

**A Grammar of
New Testament Greek
J. H. Moulton,
Volume III**

J. H. Moulton

T&T CLARK

**A GRAMMAR OF
NEW TESTAMENT GREEK**

This page intentionally left blank

A GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK J. H. MOULTON

VOLUME III

SYNTAX

NIGEL TURNER



T & T CLARK INTERNATIONAL
A Continuum imprint
LONDON • NEW YORK

T & T Clark
A Continuum Imprint

Continuum

The Tower Building
11 York Road
London SE1 7NX, UK

15 East 26th Street
New York 10010
USA

www.continuumbooks.com

Copyright © T&T Clark Ltd, 1963

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of T&T Clark Ltd.

First published 1963
Latest impression 1998
Reprinted 2003, 2005

ISBN 0 567 01013 9

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Biddles Ltd, *www.biddles.co.uk*

PREFACE

THIS volume on Syntax has been doomed to be delayed. Perhaps providentially, for after the revolution in Biblical studies during the first half of this century the time is most opportune to make a detailed survey of New Testament idiom. It is now over fifty years since the first edition of the *Prolegomena* appeared, and Dr. Moulton had perished at sea before completing Volume II. His pupil, Dr. W. F. Howard, saw that volume through the press in parts, from 1919 to 1929, but before he had opportunity to lay many plans for Volume III he himself died in 1952; and then, on condition that he had the assistance of someone who would collect the necessary material, Dr. H. G. Meecham assumed responsibility for the Syntax. It was on Dr. G. D. Kilpatrick's suggestion that I was permitted to help at this point, and we had done no more than compile a provisional bibliography when Dr. Meecham died in 1955. By the kind invitation of the publishers I then worked alone and broke the spell by living to complete Volume III. It was a privilege for me, both to bring Dr. Moulton's task to fruition in a new age, and to be associated with the distinguished name of Messrs. T. and T. Clark.

My care has been lightened by the publishers' trust in me, their generosity and wise guidance; and I am grateful to the specialist printers who, faced with many typographical problems, so promptly achieved such excellent craftsmanship.

NIGEL TURNER.

Hitchin, *Corpus Christi*, 1962.

This page intentionally left blank

CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

General works on syntax. See separate chapters for detailed bibliography.

1. G. Pasor, *Grammatica Graeca Sacra Novi Testamenti Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, Amsterdam 1655 (the first NT Grammar; wise use is made of the LXX).
2. G. B. Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms?*, Leipzig 1867 (1st ed. 1822; the first scientific NT Grammar).
3. A. Buttmann, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs*, Berlin 1859 (Eng. tr. by Thayer 1873). Good use of LXX.
4. W. Schmid, *Der Attizismus in seinen Hauptvertretern* (4 vols. and Index), Stuttgart 1887-97.
5. J. Viteau, *Étude sur le grec du NT. Le verbe: Syntaxe des propositions*, Paris 1893.
6. E. de W. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in NT Greek*, Edinburgh 1894.
7. G. B. Winer, *Gramm. des nt. Spr.* (see 2): 8th ed. by P. W. Schmiedel, I. 1894, II 1. 1897, II 2. 1898.
8. A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London 1897.
9. W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, London 1897.
10. J. Viteau, *Étude sur le grec du NT comparé avec celui des Septante. Sujet, complément et attribut*, Paris 1897.
11. R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, I, 3rd ed. by F. Blass, Hannover 1890.
12. R. Kühner, *Ibid.*, II, vols. 1 and 2, 3rd ed. by B. Gerth, Hannover and Leipzig 1898-1904.
13. H. Reinhold, *De graecitate Patrum Apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum Novi Test. quaestiones gramm.* (Diss.), Halle 1898.
14. B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes* (2 vols.), New York 1900, 1911.
15. K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der att. Inschr.*, 3rd ed. by E. Schwyzler, Berlin 1900 (previous ed. referred to sometimes).

16. P. Giles, *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology*, London 1901.
17. T. Nägeli, *Der Wortschatz des Ap. Paulus*, Göttingen 1905.
18. F. E. Thompson, *A Syntax of Attic Greek*, London 1907.
19. J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit*, Heidelberg 1907.
20. A. Boatti, *Grammatica del grec del Nuovo Testamento*² (2 vols.), Venice 1908–1910.
21. G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies* (Engl. tr., A. Grieve)², Edinburgh 1909.
22. H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek according to the Septuagint*, I, Cambridge 1909.
23. W. Warning, *De Vettii Valentis sermone* (Diss.) Münster 1909.
24. M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Kasus und der Präp. in der Septuaginta*, I Gebrauch der Kasus (Diss.) Berlin 1910.
25. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriech. Volkssprache*², Strassburg 1910.
26. J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of NT Greek: Prolegomena*, Edinburgh 1906.
27. J. H. Moulton, *Einleitung in die Sprache des NT*. Auf Grund der vom Verf. neu bearbeiteten 3 engl. Aufl. übersetzte deutsche Ausgabe, Heidelberg 1911. (This amounts to a 4th edition of the *Prolegomena*).
28. M. Arnim, *De Philonis Byzantii dicendi genere* (Diss.), Greifswald 1912.
29. H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the OT in Greek*, rev. by R. R. Ottley, Cambridge 1914.
30. J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard, *A Grammar of NT Greek*, vol. II, Edinburgh 1919–1929.
31. L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik*², Tübingen 1925.
32. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. rev. by H. S. Jones, Oxford 1925–1940.
33. M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der LXX*, Berlin 1926.
34. H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (Diss.), Uppsala 1926.
35. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, II vol. 1, Berlin 1926; II vol. 2, 1934; II, vol. 3, 1934.

36. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch*², I, Basel 1926; II, 1928.
37. P. F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique suivie d'un choix de papyrus*, Paris 1927.
38. H. Pernot, *Études sur la langue des Évangiles*, Paris 1927.
39. R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den LXX*, Göttingen 1928.
40. G. Sacco, *La koinè del Nuovo Testamento e la trasmissione del sacro testo. Lezioni preliminari per lo studio del NT greco con introduzione e crestomazia*, Rome 1928.
41. A. A. Tzartzanos, *Νεοελληνική σύνταξις ἤτοι Συντακτικὸν τῆς νέας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης . . .*, Athens 1928.
42. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, London 1930.
43. J. Psichari, *Essai sur le grec de la Septante*, 1930.
44. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek NT in the Light of Historical Research*⁵, New York 1931.
45. H. Ljungvik *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache*, Uppsala 1932.
46. B. F. C. Atkinson, *The Greek Language*², Cambridge 1933.
47. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT*, Stuttgart 1933—.
48. G. Bonnacorsi, *Primi saggi di philologia neotestamentaria*, I, Turin 1933.
49. M. Zerwick, *Untersuchungen zum Markus-Stil*, Rome 1937.
50. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristl. Zeit*, Munich 1938.
51. M. Soffray, *Recherches sur la syntaxe de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, Paris 1939.
52. J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque* (Collection de Philologie Classique), Paris 1945.
53. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1946, 2nd ed. 1954.
54. M.-J. Lagrange, *S. Matthieu*, Paris, 8th ed. 1948.
55. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, vol. II, Munich 1950 (based on K. Brugmann).
56. C. F. D. Moule, *The Language of the NT* (inaugr. lect.), Camb. 1952.
57. C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of NT Greek*, Cambridge 1953.

58. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des nt. Griechisch*⁹, Göttingen 1954.
59. M. Zerwick, S.J., *Graecitas Biblica*³, Rome 1955
60. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des nt. Wortschatzes*, 1958.
61. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des NT und der übrigen urchr. Literatur*⁵, Berlin 1958.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

BOOK ONE: BUILDING UP THE SENTENCE: ANALYTICAL

Chapter One

	PAGE
SUBSTITUTES FOR NOUNS IN SUBJECT, OBJECT OR PREDICATE	
§ 1. The Article with adjectives	13
§ 2. The Article with	
(1) attributive adverbs	14
(2) prepositional phrases	14
(3) genitives of nouns	16
§ 3. The Ellipse of ὁδός, γῆ, χωρά, ἡμέρα, χεῖρ, etc.	16

PART I.—WORD-MATERIAL FOR SENTENCE-BUILDING

Chapter Two

THE GENDER AND NUMBER OF NOUNS	
§ 1. Gender	21
§ 2. Number	22

Chapter Three

THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS	
§ 1. Heightening of comparison	29
§ 2. Comparative for true superlative	29
§ 3. Comparative for elative superlative	30
§ 4. Comparative for positive	30
§ 5. Elative superlative	31
§ 6. Positive for superlative	31
§ 7. Positive for comparative	31
§ 8. Superlative for comparative	32

