:

I suppose that many of you are wondering what kind of purpose might have led me to make my speech on the safety of the state, as if the city were in danger or her affairs were in disorder, when in fact she possesses more than two hundred ships, enjoys peace on her territory and commands the sea, and moreover, has many allies who are ready to assist her if need be, and still more are those who pay their contributions and obey what is commanded them<sup>66</sup>.

Dionysios finds that the words here are well-blended together, they do not stand out so as to be viewed on all sides, they are not divided by long intervals, they are instead smoothly moving on as a continuous stream being gentle and smooth. The reasons for this are *i.a.* that there are no dissonances of vowels, and few dissonances of semivowels and voiceless letters. The clauses are balanced, rounding up the whole into a well-proportioned period.

#### c. The temperate style

For lack of a proper name, Dionysios calls the third style temperate (or well-mixed), inasmuch as it consists of the best elements of the austere and the polished styles. It is a kind of a golden mean between the first two styles. In Dionysios' opinion this style is the winner, being a mean, which,

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<sup>66</sup> Πολλοὺς ὑμῶν οἶμαι θαυμάζειν, ἥντινὰ ποτε γνώμην ἔχων περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσδοτον ἐποίησάμην, ὥσπερ ἡ τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνοις οὐσης ἡ σφαλερῶς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστῶτων, ἀλλ' οὐ πλείους μὲν τριτῆρεις ἢ διακοσίας κεκτημένης, εἰρήνην δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχούσης, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχους ἔχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἐτοίμους ἡμῖν ἦν τι δέῃ βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας.

as Aristoteles himself pointed out, is a virtue in life, work, and art<sup>67</sup>. The chief representative here is Homeros, “the source from which all rivers and all seas and all fountains flow”<sup>68</sup>. Others who have excelled in this style include: in lyric Stesichoros and Alkaios, in tragedy Sophokles, in prose Herodotos, in oratory Demosthenes, and of philosophers Demokritos, Platon, and Aristoteles. “It is impossible to find any others who blended their compositions better than these authors”<sup>69</sup>. Here no examples are deemed necessary, because the entire composition of these authors exemplifies this kind of style<sup>70</sup>.

## 7. Dionysios’ Relevance for the New Testament

Through this work Dionysios has done us a great service. He has not merely given us his own subjective opinion about what makes literature delightful and beautiful; in his work he has incorporated not merely the literary tastes and trends of his time, but inasmuch as those tastes and trends had been forming over a period of many centuries, we may feel confident that he lays before us some of the things that Greeks generally felt important and looked for in fine literature. Being an artistic people, and oriented towards aesthetic perfection, they set a high standard and placed stringent demands on those who aspired to literary immortality, to be included in the Pantheon of the Muses.

At the same time it must be admitted that the demands which such ideal composing laid on poet and prose writer alike were excessively exacting, for example, if an author had to choose a word whose last letter collocated well with the first letter of the following word. It is no wonder then that later Greek authors dispensed with these ‘literary obstacles’ in their compositions.

But to return to Dionysios, is there any relevance in all this for the New Testament, in particular the role of acoustics in the communication process? Does the New Testament give any indication that, for example, the qualities of delightfulness, gracefulness, and beauty were sought after or even appreciated in Christian communications? The answer to this is certainly affirmative. Firstly, three NT passages use the verb ἀρτυώ, “to sea-

<sup>67</sup> Aristoteles, *Nikomacheian Ethics* II. 6, 8-13.

<sup>68</sup> *Ilias* XXI. 196-97: ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι.

<sup>69</sup> *Composition* 23: τούτων γὰρ ἐτέρους εὐρεῖν ἀμήχανον ἄμεινον κεράσαντες τοὺς λόγους.

<sup>70</sup> Chapters 25 and 26 address the question of how to make prose look like poetry.

son", in reference to the oral behavior of believers, and especially in relation to their speech. According to Mk 9:50, Jesus exhorts his disciples to have the savor of salt<sup>71</sup>. Secondly, and more importantly, in Col 4:6 the believers are exhorted to have their speech always seasoned with salt (ἄλατι ἡρτυμένος). Thirdly, the term χάρις, which in the NT usually carries a meaning that occurred less frequently in Greek, but was more at home in Hebrew, on a number of occasions is used with its particularly Greek nuance. For example, the meaning of 'grace' for χάρις may appear more fitting for Lk 2:40: καὶ χάρις Θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, on the ground that God is the giver; however, the tenor in Lk 2:52: προέκοπτεν [ἐν τῇ] σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, makes this meaning inappropriate. Instead the sense required is that of 'favor' or 'pleasedness' – which Jesus experiences both from God and from men. In Lk 4:22, λόγοις τῆς χάριτος, surely expresses a very Greek thought, referring to graceful, pleasant, delightful words, words that cause joy, pleasant feeling, words that enrapture. In Act 4:33 χάρις oscillates between the more "Semitic" and the Greek nuances, but in Act 7:10 the meaning is certainly 'favor'. Undoubtedly, the Greek signification comes through in Eph 4:29: πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκπορευέσθω, ἀλλὰ εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς χρειᾶς, ἵνα δῶ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. Here, the ministering of χάρις to the hearers is the result of speaking a [λόγος] ἀγαθὸς in order to edify the Church, and is contrasted to λόγος σαπρὸς (< σήπω '(cause to) rot'; 'putrid', morally corrupt, cf. *BDAG s.v.*). This defines χάρις as meaning 'beauty', 'pleasantness', 'gracefulness'. Similar is the text of Col 4:6: ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἄλατι ἡρτυμένος. These texts together with other texts indicate that the early Christians placed great emphasis upon avoiding vulgar<sup>72</sup>, vain<sup>73</sup>, gossiping<sup>74</sup> speech, and upon cultivating instead a speech that was characterized by soberness<sup>75</sup>, pleasantness<sup>76</sup>, gracefulness, and beauty in order to build up one another<sup>77</sup>. If such qualities were expected of and inculcated in all the members of the Christian Church, how much more would the leaders themselves feel it necessary to comport themselves and to communicate their message in analogous fashion. This becomes clear in Paul. For example, his stringencies against

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<sup>71</sup> The parallel in Lk 14:34 uses ἄπύω, but lacks the exhortation. On the other hand, the exhortation is implied in Mt 5:13.

<sup>72</sup> Eph 4:29; Jas 3:10.

<sup>73</sup> 1 Tim 1:6; Tit 1:10.

<sup>74</sup> 1 Tim 5:13; Jas 1:26; 1 Pt 1:18.

<sup>75</sup> Eph 4:29; Col 4:5-6.

<sup>76</sup> Eph 4:29; Col 3:16; 4:6.

<sup>77</sup> Eph 4:29.

speaking in tongues in public and his preference for prophecy are motivated by this very concern, *sc.* to edify the Church (1 Cor 14:1-6).

It may be taken for granted that when Paul addressed the Athenians (according to Act 17), or when he proclaimed his message to the Corinthians, his speeches would undoubtedly have been measured by such standards as the ones Dionysios set forth in his work. Paul shows awareness of the literary or rhetorical criteria that would be applied to his preaching: *Κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἤλθον οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας ... καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ[ς] σοφίας [λόγοις]* (1 Cor 2:1-4). Still, for all his disownment of and disassociation from literary aestheticism, the least that can be said is that Paul had certainly been confronted with it in his learning of the Greek language.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, as an author who wanted to communicate his message effectively, he must have made some effort to write in such a way as to be taken seriously. If he did not strive for melody and rhythm, at least appropriateness and good taste were, for his exalted message, a *sine qua non*.

This concern is seen quite clearly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which the author has made a serious effort to compose elegantly and to articulate his arguments lucidly. The Atticizing style of First and Second Peter, too, is an attempt in the same direction.

It ought to be a rewarding task to try to apply Dionysios' principles for pleasant and beautiful composition, for example, on Paul's letters, to see to what extent he made the effort to adhere to the aesthetic standards of his time, or to determine in how far Paul's letters, judged by contemporary literary standards, reveal conscious or unconscious affectation or at any rate conformity – or non-conformity, for that matter. Such an exercise would, hopefully, reveal the efforts Paul made to attract his audience and to commend his message to them.

In twentieth-century philological investigations of the New Testament, Deissmannism has been given too great a scope: the writings of the New Testament have been studied time and again against the backdrop of the illiterate papyri, the barbarous documents from Egypt. It is now high time to revise this point of view.

The New Testament writings are literary works, not private letters or contracts, and should be judged in the light of other similar literature. When I say 'similar literature', I do not mean the scientific writing of the times, such as works on mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, pneumatics, or medicine. There is a great difference in form and purpose between scientific writing and the NT. Scientific writing operates within the strict parameters of objective description. Its purpose is to give instruction in the

<sup>78</sup> See Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* and Haacker in *ANRW* II, 26,2, 815-938 etc.

science concerned, not to appeal to the aesthetics of the reader, not to produce literature<sup>79</sup>. The NT writings, on the other hand, appeal to the mind and soul of the reader. Their purpose is to convert the reader, i.e. to persuade the reader of the correctness of their point of view, and win him over to their standpoint by appealing to his intellect, reason, and aesthetic appreciation. Thus, while Dionysios' precepts would have little relevance for scientific writing, a priori they would be quite relevant for such writings as we find in the NT. These two bodies of writings belong to two quite different literary genres.

However, the suggestion to return to the more sober literature, in the light of which to examine the New Testament, is not made in order to show how close the NT comes to good literature, or to show its inferiority, nor in order to enter that fruitless field of literary sources and presumed dependence. The suggestion is made, partly in order to show the value of the acoustic dimension and its relevance for the study of the communication process in the New Testament, and partly also to introduce the reader to an area of aesthetic appreciation of the New Testament, which, as far as I know, has not been a conscious pursuit among New Testament scholars. This, it is hoped, will open up a whole new class of comparative material for the study of the NT that has hitherto not been utilized.

## 8. Paul and Literary Criticism

The present investigation into the literary aspects of the NT cannot be exhaustive. Instead, a selective attempt will be made to see whether, and to what extent, Paul follows or adheres to Dionysios' recommendations for delightful, beautiful, and effective composition. This again will be done not thoroughly, but by addressing a number of Dionysios' criteria for good composition. The exercise, it is hoped, will suggest the merit of reading aloud and hence the value of the oral communication of the NT.

### a. Euphony

Dionysios' principles for euphonious composition become clear from his critical treatment of the composition of ancient authors. Euphony

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<sup>79</sup> A notable exception here is Galenos, the great II-century A.D. physician, whose literary interests transcended the scope of medicinal writing. See, e.g., Galenos, *Περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων*, 19, 9. For a fair appreciation of Galenos, see the brief treatment by EDELSTEIN and NUTTON, "Galen" in *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 621-22.

(*εὐφροσύνη*, here not unrelated to *εὐέπειτα*, *εὐστομία*, *ἄρμονία*, etc.) is concerned with the euphonious collocation of letter-sounds. The examples cited above show that Dionysios, and by extension the Greeks, were very particular about the smooth, euphonious, continuous, uninterrupted utterance of the string of words making up the colon, the sentence, or the period (to the extent this was feasible). Remembering that writing at this time was continuous, without breaks between words, the total composition (until the natural break) was looked upon as one unit. It was therefore important that words kept on rolling one after the other and the intonation of the voice varied continuously without any stops. An abrupt break or pause was considered a disaster. To achieve this effect it was important that one word ended and the next began with consonants and vowels that fitted euphoniously into one another. If, therefore, it became necessary to take time between words to move the tongue to another place in the mouth from that of the previous sound, or to give the tongue, the lips, or the mouth another configuration in order to utter the following sound, this retarded the continuous flow of words, introduced breaks or pauses, resulted in hiatus, in lack of euphony and harmony, and the composition was regarded as lacking in delightfulness and beauty.

Naturally, it was impossible to always have an euphonious connection between words, if the sentence was to be a meaningful sentence, and one had to use a particular word which did not happen to cohere with the previous or the following one. However, the attempt was made, as far as this was possible, to choose such words as harmonized with others within the collocation, and not infrequently the expedient was resorted to of transposing words within the sentence in order to find a more appropriate place for them. Such transpositions were possible because the case system and verbal endings gave considerable liberties in structuring the sentence. This, however, did not happen without sometimes sacrificing clarity – a fact that has made many a modern student sigh at this Greek liberty in sentence structure.

In applying euphonious principles to Paul's composition the point of departure must, of course, be the historical Greek pronunciation<sup>80</sup>. This, as

<sup>80</sup> This may not always be apparent, since strictly speaking from the point of view of what letters are 'permissible' within a collocation, the Erasmusian pronunciation of these letters is not automatically invalidated; that is, the problem with such collocations would still remain whether the historical Greek or the Erasmusian pronunciation were followed. In general, however, the softer and more pleasing quality of the historical pronunciation of Greek, is an added gain even in these cases. More concretely, the voiced sound of *ε* *β*, *γ*, and *ζ* in the historical pronunciation of Greek rather than the

φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ the vowel clash between καὶ and ἐν as well as between ἐν and Χριστῷ is to be explained by the fact that ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is a stereotypical phrase<sup>81</sup>. If it were not, it would have taken the form which it has in verse 11 (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ). This would have made the sentence smoother. Phil 2:17 ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, already a beautiful sentence having hardly any dissonances, would have been even more beautiful if ἀλλὰ εἰ had been elided to ἀλλ' εἰ<sup>84</sup>.

#### b. Changes on ordinary forms and constructions in view of composition

Dionysios cited Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 1: εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα as an example of conscious change with a view to composition. Dionysios pointed out that Demosthenes might have used the ordinary form τοῦτον, but he chose instead to add one letter in order to emphasize this particular lawsuit. With regard to Paul, we find an example of this in 1 Cor 1:20, where, instead of the simple οὐκ, he uses the emphatic οὐχί: οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου;<sup>85</sup> Similarly, in 1 Cor 12:31: νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, the function of νυνὶ (rather than νῦν) is emphatic. In Phil 4:2: Εὐοδίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ, Paul, like Aischines (*Against Ktesiphon* 202: ἐπὶ παντὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς<sup>86</sup>) repeats his request, not out of necessity, but in order to make his request separately to each of the two ladies and thus make his point more effective. Similarly, in 2 Cor 12:2 εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, the repetition of οὐκ οἶδα is strictly unnecessary, as vs. 3 shows: εἴτε ἐν σώματι εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα; it is repeated for emphasis particularly in the rhetorical situation created by the oral delivery of the letter.

In Phil 1:15: τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύσσουσιν, the elision in διὰ is conscious with a view to composition. Two non-Pauline passages of relevance here are Jas

<sup>81</sup> Cf. CARACOUNIS, *The Ephesian Mysteryion. Meaning and Content*, e.g. 152-57.

<sup>84</sup> It would then have consisted of the following feet: spondee (– –) – bacchius (– – υ) – dactyl (– υ υ) – dactyl (– υ υ) – spondee (– –) – spondee (– –) – hypobacchius (υ – –) – cretic (– υ –) – hypobacchius (υ – –) – spondee (– –) – spondee (– –) – spondee (– –) – anapaest (υ υ –).

<sup>85</sup> There are several such examples in Paul, e.g. Rm 3:29; 1 Cor 6:1, 7; 9:1; 2 Cor 3:8; 1 Th 2:19.

<sup>86</sup> See under "3. The Tasks of Composition".

has already been shown, above, began to take its definitive form in classical times, in a process that was practically complete by the time of Paul, and which has remained virtually unchanged ever since. Here, it is appropriate once again to remind ourselves of the importance of reading aloud.

Bearing in mind Dionysios' recommendations, above<sup>81</sup>, I now turn to Paul's letters. In Phil 1:8: *μάρτυς γάρ μου ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, the collision between the *ς* in *μάρτυς* and the *γ* in *γάρ* as well as the hiatus between *μου* and *ὁ* could have been avoided if Paul had placed *γάρ* as the third word in the sentence<sup>82</sup>. Moreover, the clash between the *ς* in *σπλάγχνοις* and the *Χ* in *Χριστοῦ* as well as the hiatus between *Χριστοῦ* and *Ἰησοῦ* would have been eliminated if he had written *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, which was fully possible. Thus, had the sentence been *μάρτυς μου γάρ ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχνοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, it would have had a smoother, more pleasant and flowing quality. However, Phil 1:13-14: *ὥστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου περισσοτέρως τολμᾶν ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν* contains extremely few harsh combinations: *ν + Χ*, *ν + λ*, *σ + λ*, and *ν + κ* (which cannot occur in the same syllable). There is only one clash of vowels: *αι + ε*, both of which, however, were pronounced identically, thus easing their being uttered in close succession. In spite of this, this sentence is not beautiful. The reasons for this are partly syntactical-collocational and partly a preponderance of mute consonants. For example, the least euphonic of these, the so-called stops: *κ*, *π*, and *τ* occur 3, 7, and 12 times respectively. Then there are the non-euphonic combinations: *στ*, *σδ*, *σμ*, *σθ*, *σσ*, *λμ*, *νλ*, with *σ* (according to Dionysios' exaggerated opinion: *ἄχαρι καὶ ἀηδέες*) occurring no less than 18 times. Third, the cola are not elegantly joined to one another. Further, there is obscurity (e.g. with which words is *ἐν Χριστῷ* to be taken? and does *ἐν Κυρίῳ* belong to *ἀδελφῶν* or to *πεποιθότας*?), and the sentence is in need of reconceiving and rewriting. Perhaps the following restructuring removes some of the awkwardness: *Ὡστε φανερόν γενέσθαι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ὅτι δέδεμαι ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ. Διὸ οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐν κυρίῳ ἀδελφῶν πεποιθότες τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου περισσοτέρως τολμῶσιν ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν*. In Phil 2:5: *τοῦτο*

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hard Erasmian pronunciation would render these letters softer and more pleasing to the ear.

<sup>81</sup> Under "3. The Tasks of Composition".

<sup>82</sup> This, though less frequent, is quite possible and is well-attested: cf., e.g., Rm 2:25; 7:7; 13:6; 14:5; 1 Cor 1:18; 5:3; 10:1; 10:26; 12:8; 14:17; 16:7; 2 Cor 2:9; 5:7; 9:1; 10:13; 11:4; Gal 2:12; 1 Th 1:8.



3:12 and Heb 7:4. The first of these: οὔτε ἀλυκὸν γλυκὺ ποιῆσαι ὕδωρ has achieved a fine effect by transposing the word γλυκὺ, which actually belongs together with ὕδωρ, so as for it to stand next to its opposite ἀλυκὸν, in order to accentuate the contrast between the salty source and the sweet water. Heb 7:4 θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος, ᾧ καὶ δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων ὁ πατριάρχης has purposely moved the apposition ὁ πατριάρχης, which logically should follow Ἀβραὰμ, to the end of the sentence in order to create a beautiful climax. In 1 Cor 1:18 ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν is harsh. The harshness would have disappeared if Paul had written: ὁ γὰρ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ<sup>87</sup>. Moreover, the second part of the sentence would have been more pleasant if ἡμῖν had been placed before τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις, taking the form: ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς σωζομένοις δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν. However, this would have spoiled the neat balance in the contrast τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις - τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις, which was of more consequence to Paul. It is obvious that Paul wanted to contrast the two groups as groups without emphasizing the personal involvement (i.e. identifying one group by ἡμῖν)<sup>88</sup>. 1 Cor 7:14 ἐπεὶ ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτά ἐστιν, νῦν δὲ ἁγία ἐστίν is problematic. Paul is not making a statement of fact ("your children are unclean"), but a hypothetical one, the apodosis of a suppressed condition. Thus, ἐπεὶ takes the place of the protasis ("If this were not so", referring to the previous statement in this verse). In the apodosis he ought, therefore, to have used the imperfect indicative with the modal ἄν: [εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως οὐκ εἶχεν,] τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀκάθαρτα ἂν ᾦν. The inferential ἄρα introduces the conclusion in place of a regular apodosis. It is possible that in this he was influenced by the following factual statement: νῦν δὲ ἁγία ἐστίν.

These examples show that while Paul can sometimes construct beautiful and smooth sentences, he does not appear to pay excessive attention to εὐέπεια or ὀρθοέπεια. Of interest in this connection is, no doubt, the story referred to by Dionysios<sup>89</sup>, that after Platon's death (at eighty-two) his writing-tablet was found, which contained the opening eight words of his *Republic* (κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαῦκον τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος) arranged in several different ways<sup>90</sup>. Dionysios refers also to Isokrates'

<sup>87</sup> So in Rm 6:7: ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανών, Act 17:28: τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, etc.

<sup>88</sup> We need to remember that Paul set greater store by content than by form. This is maintained in the face of LUND's criticism of such a stance (*Chiasmus* 142), which, in his case, is referred to Paul's style in general.

<sup>89</sup> *Composition* 25.

<sup>90</sup> See also Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* VIII. 6, 64; Demetrios, *On Style* 204; and Diogenes Laertios, III. 37.

constant revision of his *Panegyrikos*, which took ten years to complete. These authors were writing literature; Paul was writing practical letter-messages called forth by pressing circumstances, which did not allow him the luxury of revision.

### c. Compositional effects

Compositional effects such as climax, pathos, etc. are important in beautiful and delightful composition. Paul is not devoid of such effects. For example, 1 Cor 4:8: ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστέ, ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε, χωρίς ἡμῶν ἐβασιλεύσατε leads up to a beautiful climax: “you have reigned as kings”, only in order to smash the Corinthians’ pride a moment later by ruthlessly questioning their having reigned as kings: καὶ ὄφελόν γε ἐβασιλεύσατε ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν συμβασιλεύσωμεν (“I wish you had really reigned as kings – but you haven’t!”)<sup>91</sup>. There is strong pathos in 1 Cor 4:9-13. First, there is the vivid presentation of himself (and the other apostles) as gladiators (ἐπιθανατίους). Then the actual spectacle in the amphitheater is evoked (θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν). This is exemplified by the climactic amplification [ἡμεῖς] μωροί, ἀσθενεῖς, ἄτιμοι. What ἄτιμοι implies is explained by the long list of unpleasant experiences: πεινῶμεν, διψῶμεν, γυμνιτεύομεν, κολαφίζομεθα, ἀστατοῦμεν, κοπιῶμεν, λοιδορούμενοι, διωκόμενοι, δυσφημούμενοι. This finally issues into the summary statement of the treatment he is receiving at the hands of the world, which also forms the climax of the whole passage: ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίφημα ἕως ἄρτι<sup>92</sup>. Conceptually and compositionally this is a great passage.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter Four, “5. Moods: 1. The Indicative in Wishes”.

<sup>92</sup> There are many such passages in 2 Cor. Luke has a beautiful sentence in Act 26:29. In answer to Agrippas’ ironic remark, Paul is represented as saying: εὐχάιμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ ... οὐ μόνον σέ ... σήμερον γενέσθαι τοιούτους ὅποιος καὶ ἐγώ εἰμι παρεκτός τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων. No doubt, Chrysostomos is right in his interpretation of the last four words, *Commentary on Acts* 52:2: οὐκ ἀποδυσπετῶν διὰ τὰ δεσμά, οὐδὲ αἰσχυνόμενος διότι ἐδέδετο, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, εἴ περ τι ἄλλο, ἀξιον δόξης) (“not because he was displeased on account of the bonds, nor because he was ashamed of being bound (for to him this was, if anything, worthy of glory)”), and 52:4: ἔτι γὰρ ἀσθενέστερον διέκειντο, καὶ συγκαταβατικώτερος ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ (“for they [Paul’s hearers] were still weak, and his word to him [Agrippa] was condescending”), but even so the pathos is not removed.

## d. Qualities signaling delightful and beautiful composition

## i. Melody

Dionysios speaks with regard to melody in terms of using the most euphonious and smooth letters, blending the rough-sounding letters and syllables with their smooth-sounding counterparts, short with long syllables, etc. A good example of this in Paul would be Rom 8:18: Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. This sentence contains α (the most euphonious vowel, according to Dionysios) no less than 12 times, η (the second most euphonious vowel) 4 times, ου and αι (both of which occupy a good position in the scale) 4 and 3 times respectively, and finally υ twice. Of the less euphonious vowels ο (which is the best) occurs 6 times, while its inferior ε occurs only once and the least euphonious ι occurs 3 times. With regard to the consonants the sentence contains λ (τῶν ἡμιφώνων γλυκύτατον<sup>93</sup>) 4 times, ρ (τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιότατον<sup>94</sup>) 3 times, μ and ν (ranging between the first two, and “resembling the sounds of horns”) occur 4 and 6 times respectively. The ζ (which μάλλον ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἐτέρων<sup>95</sup>) occurs just once. The rough κ and ξ occur 3 and 2 times respectively. Finally, there are very few disharmonies, a fact that contributes to the melodious flow of the sentence. Such a use of the most beautiful and smooth sounds, such a blending of euphonious with less euphonious syllables, and such a mixture of long and short syllables cannot but result, according to Dionysios, in beautiful composition<sup>96</sup>.

## ii. Rhythm

There are not a few passages in Paul that would lend themselves to a metric declamation. For lack of space only one such passage will be taken up here, and that quite briefly. Of the great passage of Phil 2:5-11, only the first sentence will be quoted:

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<sup>93</sup> “The most pleasing among the semi-vowels”.

<sup>94</sup> “The noblest of its kin letters”.

<sup>95</sup> “It is more pleasant to the ear than the others”.

<sup>96</sup> Syntactically the sentence would have been more correct if it had taken the form πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. This would, however, have introduced two disharmonies between τὴν δόξαν and τὴν μέλλουσαν.

τοῦτο φρο | νεῖτε ἐν | ὑμῖν  
 - -     υ     - υ υ     - -  
 ὁ καὶ ἐν | Χριστῷ Ἰ | ησοῦ,  
 υ     -     -     -     υ     -     -  
 ὃς ἐν μορ | φῇ θεοῦ | ὑπάρχων  
 υ     -     -     -     υ     -     υ     -     -  
 οὐχ ἄρ | παγμὸν ἡ | γήσατο  
 -     -     -     υ     -     -     υ     -  
 τὸ εἶναι | ἴσα | θεῷ,  
 υ     -     -     -     υ     -  
 ἀλλὰ ἐ | αὐτὸν ἐ | κένωσεν  
 -     υ υ     -     υ υ     υ υ     -     υ  
 μορφὴν | δούλου | λαβών,  
 -     -     -     -     -     -

In the first colon the first foot is a bacchius, the second is a dactyl, while the third foot is a spondee. In the second colon, the first foot is a hypobacchius. This is followed by a bacchius and a spondee. The third colon is introduced by a hypobacchius, which is followed by a cretic, and ends in a hypobacchius. The fourth colon opens with a spondee, which is followed by two cretics. The fifth colon begins with a hypobacchius, continues with a spondee, and ends in an iambus. The first and second feet of the sixth colon are dactyls and its third foot an amphibrach. Finally, the seventh colon consists of three spondees.

If this scanning is correct, it means that apart from one amphibrach, which does not rate high with Dionysios, all the other feet belong to the most beautiful and noble of rhythms.

Moreover, the spondees of the last colon, by their retarded movement, make the last three words the most emphatic in the sentence, thus accentuating the contrast between what Christ was in his pre-existence, which, too, is expressed by the predominantly slow feet of the third colon, and what he became through his incarnation. This contrast is even more enhanced by the preponderately fast movement of the sixth colon, which aptly describes Christ's emptying of himself.

### iii. Variety

As Dionysios points out, this is a very broad area encompassing periodic structures, simple sentences, short and long clauses, rough and smooth styles, a great variety of figures, and other features. There is a plenitude of most of these characteristics in Paul's letters, though periodic composition is quite infrequent in Paul, as in the NT in general. The two longest sen-

tences in the NT occur in letters that are disputed, Eph 1:3-14 (202 words) and Col 1:9-20 (218 words)<sup>97</sup>. But even so there is a great variety in the number and length of Pauline clauses. For example, his description in Rm 4:17-22 of the faith of Abraham, who is a prototype of those who believe, contains about fifteen clauses or ninety-seven words, while his description of the hardly less momentous sin of Adam and its consequences for humanity in Rm 5:12 receives a bare four clauses or thirty words. Among the images used of the Church of Christ are the metaphors of body and temple. Here, variety is seen in the very detailed description of the Church as the body of Christ in 1 Cor 12:12-26 and the markedly brief treatment of the Church as the temple of the Holy Spirit in 1 Cor 3:16-17. Again, his clear and smooth analogy in Rm 7:2-3, of the married woman and her obligations not only contrasts sharply with the laconic and somewhat confusing figure of his birth-pains for the Galatians in Gal 4:19, but implies variety from his equally effective allegory of Hagar and Sarah in Gal 4:22-26, and is considerably longer than the similar treatment of 1 Cor 7:39-40. Though this might be viewed as infelicitous, sometimes the improper use of figures is dictated by the sense desired, as with the metaphor of the wild olive tree in Rm 11:24, which, though incorrect from the agricultural point of view, has taken the only form that would suit the author's argument.

#### iv. Appropriateness

Dionysios reminded us that "it is admitted by all that a treatment is appropriate when it fits the entities concerned, persons as well as things"<sup>98</sup>. For Dionysios this is the one thing that should accompany all the other adornments of style<sup>99</sup>. For example, he points out that οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ συνθέσει χρώμεθα ὀργιζόμενοι καὶ χαίροντες<sup>100</sup>. In Paul, this finds an apt illustration in the marked difference between the agitated tone of Galatians and the serene tone of Philippians. Dionysios points out, moreover, that appropriateness can take a great number of forms, such as choice of words, composition, as well as the important insight that eyewitnesses do not report

<sup>97</sup> Cf. CARAGOUNIS, *The Ephesian Mysterion* 39-52, esp. 45. However, these sentences are no models for what a period should look like. The Ephesian sentence lacks even the finite verb of its only main clause. Both sentences are really conglomerates of various clauses.

<sup>98</sup> See above, under "3. Tasks of Composition, d. Appropriateness".

<sup>99</sup> *Composition* 20: καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρήμασιν ἅπασι παρῆναι δεῖ τὸ πρέπον.

<sup>100</sup> *Composition* 20: "We do not use the same kind of composition when we are angry as when we are glad".

events using the same sort of composition about everything, being impelled by natural impulses to seek to imitate what was said, in other words, to quote<sup>101</sup>.

If Paul's composition can be faulted with lacking in refinement, at least it cannot be faulted with lacking in appropriateness. Paul's composition is versatile, lively, replete with appropriate ideas and images, and an ever-changing style according to the demands of the subject matter. Thus, defending himself against Galatian charges of antinomianism, he aptly reminds them of his past life as a Jew, his excessive zeal, indeed his madness in the Jewish cause as well as his exceptional success, and then relates how the radical change that came over him was the result of a divine revelation (Gal 1:13-17). Every single word in this composition is carefully chosen to suit the subject in hand. Comparing this with the very different charges of the Corinthians, we find that his defence in 1 Cor 9:1-23 takes quite a different form. In his defence at 1 Cor 9:4-7 the three climactic rhetorical questions: "Do we not have the right to eat and drink?", "to live in the married estate?", and "not to work?" are appropriately balanced by the three figures of the labor and reward of the soldier, the farmer, and the shepherd.

2 Cor 4:7 gives the beautifully appropriate metaphor of the treasure in the earthen vessel: ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὄστρακίνοις σκεύουσιν. The contrast could not be greater between the indestructibility and value of this eternal treasure and the fragility and worthlessness of the container. This contrast gives added force to the second part of the verse: ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ᾗ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν.

Finally, the letter to Philemon as a whole must be judged to be a model of appropriateness, where Paul's tactful expressions balancing between graceful, delicate demand and humble request correspond beautifully with the character and station of the persons involved, their reciprocal relations, as well as the events contemplated.

#### e. Does Paul adhere to any one of Dionysios' styles?

Paul's style cannot be said to adhere to the purely austere style. For example, he does not make it his practice to let individual words stand out in prominence, nor does he prefer pathos to moral character. But neither can it

<sup>101</sup> *Composition 20*: οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καταστάσει τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντες ὅταν ἀπαγγέλλωσι πράγματα οἷς ἂν παραγενόμενοι τύχωσιν, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ χρώνται συνθέσει περὶ πάντων ἀλλὰ μιμητικοὶ γίνονται τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων καὶ ἐν τῷ συντιθέναι τὰ ὀνόματα, οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀγόμενοι.

be said to belong to the polished style. His many rough compositions, the gaps and breaks in thought and expression bespeak the austere rather than the polished style. This does not mean, however, that he does not, on occasion, exhibit a beautiful finish. Paul's style is better categorized as a mixture of the austere (in his case rough) and polished styles – though not always of what is best in them<sup>102</sup>. Thus, it would be a long way from Platon or Demosthenes' temperate style. He does not seem to have made the conscious effort to adhere to a particular diction<sup>103</sup>.

## 9. Conclusions

The above discussion is an attempt to look briefly at Paul's letters from the standpoint of Dionysios Hal., who was one of the most important literary critics of a generation or two before Paul, and who may rightly be taken as a representative of Greek literary tastes in general. Space did not allow a thorough investigation in Paul of all the points Dionysios raises. I have, therefore, concentrated on a smaller selection of characteristics for achieving delightful and beautiful composition, and taken a rudimentary look at Paul for comparable features (e.g. acoustics).

The discussion of Pauline texts indicates that while Paul, not infrequently exhibits elements that were deemed by Dionysios necessary to good composition, he seldom made a conscious effort to adhere to literary rules for elegance in style. Thus, his more felicitous choices of words and compositions seem most of the time to be the result of instinctive feeling and natural taste; they are the spontaneous intellectual outbursts of a great soul caught up in an unusual mission, rather than the outcome of studious effort or conscious affectation of generally accepted stylistic standards. This should not be taken to imply that Paul was incapable of finer expressions. As we will see below, he was quite capable of achieving exquisite examples of parallelism.

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<sup>102</sup> LUND, *Chiasmus* 142 f., prefers to think of Paul's style as a new kind of style influenced by the OT, and which "has just as much claim to our appreciation as any other forms that may come before us in the literatures of the human race". In assuming this, LUND does not take sufficient account of the fact that Paul writes (mainly) for Greeks, and that his principle of becoming all things to all men in order to win them would have been foiled if he consciously replaced the obviously needed Greek style by a style inspired by the OT, i.e. a style that hampered communication. Rather, the OT element in Paul ought to be seen as his own natural package, not the result of conscious adherence to it.

<sup>103</sup> However, see also what is said under "V. Rhetorical Effects, 2. Parallelism", below.

It appears, moreover, that content was more important to Paul than form. But being a great and original thinker, a versatile writer with a fair grasp of the Greek language, and believing himself to have been entrusted with a message and a mission of momentous importance, it was inevitable that he would give expression to such spontaneous dynamism, and by it lay a claim for a place in Greek literature.

Paul's literary production should not be compared, for example, with the literary work of Homeros or Platon's *Symposion* or *Phaidros*. Homeros and Platon wrote fine literature, art, music. Paul writes epistles: letter-messages to his converts and others, in which he debates, argues, expostulates, challenges, threatens, beseeches. This material is a long way from the barbarous private letters of the Egyptian papyri. Of classical counterparts, those closest in respect of genre and purpose are such authors as Platon and Demosthenes, the other orators, and such later writers as Dion Chrysostomos and Ailios Aristeides. Of course, they write Attic and exploit all the devices of rhetoric, while Paul writes post-classical Greek, not without a little Septuagintal influence, and moreover, he writes spontaneously and usually without artificial rhetorical ornamentation, albeit his letters are not entirely devoid of rhetorical formulations<sup>104</sup>. Had Paul reworked his letters, they would have looked rather different from what they are now. Nevertheless, from the perspective of literary genre, these are the authors that supply the standard models for composition and set the parameters for anyone who seeks to communicate his message in Greek.

#### IV. The Diatribe

Ever since R. Bultmann's work on the style of Paul's preaching<sup>105</sup>, the term *diatribe* has been frequently applied by New Testament scholars to the letters of Paul in order to distinguish certain features in them, that have been considered to be reflections of the popular-philosophical style that had recently come to be called diatribe. In fact, the term *diatribe* as a technical term for a literary genre was introduced in the West first in 1887 by H. Usener<sup>106</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> See under "V. Rhetorical Effects, 2. Parallelism", below.

<sup>105</sup> R. BULTMANN, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*. One of the earliest works to apply what was considered diatribe effects on the study of Paul's style was J. WEIB, *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik* (1897).

<sup>106</sup> H. USENER, *Epicurea*, Leipzig 1887, Preface lxix.



Perhaps one way of defining what is meant by diatribe is by listing its main characteristics:

1. The aim of diatribe is to give moral instruction by exposing vices and it is directed to large masses.

2. To this end it concerns itself with a circumscribed area within popular practical philosophy.

3. It uses the simple, daily language, understood by everyone, which is enriched with a plethora of vivid rhetorical figures such as alliteration, antithesis, chiasm, metaphor, paronomasia, parallelism, and simile as well as personification.

4. It exhibits a lively, engaged, argumentative style, which on occasion may become polemical.

5. Not infrequently it uses the second person singular for an imagined interlocutor, who is being criticized or admonished<sup>107</sup>.

The diatribe is thought to have been invented by Bion (c. 335-245 B.C.) of Olbia<sup>108</sup> and to have been used chiefly by Teles (fl. c. 235 B.C.) and Epiktetos (as narrated by Arrian), and partly by Dion Prousaïos, Ploutarchos, *et al.*

The term διατριβή occurs in ancient texts with many different meanings: *spending of time*<sup>109</sup>, *delay* (loss of time)<sup>110</sup>, *prolongation*<sup>111</sup>, *recreation* or *enjoyment*<sup>112</sup>, *occasion for laughter*<sup>113</sup>, *place for a comfortable, pleasant*

<sup>107</sup> For similar points, see WEIB, *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik*, 5 f., who also refers to P. WENDLAND's outworking of the "kynisch-stoischen Diatribe" in the latter's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Religion*, albeit WEIB recognizes also influences from the OT.

<sup>108</sup> A Greek (Miletian) colony (north coast of Euxine Sea) founded in 650 B.C. west of the outlet of River Borysthenes (mod. Dneiper), hence also called Borysthenis (see Herodotos, IV. 18). For the spelling of the names Βορυσθένης-Βορυσθενίτης, see Κόντος, "Ποικίλα: 8. Βορυσθένης-Βορυσθενίτης", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 10 (1898), 327-30.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Sophokles, *Frg.* 479:3: χρόνου τε διατριβάς σοφωτάτας ἐφηύρε ... πεσσοὺς κύβους τε ("he devised very clever ways of spending time ... playing draughts and dice"). Also the *spending of time* in a literary pursuit, Dionysios Hal., *Isokrates* 4: ἐν αἷς ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διατριβάς ("on which he spend his time / which he studied").

<sup>110</sup> E.g. Euripides, *Phoinissai* 75: ὄνομα δ' ἐκάστου διατριβὴ πολλὴ λέγειν ("it will take too long to tell the name of each"). Thukydides V. 82: διατριβαί ... ἐγίνοντο ("unnecessary delays ... occurred").

<sup>111</sup> E.g. Alexis, *Frg.* 226:4 (*apud* Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* X. 426d): διατριβὴν τε τῷ πότῳ ποιῶμεν ("Let us tarry on in our drink").

<sup>112</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 923: εἰ μὴ φανεῖται διατριβὴ τις τῷ βίῳ ("if there is no enjoyment in life").

<sup>113</sup> E.g. Ploutarchos, *Perikles* 4: παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβὴν ("he supplied the comic poets with an occasion for laughter").

*stay*<sup>114</sup>, *amusement locality*<sup>115</sup>, *occupation (in something)*<sup>116</sup>, *teaching, speech, oration, discussion*<sup>117</sup>, *philosophical school*<sup>118</sup>, *stay (in a certain place)*<sup>119</sup>, *a frequented place or a place of meeting*<sup>120</sup>, (in rhetoric) *a reason for insisting on a point*<sup>121</sup>, *continuation, duration*<sup>122</sup>, and finally *sexual intercourse*<sup>123</sup>. In Neohellenic διατριβή has also the sense of a scientific (doctoral) *dissertation*.

Neither Δημητράκου, *Μέγα Λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης* (9 Vols.), nor the *Μεγάλη ἑλληνικὴ Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια* (28 folio Vols.), nor Μπαμπινιώτῃς *Λεξικὸ τῆς Νέας ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης* (1998) recognize for διατριβή the meaning ascribed to the word since 1887<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> E.g. Ploutarchos, *Flamininus* 3: [οἱ τόποι] διατριβάς καὶ λειμῶνας ἡδεῖς οὐκ ἔχουσιν ("they have no pleasant places and meadows").

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Menandros, *Frg.* 481:10: ὄχλος, ἀγορά, κλέπτει, κυβεῖται, διατριβαί ("the crowd, the market-place, the thieves, the dice, the places of amusement").

<sup>116</sup> E.g. Platon, *Lysis* 204a: ἡ δὲ διατριβὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν λόγοις, ὧν ἡδέως ἂν σοι μεταδοῖμεν ("and our occupation is the discussion of most things, which we would gladly share with you").

<sup>117</sup> E.g. Platon, *Apologia* 37d: τὰς ἐμὰς διατριβάς καὶ τοὺς λόγους ("my teachings and my speeches"); Dionysios Halikarnasseus, *Roman Antiquities* X. 15: τὰς πολιτικὰς διατριβάς ("the political speeches").

<sup>118</sup> Eusebios, *Evangelike Proparaskeue* XIV. 4: Πλάτωνά φασιν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ συστησάμενον τὴν διατριβήν ("it is said that Platon set up his school in the Academy"); Noumenios *apud* Eusebios, *Evangelike Proparaskeue* XIV. 5: Ἐπικούρου διατριβή ("the school of Epikouros"); Loukianos, *Nigrinos* 25: ἐργαστήρια γοῦν ἐκάλει καὶ καπηλεῖα τὰς τούτων διατριβάς ("he called their schools workshops and taverns").

<sup>119</sup> E.g. Platon, *Epistolai* 337e: ὁ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος χρόνος τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβῆς ("the first part of my stay in Sicily").

<sup>120</sup> E.g. Platon, *Euthyphron* 2a: τὰς ἐν Λυκεῖῳ καταλιπὼν διατριβάς ἐνθάδε νῦν διατρίβεις; ("have you deserted the meeting places in Lykeion and now pass your time here?").

<sup>121</sup> E.g. Aristoteles, *Rhetoric* 1418: καὶ οὐκ ἔχει πολλὰς διατριβάς, οἷον πρὸς ἀντίδικον ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ ("and it does not have many opportunities for making a point, for example, against an adversary or about himself").

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Aristoteles, *Meteorologica* 374a, 12: ἔτι δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν ἥλιον οὐ γίγνεται διατριβὴ τοιαύτης συστάσεως ("moreover, no such consistency persists long about the sun itself").

<sup>123</sup> See Prokopios (VI A.D.), *Anekdotai* I. 35; II. 5: Θεοδόσιον λάθρα ζῶν Ἀντωνίνῃ διατριβὴν ἔχει ("Theodosios had sexual relations with Antonina in secret").

<sup>124</sup> ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικὸ s.v.* διατριβή, notes that the term has passed into European languages with the meaning "ὄξεῖα κριτικὴ ἐπὶ ἐνὸς θέματος" ("sharp criticism on a certain subject"), basically reflecting the meaning given in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, s.v.* 'diatribe': "A bitter, abusive speech or writing".

This circumstance raises the question as to whether the term *diatribe* was ever used in antiquity as a technical term to describe a particular literary genre – a genre, moreover, that exhibited the above-mentioned *characteristica*. As has become obvious by the above-enumerated senses in which this word occurs, the modern meaning and use of *diatribe* does not represent a conscious ancient usage to describe a particular literary *Gattung*; in other words, antiquity does not recognize *diatribe* as a literary genre.

This result is corroborated by the fact that Bion's works, which are supposed to have initiated this literary genre, are formally called ὑπομνήματα ("[reminding] notes, commentaries") (and ἀποφθέγματα, "terse sayings") not διατριβαί<sup>125</sup>. Neither is any of Teles' extant works, who also is thought to have influenced the genre of *diatribe*, called by that name<sup>126</sup>. Nor does Ploutarchos ever entitle any of his works by that term. Epiktetos' Διατριβαί is entirely the work of his pupil Arrian, and it is a moot question what Arrian meant to convey by that title. Dion's twenty-seventh oration, entitled Διατριβὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ, does not really answer fully to the above description<sup>127</sup>.

Scholars advocating *diatribe* as a particular literary genre make use of Pseudo-Hermogenes' (Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, 5) 'definition' that διατριβὴ ἐστὶ βραχέος διανοήματος ἠθικοῦ ἔκτασις, ἵνα ἐμμείνη τὸ ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἀκούοντος<sup>128</sup>. Two points are in order here. First, as the title of this particular section shows, the author is concerned with various kinds of redundancy, one of which is *diatribe*. Accordingly, he lays the emphasis on the expatiation, i.e. the protraction (ἔκτασις), not on the content (e.g. *ethical* character) of the teaching<sup>129</sup>. Second, the definition does not speak of a strictly *ethical* teaching. ἦθος, and its adjective ἠθικός, have a broader meaning than English 'morality', referring primarily to

<sup>125</sup> See Diogenes Laertios, IV. 47. In II. 77 the informal phrase: ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Βίωνα ἐν ταῖς Διατριβαῖς may refer to Bion's own writings or to 'notes' of his disciples.

<sup>126</sup> The titles of all of his existing works begin with the word Περὶ ... (On ...).

<sup>127</sup> Musonius Rufus, uses the term διατριβὴ four times (VI. 58; XI. 40, 49; XI. 67), in varied senses, but his works are not called by that name.

<sup>128</sup> I.e. "Diatribe is an expatiation on a brief ethical thought in order for the speaker to impress his ethos on the hearer".

<sup>129</sup> This becomes obvious from the supporting example, whereby the basic thought: τὴν μὲν ὕβριν Μειδίου πάντες ἴστε ("you all know Meidias' hybris") was expanded by Demosthenes (*Against Meidias* I [514]) to: τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν ... καὶ τὴν ὕβριν, ἥ πρὸς ἅπαντας δεῖ χρῆται Μειδίας, οὐδὲν' οὐθ' ὑμῶν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἶομαι ("I think that the lewdness ... and the hybris, which Meidias always uses towards everyone, is not unknown to anyone, either you or the other citizens").

the character, guiding beliefs, standards, and ideals characterizing a person or a group. It is thus a mistake to make this dictum the basis for defining diatribe as concerned with *ethical* (i.e. moral) teaching.

One of the more recent, painstaking investigations of diatribe, by Thomas Schmeller, has come to the same conclusion, *sc.* that διατριβή was not recognized in antiquity as a special *Gattung*<sup>130</sup>. Accordingly, Schmeller draws a distinction between modern diatribe and ancient διατριβή<sup>131</sup>. The modern diatribe has a particular content that is absent from ancient διατριβή<sup>132</sup>. He rightly points out the difference between form and content: the διατριβή tells us about the form, in particular the redundant dwelling upon a certain theme for the purpose of making the point absolutely clear, but not about its particular content, which may concern matters of quite varied nature<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, ancient διατριβή was oral. Even the few writings that go by that name were not intended to be read, but were merely notes to assist oral delivery. He insists that there is no written διατριβή<sup>134</sup>.

But in spite of the fact that the modern diatribe in definition and content (with the emphasis on its practical ethics) has been shown to be a "Fiction"<sup>135</sup>, the term is so well-established, that no reason is seen in banning it from scholarly discussion. It is only recommended that it be qualified by "so-geannte" or placed within citation marks<sup>136</sup>.

On the other hand, it is recognized that the common elements among ancient writings that have been thus classified are such as to render feasible the use of διατριβή as a particular style concerned with oral communication, but not as an independent literary *Gattung*<sup>137</sup>.

Since diatribe as a particular literary *Gattung*, as much else about Greek letters<sup>138</sup>, owes its creation to some inadvertency on the part of some mod-

<sup>130</sup> SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 8.

<sup>131</sup> This difference is at present postulated. Cf. J. L. MOLES, Art. "Diatribe" in *OCD* <sup>3</sup> 463 f.

<sup>132</sup> SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 13 f.

<sup>133</sup> For example, the διατριβαί of Archytas deal with geometrical problems, see Stobaios, I. *Prooimion* 4.

<sup>134</sup> SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 11.

<sup>135</sup> SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 20.

<sup>136</sup> SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 20.

<sup>137</sup> See also SCHMELLER, *Paulus und die "Diatribe"*, 428 ff.

<sup>138</sup> As examples here I mention the Erasmus pronunciation of Greek, ΒΛΑΒ' misrepresentation of Neohellenic as well as the term "Greco-Roman", whose omnifarious use at present reveals lack of sensitivity as well as inability to distinguish between things Greek and things Roman. Thus, one author (M. A. POWELL) in *NTS* 46 (2000), 5. speaks of the "Greco-Roman empire"; another one (P. E. STUEHRENBURG, "Proselyte", *ABD*, V, 504) of "Greco-Roman sources" and of "Greco-Roman literature", yet another (A. ERIKSSON, in his dissertation, *Traditions as Rhetorical Proof*, ch. I, n. 24) includes even

ern scholar, it cannot be applied to the analysis of Paul's style (or that of the NT), as though it were an existing ancient literary genre. Nevertheless, a number of the characteristics traditionally associated with Diatribe – which, however, seem to have been established on the basis of Paul's letters – may be investigated in Paul, not because they are the characteristics of ancient Διὰ τριβή, but because they exist in Paul. In this connection, the relevance for the acoustic dimension in the NT of the rhetorical effects of Paul's composition, such as the intonation, the force of the direct Thou-form of address to the reader, primarily in singular form, to bring him into a direct personal relationship or confrontation with himself for debate and accountability, parallelism and plays on words – all these things are of particular interest. Here, an attempt will be made to exemplify such compositional aspects under the general category of rhetorical effects, rather than of Diatribe.

## V. Rhetorical Effects

### 1. The 'Thou'-form of Argumentation or the Rhetorical Σὺ

The pronoun σὺ occurs in the NT 1066 times, against 1802 times for ἐγώ. This is a considerable number, if one takes into account the fact that for the purpose of distinguishing the person of the Greek verb, the pronoun is superfluous; it is usually included for emphasis. The NT book that contains most occurrences of the nominative σὺ is John (62 times). Yet the most important book from the viewpoint of the present discussion is Romans (12 times).

The Thou-form of address in argumentation probably developed from the Socratic dialogue<sup>139</sup>. When Platon had the interlocutors ask one another: (σὺ) τί λέγεις;<sup>140</sup> or πῶς λέγεις;<sup>141</sup> and a host of other exchange questions,

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Aristoteles (along with Horatius) under "Greco-Roman", while J. A. HARRIK in *NTS* 46 (2000), 150, writes of "Greco-Roman comedy"!

With regard to the last point, the term "Greco-Roman" is so often and so indiscriminately used in the articles of the recently published *Dictionary of New Testament Backgrounds* (eds. S. E. PORTER and C. A. EVANS), that I would not be surprised if my articles in this work turned out to be the only ones that distinguish Greek from Roman things.

<sup>139</sup> The fragments of Protagoras and Gorgias do not allow us to form a firm opinion as to whether they had used this lively form of argumentation.

<sup>140</sup> E.g. Platon, *Phaidon* 117b; 434e; *Hipparchos* 225d; (cf. *Politeia* 339d: τί λέγεις σὺ; question to Sokrates).

he was very likely sowing the first seeds for this sort of dialogue and argumentation. In Platon's dialogues the σύ is directed to real persons – Sokrates' conversation partners. But in time, with the increased tendency to abstraction, this concrete opponent or objector was replaced by an imagined interlocutor, a representative figure of a group, with whom the debate was carried on. Still, the objectification of the imagined interlocutor engaged in argumentation is more concrete than would have been the case if the argumentation had been carried on on an abstract level. As neither philosophical reasoning nor oratorical argumentation<sup>142</sup>, which was concerned with a concrete audience – not to speak of historical writing and poetry<sup>143</sup> – lent themselves to this type of argumentation its absence from classical authors is understandable. This does not rule out, however, the possibility or even probability that it did occur in daily oral conversations, as it does in modern Hellas. In post-NT times it is found, for example, in Chrysostomos<sup>144</sup>, who, however, might, with some plausibility, be assumed to use consciously 'diatribe' language. In short, then, there is no compelling reason for identifying this type of argumentation with a particular rhetorical style, such as the supposed 'diatribe'.

In Romans the second-person singular pronoun refers to a fictitious or imaginary interlocutor with whom Paul is in debate and at whom he hurls arguments from his theological arsenal. However, the figure 12 does not give a correct gauge. Sometimes the fictitious or imaginary interlocutor is signaled without the actual use of σύ. For example, Rm 2:1, a clear instance of the debate argumentation, lacks the pronoun, but the fictitious interlocutor is nonetheless present, if somewhat diffuse as yet, being represented by Διὶ ἀναπολόγητος εἶ, ὃ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων. This time the mere verb is sufficient to mark out the opponent(s). The same is the case

<sup>141</sup> E.g. Platon, *Kratylos*, 430e; *Politikos* 306b; *Parmenides* 127e.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. Platon and Aristoteles as well as the orators of the Canon.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. Herodotos, Thoukydides, Xenophon, as well as the tragedians and comedians.

<sup>144</sup> Chrysostomos, *De virginitate* 10: Καλὸν ἢ παρθενία; Σύμφημι καγὼ. 'Αλλὰ τοῦ γάμου κρείττων; Καὶ τοῦτο συνομολογῶ· εἰ βούλει, καὶ ... ("Is virginity a good thing? I agree. But is it also better than marriage? I would concede the same thing: and if you like, it is more than ..."); 47: Τί οὖν, εἴαν ὁ ἀνὴρ κατωφερὴς ᾦ, φησὶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι βούλωμαι; Ἀνάγκη ἐκεῖνῳ ἔπεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ μὴ βουλομένην σε τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἡ διὰ τὸν γάμον περιτεθεῖσα ἄλυσις καθέλκει καὶ ἐπισπᾶται πρὸς τὸν συνδεθέντα σοι ("What then, if my husband is prone to marital relations, she says, but I want to live in self-control? Obviously he should follow [my inclination]. Even though you do not want to do it, the chain of marriage draws and pulls you to the one who was joined to you"); 49: Τί λέγεις; Πρὸς δαίμονάς με μάχεσθαι καλῶν ("What are you saying? That I am fighting against good demons?"). See also *De virginitate* 45, 33-46.8.

with its continuation in Rm 2:3: λογίζη δὲ τοῦτο, ὃ ἄνθρωπε;<sup>145</sup> The objector surfaces again without the pronoun, as for example, at Rm 9:19: ἐρεῖς μοι οὖν, and 9:20: ὃ ἄνθρωπε.

Nevertheless, the use of the personal pronoun is more characteristic for such debate passages. All of the twelve instances of σύ in Romans belong to this category; the pronoun refers to an imaginary opponent.

The debate begun at Rm 2:1, in which the reference was to anyone that fitted the description (cf. πᾶς ὁ κρίνων), narrows down on the interlocutor in vs. 3, pointing him out individually as the culprit: λογίζη ... ὅτι σὺ ἐκφύξῃ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ; The great rhetorical effect in an oratorical situation fades away, however, when this text, intended for the ear, is placed before the eye.

Rm 2:1-5 did not identify the interlocutor, although the accusations hurled at him might lead the audience to suspect his identity. Rm 2:17, on the other hand, leaves no doubt as to who this imaginary opponent is<sup>146</sup>. Note the beauty of this passage (Rm 2:17-23) as the *crescendo* swells out until the opponent stands before God, facing his indictment:

Εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ  
καὶ ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ  
καὶ καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ  
καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα  
καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα  
κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου,  
πέποιθās τε σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν,  
φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει,  
παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων,  
διδάσκαλον νηπίων,  
ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως  
καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ·  
ὁ σὺν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις;  
ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτεις;  
ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύεις;  
ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα ἱεροσυλεῖς;  
ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις;

<sup>145</sup> The debate is continued by 2:4: καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν, σὲ ἄγει, and 2:5: θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ.