Chapter Four

VOCATIVES	
§ 1. The use of ὦ	33
§ 2. Nominative instead of vocative	34

Chapter Five

SUBSTANTIVAL ARTICLE AND PRONOUN

PAGE

§ 1. Substantival Article

(a) ὁ μέν . . . ὁ δέ	36
(b) ὁ δέ, ἡ δέ, οἱ δέ	37
(c) ὁ μέν οὖν	37

§ 2. Substantival Pronoun

(a) Personal	37
(b) Reflexive	41
(c) Reciprocal	43
(d) Demonstrative	44
(e) Relative	47
(f) Interrogative	48
(g) Interrogative pronoun as an exclamation	50

Chapter Six

THE VERB: VOICE

§ 1. Absolute verbs	51
§ 2. Transitive and intransitive verbs	51
§ 3. The Active	53
§ 4. The Middle	53
§ 5. The Passive	57

Chapter Seven

THE VERB: ASPECT AND TENSE

§ 1. Present indicative	60
§ 2. Imperfect	64
§ 3. Aorist indicative	68
§ 4. Moods of present and aorist in relation to <i>Aktionsart</i>	74
§ 5. Perfect indicative	81
§ 6. Other moods of perfect in relation to time	85
§ 7. Pluperfect	86
§ 8. Future	86
§ 9. Periphrastic tenses	87

Chapter Eight

THE VERB: MOODS: INDICATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE

§ 1. The Indicative

1. Imperfect to express necessity: ἔδει, καθήκειν, ἀνῆκεν, ἐδύνατο, ὤφειλον, καλὸν ἦν, κρεῖττον ἦν	90
2. Imperfect to express regret: ὄφελον (ὠφελον), ἐβουλόμην, ᾔθελον	91
3. "Unreal" indicative in conditional sentences	91
4. Augment-indicative with ἔν in an iterative sense	92

§ 2. The Subjunctive

A. MAIN CLAUSES		PAGE
1. A substitute for Imperative:		
a. Jussive		94
b. Prohibitions		94
c. Imperative ἵνα		94
2. Emphatic denial and prohibition with οὐ μή		95
3. Cautious statement with μή		98
4. Deliberative subjunctive		98
B. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES		
1. Fearing (incl. μή ποτε, μή πῶς, etc.)		99
2. Purpose:		
a. ἵνα, ἵνα μή, μή		100
b. ὅπως (μή), ὥς, etc.		105
3. Relative clauses		106
4. Temporal clauses:		
a. ἄχρι, ἕως, μέχρι		110
b. ἐπὶ, ὅταν, ὥς ἄν		112
c. πρὶν		113
5. Conditional sentences:		
a. ἐάν c. pres. subj.		114
c. aor. subj.		114
b. εἰ c. fut. ind.		115
c. ἐάν c. pres. ind.		115
d. εἰ c. subj.		116
6. Indirect questions		116

Chapter Nine

THE VERB: MOODS: OPTATIVE

§ 1. Main Clauses	
a. Wish	120
b. Potential	122
§ 2. Dependent Clauses	
a. Iterative	124
b. Conditional	125
c. Final	128
d. Indirect statements	129
e. Indirect questions	130

Chapter Ten

THE VERB: NOUN FORMS: INFINITIVE

§ 1. With the Function of a Dative	
a. Final-consecutive	134
b. Imperative (see p. 78)	136
§ 2. With various Case Functions	
a. Without the article	136
b. Articular infinitive	140
§ 3. Cases with the Infinitive	146

Chapter Eleven

THE VERB: ADJECTIVE-FORMS: PARTICIPLE

PAGE

§ 1. Substantival:	
a. Personal	150
b. Neuter	151
§ 2. Attributive	151
§ 3. Adverbial:	
a. Modal-temporal (incl. Pleonastic)	154
b. Causal	157
c. Concessive	157
d. Conditional	157
e. Final	157
§ 4. Predicative:	
a. Nominative	159
b. Oblique cases	160

PART II.—WORD-GROUPS DEFINING A NOUN OR ADJECTIVE

Chapter Twelve

THE ADJECTIVAL AND PREDICATIVE DEFINITE ARTICLE

§ 1. Individual Article with Proper Nouns	
a. Names of persons	165
b. Geographical names	
1. Peoples	169
2. Lands and islands	170
3. Towns	171
4. Rivers and seas	172
c. Astronomical and natural phenomena	172
§ 2. Individual Article with Common Nouns	
a. Individual anaphoric use: Introduction	172
b. Articular use with certain nouns	
1. θεός κύριος	174
2. οὐρανός, γῆ, θάλασσα, κόσμος	174
3. θάνατος	175
4. πνεῦμα	175
5. γράμματα	176
6. ἐκκλησία	176
7. Abstract nouns	176
8. Numerals	178
c. Absence of article after prepositions	179
d. Absence before a noun governing a genitive	179
e. Generic article	180
f. Repetition with several nouns connected by καί	181
g. Article with quotations	182
h. Article with indirect interrogatives	182
§ 3. The definite article with a predicate	182

Chapter Thirteen

PAGE

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

§ 1. The adjectival attribute	185
§ 2. The definite article with several attributes	186
§ 3. Numerals	187

Chapter Fourteen

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

§ 1. Attributive pronouns	
1. Possessive	
unemphatic	189
emphatic	190
possessive adjectives	191
ἴδιος as simple possessive pronoun	191
2. Demonstrative:	
ὅδε	192
οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος	192
τοιούτος, τοσοῦτος	193
αὐτός <i>self</i>	194
3. Indefinite:	
τις	195
εἷς	195
addition of -ουν or -ποτε	196
οὐ . . . πᾶς	196
§ 2. Attributive pronominal adjectives	
ἄλλος, ἕτερος	197
ἕκαστος	198
ἀμφοτέροι	198
ὅλος	199
ἅπας	199
πᾶς	199

Chapter Fifteen

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: SUBSTANTIVES

§ 1. In the same case: Apposition	206
§ 2. In a different case:	
1. Adjectival genitive	
I. True genitive	
a. Possessive	207
b. Partitive	208
c. Objective	210
d. Of relationship	212
e. Of quality: Biblical Greek	212
f. Genitivus materiae, and epexegeticus	214
II. Ablatival Genitive	
a. With adjectives	215
b. Genitive of comparison	216
III. Position of attributive and partitive gen.	217
IV. Concatenation of different genitives	218

	PAGE
V. Genitives in Mark	219
2. Adjectival Dative:	
a. With nouns	219
b. With adjectives	220
c. Dative of respect	220
3. Adjectival Accusative	220
§ 3. Attributive prepositional phrases	221

PART III.—WORD-MATERIAL WHICH DEFINES A VERB

Chapter Sixteen

PREDICATIVE USE OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

§ 1. Adjectives	225
§ 2. Adverbs	226
§ 3. Adverbial Verbs (e. g. λαμβάνω)	226
§ 4. Position of Adverb	227

Chapter Seventeen

CASE ADDITIONS TO THE VERB: WITHOUT A PREPOSITION

§ 1. Nominative:	
a. "Ad sensum"	230
b. Proper nouns without syntax	230
c. Parenthesis	230
d. Designations of time	231
§ 2. Genitive:	
a. True Genitive	
1. Possessive	231
2. With verbs and verbal adjectives	231
3. Local and temporal	235
b. Ablative Genitive: certain verbs	235
§ 3. Dative (waning in the Koine):	
a. As indirect object	236
b. Advantage and disadvantage	238
c. Reference	238
d. "Relationis"	238
e. Ethical	239
f. Credit or discredit	239
g. Possession	239
h. Occurrence	240
i. Agent	240
j. Instrument	240
k. "Sociativus" or "comitativus" (Associative)	240
l. Hebrew infinitive absolute (Biblical Greek)	241
m. Cause	242
n. With compound verbs	242
o. Locative	242
p. Temporal: point and duration of time	243

§ 4. Accusative (gaining ascendancy over dative in Koine):	
a. External object (verbs originally intransitive)	244
b. Content	245
c. Double accusative	246
d. With the passive	247
e. Adverbial	247