<sup>146</sup> In his recent painstaking dissertation, *Paul's Interlocutor in Romans 2*, (CB. NT 40), 2003, THORSTEINSSON tried, unconvincingly in my opinion, to establish the thesis that Paul's interlocutor in Rm 2:1-5 is a Gentile, presumably proselyte, who poses as a Jew (vs. 17). This implausible thesis is connected with and depends upon another equally implausible notion that is based on a reading and punctuation of Rm 1:13-15 that is unnatural for Greek. Here havoc is being played both with Greek words and Greek sentence structure. It is a pity that so much effort is expended to make the language say what it does not say.

This torrential enumeration to the interlocutor of his hypocritical and guilty actions, set forth in asyndetical constructions, hitting him on the head, so to speak, time and again, with its devastating effect, receives its due only in an oral or orational situation – a situation that underscores the importance of the acoustic dimension (i.e. how the message sounded).

Dealing with the difficult question of the righteousness of God in those cases where the failings of men are due to God's hardening, without solving the problem, Paul challenges the objector to bethink the sovereignty of God: ὦ ἄνθρωπε ... σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ Θεῷ; (Rm 9:20). Paul does not answer the objection, but in a rhetorical manner, counting on the sudden effect of his words on the ear rather than the slow reading of the eye, he arraigns the opponent before the bar of a sovereign and almighty God<sup>147</sup>.

In Rm 14, dealing with the mutual criticism between the Gentile and Jewish members of the Church of Rome, Paul summarily personifies the two in one interlocutor, whom he challenges: σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οὐκέτι; (Rm 14:4). Then, in vs. 10 he treats each of them separately: σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; where the first is directed to the Jewish and the second to the Gentile Christian. Finally, vs. 22: σὺ πιστὶν [ἦν] ἔχεις κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε is directed to the Gentile, though vs. 23 indirectly refers to the Jew. In this section, too, the sound of what is said would give the words a rhetorical elevation that is absent from the lifeless letter.

In the above passages, in which Paul places his audience *vis-à-vis* himself as the mouthpiece or agent of God, and argues directly with it as with an unbeliever, a culprit, a wayward and failing member of the Church, we have the rhetorical Thou-form of argumentation, the rhetorical σύ, or if preferred, the 'I-Thou' relationship. This direct form of address is pre-eminently suitable in oral delivery rather than in texts meant for the eye; it must be heard rather than read, indicating that Paul's letters were composed for the ear, not for the eye<sup>148</sup>. This at once actualizes the issue of the pro-

<sup>147</sup> To curb the pride of the Gentile Christians over the unbelieving Jews, he concretizes them into an imaginary objector under the metaphor of a wild olive tree, and reminds them of their extraneity to the root and secondary engrafting, to which the Jews are the natural offshoots: εἰ δὲ τινες τῶν κλάδων ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ δὲ ἀργιέλαιος ὢν ἐνεκεντρίσθης ... μὴ κατακαυχῶ ... οὐ σὺ τὴν ρίζαν βαστάεις ἀλλὰ ἡ ρίζα σε. ἐρεῖς οὖν ... καλῶς ... σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἔστηκας ... ἐπὶ καὶ σὺ ἐκκοπήσῃ ... εἰ γὰρ σὺ ... ἐξεκόπησ ἄργιελαῖος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης ... πόσῳ μᾶλλον οὗτοι; (Rm 11:17-24).

<sup>148</sup> This rhetorical σύ occurs also in 1 Cor 14:17: σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς; 15:36: σὺ ὁ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται and Gal 6:1: σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῇς.



nunciation current at the time, underscoring the significance of reading Paul's letters as they would have been heard on their original delivery, rather than with the well-known, impeding disadvantages of the Erasmian pronunciation.

## 2. Parallelism

Johannes Weiß has demonstrated beyond any doubt that Paul interspersed his writings with the ever varying rhetorical figure of parallelism<sup>149</sup>. Weiß did so with a view to proving his own thesis that the letters of Paul were written not for the eye but for the ear<sup>150</sup>, and that consequently there is a much greater element of rhetoric in them than had previously been recognized<sup>151</sup>. In doing this Weiß worked within the scheme of the then newly formulated doctrine that Paul was applying the principles of diatribe<sup>152</sup>.

Although modern diatribe – understood as an ancient literary genre – has been shown to be without foundation (see above), and it is no longer a question of viewing Weiß' results within that scheme, his demonstrations with regard to parallelism are, nevertheless, valid in themselves. They will, therefore, be drawn upon in this study.

In this section, I intend to use some of the NT evidence on parallelism to illustrate the rhetorical situation from the perspective of the acoustic dimension<sup>153</sup>.

With regard to Paul's style in general, Weiß makes the fundamental observation that Paul does not write in periodic sentences. His discourse is

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<sup>149</sup> J. WEIß, *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik*, 1897. WEIß mentions various kinds of parallelism, such as "synonyme" (7), "synthetische" (9), and "antithetische Parallelismus" (12).

<sup>150</sup> WEIß, *Beiträge*, 3 ff.

<sup>151</sup> WEIß, *Beiträge*, 4 f. As is well-known, one very influential – if not always well-informed – strain in pauline criticism today is the application of Greek and Roman rhetorical principles to Paul's letters. These are usually enunciated through the hybrid term *Greco-Roman* rhetoric, which not infrequently is used to conceal the lack of direct contact with the sources and the inability to distinguish between the two.

<sup>152</sup> WEIß, *Beiträge*, 5: "die rednerische Art der kynisch-stoischen Diatribe".

<sup>153</sup> Of course, WEIß was following the Erasmian pronunciation current in Germany, when he expressed himself thus: "Wenigstens gefragt muß doch werden, ob nicht das Bedürfnis des Klanges, der Reiz des Tonfalls sehr häufig für die Wahl der Worte und ihre Anordnung stärker ins Gewicht gefallen ist, als Rücksichten der Lehre." (*Beiträge*, 4). The relevance of these words is even greater when applied to the HGP current at the time, rather than the artificial Erasmian pronunciation.

based on the brief, simple sentence<sup>154</sup>. Quite appositely Weiß observes: "Die Regel ist entweder das asyndetische Nebeneinander, das namentlich in der lebhaften Rede sehr häufig ist oder die lockere Anreihung durch Copula, antithetische oder vergleichende Partikeln, Appositionen, oft mit Participiis conjunctis, sehr selten mit absoluten Genitiven"<sup>155</sup>. This kind of sentence structure is more appropriate in oral delivery than in a writing intended for the perusing eye. This important factor is a further confirmation of the thesis that Paul wrote for the ear. Moreover, Paul's style makes use of a number of rhetorical devices, such as "eine gewisse rhetorische Bewegung, die entschieden packend und häufig durch Symmetrie, Rhythmus, Schwung und Vollklang nicht unkünstlich wirkt"<sup>156</sup>. Among these rhetorical effects, parallelism occupies a prominent place<sup>157</sup>.

Weiß is certainly right in holding that occasionally the actual structure in parallelism is dictated not by theological but by rhetorical considerations<sup>158</sup>. One such example employing synthetic parallelism is Rm 4:25:

ὅς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν  
καὶ ἡγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν

It would be going too far to separate the two clauses and to connect death alone with transgressions and resurrection alone with justification<sup>159</sup>. Instead, we must realize that the rhetorical considerations at work here are similar to those obtained in Demosthenes, when the basic thought "you all know Meidias' hybris"<sup>160</sup> was expanded to "I think that the lewdness ... and the hybris, which Meidias always uses towards everyone, is not unknown to anyone, either you or the other citizens"<sup>161</sup>. In our text the repetition of διὰ signals the parallelism, although it has in each phrase different grammatical import. And although the two clauses have different lengths (fifteen and

<sup>154</sup> This becomes clear after a comparison with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

<sup>155</sup> WEISS, *Beiträge*, 5.

<sup>156</sup> WEISS, *Beiträge*, 5.

<sup>157</sup> WEISS, *Beiträge*, 6.

<sup>158</sup> WEISS, *Beiträge*, 10.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. CRANFIELD, *Romans* I, 252, who, although admitting that the two clauses should not be rigidly separated, thinks it would be a mistake to ascribe the formulation solely to rhetorical considerations. DUNN, *Romans* I, 225, too, following KUB and MCNEIL, recognizes rhetorical significance at work here.

<sup>160</sup> Hermogenes, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, 5: τὴν μὲν ὕβριν Μειδίου πάντες ἴστε.

<sup>161</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* I [514]: τὴν μὲν ἀσέλγειαν ... καὶ τὴν ὕβριν, ἣ πρὸς ἅπαντας αἰεὶ χρῆται Μειδίας, οὐδέν' οὐθ' ὑμῶν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἶμαι quoted by Hermogenes, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, 5. See also Hermogenes' comments.

thirteen syllables respectively), they exhibit a beautiful symmetry<sup>162</sup>. Moreover, were we to apply the norms of Dionysios Halikarnasseus for well-sounding words, the majority of consonants and vowels in these clauses would meet the demands for beautiful composition.

In his use of antithetical parallelism Paul has a special liking for breaking down the whole into parts and setting the parts over against each other by εἴτε ... εἴτε. Of the many examples<sup>163</sup>, the "schönste Stelle" (Weiß), formed with εἰάν, is Rm 14:7-8:

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἑμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῇ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει  
 εἰάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν  
 εἰάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκομεν  
 εἰάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν εἰάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν

No one can deny that the beautiful finish of this sentence, both conceptually and acoustically, is the result of rhetorical concerns, although the composition, far from exhibiting artificiality, shows genuine sublimity flowing from the Apostle's religious convictions.

Among the schemata that ancient rhetoric recognized<sup>164</sup> we may single out *isokolon* and *parison*. These are sometimes considered to be two closely related figures (the difference being that the first represents a more exact correspondence in the length of the clauses, while in the latter this is only approximate)<sup>165</sup>, though the distinction is difficult to maintain<sup>166</sup>. The ancients never contrast the two terms but seem, instead, to use them interchangeably<sup>167</sup>, though occasionally in *parison* a similarity in the endings

<sup>162</sup> WEIB speaks repeatedly of the symmetry in Paul's composition, e.g. *Beiträge*, 8 ff. It should be pointed out, however, that there cannot be a question of perfect symmetry in Paul, since hardly any of the examples that WEIB cites contains the same number of syllables in its parallel clauses. The symmetry is rather to be understood in broader terms.

<sup>163</sup> See, e.g., 1 Cor 10:31; 12:13; 14:7; 2 Cor 1:6; 5:9; Phil 1:18; 1 Th 5:10.

<sup>164</sup> See below, under "4. The Wordplay, a. Rhetorical schemata".

<sup>165</sup> E.g. WEIB, *Beiträge*, 22.

<sup>166</sup> Diodoros Sikeliotes XII. 53, who ascribes the figures to Gorgias, mentions ἰσοκώλους καὶ παρίσοις, but does not define them.

<sup>167</sup> The definitions vary: see Demetrios, *Περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, 25; Alexander, *Scholia in Aristoteles*, *Topika* 477; *Rhetorica Anonyma*, *Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων* III. 155. Aristoteles, *Topika* 148b defines *isokolon* as: ἰσοκῶλος δὲ λέγεται ὁ λόγος εἶναι, ὅταν ὅσα περ ἂν ᾖ τὰ συγκείμενα, τσαυτὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα ᾖ ("the discourse is said to be *isokolos* (i.e. have equally long clauses) when the number of nouns and verbs in the discourse are as many as the component parts"). Ioannes Rhetor, *Scholia in Hermogenes*, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν*, III. 604, gives the example: ἵνα τί μάθωμεν καὶ τί παιδευθῶμεν, in which the cola are equally long. See also Ploutarchos, *Πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι ... ἐνδοξότεροι*, 350e, who speaking derogatively of Isokrates' lifelong oc-

may be seen. Modern Greek authors, however, tend to regard them as equivalent<sup>168</sup>. An example of this figure is found in the parallelism of 1 Cor 10:21:

οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κυρίου πίνειν καὶ ποτήριον δαιμονίων (22 syll.)  
οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων (21 syll.)

The repetition of ποτήριον and τραπέζης is determined by rhetorical considerations. Had Paul written ποτήριον κυρίου καὶ δαιμονίων πίνειν and τραπέζης κυρίου καὶ δαιμονίων μετέχειν the effect would not be the same. By separating the cup and table of demons from the cup and table of the Lord, he achieves both the required contrast as well as symmetry and powerful effect. Similar is 1 Cor 10:23:

πάντα ἔξεστιν· ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει (12 syll.)  
πάντα ἔξεστιν· ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα οἰκοδομεῖ (13 syll.)

Again, though the number of syllables is not the same<sup>169</sup>, the symmetry and rhythm exhibited by the complete correspondence of the parts of the

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cupation with literary pursuits, writes: πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔμελεν ἄνθρωπος ψόφον ὅπλων φοβεῖσθαι ... ὁ φοβούμενος φωνῇεν φωνήεντα συγκροῦσαι καὶ συλλαβῇ τὸ ἰσόκωλον ἐνδεές ἐξενεγκεῖν; ("how could this man help being afraid of arms ... who was afraid lest a vowel clashed with another vowel and lest he uttered an *isokolon* short of a syllable?").

Parison is defined by Alexander Rhetor, *Περὶ σχημάτων*, 40 as: Πάρισον ἐστίν, ὅταν δύο ἢ πλείονα κῶλα συνενωθέντα μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς ἴσας ἔχῃ ἀλλὰ γε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἴσον ἐν πᾶσι λαμβάνῃ. ("Parison occurs when two or more clauses joined together have not only even syllables but also receive the equal number in all of them"), as, e.g., Isokrates, *Panegyrikos* 76:

[οὐδὲ] ἀπέλουν μὲν ὡς ἰδίων (9 syll.)

ἡμέλουν δὲ ὡς ἀλλοτρίων (9 syll.)

"Nor did they enjoy it [public wealth] as if it was their own  
but neglected it as belonging to others"

where ἡμέλουν corresponds to ἀπέλουν and ἀλλοτρίων to ἰδίων (see Dionysios Hal., *Isokrates* 14).

Another example is Demosthenes, *Olynthiakos* III. 19 (33):

... ἂν τὰ παρόντ' ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ (12 syll.)

τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορήσῃ πρὸς ἃ δεῖ (11 syll.)

"... if one wasted what was present, which he should not have done,  
that he will find means to procure what is needed from what is far away".

See also Aristoteles, *Art of Rhetoric* 1410b.

<sup>168</sup> E.g. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ καλολογία* 96; Μαρκαντωνάτου, *Βασικὸ λεξικὸ λογοτεχνικῶν ὅρων* 154. Cf. also ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν* s.v.; and *Souda*, entry I 651 and H 233.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. the example from Isokrates cited by Alexander Rhetor, *Περὶ σχημάτων*, 40:

two clauses cannot be denied, nor is it difficult to imagine the effect on the ear. Other examples include 1 Cor 7:16:

τί γάρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις; (12 syll.)  
 ἡ τί οἶδας, ἄνερ, εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα σώσεις; (13 syll.)

1 Cor 1:25:

τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων (14 syll.)  
 καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων (17 syll.)

and 1 Cor 15:42-43:

σπείρεται ἐν φθορά, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ (15 syll.)  
 σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ (15 syll.)  
 σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει (16 syll.)  
 σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν (18 syll.)

Symmetry sometimes dictates the expansion of a clause in order to balance its counterpart. Dionysios Hal., *Composition* 9, so explains Platon, *Menexenos*, 236e:

ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι  
 μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πράξασιν γίνεται παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων  
 “When deeds have been nobly accomplished, through speech well-made,  
 comes remembrance and honor to the doers from the hearers”.

The addition of παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων was made only with a view to achieving parison, not to the sense, which was complete.

Three other related terms recognized by ancient rhetoric are *homoiop-toton*, *homoioteleuton*, and *homoiokatalekton*. Homoiopoton obtains when the cola end in the same case<sup>170</sup>. Sometimes it appears to be a variant for

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τοῦ μὲν ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον βίον κατέστησε  
 τῆς δὲ περιβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχητον τὴν φύσιν ἐποίησεν

which, too, shows variance in the number of syllables (18 and 19 respectively).

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Tiberios Rhetor, *Περὶ σχημάτων*, 33: ὅταν δὲ εἰς ὄνομα λήγωσιν αἱ περίοδοι ἢ τὰ κῶλα, τὰ δ' ὀνόματα ἔχῃ τὰς πτώσεις ὁμοίας, τότε ὁμοιόπτωτον λέγεται (“when the periods or the clauses end in nouns, and the nouns have the same case, then the figure is called homoiopoton”). See also Alexander Rhetor, *Περὶ σχημάτων* 36. Examples of this are: Alexander Rhetor 36: πρὸς τὰ μεγάλα τῶν ἔργων ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε (“in great deeds, [you are] the most useless of all men, but in bravery of words, [you are] most wonderful”, both clauses ending in the same case); Ploutarchos, *Demetrios* 14, where Demetrios Phalereus’ father whispers to his son’s ear (who is unwilling to marry an older rich widow) the line of Euripides: ὅπου τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον (“where there is gain, one must marry against nature”) which made a homoiopoton with δουλευτέον (“one must become a slave”); and Aischines, *Against Ktesiphon* 78: καὶ οὐ τὸ δυσ-

certain uses of parison<sup>171</sup>. Moreover, homoiopoton coincides with homoioteleuton<sup>172</sup>, though homoioteleuton (which is not confined to the same case, but to similarity of sound, where the orthography may be different) is usually identified with homoiokataleuton ("having the same ending")<sup>173</sup>.

The following Pauline example of parison in 1 Cor 7:18:

περιτεμνόμενος τις ἐκλήθη, μὴ ἐπισπάσθω· (15 syll.)  
ἐν ἀκροβυστία κέκληται τις, μὴ περιτεμνέσθω (16 syll.)

constitutes *homoiopoton*. The impassioned and forceful rhetorical questions of Rm 2:21-23:

ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκει;  
ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτει;  
ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύει;  
ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδωλα ἱεροσυλεῖ;  
ὅς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸ Θεὸν ἀτιμάζει;

which may be explained as homoiopoton and homoioteleuton or homoiokataleuton, have a devastating effect on the listener.

The beauty and intricate structure of the long rhetorical passage in 2 Cor 11:16-31 shines through in Weiß' arrangement (appended below). The function of vv. 16-18 is to conciliate the audience and to prepare them for what is to come. *Apostrophe*<sup>174</sup> and *captatio benevolentiae* are used in order

τύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω, ("I do not scorn his misfortune, but I am examining his character", both clauses ending in -ζω).

<sup>171</sup> Cf., e.g., *Lexica Segueriana, Glossae rhetoricae* (e cod. Coislin. 345, entry Π 295, line 32: παρίσωσις; εἶδος σχήματος, ὃ καλεῖται καὶ ὁμοιόπτοτον καὶ ὁμοιοτέλεuton ("Parisosis is a figure which is also called homoiopoton and homoioteleuton"), while Tiberios Rhetor, *Περὶ σχημάτων*, 33: seems to distinguish between homoiopoton and homoioteleuton: τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέλος παρισώσεων τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁμοιόπτοτον, τὸ δὲ ὁμοιοτέλεuton ("... one is homoiopoton, the other homoioteleuton"). See also Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros Ilias*. Vol. 1, 369 and *Anonymi in Hermogenes, Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, Vol. 7, p. 1032.

<sup>172</sup> See *Lexica Segueriana*, in previous note. As an example may serve Isokrates, *Helen* 17:

καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον τὸν βίον κατέστησεν  
τῆς δὲ περιβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχτην τὴν φύσιν ἐποίησεν  
"[Zeus] made his [Herakles'] life laborious,  
but to [Helen] he gave a nature admired by all and a prize to fight for".

<sup>173</sup> Demetrios, *Περὶ ἔρμηνείας*, 26; Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Odysseia* Vol. 1, 15; *Rhetorica anonyma, Περὶ σχημάτων τοῦ λόγου*, Vol. III, p. 185: ὁμοιοτέλεuton δὲ τὸ ὁμοιοκατάληκτον. For an example, see *Scholia on Homeros Ilias* XI. 474: ὁμοιοκατάληκτον εἶπεν θῶρες τῷ Τρῶες ("he said jackals (θῶρες) is homoiokataleuton to Trojans (Τρῶες)").

<sup>174</sup> On apostrophe as a rhetorical term, see Alexander Rhetor, 23.

to predispose the Corinthians to listen. The apostrophe in μή τίς με δόξη ἄφωνα εἶναι instead of the direct ὑμεῖς δόξετε ... has the effect of softening the polemical tone of his words, while his presentation of himself as ἄφρων, and his request that he be tolerated and listened to as such in vv. 16b-18 (*captatio benevolentiae*), it is hoped, will make more palatable what he has to say. Thus, in vs. 17 he affirms that he is not speaking as the mouthpiece of the Lord, but as a fool, and in vs. 18 he declares that he is going to speak in the flesh (i.e. to boast), precisely as others also are doing. Having broken down all resistance in the minds of his hearers, he now gives vent to a rhetorical outburst; in a torrential manner he expatiates ironically on their unwise tolerance of others, and then enumerates his sacrifices and sufferings for them.

Ἡδέως γάρ ἀνέχεσθε τῶν ἀφρόνων φρόνιμοι ὄντες	
ἀνέχεσθε γάρ	εἴ τις ὑμᾶς καταδουλοῖ
	εἴ τις κατεσθίει
	εἴ τις λαμβάνει
	εἴ τις ἐπαίρεται
	εἴ τις εἰς πρόσωπον ὑμᾶς δέρει
(κατὰ ἀτιμίαν λέγω, ὥς ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἡσθενήκαμεν)	
a. ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τις τολμᾷ, ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ λέγω, τολμῶ καγὼ	
b. Ἑβραῖοι εἰσιν; καγὼ	
b. Ἰσραηλῖται εἰσιν; καγὼ	
b. σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ εἰσιν; καγὼ	
a. διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; παραφρονῶν λαλῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐγὼ	
ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως – ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως	
ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως – ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις	
ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ἔλαβον	
τρίς ἐραβδίσθην, ἅπαξ ἐλιθάσθην	
τρίς ἐναυάγησα, νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα	
ὁδοιπορίας πολλάκις	
κινδύνοις ποταμῶν	κινδύνοις ληστῶν
κινδύνοις ἐκ γένους	κινδύνοις ἐξ ἐθνῶν
κινδύνοις ἐν πόλει	κινδύνοις ἐν ἔρημῳ
κινδύνοις ἐν θαλάσῃ, κινδύνοις ἐν ψευδαδέλφοις	
κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ – ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις πολλάκις	
ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει – ἐν νηστείαις πολλάκις	
ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι	
Χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτός ἡ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν	
ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν	
τίς ἀσθενεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ;	
τίς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ πυροῦμαι;	
εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσομαι –	
ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οἶδεν	
ὁ ὢν εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	
ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι	

Steigerung

Klangwirkung

} einzige unrein Gegens.

} Ruhepunkt

Weiß points out that the fact that Paul uses parallelism is no proof of real rhetorical ability on his part. This shows itself rather in the way in which Paul orders short clauses and distichs<sup>175</sup> into larger units. This gives him the chance to develop "Sinn für Symmetrie, Rhythmus und Klangschönheit. Von einfacheren zu komplizierten Gebilden steigen wir auf, von der Combination zweier Distichen oder Tristichen (I Kor 7:12-14) zu Mischungen und Vertauschungen von synonymen und antithetischen Parallelismus, zu feineren musikalischen Gebilden, in denen sich wie in Strophen der gleiche Rhythmus kurzer und langer Glieder wiederholt, zu strophentypischen in sich geschlossenen Gruppen mit gleichem Thema und Schlußrefrain und feinsten Korrespondanz der Glieder"<sup>176</sup>.

There is a three-member chiasm (a-b-c, c-b-a) in 1 Cor 9:19-22:

- a. ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμ. ἐδούλωσα ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω
- b. καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω
- c. τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπ. ν. κερ.
- c. τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄν., μὴ ὢν ἄνομος Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔνομ. Χρ. ἵνα κερδ. τοὺς ἄν.
- b. ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενοὺς κερδήσω
- a. τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω

where τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα corresponds to ἐλεύθερος ἐκ πάντων, ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν corresponds to ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, and τοῖς ἀνόμοις contrasts with τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον.

That Paul sometimes paid special attention to his composition is shown by a text such as 1 Cor 13, where not only the first strophe but all three strophes are exquisitely forged. Appositely, Weiß remarks with regard to this text, "Wer Paulus verstehen will, muß ihn reden hören und muß den Reiz des Klanges, der die ersten Hörer gepackt hat, nachempfinden können"<sup>177</sup>. Owing to reasons of space, I here present only the first strophe:<sup>178</sup>

<sup>175</sup> Cf. the beautiful and symmetrical *distichs* in Rm 5:21:

ἵνα:

ὥσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ  
οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσει διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον

and Rm 6:23, where there is syllabic *isokolon*:

τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος (14 syll.)  
τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος (14 syll.).

<sup>176</sup> Weiß, *Beiträge*, 25-26.

<sup>177</sup> Weiß, *Beiträge*, 35.

<sup>178</sup> I have treated this text text-critically and structurally in Chapter Eight, VII. "The Bearing of HGP on the Crux of 1 Cor 13:3". The interested reader will find the entire text laid out in Weiß, *Beiträge* 35-38, with apposite comments.



ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων  
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω  
 γέγονα χαλκὸς ἢ χρῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζων  
 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν  
 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάναί  
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω  
 οὐθὲν εἰμι  
 κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου  
 καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμα μου ἵνα καυθήσο(ω)μαι  
 ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω  
 οὐδὲν ὀφελούμαι

As Weiß again remarks, “Unbeschreiblich und durch keine Analyse dem Leser näher zu bringen ist die Schönheit, Würde und Kraft der Wortwahl, sowie der geistige Gehalt dieser Capitels”.

Rm 8:31-39 – too long to be quoted here – is described by Blaß as a “rhetorische ‘Glanzstelle’”, while with regard to 1 Cor 1:27:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφοὺς,  
 καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά,  
 καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός, τὰ μὴ  
 ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ

he says “Kein griechischer Redner ... würde die Beredsamkeit dieser Stelle anders als höchlichst bewundert haben”<sup>179</sup>.

The above few examples of parallelism have hopefully shown that Paul’s letters contain many passages that evince rhetorical influence. In these sections we can see Paul’s aptitude for beautifying his discourse, for euphony and grace and his not inconsiderable ability (innate?) in applying rhetorical effects to achieve his purpose. What stands out clearly is that, in general, Paul’s compositions are structured in a simple, straight-forward, and direct manner, appropriate for gaining the ear. Now a discourse intended to be *heard* cannot be unconnected with how Greek was pronounced. Herein lies the connection between the various effects discussed above and the acoustic dimension in the broader sense.

Because the Erasmian pronunciation gives to most of the letters the same value as the historical Greek pronunciation, it is not always possible to show clearly the difference in a given rhetorical figure. But when one considers the softer, more elegant and more pleasing quality of the historical pronunciation, then it becomes obvious that even those examples (pronounced in the Erasmian way), which Weiß regards beautiful and well-

<sup>179</sup> BLAß–DEBRUNNER–REHKOPF, *Grammatik* § 491 n. 4.

sounding, exhibit these qualities to an even higher degree when pronounced with the natural Greek pronunciation. The superiority of the Greek pronunciation over the Erasmian pronunciation is, however, already exemplified in this discussion, and will be further corroborated by the material under "The Wordplay".

### 3. Captatio Benevolentiae

*Captatio benevolentiae* has been touched upon above. Here it will be exemplified at somewhat greater length by one more example.

In spite of the abrupt tone in the opening of the Epistle to the Galatians and the unusual language that Paul uses of its recipients (e.g. ἀνόητοι), he makes a great effort to win a sympathetic ear to the hard things he has to say. The introductory paragraph (following the greeting) may be presented in the following way:

Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν  
 χάριτι [Χριστοῦ] εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον  
 ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταράσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες  
 μεταστρέψαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται [ὑμῖν] παρ' ὃ  
 εὐηγγελισάμεθα [ὑμῖν], ἀνάθεμα ἔστω  
 "Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν Θεόν; εἰ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ  
 ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἡρέσκον, Χριστοῦ δούλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην

As the text now stands, the four cola have 39, 36, 40, and 38 syllables. If we were to omit the text-critically uncertain readings Χριστοῦ and ὑμῖν in the first and third colon, the cola would have 37, 36, 38, and 38 syllables, in other words, an almost perfect isocolon for such long and complicated cola. There can be no doubt here that the composition has been rhetorically structured.

Further, the four cola fall into two parallel distichs, in which the main equivalents in the first and third colon and the second and fourth colon have been italicized.

The choice of words and phrases has been carefully executed. Instead of beginning his letter with the condemnatory οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθαι etc., which would have marked them out as a hostile group over against him, he prefaces it with the soft-sounding Θαυμάζω ('thavmazo', not the uncouth Erasmian 'taumadzo / taumazdo'), thus making the theme of their falling away the content of his own amazement (i.e. a subordinate clause), rather than the main clause, on which attention is centered. In the second colon, he exonerates the Church from the serious charges he brings up, by

putting the blame on *τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς*. Thus, although the seriousness of what has happened has not been diminished in the least, a possibility is offered to the Church to alienate themselves from the culprits and to reconcile themselves with their Apostle. In the third colon, Paul justifies his strong reaction at what happened in Galatia by putting the matter in a cosmic perspective. He is not caviling at trivial matters, but is opposing the first insidious attack on the Christian faith. Well might he paraphrase Cato, “if these teachers succeed in imparting to us their doctrines, then all is lost for us, Christians”<sup>180</sup>. The prospect of a hypothetical angelic complicity in the matter, with the attendant curse, apparently underscores his unflinching courage and certainty about his mission, but at the same time it softens the offence of the Galatians (if an angel might be guilty of that).

In the final colon, Paul asseverates his servanthood to Christ, which makes it impossible for him to please anyone opposed to his Master. This, too, is intended to ameliorate his strained relations with that Church, while *ἀδελφοί*, four words further down, aims at restoring a normal relationship between them.

Finally, one more point regarding pronunciation is how the hard and rough-sounding words *μετατίθεσθαι*, *ταράσσοντες*, *μεταστρέψαι* would, according to Dionysios Hal., fit a description of the unpleasant events, in this case in Galatia, while the pleasing-sounding *εὐηγγελισάμεθα* and *Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην* would be more suitable for describing pleasant matters.

#### 4. The Wordplay

##### a. Rhetorical schemata

In speaking of Thoukydides’ style, Dionysios Hal. states that he has used “not a few of the theatrical figures – I am speaking of the even balancing of the clauses, [the assimilations], the paronomasiai and antitheses, which abound in Gorgias of Leontini”<sup>181</sup>. In fact, Diodoros Sikeliotes and the *Souda* Lexicon claim that Gorgias was the first to use such figures as trope, metaphor, allegory, hypallage, analogical application, transposition, redu-

<sup>180</sup> Marcus Cato’s saying (see Horatius, *Epistulae* 21. 1, 156 and Ploutarchos, *Markos Katon* XXIII. 2) was: “If the Greeks succeed in imparting to us their culture, then all is lost for us, Romans”.

<sup>181</sup> Dionysios Hal., *Thoukydides* 24: οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων κείμενα παρ’ αὐτῷ, τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω [καὶ παρομοιώσεις] καὶ παρονομασίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ἐπλεόνασε Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος.

plication, repetition, apostrophe, and even balancing of clauses<sup>182</sup>. The great Alexandrian grammarian, Aelius Herodianos, gives a list of some thirty-three rhetorical schemata, including paronomasia, omission, asseveration, inversion, epanaphora, polyptoton, homoiopoton, asyndeton, repetition for emphasis, climax, etc.<sup>183</sup>, while a more comprehensive list is found in Tryphon (I B.C.)<sup>184</sup> and in the rhetor Alexandros (II A.D.)<sup>185</sup>.

Among the rhetorical figures that are intended primarily for the ear, may be mentioned Paronomasia and Parechesis<sup>186</sup>. The following discussion will treat these two figures and then take up for discussion various types of wordplays for the light they throw on the problem of pronunciation.

### i. Paronomasia

This term occurs about fifty times from Dionysios Halikarnasseus (I B.C.) to Eustathios, the XII-century Metropolitan of Thessaloniki.

The earliest definition of paronomasia seems to occur in the rhetor-sophist Alexandros (fl. early II A.D.), son of the Apameian philosopher Noumenios: "Paronomasia occurs when, by changing slightly a noun or a verb which we have conceived in our mind, we produce another sense"<sup>187</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> Diodoros Sik., *Bibliotheca historica* XII. 53, 1 ff.; *Souda* Γ 388: οὗτος πρῶτος τῷ ῥητορικῷ εἶδει τῆς παιδείας δυνάμιν τε φραστικὴν καὶ τέχνην ἔδωκε, τροπαῖς τε καὶ μεταφοραῖς καὶ ἀλληγορίαις καὶ ὑπαλλαγαῖς καὶ καταχρήσεσι καὶ ὑπερβάσεσι καὶ ἀναδιπλώσεσι καὶ ἐπαναλήψεσι καὶ ἀποστροφαῖς καὶ παρισώσεσιν ἐχρήσατο.

<sup>183</sup> Ailius Herodianos, *Περὶ σχημάτων* 94: ἔστι δὲ τὰ τῷ λόγῳ παρακολουθοῦντα σχήματα τάδε: ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, μερισμός, ἀπολελυμένον, παρονομασία, ἀποσιώπησις, διὰ μέσου, διόρθωσις, προδιόρθωσις, ἐπιδιόρθωσις, ἀποστροφή, διαβεβαίωσις, ἐρώτησις, ἀντεστραμμένον, ἐπαναφορά, πολύπτωτον, ὁμοιόπτωτον, ὁμοιοκατάληκτον, ὀρισμός, ἀστεϊσμός, ἐπιτροπή, ἀντίθεσις, διάλυσις, ἐπίzeugις, κλίμαξ, σύλληψις, κατ' ἐξοχήν, Πινδαρικόν, Ἰβύκειον, Ἀλκμανικόν, ἐκ παραλλήλου, καταριθμησις, ἀσύνδετον, ἐξ ἀντιστροφῆς. See also Phoebammon (V-VI A.D.), *De figuris* 2, 4, for an interpretative list of such figures.

<sup>184</sup> Tryphon, *Περὶ τρόπων*.

<sup>185</sup> Alexandros, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς δοιανίας καὶ τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων*, which is concerned with definitions and examples of twenty-five figures of thought and twenty-seven figures of speech.

<sup>186</sup> The definitions of these terms differ from language to language and even from one lexicon to another. Nor are such terms, which include also *agnominatio*, *alliteration*, *assonance*, and *synechesis*, clearly distinguished from one another. Cf. CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 45, notes 6 and 9. See further ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 1201.

<sup>187</sup> Alexander, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς δοιανίας καὶ τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων*, 36: Παρονομασία δὲ γίνεται, ὅταν τι τῶν ληφθέντων εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ὀνομάτων ἢ ῥημάτων βραχὺ μεταποιήσαντες ἑτέραν κινήσωμεν ἔννοιαν. Essentially the same definition is found

An alternative definition is given by the somewhat later Hermogenes: "Another kind of pungency is that which comes from paronomasia – not from identical meaning – when we have used a noun or a verb in its proper sense and immediately thereafter we use it in another sense"<sup>188</sup>.

Paronomasia may be created in four different ways: by (a) addition<sup>189</sup>, (b) omission<sup>190</sup>, (c) transposition<sup>191</sup>, and (d) alteration<sup>192</sup>. On account of this, paronomasia is called an "etymological schema"<sup>193</sup> and is distinguished from parechesis, which is a "parechetical schema" (i.e. a figure based strictly on sound).

Paronomasia is normally understood as a wordplay, but not every paronomasia rises to the level of wordplay, as this is defined below. This explains the separate treatment of wordplays.

Ancient authors used paronomasia very freely<sup>194</sup>. Dionysios Hal. censures

in the slightly later Ailios Herodianos, *Περὶ σχημάτων* [ed. SPENGLER], 95, and the undated *Rhetorica Anonyma*, *Περὶ τῶν σχημάτων τοῦ λόγου* III. 185.

<sup>188</sup> Hermogenes, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου*, II. 5: "Ἐτερον δὲ εἶδος δριμύτητος τὸ ἐκ παρονομασίας, οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοιότητος, ὅταν κυρίῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι ἢ ῥήματι χρῆσάμενοι εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἐπόμενοι τοῦτω χρῆσώμεθα καὶ ἐφ' οὗ μὴ κύριόν ἐστι πρᾶγματος. This line seems to be followed by the rhetor Tiberios (III-IV A.D.), *Peri ton para Demostheni schematon* 27 and the undated *Vitae Homeri* [Plutarchi] *De Homero* 2.

<sup>189</sup> As παρθένος - ἀειπαρθένος, ἀποτυχάνω - τυγχάνω, Thoukydides II. 62, 3: ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ὁδὸς με φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι.

<sup>190</sup> Demosthenes, *Paraprosbeia* 122: σύλλογοι παντοδαποὶ καὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο.

<sup>191</sup> As in a sentence such as: τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν καὶ τοὺς πολίτας περιλαβεῖν (where β and λ have exchanged position and thus created a new word).

<sup>192</sup> As διεκπλέκοντες - περιπλέκοντες. See also Lysias, *Epitaphios* 47: καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, which describes two different kinds of fighting.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* III. 607: τὸ δὲ 'πλοκάμους ἐπλεξε' παρονομασίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. See also Γ. ΜΑΡΚΑΝΤΩΝΑΤΟΥ, *Βασικὸ λεξικὸ λογοτεχνικῶν ὀρῶν*, s.v. "Παρήχησι".

<sup>194</sup> See Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 973: Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει ("Zeus, Zeus, the Accomplished [Perfect] One, accomplish [perform] my prayer"). The rhetor-sophist Alexandros, *Peri schematon* 36, exemplifies paronomasia by the following striking example: τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τινος πρὸς τὸν ἀμπελουργὸν τὸν δικαζόμενον συνεχῶς, αἱ ἀμπελοὶ σου οὐ κλήματα φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγκλήματα ("what was said by someone to the vine-dresser, who was continually arraigned before the court: 'your vines / vineyards do not bear branches / vines (κλήματα), but crimes (ἐγκλήματα)'"). Ailios Herodianos, *Περὶ σχημάτων*, 95: τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θεὸς ἡγεμόνευε, συνώνυμον γὰρ ὄνομα λαβὼν ἐτήρησε τὴν ἀρχὴν, δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν, Πρόθοος ταχύς ("Prothoos was quick ['thoos'] to rule over them. Taking a synonym he kept the main meaning although he could have said: Prothoos [was] quick ['tachys']). Homer, *Ilias* III. 39: Δύσπαρι ("Evil Paris"), a play on Paris' name for having brought trouble on Troy. Cf. *Scholia in Homerum, Iliadem* III. 39b. Eustathios, *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* (scholia

Thoukydides' paronomasia at VI. 76, 2: καὶ μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐ Λεοντίνους βούλεσθαι κατοικίσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐξοικίσαι<sup>195</sup> as "frigid ... exhibiting artificiality"<sup>196</sup>. Demosthenes, too, used this figure freely<sup>197</sup>, and as for Gorgias, who invented such rhetorical schemata, he indulged frequently in it, as is shown by his *Enkomion of Helen*<sup>198</sup>.

From the above it will have become obvious that paronomasia is a very useful figure in composition and especially in oratory. It enhances the words that constitute it and thereby draws the attention of the hearer (or reader) to them. The etymological connection that exists between them, even where the meanings have glided apart, brings the words together with such a force that the ear perceives the comparison or contrast thus effected. Paronomasia makes the speech "not only sharp but also clear"<sup>199</sup>. Ioannes Rhetor knows of "no better example of striking words or phrases"<sup>200</sup>.

The New Testament offers many examples of paronomasia. The exam-

vetera) II. 235a: οὐ Φίλιππος, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππιον, κεκράτηκε δις Ἑλλάδος ("not Philip, but little Philip [i.e. Alexander] has conquered Greece twice").

<sup>195</sup> Thoukydides VI. 76, 2. See also Thoukydides VII. 15: ἡ τοῦτους μεταπέμπειν δέον, ἡ ἄλλην μὴν ἐλάσσω στρατείαν ἐπιπέμπειν, the play being on the two similar words. Tryphon (I B.C.), *Περὶ τρόπων* 196: κατὰ παρονομασίαν χρυσῶ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ.

<sup>196</sup> Dionysios Hal., *Thoukydides* 48: ψυχρά ... προσβάλλουσα ἐπιτίδουσιν.

<sup>197</sup> E.g. Demosthenes, *Parapresbeia* 122: σύλλογοι παντοδαποὶ καὶ λόγοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγίνοντο. Further, *Parapresbeia* 289: ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα· εἰ Φίλιππος ζῇ ἢ τέθνηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς πόλεως τέθνηκε τὸ τοὺς ἀδικούντας μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι ("What I am afraid of is not whether Philip is dead or alive, but whether the city's will to hate and punish its enemies is dead"), where the word τέθνηκε is used once properly of Philip's death and once metaphorically of the death of the city's will to hate and resist Philip. Cf. Hermogenes, *Περὶ ιδεῶν λόγου*, II. 5; Ioannes Rhetor (XI A.D.), *Scholium in Hermogenis, Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, VI. 411; and Eustathios, *Scholium ad Homeri Iliadem* I. 322.

<sup>198</sup> Gorgias, *Enkomion of Helen* 2: λέξαι τε τὸ δέον ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐλέγξει τοὺς μεμφομένους ("to say that which must be said correctly and to refute those who censure"); 4: ὁ λαβοῦσα καὶ οὐ λαθοῦσα ("which she received and did not escape notice"); 6: θεοῦ γὰρ προθυμίαν - ἀνθρωπίνῃ προμηθίᾳ ἀδύνατον κωλύειν; 10: ἐπαγωγὴ ἡδονῆς, ἀπαγωγὴ λύπης; 18: πολλὰ δὲ πολλοῖς πολλῶν; 19: εἰ μὲν θεὸς ὦν ἔχει θεῶν θεῖαν δύναμιν; 30: πόριμον ἐξ ἀπόρου καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐξ ἀκόσμου. Cf. also Gorgias' saying in Aristoteles, *Τέχνη ῥητορική* III. 1406b, 4: αἰσχροῦς μὲν ἔσπειρας, κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας, and Aristoteles' comment. It is not without interest that Gorgias closes his *enkomion* of Helen with the words ἐβουλήθη γράψαι τὸν λόγον Ἑλένης μὲν ἐγκώμιον, ἐμὸν δὲ παίγνιον ("I decided to write the oration, for Helen as an *enkomion* but for me as a play") – no doubt meaning "a play of words", in order to illustrate the power of rhetoric.

<sup>199</sup> Hermogenes, *Περὶ ιδεῶν λόγου*, II. 5, 92: καὶ ἐναργῆ ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον, οὐ μόνον δριμύν.

<sup>200</sup> Ioannes Rhetor, *Scholia in Hermogenis, Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, VI. 411: ἐγῶγε οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτι τοῦτου κάλλιον παράδειγμα δριμύτητος.

ples taken up for discussion here show the use of this schema to produce effect, emphasis, and clarity, draw the attention of the listener, and generally, to make the point more effectively.

In the parable of the Tenants, Matthew in 21:41 is probably using an old set phrase<sup>201</sup>, when he puts in the mouth of Jesus' interlocutors the answer: λέγουσὶ αὐτῷ· κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει ("he will destroy those evil men in an evil manner"), thereby laying the emphasis upon the severity of punishment, which is proportionate to the enormity of their behavior. The juxtaposition of the two words and the similarity of sound imprint indelibly their message on the ear of the listener. In Lk 1:28 Gabriel's greeting to Mary chimes harmoniously with his address to her: χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη! In Mt 5:19: ὃς ἐὰν οὖν λύσῃ μία τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων ... ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, the play, though present, is not particularly forceful. Lk 8:5: ἐξηλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ is cleverly contrived, but it gives the impression of artificiality. However, the etymological repetition does have an effect on the ear. In Act 23:2-3: ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπέταξεν ... τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα. Τότε ὁ Παῦλος εἶπεν· τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, the different meaning in the second τύπτειν is not enough to make the paronomasia elegant. The same may be said of the two paronomasiai in Rev 22:18-19: ἐάν τις ἐπιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, ἐπιθήσει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς πληγὰς ... καὶ ἐάν τις ἀφῇ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων ... ἀφελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. The contemplated effect is achieved by the details in each case, rather than by the use of the same verb for the two actions. But even though the paronomasiai are not exceptionally ingenious, the point, nevertheless, comes clearly through, namely that to add to or to subtract from what is written in this book, will carry analogical consequences for the transgressor in the day of judgment. In an oral situation, the couplet of identical verbs could not fail to give the uneasy feeling of shudder to the listener.

In 2 Cor 9:8, seven of its twenty-one words begin with a π. Particularly the three consecutively occurring words παντὶ πάντοτε πᾶσαν create a paronomasia for the purpose of emphasizing the αὐτάρκεια. In 1 Cor 11:29 and vv. 31-32 six words deriving from the stem κριν- form three pairs: vs. 29: κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα, vs. 31: εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα, and vs. 32: κρι-

<sup>201</sup> This expression occurs in Demosthenes, *Zenothemis* 6: ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἄξιός ἦν, κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλετο ("as for him, according to his desert, he perished as an evil man in an evil manner") as well as *Against Meidias* 204: εἴτα θαυμάζεις εἰ κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολεῖ; ("Do you wonder then if you, an evil man, perish in an evil manner?"). In both places the phrase is identical, which shows its proverbial character. Cf. Demotic ἐπῆγεν κακὴν κακῶς ("he had an evil end").

νόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ [τοῦ] κυρίου παιδευόμεθα ... ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν<sup>202</sup>. There is a kind of *inclusio* in the whole conception: the passage begins with the eschatological judgment (κριμα) and ends with the final condemnation (κατακριθῶμεν), both of which predicate acts of God. God's condemnation is, however, contingent on the failure of the Church members to discern the body (διακρίνων - διεκρίνομεν). The present judgment (κρινόμενοι) is God's temporary chastisement (παιδευόμεθα) in order for them to escape the eschatological and final condemnation (κατακριθῶμεν). The use of this variety of terms, derived from one and the same root, has greatly contributed to giving a nuanced interplay between human responsibility and divine retribution and between present chastisement and final judgment as well as to render this passage a warning.

The paronomasia ἱκανοί - ἱκανότης - ἱκάνωσεν in 2 Cor 3:5-6 is not particularly meritorious, but the great variety of sensitive turns based on the root δοκ- in 2 Cor 3:7-11: ἐν δόξῃ - διὰ τὴν δόξαν - ἐν δόξῃ - δόξα - δόξῃ - δεδοξασται - τὸ δεδοξασμένον - δόξης - διὰ δόξης - ἐν δόξῃ, has succeeded in creating a passage of great beauty and sublimity as well as theological depth. In 2 Cor 1:4 six of its twenty-six words begin with a π, four of which derive from the same stem: ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Here the variety of forms neatly drives home the hidden purpose of suffering. Finally, 1 Tim 6:17-18: πλουσίοις - πλούτου - πλουσίως - πλουτεῖν in a neat way deals with the various ramifications of wealth: the fact of wealth, the warning not to put their trust in their wealth but in God who gave the wealth to them, and to seek, instead, to become wealthy in good works.

The above examples of paronomasia have hopefully put it beyond doubt that the texts in which they occurred were intended primarily for the ear. The similarity in sound, which was inevitable, given the etymological connection of the words, comes to its own only in an oral situation.

## ii. Parechesis

If the similarity in sound was inevitable in paronomasia on account of the common etymological derivation of its words, the similarity in sound in

<sup>202</sup> 2 Cor 1:3-5 contains six words derived from the same stem: παρακλήσεως - παρακαλῶν - παρακαλεῖν - παρακλήσεως - παρακαλούμεθα - παράκλησις. The paronomasia is obvious, but its rhetorical effect is less than obvious, particularly as these three verses contain eight more words beginning with a π (πατήρ - πατήρ - πάσης - πάσῃ - πάσῃ - περισσεύει - παθήματα - περισσεύει), which tend to be onerous to the ear rather than attractive.



parechesis is even more striking, because this time the words are etymologically unconnected, in fact, they may even have a quite different orthography, particularly as regards vowels<sup>203</sup>. But the sound is similar, or similar enough to make the connection, and herein lies its great value for the acoustic dimension, i.e. the way in which words were pronounced.

The term παρήχησις occurs 140 times from Hermogenes (II-III A.D.) to the Scholiast Eustathios (XII A.D.). Of these, 107 occurrences are found in Eustathios. In addition, he (alone) uses the terms ψευδοπαρήχησις (18 times), ὑποπαρήχησις (once) and ψυχροπαρήχησις (once)<sup>204</sup>.

The classical definition of παρήχησις is given by Hermogenes:<sup>205</sup> “Parechesis is the beauty [in the use] of similar words, which have different meanings but sound alike”<sup>206</sup>. He exemplifies with Xenophon’s πείθει τὸν Πειθίαν<sup>207</sup> and Homeros’ ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ Εὐπείθει πείθοντο<sup>208</sup>. It should be obvious that the historical Greek pronunciation (“pithi ton Pithian”) makes for a much better wordplay than the Erasmian pronunciation.

*Anonymi in Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam commentarium* 149 cites the parechesis in κῦνα - κοινά, where, again, the historical Greek

<sup>203</sup> See, e.g., the following examples from Gorgias, *Enkomion of Helen* 7: ἡράσθη - ἐβιάσθη - ὑβρίσθη ψυχῆς ἁμαρτήματα καὶ δόξης ἀπατήματα; 19: ἁμαρτήματα μεμπτέον - ἀτύχημα νομιστέον ...; 20: ἐρασθεῖσα - πεισθεῖσα - ἀρπασθεῖσα, for parechesis at the end of the words, and his *Παλαμήδους ἀπολογία* 19: πάντες πάντα πράττουσιν; 22: πότε, ποῦ, πῶς; 26: παρὰ σοῦ πυθέσθαι πότερον, where the parechesis lies in the beginning or with the first letter.

<sup>204</sup> Of the last two terms, which are not listed in *LSJ*, the first means “some kind of parechesis”, i.e. not quite attaining to the level of a proper parechesis, while the second one a “frigid / senseless parechesis”, cf. Ioannes Rhetor, *Scholia on Hermogenes, Περὶ ἰδεῶν*, VI. 410 κατὰψυχρον ἔστι καὶ παιδιῶδες (“it is frigid and childish”).

<sup>205</sup> Cited also by Michael Psellos, *Poimata* VII. 312 and *Rhetorica anonyma Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων*, III. 115.

<sup>206</sup> Hermogenes, *Περὶ εὐρέσεως* 4, 7: παρήχησις δὲ ἐστὶ κάλλος ὁμοίων ὀνομάτων ἐν διαφόρῳ γνώσει ταῦτὸν ἡχοῦντων. The modern understanding of παρήχησις is broader in that it requires only the repetition of one letter or syllable, as, e.g., Sophokles, *Oidipous Tyrannos* 371: ἐπεὶ τυφλὸς τὰ τ’ ὅτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ’ ὄμματ’ εἶ (“since you are blind in your ears, in your mind, and in your eyes”). TZARTZANOY, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις* II, § 295 (E) p. 285, does not distinguish between paronomasia and parechesis. For Neohellenic examples, see TZARTZANOY, *Νεοελληνικὴ Σύνταξις*, p. 285; ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Καλολογία: Αἰσθητικὴ τοῦ λόγου*, Athens, 1980<sup>4</sup>; ΛΑΣΚΑΡΗ, art. “Λογοπαίγνιον” in *MEE* XVI, 204-5 and ΤΣΟΠΑΝΑΚΗ, *Νεοελληνικὴ Γραμματικὴ*, 1998<sup>3</sup>, §749, p. 622.

<sup>207</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica* VII. 1, 41, where the reading is: Πεισίαν ... πείθει, “He persuades the Persuader”.

<sup>208</sup> Homeros, *Odyssea* XXIV. 465: “neither did they obey [i.e. were persuaded by] Persuasive”.

pronunciation as *kína* - *kiná* (Erasmian: *kúna* - *koiná*) makes clear that the two words were intended as a wordplay.

In his voluminous commentaries, Eustathios reveled in Homeros' parecheseis. He finds several types of parechesis: (a) those that exhibit identity of sound but dissimilarity in meaning and in pronunciation, such as: οὐδ' Εὐπείθει πείθοντο;<sup>207</sup> (b) those that are wholly identical in sound (very infrequent in Homeros) but different in sense and orthography, such as Homeros, *Ilias* IV. 23: ἤρει - Ἥρη ("seized ... Hera"), *Ilias* I. 274: ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον ("so you, too, listen (i.e. follow) [to my counsel], for to listen (i.e. to follow) is better") which though differently spelled have identical sound;<sup>208</sup> (c) those that are wholly identical in sound, but are different only as to spelling, being the opposite of the rhetorical parechesis, which is spelled identically, but uttered differently;<sup>209</sup> (d) those that exhibit dissimilarity in the orthography of like-sounding vowels, thus modifying the identity of sound<sup>210</sup>, such as: Σκύλλη - κοίλης ("Skylia - from the hallow [of the ship]")<sup>211</sup>, and Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησε<sup>212</sup>, and finally (e) those that are created by the transposition of one or more letters<sup>213</sup>, such as: νᾶμα - μάννα, βαλὼν - λαβὼν and μύθου - θυμοῦ (anagram)<sup>214</sup>.

In his analysis of parechesis and treatment of parechetical passages Eustathios makes clear that he is taking account of the opinions of the

<sup>207</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 192: αἱ ταῦτόν ἡχοῦσαι λέξεις διαφορὰν ἔχουσιν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴ σημασίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν.

<sup>208</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193: παντελῶς μὲν ἡχοῦσαν ταῦτόν, ἀνομοιότητα δὲ ἔχουσιν κατὰ τε τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν. See further *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193: οὐκ ὀφθήσῃ κενὸς ἐναντίον μου, ἀλλ' ἄλλον τρόπον καινός (on LXX Ex 23:15); Ἴρι - Ἥρη (*Ilias* XVIII. 182); ὄρη - ὠρη (on Theokritos, *Idyll* VII. 51, whose text, however, reads ὄρη ... ὄρει), as well as the proverb: ζεῖ χύτρα - ζῇ φιλία ("if the saucepan is on the stove the friendship is alive, too").

<sup>209</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193: ταῦτοφωνίαν ἔχον παντελῇ, διαφορὰν δὲ φέρον κατὰ μόνην γραφὴν: ὅπερ ἐστὶ διάφορον πρὸς τὴν ῥητορικὴν παρήχησιν. He does not cite any examples here, but we may think, for instance, of words spelled identically, but accented differently.

<sup>210</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193: ἐν ἀνομοιότητι γραφῆς φωνηέντων ὁμοίως τοῖς πρὸ τοῦτου καὶ τὴν ταῦτοφωνίαν δὲ πως ἄλλοι οἶ.

<sup>211</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193 (on *Odyssea* XII. 310), which lacks κοίλης. Eustathios abstracts it from ἐκ νηὸς ("out of the ship").

<sup>212</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193 (on *Odyssea* VIII. 493). Other examples include: φίλησε - φύλον and φῦναι - Φινέα.

<sup>213</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193: ὅπερ κατὰ γραμμάτων μετὰθεσιν γίνεται.

<sup>214</sup> Eustathios, *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 193.

ancients<sup>217</sup>. By this we ought to understand primarily the Alexandrian grammarians and the rhetors, but not merely these. Eustathios is thus summarizing and laying before us the long tradition in the occupation with the rhetorical aspects of texts<sup>218</sup>. It is in this broader perspective that we must view his comments. The significance of this is that these texts have not become paronomasiai and parecheseis all of a sudden in Eustathios' reading on account of the pronunciation which he is applying, but that these texts were often intended as such already by their authors and were read and heard as wordplays all along by the previous generations of Greeks<sup>219</sup>. The testimony of Eustathios, therefore, is important for the change of pronunciation in ancient times.

From the above analysis of parechesis it must have become obvious that in those cases that entail an etymological derivation, the parechesis coincides with the paronomasia<sup>220</sup>. Both of these schemata, but especially that of parechesis, are responsible for the majority of wordplays. But these will receive more specific attention below. Here I content myself with exemplifying the various types of parechesis and illustrating the phenomenon<sup>221</sup>.

The New Testament uses parechesis at many points. One of its more elegant examples is Lk 21:11: λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ("famines and plagues"), whose sound in the *HGP* is completely identical, the difference lying only

<sup>217</sup> See, for example, Eustathios, *Scholia in Homeros, Ilias* II. 292: παρήχησιν φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ ("[this] is called parechesis by the ancients"); I. 194 on parechesis in comedy, and *Scholia on Homeros, Odysseia* II. 167 (ἕτεροι προεδήλωσαν "others before me have explained").

<sup>218</sup> See the wordplay examples that AVOTINS gathered from Artemidoros' *Oneirokritikon*, in *Glotta* 55 (1977), 222-225.

<sup>219</sup> In Homeros' case, the pronunciation might not have set in in his time, though the later Greeks' reading as parechesis in the *HGP* must have guessed his intentions.

<sup>220</sup> This is recognized by Eustathios, too, see, e.g., *Scholia on Homeros, Ilias* I. 756; II. 385; III. 470; III. 503.

<sup>221</sup> Other examples of parechesis are: Eustathios, *Scholia in Homeros, Ilias* I. 191: Αἰγῶν γαῶν κύδει, II. 421: ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς, II. 452: οἰόθεν οἶος οἶοι, II. 690: κλητοὺς οἱ ἔλθωσιν ἐς κλισίην Ἀχιλλῆος, III. 193: ὁδῶναι δύνων, III. 503: δεῖδια αἰνῶς Αἰνείαν, IV. 3: εὐμελὶς ἀμέλησεν (παρήχησις ἐστὶ σῶφρων), IV. 23: φόβος - Φοῖβος, IV. 426: Δημολέοντα δάμασσε ἀνδ' Ἰπποδάμαντα δάμασσε, IV. 456: πολίης - πολεῖς, *Scholia on Odysseia* I. 20: Ὀδυσσεὺς - ὀδυσομένου, I. 123: ἀθάνατοι - θάνατον (σῶφρων παρήχησις), I. 379: βάλανον ἔβαλεν (εὐγενής παρήχησις), I. 437: Τάνταλον - τάλαντον (see Eustathios' comments), II. 73: Δουλίχιον - δούλιον, II. 248: στάθμην - σταθμόν, Eustathios, *Scholia in Dionysios Periegetes* 175: λίβα - Λιβύην, 428: ἡπειρος - ἀπειρίτος, *Anonymi scholia in Aristophanes, Frogs* 1478: τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, *Scholia in Sophocles, Aias* 551: ἐξῶμωξεν οἰμωγὰς, *Scholia in Thukydides*, I. 110: ἔλους ἐλεῖν.

in orthography and sense<sup>222</sup>. Another effective parechesis is Heb 5:8: καὶ περ ὢν υἱὸς, ἔμαθεν ἂν ὡς ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν<sup>223</sup>. Other examples include: Rm 1:29-30: φθόνου – φόνου, ἄσυνέτους – ἄσυνθέτους, as well as the type of parechesis that is dependent on the first letter of two or more words, otherwise called *alliteration*: e.g. Act 17:31: πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν; Heb 1:1: πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως<sup>224</sup>. Blaß cites Act 17:27: οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα as “Alliteration eines Spiritus asper”, but this bizarre explanation must be rejected, since aspiration had vanished long before the time of the NT<sup>225</sup>.

#### b. The *logopaignion*

There is no ancient Greek word for ‘wordplay’. Ancient Greek uses many terms, but primarily παρονομασία and παρήχησις. These terms have already been discussed at length, above. The Greek term λογοπαίγνιον is modern, having been created by Skarlatos D. Byzantios in his *French-Greek and Greek-French Dictionary*<sup>226</sup> in 1856, in order to translate the French “jeu de mots”<sup>227</sup> – although it is adumbrated already in Gorgias, the

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<sup>222</sup> BLAß, *Grammatik* § 488, 2 and ROBERTSON, *Grammar*, 1201 note the wordplay, but MARSHALL (*Luke*, 765, only points out that “λιμός ‘famine’ ... is traditionally linked with λοιμός, ‘pestilence’”) and NOLLAND (*Luke* III, 992, says “With ‘famines’ Luke pairs ‘plagues’ ... so they form a natural literary pair”) fail to notice it. The first author to make this parechesis was Hesiodos, *Works and Days* 243: μέγ’ ἐπείγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν (“the son of Kronos laid a great calamity [on men], famine and plague together”).

<sup>223</sup> MONTEFIORE, *Hebrews*, 99, calls it an “aphoristic jingle”; HUGHES, *Hebrews*, 187 f. misses it altogether, while LANE, *Hebrews*, I, 121, is aware of it.

<sup>224</sup> See further, Mt 27:9: τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου δὲν ἐτιμήσαντο; Rm 1:20: τὰ ἀόρατα ... καθορᾶται; 12:15: χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων; 2 Cor 3:2: γινωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη; 4:8: ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι;

<sup>225</sup> See Chapter Six, on the Pronunciation of Greek. As for BLACK’s (*An Aramaic Approach*, 183) alliteration by means of π in the presumed Aramaic behind Lk 15:7: χαρὰ (ἁρπῃ) ... ἐπὶ ἐνὶ (ἁρπῃ) ἁμαρτωλῷ (ἁρπῃ), it is of no consequence for the Greek text.

<sup>226</sup> Σκαρλάτου ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ, *Λεξικὸν Γαλλο-ἐλληνικὸν καὶ Ἑλληνο-γαλλικόν*, 1856.

<sup>227</sup> See Σ. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗ, *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων*, etc., s.v. λογοπαίγνιον and Γ. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικὸ τῆς νέας ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, s.v. λογοπαίγνιον.

father of rhetorical figures<sup>228</sup>. This at once implies that the wordplay is a figure of speech that is not limited to the Greek language<sup>229</sup>.

<sup>228</sup> Gorgias, *Enkomion of Helen* 11, 30: ἐβουλήθην γράψαι τὸν λόγον Ἑλένης μὲν ἐγκώμιον, ἐμὸν δὲ παίγνιον ("I decided to write the oration, for Helen as an *enkomion*, but for me as a play [of words]").

<sup>229</sup> The mixed treatment which the wordplay has received at the hands of the literati raises the question whether the wordplay is "*the soul of wit*" or "*l'esprit des sots*".

The wordplay has at all times and in all languages been regarded as a witty and charming means of spicing discourse. In Greek the first user is not, as might have been thought, Gorgias, but Homeros, according to whom, in *Odysseia* IX. 366-414, Odysseus had introduced himself to the Cyclops Polyphemos by the name of Οὔτις (= Nobody). When, following his blinding by Odysseus, Polyphemos called for help, the other Cyclopes, on hearing that 'Nobody' was attacking him, thought him out of his mind and left him to his fate.

In the Greek language the wordplay has been very popular from ancient times down to the present day. Ancient examples will be quoted further down. For the modern period I quote one or two from the examples of K. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Νεοελληνική Καλολογία*, 113-4:

Καὶ ὁ φοῦρναρης ζυμῶνει [pronounce: *zimoni*] ("both the baker *kneads*")

καὶ ἡ μοναχὴ ζῇ μόνῃ [pronounce: *zi moni*] ("and the nun *lives alone*").

Someone, on seeing a Bishop (*Dhimotiki*: Δεσπότης) drinking a little overmuch, said: Δὲς πότης μιά φορά "*See a wine-biber for once*". A third example is σὰν εἶδα τὸ κεφάλι του ("when I saw his head"), which may be heard as σανίδα τὸ κεφάλι του ("his head is a plank", i.e. wooden, stupid). Finally, a Frenchman, who wished to end his relationship with a Greek girl, sent her a postcard on which he had drawn a mouse (μῦς), two ears (ῶτα), a moon (σελήνη), and a torch (δᾶς). The consequent composition μῦς-ῶτα-σελήνη-δᾶς gave the message μισῶ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας (= "I dislike Greek women"), upon which she sent him a postcard on which she had drawn a turkey above a city. This, in Neohellenic is γάλος ἐπὶ πόλει, but was supposed to be understood as Γάλλος ἐπιπόλειος ("a fickle Frenchman"). It should be noted that the pronunciation in each one of the above examples is identical between the two sets of words constituting the wordplay.

The Romans indulged freely in wordplays. In particular, Cicero's works exhibit many examples, especially his orations against G. Verres, taking advantage of the meaning of his opponent's name: "male pig" (See LEWIS-SHORT, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. 'verris', who cites Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* IV. 2, 67, as an example of the metaphorical use). Of Caesar's many wordplays may be mentioned his comment on Vettius' cultivating the field in which he had recently buried his father: "Hoc esse vere memoriam patris colere" ("this is truly cultivating [*sc. honoring*] the memory of your father!"). Finally, a certain Faustus commenting on his sister's having two lovers simultaneously, one called P. Macula (= 'stain', 'blemish') and the other Fulvius, son of a fuller, said: 'Miror sororem meam habere maculam, cum fullonem habeat' ("I am surprised how my sister has Stain when she has Fuller").

According to de LANGE, ('Ελληνικὲς ἐπιδράσεις στὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας, 598-602) who refers to S. KRAUSS (*Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*) and D. SPERBER (*Essays on Greek and*

The question of wordplays has many different facets, such as: what constitutes the essence of a wordplay; how wordplays are created and how many types of wordplays there are; how similar the words need to be to one another in order to produce a wordplay; the role of pronunciation in the effectuation of wordplays, etc.

In an earlier study<sup>230</sup> I have investigated the question of the essence of the wordplay and the various types of wordplays, giving examples from the Hebrew OT, the LXX, the NT, and Greek literature, with particular reference to the wordplay Πέτρος-πέτρα in Mt 16:18. In this connection the interest centers more particularly on the issue of pronunciation and how wordplays can exemplify the pronunciation current at the time of the writing of the New Testament. I begin with the definition of the wordplay.

### i. Definition

The usual definition of a wordplay is that it is (a) a play on the different meanings of a word, or (b) a play on two or more words of similar sound<sup>231</sup>. As will be seen, this definition is too narrow to do justice to all the data.

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*Latin in Mishna, Talmud and Midrashic Literature*, Jerusalem 1982), a number of Greek wordplays had become current in Hebrew, presupposing knowledge of Greek.

English is not without its examples. Shakespeare's works are full of wordplays, as when (in *Hamlet* Act III Sc. 2) Polonius' statement that he had once played Julius Caesar: "I was killed in the *Capitol*; *Brutus* killed me", elicits from Hamlet the remark: "a *brute* part of him to kill so *capital* a calf there". Someone called Desiderius Erasmus "Errans mus" (= "wandering mouse"), while a critic of Sigmund Freud called him "Dr Fraud" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 1965, Vol. IX, 259).

The wordplay has been popular also among the French, as is witnessed by Molière, Dupin the Elder, Talleyrand, and others. One example, by Dupin, is the following: Irritated by the constant requesting of the floor by Parliament member Pétou, Dupin said: "Il faut que toujours Monsieur Pétou (pète ou) parle)" (= "Mr Petou constantly requests the floor" but it could also be understood as "the gentleman constantly has either to break wind or talk").

But the wordplay has had its opponents as well. Victor Hugo called the wordplay "la fiente de l'esprit qui vole" ("the droppings of wit that fly around"), the poet Delille composed a brief poem to ridicule it, dubbing it "l'esprit des sots" ("the wit of fools"), while Voltaire wanted to banish it from the saloons of the literati of his time (see *MEE*, s.v. 'λογοπαιγνιον', Vol. XVI, p. 204-5).

<sup>230</sup> C. C. CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 1990, see Ch. Five: "The Word-Play", pp. 44-57.

<sup>231</sup> E.g. *Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* defines 'wordplay' as: "a verbal wit based on the peculiarities of words and esp. on the various meanings expressed by a single word or by two or more words of like sound". See further *Encyclopaedia Britannica* IX. 259; SHIPLEY, *Dictionary of*

In his study of OT wordplays, Schmidt<sup>232</sup> gives the following definition: "1. Die Wörter sind laut- und bedeutungsverwand", and "2. sie sind lautverwand aber bedeutungsfremd"<sup>233</sup>. Schmidt makes a further differentiation between the 'Wortspiel' and the 'Klangspiel', which "besteht in der lautlichen Beziehung zweier oder mehrerer Wörter", which have no "inhaltliche Beziehung". He also marks 'Klangspiel' out from synonyms, "die nur eine inhaltliche Beziehung der Wörter kennt"<sup>234</sup>.

Schmidt's narrow definition would unnecessarily exclude such wordplays as are based on *parechesis*. It is applicable especially to the type of wordplays, according to which Hebrew proper names are explained by what Schmidt calls "Volksetymologie". Defining wordplays so narrowly or seeing in this the main function of a wordplay is quite inadequate in the face of the present data. Of the examples Schmidt presents, most are simply popular etymological or aetiological explanations of Hebrew names<sup>235</sup>. Such 'wordplays' occur richly also within the Greek sphere<sup>236</sup>.

In 1990, I gave the wordplay the following definition:<sup>237</sup>

The core of a wordplay or pun is a fine point, not infrequently humorous or ironical, which is over and above the individual or combined significance of the

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*Literary Terms*, s.v. 'paronomasia'; *LSJ*, s.v. 'παρονομασία'; LEWIS-SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. 'agnominatio' (which they equate with paronomasia); ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, s.v. 'λογοπαίγνιον' (V, p. 4367) and 'παρονομασία' (VII, p. 5562); also NORDEN, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, Vol. I, 23-9. For more nuanced definitions see ΛΑΣΚΑΡΗ, 'λογοπαίγνιον' in *MEE* XVI, p. 204-5 and Δ. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ, 'Παροιμίες - Γνωμικά / Αποφθέγματα - Αινίγματα - Ανέκδοτα - Λογοπαίγνια' in *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας* (ed. Α. Φ. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗ), esp. pp. 1004-5.

<sup>232</sup> SCHMIDT, "Das Wortspiel im Alten Testament" *BZ* 24 (1938/9) 1-17.

<sup>233</sup> SCHMIDT, *BZ* 24 (1938/9), 1.

<sup>234</sup> SCHMIDT, *BZ* 24 (1938/9), 1. SCHMIDT's distinction is met in *BDR* § 488, according to which "Paronomasie (παρονομασία) nennt man die Wiederkehr desselben Wortes oder Wortstammes in geringer Entfernung", while "Parechese (παρήχησις), dh lautlicher Anklang verschiedener Wörter". Such a narrow definition would have been rejected by WINER, *Grammar of the Idiom of the NT* 636, as it is also by ROBERTSON, *Grammar* 1201; TURNER, *Style* 117, *LSJ* s.v. 'παρονομασία', as well as ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν* s.v. παρήχησις (VII, 5547) and παρονομασία (VII, 5562), for which παρονομασία need not have the same stem, and corresponds partly to παρήχησις. On *paronomasia* and *parechesis*, see the detailed discussions above, under "5. Rhetorical Effects".

<sup>235</sup> SCHMIDT, *BZ* 24 (1938/9), *passim*, and CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 46, n. 10.

<sup>236</sup> See, e.g., the examples presented by Anne THOMPSON, "Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐλληνικὰ κύρια ὀνόματα" in *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας* (ed. Α. Φ. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗΣ), p. 509-10. One may also think here of Platon's hilarious etymologies in his *Kratylos*.

<sup>237</sup> CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 46 f.

words used, and which is effected by the juxtaposition of the words constituting the wordplay<sup>238</sup>. This fine point is made possible by the two indispensable *foci* of the wordplay: the *similarity* and the *dissimilarity* of the words used<sup>239</sup>. The dissimilarity must always be one of meaning or specific reference<sup>240</sup>. The similarity, which is essential for the bringing together of the two (or more) words of the wordplay, must be of different kinds. It may be 1. one of sound *and* general sense (but *not* of identical meaning or specific reference!) if (a) the wordplay is based on the same word<sup>241</sup>, or (b) on words deriving from the same stem, i.e. a case of *paronomasia* or *anominatio*; 2. one of sound only if the wordplay constitutes an instance of *parechesis*, *synechesis*, *assonance*, *alliteration*, or *oxymoron*; and 3. as will be suggested here, one of idea only, if the wordplay is based on unrelated but synonymous words, or words which somehow can be or are conventionally related together. Thus, it is obvious that a wordplay is inconceivable when the same word is used twice with the same meaning.

As I do not see any reason to abandon or to modify the above definition, I assume it in the present investigation.

The various types of wordplays have been adequately discussed and amply documented in the above-mentioned work<sup>242</sup>. The present discussion will concentrate on the pungency, i.e. that which makes a *logopaignion* what it is as well as on the issue of pronunciation in the effectuation of the *logopaignion*.

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<sup>238</sup> Cf. POPE, *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*: "Paronomasia is a play on words of similar sound, a pun, where a word like the tongue of jackdaw, speaks twice as much by being split".

<sup>239</sup> The mere existence of similarity and dissimilarity between two (or more) words does not automatically constitute a wordplay. The collocation of the words within the sentence must be such as to suggest that the two words are intentionally juxtaposed and that a fine point is intended.

<sup>240</sup> Thus, the use of the same word with the same meaning in Diogenes Laertios VI. 44 is still a viable wordplay, because the referents are different. Commenting on the sending of a message by Alexander to his regent Antipatros through a messenger whose name was Athlios (= 'wretched'), Diogenes the Cynic, playing on the meaning of the messenger's name, called all partners involved wretched, thus: ἄθλιος παρ' ἄθλιου δι' ἄθλιου πρὸς ἄθλιον ("Wretched, son of Wretched through Wretched to Wretched", meaning "Alexander, son of Philip, through Athlios to Antipatros").

<sup>241</sup> There is also the rarer case of wordplays involving the same word with two entirely different meanings, which really amounts to two different words spelled identically.

<sup>242</sup> Hence, the reader is referred to CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock* for aspects not treated in this connection.



ii. Pungency and pronunciation in various types of *logopaignia*

For type 1, “sound and general sense”, in which the wordplay is based on the same word (a), may be cited Lk 9:60: ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς. Here νεκρούς occurs once in a metaphorical sense of persons spiritually dead and once in its usual, concrete sense of those physically dead. Another fine wordplay of this type occurs in Diogenes Laertios VI. 51, according to which, once on seeing two centaurs drawn hideously (κάκιστα ἐζωγραφημένους), Diogenes the Cynic said: πότερος τούτων Χείρων ἐστί;<sup>243</sup> The *logopaignion* here turns on the two meanings of the word χείρων: once as the comparative of the adjective κακός, giving the sense: “Which of them is [drawn] worse?” and once as the name of the well-known centaur, Achilles’ instructor, giving the sense: “Which of them is Cheiron?”<sup>244</sup> Of similar nature is the wordplay in Dion Chrysostomos, *Oration VIII. Περὶ Ἀρετῆς*, 28, in which he plays not only on the similarity of derivation and sound but also partly on the meaning between the two words ἄθλος (Herakles’ twelve labors, or feats) and ἄθλιος (‘wretched’, i.e. one reduced to performing labors): τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα πονοῦντα μὲν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενον ἠλέουν, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀθλιώτατον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄθλους ἐκάλουν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς τὸν ἐπίπονον βίον ἄθλιον ὄντα (“They felt pity for Herakles because he toiled and struggled, and they called him the most wretched of men; for this reason they called his labors or tasks (feats) troubles, because a laborious life is wretched”).

For 1. b, *logopaignia* based on words deriving from the same stem, the following examples may be given: 1 Cor 3:17: εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Θεός is based on sound similarity and general sense. It should be pointed out here that the Erasmian pronunciation of

<sup>243</sup> In illustrating the enigma, the grammarian Tryphon, *Περὶ τρόπων*, 193, 18-19 refers to the centaur Cheiron by another comparative adjective, ἥσσων: Ἦσσων ἀλγίστας παῖδα τὸν τῆς δὲ περιβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχητον τὴν φύσιν ἐποίησεν. ἐκ Θετίδος ἀνέθρεψε, and explains: ἡσσων δὲ ὁ χείρων ... (“The Worse [i.e. ἡσσων = Cheiron] worked hard in educating Thetis’ son [i.e. Achilles]”).

<sup>244</sup> An excellent *logopaignion* is Diogenes Laertios VI. 68, according to which, speaking to the doctor Didymon, infamous for his adulteries, who was treating the eye of a girl, Diogenes the Cynic said: “ὄρα ... μὴ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς παρθένου θεραπεύων τὴν κόρην φθείρης”. Playing on the double meaning of κόρη as “girl” and “pupil [of the eye]” and of φθείρω as ‘destroy’ and ‘corrupt’, Diogenes seems to say: “Beware, lest while curing the virgin’s eye you destroy her pupil”, but he actually means “Beware, lest while curing the virgin’s eye you corrupt the girl herself”. Cf. Ps-Longinos, *Περὶ Ὑγρῶν*, 4, 5: ὁ τίς ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κόρας, μὴ πόρνas ἔχων; (“who would have done this if in his eyes he had pupils rather than whoredom?”), the play being on the similarity of vowel sounds.

φθεῖρει-φθερεῖ (*phthe-i-re-i-phthere-i*) makes it as much of a wordplay as the Historical Greek Pronunciation (*phthiri-phtheri*). However, in Heb 3:13: παρακαλεῖτε ἑαυτοὺς ... ἄχρι οὗ τὸ Σήμερον καλεῖται, the Historical Greek Pronunciation, which would pronounce the differently spelled verbs identically (i.e. *para*)*kalite-kalite* makes the wordplay unmistakable<sup>245</sup>.

The second category, “2. wordplays exhibiting only similarity of sound” is of special interest, inasmuch as there is no etymological connection here, but a parechetical one. The examples for this type are many. A very effective example of this is Chrysostomos’ wordplay (Χοίρους) χοίρων - χείρους (“swine and worse than swine”), see below. On being asked at what time one ought to eat, Diogenes the Cynic replied: εἰ μὲν πλούσιος, ὅταν θέλῃ· εἰ δὲ πτωχός, ὅταν ἔχῃ (“if one is rich, whenever he wishes; if one is poor, whenever he has”)<sup>246</sup>. This wordplay is based on the parechesis of the vowels of the words θέλῃ and ἔχῃ. The same may be said of the proverbial ὁ παθὼς γίνεται μαθὼς (“he who suffers (experiences) learns” or more neatly “one learns through experience (suffering)”) <sup>247</sup>. With this may be compared the Neohellenic form πάθος - μάθος, as well as the similarly constituted wordplay in Heb 5:8: ἔμαθεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἔπαθεν<sup>248</sup>. Parechesis is also at work in Diogenes Laertios VI. 3, where, to the question of what kind of woman one should marry, Antisthenes answered: ἂν μὲν καλὴν, ἔξεις κοινὴν, ἂν δὲ αἰσχράν, ἔξεις ποινὴν (“if she is beautiful, you will have to share her, if she is ugly, you will pay for it”), the play being based on the parechesis of the words κοινὴν and ποινὴν<sup>249</sup>. A most effective wordplay is related by Diogenes Laertios at VI. 52: Catching a thief stealing in a public bath, Diogenes the Cynic said to him: ἐπ’ ἀλειμμάτων ἢ ἐπ’ ἄλλ’ ἱμάτιον; In the *HGP* the two parts of the wordplay sound exactly identically. Diogenes thus was saying: “Do you steal for a little un-

<sup>245</sup> This is not as obvious in the Erasmian *parakaleite-kaleitai*. Similar are 2 Cor 4:8: ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι; Phil 3:2 f.: κατατομήν - περιτομή; Act 8:30: ἄρα γε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις; and Diogenes Laertios VI. 24: according to which Diogenes the Cynic called τὴν δὲ Πλάτωνος διατριβὴν κατατριβὴν.

<sup>246</sup> Diogenes Laertios VI. 40. Cf. the similar saying attributed to Bion, *Fr.* 80: Βίων ἐρωτηθεὶς ‘Πότε χρὴ ἀριστᾶν’ ἔφη· Τοὺς μὲν πλουσιῶς, ὅταν θέλωσι, τοὺς δὲ πένητας, ὅταν ἔχωσι (“Being asked once, ‘What is the right time for one’s dinner?’, he replied: ‘for the rich, whenever they want, for the poor, whenever they have’”).

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Δ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Μέγα Λεξικόν*, s.v. μαθός. See also Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 177: πάθει μάθος; and Philon, *On Flight and Finding* 138: ἔμαθον μὲν ὃ ἔπαθον.

<sup>248</sup> That in the last case even some of the consonants (i.e. θ and ς in e.g. παθός - μάθος) are identical makes the similarity of sound even clearer.

<sup>249</sup> A similar saying, in reverse order, is attributed to Bion (Diogenes Laertios IV. 48): ἐὰν μὲν γήμης αἰσχράν, ἔξεις ποινὴν· ἐὰν δὲ καλὴν, ἔξεις κοινὴν.

guent (ἀλειμμάτιον), or for a new garment (ἄλλ' ἱμάτιον);” It is obvious that the beauty of this *logopaignion* comes through only in the historical Greek pronunciation<sup>250</sup>. In his *Περὶ Στεφάνου*, 121, Demosthenes makes a very powerful wordplay by connecting the name of his opponent, Αἰσχίνη, with αἰσχύνη (‘shame’), which he ought to feel but which he unfortunately does not: Ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνῃ; ... οὐδ’ αἰσχύνει φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγων; (“Do you hear Aischines ... are you not ashamed to bring in a lawsuit based on malice?”). Once again Demosthenes could not have employed this wordplay unless he pronounced the ι and the υ in the *HGP*. In this connection the *logopaignion* in Susanna 54 ff. should not go unnoticed. The elder who witnessed that he had come upon Susanna and her lover, while they were under a σχῖνον (‘mastic’), received from Daniel the verdict: ἄγγελος Θεοῦ ... σχίσει σε μέσον (“the angel of God ... will cleave you asunder”), while the elder who insisted that he had seen them under a πρῖνον (‘holly’), received the sentence: μέλει γὰρ ἄγγελος Θεοῦ ... πρίσαι σε μέσον (“the angel of God ... will saw you asunder”). In this case the *logopaignion* is based neither on etymology nor on similarity in meaning, but on a partial similarity of sound: σχῖ(νον) - σχί(σει) and πρῖ(νον) - πρί(σαι)<sup>251</sup>. For the Greek ear, accustomed to the natural sounds of the language and alive to the possible connections both semantic and phonological, this is an effective example of a wordplay.

The third category, 3. wordplays based on idea, is illustrated by Jdg 14:18: εἰ μὴ κατεδαμάσατε τὴν δάμαλιν μου οὐκ ἂν εὗρητε τὸ πρόβλημά μου (“if you had not ploughed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle”). The LXX translator, picking up the *logopaignion* of the Hebrew original<sup>252</sup>, which presupposed a young cow ploughing, translated improperly the Hebrew word for ‘plough’ (עָרַב) by καταδαμάζω (strictly = ‘to tame’) in order that through the phonemes δαμα he might create a pare-

<sup>250</sup> Another wordplay of this category is Diogenes Laertius VI. 3. When a boy from Pontus asked the philosopher Antisthenes, what equipment he needed to start his philosophical training, the master replied: βιβλιαρίου καινοῦ καὶ γραφείου καινοῦ καὶ πινακιδίου καινοῦ (“a new book, and a new pen and a new tablet”, but actually meaning “a book and mind, and a pen and mind, and a tablet and mind” [καὶ νοῦ]). Cf. further Athanas (IV B.C.) Frg. 1. 3: ὃς τὴν μὲν παρθένον ἐκάλει μένανδρον, ὅτι μένει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸν στῦλον μενεκράτην, ὅτι μένει καὶ κρατεῖ (“who called the virgin μένανδρον because she *awaits* the *man*, and the pillar μενεκράτην because it *stays* and *holds up* [i.e. the roof]”).

<sup>251</sup> For the similar wordplays in the Cynic Teles 31: κρυφθεῖς - ριφθεῖς, (“be covered [by earth] - be thrown out”) and Chrysostomos, *Περὶ παρθενείας* 26, 12-14: παρθενείας ὕψος - πορνείας βάραθρον (“height of virginity - the pit of fornication”) see below.

<sup>252</sup> On which see the discussion in CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 50 f.

chesis with δάμαλιν ('a young cow'). The verb καταδαμάζω is used improperly and metaphorically of her (unwilling) cooperation with the Philistines in the discovery of Samson's riddle, as though she had been yoked as an ox in order to plough.

The lack of sound similarity in wordplays is exemplified by the passage just preceding. Jdg 14:14 (Codex B) translates: τί βρωτόν ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ βιβρώσκοντος, καὶ ἀπὸ ἰσχυροῦ γλυκύ; The play between βρωτόν and βιβρώσκοντος, conveyed by sound and general sense, is crystal clear. Codex A, however, reads: ἐκ τοῦ ἔσθοντος ἐξῆλθεν βρώσις, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἐξῆλθεν γλυκύ. It might be thought here that the words ἔσθοντος and βρώσις do not connect easily and that there is no wordplay intended, but that would be a mistake. The general idea behind the two words is sufficient to connect them, and no one with feeling for Greek would ever miss the pun<sup>251</sup>.

A striking example of this occurs in Aristoteles, *Rhetorike Technē* III. 4, 2 [1407]: ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεὶ μοι εἶπεν (ἦλθεν γὰρ Κλέων δεόμενός τε καὶ ἀξιῶν) ἐπορευόμην παραλαβὼν αὐτούς ('As for me, since he had told me – for Kleon came begging me and praying – I started out taking them with me'). The name Κλέων (< κλέος, 'glory', 'praise', 'fame') is in no way connected with the participles δεόμενος and ἀξιῶν. Nevertheless, his presentation as one 'begging' and 'praying' hints that Κλέων is understood as Κλαίων ('Weeper', 'weeping'). The pronunciation current in Aristoteles' time would have read both of these 'names' identically. However, the play is not simply conveyed by the similarity in sound between Κλέων and Κλαίων, inasmuch as Κλέων would not have suggested the meaning of Κλαίων, if the participles had been absent. Thus, in addition to the play based on the similarity in sound between Κλέων and Κλαίων, the *logopaignion* here is also based on the ideas that connect a person's name with his behavior. The matter will be better perceived if expressed in a

<sup>251</sup> Other examples are: Diogenes Laertios VI. 50, who relates that on seeing a vagabond in an inn eating olives, Diogenes the Cynic said to him: εἰ οὕτως ἡρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐδείπνεις ('if you had breakfasted in this way, you would not need to dine in this fashion'). Here, too, there is no similarity in sound, but the general sense of the two words connects them together to make up a biting wordplay. An elegant wordplay occurs in Diogenes Laertios VI. 49 with Diogenes the Cynic as the author: ἰδὼν ποτ' Ὀλυμπιονίκην πρόβατα νέμοντα, "ταχέως", εἶπεν, "ὦ βέλτιστε, μετέβης ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐπὶ τὰ Νέμεα" ("Once seeing an Olympic champion shepherding (νέμοντα < νέμω) sheep, he said, 'How soon, my dear man, you passed over from the Olympian [Games] to the Nemean [Games]'", the play hinging on the similarity in sound between νέμοντα and Νέμεα, and having the biting sting that you, who, as an Olympic champion, ought to live in honor and affluence, have been reduced to a poor shepherd).

form such as this: ἦλθεν Κλέων ὀδυρόμενος, or if Κλαίων had been a current name: ἦλθεν Κλαίων ὀδυρόμενος! Whoever, with Greek as his mother tongue, would have missed this wordplay?

Similar is the wordplay created by U. Wilamowitz von Möllendorff<sup>254</sup>, who answering in Greek the congratulatory letter received on his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday from the Society of Greek Studies in London, uses the phrase διὰ τὸ βραδὺ τῶν ταχυδρόμων λεγομένων ("on account of the slowness of the so-called fast-runners", the Greek word for 'postmen'), the play hinging on the words βραδύ-ταχύ, words which are etymologically different, but whose contrasting meanings connect them together. The philosopher Plotinos suggested to his famous Tyrian disciple to change his Semitic name, Malchos ('king'), to a Greek one as was fitting a philosopher; upon which the latter adopted the name Porphyrios ('of purple', 'royal'). In the bibliography of texts of the present volume, I used an edition of Ioan. Chortasmenos [= 'satisfied'] by H. Hunger. No Greek would miss the pun that the Hungry One published the work of the Sated One!<sup>255</sup> In Rm 2:28-29 the play of words turns on the common meanings between Ἰουδαῖος (Hebrew: 'praise') and ἔπαινος ('praise')<sup>256</sup>.

The above instances have exemplified the various types of wordplay that occur in Greek literature. It has also become clear that many of them owe their status as wordplays to the historical Greek pronunciation. That is, if the diphthongs were pronounced in diaeresis, the sound similarity that connected the main words would have failed, and the wordplay would have been missed. For example, Diogenes the Cynic's words (discussed above) ἐπαλειμμάτων and ἐπ' ἄλλ' ἰμάτων would, in the Erasmian pronunciation, have been pronounced as *epalleimmaton* and *ep all himation* respectively. There is certainly similarity. But when we recall that already in pre-Christian times (a) the gemination of consonants was not heard in pronunciation, (b) the aspiration had died out and (c) the diphthong εἰ was pronounced as ι, we perceive that the current pronunciation would have read both phrases identically as *epallimation*.

<sup>254</sup> The text of WILAMOWITZ's letter is given in J. KALITSOUNAKIS' obituary on WILAMOWITZ in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 44 (1932), 225-256, p. 248.

<sup>255</sup> For more puns of this type, see A. ΠΑΠΑΔΙΑΜΑΝΤΗΣ *Αὐτοβιογραφούμενος*, pp. 243-245.

<sup>256</sup> See the more extensive discussion in CARAGOUNIS, *Peter and the Rock*, 55 f. Similar to this is the wordplay in K. BARTH's letter to O. CULLMANN, who at the time was in Rome: "Has the *Spiegel* affair been 'mirrored' in Rome too?" – without doubt an excellent wordplay based on the meaning of the German magazine *Der Spiegel* ('The Mirror') and the English verb 'to mirror' (in *Karl Barth: Letters 1961-1968*, eds. J. FANGMEIER–H. STOEVE SANDT, tr. by G. W. BROMILEY, p. 75).

In what follows, the current pronunciation of the various diphthongs, which made possible the formation of *logopaignia*, will be exemplified by means of a few relevant examples.

The coincidence in pronunciation of *οι* and *ι* will be exemplified by Lk 21:11: ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί, in which the two words had received identical sound: *limi*.

The pronunciation of *αι* as *ε* may be illustrated by Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος 5: μέλλοντος Συμεῶνος τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος μεθίστασθαι τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ("Symeon the deceiver was about to depart from this life"). The *logopaignion* is based on the parechesis among (Συ)εῶνος-αἰῶνος-(ἀπατ)εῶνος, in which all three elements are pronounced identically as *-eonos*. Further, there is a beautiful symmetry in that the three words of the wordplay do not follow directly on each other, but occur at intervals, being separated in each case by two interposed words. This gives the wordplay the added effect of rhyme.

The pronunciation of *υ* as *ι* can be illustrated by Teles, *Peri Phyges* 31,1: εἰ δὲ μὴ κρυφθῇς, ἀλλὰ ἄταφος ρίφθῇς, τί τὸ δυσχερές; ("but if you are not covered (by earth), but are thrown out without burial, what's the problem?") where, apart from *κ*, both words were sounded like: *riphthiis*.

The similarity of *ει* with *ι* has been illustrated above. Here one further example may be cited: Chrysostomos, *Peri Parthenias* 26, 12 f.: Φοβῶμαι σε, θησίν, εἰς τὸ τῆς παρθενίας ὕψος ἀναγαγεῖν μὴ καταπέσης εἰς τὸ τῆς πορνείας βάραθρον. ("I fear", he says, "to take you up to the height of virginity lest you fall into the pit of fornication")<sup>257</sup>. The similarity between the *ι* of *παρθενίας* and the *ει* of *πορνείας* makes one half of the words sound alike.

On the similarity in sound between *οι* and *ει* is built the following wordplay: Chrysostomos on Mt 17:10-21:<sup>258</sup> Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐργάζεται κακὸν ἢ τρυφή; χοίρους ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ, καὶ χοίρων χεῖρους ("What evil is not committed by pleasure? It makes swine of men, and worse than swine"). The wordplay is based especially on the last two words: *χοίρων χεῖρους*. The Erasmian pronunciation as (*cho-i-rous*) *cho-i-r-on che-i-rous* (according to which only the consonants *χ* and *ρ* are common) spoils the

<sup>257</sup> See Further Chrysostomos, *Peri Parthenias* 8. In 14: αἱ τὸν γάμον ὡς ἐναγὲς φεύγουσαι αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ τῷ φεύγειν πάντων γεγόνατε ἐναγέστεραι, παρθενίαν εὐροῦσαι πορνείας μιαιωτέραν ("you who flee marriage as something unclean, in your flight you have become the most unclean of all, having discovered a virginity that is more unclean than fornication itself").

<sup>258</sup> Chrysostomos, *Katὰ Ματθαῖον* 17:10-21 (*Homily* 57, *MPG* 58, 564, lines 5-7).

wordplay, which is so effectively presented by the historical pronunciation: (*chirous*) *chiron*–*chirous*<sup>259</sup>.

Finally, the similarity between *υ* and *η* is exemplified by Gorgias, *Helens enkomion* 11, 30: Θεοῦ γὰρ προθυμίαν ἀνθρωπίνῃ προμηθείᾳ ἀδύνατον κωλύειν ("It is impossible to hinder divine will by human forethought"). Here, we see that the historical Greek pronunciation which sounds *υ* and *η* alike, makes the vowel sounds of the two words identical, the only difference being the metathesis of a consonant, i.e. *θ* and *μ* have changed places.

## VI. Conclusions

This chapter has been concerned with the acoustic dimension in communication. How the language sounded was shown to be important for the correct comprehension of the message. This was particularly important in an age when, partly because books were relatively rare, partly because not everyone could afford them, and partly because of the Greeks' past acoustic tradition, people were very much oriented to orality.

Both the NT and the early Church give ample evidence that the communications between Christian authors and churches or between church and church, though written, were delivered orally. People heard the message read out to them. Such a situation immediately raises the issue of pronunciation: how did the message sound? For it is impossible to strictly separate the content of a message from its acoustic properties. A message charged with hostile content is both uttered and heard very differently from a message characterized by amity and friendliness.

We need to remember also that the Greeks attached considerable importance to form. They aimed at achieving a concise, pleasant, and delightful communication, avoiding whatever might spoil the communication or render it ineffective. Dionysios Hal., for example, shows the great attention paid to details to make discourse graceful; the choices went all the way down to the minute selection of syllables and even letters with a view to sound. Now, if syllables and letters were that important for giving the communication the desired effect, i.e. the acoustic effect intended by the author or speaker, the issue of how the message sounded and hence the question of pronunciation must have been of great consequence. This, immediately, underscores the role of acoustics in the process of communi-

<sup>259</sup> For the mistaken attribution of this saying to Ariston of Chios, see Δ. Α., ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΔΗΣ, "Ἀρίστων ὁ Χίος καὶ Gnomologium Neapolitanum", *Ἑλληνικά* 51 (2001), 412-414.

cation, and shows that the question of pronunciation is not an academic issue, or a matter of indifference, but one of crucial importance for the precise understanding of any discourse, and hence of the NT as well.

The importance of acoustics has been exemplified in this chapter by the application of some of Dionysios' principles to Paul's literary choices. The perspective here was very broad, and concerned the acoustic dimension in general as a factor in communication. It was shown that Paul, too, was concerned with producing a communication that shared in pleasant and delightful characteristics, or to put it another way, Paul, in spite of his greater emphasis on content than form, tried, wherever it was possible, to formulate his discourse in a way that exhibited acoustic concerns.

Next, I considered the rhetorical situation. The examination of 'diatribe', which in the past has been regarded almost axiomatic for the rhetorical formulations of Paul, was shown to be a modern construct absent from the ancient context. Nevertheless, a number of features that have traditionally been explained as characteristic of 'diatribe' occur in Paul. These, though not to be subsumed under the imagined but unreal genre of 'diatribe', are, nevertheless, concerned with various rhetorical aspects, such as the use of the Thou-form of address, parallelism, etc.

The examination of these rhetorical figures indicates that Paul made considerable efforts to impress the ear, heart, and mind of his audience. He wrote in order to be read and heard, and in all such activity the question of the actual sound of his words, i.e. the issue of pronunciation, played an important role.

Finally, the investigation is concluded with the important issue of wordplays. Ancient Greek did not have a specific word corresponding to the modern term 'wordplay'. Instead, authors used a variety of words, the most important of which were *paronomasia* and *parechesis*. These are analyzed and discussed at some length before the question of wordplays in stricter sense under its modern designation, *logopaignion*, is taken up. Here different types of wordplays are offered from Greek literature and the New Testament.

Although the issue of the historical pronunciation is illustrated in all the various sections of this chapter, in the nature of the case, the clearest of them is the last section on wordplays. Here it is clearly shown that the Greek pronunciation comes through in a number of wordplays that would, otherwise, have been missed. The examples are plentiful and they occur in the discussions of *paronomasia*, *parechesis*, and *logopaignion*. Actually, the examples of wordplays are many more, but because the Erasmian pronunciation is for most letters identical with the historical Greek pronunciation, a number of wordplays are equally or almost equally acceptable as in the



historical Greek pronunciation. This fact tends somewhat to obscure the great value of the historical Greek pronunciation, which nevertheless is vindicated clearly and sufficiently in this chapter. In short, this chapter shows the relevance of the historical Greek pronunciation for a better understanding and a deeper appreciation of the New Testament.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# The Impact of the Historical Greek Pronunciation on the Transmission of the New Testament Text

### I. The Quest for Method, Principles, and Criteria

During the past few decades there has been an intensive debate among textual critics about method, principles, and criteria. It appears that what a generation ago were considered settled matters and presuppositions to be taken for granted in all text-critical work today are questioned from their very foundations. Even the 26<sup>th</sup> edition of the Nestle–Aland (NA) text, which in its first launching in 1979 was hailed as offering a text that was virtually the original, is today – along with the revised 27<sup>th</sup> ed. – regarded as only a step towards the definitive edition. Thus, while K. Aland in 1981 exulted that “A hundred years after Westcott–Hort, the goal of an edition of the New Testament ‘in the original Greek’ seems to have been reached”<sup>1</sup>, in the preface to the fourth edition (1996) he writes: “this text is a working text ... it is not to be considered as definitive, but as a stimulus to further efforts towards defining and verifying the text of the New Testament”<sup>2</sup>.

During the past decade textual critics have put on the table of discussion almost every conceivable item that has a bearing on MSS, text-types, classification of MSS, methodology, terminology, principles, criteria to establish the ‘original’ text, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Westcott–Hort’s New Testament “in the original Greek”, as it was optimistically called, had applied the *genealogical method*, whose chief aim

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<sup>1</sup> K. ALAND, “Der neue ‘Standard Text’” in EPP and FEE (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism*, 274 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 45. At the conclusion of an essay dealing with *i.a.* method and criteria (“Decision Points” in EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 44), EPP says “Despite confident claims to the contrary, however, we have not yet reached the point of ... identifying ... any critical text with that elusive ‘original’”.

<sup>3</sup> Two notable volumes are the text-critical symposia *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Criticism*, edited by E. J. EPP and G. D. FEE (SD 45, 1993), and *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, edited by B. D. EHRMAN and M. W. HOLMES (SD 46, 1995).

was to get rid of the Byzantine MSS. Its constant dependence on the combination of  $\aleph$  and B has become almost proverbial. The weaknesses of this method have become evident today, and it has been overtly abandoned<sup>4</sup>. Thus, Aland can write "the age of Westcott–Hort ... is definitely over"<sup>5</sup>.

Following the rejection of the genealogical method, several methods entered the stage. One of these approaches has been termed the *historical-documentary* or *historical-genealogical method*, which seeks to trace through the available MSS lines of tradition to the most original reading it can attain<sup>6</sup>.

Kilpatrick propounded an *eclectic method*<sup>7</sup>, which came to be called *rigorous eclecticism*<sup>8</sup>. In the hands of Elliott, this assumed the name of *thoroughgoing* (or *radical*) *eclecticism*<sup>9</sup>, although in his latest publication he seems to prefer the appellation "Rational eclecticism"<sup>10</sup>. Here, "The cult of the best manuscripts gives way to the cult of the best reading"<sup>11</sup>. Thus, the selected variant may come from any text-type. The method lays special

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FEE, "Textual Criticism in the NT", in EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 15. However, one scholar, SILVA, "Response" in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 142, calls himself "an unrepentant and unshaken Hortian".

<sup>5</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26<sup>th</sup> ed. p. 43. See also EPP, "Continuing Interlude", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 114.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. COLWELL, *Studies in Methodology*, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., KILPATRICK, "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts" *JTS* 44 (1943), 24-36, reprinted in KILPATRICK, *Principles and Practice*, 113-27, throughout which he speaks of the "eclectic method", concluding that "the textual criteria require a rigorous eclecticism"; *id.*, "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts" in BIRDSALL and THOMPSON (eds.), *Biblical and Patristic Studies*, 1963, rp. in KILPATRICK, *Principles and Practice*, 358-69; and for an application of it KILPATRICK, "Some Problems in the NT Text and Language" in ELLIS and WILCOX, *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, 198-208, esp. 208 (= KILPATRICK, *Principles and Practice*, 229-40). See further the many essays by KILPATRICK edited by J. K. ELLIOTT in the volume *The Principles and Practice of NT Textual Criticism*, as well as KILPATRICK's bibliography in pp. xxiii-xxxvi. Thus, for KILPATRICK "the outright condemnation of the Byzantine text by WESTCOTT and HORT was one of the main errors in practice of their work" (KILPATRICK, *Principles and Practice*, 369).

<sup>8</sup> FEE, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism – Which?" in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 124 f.". Cf. KILPATRICK, "Western Text and Original Text" in *JTS* 44 (1943), 24-36, reprinted in KILPATRICK, *Principles and Practice*, 113-27: "the textual criteria require a rigorous eclecticism".

<sup>9</sup> See EPP, "Decision Points", in EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 34 f. and especially ELLIOTT, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 321-35, esp. 321.

<sup>10</sup> ELLIOTT, "The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 103.

<sup>11</sup> ELLIOTT, "Rational Criticism", *Theology*, 77, 340 as quoted by EPP, "Decision Points", in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 35.

emphasis on internal considerations, choosing the variant that best fits the exigencies of the case, without regard to the 'quality' or number of MSS supporting it. It therefore rejects the criteria of age and geographical spread, the *in toto* superiority of the Alexandrian witnesses over other MSS<sup>12</sup>, and asks, instead, questions such as "Which reading best accounts for the rise of the other variants?"<sup>13</sup> In his most recent discussion (known to me) Dr Elliott reiterates his position, while at the same time he tries to indicate both how close to the other schools of textual criticism this method is as well as to show that recent commentators whether consciously or unconsciously make use of his eclectic method<sup>14</sup>.

If rigorous or thoroughgoing eclecticism abandoned external criteria, laying its emphasis on internal ones, the approach most widespread today, the *eclectic method* or *reasoned eclecticism*, tries to hold together both kinds of criteria. In the words of Epp, "In this method it is recognized that no single criterion or invariable combination of criteria will resolve all cases of textual variation, and it attempts, therefore, to apply evenly and without prejudice any and all criteria – external and internal – appropriate to a given case"<sup>15</sup>. The *NA*<sup>26</sup> and *GNT*<sup>3</sup> were produced on the basis of this method. Despite the name claimed for it – eclectic or reasoned eclecticism<sup>16</sup> – this method has much more in common with Westcott–Hort's genealogical method than is apparent, and the Alands, who actually reject the name *eclecticism*<sup>17</sup>, since it "suggests false associations"<sup>18</sup>, call it *the local genealogical method*<sup>19</sup>. It is still basically genealogical, it is actuated by Westcott and Hort's negative view of the Byzantine tradition, and it often

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. also HOLMES, "Reasoned Eclecticism" in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 353: "Others, however, argue that ... the current reliance on largely Alexandrian witnesses is therefore historically inappropriate and misleading".

<sup>13</sup> ELLIOTT, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 322.

<sup>14</sup> ELLIOTT, "The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 101 ff. The close connection between Textual Criticism and exegesis is underscored by DELOBEL, "Textual Criticism and Exegesis" in ALAND–DELOBEL, *NT Textual Criticism*, 98–117.

<sup>15</sup> EPP, "Decision Points", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 35 f.

<sup>16</sup> HOLMES, "Reasoned Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 337.

<sup>17</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26<sup>th</sup> ed. 43.

<sup>18</sup> ALAND–ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> ALAND–ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 34, 281, 308. See also EPP, "Decision Points", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 41.

follows the combination of  $\aleph$  and B, with  $\aleph$  being substituted at places (notably John 1-8) by  $\Phi^{75}$ , as the MS coming closest to B<sup>20</sup>.

Epp writing in 1993, expresses dissatisfaction with the reasoned eclectic method (cf. "not the ultimate method"), and hope that "the eclectic method can be replaced by something more permanent – a confidently reconstructed history and a persuasive theory of the text"<sup>21</sup>. But Holmes, writing two years later, expresses the belief that "reasoned eclecticicism is *not* a passing interim method ... it is, I suggest, our only option"<sup>22</sup>.

Finally, mention must be made of the various approaches that revolve around a *Textus Receptus redivivus*<sup>23</sup>, the Majority Text<sup>24</sup>, and the Ecclesiastical Text<sup>25</sup>. What is common to all of them is the appeal in a greater or lesser degree to the Byzantine tradition. The two symposia volumes edited by Epp and Fee<sup>26</sup>, and Ehrman and Holmes<sup>27</sup>, respectively, each offer a full, scale study of the 'Majority Text' position. However, it should be noted, that while the editors did not limit their books' treatment of the rigorous or thoroughgoing method to the treatment by one of their own school, but invited Dr J. K. Elliott to write a full presentation of his method, in the case of the Majority Text, they have confined themselves only to critics of this particular approach<sup>28</sup>. Thus, we have no treatment from a sympathetic pen<sup>29</sup>. Nevertheless, much of the criticism is duly deserved.

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<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., FEE, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John", in EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 221 f., 243, and FEE, " $\Phi^{75}$ ,  $\Phi^{66}$ , and Origen", in EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 251 ff., 260 ff., 272.

<sup>21</sup> EPP, "Decision Points" in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 17-44, esp. 39-42. Similarly BIRDSALL, "The Text of the Fourth Gospel: Some Current Questions" *EvQ* 29 (1957), 199.

<sup>22</sup> HOLMES, "Reasoned Eclecticicism" in EHRMAN and HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 349. This finds an echo in FEE, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticicism – Which?" in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 140.

<sup>23</sup> The *Textus Receptus* has been upheld by Dean J. W. BURGON, *The Revision Revised*, 1883 and the society called after his name.

<sup>24</sup> See the edition by HODGES and FARSTAD, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1985, and its Introduction, ix-xliv, for the approach followed.

<sup>25</sup> For the Ecclesiastical Text, see LETIS, *The Ecclesiastical Text. Text Criticism, Biblical Authority and the Popular Mind*, 1997.

<sup>26</sup> EPP and FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method*.

<sup>27</sup> EHRMAN and HOLMES, *The Text of the New Testament*.

<sup>28</sup> See FEE, "The Majority Text", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 183-208, and WALLACE, "The Majority Text Theory" in EHRMAN and HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 297-320.

<sup>29</sup> This has been repaired to some extent by the study of M. A. ROBINSON, "The Case for Byzantine Priority" in the recent volume edited by D. A. BLACK, *Rethinking*, 125-39.

Turning now to the question of principles and criteria<sup>30</sup>, we find that textual experts are evincing an increasing dissatisfaction with the criteria in current use. Speaking of this problem, Epp says:

Following Westcott–Hort but beginning particularly with C. H. Turner (1923 ff.), M.-J. Lagrange (1935), G. D. Kilpatrick (1934 ff.), A. F. J. Klijn (1949), and J. K. Elliott (1972 ff.), a new crisis of the criteria became prominent and is very much with us today<sup>31</sup>.

He goes on to say that “we need to analyze critically each of the fifteen or so external and internal criteria as to their validity and relative worth”<sup>32</sup>. He then proceeds to question some of the most popular criteria:

Is it really incontrovertible that the shorter or harder reading is to be preferred? Does wide geographical distribution of a reading or its attestation by several established groups give it added weight? Does antiquity of documentary evidence outweigh everything else? Is fitness to the context or with the author’s style or theology automatically decisive?<sup>33</sup>

Epp is by no means the only textual critic who questions the general validity of the internal criteria. Tov has been a particularly prominent critic of them<sup>34</sup>. Other scholars, aware of the weaknesses and the proneness to misuse of criteria such as that of the shorter reading, and consequently inclined towards searching for more objective and valid criteria, include Royse<sup>35</sup>, Hobbs<sup>36</sup>, and Elliott<sup>37</sup>. The last is critical of Aland–Aland’s twelve basic

<sup>30</sup> See EPP’s fine survey of the canons of textual criticism as applied historically in “The Eclectic method” in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 141–73, citing some eleven external and internal criteria (pp. 163 f.).

<sup>31</sup> EPP, “Decision Points” in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 40.

<sup>32</sup> EPP, “Decision Points”, in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 41.

<sup>33</sup> EPP, “Decision Points”, in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 41. The criticism against these principles is reiterated in EPP, “Issues”, in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 25 ff.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., TOV’s “Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules” *HTR* 75 (1982), 429–48.

<sup>35</sup> ROYSE, “Scribal Tendencies” in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 242 ff.

<sup>36</sup> ROYSE, “Scribal Tendencies” in EHRMAN and HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 242 f. quotes HOBBS (“An Introduction to Methods of Textual Criticism”, in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, Berkeley 1979): “If you have enough variations, these two rules will inevitably lead to the following absurd results: if you follow the shorter readings, you will end up with no text at all; and if you follow the harder readings, you will end up with an unintelligible text”. Today the validity of the longer reading over the shorter reading is seriously entertained, see EPP, “Issues”, in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 27. ROYSE thinks this happened more readily in the earlier rather than the later MSS, which were copied with greater accuracy (“Scribal Tendencies” 248). An exception here is Codex D

rules<sup>38</sup>. He operates with a different set of "objective criteria", as for example, "the style of the author, the language of NT Greek, the part played by Atticism<sup>39</sup>, the role of assimilation ... issues regarding a longer or a shorter text, and paleographical considerations"<sup>40</sup>.

which, according to J. HEIMERDINGER, "The 'Long' and the 'Short' Texts of Acts" *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 22 (1997) 245-61, is 6.6% longer than Codex B. However, ROYSE's results are not yet definitive (cf. EPP, "Issues", 29 f.).

<sup>37</sup> ELLIOTT, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 325 and "Can We Recover the Original Text of the NT?" in ELLIOTT (ed.), *Essays and Studies in NT Textual Criticism*, 40: "In general, the longer text is more likely to be original providing that that text is consistent with the language, style and theology of the context".