Chapter Eighteen

CASE ADDITIONS TO THE VERB: WITH A PREPOSITION

§ 1. Prepositions in the NT (prefatory)	249
§ 2. Prepositional periphrases for the simple cases	
a. For genitive: ἀπό of separation and alternation	251
b. For dative:	
διά c. gen. of instrument (or modal)	251
ἐνώπιον c. gen.	251
instrumental ἐν more common (as in Koine)	251
c. For nominative: εἰς (Semitic)	253
d. For accusative: εἰς	253
§ 3. Anomalous use of prepositions:	
a. ἀπό c. nom. (see p. 230)	254
b. εἰς for local ἐν	254
c. Interchange of εἰς and ἐν in metaphorical sense	255
d. εἰς for ἐπὶ and πρός	256
e. Confusion of διά τινος and τινα (see p. 267f)	257
f. Confusion of παρά τινος and τινι (see p. 273)	257
g. Use of ἐν for εἰς	257
§ 4. True prepositions	
I. With one case:	
a. Gen.: ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐκ, πρό	258
b. Dat.: ἐν, σύν	260
c. Accus.: ἀνά, εἰς	265
II. Two cases: διά, κατά, μετά, περί πρὶν, ὑπέρ	267
III. Three cases: ἐπὶ, παρά, πρός, ὑπό	271
§ 5. Repetition or omission of the preposition	275
§ 6. Improper prepositions: ἀνεύ, ἕνεκα (-εν), ἕως, μέχρι (ἄχρι)	275
§ 7. Prepositional adverbs: ἅμα, ἐγγύς, ἔσω, ἔκτος, ἐναντιον, ἀντικρύς, ἐντός, ἐνώπιον, ἔξω, κυκλόθεν, λάθρα, μεταξύ, ὀπισθεν, ὀπίσω, ὄψε, πέραν, πλὴν, χάριν, χωρίς	276
§ 8. Proper prepositions combined with adverbs: ἐναντι, ἀπέναντι, κατέναντι ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπάνω, ὑποκάτω, ὑπεράνω	278
§ 9. Biblical circumlocutions: πρόσσωπον, χεῖρ, στόμα	279

Chapter Nineteen

NEGATIVES

(especially the encroachment of MH upon the province of OY)

§ 1. General	281
§ 2. Main clauses	282
§ 3. Dependent clauses	283

	PAGE
§ 4. Participles	284
§ 5. Infinitive	285
§ 6. Double negatives	286
§ 7. <i>Yes</i> and <i>No</i>	286
§ 8. Position of negative	286

BOOK TWO: THE SENTENCE COMPLETE: SYNTHETIC SYNTAX

PART I.—THE ORDINARY SIMPLE SENTENCE

Chapter Twenty

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE: APPARENT ABSENCE OF SUBJECT

§ 1. Impersonal verbs	291
§ 2. Impersonal "they"	292
§ 3. Scil. "the Scripture"	293

Chapter Twenty-one

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE: ABSENCE OF THE VERB "TO BE"

§ 1. The Copula:	
a. In fixed phrases	295
b. In spontaneous phrases	296
c. Ellipse of other parts besides <i>ἐστιν</i>	297
§ 2. Stronger meanings of <i>εἶναι</i>	298
§ 3. Survey of individual writers	298

Chapter Twenty-two

CONGRUENCE OF GENDER AND NUMBER

§ 1. Incongruence in Gender	311
§ 2. "Constructio ad sensum"	311
a. Collective noun with plural verb	311
b. Collective noun (fem. or neut.) with masc. ptc. or pronoun	312
c. Neuter personal noun with masc. ptc.	312
d. <i>ἕκαστος</i> and plural verb	312
§ 3. The "Schema Atticum"	312
§ 4. Number of verb when there are several subjects	313
§ 5. Solecisms in the New Testament	314
a. In Revelation	314
b. In the rest of the NT	315

Chapter Twenty-three

THE SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

§ 1. Substantival	318
§ 2. Adjectival Clauses	318

	PAGE
§ 3. Adverbial Clauses	318
a. Causal: <i>ὅτι, διότι, ἐπεὶ, καθότι, etc.</i>	318
b. Conditional	319
c. Comparative: <i>ὥς, καθὼς, καθάπερ</i>	319
d. Concessive: <i>εἰ καὶ, ἐὰν καὶ, κἄν</i>	321
e. Temporal: <i>ὅτε, ὅταν, ἐπὶ, ἐπει (δὴ), ἡνίκα, ὁπότε, ὥς</i>	321
f. Participle Absolute:	
accusative	322
genitive	322
g. Final	323
h. Consecutive	323

Chapter Twenty-four

INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN MAIN AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES

§ 1. Attraction of the Relative Pronoun to its Antecedent	324
§ 2. Inverse Attraction of the Antecedent to the Relative	324
§ 3. Pleonastic Insertion of Personal Pronouns in Biblical Greek	325
§ 4. Prolepsis	325
§ 5. Anacoloutha after Relative Clauses	325
§ 6. Mingling of Direct and Indirect Speech: recitative <i>ὅτι</i>	325

PART II.—CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SENTENCES

Chapter Twenty-five

CO-ORDINATING PARTICLES

§ 1. Simple	329
§ 2. Compound	339
§ 3. Unconnected words and sentences: <i>Asyndeton</i>	340

Chapter Twenty-six

IRREGULARITY OF SUBORDINATION

§ 1. <i>Parataxis</i> instead of <i>hypotaxis</i>	342
§ 2. Interpolation of sentences: <i>Parenthesis</i>	342
§ 3. <i>Anacoloutha</i>	342

Chapter Twenty-seven

WORD ORDER

§ 1. Clause Order	
a. Position of dependent clauses	344
b. <i>Chiasmus</i>	345
§ 2. Word Order within the Clause	
a. <i>Idiosyncrasies</i> of Biblical Greek	
1. Particles as first word	347
2. Verb as near beginning as possible	357
3. Article and noun adhere closely together	348

	PAGE
4. Adjectives usually follow the noun	349
5. Genitive always immediately after its noun	349
6. Direct object personal pronoun follows verb	349
7. Demonstrative adjectives prefer to follow noun	349
8. Prepositional phrase always after its verb or noun	349
b. Effect of oratory on word-order	350
c. Stereotyped phrases	350

INDICES

Index of References	351
Index of Subjects	386
Index of Greek words	402

ABBREVIATIONS

(The numbers refer to the Bibliography)

Abel: 37

anarthr.: anarthrous

Beginnings: F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, London 1920-33

Bibl. Greek: Biblical Greek

Black AAGA²: 53

Blass-Debr.: 58

Burton: 6

class.: classical

Expos. T. and *Exp. T.* and *E.T.*: Expository Times

Gild. or Gildersleeve: 14

Goodwin: 9

Helbing DKVS: 39

Hell. Greek: Hellenistic Greek

Humbert: 52

ICC: International Critical Commentary

JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature

JThS: Journal of Theological Studies

Jannaris: 8

Johannessohn DGKPS: 24

Johannessohn DGPS: 33

K-Blass: 11

K-G: 12

Kittel WB: 47

LXX: Septuagint

Ljungvik BSSVS: 45

Ljungvik SSAA: 34

LS: 32

MGr: Modern Greek

MT: Massoretic Text

MM Vocab: 42

Mayser: 35

Meisterhans-Schwyzler: 15

Moulton Proleg.: 26

Moulton Einl.: 27

Moulton-Howard: 30

Moule: 57

NEB: New English Bible, Oxford and Cambridge 1961

NT: New Testament

NTS: New Testament Studies

- O': Septuagint
OT: Old Testament
pap.: papyri
Pernot *Études*: 38
Radermacher² or Rad.²: 31
RSV: Revised Standard Version, Nelson 1946
Schmid Attizismus: 4
Schwyzer: 55
Soffray: 51
Stahl: 19
Thackeray: *OT Gr.*: 22
Vet. Test.: Vetus Testamentum
Wackernagel: 36
Winer-Schmiedel: 7
Zerwick: 59
Zerwick *Untersuchungen*: 49

A GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK

VOLUME III

INTRODUCTION

DR. MOULTON'S own plan for the Grammar was that it should be not only a learned assessment of this field but also a practical guide to the student. I have designed volume III specially for three classes of reader: first, the teacher with an interest in exegesis, or the Bible translator either in Europe or among the young native churches who wishes to know the exact significance of every construction; then, the textual critic whom characteristic differences in the author's style may help to decide between variants; and also the student of comparative philology whose concern is the relationship of Biblical Greek to classical and Hellenistic.

The plan of this work follows a natural linguistic pattern: the building up of the sentence from its independent elements right to the complicated co-ordinations and subordinations of the period. The student who likes to have all his pronouns or all his prepositions dealt with together in one chapter must console himself by making good use of the index, for he will find that the various parts of speech are treated in the appropriate place as they contribute to the construction of the sentence. His compensation will be a better understanding of syntax in the true sense and not as a mere catalogue of parts of speech.

Space is very limited, and I wish I could have treated more fully (1) the syntax and style of Paul, (2) the study of word-order, and (3) the syntactic idiosyncrasies of the various authors, as I believe that all these are of great value for illuminating textual problems and difficult exegesis. During the course of the work those points have been constantly in mind, but their fuller treatment will yield ampler rewards. Some authors repeatedly confuse *ἐκ* and *ἐν*, but others keep them carefully distinct. Knowledge of this kind brings deeper insight, as also does the study of Paul's use of the adnominal genitive, whether

it is largely subjective or largely objective. We will never be at home with the fourth evangelist until we observe his peculiar performance with tenses and make allowance for his love of the perfect and pluperfect. What C. H. Turner once commenced to do for Markan syntax needs completing and carrying out for other authors too. Light has been thrown on the Infancy narrative and even on the elusive Q from a careful study of Luke's characteristic style¹. Without a complete guide to his syntactical predilections, we will never know whether a writer is true to himself or whether he is going out of his way to impress.