<sup>38</sup> ALAND-ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 280-1.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. ELLIOTT, "Phrynichus' Influence" *ZNW* 63 (1972), 133-38. The method followed here is simple: whenever a variation-unit includes a variant rejected by Phrynichus, the rejected form is accepted as original. ELLIOTT qualifies "other things being equal", but in no one of the examples have things ever been otherwise than "equal". The same "rule of thumb" is followed in ELLIOTT, "Moeris and the Textual Tradition" in *Studies in NT Language and Text* (ed. J. K. ELLIOTT), 144-52. The part played by Atticism is a much larger question than merely looking for a reading that exhibits a more acknowledged Greek style over against a more Koine one and choosing always the Koine form. As a matter of fact, on not a few occasions, the choices made by the NT authors agree with the Attic tradition against the form condemned by Phrynichos (see the relevant statistics in Chapter Three), so the argument for priority can actually be reversed, since Atticism has continued its interaction with popular Greek till our day. The question of Atticism can only be part of a broader investigation of the kind of Greek prevalent in the first century and its influence on the history of Greek ever since. It must be remembered that Atticism never took any account of the NT; hence its impingement on it is only indirect. The possibility, too, must be considered that the author wrote down the Attic form and that a scribe altered it to the popular form to bring it in line with popular feeling. One example will suffice. ELLIOTT refers to Col 2:16 and says: "There νοῦμνία is read by most of the New Testament mss., but νεομνία is read by B F G 81, 330, 915, 1912. A statement by Phrynichus CXXIII reads Νεομνία μὴ λέγε, τῶν Ἰωνῶν γάρ, ἀλλὰ νοῦμνία. Using our rule of thumb again, we may accept νεομνία as the original reading in the New Testament". According to this reasoning, the living popular form preferred by the masses (and hence by the NT authors) was νεομνία. The problem with such a syllogism is that the Neohellenic form of this word is not the so-called popular, Koine form νεομνία, but the Attic form νοῦμνία! This means that the form νοῦμνία has been kept alive throughout the centuries to the present day, implying that this was not a second-century passing whim of Phrynichos or Moeris. There is, thus, a strong probability that the NT author wrote down the usual word νοῦμνία. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the two forms co-existed side by side till the Middle Ages and that they are often used interchangeably by the same authors, and even Atticistic authors: Clement Al., Origenes, Eusebios, Athanasios, Kyrillos Al., Chrysostomos, Theodoretos, Ioannes Damaskenos, Photios, Eustathios and others. We observe exactly the same situation in Neohellenic. In speaking or writing in Demotic Modern Greek, some use the Demotic form whereas

In the midst of all these rejections of criteria and quests for new ones, one criterion seems to be winning the approval of textual critics across methodological boundaries. This is the criterion that the best reading is the reading that best explains the rise of the other readings. This basic criterion is seen to be the most objective one, although to arrive at this judgment may involve a process of subjective considerations. Nevertheless this is the criterion most often accepted by textual critics of different persuasions<sup>41</sup>, and Holmes speaks of it as "the 'basic rule' "<sup>42</sup>.

The above brief examples of how method and criteria are viewed today perhaps suffices to make us aware of the current fermentation in textual critical studies, the healthy questioning of past 'solutions' as well as a quest for more satisfying answers. The impression received from a look at the above methodologies, their claims, and how they compare with each other, is that there is some measure of validity of varying degree in all of them, but that none of them is in a position to monopolize all the truth.

With regard to text-types, Epp believes that the situation at the turn of the new millennium is that almost all text critics hold that by 300 A.D. there existed three text-types: B, D, and A<sup>43</sup>. He thinks that the situation is well-presented by Petzer. In his closing paragraph, Petzer formulates the past achievements and the future tasks as follows: (1) the "nineteenth century textual criticism managed to solve the textual riddles of the fourth century and settled the question of the Byzantine text"; (2) "twentieth century textual criticism managed to solve that of the third century ...", "it will

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others use the Katharevousa form of the same word, or some use a Demotic word while others a Katharevousa equivalent. The two co-exist side by side as they also did in the first century, and it is – as it was – up to the individual author to make his choice.

<sup>40</sup> ELLIOTT, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 324.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g., FEE, "Textual Criticism of the NT", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 14; EPP, "Decision Points", in EPP and FEE (eds.), *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 41; ELLIOTT, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 322.

<sup>42</sup> HOLMES, "Reasoned Eclecticism", in EHRMAN and HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 344. In ALAND-ALAND's hands, however, it takes the form "only the reading which best satisfies the requirements of both external and internal criteria can be original".

<sup>43</sup> EPP, "Issues" in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 39. This finds expression in his own preference of "(1) an early cluster designated B-text with roots in the second century and represented chiefly by  $\Phi^{75}$  and Codex B; (2) a perhaps equally early D-text (represented chiefly by some fragmentary papyri, Codex D, the Old Latin, and the Old Syriac [in part]); (3) an abortive C-text (in Mark, represented by  $\Phi^{45}$  and Codex W but continuing no further); and (4) a later cluster, the A-text (represented by Codex A and most later majuscules and minuscules)" (p. 38). Needless to say, no one else currently accepts a D-text earlier than the fourth century.



be up to the twenty-first century textual criticism to solve the two remaining riddles": (3) "the nature of the earlier transmission of the text, or the second century", and (4) "the nature of the original text and its relation to the 'autographs', or the first century"<sup>44</sup>.

Two comments are in order here. First, if I may express myself rather strongly: all talk about reaching the original text of the NT through text-critical efforts sounds hybristic. Through the application of the various methods devised, a modern scholar can only hope to construct an eclectic text, one that is better or worse than the one so far constructed and currently used, but to arrive at the original text is a simple chimera. The problem is insurmountable. Who would vouch for its having been achieved? For this, no less would be required than that the author himself arose from the dead to confirm it<sup>45</sup>. Dismayed by the prospect, Parker, in resignation, speaks of the "living text of the Gospels" as something in a state of flow<sup>46</sup>. However, when Parker treats the biblical texts as open rather than fixed, offering ever changing possibilities of interpretation through their legion variants, a viewpoint that so entrances Epp<sup>47</sup>, he has left the realm of history – i.e. the concrete text that Paul or Luke once wrote – and has entered that of interpretation and speculation<sup>48</sup>.

Second, although most scholars consider the so-called Byzantine Text-form to be the furthest removed from the original, even a cursory reading of the two symposia volumes<sup>49</sup>, cited in the present discussion, makes clear that it would be too optimistic to regard the Byzantine issue as having been solved. Not only has it lately received renewed focus, as can be seen from the increasing number of its advocates, but in one of the latest symposia, one scholar, Robinson<sup>50</sup>, makes bold to present its case.

Finally, in a discussion of text-types, a not irrelevant matter is the problematic character of the current text-critical terminology in the classification of the text-types B, D, and A as "Alexandrian", "Western", and "Byzantine". Such terminology drives an unnecessary and historically false

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<sup>44</sup> PETZER, "History of the NT Text" in ALAND–DELOBEL, *New Testament Textual Criticism*, 36.

<sup>45</sup> I do not wish to be misunderstood. It is one thing to strive after achieving the best possible NT text in the face of so many variants and the very complex problems pertaining thereunto – which is both legitimate and mandatory – and another thing to claim to have achieved the impossible.

<sup>46</sup> The title of PARKER's book, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, Cambridge 1997.

<sup>47</sup> EPP, "Issues" in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 58 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also SILVA's adverse remarks in his "Response", in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 149.

<sup>49</sup> EPP–FEE, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, and ERHMAN–HOLMES, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*.

<sup>50</sup> ROBINSON, "The Case for Byzantine Priority", in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 125-39.

wedge between the Greek MSS. The contrast becomes particularly acute when a nonsense term such as the "Western Text" is set over against the "Byzantine Text". Thereby an artificial contrast is created between the Greek East and the 'Roman West' with respect to Greek MSS. The name "Alexandrian" or "Egyptian" complicates matters still further. The fact is that all Greek MSS, or virtually all of them, were written by Greeks, and they were created within the Byzantine Empire (except, notably, the early papyri), whether these Greeks lived in Greece proper, in Asia Minor, in Palestine and Egypt or in Italy and North Africa. Thus, to distinguish, for example, Alexandrian MSS from 'Byzantine' MSS is absurd, since Alexandria was part of the Byzantine Empire. This is like distinguishing a product made in München from German products, a product made in London from English products, and a product made in New York from American products.

It would therefore seem that in an age when we have become conscious of the need for greater precision, it is desirable and mandatory to find new classification names for the various text-types, names that do not drive wedges between MSS created in various parts of the one and the same Greek world<sup>51</sup>. Such classification names ought to take due cognizance of the fact that all Greek MSS are Greek and consequently Byzantine. This implies that the term "Byzantine Text" ought not to be used for any particular group of MSS. The terms to be employed ought to be neutral ones, terms that do not clash with historical facts. Such terms might relate to the number or the *in toto* characteristics of the various groups. Thus, the largest group, which heretofore has been called "The Byzantine Text(form)", could, for example, be termed the *Majority Text(form)*. The so-called "Alexandrian Text(form)", which is represented by a smaller number of witnesses, would naturally qualify for the term the *Minority Text(form)*, while the so-called "Western Text(form)" might perhaps be called the *Distinctive Text(form)*, to draw attention to its maverick character.

The problem with the term 'Majority' is that it is already used in various senses: (NA) including the so-called Byzantine Text, and as 'Majority text' in the edition of Hodges and Färstad<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> A temporary way out might be to put the terms *Byzantine*, *Alexandrian*, and *Western* within quotation marks. But in the long run, this procedure will only perpetuate the errors of the past – even if in mitigated form. To substitute them altogether would be more correct scientifically.

<sup>52</sup> In order to avoid confusion with past terminology, perhaps the Greek words for 'majority' and 'minority', i.e. *Pleiosephic Text(form)* and *Meiosephic Text(form)* might be adopted. The so-called 'Western' or 'Distinctive Text' might be called the *Idiazon Text(form)*. Such terminology is unimpeachable, in that it holds all types of text together as Greek and Byzantine, and distinguishes them appropriately without preju-

In this chapter the terms *Byzantine*, *Alexandrian*, and *Western*, when used by me, will be placed within quotation marks or be substituted for by the terms *Majority*, *Minority*, and *Distinctive*.

In this connection I might perhaps point out that the term 'Orthodox' ought to be used more circumspectly. In textual criticism the term refers to the non-heretical part of the early Christian Church. This is the way, for example, in which B. Ehrman uses it in his book *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*. Yet the unfortunate combination of terms in this title easily associates to that part of Christianity which today is called the Greek Orthodox Church, and many readers may not find it easy to make the proper distinction. It might be pointed out here – if that is at all necessary – that the Greek Orthodox Church, as such, did not set out to *corrupt* the text of the NT. On the contrary, it was very stringent in its efforts to keep it intact. We will also do well to remember that it is thanks to *The Greek Orthodox Church* that we have the Greek text of the New Testament preserved for us. Therefore, in referring to persons who espoused so-called orthodox views of Christianity, and who might have changed the text in their defence of Christian doctrine against so-called heretics, it would be advisable to use a term such as 'anti-heretical', 'non-heretical', 'non-schismatic', or 'mainline-Christian'<sup>53</sup>.

## II. Text-Critical Terminology in More Recent Discussion

### 1. Discussions of 'Variant' and 'Variation-unit'

Traditionally and popularly the terms 'variant' and 'reading' have been used interchangeably, when at a particular juncture a text has two or more word variations, i.e. either wholly different words or the same basic word spelled variously<sup>54</sup>. This is, of course, the ordinary meaning of 'variant'<sup>55</sup>.

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dice. The first two types of text might be abbreviated into *Pleiotext* and *Meiotext* (or, reflecting the HGP, *Pliotext* and *Miotext*) respectively, but these terms, although shorter and easier, unfortunately give somehow the impression of being the name of some modern firm or product.

<sup>53</sup> It hardly needs to be mentioned that the above remarks are not inspired from any personal stakes that I have, but from love of factual, historical truth.

<sup>54</sup> So, e.g. ROYSE, "Scribal Tendencies" in EHRMAN–HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 239.

<sup>55</sup> Cf., e.g., *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1993), p. 2533 s.v. 'variant', 2a: "one of two or more different spellings (as *labor* and *labour* or *indexes* and *indices* or pronunciations ... of the same word. b: one of two or more words or word elements (as *biologic* and *biological* ...) of essentially the same meaning differing only

Such an undifferentiated usage is sufficient, if by 'variant' or 'reading' we only wish to draw attention to the simple fact that at a particular locus in the MS tradition, there are, for one or more words, more forms or words than one.

However, it is argued by some that the complex requirements of text-critical investigation call for a differentiation between these two terms, or at least for more categories than just one that simply signals the surface fact that there are more than one form at a certain text locus. It was at this point that Colwell and Tune made an important contribution by introducing certain terms which they defined more strictly. The textual place at which variation of text occurs is termed 'variation-unit'<sup>56</sup>. Within these variation-units there may be found variants. "A variant (or variant reading) is one of the possible alternative readings which are found in a variation-unit"<sup>57</sup>. Since the interest of these authors revolves around MS relationships, the 'variant' is a reading that is significant in the task of classification. Thus, "not all variant readings deserve continued study if the goal of that study is either to write the history of the manuscript tradition or to reconstruct the original wording of the Greek New Testament"<sup>58</sup>. They, therefore, reject "binary classifications of the clear either / or type", and feel that such classifications as "errors", "corrected readings", "intentional variations", and "unintended variations" lack "the requisite complexity and accuracy"<sup>59</sup>. They proceed to lay before us the rudimentary beginnings of a system of classification, in which they speak of three kinds of readings – *nonsense readings*<sup>60</sup>, *dislocated readings*<sup>61</sup>, and *singular readings*<sup>62</sup> – as non-

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in the presence or absence of an affix".

<sup>56</sup> COLWELL-TUNE, "Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings", *Studies in Methodology*, 98.

<sup>57</sup> COLWELL-TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 99-100. They exemplify by Jn 1:49, where some witnesses read βαβλαεϳϳ ει (P<sup>75</sup> A B L) while others ει ο βαβλαεϳϳ (P<sup>66</sup> N Θ f<sup>13</sup>). Treating the whole phrase as one variation-unit (above) is preferable to treating it as two: i.e. (a) βαβλαεϳϳ over against ο βαβλαεϳϳ and (b) βαβλαεϳϳ ει over against ει ο βαβλαεϳϳ.

<sup>58</sup> COLWELL-TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 100.

<sup>59</sup> COLWELL-TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 100.

<sup>60</sup> The "nonsense reading" is a reading that makes no sense. "It is the one clear, objectively demonstrable error" (COLWELL-TUNE, *Studies in Methodology*, 101).

<sup>61</sup> The "dislocated reading" is one that either repeats already written text or omits text, caused by the scribe's eye falling on the wrong place of the MS being copied.

<sup>62</sup> The "singular reading" is a reading which "is prevented by its very nature from usefulness in establishing group relationships of manuscripts" (COLWELL-TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 104).

significant readings for the purpose of “establishing group relationships of manuscripts”<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, such readings should be excluded from the text-critical apparatus. None of them should be “used as one of the possible alternative readings which go to make up the variation-unit. It is not genealogically significant; it should not be counted”<sup>64</sup>.

Having spoken of the crisis of the criteria used in textual criticism<sup>65</sup>, following a brief but able presentation of the progress of discussion on method and approach to the discipline<sup>66</sup>, Epp goes on to clarify the term ‘textual variant’<sup>67</sup>. He lays down that “the common or surface assumption ... that any textual reading that differs in any way from any other reading in the same unit of text is a ‘textual variant’ ... is simplistic”<sup>68</sup>. With reference to the work of Colwell and Tune, referred to, above, he, too, speaks of, e.g., nonsense and singular readings as insignificant, and insists that “A distinction must be made ... between ‘reading’ and ‘variant’ – where the latter term means ‘significant variant’, and it becomes clear that textual critics must raise the question of when a textual *reading* is also a textual *variant*” (his emphasis)<sup>69</sup>. Epp examines critically the three classes judged by Colwell and Tune to constitute insignificant readings, namely, nonsense, dislocated, and singular readings.

The *nonsense reading* is a reading that does not make sense, and which it is highly unlikely that an author or scribe would have written, except as an error. Moreover, it is more likely for a scribe to write nonsense than for an author. The soundness of logic behind the rejection of this type of reading is obvious.

The *dislocated reading* – the result of either the unintentional omission (haplography) or repetition (dittography) of text – is also clear and usually

<sup>63</sup> COLWELL–TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 101-04.

<sup>64</sup> COLWELL–TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 105.

<sup>65</sup> EPP, “Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism” in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 17-44, esp. 39-42. “Many of us share this hope that the eclectic method can be replaced by something more permanent – a confidently reconstructed history and a persuasive theory of the text – and we are working actively toward that goal. In the meantime, all of us need to recognize ... that the crisis of the criteria is real”. In his recent “Issues” in BLACK, *Rethinking*, 33 f. he is more optimistic.

<sup>66</sup> Despite the fact that EPP’s scheme of landmark events in textual criticism occurring every fifty-years is fanciful, see *Studies in Theory and Method*, 17-25.

<sup>67</sup> EPP, “Towards the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant’” in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 47-61.

<sup>68</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 48.

<sup>69</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 48. However, in his later “Issues in NT Textual Criticism” in D. A. BLACK, *Rethinking*, 25 ff. he seems occasionally to employ the terms interchangeably.

verifiable. However, Epp would include here also such readings as have normally been characterized as 'harmonizations' and even so-called errors of the ear<sup>70</sup>, i.e. readings pronounced identically or similarly but spelled differently. "If such alterations produce nonsense, both the direction of the change and the certainty of an error will be clear; when the result makes sense, however, it will become much more risky to exclude it as a dislocated reading"<sup>71</sup>. These and other "uncertainties" lead Epp to suggest that it would be preferable to abandon this classification, to relegate the nonsensical readings to the nonsense readings, and those that make sense to a new category ("clear and demonstrable scribal errors")<sup>72</sup>.

Epp finds even more problematic the classification *singular readings*, i.e. readings without genetic value for the establishment of MS relationships. Not only can such readings in due time cease to be singular owing to the discovery of new MSS, but also "the usefulness of singular readings in discerning scribal patterns, purposes, and characteristics ... should caution us against the simple or premature exclusion of singular readings from all text-critical tasks other than ... 'the initial appraisal of the work of the scribe in a particular manuscript' (Colwell-Tune<sup>73</sup>)"<sup>74</sup>. Moreover, the terminology is problematic. Fee, for instance, adds to the confusion by using the term 'singular agreements' for those readings that are common only between  $\aleph$  and D (the objects of his investigation)<sup>75</sup>. The problem is further complicated by Colwell-Tune's application of the term 'variant' only to readings in Greek MSS. The question is: "How are we to regard such cases, where a certain reading is unique among Greek MSS, but has a direct equivalence in some version?" For instance, in D, Fee found 23 singular readings in John 8, nine of which are supported by Itala and Old Syriac. Are they still to be regarded as singular? It would seem that the answer should be in the negative. But a negative answer here, it is feared, will have dire consequences; it will bring in a vast number of MSS for collation, not only Greek, but also, and especially, versional with all the complexities which this entails, such as finding the exact Greek equivalent in every individual case – a prospect that may well make us despair of ever being able to perform the task, despite the services of the computer. A singular reading is not likely to be original, but the exclusion of all such readings would imply ruling out of court, e.g., Codex Bezae, which has been considered

<sup>70</sup> Referring to METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament*, 190-92.

<sup>71</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 51.

<sup>72</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 52.

<sup>73</sup> COLWELL-TUNE, in *Studies in Methodology*, 104.

<sup>74</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 53.

<sup>75</sup> FEE, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John" *NTS* 15 (1968/9), 23-44.

important in the process of tracking down the history of the text, especially in Acts<sup>76</sup>.

Epp proceeds to divide readings into *significant* and *insignificant*<sup>77</sup>. A significant reading is defined as “meaningful or useful for the broad tasks of NT textual criticism, including the determination of a MS’ relationship with all other MSS, the location of a MS within the textual history and transmission of the NT, and the ultimate goal of establishing the original text”<sup>78</sup>. On the other hand, an insignificant reading is “inappropriate, inadequate, or inconclusive for those broad tasks of textual criticism, but it does not mean insignificant in any absolute and final sense”<sup>79</sup>. He subdivides insignificant readings into (i) *nonsense readings*, (ii) *clear and demonstrable errors*, (iii) *orthographic difference*, and (iv) *singular readings*<sup>80</sup>.

Of these four classes of insignificant readings, the most interesting class, from the standpoint of the present investigation, is the one Epp calls “orthographic difference”, referring to “itacism” and moveable v<sup>81</sup>. He thinks that such readings “cannot be utilized in any decisive way for establishing manuscript relationships, and they are not substantive in the search for the original text ... the pervasive character of itacism, for example, over wide areas and time spans precludes the ‘significance’ of orthographic differences for this important task”<sup>82</sup>.

In conclusion, then, terminologically we have the terms ‘variation-unit’ and ‘variant’. The first may be defined as “that segment of text, constituting a normal and proper grammatical combination, where our manuscripts<sup>83</sup> present at least two ‘variants’”<sup>84</sup>. A reading is a ‘variant’ “when the reading is a significant reading by virtue of its fitness for genetic and genealogical tracking and by virtue of its appropriateness as a possibly original reading”<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 55 f., exemplifies from Act 3:17.

<sup>77</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 57.

<sup>78</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 57.

<sup>79</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 57.

<sup>80</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 58-9.

<sup>81</sup> On the so-called itacism, see under “IV. Pronunciation Mistakes in the MSS”, below.

<sup>82</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 58.

<sup>83</sup> The word ‘manuscripts’ is taken as referring to Greek manuscripts, but to avoid the problems discussed above, EPP would prefer to keep the door open for a broader use so as “to include ancient versional MSS and perhaps also early patristic quotations”.

<sup>84</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 61.

<sup>85</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 61.

## 2. Significant and Insignificant Readings or Variants and the Historical Greek Pronunciation

Epp's discussion of 'variant' or 'textual variant' has highlighted certain problems with the definition and content of this term as it was formulated in the original proposal by Colwell-Tune. The stricter definition and modification proposed by Epp is welcome. However, Epp's understanding of this term is not entirely unproblematic.

1) We may agree with Epp that a 'reading' is "a textual difference or a varying text-formulation"<sup>86</sup>. He goes on, however, to say, that upon further examination, a reading may remain simply a reading or be upgraded to the status of a variant. The reason for this distinction is, no doubt, in order to invest the term 'variant' with a certain content absent from the term 'reading', and so to make it unnecessary to characterize readings as meaningful or significant readings and as insignificant readings. The terms 'meaningful' or 'significant' are, in Epp's understanding, part of the definition of variant<sup>87</sup>. This means that in actual text-critical work, a scholar must be careful to always refer to a "textual difference" as a *reading*, never as a *variant*, before due examination has decided whether it is a variant. While I agree with the advantages of strict and consistent terminology, I find it rather pedantic to be limited by this definition, which will result in the un-aesthetically and monotonously continuous repetition of the term 'reading'. To have the freedom in a text-critical discussion to switch from *reading* to *variant* and again to the Latin *varia lectio* as equivalents, surely makes for more versatile writing. Then, again, to be able to decide whether to refer initially to a textual variation as 'reading' or 'variant' presupposes the results of the pending investigation. The significance of a reading or variant can always be emphasized by the addition of 'meaningful' or 'significant'. Moreover, why should it be considered scientifically stricter to call a certain "textual difference" first a "reading", and later to upgrade it to "(textual) variant"? Is not this procedure more confusing than the other alternative?

2) With regard to Epp's "insignificant readings", we may agree with him that nonsense readings cannot be original. With regard to "singular readings", while it is true that they are not genetically important, it is not thereby a priori and necessarily demonstrated that a 'singular reading' cannot prove to be original, for example, in a case where alternative reading(s)

<sup>86</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 57.

<sup>87</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 60: "The terms 'variant' or 'textual variant' should be reserved for those readings that are 'significant' or 'meaningful' in the broader tasks of NT textual criticism".



have scant MS support. In any case, his category of "clear and demonstrable scribal errors" is not free from difficulties. Such readings may involve haplography, dittography, harmonization, meaningful transposition of words, etc. But they are readings that do make sense! On what basis and with what criteria can readings that make full sense be characterized as "clear and demonstrable scribal errors"? Where does this clarity and certainty come from and on what is it based? Although Epp is conscious of the objections, he is not prepared to scrap the category, leaving it hanging in the air.

3) More serious is his category of "orthographic differences". He claims that mere orthographic differences in the form of 'itacism', moveable v, and abbreviations, "are 'insignificant' ...; they cannot be utilized in any decisive way for establishing manuscript relationships, and they are not substantive in the search for the original text"<sup>88</sup>. While this is true of many cases of orthographic differences<sup>89</sup>, it may not be generalized, and in spite of Epp, as will be amply documented in this chapter, the orthographic issue, in not a few cases, does point the way towards the original text, or simply helps us determine it. Epp's underestimation of "orthographic differences" and his consignment of them *in toto* to the category of "insignificant readings" is owing to two causes: (i) his overriding preoccupation with the establishment of MS relationships, and (ii) his apparent disinterest in and lack of appreciation of the current pronunciation of Greek.

(i) The "establishment of MS relationships" cannot be an end in itself. It is only a means of arriving at the goal: to determine the original reading. The establishment of MS relationships, therefore, is only indirectly related to the primary goal of reconstructing the original text. Ideally, the classification of MSS should be executed only after due collation of a MS with all other MSS has taken place<sup>90</sup>. But this is, at least for the present, a sheer impossibility. The past century has witnessed an intense discussion on methodology, not least on how to group the MSS<sup>91</sup>. One of the more recent sug-

<sup>88</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 58.

<sup>89</sup> As shown below for <sup>66</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. METZGER, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels", *JBL* 64 (1945), 488; COLWELL, *Studies in Methodology*, 26, and GEER, "Analyzing and Categorizing NT Greek Manuscripts: Colwell revisited", in *The Text of the NT*, 254 f.

<sup>91</sup> The literature here is very extensive. See, e.g. COLWELL, "Method in Grouping NT Manuscripts" *NTS* 4 (1958), 73-92 (rp. in *Studies in Methodology*, 1-25); "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 73 (1959), 757-77 (rp. in *Studies in Methodology* 26-44); "Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of NT Manuscripts" in *Studies in Methodology*, 45-55; with TUNE, "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships between Text-Types of NT Manuscripts" in *Studies in Methodology*, 56-62; "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its

gestions is the so-called Claremont "profile method", which classifies MSS according to how they relate to a number of selected readings from the Gospel of Luke. For this purpose, Lk 1 (containing sixty-one readings), Lk 10 (sixty-seven readings), and Lk 20 (seventy-nine readings) were chosen<sup>92</sup>. The collation led to the establishment of fourteen groups within the Byzantine Text-form<sup>93</sup>. The project is hailed by Epp as a "major breakthrough"<sup>94</sup>. Yet such fragmentary collations – three chapters out of twenty-four – surely cannot give us reliable results. What of the mixed-text MSS, which might, for example, in chapters 2-9 and 11-19 diverge from the landscape of chapters 1, 10, and 20?

It is important, however, to see clearly that what is at the bottom of the search for method and criteria is the desire to exclude the so-called Byzantine witnesses from text-critical consideration in deciding the original text of the NT<sup>95</sup>. Thus, says Geer:

If one is interested (as the Alands are) in isolating MSS that may be of use in determining the 'original text', then one has some need for a method to dispose of the great mass of the MSS. If, however, one is interested (as were Wisse and McReynolds) in finding different groupings within the Byzantine textual tradition, then one must utilize some fuller method<sup>96</sup>.

That it ought to be possible to arrive at responsible and reliable judgments about the text of the NT without waiting for the classification of every single MS appears reasonable. Therefore, Epp's consignment of the

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Limitations", *JBL* 66 (1947), 109-33 (rp. in *Studies in Methodology*, 63-83); EPP, "The Twentieth-Century Interlude in NT Textual Criticism" *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 83-108; "A Continuing Interlude in NT Textual Criticism" in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 109-23; "The Eclectic Method in NT Textual Criticism" in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 141-73; T. C. GEER, "Analyzing and Categorizing NT Manuscripts: Colwell Revisited" in EHRMAN-HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*, 253-67. See also KRAFT, "The Use of Computers in NT Textual Criticism", with literature in EHRMAN-HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*, 268-82.

<sup>92</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 218-9.

<sup>93</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 218.

<sup>94</sup> EPP, in *Studies in the Theory and Method*, 220.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. GEER, "Analyzing and Categorizing" in *The Text of the NT*, 259: "This whole process, however, was admittedly driven by the concern to eliminate MSS of the Byzantine tradition from consideration ..." Cf. also B. ALAND and K. WACHTEL, "The Greek Minuscule MS of the NT" in *The Text of the NT*, 47, who see as the "three principal tasks" of textual criticism (1) to provide complete access to significant witnesses, (2) to achieve the stemmatic relation of MSS, and (3) on the basis of 1 and 2, to establish the original text.

<sup>96</sup> GEER, "Analyzing and Categorizing" in *The Text of the NT*, 259.

orthographical readings to the category of insignificant readings, simply because they cannot be used genetically to establish MS relationships, is, in this connection, both irrelevant and even misleading.

(ii) Disinterest in the *Historical Greek Pronunciation*. This is even more serious. Epp is surely aware that the pronunciation of the times was the reason for many orthographical mistakes. But like some NT scholars, he does not seem to realize the important consequences of this. He simply assumes that the Erasmian pronunciation is the norm, and goes on to degrade the pronunciation which the first Christians used in their everyday communications to what he pejoratively describes as “itacism”, that is, a matter of no importance<sup>97</sup>. Therefore, he considers that all such readings are “insignificant readings”, they cannot lead to decisions about the original text. But how can one say that the variant readings in, e.g., Rm 5:1: ἔχομεν or ἔχωμεν are unimportant, when both of them make grammatical sense, and it is the pronunciation issue that puts the matter to rest? If he were to disregard the “itacism” here, how would he choose, and how would he explain his choice? And what about the many exchanges between ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς or ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν, which can only be appreciated and decided on the basis of the current pronunciation? The least one can say of such readings is that they make choice uncertain. And what of the six readings based on καίωμα in 1 Cor 13:3 which, without taking seriously the pronunciation question that holds them together, can give the appearance of individual, weak alternatives, thus leading to the wrong verdict?

It must be emphasized that the pronunciation issue played an important role in the transmission of the text, and that text-critics should approach their documents with a proper grasp of the *HGP*, and ‘read’ and ‘hear’ all MSS in the *HGP* – if they want to do justice to the history of transmission. It is not enough to mention ‘itacism’ – which is an inadequate concept, anyway – now and then among text-critical remarks. The entire text-critical investigation must be executed with that pronunciation in mind. We must read the ancient Christian documents in the way in which they read and heard them read. Nothing short of this will suffice.

### 3. The Use of ‘Reading’ and ‘Variant’ in the Present Discussion

Thus far, ‘reading’ and ‘variant’ have been discussed chiefly for their relevance to the establishment of MS relationships. The interest of the present study, however, lies neither with MS relationships generally nor with the

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<sup>97</sup> For the problem of “itacism” see “IV. Pronunciation Mistakes in the MSS”, below.

classification of a MS more minutely. My interest centers on the importance of the pronunciation issue in the process of making decisions with respect to the original reading. With this aim in view, 'reading' and 'variant' can surely be viewed in another way. We might use the word 'reading' for all the text-variations that are simply alternative or various spellings of the same word, whether they make sense (such as Rm 5:1: ἔχομεν - ἔχωμεν) or produce nonsense (such as ἄγαμος in Mt 22:10), and reserve 'variant' for alternative meaningful readings, that is, words that produce different but correct meaning (such as Mt 17:2: φῶς - χιὼν; Mk 10:28: κάμηλον-κάμιλον). But even this procedure involves some kind of initial decision as to the distinction between reading and variant, which is likely to impede the discussion, at least in the initial stages. Therefore, in spite of my basic agreement with the advocates of the distinction, these practical difficulties make it more advisable to use these terms interchangeably.

In conclusion, then, while one might initially refer to a text-variation as a 'reading', and to a significant reading as a 'variant', nothing is lost if one refers to all text-variations indiscriminately as a *reading*, a *variant* or a *varia lectio*, reserving the adjectives 'meaningful' or 'significant' for later uses of variants that constitute unequivocal, significant alternatives.

### III. The Copyist and His Production

When Harald Riesenfeld in 1968 wrote his article "The Present State of Text-Critical Research"<sup>98</sup> as a contribution to a volume addressed to the Swedish authorities in view of the planned new translation of the Bible, among his examples for the various types of MS variants, he listed "writing one letter for another". One of the reasons he gave for this was "faulty hearing". As examples of this category, which is "a consequence of itacism, though not necessarily", he lists three texts: Lk 2:2: Κυρήνιος, Κυρίνιος, Κυρεῖνος; 1 Pt 2:3: χρηστός, Χριστός; and Mt 11:16: ἑτέροις, ἑταίροις.

Bruce Metzger, in his *The Text of the New Testament*<sup>99</sup>, 190-92, makes us aware that readings arising from faulty hearing are considerably more widespread. He quotes briefly fifteen readings and alludes to nine more.

<sup>98</sup> RIESENFELD, "Den textkritiska forskningens nuvarande läge" in *Nyöversättning av Nya testamentet: Behov och principer* (SOU 1968:65), Uppsala 1968, 197-245, p. 213.

<sup>99</sup> METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1992, pp. 190-92.

But even Metzger's figures fail to disclose the true dimensions of this phenomenon. The MS tradition is full of such variants. To be sure, most of them are quite simple cases – as for instance, the substitution of one i-sound for another, as in the case of the personal pronouns (ἡμεῖς-ὑμεῖς, ἡμῖν-ὑμῖν), though sometimes the choice is not as straightforward – but, as we shall see below, there are also much more complex instances which demand a closer investigation.

The type of MS errors that are of interest in the present discussion are errors that arose as a result of two words being pronounced identically or sufficiently similarly as to cause confusion between them.

### 1. Reading at the Scriptorium and Faulty Hearing

The external circumstances conducive to such mistakes were both public and private copying. Particularly public copying could prove an all too easy source for unconscious or involuntary orthographical errors. Such copying took place in a scriptorium, a public hall, where many scribes were simultaneously engaged in producing manuscripts<sup>100</sup>. In earlier times such scriptoria were run by organized publishers, who employed a number of capable

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<sup>100</sup> The production of MSS through dictation in a scriptorium has been a very debated subject. Vague allusions to the practice from the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> century became a theory with the work of Th. BIRT, *Antike Buchwesen*, 1882. BIRT was followed by a number of scholars, e.g. USENER, VOLTEN, VAN DER WALLE, and CERNY. On the opposite camp stands F. W. HALL, *Companion to Classical Texts*, 1913, who offered arguments against the dictation theory. This was followed by K. OHLY's *Stichometrische Untersuchungen*, 1928, who rather superficially thought that the purpose of stichometry was to settle the scribe's remuneration. He further assumed that if a work took a scribe six hours, then to produce thirty copies in a scriptorium would require thirty times six, plus the six hours of the reader. It would thus be cheaper to dispense with the services of the reader and have one scribe make one copy, then two scribes make two copies, then four scribes make four copies, until when sixteen scribes made each their copy we would have 32 copies. He did not, however, consider that whereas the thirty scribes working in a scriptorium would produce thirty copies in six hours, his individual scribes would require 30 hours to produce 32 copies. A publisher would not be able to afford such slow production. M. A. DAIN, *Les manuscrits*, 1949, rejected the dictation theory as the normal way of production, arguing for the private dictation or visual way of copying, which would enable the scribe to plan his work. After surveying the history of the problem, SKEAT ("The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1956, 179-208), to whom I am indebted for the present note, upholds the dictation theory, though admitting the parallel practice of visual copying. He thinks, moreover, that dictation was a safer way of producing correct MSS. He is followed by METZGER, *et al.*

scribes to copy manuscripts for sale<sup>101</sup>. Religious establishments often had their own centra for copying the manuscripts they needed, as, e.g., the Essenes at Qumran<sup>102</sup>. It is possible that some of the early manuscripts of the Christian Scriptures were made by entrusting the task to professional scribes. However, at the latest from the IV<sup>th</sup> century on, when Christianity became recognized and activity in the scriptoria presumably increased, the Christians must have had their own scribes<sup>103</sup>. In still later times, when the monastic movement became the guarantor of the Christian Scriptures, the monasteries ran their own scriptoria.

The work at the scriptorium presupposed a perfect interface cooperation between reader and scribe. The reader read the text aloud, which was then copied by the copyists<sup>104</sup>. The reader must read with a clear, distinct voice, sufficiently slowly for the copyist to perceive what was being read and to have time to commit it to writing. Each individual copyist must concentrate on what was read in order to understand it correctly and to be able to write it down. In a situation where many copyists were involved, it would have been almost unthinkable that the reader would be requested (repeatedly) to read again the part of text that one of the copyists had failed to understand. An incompetent copyist was not likely to keep his job. It can, therefore, easily be imagined what opportunities for mistakes presented themselves by this method of copying. Moreover, a minor noise might easily cause a copyist to misunderstand what had been read and to write down a different word. But above all, words that sounded identically (like ἡμεῖς-ὕμεῖς) or almost identically (like Rev 4:3: ἱρις-ἱερεῖς) demanded an immediate de-

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<sup>101</sup> See, e.g., MAEHLER, "Books, Greek and Roman" in *OCD* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1996, 249-52 and the older work by KENYON, *The Text of the Greek Bible* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1937), 9-23. Cornelius Nepos informs that Atticus had a number of very literate slaves engaged in his publishing activities: "namque in ea erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii" (*Atticus*, 13).

<sup>102</sup> On the scriptorium at Qumran, see, e.g., METZGER, "The Furniture of the Scriptorium at Qumran", *RQ* 1 (1958-9), 509-15.

<sup>103</sup> This is seen, for example, in the abbreviations of the *nomina sacra*, and other 'theological terms', which presuppose inside knowledge. On the concentration of Christian churches most heavily in Asia Minor and the Aegean, as areas for Greek manuscript production, see ALAND-ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 53, and on scriptoria, pp. 70 f.

<sup>104</sup> For reading aloud in antiquity see, in addition to Ch. Seven, above, also, e.g., HARVEY, *Listening to the Text, passim*, but esp. 1-82. METZGER, "The Furniture of the Scriptorium at Qumran", *RQ* 1 (1958-9), 509-15. BALOGH, "Voces Paginarum" *Philologus* (1927). For the posture of the scribe in copying, see DAIN, *op. cit.*, SKEAT, "Use of Dictation" 183 f., and METZGER, "When Did Scribes Begin to use Writing Desks?" in *Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, 1958, München 1960*, 355-62.

cision on the part of the scribe, and an error of judgment led invariably to a faulty reading. We must also think of the strain upon the scribe to be perfectly attentive for hours without opportunity to take his mind off his work for a moment. Tiredness and drowsiness could easily overcome him and cause him to perpetrate errors.

## 2. Reading to Oneself and Individual Copying

But the scribe who worked on his own was not out of the risk zone for committing errors either. Although he could, if necessary, take another look at the text, if he was uncertain, and probably could take a minute to recollect himself and to summon his failing concentration, when threatened by tiredness or drowsiness, he was liable to other factors that could induce mistakes. The scribe thus employed read a part of the text to himself, presumably a meaning unit, and then turned to his manuscript to commit it to writing. In this procedure Metzger finds four operations: (a) reading to oneself, (b) retaining what was read in the memory, (c) dictating what had been read to oneself, and (d) the actual work of the hand in writing it down<sup>105</sup>. The perfect interface between these four types of operation might easily break down at some point, with the result that a faulty reading was committed. Then, there is also the question of tiredness. A scribe working on his own appears to have usually worked in a crouched position, having placed the manuscript he was writing on his knees rather than on a table<sup>106</sup>. Anyone can imagine what discomforts such a scribe experienced every day with his bent limbs becoming stiff, while trying to perform the chore of the day.

Indeed, when we survey the conditions under which the ancient scribes worked, we are astonished that they did not commit more (substantial) mistakes than they actually did, and our respect for their conscientious work is fully earned. Nevertheless, mistakes did occur, and they are numbered by the thousands.

## IV. Pronunciation Mistakes in the MSS

As we saw in Chapter Six, on "The Historical Greek Pronunciation", the study of the pronunciation of Greek from classical times on was based on

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<sup>105</sup> METZGER, *The Text of the New Testament*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> See, e.g., SKEAT, "The Use of Dictation", 183.

the study of the faulty readings in the inscriptions, particularly the Attic ones, since our interest centered on the chief Greek dialect, Attic. The mistakes of the stone cutters, which have come down to us unaltered, are the best proof of the actual pronunciation of Greek in those early periods. Those same mistakes we find repeated in the papyri from the IV<sup>th</sup> century B.C. on. This circumstance shows the unbroken continuity in the tradition of faulty readings, first in the inscriptions and later in the papyri, i.e. from around 600 B.C. to the end of the papyri period, the VIII<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>107</sup>

From about the middle of the II<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. on we are able to add to the evidence of the inscriptions and the papyri of Greek texts also the evidence of the New Testament manuscripts. And this evidence does not disappoint! All of the NT MSS contain orthographical mistakes. This is only natural, given the situation so clearly demonstrated in Chapter Six, that the values that were being given to various vowels and diphthongs since classical times were making it difficult to spell correctly, if the scribe was ignorant of etymological orthography and was guided, instead, acoustically.

Although orthographical errors are found in all NT MSS, my interest lies primarily in times as close to the writing of the NT as possible. My objective here is to demonstrate that the NT MS tradition from its inception is encumbered with such errors, and that this proximity to the first-century Christian mission to the Gentiles confirms the results achieved in Chapter Six with respect to the Greek language as a whole, that the apostolic preaching, and the first reading of the apostolic writings in the various churches, were performed in the *HGP*.

We might here isolate two objectives: one might be the occurrence of orthographical errors in the NT MSS and how far the issue of pronunciation helps us to solve the problems that arise. Here, of course, papyri, uncials, and minuscules of all periods may be used. The second objective might be to determine to what extent the NT witnesses confirm the pronunciation that was established in Chapter Six for Greek in general and how early this evidence is.

This, last, interest eliminates from the sphere of my purview not only the uncials and the minuscules as being too late for my purpose, albeit they continue the tradition of the *HGP*, but also of the later papyri. The later period can be briefly exemplified by Codex Sinaiticus. Only in the Gospel of John, this MS contains no fewer than 470 orthographical errors<sup>108</sup>. In addi-

<sup>107</sup> See art. "Papyrology, Greek" *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, 1109-1111.

<sup>108</sup> These are distributed: ι instead of ει 318 x; ει instead of ι 32 x; ει instead of η 2 x; ε instead of η 1 x; υ instead of ι 1 x; υ instead of αι 4 x; αι instead of ε 100 x; ε instead of αι 10 x; ε instead of ι 1 x; ο instead of ω 1 x.



tion, I found a number of nonsense readings, but these lie outside my present interest.

With regard to the earlier period, it is not necessary to cite the mistakes of all the NT papyri. With the exception of a few very brief scraps of papyrus, I have found orthographical mistakes in all of the papyri that are of any reasonable length. The mistakes in **N** are somewhat fewer than those in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , which, moreover, contains only 783 of John's total 867 verses (excluding 8:1-11), but given the fact that this MS was written in happier times for Christians than  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  – even if it were not one of the copies that Constantine had ordered from Eusebios – it should have been written more carefully and accurately<sup>109</sup>.

Two of the most important papyri of the II<sup>nd</sup> century are  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ <sup>110</sup> and  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ <sup>111</sup>. Both contain orthographical errors. But the orthographical errors of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  far surpass in number those of  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ . The comparison here is quite instructive.  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  is slightly later than  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ . If the change in pronunciation was a later phenomenon, or was becoming increasingly a problem as time went by, we would have expected to find more mistakes in  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  than in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ <sup>112</sup>. Yet the contrary is the case.  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  has roughly 200 orthographical errors, while  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  (which is 20% shorter than  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ) has no fewer than 492 such errors. The reason why the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  committed fewer mistakes was either that he was more at home in Greek orthography than the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , or that he was more meticulous in his copying than the latter scribe. Conversely, if, e.g., the copyist of  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  had been as careless or ignorant of Greek orthography as the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , he would have committed more errors.

<sup>109</sup> SKEAT, "The Use of Dictation", 195 f., explains the multitude of mistakes as owing to the urgency with which Constantine's order was executed. I would rather attribute it to the scribe's anorthography.

<sup>110</sup> In the edition *princeps*, MARTIN, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, dated  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  to around 200 A.D. See METZGER, *The Text of the NT*, 40 and FINEGAN, *Encountering*, 91. This date was challenged by HUNGER, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 12 ff., who inclined to a date in the first part of the II<sup>nd</sup> cent. A.D. On palaiographical arguments TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 108, preferred a date a century later (i.e. 200-250 A.D.). COMFORT, arguing also on paleographical grounds, contends that  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  bears many similarities with other papyri of the early II<sup>nd</sup> century, and would, therefore, place it around 150 A.D. This date is supported also by CAVALLO, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica*, 23 and SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Vol. II, 121.

<sup>111</sup> The date of  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$  is uncertain. It is placed around the end of the II<sup>nd</sup> cent. A.D. or beginning of the III<sup>rd</sup> cent. A.D. (see COMFORT-BARRETT, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, 376).

<sup>112</sup> The same would be valid but to a still greater extent for **N**, which as we saw, above, contains fewer mistakes than  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ .

This means that the date of MSS is not a factor in the pronunciation changes and their frequency, since the pronunciation changes had already been accomplished before any NT MSS were written. Therefore, if all early papyri had been written as carelessly as  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , there would have been even more mistakes in them, thus witnessing a still higher frequency of errors at the very outset of the tradition of the Christian scriptures. Such frequency is more than four times higher in  $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$  (A.D. III), which for the text-mass of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude, amounting to 191 verses in all, has 377 orthographical errors<sup>113</sup>.

More comparable to  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  is  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ , which is one third longer than  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  and has 499 orthographical errors<sup>114</sup>. But, indeed, the orthographical errors of these papyri, and in particular of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ , which are among the earliest NT papyri known to date, are more than adequate to show what kind of pronunciation these scribes operated with.

The contribution of the corrector(s) is no less instructive. It was a practice in bookmaking that when a manuscript was finished, it was subjected to the control of a corrector, if the scribe himself could not perform the task. There is still difference of opinion as to whether the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  was also its corrector, or whether there was another corrector, perhaps two of them, who combed the manuscript. Fee<sup>115</sup> and Royse think that the scribe himself turned corrector, a view that leads Royse to speak of this scribe as careful so that when the papyrus left his hands, it "contained a fairly low percentage of nonsense readings"<sup>116</sup>. In saying this, Royse is, of course, not thinking of orthographical mistakes<sup>117</sup>. Similarly, Colwell thinks of material errors, when he describes the copyist as "a scribe turned proofreader", and

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<sup>113</sup> The highest frequency is in 1 Pt 1:1-5:14, where in 105 verses or 1,684 words, there are 233 errors, i.e. one out of every 7.2 words is spelled incorrectly. 2 Pt 1:1-3:18 (61 verses) has 95 errors, and Jude (25 verses) has 49 errors.

<sup>114</sup> These are divided as follows: for the larger part of Romans: 52 errors; for almost the entire text of Hebrews: 98 errors; 1 Corinthians: 154; 2 Corinthians: 87; Ephesians: 26; Galatians: 25; Philipians: 31; Colossians: 24, and for a brief section of 1 Thessalonians: 2 errors.

<sup>115</sup> FEE, *Papyrus Bodmer II* (P 66): *Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (Studies in Texts and Documents 34), 1968, esp. 57-97.

<sup>116</sup> ROYSE, *Scribal Habits*, 404. See ROYSE's "Scribal Tendencies" in ERHRMAN-HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 245. On the other hand, FINEGAN, *Encountering*, § 223, writing earlier, thought that the corrections were executed by another hand and spoke of the scribe of  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  as "a relatively careless copyist" whose "product has been carefully corrected".

<sup>117</sup> FEE, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, 57 describes him as "a careless and ineffective workman. He falls into almost all of the common scribal errors".

thinks that the manuscript is a product of a scriptorium<sup>118</sup>. Comfort is of the opinion that there were two correctors following the original scribe, who also corrected as he was copying<sup>119</sup>.

Whatever the case may be with regard to whether the copyist himself turned corrector, or whether there were, in addition to him, one or two more correctors, what is of interest from my point of view are the orthographical errors – not the material or factual errors. Now whether a faulty reading was corrected by the original scribe or by another corrector, it makes no difference whatsoever to the facts of an orthography of the original scribe, and indeed, of the corrector(s) himself (themselves). For as a matter of fact, sometimes the original scribe had written the word correctly, but it was ‘corrected’ into an orthographic error by the corrector!<sup>120</sup>

The interesting thing is that out of a very large number of mistakes in this papyrus, the corrector(s) corrected only a fraction of them – sometimes (as already mentioned) changing correct readings into errors – leaving the great majority of orthographic errors uncorrected. This means that the corrector was ignorant, or, in the other case, the scribe, even though he had a second opportunity to survey his work and correct whatever was faulty on account of the stressed situation under which he had penned the MS. It is thanks to scribes like this one and to his corrector(s) that we can ascertain the pronunciation in vogue in the time of the early Church, which fully agrees with the findings of Chapter Six. We can never be sufficiently thankful to him for his ignorance and mistakes!

Orthographic errors have usually been passed over as unimportant<sup>121</sup>. They have been simply explained with the pejorative term *itacism*, as being the result of the breakdown of the classical pronunciation in Hellenistic times. This self-complaisant explanation has generally overlooked the fact that the so-called itacism explains only the confusion of the i-sound vowels and diphthongs, although strictly it should be used only of the η being pronounced in the same way as the ι. The HGP, however, which is responsible for this state of affairs, exhibits many other confusions, which under no circumstances can be subsumed under the designation *itacism*: e.g. αι with ε and vice versa, ο with ω and vice versa, the double pronunciation of the

<sup>118</sup> COLWELL, *Studies in Methodology*, 118. See also EPP, “The papyrus MSS of the NT” in EHRMAN–HOLMES (eds.), *The Text of the NT*, 15.

<sup>119</sup> COMFORT, *The Text of the Earliest NT Manuscripts*, 386.

<sup>120</sup> See, e.g., Jn 4:29, where the originally correct ἰδετε was changed by the corrector to the erroneous ἰδεται; 6:10: the correct πεντακισχιλιοι was changed to the mistaken πεντακισχειλιοι; 8:54: υμων was changed to the faulty ημων.

<sup>121</sup> See above. Cf. also, e.g., FINEGAN, *Encountering*, § 222 and EPP, “Textual Variant” in *Studies in Theory and Method*, 58 f. Indeed, from the point of view of deciding between competing readings, a mere mistake in orthography is non-essential.

diphthongs  $\alpha\upsilon$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , and  $\eta\upsilon$  (as *av*, and *af*, etc.) and the pronunciation of consonants such as  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\delta$  as well as the absence of aspiration<sup>122</sup>. Thus, Skeat speaks of “phonetic and other seemingly *unimportant errors*”<sup>123</sup> (my emphasis), and this attitude obtains also among text-critics generally<sup>124</sup>, while the *Novum Testamentum Graecum: editio critica maior*, currently under publication, does not take up readings of purely orthographical nature<sup>125</sup>. It appears that NT scholarship, still a captive to the error of Erasmus, is unwilling to face the issue realistically and to take account of the realities obtaining among those who wrote and copied the NT MSS.

The absence of these readings from our current editions tends to hide for the ordinary scholar the fact of which pronunciation was current during the early Church, when its first documents were being written down and read in the various churches. Such orthographical errors must have been present already in the autographs, since it cannot be assumed that the apostles and other early Christian writers were specialists in orthography<sup>126</sup>. They simply wrote as they pronounced. In view of these facts, it would be desirable to dispense altogether with the inaccurate and misleading term *itacism*, and to speak, instead, of the *HGP*.

That our MSS contain such big numbers of mistakes is, in spite of all the exonerating circumstances mentioned above, owing primarily to their scribes' insufficient mastery of Greek. Today in Greece, where generally the same orthography obtains as in the ancient phase of the language, a truly literary person does not make orthographical mistakes except extremely rarely. He is supposed to know how to spell both in Katharevousa (where the ancient forms are generally unchanged) and in Dhimotiki (i.e. in those cases where the Demotic has another form than the ancient one)<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> On these details, see Ch. Six, on the pronunciation of Greek.

<sup>123</sup> SKEAT, “The Use of Dictation”, 197.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. METZGER, *The Text of the NT*, 190-92, exemplifies the problem by a few references. Similarly ALAND-ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 286 f. See also COLWELL-TUNE, “Method in Classifying and Evaluating” in COLWELL (ed.), *Studies in Methodology*, 96-105, and EPP, “Textual Variants” in *Studies in Theory and Method*, 47-61.

<sup>125</sup> This is the case in the first two installments published so far, *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Maior*. Edited by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research. *IV Catholic Letters*, Edited by Barbara ALAND, Kurt ALAND†, Gert MINK, and Klaus WACHTEL. Part 1: Text. *Installment 1: James*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997 and *Installment 2: The Letters of Peter*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000.

<sup>126</sup> See KENYON, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism*, 29, observes that, while the scribes of the autographs were “educated men, there is no reason to suppose that they were professional scribes”. See also 36.

<sup>127</sup> Until fairly recently, typographical setters in Athens, and in Greece generally, were supposed to be so proficient in orthography as to be able to correct the orthographical mistakes of the authors whose texts they were setting!

Orthographical mistakes are looked upon as proof of linguistic incompetence. From the Greek point of view, therefore, the scribes of Codex Sinaiticus, and of  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ , and  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , to take a few examples, irrespective of whether they had a beautiful handwriting or not, are truly *anorthographoi* (= incapable of spelling correctly). Only persons lacking solid education could produce a piece of literary work with the percentage of mistakes in these MSS. Moreover, the evidence from their many nonsense readings seems to give the lie to the claim that in these MSS we have a text that takes us very close to the autographs.

We may go one step further. The orthographical errors of these papyri show us that their scribes and correctors were *anorthographoi*. They lacked linguistic competence. Their many nonsense readings also point to their inability to cope with the Greek language. Perhaps some of them were not even Greeks. They may have been barbarians with a rather hazy understanding of Greek. As Elliott points out, unless we can show a strict genealogical chain, age alone is not decisive. These facts must, no doubt, set a question mark to the high reliability that is often attributed to these early papyri.

## V. A Conspectus of $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$

In order to let the reader experience the full effect of the extreme frequency of orthographic mistakes in our MSS, I will now offer a conspectus of all the orthographic errors in  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  (P. Bodmer II + Inv. Nr. 4274/4298) on the Gospel of John (2<sup>nd</sup> corrected and enlarged ed. by Comfort and Barrett). I give the lists according to the type of sound confusion (an \* indicates two errors).

### 1. The I-Sound

#### I instead of EI (155 errors)

John	Present MS Reading	Correct Reading	Original
1:14	αληθιας	ἀληθείας	
1:15	μαρτυρι	μαρτυρεῖ	
1:17	ἀληθια	ἀλήθεια	
1:18	εκινος	ἐκεῖνος	
1:19	απεστιλαν	ἀπέστειλαν	
1:21	ιμι	εἰμι	
1:21	λεγι	λέγει	
1:35	ιστηκει	εἰστήκει	
1:43	ευρισκι	εὕρισκει	
1:43	λεγι	λέγει	
1:45	ευρισκι	εὕρισκει	

2:6	τρις	τρεῖς	
2:8	λεγι	λέγει	
2:18	σημιον	σημεῖον	
2:18	δικνυεις	δεικνύεις	
2:23	σημια	σημεῖα	
2:25	χρειαν	χρείαν	χριαν
3:2	σημια	σημεῖα	
3:4	λεγει	λέγει	λεγι
3:4	εισελθιν	εἰσελθεῖν	
3:5	βασιλιαν	βασιλείαν	
3:2	επιγια	ἐπίγεια	
3:13	ουδισ	οὐδείς	
3:17	απεσπilen	ἀπέσπειλεν	
3:20	μεισι*	μισεῖ	
3:21	αληθιαν	ἀλήθειαν	
3:34	απεσπilen	ἀπέσπειλεν	
4:4	Σαμαριας	Σαμαρείας	
4:4	Σαμαριας	Σαμαρείας	
4:9	Σαμαρειτις	Σαμαρίτις	
4:21	ορι	ὄρει	
4:23	αληθια	ἀληθεία	
4:24	αληθια	ἀληθεία	
4:34	τελιωσω	τελειώσω	
4:36	σπιρων	σπείρων	
4:38	απεσπιλα	ἀπέσπειλα	
4:40	μιναι	μῆναι	
4:48	σημια	σημεῖα	
4:51	απηγγιλαν	ἀπήγγειλαν	
5:8	εγிரαι*	ἐγειρε	
5:15	ανηγγιλεν	ἀνήγγειλεν	
5:18	αποκτιναι	ἀποκτεῖναι	
5:24	εχι	ἔχει	
5:26	εχι	ἔχει	
5:32	μαρτυρι	μαρτυρεῖ	
5:33	υμεις	ὕμεις	υμῖς
5:33	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
5:36	τελιωσω	τελειώσω	
5:36	μαρτυρι	μαρτυρεῖ	
5:38	απεσπilen	ἀπέσπειλεν	
5:44	ζητειται*	ζητεῖτε	ζητιται
5:45	δοκειτε	δοκεῖτε	δοκιτε
5:47	εκινου	ἐκείνου	
6:2	ηκολουθι	ἠκολούθει	
6:2	σημια	σημεῖα	
6:7	πιραζων	πειράζων	
6:10	αναπεσιν	ἀναπεσεῖν	
6:10	ωσι	ώσεί	
7:19	αποκτιναι	ἀποκτεῖναι	αποκτιναι

7:25	αποκτειναι	ἀποκτεῖναι	αποκτιναι
7:32	απεστιλαν	ἀπέστειλαν	
7:36	ελθιν	ελθεῖν	
7:37	ιστηκει	εἰστήκει	
7:45	εκινوي	ἐκείνοι	
7:52	εγιρεται	ἐγείρεται	
8:13	μαρτυρις	μαρτυρεῖς	
8:14	υμις	ὕμεῖς	
8:16	ιμι	εἰμι	
8:18	μαρτυρι	μαρτυρεῖ	
8:19	ηδεται*	ἡδεται	
8:19	ηδεται*	ἡδεται	
8:21	αποθανισθαι*	ἀποθανεῖσθε	
8:24	αποθανισθαι*	αποθανεῖσθε	
8:32	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
8:37	ζητιτε	ζητεῖτε	
8:37	χωρι	χωρεῖ	
8:40	αποκτιναι	ἀποκτεῖναι	
8:40	αληθια	ἀλήθειαν	
8:44	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
8:44	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
8:45	αληθιαν	ἀλήθειαν	
8:53	μιζων	μείζων	
9:10	εκινος	ἐκείνος	
9:19	υμις	ὕμεῖς	
9:22	γονις	γονεῖς	
10:3	φωνι	φωνεῖ	
10:13	μελι	μέλει	
10:18	ερι*	αἶρει	
10:18	θιναι	θεῖναι	
10:18	λαβι	λάβει	
10:29	μιζων	μείζων	
10:32	εδιξα	ἐδειξα	
11:2	αλιψασα	ἀλείψασα	
11:3	απεστιλαν	ἀπέστειλαν	απεστιλεν
11:22	δωσι	δώσει	
11:27	λεγι	λέγει	
11:28	φωνι	φωνεῖ	
11:34	τεθικαται*	τεθεῖκατε	
11:40	λεγει	λέγει	λεγι
11:53	εκινης	ἐκείνης	
11:53	αποκτινωσιν	ἀποκτείνωσιν	
11:54	διέτριβεν	ἐμεινεν	εμινεν
11:56	δοκι	δοκεῖ	
12:9	ηγιρεν	ἡγειρεν	
12:18	σημιον	σημεῖον	
12:19	θεωριτε	θεωρεῖτε	
12:19	ωφελιται*	ὠφελεῖτε	

12:26	ακολουθιτω	ἀκολουθεῖτω	
12:34	ημεις	ἡμεῖς	
13:2	διπνου	δείπνου	
13:4	διπνου	δείπνου	
13:9	λεγι	λέγει	
13:13	φωνιται*	φωνεῖτε	
13:14	υμεις	ὕμεῖς	
13:14	οφειλεται*	οφείλετε	οφιλεται
13:15	υποδιγμα	ὕποδειγμα	
13:16	μειζων	μεῖζων	μιζον (μαργιν)
13:33	υμεις	ὕμεῖς	
13:36	ακολουθησις	ἀκολουθήσεις	
14:3	ιμι	εἰμι	
14:9	λεγι	λέγει	
14:12	ποιησι	ποιήσῃ	
14:12	μιζονα	μεῖζονα	
14:17	αληθιας	ἀληθείας	
14:19	θεωριται*	θωρεῖτε	
14:22	λεγι	λέγει	
15:8	πλιονα	πλείονα	
15:16	υμεις	ὕμεῖς	
15:24	μηδεις	μηδεῖς	
15:26	αληθιας	ἀληθείας	
16:7	αληθιαν	ἀλήθειαν	
16:16	θωεριται*	θωρεῖτε	
16:17	θεωριται*	θωρεῖτε	
16:22	ερι*	αἶρει	
17:17	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
17:18	απεστιλας	ἀπέστειλας	
17:21	απεστιλας	ἀπέστειλας	
17:23	απεστιλας	ἀπέστειλας	
17:25	απεστιλας	ἀπέστειλας	
18:3	σπιραν	σπεῖραν	
18:6	ιστηκει	εἰστήκει	
18:12	σπιρα	σπεῖρα	
18:14	ηκολούθι	ἡκολούθει	
18:16	ιστηκει	εἰστήκει	
18:18	ιστηκεισαν	εἰστήκεισαν	
18:24	απεστιλεν	ἀπέστειλεν	
18:37	αληθιας	ἀληθείας	
18:38	αληθια	ἀλήθεια	
18:30	παρεδωκιμεν	παρεδώκειμεν	
18:36	βασιλια	βασιλεία	
18:25	ιστηκεισαν	εἰστήκεισαν	
20:8	ιδεν	εἶδεν	
20:9	δι	δεῖ	
20:13	εκινوي	ἐκεῖνοι	
20:15	εκινη	ἐκείνη	



## EI instead of I (139 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
1:14	ἡμῖν	ἡμῖν	
1:19	λευεϊτας	λευίτας	
1:21	Ἡλειας	Ἡλίας	Ἡλίας
1:25	Ἡλειας	Ἡλίας	
1:33	ειδης	ἴδης	
1:35	Ἰωαννης	Ἰωάννης	Ἰωαννης
1:38	ραββει	ράββι	
1:47	Ἰσραηλειτης	Ἰσραηλίτης	
1:49	ραββει	ράββι	
2:8	αρχιτρικλεινω	ἀρχιτρικλίνω	
2:9	αρχιτρικλεινος	ἀρχιτρίκλινος	
2:9	αρχιτρικλεινος	ἀρχιτρίκλινος	
1:11	Γαλειλαιας	Γαλιλαίας	
3:1	Νεικοδημος	Νικόδημος	
3:2	ραββει	ράββι	
3:10	γινωσκεις	γινώσκεις	
3:12	υμειν	υμῖν	
3:12	υμειν	υμῖν	
3:20	μεισι*	μισεῖ	
3:22	δειετριβεν	διέτριβεν	
3:23	παρεγεινοντο	παρεγίνοντο	
3:26	ραββει	ράββι	
4:9	Σαμαρειτης	Σαμαρίτης	
4:13	πεινων	πίνων	
4:25	ημειν	ημῖν	
4:31	ραββει	ράββι	
4:36	μεισθον	μισθόν	
4:42	λαλειαν	λαλιάν	
5:6	ειδων	ιδών	
5:20	φιλει	φιλεῖ	φιλι
5:25	υμειν	υμῖν	
6:10	πεντακισχειλιοι	πεντακισχίλιοι	πεντακισχίλιοι
6:35	υμειν	υμῖν	
6:51	τεις	τις	
7:7	μεισει	μισεῖ	
7:22	υμειν	υμῖν	
7:25	Ἰεροσολυμειτων	Ἰεροσολυμιτῶν	
7:42	Δαυειδ	Δαυίδ	
7:42	Δαυειδ	Δαυίδ	
8:28	εδειδαξεν	ἐδίδαξεν	
8:44	επιθυμειας	ἐπιθυμίας	
9:2	ραββει	ράββι	
10:1	υμειν	υμῖν	
10:10	εινα	ἵνα	
10:15	γινωσκει	γινώσκει	

10:24	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
10:25	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
10:27	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
10:33	βλασφημειας	βλασφημίας	
11:8	ραββει	ράββι	
11:33	εταραχθη	ἐνεβριμήσατο	εμβρειμησατο
11:56	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
12:3	λειτραν	λίτραν	
12:15	Σειων	Σιών	
12:23	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
12:38	βραχειων	βραχίων	
12:40	ειασομαι	ἰάσομαι	
12:47	εινα	ἵνα	
13:12	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
13:15	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
13:20	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
13:27	ταχειον	τάχιον	
13:33	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:2	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:2	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:3	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:8	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
14:8	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
14:10	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:12	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:12	επειστευων	ἐπιστεύων	
14:16	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:17	γεινωσκει	γινώσκει	
14:17	γεινωσκεται*	γινώσκετε	
14:17	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:22	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
14:25	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:25	ὕμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:26	ὕμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:27	ὕμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:27	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:27	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:28	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
14:29	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:3	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:4	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:7	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:11	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:11	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:16	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:18	μεμεισηκεν	μεμίσηκεν	
15:20	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
15:24	μεμεισηκασιν	μεμισήκασιν	

15:26	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:1	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:3	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:3	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:6	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:7	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:7	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:11	κεκρειται	κέκριται	
16:12	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:17	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
16:20	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:21	θλειψεως	θλίψεως	
16:23	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:23	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:25	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:25	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:25	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:25	ὕμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:26	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
16:32	σκορπισθηται	σκορπισθῆτε	
16:33	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
17:3	γεινωσκωσιν	γινώσκωσιν	
17:21	ημειν	ἡμῖν	
18:8	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
18:31	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
18:33	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
18:35	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
18:37	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
18:38	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:1	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:4	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:4	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
19:6	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:8	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:10	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:12	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:13	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:15	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:19	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	
19:21	Πειλατω	Πιλᾶτω	
19:22	Πειλατος	Πιλᾶτος	Πειλλατος
19:38	Πειλατον	Πιλᾶτον	
20:20	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
20:21	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
20:26	υμειν	ὕμῖν	
21:11	Σειμων	Σίμων	

## I instead of Y (2 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
12:23	εληλυθεν	ἐλήλυθεν	εληλιθεν
12:36	υιοι	υιοί	ιοι

## I instead of OI (1 error)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
7:19	πει	πει	ποιει

## EI instead of H (4 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
1:35	Ιωαννεις	Ἰωάννης	
4:10	ηδεις	ἦδεις	ειδεις
10:41	ην	ἦν	ειν
15:7	μεινη	μείνη	μεινει

## H instead of EI (5 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
3:21	ηργασμενα	εἰργασμένα	
6:40	εχει	ἔχει	εχη
10:28	αρπαση	ἀρπάσει	
11:44	κηριας	κειριας	
15:18	εμισει	(ἐ)μίσει	εμίσησε

## H instead of Y (2 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
8:54	ημων	ὕμων	υμων
12:43	υπερ	ὑτέρ	ηπερ

## Y instead of I (1 error)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
10:32	υμιν	ὕμιν	υμυν

## OI instead of EI (1 error)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
5:14	ευρισκει	εὕρισκει	ευρισκοι

## 2. The E-Sound

## E instead of AI (12 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
1:38	λέγετε	λέγεται	
2:17	καταφαγετε	καταφάγεται	
4:9	αιτεις	αἰτεῖς	ετεις
9:4	εργαζεσθε	ἐργάζεσθαι	
10:8	κλεπτε	κλέπται	
10:9	εξελευσετε	ἐξελεύσεται	
10:18	ερι*	αἶρει	
13:37	δυναμε	δύναμαι	
13:37	ακολουθησε	ἀκολούθησαι	
14:2	πορευομε	πορεύομαι	
16:22	ερι*	αἶρει	
17:10	δεδοξασμε	δεδόξασμαι	

## AI instead of E (165 errors)

John	Present Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
1:23	ευθυναι	εὐθύνατε	
1:38	ζητειται	ζητεῖτε	
1:39	ερχεσθαι	ἔρχεσθε	
1:39	οψεσθαι	ὄψεσθε	
2:5	ποιησται	ποιήσατε	
2:8	αντλησται	ἀντλήσατε	
2:8	φερεται	φέρετε	
2:16	αραται	ἄρατε	
2:16	ποιηται	ποιήτε	
2:19	λυσται	λύσατε	
3:11	λαμβάνεται	λαμβάνετε	
3:12	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
4:9	αιτεις	αἰτεῖς	ετεις
4:21	προσκυνησεται	προσκυνήσατε	
4:22	προσκυνιται	προσκυνεῖτε	
4:22	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
4:29	ιδεται	ἴδετε	ιδετε !
4:35	επαρται	ἐπάρατε	
4:38	εισελυληθαι	εἰσελυλήθατε	
4:48	πιστευσηται	πιστεύσητε	
5:7	βαλημαι	βάλῃ με	
5:8	εγிரαι*	ἐγειρε	
5:20	θαυμαζεται	θαυμάζητε	
5:28	θαυμαζεται	θαυμάζετε	
5:33	απεσταλκαται	ἀπεστάλκατε	
5:35	ηθελησται	ἠθελήσατε	

5:37	εωρακαται	ἐωράκατε	
5:38	εχεται	ἔχετε	
5:38	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
5:39	εραυναται	ἐραυνάτε	
5:40	θελεται	θέλετε	
5:40	εχηται	ἔχητε	
5:44	δυνασθαι	δύνασθε	
5:44	ζητειται*	ζητεῖτε	
5:45	ηλπικαται	ηλπίκατε	
5:46	επιστευεται	ἐπιστεύετε	
5:47	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
6:5	ερχεται	ἔρχετε	ερχεται
6:10	ποιησεται	ποιήσατε	
6:35	πωποται	πώποτε	
6:36	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
6:43	γογγυζεται	γογγύζετε	
6:53	εχεται	ἔχετε	
6:62	θεωρησεται	θεωρήσετε	
7:8	αναβηται	ἀνάβητε	
7:14	αναιβη	ἀνέβη	
7:23	χολαται	χολᾶτε	
7:28	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
7:28	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
7:28	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
7:34	ζητησετε	ζητήσετε	ζητησεται
7:34	ευρησεται	εὐρήσετε	
7:36	ζητήσεται	ζητήσετε	
7:36	ευρησεται	εὐρήσετε	
7:45	ηγαγεται	ἡγάγετε	
7:47	πεπλανησθαι	πεπλάνησθε	
8:14	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
8:15	κρίνεται	κρίνετε	
8:19	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
8:19	ηδितαι*	ἦδειτε	
8:19	ηδितαι*	ἦδειτε	
8:21	αποθανισθαι*	ἀποθανεῖσθε	
8:21	δυνασθαι	δύνασθε	
8:24	αποθανισθαι*	ἀποθανεῖσθε	
8:24	πιστευσηται	πιστεύσητε	
8:24	αποθανισθαι*	ἀποθανεῖσθε	
8:28	υψωσεται	ὕψώσητε	
8:31	μεινηται	μείνητε	
8:37	εσται	ἔστε	
8:39	ποιειται	ποιεῖτε	
8:43	γινωσκεται	γινώσκετε	
8:43	δυνασθαι	δύνασθε	
8:44	θελεται	θέλετε	
8:47	ακουεται	ἀκούετε	

8:54	λεγεται	λέγετε	
9:24	επερωτησεται	ἐπερωτήσατε	
9:27	ηκουσεται	ἠκούσατε	
9:27	θελεται	θέλετε	
9:30	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
9:41	ειχεται	εἶχετε	
9:41	λεγεται	λέγετε	
10:25	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
10:26	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
10:32	λιθαζεται	λιθάζετε	
10:36	λεγεται	λέγετε	
10:38	πιστευ(σ)ηται	πιστεύητε	
10:38	πιστευσεται	πιστεύετε	
10:38	γινωσκηται	γινώσκητε	
11:15	πιστευσηται	πιστεύσητε	
11:34	τεθικαται	τεθείκατε	
11:39	αραται	ἄρατε	
11:42	παντοται	πάντοτε	
11:49	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
11:50	λογιζεσθαι	λογίζεσθε	
12:8	εχεται	ἔχετε	
12:8	εχεται	ἔχετε	
12:19	ωφελιται*	ὠφελεῖτε	
12:29	γεγονέναι	γεγονέναι	γεγοναῖναι
12:35	εχεται	ἔχετε	
12:36	εχεται	ἔχετε	
12:36	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
13:13	φωνιται*	φωνεῖτε	
13:13	λεγεται	λέγετε	
13:14	οφειλεται*	ὀφείλετε	οφιλεται
13:15	ποιηται	ποιῆτε	
13:17	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
13:17	ποιηται	ποιῆτε	
13:19	πιστευσηται	πιστεύσητε	
13:33	ζητησεται	ζητήσετε	
13:34	δυνασθαι	δύνασθε	
13:35	ασται	ἐστέ	
13:43	αγαπαται	ἀγαπᾶτε	
13:35	εχται	ἔχητε	
14:1	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
14:1	πιστευεται	πιστεύετε	
14:3	ηται	ἦτε	
14:3	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
14:3	οιδαται	οἶδατε	
14:7	εγνωκαται	ἐγνώκατε	
14:7	γικωσκεται	γινώσκετε	
14:7	εωρακαται	ἐωράκατε	
14:9	εμαι	ἐμέ	

14:11	πιστεωσται	πιστεωσθε	
14:11	πιστεωσται	πιστεωσθε	
14:13	οι εησηται	οι εησητε	
14:14	οι εησηται	οι εησητε	
14:14	με	με	
14:15	αγαπηται	αγαπητε	αγαπηται
14:15	εηρησηται	εηρησητε	
14:17	γεινοσθεται *	γεινοσθε	
14:19	θωρηται *	θωρητε	
14:24	οκουεται	οκουεθε	
15:7	οι εησασθαι	οι εησασθε	
15:8	φωρηται	φωρητε	
15:8	γενησθαι	γενησθε	
15:10	εηρησηται	εηρησητε	
15:10	μενεται	μενετε	
15:14	ποιηται	ποιητε	
15:16	εξελεξισθαι	εξελεξισθε	
15:16	υπαγγηται	υπαγγητε	
15:16	φωρηται	φωρητε	
15:17	αγαπηται	αγαπητε	
15:20	μνημονευεται	μνημονευετε	
16:16	θωρηται *	θωρητε	
16:16	οψεσθαι	οψεσθε	
16:17	θωρηται *	θωρητε	
16:19	ζητειται	ζητειτε	
16:23	οι εησασθαι	οι εησασθε	
16:24	οι εησασθαι	οι εησασθε	
16:24	οι εησασθαι	οι εησασθε	
16:24	ληψασθαι	ληψασθε	
16:26	οι εησασθαι	οι εησασθε	
16:32	σχωρησθηται	σχωρησθητε	
16:33	θωρηται	θωρητε	
16:34	ζητειται	ζητειτε	
16:34	πινεται	πινετε	
16:39	φωρεται	φωρετε	
19:6	λαβεται	λαβετε	
19:35	πιστευηται	πιστευητε	
20:31	πιστευηται	πιστευητε	
21:6	ευρησεται	ευρησετε	

## 3. The O-Sound

O instead of 62 (4 errors)

John 7:4	Present Reading θωρησθαι	Correct Reading θωρησθαι	Changed from
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8:57	εορακας	ἐώρακας
19:23	ανοθεν	ἄνωθεν
20:18	εορακα	ἐώρακα

### Ω instead of O (1 error)

John	Correct Reading	Correct Reading	Changed from
5:29	εκπορεύονται	ἐκπορεύονται	εκπορεύωνται

In  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  the scribe has committed 492 orthographical errors, divided as follows:

Vowel Sound	Error Type	No. of Errors	Total
I-Sound	I instead of EI	155	
	EI instead of I	139	
	I instead of Y	2	
	I instead of OI	1	
	EI instead of H	4	
	H instead of EI	5	
	H instead of Y	2	
	Y instead of I	1	
	OI instead of EI	1	310
E-Sound	E instead of AI	12	
	AI instead of E	165	177
O-Sound	O instead of Ω	4	
	Ω instead of O	1	5
Grand Total			492

A number of comments are in order here.  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$  has confused just about all the various types of letters that could be confused on account of the *HGP* that had already been in force for several centuries. Then, it is obvious that the most common source of error is the i-sound, and especially the confusion of  $\epsilon\iota$  with  $\iota$  and vice versa. This is followed by the confusion of the e-sound, i.e.  $\epsilon$ , instead of  $\alpha\iota$  and especially  $\alpha\iota$  instead of  $\epsilon$ . Further, we must remember that it is only the mistakes that divulge what pronunciation the scribe used. The correct spelling of words simply testifies partly to some knowledge on the part of the scribe of how to spell (i.e. he was not ignorant of all spelling – no one ever is!), and partly to good luck. In no circumstances can correct spelling be taken as evidence of the current pronunciation.

The incompetence of the scribe or the corrector can be also seen from the fact of his partial corrections. It happened on occasion that the scribe or

the corrector corrected only one mistake in a word, but left another mistake uncorrected. This is the case, for instance with Jn 14:15 where the original scribe had written  $\epsilon\alpha\nu\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  (presumably an effort to create a subjunctive form following  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ). This was corrected to  $\epsilon\alpha\nu\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ . That is, the corrector realized that the  $\eta$  in the penult should have been an  $\alpha$  and corrected it accordingly. But it escaped him that the word was not a third person singular (i.e. middle present), but a second person plural (active present subjunctive, following  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ). He ought, therefore, to have corrected the final  $\alpha\iota$  to  $\epsilon$ . But because he was *anorthographous*, he left it uncorrected. His problematic spelling is seen also in his treatment of aspirate words in Jn 5:42. Because the sense of aspiration had been lost long ago, the scribe mistook the unaspirated word  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  for aspirate and changed the correct form of  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$  into  $\omicron\upsilon\chi$ . This was corrected later back to  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ .<sup>128</sup>

In order to get an impression of the frequency of the orthographical errors in a running text, I quote the following passages from  $\Phi^{66}$  and  $\Phi^{72}$ . The first one on Jn 14:7-12 is from  $\Phi^{66}$ .<sup>129</sup>

ΕΙ ΓΝΩΚΑΤΑΙ  
 ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$  ΜΟΥ ΓΝΩΣΕΣΘΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΠ ΑΡΤΙ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΩΡΑΚΑΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥ  
 ΤΩ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  ΔΕΙΞΟΝ ΗΜΙΝ  
 ΤΟΝ  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$  ΚΑΙ ΑΡΚΕΙ ΗΜΙΝ ΛΟΓΙ  
 ΑΥΤΩ ΙΣ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΜΕ  
 Θ ΥΜΩΝ ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΓΝΩΚΑΣ  
 ΜΕ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΕ Ο ΕΩΡΑΚΩΣ ΕΙΠΑΙ  
 ΕΩΡΑΚΕ ΤΟΝ  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$  ΠΩΣ ΣΥ ΛΕΓΕΙΣ  
 ΔΕΙΞΟΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΟΝ  $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$  ΟΥ ΠΙΣΤΕΥ  
 ΕΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΕΓΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ  $\overline{\pi\rho\iota}$  ΚΑΙ Ο  $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$   
 ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΑ ΡΗΜΑΤΑ Α Ε  
 ΓΩ ΛΑΛΩ ΓΙΝΕΙΝ ΑΠ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΥ ΛΑ  
 ΛΩ Ο ΔΕ  $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$  ΕΝ Ε[ν]ΜΟΙ ΜΕΝΩΝ  
 ΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΤΑΙ  
 ΜΟΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΓΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ  $\overline{\pi\rho\iota}$  ΚΑΙ Ο  $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$

<sup>128</sup> The papyri evidence many such mistakes, e.g. in Rm 12:5 the correct  $\kappa\alpha\theta'\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  has become  $\kappa\alpha\tau\ \iota\varsigma$ , i.e. exhibiting two mistakes, one of which concerns the aspirate  $\theta$ . Barbarous inability to distinguish between the Greek sounds of  $\tau$  and  $\theta$  are exemplified, in, e.g., by  $\Phi^{72}$  in 1 Pt 5:1, where  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is spelled as  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , and by  $\Phi^{46}$  at Hb 7:4, where  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omicron\theta\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$  is spelled as  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omicron\tau\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$ . At 2 Pt 2:10 the scribe of  $\Phi^{72}$  writes down  $\zeta$  instead of the correct  $\delta$  ( $\alpha\upsilon\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ). The copyist of  $\Phi^{46}$  does the same at 1 Cor 9:10, spelling  $\epsilon\phi'\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$  twice wrongly as  $\epsilon\phi'\ \epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\iota$ . This, of course, shows that these scribes pronounced  $\delta$  in the Greek way, not as the Erasmians do: 'zd' or 'dz' (cf. how some Germans and Dutch today pronounce English 'the' as 'zi').

<sup>129</sup> To distinguish more easily the errors, I write them in uncial letters. The *Nomina sacra*, as is the usual procedure, receive a supralinear stroke.

ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΔΙΑ ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ ΑΥ  
 ΤΑ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΑΜΗΝ ΑΜΗΝ ΛΕΓΩ  
 ΥΜΕΙΝ Ο ΠΙΣΤΕΥΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΜΕ ΤΑ  
 ΕΡΓΑ Α ΕΓΩ ΠΟΙΩ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΙ  
 [κα]και ΗΙΖΟΝΑ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙ

In twenty-one short lines of text this scribe has succeeded in committing thirteen orthographical errors, in addition to other mistakes<sup>130</sup>. The situation in  $\Phi^{72}$  is even more dramatic. Here in twenty-one lines (1 Pt 1:5-10), containing 85 words, the scribe has made no fewer than twenty-two orthographical errors:

τοὺς ἐν δὺμῃ φρουρουμένου[ς] δι  
 α πείστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐγγ  
 ἡν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν κερῶ  
 ἐσχατῶ ἀγαλλεῖσθαι οἱ λίγ  
 ἀρτί εἰ θεὸν ἐστὶν λυπηθέντες  
 ἐν πολλοῖς πειρασμοῖς εἶναι  
 τὸ λοκείνιον τῆς πείστεως ὑ  
 μῶν πολυτείνωτερον χρῆσθαι  
 τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου καὶ δια πυρὸς  
 λοκείμαζομένου εὐρεθῇ εἰς ἐ  
 πίσην καὶ δοξάν καὶ τειμήν  
 ἐν ἀποκαλύψει τῆς χρῆσιν οὐ  
 κ εἰδόντες ἀγαπάτε εἰς ὃν ἀρ  
 τει μὴ ὀρώσας πείστεγοντες δε  
 λ]γαλλεῖσθε χάρα ἀνεγλαῆτ[ω  
 κ]αὶ δεδοξασμένη κοινῇ  
 ἡμεῖς το] τελ[ος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶ  
 σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν περὶ τῆς σω  
 τηρίας ἐξεζητήσαν καὶ ἐξηρα  
 νῆσαν προφηταὶ γ περὶ τῆς εἰς  
 ὑμᾶς χαρεῖτος προφητεύσαν  
 τες

This high frequency of orthographical errors is almost entirely absent from our current editions of the NT, and the non-specialist in textual criticism is unaware of how widespread the mistakes caused by the problem of pronunciation are. And although most of these errors have no bearing on the meaning of the text, they still show us that the pronunciation used by the first Christians was the *HGP*, not the artificial creation of Erasmus. On the other hand, in a number of variants, where orthographic errors are involved, the factor of pronunciation, as we shall see below, does play a vital role in the process by clarifying the facts and laying before the text-critic the real options.

<sup>130</sup> The wrongly spelled words are set in uncial type to distinguish them easily.

By adopting the *HGP*, the modern scholar will be able to 'hear' the NT authors as their first audiences heard them, and to experience something of the ambivalence of sounds precisely as they experienced them, as well as to join them in critically determining which word was meant by a particular sound-unit. In many such instances, this will assist them in the complex process of sifting the evidence with a view to arriving at the original reading.

## VI. Approaching Similarly Spelled but Identically Pronounced Variants

Even the *GNT*, whose avowed aim is to take up only such variants as are important for the meaning of the text, and hence crucial for translators, does take up a sufficient number of *variae lectiones*, that would come under the category of identically or similarly pronounced words. The *GNT* is misleading in this regard, both because it uses the designation "itacism"<sup>131</sup> and that very sparingly on just a handful of cases<sup>132</sup>, and thus (perhaps imperceptively) creates the impression that the phenomenon is infrequent<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, the uncertainty of the *GNT* committee about whether the few instances so designated are cases of "itacism" or not is underlined by the invariable use of the question mark after that term. This state of affairs is unsatisfactory, because it fails to supply the necessary information on a potent factor in the transmission of the text.

In the following pages a limited number of variants will be treated, being categorized according to the letters confused<sup>134</sup>. This is to give an idea of the variety of sounds and letters involved in the confusions<sup>135</sup>. The frequent confusion of e.g. ι with ει and ε with αι has been exemplified by the innumerable examples in  $\P^{66}$ . My purpose here is twofold: (a) to indicate the scope of confusion caused by the *HGP* and (b) to show that the appli-

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<sup>131</sup> For the pejorative connotations attached to *itacism* and its incorrect use, see under section IV, above.

<sup>132</sup> This is mostly on such forms as ἡμεῖς and ἡμῖς or ὑμῖν and ὑμεῖν.

<sup>133</sup> In this regard METZGER's *Textual Commentary* is much more alert to this problem. He mentions it often, but, on the other hand, not infrequently he does not seem to draw the necessary conclusions, and goes on to explain the variants as conscious alterations.

<sup>134</sup> The witnesses will be given as in the *GNT*, occasionally with additions wherever this is feasible. To economize space the names of the Christian authors are abbreviated.

<sup>135</sup> Although the MS support might have been cited more briefly, I decided to quote all of the witnesses in the *GNT*, in order to let appear the whole evidence on which the committee has based its judgments, and on which I base my own arguments.

cation of the *HGP* in not a few places can help us decide with greater certainty the original reading.

The contribution of commentaries on the following text-critical discussions is minimal, since commentators as a rule follow the text of the *GNT* or *NA* without further ado. Where they do take up a variation unit for discussion, they normally accept the verdict of the editors and the explanation supplied by Metzger's commentary, which they express in their own words.

# 1. Interchange between H and Y

In particular the Book of Acts and the Epistles offer many examples in which the MSS are divided between the first and the second person plural of the personal pronoun. While it is possible here to argue that the variants have come about as a result of different senses or even theological understandings that the scribes perceived in or had of these passages, it should not escape us that these texts, or at least some of these texts, may well be the result of the *HGP*. Especially the fact that the dividing line here cuts across both the *Minority Textform* (i.e. the so-called 'Alexandrian') and the *Majority Textform* (i.e. mainly the so-called 'Byzantine') ought to indicate less a theological stance and more a result of chance such as would have been expected from faulty orthography. Moreover, the choices of the committee of the *GNT*, which, as we shall see, lie now with the one and then with the other variant, encourage us to take up the question of orthography and to test whether and to what extent this can explain the rise of these variants. In the treatment of these variants we shall also notice a certain inconsistency on the part of the *GNT* committee in applying its principles in its evaluations of such variants.

## 1) Mt 18:14: οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ...

- a. ὑμῶν **X** D<sup>c</sup> L W D f<sup>1</sup> 28 205 565<sup>vid</sup> 597 1006 1071 1292 1342 1505 *Byz* [E G]  
*Lect*<sup>pt</sup> AD I<sup>t</sup><sup>aur</sup>, b, c, d, e, f, m, 2, g<sup>1</sup>, h, i, l, n, q, Vg Syr<sup>c,p,h</sup> m<sup>ss</sup> Slav Chrys; Jer Aug Speculum  
 b. ἡμῶν D\* / 890 Chrys<sup>mss</sup>  
 c. μου B F H N O Θ Σ 078 f<sup>13</sup> 33 157 180 579 700 892 1010 1241 1243 1424  
*Lect*<sup>pt</sup> Syr<sup>s,h</sup> Cop<sup>sa, me, b</sup> Arm Eth Geo Orig Macar/Sym

The readings ὑμῶν and μου are about equally well supported. From the point of view of the context either of them gives excellent sense. With regard to internal probability, in Mt πατήρ μου occurs 16 x; πατήρ ὑμῶν 12 x (outside this text), and πατήρ σου 5 x. The choice stands between ὑμῶν and μου. The *Distinctive* reading ἡμῶν, which can hardly be construed as a con-

scious change, is clearly a pronunciation error. If ὑμῶν is the correct reading, the variant μου, which cannot be explained as a pronunciation error, is theologically motivated<sup>136</sup>.

## 2) Acts 3:22: προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ...

- a. ὑμῶν **℣**<sup>2</sup> A D 36 81 181 307 453 610 945 1175 1678 1739 1891 *Byz*<sup>pl</sup> *Lect*<sup>pl AD</sup>  
It<sup>ar, c, d, dem, gig, ph, ro, w</sup> Vg Arm Geo Slav<sup>ms</sup> Iren<sup>lat</sup> Orig<sup>gr3/4, lat</sup> Chrys Sever Cyr;  
Chromatius
- b. ἡμῶν **℣**\* C E Ψ 33 614 1409 2344<sup>vid</sup> *Byz*<sup>pl</sup> [P] *Lect*<sup>pl</sup> It<sup>c</sup> Syr<sup>h</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss</sup> Eth Slav  
Orig<sup>1/4</sup> Ps-Clem Ps-Just; Ambr Gaudentius

The *GNT* evaluation is {C}. This uncertainty is reflected in Metzger, who concedes that “it is difficult to decide”, and explains that the majority of the members saw ὑμῶν as the reading better supported<sup>137</sup>. Unfortunately, the OT form of the quotation is not much help here, since LXX Dt 18:15 reads σου. It ought to be noted, however, that θεὸς ἡμῶν etc. is much more frequent (266 times) than θεὸς ὑμῶν etc. (170 times) in the LXX. Although the *GNT* does not indicate it, Metzger concedes that the problem is one of “itacism”<sup>138</sup>. Whichever, reading is the original one, the impingement of the *HGP* has bequeathed to us a problem that is difficult to decide one way or the other.

## 3) Acts 3:25: τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ...

- a. ὑμῶν **℣**<sup>74</sup> **℣**<sup>2</sup> A B E 81 453 945 1175 1739 2344 / 1178 It<sup>c</sup> Vg<sup>ww, sl</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss, bo</sup>  
<sup>mss</sup> Arm<sup>mss</sup> Geo Slav<sup>ms</sup> Iren<sup>lat</sup> Chrys
- b. ἡμῶν **℣**\* C D Ψ 0165 36 181 307 610 614 1409 1678 1891 *Byz* [P] *Lect* It<sup>ar, c,</sup>  
d, dem, gig, h, p, ph, ro, w Vg<sup>cl</sup> Syr<sup>p,h</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss</sup> Arm<sup>mss</sup> Eth Slav<sup>ms</sup> Iren<sup>lat mss</sup>; Fulgentius

The choice of this reading, too, is evaluated as {C}. The reason given for choosing ὑμῶν is that ἡμῶν has been “conformed to the general usage of Acts in referring to ‘our fathers’”<sup>139</sup>. This argument has some force, since in Acts πατέρες ἡμῶν occurs 18 times, while πατέρες ὑμῶν only 4 times, but it is not decisive. With regard to age, the reading ἡμῶν is as old as its com-

<sup>136</sup> GUNDRY, *Matthew*, 368, prefers μου on account of Matthew’s inclination to parallelism (here with vs. 10).

<sup>137</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 274.

<sup>138</sup> BARRETT, *Acts*, I, 209, is aware that “ὑμῶν and ἡμῶν were pronounced alike”, but thinks that “Luke used no pronoun and that copyists and editors supplied whatever they thought fit”.

<sup>139</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 274.

petitor. Here again we see how the *HGP* has created a problem that is practically insoluble.

4) Acts 7:38: ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ...

- a. ἡμῖν A C D E Ψ 33 81 181 614 945 1175 1739 1891 2344<sup>vid</sup> Byz [P] / 1178 It<sup>ar</sup>.  
c, d, dem, c, gig, ph, ro, w Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Arm Eth Chrys Cyr  
b. ὑμῖν Ɔ<sup>74</sup> B 36 307 453 610 1409 1678 / 1439 It<sup>p</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo, meg</sup> Geo Slav Iren<sup>lat</sup>

Although the reading ὑμῖν has stronger attestation (e.g. age) it is rejected as “erroneous” because “it appears from the context that what is needed is ἡμῖν”<sup>140</sup>. Here internal questions of context are determinative over questions of external evidence<sup>141</sup>.

5) Acts 13:26: ... ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης ἐξαπεστάλη

- a. ἡμῖν Ɔ<sup>74</sup> B A B D Ψ 33 81 614 2344<sup>vid</sup> It<sup>d, sin</sup> Syr<sup>h mg</sup> Cop<sup>sa meg</sup>  
b. ὑμῖν Ɔ<sup>45</sup> C E 36 181 307 453 610 945 1175 1409 1678 1739 1881 Byz [L P]  
Lect It<sup>ar, c, dem, gig, p, ph, ro, t, w</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo Slav Chrys

Two reasons have guided the committee for choosing ἡμῖν: “the context as well as a combination of Alexandrian and Western witnesses”<sup>142</sup>. We may grant the second reason, but not the first. The reading ἡμῖν ill-fits the exigencies of the occasion. This is a missionary speech, in which Paul has delineated God’s dealings with his people (13:16b-25), and now makes a fresh start by addressing the audience with the vocative ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί and speaking to them of the word of salvation that was sent out – to whom? to the Apostles? That would, indeed, be a strange and ineffective way of giving *dénouement* to this rhetorical build-up. Surely, the reading that the context demands here is the second person plural pronoun ὑμῖν: “to you is this word of salvation sent out”.

6) Acts 16:17: οἵτινες καταγγέλλουσιν ... ὁδὸν σωτηρίας

- a. ὑμῖν Ɔ<sup>74</sup> B D E 36 307 453 610 1175 1409 1739 1891 It<sup>ar, c, d, dem, gig, l, p, w</sup> Vg  
Syr<sup>p, h, pal</sup> Cop<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo Orig<sup>lat</sup> Eustath; Lucif  
b. ἡμῖν A C Ψ 33 81 181 614 945 1678 2344 Byz [L P] Lect It<sup>c, ph, ro</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> Slav  
Orig<sup>gr</sup> Chrys

<sup>140</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 307.

<sup>141</sup> BARRETT, *Acts*, I, 366, in spite of the strong evidence for ὑμῖν, prefers ἡμῖν because of the probable scribal tendency to differentiate Stephen from the Jews.

<sup>142</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 360.

Again while I can understand that ὑμῖν is “supported by weighty evidence”, I fail to see that this reading is “more appropriate to the context”<sup>143</sup>. Would the Python-influenced girl distinguish herself from those addressed by Paul and his friends? To argue that the speaker is the spirit, not the girl, is not entirely unproblematic. Paul makes the girl, not the spirit, the subject of ἔκραζεν. In a text such as Mk 3:11, where the author intends to present the spirits as the speakers, he quite clearly makes them the subject of the verb: τὰ πνεύματα ... ἔκραζον<sup>144</sup>. On material grounds, therefore, the choice here is at least ambivalent.

7) Rm 13:11: ὥρα ἤδη ... ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι

- a. ὑμᾶς **℣**\* A B C P 81 365 1319 1852 1881 (1962 ὑμᾶς ἤδη) 2127 It<sup>ar.</sup> b. d. f. g. o  
Vg Cop<sup>bo</sup> Slav Clem Pachom<sup>lat</sup> Cyr; Ambrst Jer Pelag Aug  
b. ἡμᾶς **℣**<sup>46</sup> vid **℣**<sup>2</sup> D (F G L 1175 1912 ἡμᾶς ἤδη) Ψ 0150 6 33 104 256 263 424  
436 459 1241 1506 1573 1739 1912 2200 Byz Syr<sup>p.</sup> <sup>pal</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> Arm Geo Chrys

The choice here has been determined by the probability that the scribe altered an original ὑμᾶς to ἡμᾶς in view of the first person plural in the next clause<sup>145</sup>. If this could be proved, it would make it a conscious alteration rather than a pronunciation error, which Metzger has conceded for the above treated texts. That Paul has in mind his readers when he says “it is time to rise up from sleep” may be readily conceded. But is it not equally true that in the face of strong or reprehensible language authors generally – and so, Paul, too – tend to speak in an inclusive language in order to soften the harshness? Thus, although Paul may have written “it is time for us to rise ...”, would any Greek reader have missed the rhetoric behind this formulation? I think not. The least that we can say is that the original reading could have been either way. But the probability is that Paul used the first person plural.

8) Rm 15:7: καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ...

- a. ὑμᾶς **℣** A C D<sup>2</sup> F G Ψ 33 81 256 263 365 424 436 1175 1241 1319 1573 1739  
1881 1912 1962 2127\* 2200 Byz [L] Lect It<sup>d2.</sup> f. g. <sup>sue</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p.</sup> <sup>h</sup> Cop<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth  
Geo Slav Orig<sup>lat</sup> Chrys Cyr; Ambrst Pelag Speculum

<sup>143</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 396. BARRETT, *Acts*, II, 786 f. says “ἡμῖν ... is thus a natural but in fact inappropriate ‘correction’”, implying that the speaker is the spirit, not the girl.

<sup>144</sup> In Lk 8:28 the speaker is the demoniac, even though he is the agent of the demons.

<sup>145</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 467. Similarly CRANFIELD, *Romans*, II, 680.



b. ἡμᾶς B D\* P 048 0150 104 459 1506 1852 2127<sup>c</sup> 1147 1590 1597 1751 1884  
11159 11441 It<sup>ar, b, d\*, r, o</sup> Vg<sup>ms</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> Theod<sup>lem</sup>

The second person plural is said to have “superior and more diversified support”<sup>146</sup>. It certainly has the main support of the so-called Π, while its competitor mentions only a smaller part. In this case the context must be decisive and this demands the second person plural. But once again, we see the effects of the *HGP* in our earliest and ‘best’ MSS.

9) 1 Cor 7:15: ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ... ὁ Θεός

a. ὑμᾶς K\* A C K 0150 81 1175 2127 Cop<sup>bo</sup>  
b. ἡμᾶς P<sup>46</sup> K<sup>2</sup> B D F G Ψ 6 33 104 256 263 365 424 436 459 1241 1319 1573  
1739 1852 1881 1912 1962 2200 2464 Byz [L] Lect It<sup>ar, b, d, f, g, o</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup>  
Cop<sup>sa, fay</sup> Arm Eth Slav Bas Chrys Cyr; Tert Ambrst Jer

The superiority of the support for ἡμᾶς, which has both *Minority* (i.e. ‘Alexandrian’) and *Majority* (i.e. ‘Byzantine’) witnesses, is admitted by the committee<sup>147</sup>. But the committee chose ὑμᾶς because of “the tendency of scribes to make modifications in the interests of generalizing the reference of aphorisms”<sup>148</sup>. Perhaps with more cogency it might be argued that the context of vv. 15-16, in which the believing wife and the believing husband are addressed, argues for the second person plural in the above text. In other words, it addresses their specific problem rather than making generalized aphorisms.

10) 1 Cor 15:14: κενὸν ἄρα [καὶ] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ...

a. ὑμῶν K A D<sup>2</sup> F G Ψ 0150 0270<sup>c</sup> 104 256 263 424 436 459 1175 1852 1962  
2127 2200 2464 Byz [K L P] Lect It<sup>b, d, f, g, o, r</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss, bo</sup> Arm Eth  
Geo Slav Iren<sup>lat</sup> Ps-Ignat Adamant<sup>lat</sup> Chrys Cyr<sup>mss</sup>; Ambrst Greg-Elvira Rufin  
Pelag Aug  
b. ἡμῶν B D\* 0243 0270\* 6 33 81 1241 1739 1881 1912 1147 1170 1422 1592  
1593 1596 11156 It<sup>ar</sup> Vg<sup>mss</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss, fay</sup> Marc<sup>acc. to Tert</sup> Adamant<sup>8r</sup> Cyr-Jer Epiph  
Cyr; Tert Jer

Once again the *HGP* is responsible for the second reading. The context, however, demands the second person plural. I agree with the editors’ choice.

<sup>146</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 473.

<sup>147</sup> THISELTON, *First Corinthians*, 534, expresses surprise at METZGER’s evaluation of the support as being “only ‘slightly stronger’”.

<sup>148</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 489.

11) 2 Cor 1:11: τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ...

- a. ἡμῶν  $\eta^{46c}$   $\aleph$  A C D\* G  $\Psi$  075 0121 0243 6<sup>vid</sup> 33 81 104 256 263 365 436 459  
1175 1319 1573 1739 1852 1881 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz<sup>pl</sup> [K L P] / 597  
/ 598 / 751 / 883 / 884 / 1021 / 1356 / 1441 / <sup>AD</sup> It<sup>ar</sup>, b, d, f, g, r Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup>  
Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Arm Geo<sup>1</sup> Chrys; Ambrst Pelag  
b. ὑμῶν  $\eta^{46r}$  B D<sup>2</sup> F 0150 424 1241 1912 Byz<sup>pl</sup> [K L P] Lect It<sup>o</sup> Vg<sup>ms</sup> Geo<sup>2</sup> Sever

In spite of the good support for ὑμῶν the committee adopted the reading ἡμῶν because the first is “almost unintelligible”, caused by “the circumstance that in later Greek η and υ were pronounced alike”<sup>149</sup>. This is recognized for mid-II century. In other words, contextual considerations are again decisive here.

12) Gal 4:6: ὅτι δέ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ... κρᾶζον, Αββα ὁ πατὴρ

- a. ἡμῶν  $\eta^{46}$   $\aleph$  A B C D\* F G P 104 459 1175 1241 1739 1881 1912 1962 Lect<sup>pl</sup>  
It<sup>ar, b, d, f, g, o, r</sup> Vg<sup>ww, xl</sup> Syr<sup>pal</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> pt Arm Geo Slav Marc<sup>acc. 10 Tert.</sup> Orig<sup>lat</sup>  
Athan<sup>2/4</sup> Bas Didym<sup>dub2/3</sup> Marcus-Eremita Cyr<sup>2/11</sup>; Ambrst Hil Priscill Ambr  
Chromatius Niceta Jer Pelag Aug<sup>7/11</sup> Speculum Varimadum Ps-Vigilius  
b. ὑμῶν D<sup>2</sup>  $\Psi$  075 0150 6 33 81 256 263 365 424 436 1319 1573 1852 2127  
2200 2464 Byz [K L] Lect<sup>pl</sup> <sup>AD</sup> Vg<sup>cl</sup> Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>bo</sup> pt Eth Athan<sup>2/4</sup> Didym-  
dub1/3 Chrys Sever Theod<sup>lat</sup> Cyr<sup>9/11</sup> Hesych Theodot-Ancyra Theodt, Victorin-  
Rome Aug<sup>4/11</sup>

The reading ἡμῶν has early *Minority* (or ‘Alexandrian’) and *Distinctive* (or ‘Western’) support. It is also supported by Itala and mainly certain Latin Fathers, such as Ambrosiaster, Hilary, Jerome, Pelagius, and Augustine (mostly). The alternative reading has later, mainly *Majority* (or ‘Byzantine’) MS support. But it is also supported by a part of the Versional tradition (Vg Syr Cop Eth). Its earliest Greek support, however, is Athanasios (IV<sup>th</sup> century: partly) and the Fathers Chrysostomos, Severian, Theodoros Kyrillos, Theodoretos, *et. al.*

Metzger’s only reason for preferring the reading ἡμῶν is that it is “strongly supported by early and diversified witnesses”<sup>150</sup>. What is interesting here is the inconsistency of the committee in its use of criteria. In Act 7:38, above, the far better supported reading ὑμῖν was rejected as “erroneous” because “it appears from the context that what is needed is ἡμῖν”! It may be asked why the same criterion was not applied here, since it is

<sup>149</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 507. Similarly THRALL, *Second Corinthians*, I, 126.

<sup>150</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 526. Similarly LONGENECKER, *Galatians*, 161.

quite clear that ἡμῶν is too difficult a reading to fit the present context. In spite of the fact that Paul often passes from one person to another, a sentence such as οἱ δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον, Αἰββὰ ὁ πατὴρ is nonsense. There is no logical connection between the Galatians being “sons” and us (presumably the Apostles or all Christians) receiving the Spirit. Why should the reception of the Spirit by the Apostles or by all Christians depend upon the adoption of the Galatians? But if the entire verse refers to the Galatians, the whole matter is clarified: because the Galatians are sons, they have received the Spirit. This is Pauline teaching. It has, apparently not been observed that the reading of the older and supposedly best MSS is absurd as is the case with 1 Cor 7:15 and 2 Cor 1:11, above. Instead of condemning the reading ὑμῶν as consciously “conforming the person of the pronoun to the earlier ἐστε”, it ought to have been recognized that the HGP is responsible for the reading ἡμῶν. Thus, not theology nor grammar have given rise to ὑμῶν, but the similar pronunciation of η and υ is probably to blame for the mistaken reading ἡμῶν. This is more likely than the opposite case.

- 13) Eph 3:13: διὸ αἰτοῦμαι μὴ ἐγκακεῖν ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσίν μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν δόξα ...

a. ὑμῶν **N A B D F G Ψ** 075 0150 6 256 263 365 424 1175 1241 1852 1881 1962  
2200 2464 Byz [K L P] *Lect* It<sup>ar, b, d, f, g, o</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo Slav  
Orig Chrys Theod<sup>lat</sup>, Victorin-Rome Ambrst Jer Pelag Aug  
b. ἡμῶν **ϝ<sup>46</sup> C** 33 81 104 436 459 1573 1739 1912 2127 Cop<sup>bo ms</sup>

The choice here has been motivated by the fact of “early and weighty witnesses”. The competing reading ἡμῶν is “totally inappropriate in the context”. It is explained by the fact that “In later Greek the vowels η and υ came to be pronounced alike, and inattentive scribes tended to confuse them”<sup>151</sup>. All this is very true, but Metzger has failed to mention that the faulty reading, represented by **ϝ<sup>46</sup>**, is older than the accepted reading. It shows once again that the question of pronunciation has interfered with our MS tradition from the very start.

- 14) Eph 4:32: καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο

a. ὑμῖν **ϝ<sup>46</sup> N A F G P** 0150 6 81 256 263 365 1319 1573 2127 / 593 / 596  
/ 884 / 1159 / 1365 It<sup>ar, b, d, f, g, mon, o</sup> Vg<sup>cl</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Eth Clem Orig<sup>lat</sup> Bas Aug<sup>1/3</sup>

<sup>151</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 535.

- b. ἡμῖν <sup>99</sup> B D Ψ 075 33 104 424 436 459 1175 1241 1739 1852 1881 1912  
 1962 (2200 ἡμᾶς) 2464 Byz [K L] *Lect* Vg<sup>ww, st</sup> Syr<sup>p, h, pal</sup> Cop<sup>bo mas</sup> Arm (Geo)  
 Slav Orig Chrys<sup>com</sup> Nilus Proclus: Tert<sup>1/2</sup> Jer Aug<sup>2/3</sup>

The choice here is made on the grounds that the reading ὑμῖν is “adequately supported” and “seems to be required by the context”<sup>152</sup>. Again the alternative reading is explained as having arisen on account of the identical pronunciation between ὑμῖν and ἡμῖν. As far as external evidence goes the two readings are about equally well supported, which again shows the early impingement of the pronunciation question.

- 15) Eph 5:2: περιπατεῖτε ἐν ἀγάπῃ καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγάπησεν ...  
 καὶ παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

- a. ἡμᾶς <sup>96</sup> B D F G Ψ 075 0150 6 33 104 256 263 365 424 436 459 1319 1573  
 1739 1852 1881 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz [K L] *Lect* It<sup>d, g, o</sup> Vg Syr<sup>p, h, pal</sup> Arm  
 Geo Clem<sup>1/2</sup> Bas Chrys Theod<sup>lat</sup> Cyr John-Dam; Ambr Jer Pelag Aug<sup>6/8</sup> Vari-  
 mandum
- b. ὑμᾶς <sup>98</sup> A B P 0159 81 1175 1241 1912 / 60<sup>1/3</sup> / 593 / 597<sup>1/2</sup> It<sup>ar, b, f, mon</sup>  
 Vg<sup>ma</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Eth Slav Clem<sup>1/2</sup>, Victorin-Rome Ambrst Aug<sup>2/8</sup> Speculum

Metzger considers the two readings to be “evenly supported ... with a slight preponderance of weight favoring ἡμᾶς”<sup>153</sup>. The reasoning of the committee was that since the following clause, which is joined with the present one by καὶ, has ἡμῶν, it would be “indispensable” to let this clause, too, have the same pronoun. Here we see that one of two equally supported readings is the result of the *HGP*. Whether the committee’s reasoning is sound is another matter. In other cases the presence of one reading in the immediate context has led the committee to adopt the opposite reading (e.g. Rm 13:11). Best argues in basically the same way, considering that either reading gives good sense, and that they were often confused on account of the pronunciation<sup>154</sup>. It is obvious from this and other readings that while scholars have some awareness of the pronunciation issue, they only take it up as a last resort when nothing else seems to work or when uncertainty drives them to it. It is hereby maintained that the pronunciation issue should receive its rightful importance by taking the first place in considering a reading that can be so explained, and only if there are other very strong arguments for a more theological or other explanation should the solution offered by the pronunciation problem cease to be entertained.

<sup>152</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 538.

<sup>153</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 538.

<sup>154</sup> BEST, *Ephesians*, 463 ff. LINCOLN, *Ephesians*, 293, chooses similarly.

## 16) Eph 6:12: ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ... ἡ πάλῃ πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα

- a. ἡμῖν **℣** A D<sup>2</sup> 1 075 0150 6 33 104 256 263 365 424 436 459 1241 1319 1573  
 1739 1852 1881 1912 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz [K L P] Lect (I 1154 ἡμᾶς)  
 It<sup>ar.</sup> g<sup>o</sup>. Vg Syr<sup>h</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> mss. bo Arm Geo Marc<sup>ecc</sup> to Tert Iren<sup>lat</sup> Clem Orig<sup>gr.</sup> lat 20/23  
 Method Euseb Aster Ps-Athan Titus-Bostra Ps-Ignat Greg-Nys Didym Ammon  
 Macar/Sym Chrys Marcus-Eremita Theod<sup>lat</sup> Cyr Hesych<sup>2/3</sup> Theodt; Tert Cypr  
 Hil Ambr Jer Pelag
- b. ὑμῖν **℥**<sup>46</sup> B D\* F G Ψ 81 1175 1422 1592<sup>2/3</sup> 1593 1597 1441 It<sup>b.</sup> d. f. g<sup>2</sup>.  
 mon. o Vg<sup>ms</sup> Syr<sup>p</sup> pal Eth Slav Orig<sup>lat</sup> 1/23 etc.

The support for ὑμῖν is understood to be stronger, but the choice of the alternative reading is said to be according to the principle of the *lectio difficilior potior*<sup>155</sup>. This time the demands of the context have not been heeded. Vs. 10 exhorts the readers to be strong in the Lord. The thought continues in vs. 11 with the exhortation to take upon them the whole armour of God in order to be able to stand against the devil's wily methods. In vs. 12 he explains that this is necessary because "your fight is not against blood and flesh, but against the principalities and powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness". Vs. 13, which repeats the thought that they should take up the armour of God, forms an *inclusio* with vs. 11. All these thoughts have been expressed in the second person plural. It would be strange if the author, in the midst of it all, changed the reference from the relevant application to the readers, to become a general aphorism in the first person plural, relevant to "us", i.e. all Christians. For, assuming that the author had in mind all Christians, this did not need to be explicitly expressed by disrupting the flow of thought and the relevance to the immediate readers, since it is quite obvious that what is true of the readers in a saying such as this is true of all Christians. From the point of view of the HGP, whatever our choice may be, its influence in creating two equally strong variants is incontestable, albeit it also helps us to see that it was ignorance of orthography that gave rise to the reading presently accepted in our NT editions.

## 17) Col 1:7: ὅς ἐστιν πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ... διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ

- a. ὑμῶν **℣**<sup>2</sup> C D<sup>2</sup> Ψ 075 0150 6 33 81 104 256 263 365 424 459 1175 1241 1319  
 1573 1739 1852 1881 1912 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz [K L P] Lect It<sup>ar.</sup> b. d. f. o  
 Vg Syr<sup>p.</sup> h. pal Cop<sup>sa</sup> bo Arm Eth Geo Slav Chrys Theodt<sup>lat</sup>; Ambrst Pelag
- b. ἡμῶν **℥**<sup>46</sup> **℣**\* A B D\* F G 436 147 1591 1884<sup>1/2</sup> 1921 It<sup>g.</sup> mon

<sup>155</sup> Similarly argued by BARTH, *Ephesians*, II, 763; LINCOLN, *Ephesians*, 430 and BEST, *Ephesians*, 592, who thinks that "it is difficult to see how, if original, it was altered to the weaker ἡμῖν". No account is taken here of the pronunciation factor.