I have tried to expose consistently the almost complete absence of classical standards in nearly every author. A tendency to use the active voice wherever possible in place of the declining middle², a tendency to give to certain transitive verbs like ἄγω and στρέφω an intransitive sense³, to give an object to some intransitive verbs (e.g. βασιλεύω, εὐαγγελίζω), and to use the present in reported speech referring to the past;⁴ the retreat of the Koine imperfect before the aorist and its confusion with the aorist;⁵ the disappearance of the perfect through its assumption of aoristic functions and aoristic "weak" endings;⁶ the even greater departure from classical standards in moods⁷, especially the optative and infinitive, where the infin. of purpose after verbs of motion and the articular infinitive are on the increase (in spite of the retreat of the infin. before ἵνα and ὅτι in other respects⁸); the less rigid connection between the mood and the conjunction, so that the subjunctive may stand more often without ἄν and conversely ἄν (including ἐάν and ὅταν) stands with the indicative; the articular neuter of the adjective for an abstract noun⁹ (τὸ ἅγιον, τὰ καλὰ); the non-classical use of the definite article generally; fluidity in the meaning and use of prepositions; weakening of the ἵνα-construction; indifference to the case after ἀκούω; lack of distinction between ἰδιος and αὐτοῦ, εἰς and ἐν, ὅστις and ὅς—these are well-known aberrations. More subtle, but as decisive for exegesis, is the infiltration of the comparative into the old preserves of the superlative, so that the

¹ NTS 2, 100–109; *Studia Evangelica*, Berlin 1959, 223–234.

² Ch. 6 § 4.

³ Ch. 6 § 2.

⁴ Ch. 7 § 1.

⁵ Ch. 7 § 3.

⁶ Ch. 8.

⁷ Ch. 10.

⁸ Ch. 1.

alert translator will not lose the opportunity of translating the one as the other, if necessary, and will not forget how philological study has made it essential to look at the superlative in the elative sense of *very*, and even to suspect the comparative in this way: πυκνότερον must be *very often* and ἀκριβέστερον *very accurately*. On the other hand, it is probably a unique feature of Bibl. Greek, under Hebraic influence, to put the positive for the superlative: e.g. *greatest* (not *great*) *in the kingdom of heaven*. So also the use of παρά and ὑπέρ with the positive, which is a Hebraic survival in Modern Greek; and since the general trend of the language was towards more emphatic comparison μᾶλλον is added to the normal comparative¹. The translator will avoid over-translating, because nearly all ancient distinctions are blurred. He will look askance at the "theology of prepositions" and will remember that Hellenistic writers much prefer to add prepositions, especially composite prepositions, to the simple case and also confuse the nice distinctions between prepositions and between the cases, so that the exegete must always look at the context². It is not that Biblical Greek has no standards at all, but pains must be taken to discover them outside the sphere of classical Greek, even outside secular Greek altogether, although the living Koine must be kept in mind always. Mark at least has simple rules which he carefully observes and, to a less extent, so have the others.

Biblical and Hellenistic Greek share the non-classical tendency to omit ὃ in the vocative. With the less cultured writers in post-Christian papyri the NT also shares the tendency to supply nominative forms for the vocative³. The popular love of emphatic speech demands a more extended use of pronouns of all kinds, both substantival and attributive⁴, in the NT and Koine. Αὐτός becomes simply *he*. Personal pronouns are inserted where they would be unnecessary in class. Greek, and the genitives follow their nouns with a consistency which points to the influence of the Hebrew suffix. Possibly on an Aramaic model, the evangelists use the proleptic pronoun followed by a resumptive noun. But it is a Hellenistic tendency to use the simple personal pronoun for a reflexive; and in the

¹ See ch. 3.

² See ch. 18.

³ See ch. 4.

⁴ See ch. 5 and 14.

LXX and illiterate papyri we find the 3rd. pers. reflexive used for all persons in the plural, as in the NT. Indirect pronouns are going out of use, and the direct interrogative pronouns like τίς find themselves serving in indirect questions; Hellenistic also is the confusion of relative and interrogative pronouns¹. The genitive of the pers. pronoun (μου, etc.) is preferred in the Koine to the possessive pronoun (ἐμός, etc.). Εἰς is a post-classical substitute for τις. Ἰδιος becomes no more than ἐαυτοῦ or even αὐτοῦ (simple possessive); and, in the Imperial period at any rate, the anarthrous demonstrative pronoun is not necessarily predicative². The nice distinctions between οὐ and μή in class. Greek have gone, and μή is encroaching³. Bibl. Greek shares with the Koine the tendency to misuse and extend the scope of the gen. absolute;⁴ and, aided by Semitic precedent, to insert the personal pronoun pleonastically;⁵ moreover, the popular tendency towards forceful expression is seen in the forming of new compound particles, and Semitic simplicity in the reduced number and use of particles⁶.

In view of the Appendix to volume II, I have not supplied a separate chapter on "Semitisms", which raise a vexed question bedevilled by the objection that nearly all of them appear in the papyri; but the discussion of the influence of the LXX and Semitic idiom arises in every chapter of the book. To some future work I leave discussion whether this influence supports the hypothesis of a spoken Jewish Greek. The present work does suggest that Bibl. Greek is a unique language with a unity and character of its own. It does not follow that if a construction occurs as frequently in the epistles as in the gospels it will be less likely to have a Semitic origin⁷, for direct translation is not the only possible medium of Semitic influence. When the LXX was established its idioms powerfully influenced free compositions of Biblical Greek⁸. The idiosyncrasies of Bibl.

¹ See ch. 5.

² See ch. 14 § 1.

³ See ch. 19.

⁴ See ch. 23 § 3f.

⁵ See ch. 24 § 3.

⁶ See ch. 25.

⁷ See *Exp. T.* LXVII, 247. As a contrast to what this writer found in the Loeb *Select Papyri*, vol. i, concerning the repetition of prepositions, attention should be drawn to Mayser's considered opinion on the Ptolemaic papyri which he had examined: "In der weitaus überwiegenden Mehrzahl der beobachteten Fälle, zumal im Stil privater Urkunden, wird bei καί, τε . . . καί, οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλά usw. die Präposition nur einmal gesetzt." (II 2, 516).

⁸ Moulton-Howard 478.

Greek syntax are shared in varying degrees by almost all the NT writers, whether they were translating or not. There is a family likeness among these Biblical works, setting them apart from the papyri and from contemporary literary Greek, although the books with Semitic sources may have these features to an especial degree. This is so in the relation between the independent and attributive use of ἐκείνος, in which colloquial usage is entirely opposed to the Biblical; it is so with the position of ἐνεκα (-εν)¹, in the Bible the reverse of that of Polybius and the papyri; and with the three broad types of construction with πᾶς.

As to verbs, there was a Hellenistic tendency to use the historic present λέγει, etc., but its popularity in the NT is considerably helped by Aramaic precedent². The perfective aorist is Hebraic. Although development of the perfect tense in the NT has reached a stage closely corresponding with that in the vernacular, there are very important respects in which it is different, and the NT represents a new development. The number of resultative perfects is few indeed compared with secular literary and vernacular texts, and the use of this form is limited to a small number of verbs, except in the emphatic, solemnly strained style of the fourth evangelist. Moreover, although a few examples of εἰμί with the perfect ptc. as a periphrastic tense appear in the Ptolemaic pap., they cannot be compared with the galaxy which is apparent in the LXX and NT³. Mayser's exx. are very few. Even Chantraine will not dismiss the probability of Aramaic influence. The perfect tense in general is much rarer in the NT than in the popular language, and it preserves a good deal more of its old force. While the old intransitives have almost all disappeared in the Koine, ἕστηκα and γέγονα being the only living forms, in the NT we do still have a few, especially where they can be understood with a *present* meaning (e.g. the two above, and τέθνηκα, ἡγγικα, πέποιθα, ἀνέωγα). Some perfects are still true perfects, and not aorists, in spite of the universal confusion in the Ptolemaic and Imperial pap. Even in "colloquial" Mark, a significant distinction is sometimes made (15⁴⁴), and this is true of Paul (1 Co 15³). The oft repeated γέγραπται is correctly used, and other perfects retain their true present force.

¹ *Vet. Test.* 5, 1955, 208.

² See ch. 7 § 1.

³ See ch. 7 § 9.