The superiority of the reading ἡμῶν over ὑμῶν according to current principles and criteria is obvious. However, the widespread support in versal and patristic witnesses led the committee to choose the later and weaker reading. It is thought that the copyists of ἡμῶν shall have been influenced by the preceding ἡμῶν<sup>156</sup>. This time the issue of pronunciation is not considered. But, surely, the situation is more complicated than that. That one of the readings is the result of the *HGP* cannot be doubted. The question is: Which one? What is the author likely to have written – that Epaphras was a servant of Christ on behalf of the Colossian Church which had sent him to serve Paul, or that Epaphras was a faithful servant of Christ on behalf of Paul (i.e. in serving Paul, who was in prison)? That is the question. In the first case the word ὑπέρ would mean “instead of” (that is, Epaphras served Paul in the place of the Colossian Church, i.e. as their substitute), whereas in the second case, it would mean “he was a servant of Christ on behalf of Paul” (i.e. in serving Paul). In the Pauline corpus (13 letters) ὑπέρ occurs 101 times. Unless we understand those cases in which Christ is presented as having died ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν etc. as upholding the sense of “instead of”<sup>157</sup>, there is really only one occurrence in which ὑπέρ has that sense, Philm 13: δὲ ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν κατέχειν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονῇ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ... This text clearly has the sense of “that he might serve me in your place” (i.e. “instead of you”). Had Paul used the singular, πιστὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διάκονος, the issue would have been insoluble. But now, unless Paul is using the first person plural as an author plural, referring exclusively to himself, it would be more natural to understand the plural as referring to a plurality of persons, and in this case the Colossians are the best candidates. Once again we see that our earliest MSS have been subjected to erroneous readings caused by scribes incapable of spelling correctly, once the *HGP* had set in.

18) Col 2:13: συνεζωοποίησεν ... σὺν αὐτῷ, χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν / ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα

- a. ἡμᾶς **N\*** A C 0150 6 81 424\* 436<sup>c</sup> 1739 1881 2200 *Byz* [K L] / 147 / 156 / 593 / 617 / 1159 / 1441 / <sup>AD</sup> Vg<sup>ms</sup> Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Eth Geo<sup>2</sup> Slav<sup>ms</sup>  
 b. ἡμᾶς **9**<sup>46</sup> B 33 Lect It<sup>mon, o</sup> Vg<sup>ms</sup> Syr<sup>pal</sup> Marc<sup>acc. to Tert.</sup> Orig<sup>acc. to 1739</sup>; Hil<sup>3/6</sup> Priscill Ambr Jer

A majority of the committee preferred ἡμᾶς, which is “adequately supported”, explaining the alternative variant as an attempt to conform the per-

<sup>156</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 552-53.

<sup>157</sup> E.g. Rm 5:6; 2 Cor 5:14-15; 1 Th 5:10.

son to the following ἡμῖν. This explanation is not satisfactory. Why should, for example, only the scribes of  $\Phi^{46}$ , B, and 33 wish to conform the person to the following ἡμῖν, but not the scribes of the other MSS? Did they not notice the incongruity? Moreover, if copying was performed by first reading as much of the text as a meaningful unit and then copying it before proceeding to the next unit, we would expect the meaning unit to be συνεζωοποίησεν ... σὺν αὐτῷ and the following unit χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα. It would then be difficult for the original scribe to conform the earlier clause to the later clause, which he had not yet heard read, or read to himself. But before a decision is made, we need to consider the following variant.

19) Col 2:13: συνεζωοποίησεν ὑμᾶς / ἡμᾶς σὺν αὐτῷ, χαρισάμενος ... πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα

- a. ἡμῖν  $\Phi^{46}$   $\aleph^*$  A B C D F G  $\Psi$  048 075 0150 0208 33 81 104 256 263 365 424 436 459 1175 1241 1319 1573 1739 1852 1881 1962 2127 2200 *Byz* [ $K^c$ ] *Lect* It<sup>ar</sup>, b, d, g, mon, o Vg<sup>mas</sup> Syr<sup>p, h, pal</sup> Cop<sup>sa mas, bo</sup> Arm Geo Slav<sup>mas</sup> Marc<sup>acc. to Tert</sup> Chrys Theodt, Ambrst Hil<sup>2/5</sup> Priscill Pacian Ambr Jer Pelag Aug<sup>4/5</sup>  
 b. ὑμῖν  $\aleph^2$  K<sup>2</sup> L P 6 1912 I<sup>AD</sup> It<sup>f</sup> Vg Co<sup>psa mas</sup> Eth Theod<sup>lat</sup> Theodt<sup>lem</sup>, Tert Hil<sup>3/5</sup> Aug<sup>1/5</sup>

The problem here is quickly dismissed by Metzger: the first reading has stronger support<sup>158</sup>. No further ado is deemed necessary<sup>159</sup>. Thus, we end up with a sentence that is quite unreasonable: "He made *you* alive together with him having forgiven *us* all (*our*) trespasses"! Why, this time, the context did not come into play in this and the above reading of this verse as in other cases, treated above, is difficult to say. That there is a transition from the second to the first person is undeniable. The question is: At what point does the transition take place? It appears to me that it would be better to keep to the second person throughout the entire verse 13, not because the division of the text into verses means anything in Textual Criticism, but because of the unity of thought contained therein. Vs. 14 may then be understood as a broader reference and thus more smoothly facilitate the transition from the second to the first person plural.

20) Phlm 6: ἐν ἐπιγνώσει παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ ... εἰς Χριστόν

- a. ἐν ἡμῖν A C D  $\Psi$  048vid 0150 81 424 436 1241 1319 1852 2200 *Byz* [K L] *Lect* It<sup>d, o</sup> Vg<sup>it</sup> Syr<sup>h mg</sup> Geo Chrys<sup>lem</sup> Theod<sup>lat</sup> Ambrst Jer Pelag

<sup>158</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 556. O'BRIEN, *Colossians*, 123, follows suit.

<sup>159</sup> See METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 556.

b. ἐν ὑμῖν <sup>61</sup> ⲛ F G P 075 33 104 256 263 365 450 1573 1739 1881 / 590 / 593 / 680 / 895 / 1159 It<sup>ar.</sup> b. f. g Vg<sup>cl</sup> ww Syr<sup>p.</sup> h Cop<sup>sa.</sup> bo Arm Slav Chrys<sup>com</sup>

Although the second person plural enjoys somewhat stronger MS support than its competitor, the committee chose ἡμῖν because it is “more expressive” and because “standing amid other pronouns of the second person singular and plural, ἡμῖν was more likely to be changed by the copyists to ὑμῖν than vice versa”<sup>160</sup>. This time no contextual grounds are invoked. Nor is the variation of the readings attributed to the problem of pronunciation. If we applied the argument used in deciding the reading of 1 Cor 7:15, above, namely, that aphorisms are generalized in the first person plural, it might be argued that “so that you will have a full insight into every good thing that is ἐν ὑμῖν / ἡμῖν in Christ” argues for the first person plural. However, neither the committee nor Metzger make use of this argument.

Now, to begin with, it is a moot question whether εἰς Χριστόν should be translated with “in Christ”. The phrase so translated is regularly ἐν Χριστῷ<sup>161</sup>. Nor does Paul appear to be using εἰς Χριστόν here as an equivalent of ἐν Χριστῷ<sup>162</sup>. The phrase rather means “unto Christ” or “toward Christ”. Ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως σου is not “your generosity or liberality”<sup>163</sup>, but the fellowship or participation in the Christian grace that arises from faith. That this κοινωνία is to be connected with ἐνεργῆς γένηται, and this, in turn, to be taken together with εἰς Χριστόν cannot be doubted. The phrase ἐν ἐπιγνώσει etc. is instrumental indicating how the κοινωνία becomes ἐνεργῆς ἐν Χριστῷ<sup>164</sup>. The Katharevousa translation of

<sup>160</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 588. This explanation, which is taken up by O'BRIEN, *Colossians, Philemon*, 275, actually goes back to LIGHTFOOT, *Colossians and Philemon*, 336, for whom the Erasmian pronunciation was normative.

<sup>161</sup> For the use of this expression, see CARAGOUNIS, *The Ephesian Mysterion*, 152-57 and literature, there.

<sup>162</sup> O'BRIEN, *Colossians, Philemon*, 281, wants to understand it so, but already LIGHTFOOT, *Colossians and Philemon*, 336, objected, interpreting it differently: “leading to Him as the goal”; similarly MOULE, *Colossians and Philemon*, 142.

<sup>163</sup> O'BRIEN, *Colossians, Philemon*, 280.

<sup>164</sup> This, “notoriously the most obscure verse in this letter” (MOULE, *Colossians*, 142), has been rendered by O'BRIEN, *Colossians, Philemon*, 275 as “I pray that your generosity, which arises from your faith, may lead you effectively into a deeper understanding and experience of every blessing which belongs to us as fellow-members in the body of Christ”. This very neat rendering is not a true reflection of the difficult and problematic original. MOULE's brief commentary has actually synopsized the problem more effectively than most and given the main options, although O'BRIEN's commentary is more extensive. See also LIGHTFOOT, *Colossians and Philemon*, 335-36; VINCENT, *Philippians and Philemon*, 179-81 and BRUCE, *Colossians, Philemon and Ephesians*, 208-09.



1851 by understanding ἐπίγνωσις as ‘letting be known’ (i.e. φανέρωσις) has managed to come to a satisfactory sense of what Paul may have intended: διὰ νὰ γείνη ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεώς σου ἐνεργὸς διὰ τῆς φανέρωσεως παντὸς καλοῦ τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (“in order that the fellowship / participation of your faith might become active through the manifestation (letting be known) of all good things that are among you unto Christ Jesus”).

The context seems to imply that Paul is thinking of Philemon’s Christian standing and actions within his own circle (cf. vs. 5: σου τὴν ἀγάπην ... εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους), in which case the second person plural ought to be the original reading. If this solution is correct, it implies that the variants are not the result of conscious change, but of inadvertency, the result of the confusion of two words that sounded identically. All this illustrates how the pronunciation issue can play an arbiter’s role in deciding text-critical problems.

21) 1 Jn 1:4: καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ..., ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ἡμῶν / ὑμῶν ᾗ πεπληρωμένη

a. ἡμεῖς **℣** A\*<sup>vid</sup> B P Ψ 33 It<sup>z</sup> Cop<sup>sa mss</sup>

b. ὑμῖν A<sup>c</sup> C 81 322 323 436 945 1067 1175 1241 1243 1292 1409 1505 1611 1735 1739 1844 1852 1881 2138 2298 2344 2464 Byz [K L] Lect It<sup>ar</sup> Vg Syr<sup>h</sup>  
h. pal Cop<sup>sa ms, bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo Slav Aug

The reading ἡμεῖς has mainly *Minority* (i.e. ‘Alexandrian’) support in the oldest and best regarded uncials. The competitor reading has somewhat later support and that mainly in the *Majority* (i.e. ‘Byzantine’) Textform as well as in a number of old translations. The argument for preferring ἡμεῖς is partly “the quality of its support” – which simply means **℣** and B – and partly that the copyist would be more likely to alter ἡμεῖς to ὑμῖν. Since this and the following problematic reading of this verse are interdependent, a decision must await the treatment of the next variant.

22) 1 Jn 1:4: καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ἡμεῖς / ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ... ᾗ πεπληρωμένη

a. ἡμῶν **℣** B L Ψ 322 436 1067 1175 1241 1409 Lect It<sup>ar</sup> Vg<sup>ww</sup> st Cop<sup>sa</sup> Geo

b. ὑμῶν A C 33 81 945 1243 1292 1505 1611 1735 1739 1844 1852 1881 2138 2298 2344 2464 Byz [K P] l 422 l 598 l 938 l 1021 Vg<sup>cl</sup> Syr<sup>h</sup> pal Cop<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth Slav Aug Bede

According to Metzger<sup>165</sup>, the committee's choice of ἡμῶν is based on the following three grounds: (a) ἡμῶν is supported by the best uncials, i.e.  $\aleph$  and B, (b) "that copyists who recollected Jn 16:24 (ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ὑμῶν ᾗ πεπληρωμένη) would have been likely to alter ἡμῶν to ὑμῶν", and (c) "ἡμῶν seems to suit best the generous solicitude of the author, whose own joy would be incomplete unless his readers shared it"<sup>166</sup>. Though not decisive, ground (a) has some force;<sup>167</sup> here  $\aleph$  and B are set against A C and 33. But grounds (b) and (c) are not convincing. It is highly unlikely that a copyist would have "recollected" Jn 16:24 without, at the same time, recollecting the whole saying, whose import is quite different to that of the present saying<sup>168</sup>. In Jn 16:24 the saying is: αἰτεῖτε καὶ λήψεσθε, ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ὑμῶν ᾗ πεπληρωμένη. The saying here is: καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν ... ἵνα ἡ χαρὰ ... ᾗ πεπληρωμένη. The possessive pronoun cannot be decided without regard to what is being said in the whole sentence. The first person plural would have been felt as a deterrent to any influence from Jn 16:24. To play with the supposition that a partial memory might have played tricks on a copyist is a rather hazardous speculation. A copyist had no reason to confuse these two sayings. As for the third ground, namely, that the author's joy would be incomplete unless the readers shared in it, it reflects a strange exegesis<sup>169</sup>. The tenor of the entire passage is that John does something (i.e. proclaiming "what was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen" *for the benefit of the readers* ("to you" (ὁμῶν), vs. 2). In vs. 3 he reiterates that what he does ("what we have seen, and heard proclaim" *has the readers as the beneficiaries* (to you (ὁμῶν), and gives the end in view ("in order that you, too (καὶ ὑμεῖς), may have fellowship with us"). The kind of fellowship he is speaking of is a fellowship with the Father and the Son. And now he rounds up his preface with the words: "And these things we write (καὶ ταῦτα γράφομεν) [...] in order that [...] joy may be full". If we were to fill in the first person plural pronoun, this final *dénouement* in his introduction would run out in the sand. To build up this rhetorical *prooimion*<sup>170</sup>, which frequently refers to the readers

<sup>165</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 639.

<sup>166</sup> These arguments are as old as ALFORD's *Greek Testament*, Vol. IV, 425.

<sup>167</sup> Here  $\aleph$  and B are set against A C and 33.

<sup>168</sup> The same applies to Jn 15:11, invoked by SMALLEY, *1, 2, 3 John*, 14 and MARSHALL, *The Epistles of John*, 105.

<sup>169</sup> This is reflected by the fact that commentators have found it difficult to account for this explanation, see, e.g., MARSHALL, *The Epistles of John*, 105; SMALLEY, *1, 2, 3 John*, 13 f.

<sup>170</sup> On the place and significance of the *prooimion* see Aristoteles, *Rhetorike Technē* III. 14, 4-12.

as the beneficiaries of what is described as being done by the sender, and then to conclude it by making the sender the beneficiary, must be a remarkable anticlimax. Throughout this passage we see that John is doing something for the recipients of his letter. The emphasis lies on the effect that what John does will have upon his readers. It would be strange, indeed, if he shared the Gospel with them in order to make his *own* joy complete. The tenor of the passage demands the second person plural, i.e. “And these things we are (= I am) writing to *you*, in order that *your* joy may be full”.

The editors of the *GNT* have, of course, chosen the *lectio difficilior*. But the grounds on which this has been done do not carry conviction. On the contrary, the second person plural is supported by the repeated references throughout the letter to John’s undertaking something for the sake of the addressees, so that the readers will have the benefit of it: 1:5: ἀναγγέλομεν ὑμῖν; 2:1: ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν; 2:7: οὐκ ἐντολὴν καινὴν γράφω ὑμῖν; 2:8: ἐντολὴν καινὴν γράφω ὑμῖν; 2:12-14: γράφω / ἔγραψα ὑμῖν; 2:21: οὐκ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν; 2:26: ἔγραψα ὑμῖν; 5:13: ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν. It is important to note that all of these γράφω / ἔγραψα phrases are followed by something that happens for the direct benefit of the addressees. If in 1:4 John had written to them for the sake of his own joy, that would skew from all the other statements of similar tenor in this letter.

The gist of the above discussion is that the alternative readings ἡμεῖς and ἡμῶν are the result of the current pronunciation, and that no conscious change need have been involved. That this is the case is proved by the fact that many MSS (e.g. A 33 322 436 1067 1175 1241 1409) exhibit inconsistency in their choice of the logically appropriate readings (ἡμεῖς-ἡμῶν and ὑμῖν-ὑμῶν). If the change had been conscious, these MSS would have had in both places either the first person or the second person plural. Their randomly witnessed variants of the first person in one place and the second person in the other place, or *vice versa* – in itself an inappropriate procedure – shows beyond all doubt that one of the sets of readings has been caused by the *HGP*, rather than being the outcome of premeditation. That the erroneous readings ἡμεῖς-ἡμῶν is witnessed in the relatively early  $\aleph$  and B only indicates that the error is old. In other places the erroneous variant is found already in the II<sup>nd</sup> century papyri.

23) 2 Jn 12: ἐλπίζω γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ στόμα πρὸς στόμα λαλῆσαι, ἵνα ἡ χαρά ... πεπληρωμένη ᾖ.

a. ἡμῶν  $\aleph$   $\Psi$  945 1175 1292 1505 1611 1735 1844 1846 1852 2138 Byz [K L P]  
*Lect* (l 147 χάρις for χαρά) Vg<sup>mss</sup> Syr<sup>ph,h</sup> Arm Geo

b. ὡμῶν A B 33 81 322 323 436 1067 1243 1409 1739 1881 2298 2344 2464  
/ 422 / 596 / 921 It<sup>ar</sup> Vg Cop<sup>bo</sup> Eth Slav

It is interesting to note how Metzger motivates the decision of the committee. He cites at greater length the support of the chosen reading – “K L P Ψ 614 Byz Lect syr<sup>ph</sup> arm al.” – whose total number of witnesses is actually smaller than that of the competing variant, while he presents the MS support of the rejected reading, whose total number of witnesses is bigger and somewhat better than its competitor, more summarily – “A B 33 81 1739 vg cop<sup>bo</sup>”. Again, the reason for accepting the first person plural is “the author’s generous spirit”<sup>171</sup>. This is, of course, consistent with the committee’s choice of reading in 1 Jn 1:4, but, as in that text, here, too, the resultant sense is unnatural and rather improbable: “Having many things to write to you ... I hope ... to speak with you mouth to mouth, so that our (i.e. my) joy will be full”. The possibility that the reading ἡμῶν might be the unfortunate result of the current pronunciation has not been entertained.

## 2. Interchange between H and I

1) Mt 19:24 (= Mk 10:25, Lk 18:25): εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν ... διὰ τρυπήματος  
ράφιδος διελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ

a. κάμηλον K B C D L W Z Δ Θ f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 157 180 205 565 700 892 1006  
1010 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1505 Byz [E F G H O Σ] Lect It<sup>a</sup> aur c. d. f. m. 2  
g l. h. i. n. q. r l Vg Syr<sup>c</sup> s. p. pal Cop<sup>sa</sup> meg. bo Eth Slav Orig<sup>gr</sup> lat Chrys; Hil Ambr  
Gaudentius Jer Aug

b. κάμιλον 579 1424 / 211 / 524 / 673 / 858 / 866 Cyr

The reading κάμηλον is overwhelmingly supported by all textforms and almost throughout the history of the text. The reading κάμιλον is found as early as the IV-V<sup>th</sup> century (Kyrillos of Alexandria). For the rest it is supported by minuscules and lectionaries from the IX<sup>th</sup> to the XII<sup>th</sup> cent. The word κάμιλος is taken by *LSJ* (s.v.) to be a coinage to emend our passage. Such an explanation is, however, unlikely, because the word does have a definite meaning: τὸ παχὺ σχοινίον (*Souda*, s.v. κάμηλος). Cf. also Hesychios' *Lexicon* s.v. κάμινος, which connects it with ships. The word occurs in *Scholion on Aristophanes Wasps* 1035 f., where it is distinguished from the animal κάμηλος: κάμιλος σχοινίον διὰ τοῦ ι<sup>172</sup>. In his *Commentary on*

<sup>171</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 653. SMALLEY, *1,2,3 John*, 314, thinks the reading ὡμῶν arose by assimilation to the second person ... earlier in the sentence.

<sup>172</sup> The word does not occur in SOPHOCLES, *Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, in *MM*, or in any of the eight volumes of the *New Documents Illustrating Early*

*Matthew*, Kyrillos expresses himself thus: Κάμηλον δὲ ἐνταῦθα φησιν οὐ τὸ ζῶον τὸ ἀχθοφόρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ παχὺ σχοινίον, ἐν ᾧ δεσμεύουσι τὰς ἀγκύρας οἱ ναῦται. Kyrillos thus considers the same word as having two different meanings<sup>173</sup>. It is unlikely that Kyrillos, an inhabitant of the port city of Alexandria, would have expressed himself in this way unless the word did have the meaning which he attributes to it. It may be that the word was a colloquial one and has suffered the fate of final silence of many other words and expressions.

Both the external evidence and internal probability agree in supporting κάμηλος. The collocation of κάμηλος with the eye of a needle is incongruous, since it is unnatural to associate the animal camel with the eye of a needle, though this might have been the very reason for substituting it by κάμιλος. On the other hand, the reading κάμιλος ('rope', 'cable'), which is a kind of 'thread', is perfectly suitable to the image, albeit it, too, underscores the impossibility of its passing through a needle's eye. Apparently, however, the camel was used in a kind of proverbial way of the biggest animal in Palestine (cf. Mt 23:24)<sup>174</sup>, while the rabbinic literature provides examples of the impossibility of an elephant passing through the eye of a needle<sup>175</sup>. No doubt, Jesus' original hearers would have understood the reference, but apparently this proved too violent a picture for the Greek scribes, who substituted the more natural meaning of 'rope', 'ship's cable' in the form of κάμιλος. It may be, however, that the copyists were acquainted with a word such as κάμιλος, and it was quite natural for them to

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*Christianity*. It is listed in Δ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Λεξικόν*, Vol IV, p. 3599, described as post-classical and modern, but its only evidence are the *Scholion on Aristophanes*, *Souda* and Lk 18:25 v.l. Curiously the word does not occur in ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ' *Λεξικό* of the mediaeval demotic literature. Nor is there any trace of it in the two standard lexica of current Neohellenic: Μ ΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλῶσσας* and *Λεξικό τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς*. The word does, however, occur in an anecdote by Greek revolutionary Admiral Ἀνδρέας Μιαούλης (1769-1835), who asked his learned secretary to request credit from the Greek Government for the purchase of κάμιλος: Παρακαλοῦμεν ὅπως μᾶς χορηγηθῇ πίστῳσις πρὸς ἀγοράν καμίλου (= "We request that credit be given us to buy cable") (quoted in Εὐ. ΜΙΛΛΕΟΥΝΗ, *Ἱστορικά Ἀνέκδοτα*, p. 284).

<sup>173</sup> It may be of interest to note the two meanings derived from the same stem in the Semitic languages: Heb. חָמַל (Jewish Aram.-Syr. ܚܡܠ; Arab.: *jamal*) = κάμηλος; Arab. *jumal* = 'cable of a ship'. See further KOHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon*, I, 197 and JASTROW, *Dictionary of the Targumim* etc. 253-54.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. MICHEL, Art. κάμηλος in *TDNT*, III, 592-94. See further *BDAG*, s.v. κάμιλος and *EDNT*, II, 247-48.

<sup>175</sup> See the evidence cited by *Str.-B*, Vol. I, 828. For more hypotheses see DAVIES-ALLISON, *Matthew*, III, 51 f. and MICHEL, art. κάμηλος in *TDNT*, III, 591-3 and note 6.

hear this word being read. Once again we see the tricks that the current pronunciation played on the scribes of our MSS.

2) 2 Th 2:4: ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ...

- a. καθίσαι X A B D\* Ψ 6 33 81 104 256 263 365 436 459 1573 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 / 596 / 1441 It<sup>ar, b, d, f, mon, o</sup> Vg Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo Slav<sup>ms</sup> Marcion<sup>acc. to Tertul</sup> Iren Hip Orig<sup>gr, lat</sup> Euseb Basil-Ancyra Cyril-Jer Cyril<sup>1/2</sup>; Tert Ps-Cypr Ambrst Tycon Ambr Jer Ruf Pel Aug Quodvultdeus
- b. καθῆσαι P (1319 1365 ὡς θεὸν καθῆσαι) 2464
- c. ὡς θεὸν καθίσαι D<sup>2</sup> G<sup>c</sup> 075 0150 424 1175 1241 1852 2200 Byz [K L] Lect (/ 170 / 422 / 603 / 1365) It<sup>gc</sup> Syr<sup>p, h with\*</sup> (Slav<sup>ms</sup>) Iren Chrys Cyril<sup>1/2</sup> John-Dam
- d. καθίσαι ὡς θεὸν 1984 1985 Theophyl
- e. ἵνα θεὸν καθίσαι F (G\*) It<sup>g\*</sup>

From the point of view of the present interest, the five readings may be classed as two variants, καθίσαι and καθῆσαι. These variants represent two different verbs: the first is aorist infinitive of καθίζω, 'to cause to sit down,' 'to seat', 'to install', 'to take a seat', 'to dwell', while the second is aorist infinitive of κάθημαι 'to sit', 'to be seated', 'to take a seat', 'to dwell'. The two words partly overlap in meaning, the main difference being that whereas κάθημαι refers to the state of being seated or sitting (durative), καθίζω implies a causative agent or the idea of being installed (ingressive, punctiliar). Thus, if the author wanted to draw attention merely to the fact of the Lawless One's sitting in the temple of God, κάθημαι would be sufficient; but if his intention was to underline the fact that he installed or enthroned himself in the temple of God, then what we need is καθίζω. In the context there is no one who installs or causes the Man of Sin to sit in the temple of God; he takes the initiative to do so himself. This circumstance makes the use of καθίσαι practically equivalent to καθῆσαι. The first variant, καθίσαι has overwhelming MS support, whereas the second variant may be a correction, since καθίζω was increasingly constructed as a causative<sup>176</sup>, and the context lacks the explicit referents to support such a meaning. On the other hand, the possibility that καθῆσαι is simply a pronunciation mistake for καθίσαι, in view of the similarity of meaning here, should not be ruled out of court.

<sup>176</sup> This is the development in Mediaeval and Neohellenic. see, e.g., ΚΡΙΑΡΑ, *Λεξικό*, VII, 208; and ΜΠΑΡΠΙΝΙΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό*, or the *Λεξικό της Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς* s.v. καθίζω and κάθημαι.

## 3. Interchange between I, EI, and H

## 1) Mk 15:34: Ὁ Θεός μου ὁ Θεός μου, εἰς τί ... με;

- a. [με] ἐγκατέλιπες  $\aleph$  B C  $\Delta$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  059 0233  $f^1$   $f^{13}$  28 157 180 205 579 597 700  
 1006 1010 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1505 2427 Byz [F H (P ἐγκατέλιπας)]  
*Lect* It<sup>aur, d, fl2, l, n, Vg</sup> Co<sup>psa, bo, fay</sup> Arm Eth Geo Slav Diatess<sup>arm</sup> Ptolemy<sup>acc. to Irenaeus</sup>  
<sup>8r</sup> Just Euseb  
 b. ἐγκατέλειπες A E G L 083 565 892 / 424

The first reading is grammatically correct, whereas the second reading is a pronunciation mistake, confusing the i-sound of the aorist indicative written with ι with the similarly pronounced ει.

## 2) Jas 3:3: ... τῶν ἵππων τοὺς χαλινοὺς εἰς τὰ στόματα βάλλομεν

- a. εἰ δέ B<sup>2</sup> L  $\Psi$  33 436 1067 1243 1409 1505 1611 1735 1852 2344 2464 / 590  
 / 592 / 680 / 883 / 884 / 1154 It<sup>ar, ff, s, (1)</sup> Vg Cop<sup>bo</sup> Geo John-Dam (without accents:  $\aleph^2$  A B\* K)  
 b. ἴδε 81 322 323 945 1175 1241 1292 1739 2138 2298 Byz *Lect* Cp<sup>sa</sup> Arm  
 (Slav<sup>ms</sup>) Ps-Ambr (without accents: C P)

The external evidence in favor of εἰ δέ is very strong. As far as internal probability goes, the HGP could have given rise to either reading. The committee chose εἰ δέ as the more difficult reading<sup>177</sup>. This actually means that the whole of vs. 3 is the protasis of a conditional sentence that is never completed. However, leaving things hanging in the air is not the practice of this author; he regularly structures his sentences meticulously. On the other hand, the reading ἴδε gives good sense and makes vs. 3 a complete sentence. The problem is strictly one of pronunciation and it should be decided on intrinsic probabilities<sup>178</sup>.

## 3) Jas 4:5: πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ... ἐν ὑμῖν

- a. κατώκισεν  $\Phi$ <sup>74</sup>  $\aleph$  B  $\Psi$  1241 1739 Slav  
 b. κατώκησεν 33 322 323 436 945 1067 1243 1292 1409 1505 1611 1735 1852  
 2138 2298 2344 Byz [K L P] *Lect* It<sup>ar, ff, l, s, 1</sup> Vg Syr<sup>(p)</sup>,<sup>h</sup> Arm Eth Geo Nilus  
 c. κατώκεισεν A 81 11 75 2464 / 680

<sup>177</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 611.

<sup>178</sup> Care is required with regard to the application of the principle of the *lectio brevior probabilior*. Its general validity has been recently challenged (see EPP, "The Papyrus MSS of the NT" in EHRMAN-HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 16).

This passage has actually three variants, being an excellent example of the interchangeability of ι, η, and ει. Although the readings κατώκισεν and κατώκησεν represent the aorist of two different verbs, κατοικίζω ('to settle') and κατοικέω ('to dwell'), there cannot be any doubt that two of the three variants are erroneous, the result of the *HGP*. The first reading has God as subject and the Spirit as object, "he made to dwell", while the second reading has the Spirit as the subject: "he dwelt". The third reading, κατώκεισεν, is simply a faulty spelling being intended as one of the other two words. Grammatically, both of the first two variants make good sense. Metzger seems to imply that a conscious change from the first to the second reading has taken place, because "κατοικίζειν occurs nowhere else in the New Testament"<sup>179</sup>. However, this explanation must give way to the far more probable explanation supplied by the issue of pronunciation. Inasmuch as no theological motive is discernible, the cause for the rise of the two variants is that the two i-sounds (ι, η) were pronounced alike. This receives added support from the third variant, which does not represent a real option and hence a deliberate change, but is simply a third way – though erroneous – of spelling the same word (i.e. all three i-sounds: ι, η, and ει were pronounced identically).

#### 4. Interchange between Υ, Ι, and Η

Jn 4:5: ἔρχεται οὖν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας λεγομένην ...

- a. Συχάρ Ɔ<sup>66, 75</sup> Ⲭ B C D K W<sup>supp</sup> Δ Θ Ψ 086 0141 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 157 180 205 565  
 579 597 700 892 1006 1010 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1424 1505 Byz [E F  
 G H N] Lect It<sup>a</sup>, aur. (b), c, d, e, f, 172, j, l, q, r1 Vg<sup>st</sup> Syr<sup>h</sup>, pal Cop<sup>sa</sup>, bo, fay (Eth) Geo Slav  
 Euseb Chrys Cyr<sup>lem</sup>, Ambr mms<sup>acc to Jer</sup>  
 b. Σιχάρ 69 Vg<sup>cl, ww</sup> Cop<sup>boms</sup> mss<sup>acc to Jerome</sup> Aug  
 c. Σηχάρ l 950

Here we have a good example of the confusion between υ, ι, and η. The name Sychar is unknown outside this text. The place has sometimes been thought to be Shechem<sup>180</sup> for which there is a coincidence in the Syriac Curetonian and Sinaiticus as well as in Hippolytos (Arabic) and Jerome, according to which the place name is spelled with an y, i.e. *Sychem*. Although readings two and three do not have sufficient MS support to pose as competitors of the first reading, their existence is owing to the use of the *HGP*.

<sup>179</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 612.

<sup>180</sup> On Sychar and Shechem, see STEFANOVIC, "Jacob's Well" in *ABD*, III, 608 f.



## 5. Interchange between I and OI

Mt 24:7 (cf. Lk 21:11): καὶ ἔσονται ... κατὰ τόπους

- a. λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ **N** (σεισμοὶ κ: λιμοὶ) B D E\* 892 It<sup>a</sup>, b, d, f2, r1 Syr<sup>s</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> On<sup>vid</sup>; Hil
- b. λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ C Δ Θ 0102 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 157 180 205 597 700 828<sup>c</sup> 1006 1010 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1424 1505 Byz [E<sup>c</sup> F G H O Σ] Lect It<sup>h</sup>, q Syr<sup>p, h</sup> Cop<sup>meg</sup> Arm Geo Slav (Hippol) Orig<sup>lat</sup>; Cypr
- c. λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ L W 13 33 / 524<sup>1/2</sup> / 959<sup>1/2</sup> It<sup>aur</sup>, c, f, (m), g1, l Vg Syr<sup>pal</sup> Jer

From the point of view of the present discussion, the words that command our interest and attention are λιμοὶ and λοιμοί.<sup>181</sup> The second and third readings show an interchange between these two words, which was made possible simply because the diphthong οι was pronounced like the vowel ι. A scribe hearing the two words read would have no way of knowing which of the two words was the first and which was the second. The *GNT* refers also to the MSS 579 828\* / 127<sup>2/2</sup> / 253 / 547<sup>1/2</sup> / 859<sup>1/2</sup> / 866<sup>1/2</sup> and / 1074<sup>1/2</sup>, in which the order “is uncertain due to *itacism*” (see also Mk 13:8).

## 6. Interchange between O and Ω

1) Mk 7:19: οὐκ εἰσπορεύονται αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκπορεύεται ... πάντα τὰ βρώματα

- a. καθαρίζων **N** A B L W Δ Ψ 0274 f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 28 180 205 565 570 892 1006 1071 1241 1243 1292 1342 1424 1505 2427 Byz<sup>pl</sup> [E F G H] Lect<sup>pl</sup> Cop<sup>sa, bo</sup> Eth Slav Orig Chrys
- b. καθαρίζον K Γ 33 157 597 700 1010 Byz<sup>pl AD</sup>
- c. καθαρίζων or καθαρίζον It<sup>a</sup>, aur, b, c, d, f, f2, l, n, q Vg

The *GNT* committee evaluates its choice with {A}. A superficial look at the distribution of the MS evidence between the various readings confirms this evaluation. It is first when we consider the internal evidence that unsettling thoughts begin to arise.

Of the two possible ways of connecting the masculine participle καθαρίζων, the more plausible one is to connect it with the implicit subject of καὶ λέγει (vs. 18, i.e. Jesus) and to take it as the evangelist's com-

<sup>181</sup> ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ (“Φιλολογικά ἐκ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης” Ἀθηνᾶ 6 (1894) 120), points out that Codex Sinaiticus in four places (Lk 15:14, 17; 21:11, and 1 Cor 11:27) reads λειμός instead of λιμός!

ment:<sup>182</sup> “[And he said ... thus] declaring all foods clean”. This is not only the reading that enjoys overwhelming support in the MSS, but it is also the interpretation of Origenes, Chrysostomos, *et al.*, and it is the understanding of *i.a.* NEB, TEV, JB, NAB, NASB, NIV, NRSV, EÜ. Of commentators Taylor<sup>183</sup>, Lane<sup>184</sup>, Guelich<sup>185</sup>, and Hooker<sup>186</sup>, all accept this interpretation. Taylor<sup>187</sup> has presented the basic aspects of the problem, see also BDAG, s.v. καθαρίζω, 1 and 3.a.

Now, MS tradition, Christian authors, translations, and commentators not seldom have accepted the alternative reading καθαρίζον. The earliest Greek MS evidence for this is supplied by the minuscules 33 (A.D. IX-X) and 700 (A.D. XI), classified by Aland–Aland<sup>188</sup> as belonging to Categories I-II and III respectively (see p. 106), as well as the *Majority Textform* uncial K and Γ. The Latin versions offer no help in deciding whether their Greek MSS read the masculine or neuter form of the participle (see variant c). The Syriac Sinaiticus, which seems to presuppose καὶ καθαρίζεται, has, according to Black<sup>189</sup>, a passive verb which assumes βρώμα as its subject: “all the food being cast out and purged away”. It is furthermore significant that Codex Bezae reads καθαρίζει, while a few Versions (It<sup>i</sup>, <sup>r1</sup> Arm Geo) presuppose καὶ καθαρίζει. The GNT committee considered that these alternatives arose as a result of the difficulties felt in construing καθαρίζων with the rest of the saying<sup>190</sup>. As a matter of fact, the reading καθαρίζων, separated from λέγει αὐτοῖς by no fewer than 35 intervening words, poses a real problem of syntax, and although it is adopted by such important authors as Origenes and Chrysostomos, the difficulties may not be minimized. These authors were simply trying to make sense of καθαρίζων, since no other reading was known to them. This need not imply, however, that the neuter participle is necessarily a late reading, for it is presupposed already by the Syriac.

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<sup>182</sup> ALFORD, *The Greek New Testament*, Vol. I, 359-60, takes it with ἀφεδρών, by a construction “in which the grammatical *object* of the sentence is regarded as the logical *subject*”, quoting Sophokles, *Antigone* 259, as example. Although the classical passage is hardly a comparable instance, ALFORD’s interpretation is not impossible for such an author as Mark.

<sup>183</sup> TAYLOR, *Mark*, 345.

<sup>184</sup> LANE, *Mark*, 256-58.

<sup>185</sup> GUELICH, *Mark*, 378.

<sup>186</sup> HOOKER, *Mark*, 180.

<sup>187</sup> TAYLOR, *Mark*, 344-45.

<sup>188</sup> ALAND–ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 129-33.

<sup>189</sup> BLACK, *Aramaic Approach*, 159.

<sup>190</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 81.

On the other hand, the alternative reading καθαρίζον would constitute the last of a long line of verbal forms (εἰσπορευόμενον, δύναται, κοινῶσαι, οὐκ εἰσπορεύεται, ἐκπορεύεται) that have πᾶν τό as their subject. In this case, the meaning would be: “whatever enters into a man from outside cannot defile him, since it does not enter his heart, but his stomach, and goes out to the latrine purging all foods”. This way of construing καθαρίζον is syntactically unexceptionable. This seems to be the understanding of the other alternatives (D It Syr) mentioned above. The expression πᾶν τό refers to the imagined uncleanness that one receives when eating with unwashed hands. It is this unclean element that proceeds, not to the heart, but to the stomach and therefrom to the toilet, purging along with it all meats (i.e. ‘taking along with it all meats’). The exit of the waste from the body was understood in antiquity as a cleansing or a purging. It must be pointed out that precisely the verb καθαίρω / καθαρίζω along with a number of other words derived from the same stem (e.g. καθάρσιος, καθαρτικός) were used in ancient medicine of the purging of the stomach (κοιλία), the bowels, the uterus, etc., often with the help of medicaments<sup>191</sup>. The language used here would, consequently, be a natural way of expressing the view that whatever unclean had entered into a man also came out together with the other foods, and thus the κοιλία was purged of them all. It might be, of course, objected that in Mark it is the foods that are ‘purged’ (or ‘[declared] clean’?), not the stomach. In a context such as this the difference is immaterial: by purging away the foods, the stomach is cleansed.

But precisely because this reading gives good sense it may have been a deliberate correction (though not necessarily) for the difficult reading of the masculine participle. On the other hand, the masculine participle may have been an unconscious mistake caused by the identical pronunciation of the two words. Once this reading came into the MSS, a sense for it was sought, and was found by joining it to λέγει αὐτοῖς. Thus, while intentional change to make better sense cannot be ruled out – in which case καθαρίζων would be the correct reading – also the possibility of unintentional change should be entertained, in which case καθαρίζον would be the original reading.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. e.g. Hippokrates, *Gynaikeion* 11, 37: Τὰς δὲ ὑστέρας χρή, ἣν μὴ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν διαίτην ἐνακούωσι, καθαίρειν φαρμάκοισιν ἀδήκτοις προσθέτοισιν (“As for the wombs (*uteri*), if they do not yield to this diet, they must be purged by the application of mild medicines”); 22, 6: τούτων ὁκότερον ἂν ᾖ, καθῆραι τὴν κοιλίην, ἣν τε ἄνω δέη ἣν τε κάτω· ἔπειτα τὰς ὑστέρας καθαίρειν (“whichever of these may be the case, purge the stomach ‘up’ (the mouth) or ‘down’ (sc. the anus) as the need may be, after which purge the womb (*uterus*)”); 64, 30 f.: φάρμακα πιπίσκειν, ὑφ’ ὧν μέλλει καθαίρεσθαι κάτω μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνω (“to drink medicines, by which she will be purged ‘down’ rather than ‘up’”); 74, 31: ἕτερον καθαρτικὸν προσθετὸν, ὥστε μήτρας ἐκκαθαίρειν (“another purgative is to be applied, that will purge the uterus”).

All things considered, the present state of the (especially external) evidence renders the chosen reading the better alternative, albeit not thoroughly satisfactory. Once again our uncertainty is caused by the *HGP*.

2) Rm 5:1: Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ... πρὸς τὸν Θεόν

- a. ἔχομεν  $\aleph^1$  B<sup>2</sup> F G  $\Psi$  0220<sup>vid</sup> 6 104 256 263 365 424 459 1241 1319 1506 1573 1739 1852 1881 2127 2200 2464 Byz<sup>pl</sup> [P] *Lect*<sup>pl</sup> AD It<sup>st</sup> Vg<sup>mas</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup> Geo Slav Bas Greg-Nys<sup>mas</sup> Didym<sup>dub</sup> Epiph Cyr<sup>4/5</sup>
- b. ἔχωμεν  $\aleph^*$  A B\* C D 33 81 436 1175 1912 1962 Byz<sup>pl</sup> [K L] *Lect*<sup>pl</sup> It<sup>b, d, f, g, mon, o</sup> Vg Cop<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth Marc<sup>acc. to Tertullian</sup> Orig<sup>lat</sup> Greg-Nys Chrys Theod Cyr<sup>1/5</sup> Hesych Theodt<sup>lem</sup>, Ambrst Pelag Julian-Aclanum Aug

The external evidence for ἔχομεν is, according to current evaluating principles, overwhelming. Yet the *GNT* committee chose the alternative variant, which has ‘weaker’ MS support<sup>192</sup>, because of contextual considerations. This is a classic example of how the identical pronunciation of o and ω has led to two readings that give quite different theological content. The rejected reading, ἔχωμεν, a present subjunctive, makes the utterance an exhortation: “let us have peace with God”, whereas the chosen reading, ἔχομεν, a present indicative, makes it a statement of fact: “we have peace with God”.

It is not possible here to argue that one of the readings must be the result of theological considerations. In fact, the unintentionality with regard to the change is felt so strongly that Metzger is ready to concede that “when Paul dictated ἔχομεν, Tertius, his amanuensis (16:22), may have written down ἔχωμεν”<sup>193</sup>. This concession is made because the rejected reading is found in the earliest uncials (there being no papyri for this part of Romans). The possibility is thus conceded that the autograph itself contained ἔχωμεν, although the author had actually intended ἔχομεν.

It is impossible to prove that the erroneous reading occurred already in the autograph, nor is this necessary in order to vindicate the present thesis. Whether the wrong word was written down in the autograph or in a subsequent copy, the fact remains that the pronunciation current at the time led to this important passage receiving two variant readings with the result that,

<sup>192</sup> The best witnesses ( $\aleph$  B 1739) for ἔχομεν are only corrections of the original reading ἔχωμεν in these MSS.

<sup>193</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 452. This explanation is actually found already in SUNDAY-HEADLAM, *Romans*, 120, to whom, however, METZGER does not refer.

during the history of the Church, it has been interpreted in different ways both by the Church Fathers and by modern commentators<sup>194</sup>.

It would not be out of place here to indulge in a brief 'review' of how the present problem has been handled by a sample of commentators. Alford, writing in the mid-XIX<sup>th</sup> century, accepts ἐχόμεν, and speaks of the "general habit of the MSS (...) to confound ο and ω"<sup>195</sup>, but says nothing about why these letters were confounded<sup>196</sup>. Sunday-Headlam mention, among the reasons for the two variants, that "it is argued ... that ο and ω are frequently interchanged in the MSS"<sup>197</sup>, but far from saying anything at all about pronunciation, they even reject the explanation they cite. Murray hesitates in rejecting either one of the two readings, but has nothing to say about the pronunciation problem<sup>198</sup>. Cranfield contemplates "a deliberate alteration", although he admits that "since the difference in pronunciation between ο and ω was slight, a change in either direction could occur"<sup>199</sup>. In consonance with most others, Dunn accepts the present indicative on internal grounds, but gives also the secondary explanation that "an amanuensis' mishearing the ο for ω (being of similar sound) is inherently likely"<sup>200</sup>. Finally, Fitzmyer refers to those who prefer the present indicative "regarding the confusion of ο and ω as auditory on the part of the copyist"<sup>201</sup>.

The above brief presentation of scholarly opinion indicates that although in recent decades scholars have become more conscious of the similarity of sound between ο and ω, this explanation is at best used only as a secondary argument. The reason for this is that the pronunciation problem and its influence on the text of the NT has not yet been realized to its full extent and significance. The rather hazy and inaccurate awareness of what exactly was at work is easy to detect in the remarks of commentators.

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<sup>194</sup> For the Church Fathers, see the MS evidence, above, and for modern commentators, see FITZMYER, *Romans*, 395.

<sup>195</sup> ALFORD, *The Greek Testament*, Vol. II, 356.

<sup>196</sup> ALFORD, *The Greek Testament*, Vol. II, 356, refers to Vol. I, Prolegomena 90, where he speaks of "the convertible use of the long and short vowels", quoting a number of interesting examples from the primary uncials, and explaining them as the result of "the practice of the MSS, of interchanging ο and ω" – but without the least explanation as to why the MSS made it their practice to "interchange ο and ω". The reason is that ALFORD wrote at a time when the Erasmian pronunciation was assumed to have unquestionable validity, a circumstance that left no room for dissent. Thus, the MS evidence was silenced by such obtuse explanations as the ones cited above.

<sup>197</sup> SUNDAY-HEADLAM, *Romans*, 120.

<sup>198</sup> MURRAY, *Romans*, 158 f.

<sup>199</sup> CRANFIELD, *Romans*, I, 257. Similarly BARRETT, *Romans*, 102.

<sup>200</sup> DUNN, *Romans*, I, 245.

<sup>201</sup> FITZMYER, *Romans*, 395.

On the other hand, it must not escape our attention that the writing of  $\omega$  for  $o$  might have been merely an unintentional mistake owing to the identical pronunciation of the two vowels, and that it was not a deliberate change to produce a subjunctive, because of any supposedly interpretational preferences. But whether there is a genealogical connection among all, most, many, or some of the MSS supporting this reading, it is impossible to say.

### 3) Rm 14:19: ἄρα οὖν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ...

- a. διώκωμεν C D Ψ 33 81 104 256 365 424 436 459 1175 1241 1319 1506 1573  
1739 1852 1881 1912 1962 2127 2200<sup>c</sup> vid Byz It<sup>ar, b, d, f, g, guc, o, r</sup> Vg Syr<sup>pal</sup> Cop<sup>sa</sup>.  
<sup>bo</sup> Arm Eth Geo<sup>2</sup> Orig<sup>lat</sup> Chrys; Ambst Pelag Aug Speculum  
b. διώκομεν K A B F G L P 048 0150 0209 6 263 2200<sup>\*vid</sup> / 60 / 147 / 165 /  
422 / 592 / 593 / 597 / 603 / 884 / 1154 / 1356

The uncertainty of the *GNT* committee in choosing διώκωμεν is indicated by their evaluation {D}<sup>202</sup>. The present indicative, which has chiefly the support of the *Minority Textform*, is considered to have a “slightly superior uncial support”<sup>203</sup> over against the subjunctive, which – on the other hand – is much more widespread, including the *Majority Textform* and the Versions. The external evidence being indecisive, the matter can be decided only on internal grounds.

Our variants occur in the midst of a text that is on the whole paraenetic, but in which subjunctives alternate with indicatives. It is this circumstance that makes it practically impossible to give a sure verdict for the one or the other variant reading<sup>204</sup>. The immediately preceding verses, 17-18, are in the indicative. It could, therefore, be argued that our text, too, should be understood as factual information: “Therefore, we follow what belongs to peace and is conducive to the edification of one another”. In this case, the exhortation is resumed again with the next verse: “Do not destroy (μὴ κάταλυσ) the work of God for the sake of your food”. On the other hand, vv. 17-18 may be understood as bringing the factual information to an end (“... for he who serves Christ in this way is pleasing to God and approved by men”), to which our verse (19) supplies a fitting paraenesis: “Therefore, let us pursue peace ...”

<sup>202</sup> See METZGER's comments in *Textual Commentary*, 469.

<sup>203</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 469.

<sup>204</sup> Of commentators, WILCKENS, *An die Römer, ad loc.*, SCHLIER, *Der Römerbrief, ad loc.*, CRANFIELD, *Romans*, II, 720 f., and FITZMYER, *Romans*, 697, accept the subjunctive as original, whereas SUNDAY-HEADLAM, *Romans*, 392, LANGRANGE, *Épître aux Romains*, 331 f., KÄSEMANN, *An die Römer, ad loc.*, DUNN, *Romans*, II, 816, and STUHLMACHER, *Romans*, 228, accept the indicative.

The variants have usually been seen as deliberate changes<sup>205</sup>, and although Cranfield points out that “it was more common for an original  $\omega$  to be altered into an  $\omicron$ ”, he does not give any reason why this was so. The reason is that, confronted with the dilemma of  $\omicron$  or  $\omega$ , an *anorthographous* person would be inclined to choose the simpler way out, and that was  $\omicron$ . This has been the expedient generally followed by *anorthographous* people in Greece, although in order to underline their ability to spell correctly, sometimes they chance on writing down the more uncommon letter, which usually turns out to be the wrong choice!

Once again, we see that the problem has not been approached from the point of view of pronunciation, for the simple reason that the importance of pronunciation for the textual tradition and its relevance in solving textual problems has not been sufficiently appreciated.

Which reading has the greater plausibility is a moot question. The content of vs. 19 is better taken as a paraenesis. On the other hand, not only do all the instances of  $\alpha\pi\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\nu$  in Romans introduce statements, using the indicative, but also all the exhortations following our text use the second person singular, from which “let us pursue” would skew. Here, no sure ground exists for the one or the other reading. From this point on, the choice becomes a matter of personal preference. And precisely because no obvious reason for intentional change can be detected, the textual problem ought to be regarded as having arisen as a result of the *HGP*.

4) 1 Cor 15:49: καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοῦκοῦ, ... καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου

- a. φορέσομεν B I 0150 6 1852<sup>vid</sup> 1881 / 60 / 617 / 938 / 1364 / 1365 / 1441  
 Cop<sup>sa</sup> Eth Greg-Naz. Didym Didym<sup>dub</sup> 1/2 Cyr<sup>6/11</sup>
- b. φορέσωμεν  $\Phi^{46}$   $\mathbf{\text{K}}$  A C D F G  $\Psi$  075 0243 33 81 104 256 263 365 424 436 459  
 1175 1241 1319 1573 1739 1912 1962 2127 2200 2464 Byz [K L P] *Lect* It<sup>ar. b.</sup>  
 d. f. g. o Vg Cop<sup>bo</sup> Marc<sup>acc. to Tertul</sup> Iren<sup>lat</sup> Clem Orig<sup>gr. lat</sup> Meth Ps-Athan Greg.-Nys  
 Didym<sup>dub</sup> 1/2 Macar/Symeon Epiphani Chrys Cyr<sup>5/11</sup> Hesych; Tert Cyr Ambrst  
 Hil Zeno Pacian Proscill Greg-Elvira Ambr Jer Pelag Aug Quodvultdeus

Apart from Cod. Vaticanus, the future indicative is poorly supported. On the other hand, the aorist subjunctive has, according to the current evaluation of textual families and principles, formidable support. Yet the choice is not given. Chrysostomos, using this text for homiletical and paraenetical purposes, fittingly accepted the aorist subjunctive, and interpreted it of the

<sup>205</sup> E.g. DUNN, *Romans*, II, 816.

behavior of the believers<sup>206</sup>. In a similar way, Fee thinks that Paul is not merely referring to the resurrection body, but has in view “a broader sense, including behavioral implications”. This broader reference has, according to Fee, been missed by those who opt for the meagerly attested future indicative. The fact that the subjunctive, which is the harder reading, has such superior attestation in the MS tradition indicates for Fee that “it must be the original reading”<sup>207</sup>. Nevertheless, while the hortatory subjunctive (“let us put on”) is not completely impossible here, the context would seem to fare better with the future indicative<sup>208</sup>.

Since no strong reasons for a deliberate change in one way or another have been forthcoming, we are led to regard one of the readings as an unintentional orthographic error. If the subjunctive is the erroneous reading, it shows once again that in view of its presence in  $\Phi^{46}$  (? A.D. II), the error was committed very early in the history of the text<sup>209</sup>.

#### 5) Heb 6:3: καὶ τοῦτο ..., ἐάνπερ ἐπιτρέπει ὁ Θεός

- a. ποιήσομεν  $\Phi^{46}$   $\aleph$  B I 0122 6 33 256 424 1241 1573 1739 1881 2127 2200  
 Byz<sup>pt</sup> [K L] *Lect<sup>pt</sup> AD* It<sup>ar, b, comp, d</sup> Vg Cop<sup>sa mss, bo, fay</sup> Eth Theodt<sup>lem</sup>; Ambr  
 b. ποιήσωμεν A C D  $\Psi$  075 0150 81 104 263 365 436 459 1319 1852 1912 1962  
 2464 Byz<sup>pt</sup> [P] *Lect<sup>pt</sup> Vg<sup>ms</sup>* Arm Slav Theodt<sup>c<sup>comm</sup></sup>

The MS support for the future indicative ποιήσομεν is regarded as superior to that of the aorist subjunctive ποιήσωμεν. Moreover, internal considerations, such as the condition “if God permit” as well as the context in general, demand the future indicative. With regard to the alternative reading, Metzger’s partial explanation, that it “probably arose from mechanical conformation with φερόμεθα in ver. 1”<sup>210</sup>, is unnecessary if the problem of pronunciation is given its due weight. Since the subjunctive is so out of place here, it cannot have been an intentional change, but an unconscious error due to the identical pronunciation of ο and ω.

Finally, one more example will be noticed briefly. Neither the *GNT* nor the *NA* edition indicates any variants for Heb 2:3. They both give ἐκφενξόμεθα

<sup>206</sup> Chrysostomos, *Πρὸς Κορινθίους*, *Oration* XLII. 1: δῆλον ὅτι περὶ πολιτείας τὸ λεγόμενον. Διὸ συμβουλευτικῶς εἰσάγει τὸν λόγον.

<sup>207</sup> FEE, *1 Corinthians*, 794 f.

<sup>208</sup> So, too, most commentators.

<sup>209</sup> GROSHEIDE’s unenlightening remarks (*1 Corinthians*, 389, n. 41): “We read φορέσωμεν, not φορέσομεν, although the difference between the subj. aor. and the future is not great in the koine” show the uncertainty of many about the whole issue of pronunciation.

<sup>210</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 596 f.



as the only reading for this *locus*. In my reading of the papyri, however, I discovered that  $\Phi^{46}$  has the variant ἐκφευξώμεθα. This might be thought to be another instance of a subjunctive in place of the future indicative, but that would be inaccurate. The aorist subjunctive is ἐκφύγωμεν, while there is no future subjunctive. The form ἐκφευξώμεθα is simply the future indicative, spelled with an ω instead of the correct ο.

I have purposely discussed the last two (three) texts (1 Cor 15:49 and Heb 6:3 [and Heb 2:3]), on the assumption that the rejected readings (φορέσωμεν, ποιήσωμεν [and ἐκφευξώμεθα] respectively) were aorist subjunctives, as they are universally understood. However, as we shall see below in treating 1 Cor 13:3, in addition to the factor of the identical pronunciation of ο and ω, there is another factor whereby the future indicative was often spelled both with an ο and an ω. For reasons that will be clarified below, these forms ought to be understood as future indicatives although they are spelled with an ω. This means that we do not have two different variants here, one indicative and the other subjunctive, but only one mood, the indicative, spelled in two different ways. The cause for the alternative spelling was, of course, ultimately the *HGP*.

## 7. Conclusion

The above examples of textual variants were concerned with words that were spelled differently, but were pronounced identically. In these examples it was a relatively simple matter to show that the variant reading had arisen as a result of the pronunciation question. It is hoped that the relatively large number of textual *loci* that were discussed, which, however, is only a fraction of the total number of such variants in the MS tradition, representing various types of confusion mistakes, have given a sufficiently clear idea of the scope of the intrusion of the *HGP* in the transmission of the NT text as well as of the importance of taking this factor seriously and applying it actively for solving such problems. It would be a false impression, however, if from the above evidence it were concluded that the pronunciation question has impinged *only* on such texts as evidence two words spelled differently but pronounced identically.

Indeed, sometimes the relevance of pronunciation is not as obvious at first sight, because it is hidden by other extraneous layers, but it is seen as important as soon as the inquiry deepens and the layers are peeled off. To exemplify this type of relevance, I proceed now to treat in detail the more complex issue of 1 Cor 13:3.

VII. The Bearing of HGP on the Crux of 1 Cor 13:3<sup>211</sup>

## 1. Introductory Remarks

1 Cor 13:3 continues to perplex New Testament scholars. On the basis of the (mainly) 'Byzantine' tradition the *Textus Receptus* adopted the verb καίωμα (= 'to be burned'). This continued to be the preferred reading either in the form of καυθήσωμαι (Tregelles<sup>212</sup>, Weymouth<sup>213</sup>, Souter<sup>214</sup>, and *The Greek New Testament acc. to the Majority Text*<sup>215</sup> (1985)) or καυθήσομαι (Tischendorf<sup>216</sup>, Eb. Nestle<sup>217</sup>, v. Soden<sup>218</sup>, Er. Nestle-Kilpatrick<sup>219</sup> as well as the Greek edition of 1985<sup>220</sup>) down to the 25<sup>th</sup> ed. of Nestle in 1971.

A look at some thirty of the NT translations found in my library, showed that everyone of them was based on the verb 'to be burned'<sup>221</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> The present discussion of 1 Cor 13:3 is the revised and expanded version of a study that appeared in *SEÅ* (60) 1995, 115-27. That study was based on the MS evidence as cited by the third edition of the *GNT*. The not insubstantial changes introduced in the apparatus of the fourth edition have made it necessary to present afresh the MS evidence and to reformulate certain expressions. At the same time the opportunity was seized upon to thoroughly revise the investigation, expanding on the evidence and arguments advanced for the solution of this problem.

<sup>212</sup> TREGELLES, *The Greek New Testament*, 1857-72.

<sup>213</sup> WEYMOUTH, *The Resultant Greek Testament*, 1896.

<sup>214</sup> SOUTER, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Oxonii, 1910.

<sup>215</sup> HODGES-FARSTAD, *The Greek New Testament acc. to the Majority Text*, 1985.

<sup>216</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, etc. by C. TISCHENDORF, Lipsiae, 1872. See also the same author's shorter *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη – Novum Testamentum Graece*, recensuit C. TISCHENDORF, 1876.

<sup>217</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece*, etc. (UBS) by E. NESTLE, 25<sup>th</sup> ed. by E. NESTLE and K. ALAND, London, 1971.

<sup>218</sup> v. SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* etc. by H. F. v. SODEN, II. Teil, p. 717.

<sup>219</sup> KILPATRICK, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (BFBS), 1958<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> I.e. the Original Gr. text (the Constantinopolitan text) with a Modern Greek tr. in Demotic (based chiefly on NA 26<sup>th</sup> ed.): *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. Τὸ πρωτότυπο κείμενο με νεοελληνικὴ μετάφραση* (UBS), Ἀθήνα, 1985.

<sup>221</sup> Tyndale: "that I burned"; *KJV*: "to be burnt"; *RV*: "to be burnt"; *RSV*: "to be burned"; *NEB*: "to be burnt"; *TEV*: "to be burned"; *NIV*: "to the flames"; the *Jerusalem Bible* (1968): "to burn it"; the revised *Luther* (1984): "verbrennen"; the *Elberfelder Bibel* (1986): "verbrannt werde"; *Das Neue Testament (Einheitsübersetzung der heiligen Schrift)* (1996): "meinen Leib dem Feuer übergäbe"; the Italian *La Sacra Bibbia* (1982): "essere arso"; the French *La Sainte Bible*, Nouvelle édition de Genève 1979: "pour être brûlé"; the French *La Bible: Ancien et Nouveau Testament en français courant* (1997): "aux flammes"; the Dutch *Bijbel* (1952): "te worden verbrand"; the Swedish *Normalupplaga* (1883): "att brännas"; the Swedish *Kyrkobibeln* (1917): "att brännas"; the

Commentators, old and more recent, regularly continue to accept καίωμα as the original reading<sup>222</sup>.

A change in the evaluation of the text-critical evidence was introduced by Westcott and Hort in 1881<sup>223</sup>, who adopted the alternative reading καυχῆσθαι, "to boast". The more recent *The Greek New Testament* and the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26<sup>th</sup> ed., have followed suit. In his *Textual Commentary*, Metzger gives the reasons for the committee's adoption of καυχῆσθαι, which are not very different from those of Westcott and Hort<sup>224</sup>. Among more recent authors who follow the new text of the NT, but without facing the problem squarely, are Orr–Walther<sup>225</sup>, Wischmeyer<sup>226</sup>,

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Swedish *Bibeln: Den Heliga Skrift* (Folkbibeln 98) (1998): "till att brännas"; the Swedish *Bibeln* (2000): "bränna mig på bål"; the Hebrew tr. by F. DELITZSCH הברית החדשה has לְשָׂרֵפָה; the Trinitarian Bible Society ed., הברית החדשה has לְמַאֲכֵלֶּה אֵשׁ; the Hebrew of the Peshitto-Hebrew NT, ספרי הברית החדשה – קריאה חדשה (1986) has לְהַשְׂרִיף, while the Syriac has דִּנְאֵקֶד; the Greek *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (tr. by Maximos of Kallioupolis) (1638): "διὰ τὸ καῶν"; the Greek *Τὰ Ἱερὰ Γράμματα* (1851): "διὰ τὸ καυθῶν"; *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (1967): "διὰ τὸ καῖν"; and *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* (1989): "γὰρ καῖν" (incorporated in *Ἡ Ἁγία Γραφή (Παλαιὰ καὶ Καινὴ Διαθήκη)* (1997).

<sup>222</sup> See, e.g., ALFORD, *The Greek Testament*, Vol. II, p. 586, who also has his own textual critical apparatus; WEIB, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 314; H.-D. WENDLAND, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, 119; LIETZMANN, *An die Korinther*, 65; SCHLATTER, *Die Korintherbriefe*, 159 f.; ODEBERG, *Pauli brev till Korinthierna*, 198; GROSHIDE, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 305; BARRETT, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 302; BRUCE, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 125 f.; MARE, *1 Corinthians*, 267 f.; CONZELMANN, *1 Corinthians*, 217, 222 f.

<sup>223</sup> WESTCOTT–HORT, *The New Testament*.

<sup>224</sup> See also their *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Introduction - Appendix, London, 1898, p. 116 f., where they give the reasons for their choice of καυχῆσθαι. W. F. MOULTON and A. S. GEDEN's *Concordance to the New Testament*, Edinburgh 1897 (rp. 1978), follow WH, see p. iv. Similarly, the more recent *Konkordanz z. Novum Testamentum Graece* (1987<sup>3</sup>) lists only the form καυχῆσθαι. HORT's arguments are based on misstated facts, and are, therefore, not convincing: (a) that *1 Clement* 55 does not make mention of καυθῆσθαι is readily explained by the fact that in this passage Klement is interested not in martyrdom, but only in self-denying actions which lead to the pecuniary relief of sufferers. LINDEMANN, *Die Clemensbriefe*, 155, too, is of the opinion that "Eine Beziehung zu 1 Kor 13:3 besteht nicht". (b) It is not true that in *Stromateis* IV. 18 Klement uses παραδίδωμι absolutely (cf. παραδιδούς τὸ σῶμα ἵνα καυθῆσεται!). In *Stromateis* VII. 10 not παραδίδωμι, but ἐπιδίδωμι is used. (c) Ploutarchos, *Demetrios* XLIX. 5 is not a parallel, since τὸ σῶμα παραδιδόναι Δημήτριον is in reference to Demetrios' unconditional surrendering of himself to Seleukos, which, unlike 1 Cor 13:3, gives complete predication.

<sup>225</sup> W. ORR – J. A. WALTHER, *1 Corinthians*, p. 291.

<sup>226</sup> O. WISCHMEYER, *Der höchste Weg*, 81-88.

and Fee<sup>227</sup>. Even Thiselton<sup>228</sup>, who refers to the first version of the present study, does not interact with the linguistic evidence presented there.

Thus, today we have the following situation: on the one hand, the earlier critical editions of the NT, the tradition of NT translations to the present day as well as almost all commentators of First Corinthians accept as original the reading represented by καίωμα, while on the other, the latest critical editions of the NT text as well as a few recent authors accept the reading represented by καυχῶμαι. This situation not only justifies but also calls for another look at the text-critical, grammatical, and internal evidence of the passage.

## 2. The Text-Critical Problem

The *GNT* apparatus gives the following readings with their relative MS support:

- a. καυχῶμαι  $\Phi^{46}$   $\aleph$  A B (048 καυχῶμαι) 0150 33 1739\* Cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> Orig Dydym Jer<sup>2/3</sup> mss<sup>acc. to Jer</sup>
- b. καθήσομαι C D F G L 81 104 263 436 459 1175 1881\* 1912 Lect<sup>pl</sup> <sup>AD</sup> Macarius/Sym<sup>1/2</sup> Flavian-Ant Cyr (To these *NA* add min. 945 and 1175, the Old Lat and Tert Ambst and Jer<sup>mss</sup>).
- c. καθήσομαι  $\Psi$  6 256 365 424 1319 1573 1739<sup>c</sup> 1852 1181<sup>c</sup> 1962 2200 Byz [K] Lect<sup>pl</sup> It<sup>af</sup>. b. d. f. g. o Vg Syr<sup>h</sup> m<sup>g</sup> (Eth) Slav Orig<sup>lat</sup> Basil Greg-Nys Macar/Sym<sup>1/2</sup> Chrys<sup>2/3</sup>; Tert Re baptism Cypr Ambrst Pacian Zeno Jer<sup>1/3</sup> Greek and Lat mss<sup>acc. to Jer</sup> Petilianus Pelag Aug<sup>35/37</sup> Speculum
- d. καθῆ 2127 / 1443 (Syr<sup>p,h</sup>) (Vg<sup>mss</sup>) Chrys<sup>1/3</sup>; Aug<sup>2/35</sup> (to these *NA* add: 1505 pc)

To the above readings may be added the two readings that are eliminated from the fourth edition of the *GNT*:<sup>229</sup>

<sup>227</sup> G. D. FEE, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 629, 634 f.

<sup>228</sup> THISELTON, *First Corinthians*, 1042 f.

<sup>229</sup> The third, corrected edition of the *GNT* contained five readings: (a) καυχῶμαι, (b) καθήσομαι, (c) καθήσομαι, (d) καθήσομαι or καθήσομαι, and (e) καθήσεται. The fourth ed. has eliminated readings d (presupposed by VV. and Christian authors) and e, moving some of the evidence for d under c, but not accounting at all for the reading καθήσεται or for 330\* (earlier cited as supporting καθήσομαι) 1877 2138 2492 It<sup>d, dem.</sup> c. m. l. x Syr<sup>p</sup> Goth Clem Arm Method Jacob-Nis Aphr. Instead they have now added a new reading: καθῆ (see above). Thus, in the fourth edition Klement Al. is not cited under any reading, but his *Stromateis* does contain the reading καθήσεται. Such deep-going changes raise the question whether we can rely upon the trustworthiness of the current edition. In the *Preface to the Fourth Revised Edition*, p. v., the editors announce the elimination of readings of "minor significance" and the inclusion of readings of "greater importance", but in this case, it is not obvious why the reading

e. καθήσεται 330\*

f. καθήσεται 1877 2492 Syr<sup>b</sup>,<sup>h</sup> Clem

g. One further reading is καθήσεται, witnessed by Ioannes Damaskenos<sup>230</sup>.

How is this evidence to be evaluated? To begin with, the seven readings are reducible to only two meaningful variants<sup>231</sup> represented by the verbs *καυχῶμαι* and *καίομαι*<sup>232</sup>. In favor of the variant *καυχῶμαι* is the “early and weighty”<sup>233</sup> attestation<sup>234</sup>. This variant is basically a *Minority* reading (i.e. ‘Alexandrian’) with little attestation elsewhere, that is, fairly limited geographically. The alternative variant represented by *καυθήσομαι*,

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*καυθή* was judged to be of greater importance than the reading *καυθήσεται*, which is supported by *i.a.* Klement. In this study, aiming at as complete a coverage as possible, I include the two readings that have been excluded from the latest edition of the *GNT*, citing the witnesses as they appeared in the third edition.

<sup>230</sup> Ioannes Dam., in *Homilia in transfigurationem domini*, MPG Vol. 96, p. 561.

<sup>231</sup> The terms ‘reading’ and ‘variant’ have often been used interchangeably. Textual critics have argued whether a distinction should not be made between them, since a variant is always a reading, but a reading is not necessarily a variant. As was pointed out, above (under “II. Textual-Critical Terminology”) EPP (“Toward the Clarification of the Term ‘Textual Variant’” in *Theory and Method of NT Criticism*, 47-61) suggests that we make a distinction between a reading and a variant, which is a significant reading. Thus, using EPP’s terminology, we might make a distinction between the five readings of *καίομαι* and the two variants of *καίομαι* and *καυχῶμαι*.

<sup>232</sup> The various forms of the *καίομαι* variant, occurring in the witnesses, will be considered below under “3. The Grammatical Issue”.

<sup>233</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 563.

<sup>234</sup> K. ALAND-B. ALAND (*The Text of the New Testament*, 106) have categorized a large number of manuscripts according to their value as bearers of a more original text into five categories: I: MSS of “very special quality”, always to be considered in establishing the original text (i.e. Alexandrian text; papyri and early uncials); II: MSS of “special quality” but not equal to those under I (i.e. Egyptian text); III: MSS of “a distinctive character with an independent text”, important for establishing the original text (e.g. *f*<sup>1</sup> *f*<sup>13</sup>); IV: “Manuscripts of the D text”; and V: “Manuscripts with a purely or predominantly Byzantine text”. Of the MSS that support *καυχῶμαι* 9<sup>46</sup> A B 33 1739 belong to cat. I, and 048 to cat. II. As for the witnesses of the alternative reading(s), 1175 belongs to cat. I; C D F 81 256 1881 1962 and 2464 belong to cat. II; while the rest to cat. III., with the exception of L<sup>ap</sup> (Cod. Angelicus), which belongs to cat. V. There is, thus, no doubt that according to ALAND-ALAND’s evaluation of the MSS, the reading *καυχῶμαι* rests on more reliable or far more reliable witnesses than the alternative reading (see their principles for evaluating the evidence, pp. 181 f.). It must not be forgotten, however, that this is a general evaluation of these MSS as wholes; it does not automatically guarantee also the superiority of these MSS with regard to this particular case. Other issues besides this must be weighed. Thus, the geographical superiority as well as the varied attestation of the alternative variant are in no way impaired by this evaluation, and they must be weighed against the MS superiority of the chosen variant.

καυθήσονται, καυθήσεται, καθήσονται, and καυθῆ, is witnessed in Greek MSS from the V<sup>th</sup> century on. It was, however, the variant with which Klement Al. (c. 150-215)<sup>235</sup>, Tertullian (c. 160-220), Kyprianos (c. 200-258), Athanasius (295-373)<sup>236</sup>, Aphraates (fl. mid-IV<sup>th</sup> century), Ephraem (†374)<sup>237</sup>, Basilios (330-79)<sup>238</sup>, Gregorios of Nyssa (c. 330-395)<sup>239</sup>, Pseudo-Macarios (IV<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>240</sup>, Chrysostomos (347-407)<sup>241</sup>, Theodoretos (395-466)<sup>242</sup>, Kyrillos Al. (370-444)<sup>243</sup>, *Catenae NT* (post-V<sup>th</sup> A.D.)<sup>244</sup>, and Ioannes Damaskenos (660-750)<sup>245</sup> were acquainted. Assuming that hardly all the MSS of all these authors were changed by later hands, this variant may, therefore, once have existed in Greek MSS perhaps as early as the middle of the II<sup>nd</sup> century, since it is witnessed in Klement Al. (c. 150-215)<sup>246</sup>. Secondly, this

<sup>235</sup> Klement, *Stromateis* IV. 18 καυθήσεται.

<sup>236</sup> Athanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, MPG Vol. 28, p. 653 line 11: καυθήσονται.

<sup>237</sup> Ephraem, *Paraenetical Sermons to the Monks of Egypt*, *Oration* 26: καυθήσονται; *Oration* 46: καυθήσονται, and *Institutio ad monachos*, 320: καυθήσονται.

<sup>238</sup> Basilios, *Prologus* 4 (*proemium in asceticum magnum*), MPG Vol. XXXI, p. 896; *Asceticum magnum sive Quaestiones*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1280; *De baptismo libri duo*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1568 and p. 1609 all have the same form: καυθήσονται.

<sup>239</sup> Gregorios Nysseus, *De instituto Christiano*, ed. JAEGER, Vol. VIII:1, p. 59: καυθήσονται.

<sup>240</sup> Ps-Macarios, *Sermones* 64 (Collectio B), *Homily* 7, ch. 7, section 3: καυθήσονται; *Homiliae spirituales* 50 (Collectio H), ed. H. DÖRRIES-E. KLOSTERMANN-M. KROEGER, *Die geistlichen Homilien des Macarios*, *Homily* 26, line 205: καυθήσονται; *Epistula Magna*, p. 250: καυθήσονται.

<sup>241</sup> Chrysostomos, *In epistulam ad Corinthios*, MPG Vol. LXI, p. 269 lines 38, 46 and 64: καυθήσονται. Similarly in *In sanctum Romanum (homilia 1)*, Vol. L, p. 608: καυθήσονται; *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1-90)*, MPG Vol. LVIII, 709: καυθήσονται, and *In Johannem (homiliae 1-88)*, Vol. LIX, p. 210: καυθήσονται.

<sup>242</sup> Theodoretos, *Interpretatio in XIV epistulas sancti Pauli*, MPG Vol. LXXXII, p. 333: καυθήσονται.

<sup>243</sup> Kyrillos Al., *Commentarii in Johannem* (ed. P. E. PUSEY), Vol. 2, p. 391, line 6: καυθήσονται; *Epistulae paschales*, MPG Vol. LXXXVII, p. 541, line 3: καυθήσονται; *De adorazione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, MPG Vol. LXVIII, p. 520, line 48: καυθήσονται.

<sup>244</sup> *Catenae NT: Catena in epistulam ad Corinthios*, p. 252, line 9; p. 252, line 18, and p. 253, line 25, all have: καυθήσονται.

<sup>245</sup> Ioannes Dam., *Sacra parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti etc.)* MPG Vol. XCV, p. 1197, line 8: καυθήσονται; *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli: Epistula i ad Corinthios*, MPG Vol. XCV, p. 676, line 18: καυθήσονται. In *Homilia in transfigurationem domini*, MPG Vol. XCVI, p. 561, he uses καυθήσεται.

<sup>246</sup> It is true that B. ALAND, "Rezeption" in *The NT in Early Christianity*, 36 ff. and A. F. J. KLJN, "Matthew 11:25 = Lk 10:21" in EPP (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism*, 14, are of the opinion that, in the words of KLJN, "quotations in ecclesiastical writers with variant readings do not prove the existence of these variants in the MSS of the NT". Not everyone is, however, convinced by this reasoning, and it is advanced that

indirect evidence for the variant 'to be burned' is further confirmed by the early translations: the Itala, the Syriac, and the Coptic – translations that were made perhaps before 200 A.D.<sup>247</sup> This would imply that this variant may well be as old or even older than its competitor. Thirdly, the fact that this variant is ubiquitous in the Christian world<sup>248</sup>, which required a considerable time for its spreading, renders it more than a mere accident of 'Byzantine' (i.e. Greek) whim.

The four reasons that led the *GNT* committee to favor καυχῆσθαι are: (1) under the threat of martyrdom and in the light of the fiery furnace of Dan 3 scribes found it natural to alter καυχῆσθαι to καυθήσθαι; (2) the first person singular is inappropriate in connection with σῶμα (the third person sing. καυθῇ would have been expected), whereas in the case of καυχῆσθαι no such difficulty exists; (3) the variant καυθήσθαι "is a grammatical monstrosity"; (4) since "glorying" for Paul can have positive overtones, its presence here is not objectionable.

The first reason is an argument from historical circumstances, such as *might* have influenced copyists. The second and third are grammatical arguments, which will be taken up under "The Grammatical Issue", below. The fourth is not really an argument that positively supports the chosen variant; it *can* only make it less objectionable. It will be taken up under the "Structure of the passage". The substance of these arguments is more or less reiterated by Fee, who favors καυχῆσθαι.

Elliott<sup>249</sup> has offered valid criticism of this argumentation. However, the grammatical issue has, to my knowledge, not been properly dealt with.

the exaggerated reliance on primarily the 'Alexandrian Textform' is misleading, see KOESTER, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels" in PETERSEN (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, 19-37, and 155 f. See also HOLMES, "Reasoned Eclecticism" in EHRMAN-HOLMES, *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research*, 353, and Th. P. LETIS, *The Ecclesiastical Text*, 107-32. The chief problem with the citations of the Fathers is that they often quoted from memory. Cf. the varying degrees of trustworthiness recognized by FEE, "The Use of the Greek Fathers" in EHRMAN-HOLMES, *The Text of the NT*, 191-207. In other respects the situation with the Fathers is not different from that of the NT MSS. In the present case, in particular, the various readings all agree in representing one meaningful variant (the verb καίομαι). It ought, therefore, to be assumed that this was the reading of these Fathers' copy of the NT.

<sup>247</sup> ALAND-ALAND, *The Text of the NT*, 52, 185, place all of these translations at around 180 A.D.

<sup>248</sup> The West, North Africa and Italy, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia – all are represented by the codices, the translations, and the Christian authors that have this variant.

<sup>249</sup> J. K. ELLIOTT, "In Favour of καυθήσθαι at I Corinthians 13:3", *ZNW* 62 (1971), 297-8. See also the interesting references in H. CONZELMANN, *I Corinthians*, 222 f.

## 3. The Grammatical Issue

The variant based on *καίομαι* occurs in six different forms: *καυθήσομαι*, *καυθήσμαι*, *καθήσμαι*, *καυθήσεται*, *καυθῆ*, and *καυθήσεται*. The reading *καθήσμαι* of min. 330\* is quite obviously an inadvertent transcription error for *καυθήσμαι*, hence the support of this MS must be added to that of *καυθήσμαι*. The third person singular *καυθήσεται* presupposed in the Syriac Peshitto and Harclean Versions<sup>250</sup> and occurring in Klement Al. as well as in the minuscules 1877, 2138, and 2492 is obviously an attempt to make the verb adhere more strictly to the grammatical subject of the passive verb for burning, *σῶμα*, which implies that the underlying reading was that of *καυθήσμαι* or *καυθήσμαι*<sup>251</sup>. Of these two forms, *καυθήσμαι* is the ordinary middle-passive future indicative, whereas the form *καυθήσμαι* needs some further explanation.

Metzger, who is followed by Fee, regard *καυθήσμαι*, “a future subjunctive [!] ... a grammatical monstrosity that cannot be attributed to Paul”<sup>252</sup>, while Orr–Walther describe it as “the impossible reading of the Byzantine text”<sup>253</sup>. The same stance is witnessed in the new ed. of *BDAG*<sup>254</sup>. What makes this reading “impossible” and “a grammatical monstrosity” is its supposed character of being a future subjunctive. On the strength of such judgments, Fee is happy to banish the reading *καυθήσμαι* with its MS support altogether from his discussion, and to set against *καυχήσμαι* only the MS support for *καυθήσμαι*. This may be viewed as an arbitrary procedure. However, on a more basic level, one may wonder: How can this reading be “impossible” if it is Byzantine, seeing that the Byzantines were Greeks, who may be presumed to have known their own language? And how can this reading be “impossible” or “a monstrosity” when it is used by some of the greatest intellects among Greek Christian writers, such as Athanasius, Basilios, Gregorios of Nyssa, Pseudo-Macarios, Chrysostomos, Theodoretos, and Johannes of Damascus?<sup>255</sup> Furthermore, it should be re-

<sup>250</sup> On the Peshitto and Harclean Versions, see METZGER, *The Early Versions*, 48–75.

<sup>251</sup> The same goes for *καυθήσεται* in Ioannes Damaskenos.

<sup>252</sup> METZGER, *Commentary*, 564; FEE, *First Corinthians*, 629. Similarly ALAND–ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament*, 289, who, however write *καυθήσμαι* (by inadvertency?), rather than *καυθήσμαι*.

<sup>253</sup> *1 Corinthians*, 291.

<sup>254</sup> It is to be regretted that the latest edition of *BDAG* (2000) failed to notice the evidence against this supposition presented already in the first form of the present study, and has thus let the mistaken view about the form *καυθήσμαι* be perpetuated.

<sup>255</sup> See above. It may not be without significance that the only Greek Christian writer who uses the reading *καυχήσμαι* just once is Didymos Caecus (c. 313–398), *Commentarii in Psalmos* 35–39, p. 281.



membered that 'Byzantine' readings are normally rejected because they are taken to represent grammatical and stylistic improvements of a rough, Semitically influenced text. How can, therefore, such "a grammatical monstrosity" be impossible for the Semitist Paul, but possible for Greeks, nurtured in the Athenian rhetorical and philosophical tradition?

But if this line of argumentation is so obviously impossible to maintain, what is, then, the answer to this dilemma? It is important to remember here that unlike other tenses, which uninhibitedly denoted the action of the time they represented, the future had, from the outset, great difficulties in holding its own against the inroads of, e.g., the aorist imperative, the optative, and especially the subjunctive. Past action was denoted by the imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect indicative, and present action almost exclusively by the present indicative. Future action, however, could be expressed not only by the future indicative, but also (especially prospective action) by the aorist subjunctive, optative, and imperative, and even by the infinitive and the present indicative<sup>256</sup>. In time, however, when the optative became obsolescent, and the third person imperative less usable, the importance of the subjunctive increased, with the result that it now encroached more deeply into the territory of the future indicative. Thus, future action was never the sole prerogative of the future indicative, and as time went on, the subjunctive increasingly arrogated to itself more uses of the future indicative. Of the substitutes that infringed on the future indicative, two will be mentioned here: (a) the present indicative and (b) the aorist subjunctive.

a. The present indicative has at all times encroached on the province of the future indicative, especially in expressing durative future action<sup>257</sup>. This

<sup>256</sup> It is often assumed that the future indicative was a later device to express future time than the non-indicative moods, cf., e.g., KÜHNER, *Μεγάλη Γραμματική* (Gr. tr. = *Ausführliche Gram.*) II, 1, § 394, 2.

<sup>257</sup> E.g. Euripides, *Andromache* 381: ἦν θάνης σὺ, παῖς ὁδ' ἐκφεύγει μόρον, σοῦ δ' οὐ θελούσης καθθανεῖν, τόνδε κτενῶ ("If you [are willing to] die, this child *escapes* death, but if you choose not to die, I shall kill it"); Antiphon, *Second Tetralogy* 3, 11 (123): καταλαβόντες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰρξάντες ... καθαροὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔσεσθε, ἀπολύσαντες δὲ ὑπαῖτοι καθεῖς τας αἰτίας ("if you find him guilty and hinder him ... you will be clean of the crimes, but if you set him free you *become* liable to them"); Thucydides VI. 91: εἰ ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, ἔσεται καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία ("if the city is taken, then the whole of Sicily *will be* ours"); Demosthenes, *Paraprosbeia* 32: εἰ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, δεῖξάτω καὶ παρασχέτω, κἀγὼ καταβαίνω ("But if this man claims it, let him show and prove it, and *I am coming (down)*"); Mt 26:18: πρὸς σέ μοι τὸ πᾶσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου; 1 Cor 15:32: αὐριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκου; *Martyrion Polykarpou* 9: ὁμοσον καὶ ἀπολύω σε ("Take an oath and *I let you go free*"); *Acts of Thomas* 21, 3 f.: πότε οὖν ὑπάγει καὶ βλέπει αὐτό; ("when *do we go and see it?*"); similarly in Neohellenic: πότε ιηγαίνομε(ν) καὶ τὸ βλέπομε(ν); Theophanes, *Chronographia* 182, 23: εἰ μὴ ἡσυχάσητε, ἀποκεφαλίζω ὑμᾶς ("if you

has been particularly the case with verbs that by nature denote an inceptive future action, such as ἔρχομαι, ὑπάγω, καταβαίνω, μέλλω, and ἐθέλω<sup>258</sup>.

b. The subjunctive and the imperative are formed from the aorist stem, hence they are called aorist subjunctive and aoristi imperative. However, this terminology is misleading, because, as a matter of fact, these two moods express *future action*, not past. Thus, if the terminology were determined by the significance and function of these forms rather than by the stem from which they are formed, then, with greater reason, they ought to be termed future subjunctive and future imperative. These facts explain why the future indicative and the so-called “aorist subjunctive” are so close in meaning and why the aorist subjunctive with such facility could invade the territory of the future indicative, something that happens already since classical times, especially after οὐ μή(v)<sup>259</sup>. Thus, with the gradual disap-

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do not keep quiet, *I chop off your head*”). This construction is quite common in *N*: ἂν τὸ μαρτυρήσης, σὲ σκοτώσω (“if you reveal it, *I kill you*”).

<sup>258</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 535 f.: εἴπερ, ὃ μὴ γένοιθ', οὗτος (σ') ἐθέλει κρατῆσαι (“if – perish the thought – *he desires* to hold you”); Diodoros Sikeliotes, II. 616, 53: τοῖς ὀφείλοισιν διαλέχεσθαι (= ἀναδεξομένοις) τὸν θάνατον (“who must accept death”); Josh 1:11: ἐτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ ὑμεῖς διαβαίητε τὸν Ἰορδάνην; Jn 14:3: πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήψομαι ὑμᾶς; Jn 21:3: ἡπάξω ἀλιεῦν; Rm 15:25: νυνὶ δὲ ἰορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ; Spaneas 101: ἔχεις δὲ καὶ συνείδησιν ὅπου σε θέλει ἐλέγχειν (“but you also have conscience, which *wills* to convict you [= which is going to convict you]”).

<sup>259</sup> See JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, Appendix IV, §§ 3 and 8. See also KÖHNER, *Μεγάλη Γραμματική* (Gr. tr.), II, 2, § 394, 2. A few relevant examples are: Homeros, *Ilias* I. 262: οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἶδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴλωμαι (“I have never since seen such men [warriors] nor *shall I see*”); VI. 459: καὶ ποτέ τις εἶπεν (“and someone *shall* [one day] say”); VII. 197: οὐ γάρ τις με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα λίηται (“for no one who wishes it *will put me in flight* against my will”); *Odysseia* XII. 383: δύσομαι εἰς Αἴδαο καὶ ἐν νυκέσσι φάειν (“I *will* go down to Hades and *shine* among the dead”); XVI. 437: οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσται οὐδὲ γένηται ... (“that man does not live, nor shall he live nor *shall he be born* ...”); *Hymn to Apollon* 1: μνήσσομαι οὐδὲ ἀλθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος (“I shall remember and not *be forgetful* of Apollon”); Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebai* 38: καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὔ τι μὴ ληφῶ δόλῳ (“and having heard that, *I shall not be taken* by guile”); Sophokles, *Trachiniae* 1190: οὔ μὴ λάβω (“I *shall not receive* [them]”); Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII. 3, 26: διώκων ὃν ἂν ἐθέλης αἰρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὔ μὴ λείψῃς τὸν πολέμιον (“[with this horse] pursuing you will catch whomsoever you will, and when fleeing you *will not fear* any enemy”); Platon, *Symposion* 214a: ὅποσον γὰρ ἂν κελεύῃ τις, τοσοῦτον ἐκπῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μὴ ποτε μεθύσῃ (“though he [Sokrates] drinks the amount anyone asks him, *he will never become drunk*”); Demosthenes, *Against Androtion* 39: ἅπαντες εἰσιν ἀπὸ πλάγμῃ καὶ δίκην οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν μὴ λῶ (“everyone is freed, and no one *will be punished*”).

pearance of the optative in post-classical times, the subjunctive arrogated to itself new areas of future action until it finally became the chief means of expressing such action, and until in Neohellenic it often came to substitute for the optative even in wishes<sup>260</sup>. In corresponding measure the future indicative lost out to the alternative ways of expressing future time (i.e. subj., opt., imp., inf., part., and pres. ind.). That the subjunctive had become a regular substitute for the future indicative at the latest by the first century A.D. is witnessed by the grammarian Lesbonax<sup>261</sup>. This was facilitated by the fact that the *η* and *ει* as well as *ο* and *ω* had come to coincide in pronunciation. The difference between the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive now became mainly a matter of orthography<sup>262</sup>. Hatzidakis

The LXX provides a number of examples: Jb 7:9-10: εἰν ἄνθρωπος καταβῇ εἰς ἄδην, οὐκέτι ἡ ἀδικία οὐδ' οὐ ἡ ἐπιστρέψῃ ἐπὶ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον; Isa 10:14: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς διαφεύξεται με ἢ ἀντίπαρ μοι.

For the NT, see: Lk 8:17: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ ἡ γνώσις καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ, Jn 10:28: καὶ οὐ ἡ ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ οὐκ ἄρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μου.

Further: Barnabas 17, 2: οὐ ἡ νοήσῃ; 19, 2: οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου; 19:3: οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηράν; 19, 11: οὐ διστάσεις ... γνώσις δέ; Hermas, *Shepherd, Sim.* V. 7, 3: Κύριε, γέγονεν ἀγνοία πρότερα ... πῶς σωθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος;

<sup>260</sup> E.g. *νὰ σὲ χαρῶ* ("may I have joy of you"); ὁ Θεὸς (*νὰ*) φυλάξῃ ("God forfend").

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Lesbonax, *Peri Schematon* (I A.D.) 20a: Τῶν δὲ Ἀττικῶν τὸ συντάσσειν τὸ ἡ μετὰ μέλλοντος χρόνου: ἡ πείσονται. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα, σπανίως δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος κέχρηται. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων φωνὰς τὴν τε ἡ ἀπαγόρευσιν καὶ τὴν οὐ ἄρνησιν γποτακτικοῖς ῥήμασιν συντάσσομεν: οἶον οὐ ἡ διαλεχθῶ σῆμερον, οὐ ἡ εἶπω. Ἀνακύπτει δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος καὶ ἕτερον Δῶριον, ὃ γίνεται τῆς αὐτῆς συντάξεως χρεωκοπουμένης, οἶον οὐκ εἶπω σοι ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἐρῶ σοι. Καὶ σῆμερον οὐκ ἴδῃς ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ ἡ ἴδῃς, καὶ τὸ: οὐ γὰρ πῶ τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι ("The Atticists construe the particle *μή* with the future tense: 'I will not be persuaded'. This construction is connected with Antiphon, though it is also used occasionally by Homeros. But we use both ways, construing the prohibitive *μή* and the negative *οὐ* with subjunctives, as οὐ ἡ διαλεχθῶ σῆμερον, οὐ ἡ εἶπω. From this construction emerges another, Doric, construction, the result of being deceived by the same construction, such as 'οὐκ εἶπω σοι' instead of 'οὐκ ἐρῶ σοι' and 'σῆμερον οὐκ ἴδῃς' instead of 'οὐ ἡ ἴδῃς' and furthermore 'οὐ γὰρ πῶ τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι' [I have never seen such men, nor shall I ever see]). Cf. also Hesychios, *Lexikon* E 491: ἐδονται = φάγωσιν; E 2028: ἐλεύσομαι = ἐρχομαι, ἐπαλέσω; M 750: μελλήσω = σπογδάσω, ὑπερῶμαι; Π 974: παροίσωμεν = παρεισέγκωμεν; Π 1911: περιτεύεται = συντήχη; Π 1269: πείσονται = πᾶθωσι; T 700: τευζόμεθα = τῶχωναι; Υ 649: ὑπόισω = ὑπενέγκω, ὑπονηῶ, and Photios, *Lexikon*, οἶσω = κοίω, ἐνέγκω; πείσονται = πᾶθωσιν, περιτεύεται = συντήχη; σχήσουσιν = σῶσιν; τίσωσιν = τιθήσωσιν;

<sup>262</sup> See A. N. JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, § 779. We thus have the future indicative instead of the aorist subjunctive: Mt 5:11: ὅταν διώξουσιν *κ* (D) *W* Δ Θ *f*<sup>13</sup> *pc*; 7:6: *μή* δῶτε ... μήποτε καταπατήσουσιν; Mt 18:19: εἰν δύο συνιφωνήσουσιν

points out that, having expelled the infinitive and the participle, the indicative and the subjunctive began to be used interchangeably for one another from post-classical times on. In time, the earlier constructions of, e.g., ὅταν, ἵνα, ἐάν, ἄν, ὥς ἄν, ἕως ἄν with the subjunctive were driven out by the construction of the above conjunctions with the indicative. Thus, the indicative prevails over the subjunctive<sup>263</sup>. This state of affairs occurs, according to Hatzidakis, first in dialectal inscriptions, then in the biblical authors, and finally, in *P* times, it becomes quite rife<sup>264</sup>. This led to the practice observed first by E. A. Sophocles, that, "When the future indicative is used for the aorist subjunctive, it is frequently written with the connecting vowels of the subjunctive. This mode of spelling must have been introduced when H was confounded, in pronunciation, with E or with EI, and Ω with O"<sup>265</sup>. With this agrees the historical grammarian of the Greek language, A. N. Jannaris: "That at a time when the subjunctive of the future [i.e. the so-called aorist subjunctive] was on the ascendancy over its indicative [i.e. future indicative], the spirit of reaction should sometimes lead to the converse phenomenon, that is, to the use of the indicative for the subjunctive, was inevitable. We therefore find sometimes final ἵνα and ὅπως with the future indicative spelt with the thematic vowel (η and ω) of the subjunctive"<sup>266</sup>. Both Sophocles and Jannaris cite καθήσωμαι of 1 Cor 13:3 as a case in point.

( $\aleph$  D L N D 33 etc.); Mk 15:20: ἵνα σταγυρώσῃ (A C D L N P Δ Θ  $\text{f}^{13}$  33 etc.); 17:3: ἵνα γινώσκῃ (A D L N W Δ 0109 1301 33 579 etc.); Act 7:7: ὃ ἐὰν λογιζομένη; Gal 2:4: ἵνα ὑμᾶς καταλογώσῃ; Phil 2:11: ἵνα ... ἐξομολογήσεται (A C D F\* G K L P Ψ 33 81 etc.); Rev 3:9: ἵνα ἴσῃ καὶ προσκηρίσῃ; 4:9: ὅταν λώσῃ; 6:4: ἵνα ... σφάξῃ; 9:20: ἵνα με προσκηρίσῃ; 12:6: ἵνα τρέφῃ ( $\aleph$  C 051 2329 etc.); Hermas, *Shepherd*, *Vis.* I. 3, 2: ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ; *Acts of Thomas* 83, 36: ἵνα ὁ οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν ὑπὸ ἄλλου γινόμενον τοῦτο ἡ ποιήσῃ; 99 col. 2, 10: ἵνα ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου ... ἀφίξει με; 110: 19: ἵνα μὴ πάντες ... ἀπολοῦνται; 133, 9: ἵνα ... ἀπολοῦνται; *Acts of Paul & Thekla* 29: 5, 8: ἵνα ζήσῃ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (2 x). See further Chapter Four, "VIII, Subordinate Clauses".

<sup>263</sup> For the greater frequency of the indicative over the subjunctive, see the samples from Matthew, Mark, John, Acts, and Romans in Ch. Five, IX. on time and aspect.

<sup>264</sup> HATZIDAKIS, *MNEI*, 462 f. (see also his *Einleitung*, 216 f.). Of the many examples cited by HATZIDAKIS here (pp. 462-64), the following NT instances may be mentioned: Mk 11:25: ὅταν στήκετε; Lk 11:12: ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ὄν; Jn 8:36: ἐὰν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ; Rm 14:8: ἐὰν ἀποθνήσκῃ; 1 Cor 4:6: ἵνα μὴ ... φγισθῇ; 13:3: ἵνα καθήσῃ; Gal 4:17: ἵνα ζηλοῦτε; 6:12: ἵνα μὴ διώκονται (Φ<sup>46</sup>); 1 Th 3:8: ἐὰν ὑμεῖς στήκετε; 1 Pt 3:2: ἵνα ... κεραισθῇ; 1 Jn 5:15: ἐὰν οἴληται; Rev 3:9: ἵνα ἴσῃ; 13:17: ἵνα μὴ τις ἀγνάται (051 III);

<sup>265</sup> SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 40.

<sup>266</sup> JANNARIS, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, Appendix IV, § 11.

From the above discussion of the evidence it becomes obvious that the form καθήσωμαι is not a novel form, that is, a “future subjunctive” – i.e. Metzger’s “grammatical monstrosity” – in distinction to what is normally called “aorist subjunctive” (i.e. middle aorist: καύσωμαι; passive aorist: καυθῶ), but the *future indicative* (καυθήσομαι), which under the inroads and influence of the subjunctive, has come to be spelt with the thematic vowel (ω) of the subjunctive as καυθήσωμαι<sup>267</sup>. This phenomenon is not witnessed first in “Byzantine times”;<sup>268</sup> it must have existed already before the beginning of the Christian era, since the confusion of η with ει, as has been demonstrated in Chapter Six, had begun already in the V-IV<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and was very frequent around 200 B.C., while ω and ο had coincided in pronunciation already by the III<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>269</sup> Accordingly, MSS of the NT and other authors from the beginning of the Christian era on evince both the active future indicative<sup>270</sup> and the middle-passive future indicative<sup>271</sup> spelt with the thematic vowel of the subjunctive, often after ἵνα and

<sup>267</sup> The misunderstanding of this form appears also in W. F. HOWARD, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 218, who calls it “This imaginary mood” (i.e. subjunctive). In similar fashion F. BLAU–A. DEBRUNNER–REHKOPF, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, §§ 28 and n. 2; 76 n. 1; 369 and n. 5, explain the two forms merely as resulting from confusion between ο and ω, and as “neugebildeten Aor.” (!).

<sup>268</sup> METZGER, *Textual Commentary*, 564; FEE, *1 Corinthians*, 629 “unknown in the koiné period”!

<sup>269</sup> For the inscriptional evidence bearing on this, see Chapter Six, above.

<sup>270</sup> E.g. Mt 7:6 καταπατήσωσιν; Mk 15:20 σταυρώσωσιν; Lk 7:4 παρέξι; 13:28 ὀψήσθαι; 14:10: εἶπη; Jn 7:3 θεωρήσωσιν; 17:2: δώσι; 1 Cor 15:49 φορέσωμεν; 1 Th 5:10 ζήσωμεν; Heb 2:3 (ᾠ<sup>46</sup>) ἐκφυσώμεθα; Rev 3:9 ἡξωσιν καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν (also 13:16); 6:4: σφάξωσιν; 8:3: δώσι; 9:4 ἀδικήσωσιν; 9:6: εὐρήσωσιν; 9:20 προσκυνήσωσιν; 13:12: προσκυνήσωσιν; Justin, *Trypho* 115 δώσῃτε; Eusebios Alexandrinus (ed. MIGNE, PG LXXXVI, 1) 361 B, 321 D δώσις, θήσις; 424 A προσθήσωμεν; Theophanes, *Chronographia* 4, 20: ἀποδώσι. MAYSER, *Grammatik* I, 1, 73, cites many examples from the Ptolemaic papyri, where the ο is substituted for by the ω, in which perhaps the indicative is mistaken for the subjunctive, see, e.g., UPZ 52, 8 (=53, 9): ἔχωμεν; 70, 13: βαπτίζωμεθα; 81 col. 5, 2: κατανῶσαι.

<sup>271</sup> E.g. Gen (LXX, ed. J. W. WEVERS, Göttingen 1974) 2:17: φάγησθε; Act (ed. C. TISCHENDORF–GEBHARDT, Leipzig, 1881) 21:24: ξυρήσονται, γνώσονται; 1 Tm 6:8: ἀρκεσθήσωμεθα; 1 Pt 3:1: κερδηθήσονται; Rev 6:11: ἀναπαύσονται; 9:5: βασανισθήσονται; 14:13: ἀναπαύσονται; Dion Chrysostom (ed. J. W. COHOON 1949), VIII. *On Virtue* 28: ἔσονται; Justin, *Apology* (ed. MIGNE, PG VI) 1, 7: φανῆται; Dan (Θ) (ed. C. TISCHENDORF, Lipsiae, 1887) 1:12: φαγώμεθα, πιώμεθα; Aristides, *Symmachikos* (ed. DINDORF, Leipzig, 1829) I, 482: γενήσονται; Ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Εἰρήνης: 400: γενήσονται; Hippolytos, *Refutatio* (ed. MIGNE, PG X) 460, 30: αἰρήσονται; 466, 18: ἀφελθήσονται; Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* (ed. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae, 1887-1900) XII, 23: παραθήσονται, παρασχθήσονται; Basilios (ed. MIGNE, PG 29) III, 1618 D: πλησθήσωμεθα; Epiphanius (MIGNE, PG 41) I, 545 D: παραλείψωμαι; Chrysostomos (ed. PARISIIS, 1839) I, 508 B: σκανδαλισθήσονται; Apocr. *Acts of Apostles: Acts of*

ὅπως. This means that *καυθήσωμαι* is another form for *καυθήσομαι*, and consequently the united MSS support of all the readings based on *καίομαι* (including the forms presupposed in non-Greek translations and authors) must be combined and be set against the witnesses supporting *καυχήσωμαι*. When this is done, the external evidence for *καίομαι*, particularly in view of the emergent upgrading re-evaluation of the minuscules<sup>272</sup>, makes this reading a strong claimant to originality.

Having now removed the misunderstandings that have bedeviled the textual variant based on *καίομαι*, by showing that the HGP demands taking *καυθήσωμαι* as another form of *καυθήσομαι* (and these together with the other readings based on *καίομαι*), it has now become clear that the MS support for the rejected variant is much stronger than hitherto supposed, and that the competing reading *καυχήσωμαι* is not as obvious as has been assumed. The grounds for the originality of *καυχήσωμαι* have been shown to be flawed.

This opens the way to a fresh examination of the internal evidence: the structure of the passage and the demands of the context.

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*Andrew and Matthew* 2: ἐκφεύξωμαι; *Mart. of Bartholomew* 7: γνωσώμεθα; Proklos, *Parmenides* (ed. V. COUSIN, Paris, 1864) 1218 and 1229: ἀναγκασθησώμεθα; *Parmenides* (ed. STALLBAUM, Leipzig, 1848) I, 54, 7: διαθήσονται (v.l.); 220, 10: γενήσονται; 277, 17: θήσονται; 336, 13: συλλήψιται; 479, 17: ἔσισθε; II, 43, 13: περιέσονται (v.l.); 71, 20: ἀκούσισθε; 454, 9: περιεσώμεθα; Agathias (ed. B. G. NIEBUHR, 1828) 41, 3: πείσισθε; 163, 11: καθεσπίξῃ. Theophylaktos (ed. C. D. de BOER, Leipzig, 1887) 278, 8: γενήσονται; *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* 2: ἐκφεύξωμαι; *Martyrdom of Bartholomew* (ed. MIGNE, PG CIV) 7: γνωσώμεθα.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. ALAND-ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament*, pp. 128 f.: "At least half of them [i.e. the minuscules] are certainly underrated", some of which "offer a valuable early text which can compete with even the best uncials"; "the differences noted reveal how complex the situation is, and how much our traditional views are in need of revision. The nineteenth century was impressed by the uncials, and the first three quarters of the twentieth century by the papyri. In the last quarter of this century a whole group of minuscules is advancing claims for equal recognition, and with equal justification". We should not be surprised if the examination of 2,812 minuscules one day overturns the current evaluation of the 'Byzantine' text.

## 4. The Structure of the Passage

The structure of the first three verses is identical and is as follows:

Vs. 1	1.a	Ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ
	1.b	καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων
	2	ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
	3.a	γέγονα χαλκὸς ἢ χῶν
	3.b	ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον
Vs. 2	1.a	καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν
	1.b	καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάναι
	2	ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
	3	οὐθὲν εἰμι
Vs. 3	1.a	κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου
	1.b	καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι / καυθήσομαι
	2	ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω
	3	οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι

Each verse consists of three parts: a protasis introduced by the conditional particle *ἐάν*, which in vv. 2 and 3 is repeated so as to constitute a double protasis<sup>273</sup>. The protasis describes always something positive or desirable as a Christian fruit. With a view to Paul's gradation of the gifts of the Spirit, each succeeding verse sets forth a superior expression of the Christian life, beginning (in vs. 1) with the gift of tongues, passing (in vs. 2) through the gift of prophecy<sup>274</sup>, and ending (in vs. 3) with the ultimate sacrifice of one's own body. This protasis, which sets forth the exercise of these gifts, is then, in the second part of each verse, put to the test as to the motives behind them, that which actuated these positive or noble actions or that which accompanied them. The touch-stone here is love: *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω*, which is identical in all three verses. It is by the presence or absence of love as the controlling and determining factor that the value of the entire feat or service is weighed. The third part of each verse constitutes the apodosis, i.e. the evaluation of these gifts or noble actions in the light of love as the inducing factor. Lack of love leads, in each case, to the negative verdict: (a) *χαλκὸς ἢ χῶν* and *κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον*, (b) *οὐθὲν εἰμι*, (c) *οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι*.

From this analysis we see that it is imperative that the protasis of each verse constitutes in itself a thoroughly positive service or sacrifice. The

<sup>273</sup> In vs. 1 the verb *λαλῶ* must be semantically repeated in connection with *καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων*.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 14:1-5.

second part of each verse signals the lack of love, which has as a result the apodosis, namely, that the entire service or sacrifice has been in vain. From this it becomes clear that the protasis of vs. 3 can only be in correspondence to the protasis of vv. 1 and 2. In those two verses the protasis is concerned exclusively with a gift or service which a person has or practises for his own edification or administers for the benefit of others. The third verse, which is climactically structured, is concerned with a service that reaches the point of personal sacrifice, and has, in a supreme way, the benefit of others in view. Thus, it is not permissible to allow any consideration of one's reward (even of legitimate reward) to creep into this first part, the protasis, since this would completely destroy the parallelism with the first two verses, and render the whole unit self-contradictory and nonsensical. This implies that the reading *καυχῆσμαι* falls already on this score. This reading is understood in the sense that what is undertaken has a person's (eschatological) boasting in view, and it has been pointed out that such boasting, so far from being a negative element, is quite permissible and is, in fact, said, time and again, to be the practice of Paul. Now there is no doubt whatsoever that *καυχῆσμαι* can be and is used by Paul in a positive way<sup>275</sup>. However, from the fact that *καυχῆσμαι* can be and is used positively by Paul, to jump to the conclusion that this boasting is in view also here, and hence to decide for the reading *καυχῆσμαι* on this facile ground, is to miss the point by a long way.

If the idea of boasting – something permissible in itself, especially in its eschatological context – were present here, (a) it would destroy the parallelism with vv. 1 and 2; (b) it would introduce an element that is foreign to the tenor of the passage, and (c) it would render superfluous the antithetic clause *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω*, since the motive for the sacrifice would, in that case, be the boasting – permissible boasting – which would be the reward in itself<sup>276</sup>. But in addition to this, there is another line of argument, perhaps even more serious, that renders the reading *καυχῆσμαι* improbable. The verb *παραδίδομι* in this sentence is a verb of incomplete predication, needing another clause or phrase to complement it. In other words, one cannot say: "and if I deliver up my body in order to boast", for then it is not known what end this delivering up of the body has in view. The *ἵνα*-clause constitutes the complement of the verb *παραδῶ*, i.e. its purpose, not its mo-

<sup>275</sup> It is so used in Rm 5:2, 3, 11; 1 Cor 1:31; 2 Cor 7:14; 9:2; 10:8, 13, 15, 17; 11:30; 12:5, 9; Gal 6:14; Phil 3:3.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. the relevant thought in Mt 6:16: *ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν*. It is overlooked that even boasting in the good sense is for Paul always a boasting "in the Lord" (1 Cor 1:31; 10:17), not in what one does for the Lord (2 Cor 12:5; Rm 5:2-5, 11; 2 Cor 11:30).



tive<sup>277</sup>. The reading *καυθήσομαι* (and variants) not only supplies the needed complement, it moreover fits in a supreme way the progression of thought in this triplet of verses: tongues of men > tongues of angels > prophecy > knowledge of all mysteries > faith to move mountains > giving all one's possessions to feed the poor > and (finally the ultimate sacrifice): delivering one's body to the flames. Indeed, it is this very juxtaposition of the supreme sacrifice of one's own life (cf. Jn 5:13) with a hypothetical lack of love, this almost incredible resultant contrast of the ultimate self-giving taking place against a context of lovelessness, the sheer thought that such is (at least theoretically?) possible, that constitutes the climax of these three verses, and shows the true nature of love<sup>278</sup>. This climax is destroyed by the alternative reading, and the whole thought and effect of this powerful, lyrical passage runs out in the sand<sup>279</sup>.

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<sup>277</sup> The supposed parallel in Plutarchos, *Demetrios* XLIX. 5, adduced by HORT, is not a parallel at all; see above, note 11.

<sup>278</sup> See also the interesting study by J. G. SIGOUNTOS, "The Genre of 1 Corinthians 13", *NTS* 40 (1994), pp. 246-60, esp. 251-55, who has arrived at the same overall conclusion by means of rhetorical analysis.

<sup>279</sup> The argument that Paul could not have written *καυθήσομαι*, because such martyrish thoughts, in the absence of martyrdom by burning at this time (witnessed first under Nero), could not have occurred to him, not only misses the point, it also introduces two errors. First, Paul is not thinking here concretely of any imminent threatening circumstance whereby such hypothetical burning could be translated into reality, and second, Paul is not speaking of himself: his language is simply rhetorical. Greek is, to be sure, to a high degree an abstract language, but not to the point of excluding the direct "Thou-Form of argumentation" (see Ch. Seven, "V. Rhetorical Effects") in place of an impersonal mode of argumentation (cf., e.g., Platon's dialogues, where reasoning about abstract matters is mediated through concrete references). It is therefore a mistake to take every use of the first person of the personal pronoun as an indication or proof that Paul is speaking (exclusively) of himself. Even in 1 Cor 3:4-5, where he repeatedly makes concrete references to himself and to Apollos, he says that all this is merely figurative speech in order to teach the Corinthians an object lesson (*ταῦτα μετεσχημάτισα δι' ὑμᾶς*, 4:6). The rhetorical use of the first person comes out more clearly in Rm 7:7-25, where the "I" is most certainly not Paul's own, but is used representatively of a class of human beings, to which, of course, Paul, too, belongs by virtue of his being a human being. The same is the case in Rm 11:19. In 1 Cor 6:12 the reference is not exclusively to Paul. 10:30 refers clearly to any Christian, while Gal 2:18 applies to everyone who is in Christ and hence also to Paul. The rhetorical use of *σύ* is even more frequent, e.g. Rm 2:3, 17; 9:20; 11:17, 18, 20, 22, 24; 14:4, 10, 22; 1 Cor 14:17; 15:36; Gal 6:1. Cf. also Jas 2:18, 19; 4:12. This means that when Paul used *καυθήσομαι* he was not thinking of himself or of any concrete or imminent case of martyrdom by fire, but was simply using an extreme example of painful suffering (which in the light of Dan 3 was not in itself unrealistic) to emphasize, not so much that such supreme sacrifice is possible without love, but that hypothetically even such a

## 5. Conclusions

The above investigation has shown that all the various readings based on the verb *καίομαι* represent but one variant and that they must be taken in their totality when compared with the alternative variant, *καυχῆσθωμαι*. The reason why the variants of *καίομαι* have been treated as so many alternative readings is due to the failure to understand correctly the nature of what appears to be the strange form of *καυθήσθωμαι*, which has been rejected as “impossible” or as “a monstrosity”.