The history of the optative mood in the literary and colloquial Greek of the post-classical period is first a gradual decay and subsequently a revival of this mood; in the first place, the revival was due to atticistic influence, but popular Greek followed the fashion in time. Now, the period in which this mood was least in favour in secular writers is the period of the NT and the later books of the LXX, which contrariwise display a comparative fondness for the mood. Is it the conservatism of religion? It might only be that atticizing scribes confused like-sounding endings. But the old Volitive optative is admirably suited to the pious aspiration and longing of religious books. Volitive optatives could owe their preservation to their incidence in the solemn diction of Christian devotion and synagogue liturgy. They appear in the LXX, and that version became the Church's book. It is a form of speech well fitted for pious lips.

Some characteristically Biblical prepositions hardly occur at all in the papyri; e.g. *ἐπίσω* (over 300 times in LXX and 26 in NT), *ἀπέναντι* and *κατέναντι*. And *ἐμπροσθεν* is extremely rare outside Biblical Greek. The use of cases with prepositions is not that of the Koine, or the Biblical books show a more rapid tendency to drop one or more of the cases, e.g.

		LXX	NT	Polybius	Papyri	Herodotus
ἐπί	(g:d:a)	1·5:1:3·7	1·2:1:2	1·5:1:3	4·5:1:2·5	
παρά	(g:d:a)	2·5:1:1·5	1·6:1:1·2		22·5:1:2·5	1·8:1:3·5
πρός	(g:d:a)	·23:1:43	·16:1:116	·2:1:15	·02:1:4	2:1:6
μετά	(g:a)	3·8:1	3·6:1	1·2:1	1·6:1	

The wider use of *ἐν* is remarkable in Bibl. Greek, e.g.:

	LXX	NT	Papyri
ἐν : παρά	1 : ·06	1 : ·07	1 : ·43
ἐν : περί	1 : ·06	1 : ·12	1 : ·28

It is a peculiarity of Bibl. Greek, and not of the Koine, to use the feminine for neuter in certain expressions like *εἰς κρυπτήν*

and ἀπό μιᾶς, but the variations in the gender of λιμός are shared by the Koine ¹.

A distributive *singular*, in preference to the plural, is distinctly Biblical, like τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν, although we have κατὰ γεωργόν once in the papyri. The plural *worlds* and *heaven* belongs to Bibl. Greek, and is normal Greek only poetically. The allusive plural is normal Greek, but late: of Herod it is said, *They are dead who sought the child's life*; and *the prophets* (Mt 2²³) is simply Hosea; while ὄχλοι πολλοί is one vast crowd ².

The use of *soul* for the reflexive pronoun must be uniquely Biblical. The use of αὐτός as a demonstrative (which has significance for exegesis) is doubtfully Koine and more likely to be due to Semitic influence; so also extra-Biblical examples of οὐ . . . πᾶς are rare ³. Biblical Greek uses παρά and ὑπέρ for comparison in place of ἤ or the genitive and is fond of the genitive of quality. The dative is beginning to decline in Hell. Greek but the popularity of ἐν in Bibl. Greek gives it a false appearance of life ⁴.

The NT is not in line with the Koine in the use of cases after certain verbs. It uses the dat. as well as the acc. after προσκυνέω ⁵, and reverts to the Attic dat. after πειθαρχέω ⁶. The acc. is invariable in the LXX (except atticistic 4Km 2²⁴, Ep. Je 65), and in the NT after καταράσθαι, against the dat. of secular style ⁷. The only two instances of acc. after ἐπηρεάζω which I can find, occur in NT, while secular Greek has the dative ⁸.

A partitive expression is often used in NT and LXX as subj. or obj. of the verb, e.g. θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, without the help of τινος, in Lk 21¹⁶. This plays small part indeed in the non-Biblical language ⁹, and clearly reflects the Hebrew מן. In partitive expressions the Ptolemaic papyri much prefer ἀπό to ἐκ ¹⁰, but NT writers prefer ἐκ and also often use ἐν in a partitive sense which is extremely rare in the papyri ¹¹.

¹ See ch. 2.

² See ch. 2.

³ Ch. 14 § 1.

⁴ Ch. 17.

⁵ Mayser II 2, 256; MMVocab.s.v. The dat. becomes increasingly common in LXX: Helbing DKVS 296-298.

⁶ Mayser II 2, 208. Ptolemaic pap. all gen.; dat. in A.D. 260 (MMVocab.s.v.).

⁷ Kittel WB I 449; Helbing DKVS 71; Bauer s.v.

⁸ Mayser II 2, 265.

⁹ See ch. 15 § 2, 1, I b; Mayser II 2, 351.

¹⁰ Mayser II 2, 352.

¹¹ Mayser II 2, 353.

The position of the attributive adjective (and participle) in relation to the noun and article is in the Ptolemaic pap. quite different from that in Bibl. Greek. There are three possible positions: I. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ, II. ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός, III. ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός. The art. before the noun is often omitted in Hell. Greek and particularly in the papyri, but that is very rare in Bibl. Greek¹. I can find only one instance in the first twenty chapters of Genesis, and there are very few in the NT. As to the other two possible positions, if we take as a sample of iii/B.C. papyri the Hibeh Papyri nos. 27–120, there are twenty exx. of position I and ten exx. of the repeated article. The Tebtunis Papyri nos. 5–124 will serve for ii–i/B.C.: they have the first position with over 140 exx., but only four or five exx. with repetition of the article². This is not like the picture in Bibl. Greek. In the Pauline and General epistles³ (where direct rendering of a Hebrew text is ruled out) the proportion is: position I 24, position II 23, position III one only. Clearly the tendency in the papyri of the NT period is for the second position to be practically negligible (140:5), while Biblical writers are fond of the usage even when there is no emphasis. In LXX Ge 1–19 the proportion between positions I and II is 18:56, the very reverse of the proportion in iii/B.C. papyri. In 1 Km 1–6 the proportion is 1:16.

The construction ἐν τῷ with infin. occurs so often in Lk-Ac that to Dr. Howard it was "one more evidence of the great influence of the LXX on the style of Luke."⁴ It occurs in the papyri occasionally⁵, but this expression, like εἰς τό and τοῦ c.infin. (of which Paul and Luke are specially fond) belongs almost exclusively to Bibl. Greek through the influence of Hebrew⁶. Dr. Howard observed that the use of ἵνα "had already gained great flexibility in the Koinḗ" (p. 470). If one cannot claim that its even greater flexibility of use in the NT⁷ was entirely due to Semitic influence, one must at least underline the difficulty of finding anywhere but in Biblical books such a

¹ See ch. 13 § 1.

² Mayser II 2, 25ff.

³ The first chapters of the following books have been read: Ro, 1 and 2 Co, Ga, Ph, Col, Phm, 1 and 2 Th, 1 and 2 Ti, Ti, Heb, Jas, 1 and 2 Pt, 1 Jn.

⁴ See the Appendix to vol. II of this Grammar, p. 451.

⁵ Mayser II 1, 328.

⁶ Mayser II 1, 321ff, 330; I 3, 43. See below ch. 10 § 2b.

⁷ See e.g. Radermacher² 193. See below ch. 8 § 2 B2.

wide variety in the use of ἵνα, imperatival, causal, consecutive, epexegetical, within so small a space.

Other instances of the unique character of Bibl. Greek abound in peculiarities of word-order¹, in asyndeton² and parataxis³, in the use of proleptic pronouns⁴, and in the pleonastic insertion of personal pronouns⁵, as well as in many other smaller and less significant ways.

I do not wish to prove too much by these examples, but the strongly Semitic character of Bibl. Greek, and therefore its remarkable unity within itself, do seem to me to have contemporary significance at a time when many are finding their way back to the Bible as a living book and perhaps are pondering afresh the old question of a "Holy Ghost language". The lapse of half a century was needed to assess the discoveries of Deissmann and Moulton and put them in right perspective. We now have to concede that not only is the subject-matter of the Scriptures unique but so also is the language in which they came to be written or translated. This much is plain for all who can see, but the further question arises, whether such a Biblical language was the creature of an hour and the *ad hoc* instrument for a particular purpose, or whether it was a spoken language as well, something more than an over-literal rendering of Semitic idioms, a permanent influence and a significant development in the language. Students of Greek await the answer with interest.

¹ See ch. 27.

² See ch. 25 § 3.

³ See ch. 26 § 1.

⁴ See ch. 5 § 2 (a) 3; ch. 14 § 1. 2.

⁵ See ch. 24 § 3.

This page intentionally left blank

BOOK ONE

BUILDING UP THE SENTENCE: ANALYTICAL

The minimal form of the sentence is Subject and Predicate. The Subject is usually expressed by a noun and the Predicate by a verb; and this verb may need a direct or indirect Object. But often the Predicate too may be a noun or its substitute.

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER ONE

SUBSTITUTES FOR NOUNS IN SUBJECT, OBJECT OR PREDICATE

§ 1. The Article with Adjectives¹

A subject, object or predicate may be expressed without using a noun. The usual substitute for it in cultured speech is a non-substantival neuter expression, but sometimes also a masculine or feminine one. We find the article with a non-predicate adjective, and used in both (a) an individual and (b) a generic sense. By this method is represented a quality *par excellence*.