Having shown that this form is neither “impossible” nor “a monstrosity”, but a natural product of the evolution of the morphology, syntax, and especially the phonology (i.e. the pronunciation) of the Greek language – in other words, the concerns of this entire investigation – the enormous MS support of this reading (together with the other kin variants) must consequently be added to that of *καυθήσθωμαι*. When this is done, the external evidence for *καίομαι*, not least on account of its exceedingly broad geographical spread and variety of witnesses, assumes such dimensions and such importance that it can easily compete with the alternative variant of *καυχῆσθωμαι*.

The issue, however, can be finally decided only by reference to internal criteria. What comes into play here are in the first place the structure of the passage and the grammatical issue of the incomplete predication of *παράδω*, which demands a complement expressing purpose. No matter how positively the verb *καυχῆσθωμαι* is interpreted, here it fails to satisfy the demands of the case, which needs not a motive, but a purpose for *παράδω*. This is in agreement with the overall structure of the triplet of vv. 1-3, which are identically structured and which demand in the first part of each verse a protasis that expresses something thoroughly good or positive, and especially in the third verse, something that is done in self-sacrifice for others. This leaves no room for any alien element such as the introduction into the text of the actor’s motives would imply.

The final and firm conclusion, therefore, must be that the reading indented by Paul was *καυθήσθωμαι*.

It may be asked, however: How did the variant *καυχῆσθωμαι* arise? Strictly speaking, it is not necessary to account for the rise of a rejected variant, if the decision for the accepted variant rests on unshakeable evidence. Nonetheless, if we take into account the following considerations, it will become apparent that it was not as difficult as may be thought for a reading such as *καυχῆσθωμαι* to arise. First, it must be pointed out that the

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sacrifice, if it is unaccompanied by love, is worthless. In the whole *corpus paulinum* there is hardly a more radical way than this of underlining the supremacy of love.

difference between it and the rival reading *καυθήσωμαι* (*καυθήσομαι*, etc.) is only one letter: *χ* instead of *θ*: *καυχῆσωμαι* - *καυθῆσωμαι*; apart from this the words are identical. Even though the two letters do not look alike, it was, nevertheless, not difficult to write a wrong letter for the correct one, in this case *χ* for *θ*. Second, the immense number of mistakes in such early papyri as *Ṗ*<sup>46</sup>, *Ṗ*<sup>66</sup>, *Ṗ*<sup>72</sup>, and *Ṗ*<sup>75</sup> as well as uncials such as *℣* and *B*, all of which contain even nonsense readings, prove all too well that either the *χ* or the *θ* could easily have entered the NT text at the very outset of the history of the textual tradition. Therefore, the early date of the few witnesses for *καυχῆσωμαι* is not in itself a guarantee for the originality of this reading. Third, *καυχῶμαι* occurs in Paul no fewer than 36 times. Of these, it occurs seven times in various aorist forms<sup>280</sup>, while the actual form *καυχῆσωμαι* occurs twice apart from our passage (2 Cor 10:8 and 11:16). On the other hand, *καίομαι* does not occur at all in Paul. In two words that sounded identically in every respect except in one voiceless letter, the consonants *θ* and *χ*, it did not require much to 'hear' the wrong letter and to write it down, the letter of a word that occurred repeatedly in Paul, and thus to give rise to the erroneous variant *καυθήσωμαι*.

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<sup>280</sup> I.e. 1 Cor 1:29: *καυχῆσεται*; 2 Cor 10:8: *καυχῆσωμαι*; 2 Cor 10:16: *καυχῆσασθαι*; 2 Cor 11:16: *καυχῆσωμαι*; 2 Cor 12:6: *καυχῆσασθαι*; Gal 6:13: *καυχῆσονται*; Eph 2:9: *καυχῆσεται*.

## Summary and Conclusions

The above investigation had two central foci: diachrony and acoustics. Through these two scarlet threads the attempt was made to show the inestimable value of taking a holistic approach to the Greek language in exegeting, for example, the NT. The diachronic investigation of the language is a *sine qua non* for a more precise understanding of it, and in particular, for a Hellenistic text such as the NT, which has its genesis during the period of transition from ancient to modern Greek. The acoustic approach is important for two reasons: one, because it was the un-Greek pronunciation introduced by Erasmus that divided the language into ancient and modern, separating them from one another, and leading to an atomistic treatment of them as though they were two unrelated languages, and two, because the issue of pronunciation is important as an integral part of the communication process, in rhetorical schemata, wordplays, etc. as well as for the transmission of the text, i.e. in evaluating textual variants occasioned by the Historical Greek Pronunciation.

The two themes of diachrony and acoustics have led the investigation into a large number of areas of research: the various phases of the Greek language, the pronunciation in classical and Hellenistic times, the relevance of post-classical, Byzantine, mediaeval, and Neohellenic for the Greek of the NT, morphology and syntax, communicative aspects, rhetorical figures, textual criticism, etc. In connection with each one of the above areas, it has been the ambition of the present investigation to make a modest contribution. This I have attempted to do, both by bringing to bear from the diachronic and acoustic approach to the Greek language some of its evidence on the interpretation of the NT, and by opening up new areas of research – areas that hold a promise for future work. It is the confident hope of the present author that such work will not fail to further enrich the study of the NT.

The results of each chapter will now be summarized and appropriate conclusions will be drawn.

Chapter One was concerned with an outline of the history of the Greek language. In a concise but lucid way it showed the unity of the language from the Mycenaean *Linear B* tablets to the Katharevousa and the Demotic forms of Greek of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, the unity that Hatzidakis (as well as others) had tried to prove from the evidence

available in his day, viz. from Homeros to the present, could now, following the decipherment of *Linear B*, be extended further back to the XV<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The continuity from Mycenaean Greek to Neohellenic was exemplified by *i.a.* the following three features: (a) the identical five vowel sounds, (b) the lack of aspiration, and, not least, (c) Mycenaean vocabulary (e.g. such basic everyday words as *άνεμος*, *άγγελος*, *άγρός*, *άνθρωπος*, *σίτος*, *τόσος*), all three of which obtain continuously all the way down to Neohellenic. In fact, as far as vocabulary goes, Constantinidis has shown that no fewer than 133 Mycenaean words have given rise to 261 terms currently in use in the International Scientific Vocabulary.

Next, the dialectal period (800-500 B.C.) was briefly examined to show the great variety of dialects as well as the fact of the unique phenomenon, whereby different genres of literature were composed in different dialects. Brief quotes from various genres representing a number of dialects were given as examples of dialectology.

This prepared the ground for and led to the preeminence of Attic in prose literature (500-300 B.C.), which, thus, became normative for all future prose compositions and the arbiter over matters of language down to our own day. It is during this period that Attic, and thereby Greek, reaches its apogee of development both in morphology and syntax. The superiority of Attic over the other dialects, backed by the undisputed cultural, political, and military prowess of Athens within the Hellenic world, made Attic a kind of pan-Hellenic linguistic medium (i.e. "Großattisch"), and this finally led to its adoption by the Macedonian court as the official language of Makedonia. It was this last measure that made Attic a world language through the conquests of Alexander. Since, however, Attic owed its dissemination in the first place to the Macedonian soldiery rather than to the Athenian cultural elite who had fashioned it with dexterity, it was soon contaminated by elements from the other dialects, and the resultant mixture came to be known as Post-classical, Hellenistic or Koine Greek.

This Hellenistic Greek, which in the present work was divided into Early Hellenistic (c. 300-1 B.C.) and Late Hellenistic (A.D. 1-300), actually comprises the bigger part of the post-classical period, which together with Proto-Byzantine (c. A.D. 300-600), made up the important period of transition from ancient to modern Greek, i.e. from Alexander to Justinian (more precisely 335 B.C. - A.D. 565). It is in the linguistic developments of this period that Neohellenic has its roots. In simple language, this means that the basic changes that came over Greek during this period constitute the basic characteristics of Neohellenic, or, conversely, the basic characteristics of Neohellenic came into being during the period from Alexander

to Justinian. Since the NT appears during this period, it is readily explicable that Neohellenic should share common elements with the NT.

The period of A.D. 600-1500 comprises Byzantine and Mediaeval Greek. This period may be divided into Early Byzantine (or Early Neohellenic, 600-1000) and Late Byzantine (or Middle Neohellenic, 1000-1500). With the inception of this period Demotic speech is practically Neohellenic. An example of this is Ioannes Malalas (480-570), whose *Chronographia* might be described as a proto-Neohellenic writing, while the epic *Digenes Akritas* (X<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.) is virtually Modern Greek. Yet both of these authors not infrequently exemplify NT morphology and syntax. At the same time it is noted that learned treatises were normally written in an Atticistic or puristic form of the language, an influence that goes back to the revival of Atticism around the beginning of our era. This Atticistic influence is ever present or around the corner, no matter what form of the language an author chooses to write in. The literature of this period is exemplified by extracts from Malalas, *Digenes Akritas*, and the Atticistic authoress princess Anna Komnene's *Alexias*.

Finally, the Neohellenic period (i.e. Late Neohellenic, 1500-2000) is treated at greater length, both because of the peculiar problems with regard to the struggle between Katharevousa and *Dhimotiki* (i.e. Demotic), and in order to show the points of contact between Neohellenic and the earlier phases of Greek, which are of relevance for the main thesis of this investigation. The Katharevousa is the final expression of the Atticistic revival of ancient times and the puristic, Atticistic tradition in force for some two thousand years. This was put to rest by the reform of 1976, but not until it had expurgated, purified, and ennobled the Demotic form of its uncouth elements through its various dialects and helped shape the character of the present day official Greek language, the *Neohellenike Koine*. Thus, the influence of Katharevousa has been of inestimable value, which in effect means that Neohellenic is what it is thanks to the Atticistic movement.

Chapter Two takes up the question of the relevance of later Greek for the exegesis of the NT. The problem was formulated by K. Krumbacher: How could *MGr* relate to ancient Greek in such a close way as to skew from what appears to be the case with all other languages, which in their present state exhibit an enormous distance from their fairly recent past? Krumbacher's thinking was following reason, but not facts. First, that Greek should have developed differently from other languages is owing to a number of historical and particularly cultural factors. Here we will do well to remember that no other language in Europe has the linguistic and literary traditions of Greek. And without minimizing the significance of Latin, it may still be maintained that Greek carries by far the greater weight

of the ancient legacy (the Greek literature is, according to H. Diels (see Preface to *LSJ* p. v.), ten times the size of Latin literature, and it represents the original, whereas the Latin literature is usually derivative). On the side of concrete documentation, the evidence shows that the continuity between ancient Greek and Neohellenic is incontrovertible and that it extends to a number of areas. Examples from morphology and syntax were cited. Further, Neohellenic is the repository and bearer of the ancient Greek legacy. Many of the ancient customs as well as ways of thinking and expression have been preserved among the Greek people and its Neohellenic language, some in unchanged form, others in a *MGr* linguistic attire. Neohellenic is shown to have preserved many set phrases from epic and classical times and to use them as an integral part of everyday Greek. It was further shown that the works of Byzantine authors are replete with quotations and allusions to earlier Greek works, a circumstance that lays great demands on the modern editor, who attempts to understand and clarify the texts. Evidence presented made it clear that Neohellenic can actually throw light on textual readings of ancient texts that have been deemed insoluble or mistaken, and disregarded as unworthy of attention, and thus help restore the text of the author in question.

In the area of vocabulary, reference was made to Hatzidakis' study who investigated the vocabulary of Homeros and of the NT that is still used in Neohellenic. He found that of the 6,844 Homeric words, classical Greek – barely four centuries later – used 3,617 words (3,227 having already fallen in disuse), and that of the 3,617 Homeric words in use during classical times, Neohellenic – twenty-four centuries later – still uses 1,979 of them<sup>1</sup>. This astounding result is only surpassed by the number of NT words used in Neohellenic. Of the 4,900 NT words, Hatzidakis found that 2,280 words are still spoken today, while 2,220 words are “well-understood by all Greeks when read or heard”, which implies that only 380 NT words are not understood, i.e. a mere 7.25%<sup>2</sup>.

The continuity between the Greek of the NT and Neohellenic was further corroborated by comparing three Greek paraphrases with the original NT text. Of the three, the paraphrase of Nonnos (V<sup>th</sup> A.D.), in spite of its chronological proximity to the NT, is linguistically the furthest removed from it because it represents, not the language of Nonnos' day, but the language of Homeros. On the other hand, the Katharevousa of 1851 is very close to the original NT text, while the translation of 1967, representing the current language of Athens, although differing considerably, is still com-

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<sup>1</sup> The above figures are those by the present author, who has checked afresh and somewhat modified HATZIDAKIS' own figures.

<sup>2</sup> Again these are the slightly modified figures by the present author.

prehensible to a non-Greek with adequate linguistic equipment, and he can easily trace the neologisms to their ancestors in classical or Koine Greek. As far as I can see, none of the main European languages exhibits such close continuity with its own past.

As a practical example of present-day feeling for the language of the NT, I quoted the example of the old unschooled lady, who without knowing the grammatical terminology, was able to distinguish clearly between the aspect of the aorist and that of the present in 1 Jn 2:1 and 1 Jn 3:9.

Finally, a quotation from the philosopher Theodorakopoulos in modern Greek Demotic, showed that almost all of the words used either are the same or variant forms of ancient Greek vocables. It ought, however, to be noted, that here we are concerned with the lexicon, not the syntax, in which Neohellenic skews considerably from ancient Greek, although it preserves many ancient syntactical structures, and thus even in this respect it can elucidate NT constructions.

Chapter Three, which opens the second part of this investigation, took up the important issue of morphology as this was changing during the transition from Attic to Neohellenic. The aim here was to show that the Koine changes, often incipient as yet in the NT, frequently continued to obtain in *N*, thus rendering *N* invaluable in interpreting the NT data. It was shown that the NT is moving away from Attic and towards *N*. The discussion touched upon some twenty-three areas where morphological changes have been at work, which were illustrated by a large number of examples. This discussion was by way of principle. This, in turn, implies two things: one, that the areas of change constitute an immense number of grammatical categories, and that, therefore, the insights obtained here should be applied to a far greater number of phenomena; and two, that the constructions affected are far more frequent than the evidence could find place in this study.

Next, the question of Atticism was taken up. The Atticistic movement has been much abused in modern times. It has been described as a retrogressive, obscurantist movement with no feeling for the developing tendencies of a living language and a hindrance to renewing tendencies and activities. The Atticists were certainly lovers of Attic diction. As such they were convinced that Attic was an unparalleled instrument of speech suited for refined expression, concise exposition, and exact reasoning. It ought, therefore, to be the measure of good, tasteful, elegant compositions. Such a standpoint, it is true, inevitably made them appear as to some extent ensnared or captive to staticity. However, there was good reason for their attitude. In their day they had witnessed the demolition of the noble instrument used with such exquisite taste by the best Attic authors and its



reduction to a Panhellenic means of communication (the Koine) after it had been contaminated with elements from the other dialects and become the recipient of neologisms. Worse still, on the lips of the barbarians of Egypt, Nubia, and other places, Attic had lost its charm and acrobacy, and the resultant Greek – suitable as a *lingua franca* for a great variety of non-Greek peoples and tribes within the Greek kingdoms – had little resemblance with its past. In the face of these enormities, as they regarded them, which were penetrating the Greek strata as well, the Atticists with excessive zeal set out to correct the misuses and to call Greeks back to the form of language that represented their best period and their best productions. The Atticists were no ignorami with antiquarian interests. They were some of the most capable and best authors of the centuries around the time of Christ: Dionysios Halikarnasseus, Caecilius of Kale Akte, Ploutarchos, Dion Prousseus, Aillios Aristeides, Marcus Aurelius, Herodes Attikos, Loukianos, Phrynichos, Harpokration, Moiris, Iulius Polydeukes, Polemon, Philostratos, Plotinos, *et al.*

How the NT relates to Atticism is a very interesting question. Not infrequently the procedure has been to quote a few words or constructions that are condemned by Phrynichos and Moiris and to point out that these words and structures occur in the NT. The fact that Atticists condemned usage that happens to occur also in the NT is supposed to show how wrong the Atticists must have been. But the question is not as simple as that. First, the NT as a whole is no model of elegant Greek diction, albeit it contains a number of superb constructions. Second, comparisons between a few NT words and structures with Atticistic counterparts is both simplistic and misleading. Consequently, it has been deemed necessary in this investigation to compare the entire lexicon in Phrynichos' *Ekloge* with both the NT and the Neohellenic vocabulary. The results are quite striking. Of Phrynichos' 500 Attic words, the NT has counterparts in only 204 cases. Now of these 204 words, etc. the NT uses the Koine form condemned by Phrynichos in 111 instances, while it exhibits the Attic form recommended by Phrynichos in 65 instances. This means that within the limited material supplied by Phrynichos, the NT follows Attic diction in no less than 31.86% and Koine diction in 54.4% (the rest of the forms being peculiar to it). This means that the NT is closer to Attic Greek than is usually supposed as well as closer to Attic Greek than the then current spoken form of Greek criticized by Phrynichos. The *N* vocabulary is even closer to Attic than the NT. *N* agrees in 146 cases (or 35.6%) with the Koine forms occurring in the NT or those rejected by Phrynichos, but it shares 43 words with Attic and the NT together, and has a further 155 words common with Attic alone. This means that *N* (i.e. mainly elements acceptable to Demotic) uses 198 words

(43 + 155) or 48.4%. in common with Attic and only 35.6% in common with Koine / NT (the rest being neologisms). That *N* exhibits such a high percentage of coincidence with Attic vocabulary is the result of the lasting influence of the Atticistic movement. It also explains why the Greek language, after 2,000 years, has not changed as much as the other languages of Europe. These facts underscore the close relationship of *N* to ancient Greek, and hence its relevance for the NT. At the same time, the above facts are important in any attempt to delineate the character of spoken Koine Greek at the time of the NT, to locate the Greek of the NT within the evolution of the language, and to evaluate the contribution of *N* to the exegesis of the NT.

Chapter Four discussed the syntactical developments that took place during the period of transition, and which in one way or other are represented in the NT. The procedure in this chapter was the traditional thematic procedure of a syntax book. Here, all the main areas that are conventionally covered by books on syntax were treated consecutively, though not exhaustively. The aim in this chapter was to indicate the areas in which development had occurred in relation to classical usage, and to place the NT within this ongoing evolution. The indirect aim was to inspire and encourage further research.

In illustrating the syntactical developments, the point of departure is almost invariably some NT construction or problematic text. The course of development is then followed from ancient to Byzantine, mediaeval or up to Neohellenic times. The very idea of development implies a move from classical morphology and syntax, and in these cases the NT almost invariably finds itself in the company of the neologisms that were introduced with the inception of the Koine period. In some cases Koine forms and structures, witnessed in the NT, crystallized, remaining constant during all subsequent periods, while in other cases the process of development continued beyond the NT into Neohellenic. It is for this reason that it is important to investigate the later Greek literature. Literary works of post-NT times are pertinent, *i.a.* because: (a) they confirm NT neologisms in vocabulary and syntax; (b) they show that many NT constructions are not isolated incidents – that is, for example, under the temporary influence of LXX Greek, or Semitizing Greek – but a part of mainline Greek; (c) not infrequently a NT construction supplies one of the earliest or sometimes even the earliest example of a certain structure. The import of such a structure is difficult to decide with certainty because, being an as yet infrequent or unique phenomenon, without the assistance of illustrative material, it does not lend itself readily to unerring interpretation. The value of the later literature in such cases lies in the fact that the occurrence of the same

construction, in a number of different wordings and contexts, helps us pin down the significance of the NT construction; (d) many times the continued development through Byzantine and Neohellenic times of a phenomenon that is as yet in an embryonic stage in the NT shows the end of the process and thus makes it possible for us with certainty to interpret its inceptive stage in the NT; (e) sometimes a certain process of development came to its conclusion already in NT times or during Byzantine times, but the incidence of the phenomenon all the way to Neohellenic times enables us to better understand its permanence as well as to gauge the value of later Greek as a witness to the language of the NT.

By touching on a great number of topics and NT texts, and illustrating the discussion by an immense amount of citations from all periods of Greek literature, this chapter offers to the exegete, particularly the commentator, unique material. The linguistic evidence presented here not seldom leads to different interpretations of NT passages from those prevalent in current exegesis. Not a few current interpretations are shown to suffer from insufficient linguistic orientation and to be at variance with the spirit of the language, or to be simply forced. This chapter exemplifies in a signal way the need for a holistic approach to the Greek language, one in which the later phases of the language will be allowed to make their own impact on the interpretation of the NT text.

The character of Chapter Five is similar to that of Chapter Four. It is concerned primarily with syntax, and like Chapter Four, it applies evidence from later Greek to solve NT problems of interpretation. What is different in this chapter is that it concentrates on a few exegetical cruces and deals with them in greater depth.

This chapter takes up only nine topics, but in spite of the limited number of problems discussed, it is the longest chapter in the book. The topics could be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. Nevertheless the ones taken up for discussion give an adequate perception of the importance of the diachronic approach in solving lexical and syntactical cruces. Thus, evidence from Neohellenic informs us, for example, that the neuter may, under certain circumstances, be used for the masculine and the plural instead of the singular (see, e.g., the important cruces in Mt 2:20; 9:8, and 12:6 par.). Such constructions have generally been misunderstood in commentaries, which try to make sense by simple logic, i.e. guided by the ordinary uses of the neuter and the plural, thus failing to perceive that in the cases under consideration we are dealing with idiomatic usages, which require a feel for the language rather than a procrustean application of general grammatical rules.

The well-known text in John 15 of the ἄμπελος and the κλήματα has never been seen as problematic, simply because commentators have taken

it for granted that these words are used in their old, well-established meanings, and the scholars in question have, presumably, never been aware of any alternative meanings attaching to these words. The fact that the conventional interpretation is so fraught with difficulties and the exegesis of the details of the passage is so forced does not appear to have raised any questions. Neohellenic, on the other hand, apprises us of the shifts of meaning that took place in regard to these terms. The investigation showed that these shifts in meaning, which obtain today in Neohellenic, took place already in pre-Christian times. It was during those times that *ἄμπελος* came to signify 'vineyard' and *κλήματα* 'vines'. Thus, Neohellenic bears witness to changes that took place in the period before Christ, and its testimony (together with other diachronic evidence) is of first importance for exegeting the above passage correctly.

In the crucial text of Mt 12:28, which was one of the pillars for C. H. Dodd's doctrine of realized eschatology, the aorist *ἔφθασεν* has been interpreted in the ordinary way of a past action, and thus, the idiomatic use of the aorist, whereby it expresses a 'future' action (!), sufficiently documented even in ancient times (since Euripides and Aristophanes), has been totally missed. Neohellenic, which preserves this usage with this particular verb as well as with many other verbs, and has even increased its incidence, leads us to another meaning in this logion, one that does not support the idea of realized eschatology.

In Lk 16:25 and Rm 1:27 *ἀπολαμβάνω* has been generally interpreted to mean "to receive". Diachronic developments, however, as well as a certain conflation with the usage and meaning of the verb *ἀπολαύω* have given *ἀπολαμβάνω* the sense of "to enjoy", rather than merely "to receive", a sense that suits far better the contexts of the above two passages and gives them another nuance.

In Jn 21:5 the word *παιδιά* has been understood in the usual sense of "children" or "little children", i.e. in the same sense as, e.g., 1 Jn 2:18. In this case, I have not found any ancient or mediaeval evidence germane to this issue. Therefore, the failure to detect the correct nuance of the word in commentaries is understandable. However, Neohellenic, which has preserved what must have been an oral form of address (i.e. a Demotic element) to persons of inferior or equal social station, offers the only evidence in existence. It makes it clear that Jesus does not address his disciples with the endearing form 'little children', but with a colloquial expression which means 'lads', 'boys', 'fellows', 'guys', and which is used only in addressing persons of lower social rank or of the same rank by way of familiarity. This gives an inkling as to the nuance in Jesus' address to his disciples.

The much-vexed problem of 1 Cor 7:21, on whether Paul counsels remaining in slavery or snatching the opportunity to become free, receives important light from diachronic developments. Exegetes have been divided. One commentator has given it as his opinion that grammar cannot solve the issue: "On its own the sentence is ambiguous" (Fee, *First Corinthians*, 316). The present investigation examines the text, concentrating on the main expressions μάλλον χρῆσαι, ἀλλά, and whether εἰ καὶ is concessive or not. Already in *A* times, besides its concessive sense, εἰ καὶ not infrequently carried the sense of "if, too", "if, also". Further developments during *P* times led to the loss of the concessive meaning also for καὶ εἰ, which thus was reduced to the meaning of its component parts: "and if". These developments in the use of καὶ εἰ and εἰ καὶ, taken together with the other details of the sentence, help us decide the meaning of the sentence that enjoys the support of grammar. The sentence may thus be paraphrased: "Were you called as a slave? Do not let that trouble you. But if you (also) can gain your freedom, do so by all means and use it all the more to serve God".

The exegetical crux of 1 Cor 7:36-38 has hitherto been an insoluble problem. The two main interpretations, namely, that τις refers to the father of a virgin girl, or that τις refers to a young man who is engaged to her, have led to clearly unsatisfactory results and a highly problematic exegesis. Approaching the text diachronically and keeping in mind the spirit of the language, that is, how finer nuances may be expressed (here we have the witness of Epiphanius and the *Catenae Novum Testamentum*), the mists of uncertainty begin to disperse, and Paul's meaning gradually emerges into the light of day. The conclusion that the evidence forces on us is that the παρθένος is neither a 'daughter' nor a 'fiancée', but the 'virginity', i.e. the 'virgin [nature]' or the 'virgin [state]' of our young hero, the τις of vs. 36.

The ninth topic was devoted to a pseudo-problem which arose as a result of unawareness that the Greek language is one from Mycenaean times to the present, and the consequent failure to consult its later periods, particularly the Neohellenic, in trying to solve central questions that apply to the entire language. It has lately been alleged that the Greek verb expresses aspect, but no time. That the Greek verb expresses aspect has been presented as a breakthrough in Greek grammar, and it has been asserted that earlier grammarians, including the Greeks, were unaware of this fact, which, accordingly, is a new 'discovery'. Now, for the first time, it is claimed, we have become aware of aspect. The logical problem of "How could the verb in Greek texts express aspect (but not time) if the Greeks, who wrote these texts, were unaware of it?" or conversely "How could the Greeks be unconscious of aspect, if it is found in their texts?" does not seem to have

occurred to the advocates of this novel teaching. More disturbing, however, is a certain inclination observable among a few scholars to acquiesce to this position uncritically. My discussion shows that the doctrine that the Greek verb expresses aspect but no time rests on a misunderstanding of the nature of the Greek language; the texts that are used to support and illustrate this doctrine have been mistranslated and misinterpreted. Moreover, all Greek grammarians from antiquity and modern times uniformly teach that the Greek verb expresses both aspect and time (hence the proponents of this standpoint do nothing but “carry owls to Athens”) and finally this teaching is shattered by the fact that there are today seventeen million Greeks, who daily use the verb to express both time and aspect (cf. Chapter Two, section X, above, the example of the unschooled lady, who knew the difference in aspect without having read the book referred to here). This last topic, perhaps more than any other topic, illustrates the importance of the holistic approach to the Greek language, which alone can keep us from perpetrating such outrages against it.

The three chapters of Part Three were devoted to the acoustic issue. The first of these, Chapter Six, addressed the question of pronunciation in classical and Hellenistic times down to the era of the NT. The point of departure was the introduction of the Erasmian pronunciation. The investigation of the circumstances in which Erasmus propagated his pronunciation showed that he, in addition to certain – in themselves obvious – observations, was tricked by a Swiss monk into believing that he actually was describing the pronunciation in use during classical times. The evidence for this comes from Gerardus Ioannes Vossius, an ardent adherent of Erasmianism. The final success of the Erasmian pronunciation, which took many centuries to prevail, has its chief explanation in the fact that Hellas was no longer a sovereign state, able to uphold the interests of its language and its literary and artistic treasures. The various states of Europe were of the opinion that Hellas had ceased to exist, and thus looked upon themselves as the legitimate heirs to the legacy of Greece. No one would dictate to them how to pronounce Greek. Thus, no sooner had the Greek masters in Italy, who had introduced Greek learning to the West, and taught men of letters such as Erasmus, passed away, than European neo-classicists declared Greek a dead language, and proceeded to sever it altogether from those who still used it as their mother tongue.

Following this, the investigation concentrated on the method and the principles for investigating the evidence on the pronunciation of Greek. The currently applied method of comparing the phonology of equivalent words stemming from the same root among various IE languages, which, in effect means deciding the pronunciation of Greek by means of the pronun-

ciation of, *i.a.* Lithuanic, Armenian, and Latin, and in general, by means of phonetic speculation, is here deemed misled and misleading. Inasmuch as IE languages have developed different sounds, and these sounds, although different, are often represented by the same letter (e.g. cf. German *j* and *z* with English *j* and *z*, or German and English *d*, *c*, and *z* with Spanish *d* [= *th* as in 'the'], *c* [e.g. Cervantes = *Thervantes*]) and *z* [e.g. zapato = *thapato*], it is not possible to argue, for example, that Greek  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  should conform to the sound of English and German *g* and *d*. On the contrary, the correct way to go about it is to pay attention to the evidence of the language itself. But this is exactly what the proponents of the Erasmian pronunciation have refused to do. This is the objectively verifiable evidence of the inscriptions, particularly the earlier ones, that bear witness to the times when the *HGP* was introduced, and – in a secondary sense – of the papyri, which supply later but still valid evidence – evidence that fully corroborates the epigraphical data. The arguments for the phonological modifications, and generally for the pathology of sounds, receive illustrative and confirmatory support from Neohellenic, which helps us understand not only the traditional pronunciation in use ever since the *HGP* was developed, but also the importance and relevance of what sounds and combinations of sound are natural for Greek and what are not. Finally, Neohellenic, standing in immediate and unbroken continuity with ancient Greek, is an important witness to the *HGP*.

The inscriptions and the papyri divulge the pronunciation in use at the time of their writing by means of the orthographical errors that their authors committed. For example, writing an *i*-sound with an  $\eta$ , an  $\epsilon\iota$ , or an  $\omicron\iota$  instead of with the correct  $\iota$ , indicates that  $\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ , and  $\omicron\iota$  were sounded either identically with or similarly to  $\iota$ , and hence were confused. The core of this chapter lies in its detailed investigation and citation of an enormous amount of source material, from the inscriptions (chiefly), ostraca, and papyri that have a bearing on the issue. The investigation concentrates particularly on the epigraphical evidence, because this is the oldest evidence that we have for the pronunciation of Greek, beginning early in the sixth century B.C. but becoming more extensive during the V<sup>th</sup> and IV<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. The epigraphical evidence shows how early the *HGP* is witnessed. The value of this early witness is that the *HGP* is not a modern Greek or even a Hellenistic phenomenon, but that it goes all the way back to classical times. The process of change was initiated with the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$ , which early in the VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. assumed the sound of  $\iota$ . It was followed by  $\upsilon$  and  $\eta$ , particularly from the V<sup>th</sup> century on, and in the IV<sup>th</sup> century by  $\omicron\iota$ , which also took on the sound of  $\iota$ . The diphthong  $\alpha\iota$  was pronounced as  $\epsilon$  already in the V<sup>th</sup> B.C. in Boiotia and in Athens – as it ap-

pears – as early as the VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The diphthongs αυ, ευ, and ηυ are evidenced already during the VI<sup>th</sup> century B.C. as being pronounced as a combination of a vowel and a consonant, i.e. before a vowel or before β, δ, λ, μ, ν, ρ, as *av*, *ev*, and *iv* and before all other consonants, as *af*, *ef*, and *if*. The evidence for pronouncing β, γ, and δ in the Greek way, that is, as *v*, *gh* (a sound unknown in English) and *dh* (i.e. as Eng. 'the') takes us all the way back to the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The next issue that was taken up was the problem of aspiration and accentuation. It was noted in the First Chapter that aspiration failed already in Mycenaean Greek. In historic times aspiration did not occur in the main dialects, i.e. Ionic, Aiolic, and for the most part Doric. Attic inscriptions of the V<sup>th</sup> century indicate that aspiration was not currently a living item of the language. When it was indicated, it was indicated erratically. This implies that aspiration was not generally felt or observed in Athens during the V<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

The results of this research may be stated briefly: virtually all of the characteristics of the pronunciation current in Greece today were initiated or established during pre-classical or classical times. Here we ought, however, to distinguish between the value we ascribe to each letter and the intonation in speech. In pronunciation both are important. But whereas the first (the value of the letters) is attainable through a critical sifting of the inscriptional and papyrological evidence, the second (intonation) is lost forever; it is beyond our means of recapturing it. It will never be recovered, since for that nothing less is required than that we hear the ancients speak and read out their writings. However, giving the correct value to each letter ought to be deemed sufficient in the matter of pronunciation. And here we know that by the time of the NT, the values given to the various letters and combinations of letters coincided almost completely with the way these letters and combinations of letters are pronounced in Hellas today<sup>1</sup>. To reach out for more, that is, to entertain hopes of getting closer than this to the ancient pronunciation would be sheer presumption and self-illusion.

In the face of these results, it was pointed out that NT scholars have everything to gain by giving up the error of Erasmus and returning to the genuine, natural pronunciation of Greek, that is, the *HGP*.

Chapter Seven was devoted to an examination of the acoustic dimension in communication in the broadest sense. First, the issues of aurality and orality were addressed. In the interests of highlighting the importance of oral communication in antiquity, a number of absurd claims have been made with regard to the development of Greek from oral culture to literacy

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Greek has a number of sounds developed during or since mediaeval times that are not represented in ancient times. But this is totally beside the point.



culture, etc. Moreover, a number of factual mistakes (e.g. that Platon flourished in 450 B.C.!) integral to the system were pointed out. The importance of the acoustic factor and the fact of reading aloud in antiquity are well-established from the sources, and there is no need for resorting to unhistorical statements to prove what is well-attested.

Next the investigation took up what is so far virgin soil, that is, the question of literary composition and the acoustic dimension. The aim here has been to investigate how Greeks of NT times were likely to look on literary matters. Our guide here is no less a scholar than Dionysios Halikarnasseus. In his exquisite work, *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, Dionysios, an able teacher of rhetoric and an acute literary critic, has given us the fruits of his long experience regarding the literary tastes of the Greeks and the standards of excellence after which a presumptive *litteratus* should strive.

The two parts of style, according to Dionysios, are choice of words and composition of words. It is with the latter of these that Dionysios is concerned in this work. From the two rival schools of rhetoric, Dionysios had inherited the concepts of *εὐέπεια* (Gorgias) and *ὀρθοέπεια* (Protagoras). He combined these two concepts in his critical evaluation of ancient poetry and prose. In his opinion, the beauty of a discourse lay not so much in the words themselves as in their arrangement or composition. There was no standard word-order in the Greek sentence: his predecessors had used all orders equally successfully. Dionysios goes on to discuss the characteristics of delightful and beautiful composition, such as *freshness*, *charm*, *euphony*, *grandeur*, and *dignity*, and their prerequisites, i.e., *melody*, *rhythm*, *variety* and *appropriateness*. He proceeds to a consideration of the three kinds of style generally accepted in antiquity: the *austere*, the *polished*, and the *temperate* or *well-mixed*, i.e. having elements from both the austere and the polished styles.

Throughout his long and detailed discussion, Dionysios illustrates the various points he makes with an adequate number of examples from previous authors. He considers the entire compositions of, e.g., Homeros, Stesichoros, Alkaios, Sophokles, Herodotos, Platon, Demosthenes, and Aristoteles as exemplifying the best style (i.e. the temperate).

In his discussion, Dionysios pays special attention to the sounds of the various letters, particularly the first and the last letter of a word, and the way in which words fit with one another. He thus offers clear rules and concrete examples of how to avoid, for example, hiatus and cacophony, and instead to make the composition smooth and flowing. It is obvious that the issue of pronunciation here comes to the fore.

From Paul's disclaimer in 1 Cor 2:1, namely, that he did not come to Corinth showing off his rhetorical accomplishments, it must be concluded both that the Corinthians, accustomed to rhetorical finesse, would be looking for such qualities in a new teacher, and that Paul was aware of the place and importance of rhetorical skill in a Greek context. However, in spite of his disclaimer, Paul, as this chapter shows (e.g. his superb parallelisms), did make a serious effort to compose both beautifully and effectively. There is, therefore, every reason to analyze Paul's compositions in the light of Dionysios' precepts.

The application of a number of Dionysios' prerequisites for literary excellence to Pauline texts gives us quite interesting results: not seldom Paul is uninterested in how words clash with one another. He seems to be more concerned with content than with form, at least if this is conceived artificially, although not a few times he exhibits a beautiful finish, and some of his sentences attain to the highest levels of Greek composition. One might be inclined to view Paul's eloquence as solely the result of his own natural disposition and of his consciousness of having been the recipient of an unusual calling; however, some of his longer compositions revealing solemnity, grandeur, dignity, etc. seem to be also the outcome of a conscious effort in composing.

A number of rhetorical schemata in Paul have been interpreted as part of his so-called diatribe style. An inspection of the source material on which the genre of diatribe has been based led to the conclusion that the ancients did not recognize any genre by the name of diatribe. This is a modern creation, which has received its flesh and bones from characteristics found in Paul's letters. These characteristics are, however, real, and should not be discarded along with the diatribe as a genre. Here we find, for example, Paul's *Thou*-form of argumentation or the rhetorical *σύ*. Parallelism, already demonstrated by Johannes Weiß, is an important feature of Paul's literary style. Finally, various types of wordplays, such as paronomasia and parechesis, and especially *logopaignion* (s.c. wordplays in the strictest sense), convey their meaning by bringing together the two essential parts of the wordplay, viz. the *similarity* and the *dissimilarity* of its elements, which depend for the most part upon a sufficiently perceivable sound-similarity between the words constituting the wordplay. Once again, the question of pronunciation comes to the fore, inasmuch as the majority of wordplays ride on sound. Many of these are lost through the Erasmian pronunciation. The wordplay in the wider sense is a very important literary device and it is freely used in the NT. The sound-similarity brings the two words together, adding to their individual meaning a further meaning that is conveyed by the yoking of the two words, and which is over and above the combined

significance of each word considered individually. The discussion showed that, although the Erasmian pronunciation also may function in those cases where its pronunciation coincides with the *HGP*, the latter opens up a large number of important wordplays which, on account of the Erasmian pronunciation, are normally passed over undetected.

Finally, Chapter Eight addressed the bearing of the *HGP* on the transmission of the text of the NT. Textual criticism is presently in fermentation. A number of healthy reactions to past doctrines are put forward. The quest for new methods and criteria, that are better suited for achieving more reliable results, is a welcome development. At the same time the limitations of the new developments are registered. In particular, the Byzantine Text is still an unsolved problem. In his preface to the 26<sup>th</sup> edition of the NT (1979), K. Aland underlined the importance of the Byzantine MSS, and the fact that they had not received the recognition that they deserved, but, following his death, the corrected 27<sup>th</sup> edition (1998) withdrew this admission. Moreover, in the work of many scholars, the interest in the Byzantine Text is shown to be chiefly in order to devise criteria and principles to get rid of it. One further issue discussed here was the problematic terminology in speaking of "Byzantine", "Alexandrian", and "Western" MSS, when, as a matter of fact, (almost) all Greek MSS are Byzantine. The demand is put forward for a more stringent terminology.

Following a critical discussion of the latest opinions of what constitutes variants, variation units, meaningful readings, nonsense readings, etc., where the failure to appreciate the importance of the *HGP* for the rise of many readings leads to distorted evaluations of variants, the chapter concentrated next on the problem of orthographical errors in the MSS and the minimal attention which this has so far received at the hands of scholars. This important and potent factor in the transmission of the text of the NT has often been brushed aside with the derogatory term "itacism", which is used in a generalizing manner without reflecting that, strictly speaking, only the *i*-sound alternative spellings come under the designation of 'itacism', whereas the *HGP* is a much larger issue, covering all of the sounds of the Greek language. Besides, it does not appear to have been reflected on that by using the pejorative term 'itacism', in actual fact, NT scholars dismiss the pronunciation of the first Christians. From the purely linguistic point of view, such an attitude toward the language of a group of people would be considered unscientific.

In order to show the dimensions of the problem of pronunciation in the MSS, statistics from some of the earliest and most important NT MSS are cited:  $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ , and codex  $\aleph$ . Since the orthographical errors are so many and cover just about all the possible sounds that might have been

confused, the conclusion is inescapable that the first Christians from the start had inherited the *HGP*, and that therefore their MSS should be read and the mistakes be evaluated in the light of the *HGP*. In order to see in detail the kinds of mistakes and the frequency of their occurrence, a conspectus of all the mistakes of  $\Phi^{66}$  is presented. These orthographical mistakes, which, as has been mentioned above, are often brushed aside as unimportant, show that the scribes in question were linguistically incompetent, and that these mistakes together with the many nonsense readings seem to go counter to the claim that in these early MSS we have a text that takes us very close to the text of the autographs.

To illustrate concretely the problem of pronunciation in the transmission of the text, thirty-five passages with variant readings are taken up for discussion. Some of these texts are recognized by Metzger (*Textual Commentary*) as caused by the pronunciation factor, but, unfortunately, the issue is not pursued to its logical conclusion. My discussion shows how important the *HGP* has been for the emergence of such variants, some of which are admittedly difficult to decide, though the majority of them can be decided with reasonable certainty, if the *HGP* is allowed to exert its full evidential force.

The Chapter ends with a detailed discussion of the textual crux of 1 Cor 13:3. The recently adopted variant  $\kappa\alpha\chi\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  in place of  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ / $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  etc. is here shown to be based on a number of questionable premises, a mistaken view of grammar, and failure to take account of the then current *HGP*. Thus, the form  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  has been rejected because it has been taken as a "future subjunctive", in other words, as a "grammatical monstrosity" (Metzger, Fee), while Orr and Walther consider it to be "the impossible reading of the Byzantine text". How such a "grammatical monstrosity" was possible for the Byzantines who were Greeks, but impossible for the Semite Paul, does not seem to have occurred to these authors. As a matter of fact, an insightful handling of the linguistic developments that were taking place at this time provides us with the solution: the evidence shows unequivocally that at the latest by the first century A.D. the subjunctive had become a regular substitute for the future indicative (cf. the grammarian Lesbosax). This substitution was encouraged and facilitated by the *HGP*, in which  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  as well as  $\omega$  and  $o$  had coincided in pronunciation. The phenomenon has been observed by Sophocles, Jannaris, and Hatzidakis, the first of whom made the observation that "when the future indicative is used for the aorist subjunctive, it is frequently written with the connecting vowels of the subjunctive" (*Lexicon*, 40), and quotes  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$  at 1 Cor 13:3 as one of his many examples for this. Thus, given the developments in morphology, syntax, and pronunciation,

καυθήσῳμαι turns out to be a perfectly acceptable form, being a variant form for καυθήσομαι. The consequence of this is, that the MS support of both readings should be combined and be set against the MS support for καυχῆσῳμαι in any discussion of priority between these alternatives. The above judgments about the form καυθήσῳμαι would never have been made, if those who made them had been acquainted with the historical developments of the Hellenic language and taken its pronunciation seriously. Further contextual and structural observations suggest that the reading καυθήσομαι / καυθήσῳμαι ought to be regarded as the original reading.

The present book has been a first attempt within the discipline of the New Testament to demonstrate the unity of the Greek language, its continuous, uninterrupted evolution, and the fact that the NT constitutes only a very small part of the Greek language and its literature, having come into being during a few brief moments of its long history, and during a period of change and modernization. It has, moreover, sought to place the NT within the process of the then current linguistic development and to show that for a stricter and more acribic exegesis of its thought, it is important to take account of developments either witnessed or adumbrated in it, and which attain their blooming in the literature of later times. The approach and execution of the research was, of necessity, panoramic. Although the investigation took up for discussion a large number of areas of research, and not a few topics were treated in detail to illustrate how much can be achieved and how many problems can be solved with this kind of approach, this book did not aim at being exhaustive or the final word on each of the issues it has broached. Rather the hope is that this book will become an eye-opener, a precursor, and a source of inspiration for other, younger scholars to follow. There is still much work to be done. Each one of the areas touched upon in this study is a potentially veritable mine of information and knowledge waiting to be tapped. NT scholars should not be intimidated by the demanding vocabularies or syntax of later literature which far exceed the limited vocabulary and syntax of the NT that is already in their possession. If the language is approached as a unity and with the right pronunciation, then it will certainly be realized that a greater portion of Greek is necessary to critically evaluate the Greek of the NT, but at the same time, the door will open for an exodus from the restricted area of the NT into the panoramic vistas of the Greek language and its literature. Scope, depth, and the possibility of an unhampered commerce with the language of the NT will not fail to catch the interest, satisfy the curiosity, extend the linguistic competence, and incite to further discoveries and deeper insights.

# Bibliography

## 1. Abbreviations of Journals, Series, etc.

AAA	Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha
AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	The Anchor Bible Dictionary
Ἀθηνᾶ	Ἀθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 1889-
Ἀθῆναιον	Ἀθῆναιον. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν κατὰ διμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον συμ- πράξει πολλῶν λογίων, Ἀθῆναι 1872-
Amplified	Amplified Bible, 1987
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANΣ	Ἄπαντα Νεοελλήνων Συγγραφέων
AOC	Archives de l'Orient Crétien
Ἀρχ Δελτ	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, Athens
Αρχ Ἐφημ	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, Athens, 1830- (see also Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογικῆ)
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BAGD	Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, Danker, Lexicon, 1979
BB	Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη
BDAG	Bauer, Danker, Arndt, Gingrich, Lexicon, 2000
BDF	Blaß – Debrunner – Funk
BDR	Blaß – Debrunner – Rehkopf
ΒΕΠΕΣ	Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BIG	Bibliothek Indogermanischer Grammatiken
BGV	Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire
BM	Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλή
BNB	Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη
BNJ	Byzantinische- Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BT	Bibliotheca Teubneriana
Budé series	Budé series
Bull de Corr Hell	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Athènes
Βυζαντινά	Βυζαντινά
Byz- Metabyz	Byzantina-Metabyzantina

- Byz-Neugr Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher. Internationales  
Jahrb wissenschaftliches Organ unter Mitwirkung zahlreichen  
Fachgenossen, herausgeg. v. Νίκος Βέης, Berlin 1920-. Later  
published at Athens
- ByZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- BZ Biblische Zeitschrift
- BzZNT Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die  
Kunde der älteren Kirche
- CAF Comiorum Atticorum Fragmenta
- CAG Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca
- CAH Cambridge Ancient History
- CB Coniectanea Biblica
- CBETH Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
- CG: Ser Gr Corpus Christianorum: Series Graeca
- CFHB Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
- CGFPR Comiorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta
- CGTC The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
- CIÉB Congrès International des Études Byzantines
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
- Class Philol Classical Philology
- Γλωσσολ. Γλωσσολογία
- CMG Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
- CRAI Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions
- CSHB Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, Bonn
- CUP Cambridge University Press
- Δαυλός Δαυλός, Ἀθήναι
- ΔΔ Δ. Δημητράκου, Μέγα Λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης
- ΔBM Δελτίον Βιβλικῶν Μελετῶν
- Δελτ Ἐστ Δελτίον τῆς Ἐστίας, Ἀθήναι
- DNTB Dictionary of New Testament Backgrounds
- ECB The Expositor's Bible Commentary
- EDNT Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament
- ΕΕΕΠ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς Ἐθνικὸν Πανεπιστήμιον
- ΕΕΠΑ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν
- ΕΕΦΣΠΑ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ  
Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν
- ΕΕΦΣΠΘ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ  
Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
- ΕΕΦΣΑΠΘ Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, περίοδος Β'  
(Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης), Θεσσαλονίκη  
1991-
- EKKNT Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- Elberfelder Die Bibel. Aus dem Grundtext übersetzt, revidierte Elberfelder Bibel
- Ἑλληνικά Ἑλληνικά. Φιλολογικὸν Ἱστορικὸν καὶ Λαογραφικὸν Περιοδικὸν  
Σύγγραμμα
- ἙλλΠαράρ Ἑλληνικά. Παράρτημα
- ΕΠΕ Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας
- Ἑπετ Κύπρ Ἐπετηρίς Κύπρου
- Eranos Eranos

- 'Εφ' Ἀρχ      'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, Ἀθήναι, 1830-  
 EtBib      Études Bibliques  
 EÜ      Einheitsübersetzung = Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift: Das  
               Neue Testament  
 EvQ      Evangelical Quarterly  
 ExpT      Expository Times  
 FN      Filologia Neotestamentaria, Cordoba, Spain  
 FCG      Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum  
 FRLANT      Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen  
               Testaments  
 GCS      Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller  
 GEW      Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (Hj. Frisk)  
 GG      Grammatici Graeci  
 Glotta      Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache, Göttingen 1909-  
 GNT      The Greek New Testament, UBS edition  
 GR      Greece and Rome  
 Hermes      Hermes  
 Hesperia      Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at  
               Athens, Cambridge, Mass. 1932-  
 HGP      The Historical Greek Pronunciation  
 HSCP      Harvard Studies in Classical Philology  
 HNT      Handbuch zum Neuen Testament  
 ICC      International Critical Commentary  
 ICSB      Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin  
 IEG      'Ιστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσας  
 IEE      'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους  
 IFMJ      International Folk Music Journal  
 IG      Inscriptiones Graecae ed. Major, 15 Vols. Berlin 1873-1939  
 IGA      Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae  
 IJCL      International Journal of Corpus Linguistics  
 JB      Jerusalem Bible  
 JBL      Journal of Biblical Literature  
 JGRChJ      Journal of Greek and Roman Christianity and Judaism (electronic)  
 JHS      Journal of Hellenic Studies  
 JSJ      Journal for the Study of Judaism  
 JSNT      Journal for the Study of the New Testament  
 JSNT: Supp      Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement  
 JTS      The Journal of Theological Studies  
 KB      Kohler – Baumgartner, see Bibliography: Secondary literature  
 KEKNT      Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament  
 KJV      King James Version  
 KIT      Kleine Texte (Bonn, Leipzig, Berlin)  
 Κριτ. Χρον      Κριτικά Χρονικά  
 Λαογραφία      Λαογραφία  
 LCL      Loeb Classical Library  
 ΛΔ      Λεξικογραφικὸν Δελτίον (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν), ἐκδιδόμενον  
               ἐπιμελεία τοῦ διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ Λεξικοῦ τῆς Νέας  
               Ἑλληνικῆς, Ἀθήναι 1939-  
 Le Muséon      Le Muséon



LG	Lexicographi Graeci
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones, McKenzie, Greek-English Lexicon
Luther	Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers (revised)
LXX	Septuaginta
MEE	Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια (28 Vols. with Supplement)
Minos	Minos
MLC:MS	Mediterranean Language Culture. Monograph Series
MNE	Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά
MPG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
Mus Helv	Museum Helveticum
NAB	New American Bible
NA:Nf	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Neue Folge
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEB	New English Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGT	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NLH	New Literary History
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NS	New Series
NT	New Testament
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
OUP	Oxford University Press
PG	Patrologia Graeca
Philologus	Philologus
Πλάτων	Δελτίον τῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλλήνων Φιλολόγων, Ἀθῆναι 1949-
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien, (Berlin: De Gruyter)
PhU	Philologische Untersuchungen
PUP	Princeton University Press
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RCTh	Revista Catalana de Teologia
Rev Ét Gr	Revue des Etudes Grecques. Publication trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France, Paris 1888-
RG	Rhetores Graeci
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
SBK:LA	Schriften der Balkankommission: Linguistische Abteilung
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SCM	Student Christian Movement

SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Wiesbaden etc. 1923-
SEA	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SGeL	Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischen Grammatiker, Berlin
SIG	Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1915-1924
SIUP	Southern Illinois University Press
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SOU	Statens offentliga utredningar
SP:ÉALC	Studia Patristica: Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne
ST	Studi e Testi (Vatican)
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TB (TynB)	Tyndale Bulletin
TD	Texts and Documents
Teubn (BT)	Bibliotheca Teubneriana
TEV	Today's English Version
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (CD ROM)
TNT	Tolkning av Nya Testamentet
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TS	Texts and Studies
TT:PS	Texts and Translations 1. Pseudepigrapha Series
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UCP	University of Chicago Press
UND	University of Notre Dame
UUP	Uppsala University Press
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WBS	Wiener Byzantinische Studien
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

## 2. Texts and Translations of the Bible

*Amplified New Testament*

*Bibeln* (Bibelkommissionens översättning), Stockholm 2000

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*Bijbel: Nieuwe Vertaling op last van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap bewerkt door de daartoe benoemde commissies*, Amsterdam: Het nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, 1952

*Das Neue Testament*. Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift, Stuttgart: Die Bibelgesellschaft 1996

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*Die Bibel* Nach der Übersetzung Martin Luther's. Mit Apokryphen, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1984

*Die Bibel* Revidierte Elberfelder Bibel

*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt aufgrund ihrer Textgeschichte*, by H. F. v. Soden, I. Teil: Untersuchungen (Abteilungen I-III); II. Teil: Text und Apparat, Göttingen 1902-1913

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*Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον γενομένη μετάφρασις διὰ Μαξίμου τοῦ Καλλιουπολίτου ἀνατυπωθεῖσα δ' ἐπιμελεία Ἑμμανουὴλ Χ. Κασδάγλη*, 3 τόμ., [Μορφωτικὸν Ἰδρυμα Ἑθνικῆς Τραπέζης], Ἀθήνησι, ἔτει 1995 (tr. by Maximos of Kallioupolis 1638)

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*Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη*. Τὸ πρωτότυπο κείμενο μὲ νεοελληνικὴ μετάφραση (UBS), Ἀθήνα 1985

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*La Sacra Bibbia. Ossia l'Antico e il nuovo Testamento*, Versione riveduta, Roma, no date

*La Sainte Bible*, par Louis Segond, Nouvelle edition de Geneve 1979, Société Biblique de Genève 1979

*KJV = King James Version*

*NAB = New American Bible* (see under Rheims)

*NASB = New American Standard Bible* (see under Rheims)

*NEB = New English Bible*

*New Revised Standard Version* (see under Rheims)

*NIV = New International Version*

*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Barbara et Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, 27 revidierte Auflage, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993, rp. 1999

*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. A. Souter, Oxonii, 1910

*Novum Testamentum Graece*, etc. by C. Tischendorf, Lipsiae 1872

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*Rheims New Testament in The Precise Parallel New Testament*. Greek Text with King James Version, Rheims New Testament, Amplified Bible, New International Version, New Revised Standard Version, New American Bible, New American Standard Bible, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995

RSV = Revised Standard Version

RV = Revised Version

*Santa Biblia*. La Biblia en versión popular. Traducción directa de los textos originales: hebreo, aramaico y griego, Madrid: Sociedad Biblica, 1992

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TEV = Today's English Version

*The Greek New Testament*, ed. Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1994

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*The Greek New Testament*. According to the Majority Text, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. by Z. C. Hodges and A. L. Farstad, Nashville: Th. Nelson 1985

*The Holy Bible: New International Version*, Reference ed. London: Hodder & Stoughton 1984

*The Jerusalem Bible*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1974

*The New Covenant. Commonly Called The New Testament. Peshitta Aramaic Text With a Hebrew Translation*, ed. The Aramaic Scripture Research Society in Israel, Jerusalem: The Bible Society, 1986.

(קִימָא חֲדָתָא הַ כְּתָבָא דְּדִתְקָא חֲדָתָא צוּרָה כְּתָב אִין אֲצִתְקָא דְּמַחֲקִירָא פְּשִׁיטָא)  
(בְּלִצְאָא עֲתִיקָא עִם פְּשִׁיטָא עֲבֵרִיא)

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*Αἵτια ῥωμαϊκά*

*Γαμικά παραγγέλματα*

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#### 4. Inscriptions, Ostraca, Vases, and Papyri

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