(a) Of God: Jn 5⁴⁴ ὁ μόνος BW, 1 Jn 5²⁰ ὁ ἀληθινός. Of Christ: Lk 4³⁴ ὁ ἅγιος, Ac 22¹⁴ ὁ δίκαιος. Of Satan: ὁ πονηρός. Also ἡ ἔρημος. *the desert*, Jas 2⁶ τὸν πτωχὸν *beggar*. Also ὁ σόφος.

(b) οἱ πλούσιοι and οἱ ἅγιοι. οἱ πολλοί either *the majority*, or *the many* previously indicated. 1 Pt 4¹⁸ ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ ἄσεβής. Mt 25⁴ αἱ φρόνιμοι. Also οἱ μαλακοί.

But the substantival expression is more usually neuter. In the pre-Christian papyri are τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἄξιον, τὸ δίκαιον, τὰ καλὰ, τὸ στρατιωτικόν *the army*, τὸ ἱππικόν, τὸ ναυτικόν, etc. (Mayser II 1, 1ff). Again we have (a) individual, (b) generic, more often; and (c), especially in Paul, the equivalent of an abstract noun; the latter is a class. idiom (Hdt. Thuc.) and higher contemporary Koine (Strabo, Joseph., I Cl.), as well as Biblical (LXX).² In the NT it is characteristic of Paul and Luke and not often in the Gospels. This abstract usage followed by the gen. does not appear in the papyri.

(a) Individual concrete expressions: 2 Co 8¹⁵ OT τὸ πολὺ, τὸ ὀλίγον, Philem¹⁴ τὸ ἀγαθόν *a good deed*, Ro 8³ τὸ ἀδυνατὸν *the one thing the Law could not do*. 1 Co 3¹⁰ θεμέλιον, sc. λίθον, 7⁵ ἐκ συμφώνου. Also τὸ

¹ K-G I 266ff., Gild. I § 36, Mayser II 1, 1ff. Ljungvik SSAA 24f. Schmid, Attizismus IV 608.

² Also Apost. Fathers, e.g. Mart. Petri 82²⁰ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ θαύματος, and Pass. Andr. alt. 28^{14ff.}

καλόν. Never τὸ συνειδός for συνειδήσις, but τὸ σωτήριον for ἡ σωτηρία (Lk 2³⁰ 3⁶, Ac 28²⁸, Eph 6¹⁷ all OT), and often τὸ μαρτύριον for ἡ μαρτυρία. Neut. sing. is also used collectively to denote persons: τὸ ἔλαττον . . . τοῦ κρείττονος = οἱ ἐλάττονες . . . τῶν κρείττωνων; also neut. pl. with a gen. 1 Co 12²¹ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου, etc, Papyri: τὸ δυνατόν, τὸ λοιπόν, τὰ ἴδια, τὰ καλὰ, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

(b) Generic: Mt 6¹³ τοῦ πονηροῦ (but masc?), 12³⁵ = Lk 6⁴⁵ τὰ (Bal om.) ἀγαθὰ . . . πονηρὰ, Lk 6⁴⁵ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ro 3⁸ τὰ κακὰ, τὰ ἀγαθὰ 13⁸ τὸ ἀγαθόν *good works*, Gal 6¹⁰ same, Mt 13⁴⁸ τὰ καλὰ . . . τὰ σαπρά *fish*.

(c) Abstract ideas; usually with a following gen.: Ro 1¹⁹ τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θ. *knowledge concerning God* (Chrysost.) or *what is known* (or *can be known*) *about God* (Origen) or *God in his knowableness* (Kittel WB I 719), 1²⁰ τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ *he the Invisible* (ib.) 2⁴ τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θ. = *χρηστότης* (which precedes) or more definitely *God in his kindness* (ib.), 9²² τὸ δυνατόν αὐτοῦ *how powerful he is*, 1 Co 4⁵ τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους¹ *the darkness which hides*, 1²⁵ τὸ μῶρον τοῦ θ. = *μωρία* (which precedes) or *God seeming to be foolish*; τὸ ἀσθενές τοῦ θ. similarly. 7³⁵ τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ, 2 Co 4¹⁷ τὸ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλ. ἡμῶν, 8⁸ τὸ τῆς . . . γνήσιον *what is genuine with respect to* . . . , Ph 3⁸ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς = *ὑπεροχή*, 4⁵ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν, Col 1¹⁶ τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα (no gen.), Heb. 6¹⁷ τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς, 7¹⁸ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενές καὶ ἀνωφελές, 1 Pet 1⁷, Jas 1³ τὸ δοκιμῆον = *something tested* (Deiss. BS 259ff. Mayser 1² 3, 52). Cp. Strabo's τὸ εὐμεταχειρίστον τῆς θήρας. LXX. 2 Mac 4⁴ τὸ χαλεπὸν τῆς, 3¹⁶ τὸ τῆς . . . παρηλλαγμένον, 2²¹ τὸ σύντομον τῆς . . . , τὸ ἐξεργαστικὸν τῆς, 4 Mac 6¹³ ἐν θαυμαστῷ τῆς, 18⁸ τὰ ἀγνὰ τῆς.

§ 2. The Article with (1) Attributive Adverbs

This is like the class. τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον *things belonging to war*. Thus in pre-Christian papyri: πᾶν τὸ ἐξῆς *all other contributions*, τὸ ἐφαύριον, ἐν τῷ μεταξύ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἕως . . . , μέχρι . . . , τὸ πρότερον, τὸ πρῶτ', τὰ ἄνω, τὰ ἐνταῦθα, τὰ ἐπάνω, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα, ἐκ τοῦ ὀπίσου (Mayser II, 1, 13). In the NT: εἰς τὸ μέσον, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου (without art., if a gen. follows), Lk 16²⁶ οἱ (S*BD om.) ἐκείθεν, Mt 24²¹ ἕως τοῦ νῦν, 23²⁶ τὸ ἐντός, Jn 8²³, 1 Co 14¹⁶ τὸ ἀμήν, 2 Co 1²⁰ τὸ ναί, τὸ ἀμήν, Rev 3¹⁴ ὁ ἀμήν, Col 3¹¹ τὰ κάτω, τὰ ἄνω, 2 Co 1¹⁷ Jas 5¹² τὸ ναί, τὸ οὐ. Sometimes the noun so formed is used as an adverbial accusative: τὸ πρῶτ', τὸ ἐπτάκις Lk 17^{4D}, τὸ ἀνὰ δηνάριον Mt 20¹⁰ SCLNZ *everyone a penny*.

The Article with (2) prepositional phrases. Mayser II 1, 9-13: τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς *offspring* or *product*, hence Ro 12¹⁸ τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν *so far as it originates from you*; papyri τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα distributive, hence pap. and NT τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν *daily*; but also in pap., Ac and Paul τὰ κατὰ τι expresses general relationship, so τὸ κατὰ σάρκα

¹ Cp. Ex Actis Andr. 45²⁸¹ τὸ κρυπτόμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς φύσεως.

Ro 9⁵ = *as far as the material side is concerned*; Ph 1¹² Col 4⁷ τὰ κατ' ἐμέ = *what concerns me*; but the same phrase Ac 25¹⁴ τὰ κατὰ Παῦλον is obviously *Paul's case* in the courts and this may be the correct interpretation in Ph and Col (*my lawsuit*); so Ac 16³⁹ D τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς = *we acted amiss at your trial in court* (πρᾶγμα). But 2 Co 10⁷ τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον = *what is in front of you* (spatial); Ro 12⁵ τὸ καθ' εἰς a stereotyped adv. Ac 28⁷ τὰ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον (local), Herm V iii 3¹ τὰ περὶ τὸν πύργον. Local in the papyri, but sometimes of general relationship like κατὰ; hence probably *my circumstances* in Ph 2²³ τὰ περὶ ἐμέ, and not *my surroundings*. The gen. τὰ περὶ τινος is frequ. in pap. and in Luke and Paul, e.g. Lk 24²⁷ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, Ac 18²⁵ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰ. Mk 5²⁷ (but τὰ om. by S^cAC²DLW al) *things concerning* . . . With παρά: Mk 5²⁶ δαπανήσασα τὰ παρ' (παρ' om. DW) ἑαυτῆς class., Lk 10⁷ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, Ph 4¹⁸ δεξάμενος . . . τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν. In the pap. τὸ παρά τινος (sing.) is a sum of money to be paid by someone, esp. taxes due (Mayser II 1, 12), but τὰ παρά τινος (pl.) is something sent, an answer, a mandate, an errand, an ordinance. With Ph 4¹⁸ cp. P. Alexandr. 4, 15 (iii/B.C.) εἴλεφεν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ = *he received what you sent*, but P. Teb. I 12, 23 (118 B.C.) ἀποδέχομαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ = *your instructions*. Cp. Jos. BJ. 2, 124, Ant. 8, 175.

These were all neuter but we have masc. and fem. also with prepositional phrases: Mayser II 1, 14–20 ἀπό, διά g., ἐκ, εἰς, ἐν, ἐπὶ g., κατὰ acc., μετά g., παρά g. acc., περὶ acc., πρό, πρὸς dat., ὑπό acc. ἀπό: Heb 13²⁴ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰτ. *Italians*. Inscr. 60 B.C. (Preis. Samm. 4980, 6) οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. Pap. i/B.C. (ib. 5216, 11) οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας, etc., very frequ. to represent a person's home or extraction. In the pap. also to denote a class: οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης are *bank officials* PSI IV 383, 8 (248 B.C.), like Ac 12¹ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας *church folk*, 15⁵ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως.

ἐκ: very frequ. in Paul as we use *-ists* of members of a sect or persuasion: Ro 3²⁶ οἱ ἐκ πίστεως Ἰ. *believers in J.*, 4^{14.16} οἱ ἐκ νόμου *who live by the Law*, ὁ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀ. *who shares A's faith* (a persuasion), Ac 6⁹ οἱ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς (a sect). Class. use of a country: Isocr. 4⁸² οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας *Asians*. Papyri of descendants, members of a family or class, residents (like ἀπό); members of a family in Ro 16¹¹ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου.

εἰς: Mk 13¹⁶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν. Ac 2³⁹ οἱ εἰς μακράν local.

ἐν: Mk 13¹⁴ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰ. local.

ἐπὶ: Mk 13¹⁵ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος local.

κατὰ: Ac 25²³ οἱ κατ' ἐξοχὴν *eminent men*. Eph 5³³ οἱ καθ' ἓνα *as individuals*.

παρά g.: in class. Gk. *those sent out by*. In pap. usually someone's *agent* or assistant, a *proxy*, but less often of relatives and friends (as Mk 3²¹) W. Chr. 10, 6 (130 B.C.) etc., esp. ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πάντες in a private letter BGU VI 1300, 4 (iii-ii/B.C.), 1 Cl. 12⁴ *king's messengers*, 1 Esd 1¹⁵ 1 Mac 2¹⁵ *a king's proxy*, Mk 3²¹ (see J. Moulton in *ET* 20, 1909, 476) οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ but not DW and Lat. *his kinsfolk*, LXX Su³³ *her family and friends*, 1 Mac 9⁴⁴ v¹⁵⁸ *his men*. Cf. Jos. Ant. 1, 193.

περί: Mk 4¹⁰ Lk 22⁴⁹ οἱ περί αὐτόν *his disciples*; J. and *his disciples* is impossible. Ac 13¹³ 21⁸TR οἱ περί (τόν) Π. *Paul and his party* (class.); *the escorts alone* is impossible. Later than class. οἱ περί τινα was often a periphrasis for the person alone: Plu. Pyrrh. 20, 1 οἱ περί Φαβρίκιον = *Fabricius*; Tiber. Gracch. 2, 3 οἱ περί Δροῦσον = *Drusus*; so in Polyb. 4, 36; 6, 21; 11, 2; Diod. Sic. 1, 16; 1, 37; 19, 19; Ep. Arist. 51; Philo vi cont. 15; Jos. Ant. 13, 187; 15, 370; c. Ap. 1, 17. Probably we have this in NT: Jn 11¹⁹ τὰς περί Μ. καὶ Μ. = *Martha and Mary* only (p⁴⁵ AΘ al.). There is little if any support in the pap., unless P. Flind. Petr. I 29, 4 τὰ περί τὴν ἀναδενδράδα (Radermacher 2, 118).

The Article with (3) genitives of Nouns. In the pre-Christian papyri this neuter expression denotes (a) residence, possessions, property, house or home of the person in the genitive (Mayser II 1, 8); (b) with impers. genitive the phrase is largely periphrastic: τὰ τῆς γεωργίας = *field work*.

(a) *personal*: Lk 20²⁵ τὰ Καίσαρος, τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ *property of*, 1 Co. 1¹¹ ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης (strictly ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν Χλόης *by them of Chloe's house*).

(b) *impersonal*. Nothing more subtle than periphrasis is involved: Mt 21²¹ τὸ τῆς συκῆς *the fig tree*, Ro 14¹⁹ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης *peace*, Jas 4¹⁴ τὸ (τὰ Α) τῆς αὔριον *tomorrow*, 2 Pt 2²² τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας *the true proverb*.

§ 3. The Ellipse of Various Nouns

The absence of the noun (although its idea is quite necessary, in contrast to § 1 above) occurs in adjectival and other kinds of attributes (pronominal, participial, adverbial), and the context supplies its lack ¹.

Certain nouns are liable to ellipse in this way in NT and contemporary Greek. So ὁδός is to be supplied in the papyri as in Lk 3⁵ OT εἰς εὐθείας, 5¹⁹ ποίας, 19⁴ ἐκείνης, and also γῆ or χωρά very frequently: Mt 3⁵ etc. ἡ περὶ χωρὸς (Plut. LXX), 23¹⁵ ἡ ξηρά (Xen. LXX), Mk 15³⁹ ἐξ ἐναντίας (D substitutes ἐκεῖ and W omits), Lk 13⁹. 65 ἡ ὀρεινὴ, ἡ ἐρημος, ἡ

¹ K-G I 265ff. Gild. I §§ 32-35. Mayser II 1, 20ff.

οἰκουμένη (*world*; class., pap., MGr.), 17²⁴ or better scil. μερίδος (T. Levi 18⁴), Heb 11²⁹ Δ^cKLP διὰ ξηρᾶς (but SAD*E p¹⁸ p⁴⁶ supply γῆς).

In dates in the pap. ἡμέρα is almost always omitted: Mt 11²³ etc. μέχρι τῆς σήμερον (elsewhere with ἡμέρα), Mt 27⁶² (Mk, Lk, Jn, Jas) τῇ (ἐπ) αὐρίον like P. Hamb. I no. 27, 4 (250 B.C.) τῇ ἐφαύριον. Lk 13³² Ac 27¹⁹ τῇ τρίτῃ (elsewhere τῇ τρ. ἡμ.) like P. Eleph. 5, 17 (284 B.C.) τρίτῃ. Lk-Ac τῇ ἐξῆς. Lk 13³³ τῇ ἐχουμένη, cp. P. Hal. 1, 30 (iii/B.C.) τῇ ἐπομένῃ, but in Ac 21²⁶ with no ellipse of ἡμ. Ac 16¹¹ 20¹⁵ 21¹⁸ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, like P. Petr. III 56(b) 12 (260 B.C.), but no ellipse of ἡμ. in Ac 7²⁶. Ac 20⁷ etc. τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων. Heb 4⁴ ἡ ἐβδόμη, but same verse has ἡμ. Herm. S. VI 5³ (Clem. Hom. IX.1) πρὸ μιᾶς. Possibly ἀφ' ἧς (Ac 24¹¹ 2 Pt 3⁴ 1 Mac 1¹¹: *since*)¹, is an ellipse of ἡμ. (or ὥρα in Lk 7⁴⁵). There is no ellipse of ἡμ. at Col 1⁶.⁹ Herm. M. IV 4³, but the phrase is virtually a conjunction.

Χεῖρ is frequ. omitted in phrases like ἡ δεξιά, ἡ ἀριστερά Mt 6³ etc., ἐν δεξιᾷ Ro 8³⁴ etc. (unless we assume ἐνδέξια, class., in view of the fact that NT writers have ἐκ δεξιῶν, not ἐν δ.). Herm. S. IX 12⁸ has δεξιά and εὐώνυμα. MGr. also. Ptolemaic pap.: δεξιάν P. Petr. II 45 (248 B.C.), but χεῖρ is inserted also in pap.

It is probable that we should supply περίοδος with -μηνος and -ἡμερος ending adjectives. For νυχθήμερος see Blass-Debr. § 121. Hdt 2, 124 ἡ τρίμηνος. Polyb. VI 34³ ἡ δίμηνος, XXVII 7² ἡ ἑκμηνος. LXX Ez 39¹⁴ τὴν ἐπτάμηνον. 4 Mac 16⁷ ἐπτὰ δεκάμηνου. Jg 19^{2A} 20^{47A} τετράμηνον anarthrous. Ditt. Syll³ 410⁴.²⁴ (c 274 B.C.), 442³.¹⁷ (c 250 B.C.). In pre-Christian papyri: Petr. III 78, 13 (iii/B.C.) etc. ἡ πενθήμερος. PSI IV 380, 6 (249 B.C.) ἡ δίμηνος. 408, 9 (iii/B.C.) ἡ τετράμηνος (Mayser II 1, 23). Jn 4³⁵ τετράμηνος anarthrous (-von HW al). Heb 11²³ OT τρίμηνον (= Ex 2³ μήνας τρεῖς) (-ος p⁴⁶).

The ellipse of ὥρα is probable in other similar examples (e.g. PSI IV 391, 4 (241 B.C.) τῇ δευτέρῃ τῆς νυκτός): ἔξαιτης *at once*. Not class. are πρωτα and ὀψια in Mt Mk Jn Herm. Mk 11^{11B} ὀψίας οὔσης (other MSS either add τῆς ὥρας or substitute ὀψέ), with which cp. BU II 380³ (iii/A.D.) ὀψ(e)ίας τῆς ὥρας, P. Ox. III 475¹⁶ (A.D. 182) ὀψίας.

Other less frequ. noun-ellipses are the following:

*Ανεμος: Ac 27¹⁵ τῷ πνέοντι (Western).

*Αγαλμα: 19³⁵ τὸ διοπετές.

Αὔρα: 27⁴⁰ τῇ πνεύσῃ (indicated by Arrian ep. ad Traj. 5 ταῖς αὔραις ταῖς . . . πνεύσαις). Lucian Herm. 28, Char. 3 τῷ πνέοντι.

Γλῶσσα: Rev 9¹¹ ἐν τῇ ἐλληνικῇ (S ἐλληνιδι), or supply διάλεκτος or φωνή LXX.

Δραχμή: Ac 19¹⁹ ἀργυρίου (sc. δραχμῶν, but we would expect ἀργυρίων).

Ἱμάτιον: Mt 11⁸ ἐν μαλακοῖς. Jn 20¹² Herm. V. IV 2¹ ἐν λευκοῖς.

Rev 18¹².¹⁶ βυσσίνου, πορφύρας etc. Pap. (Mayser II 1, 26).

Μέρος: not class. but pre-Chr. pap (τὸ τρίτον, τέταρτον *passim*) Rev: τὸ τρίτον, τέταρτον, δέκατον. Mk 16⁵? ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς.

¹ And in weak variants in Herm. S. VIII 1^{4A} (but read ἀφες with P. Mich. See below p. 94.) 6^{6A} (but read ἀφότε with P. Mich.).

Πληγή: Lk 12⁴⁷ δαρήσεται πολλές . . . ὀλίγας. 2 Co 11²⁴ τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν.

Πύλη: Jn 5² but this could not be supplied by the general reader without local knowledge; it is suspect, being om. by Sy^{scr.} pesh.

Ῥάβδος: Heb 5⁷ ἱκετηρίας (or sc. ἐλαία). Büchsel in Kittel WB III 297f traces the origin to the olive branches of the suppliant, whence after Isocr. the adj. came to mean *earnest supplication*.

Ῥόδωρ: Mt 10⁴² ψυχροῦ. Jas 3¹¹ τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρόν. Aristoph. Nub. and pap: θερμόν (Gild. I § 38).

Ῥετόν: Jas 5⁷ προῖμον καὶ ὀψιμον (S)B.

Ῥελαία: Ro 11²⁴ ἡ ἀγριέλαιος, καλλιέλαιος. Ῥελαιον supplied in papyri (Mayser II 1, 24).

It remains only to notice under this head some stereotyped phrases where there is noun-ellipsis:

Ῥαπὸ μιᾶς: Lk 14¹⁸ sc. γνώμη or ὁρμή or φωνή, or more probably γλῶσσα in view of Philo V 170⁸ ἀπὸ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης = with one mind or voice. And some would supply φορὰ *impetus*. It may be Aramaism rather than ellipse (*min ch'dā*) = *at once*, but it occurs in secular PSI II 286²² (iii-iv/A.D.) = *at once*, and Wilcken. Chrest. 46, 15 (A.D. 338) μίαν ἐκ μιᾶς (sc. ἡμέρα), and in MGr. Lagrange (*S. Luc* 404) suggests that ὁδός or φωνή or preferably γνώμη be understood.

Κατὰ μόνας: There is no knowing what noun to supply. Mk 4¹⁰ Lk 9¹⁸, LXX Ge 32¹⁶ Ps 4⁹ Je 15¹⁷ 1 Mac 12³⁶. Thuc. I 32.5. Xen. Mem. 3.7.4. Menander. Polyb. 4.15.11. Diod. Sic. 4.51.16. Jos. BJ 6, 326; Ant. 17, 336, etc. Herm. M. XI 8. MGr καταμόναχο. BGU III 813, 15 (ii/A.D.).

Κατ' ἰδίαν: Mt 14¹³. 23, 17¹. 19, 20¹⁷, 24³, Mk 4³⁴ 6³¹ 7³³ 9². 28 13³, Lk 9¹⁰ 10²³, Ac 23¹⁹, Ga 2². 2 Mac 4⁵ 14²¹. Ign Sm. 7². Hellenistic, not class.: Plut. 2, 120d. Polyb. 1, 71, 1; 4, 84, 8. Diod. Sic. 1, 21. Philo sacr. Abel. 136. Jos. BJ. 2, 199. Pap: P. Or. gr. 51, 9 (239 B.C.); 737, 7 (ii/B.C.). Insc: Dit. Syll³. 1157, 10, and see L.S. s.v. ἰδιος. Uncertain what noun to supply.

Ἰδίᾳ: the class. equivalent of the last. 1 Co 12¹¹ PSI IV 434¹² (261 B.C.).

Δημοσίᾳ: Ac 16³⁷ etc. = *openly*. Dit. Syll. 807⁹ (A.D. 138) = *publicly*. Vettius Valens p. 71²² *publicly*. Different meaning in class. Attic: *at the public expense* or *by public consent*.

PART I

WORD-MATERIAL FOR SENTENCE-BUILDING

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENDER AND NUMBER OF NOUNS

§ 1. The Gender of Nouns¹

As in class. Greek² the neuter gender may refer to a person (e.g. τὸ γεγεννημένον Jn 3⁶ 1 Jn 5⁴, cp. masc. 5¹), provided that the emphasis is less on the individual than on some outstanding general quality like *foolishness*; ³ πᾶν is often added to make this clear (1 Jn 5⁴, Jn 17² πᾶν ὁ like Heb. כָּל־הָעוֹלָם, 6³⁷ πᾶν ὁ resolves itself into τὸν ἐρχόμενον. Ga 3²² τὰ πάντα but τοὺς πάντας in Ro 11³². Jn 12³² πάντα S*D p⁶⁶ lat Aug; rest masc.)

Mt 12⁶ μείζον *something greater*? 12⁴¹ πλεῖον. Lk 1³⁵ τὸ γεννώμενον (was τὸ τέκνον in mind?). Jn 17²⁴ the gift is depicted first in its unity = ὁ, then individually = κάκεῖνος. 1 Co 12⁷ τὰ μῶρα . . . τὰ ἀσθενῆ . . . τὰ ἰσχυρά, pl. not to confuse with sing. in 12⁵. 2 Th 2⁶ neut. synonymous with ὁ κατέχων 2⁷. 1 Co 11⁵ she is one and the same as if (ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό). Heb 7⁷ τὸ ἔλαττον 9⁵ χερουβείν as neut. pl. (or sing. AP). See Bauer s.v. for discussion and bibliography. Neut. pl. used adverbially Ph 2⁶ τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ (ἴσα Thuc. III 14. Abel § 41a).

A direct Hebraism is fem. for neut.⁴: Mt 21⁴² LXX = Mk 12¹¹ = Ps 117 (118)²³ αὕτη = זֶה i.e. τοῦτο. LXX Ps 27³. 4 32⁶ 74¹⁸ 102¹⁹ 119⁵⁰. 56 αὕτη. 1 Km 4⁷ τοιαύτη. Etc.

Perhaps an Aramaism is Lk 11³³ εἰς κρυπτήν, where fem. pass. ptc. = a neuter, *hidden*; Bauer on the other hand takes the view = εἰς κρύπτῃν (see s.v.).

Note also the use of fem. to form adv. phrases: Lk 14¹⁸ ἀπὸ μιᾶς (see ch. 1). Mk 4¹⁰ κατὰ μόνας (ch. 1). LXX Jg 7⁵.

A masc. for a fem. is Mk 5¹⁵ λεγιών (because demon's name).

A fem. for a masc. is ἡ βᾶαλ.

Note the variation in the gender of λιμός Lk 4²⁵; Lk 15¹⁴ Ac 11²⁸; same variation in a papyrus ii/B.C.

¹ K-Blass I 358ff. Schwyzer II 27-38. Mayser II 1, 28-34. R. Meister, "Genus bei den LXX" (Wien Stud. 34, 77ff). H. Roensch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 1869, 452.

² Examples in K-G I 14.

³ M. J. Lagrange, *S. Matthieu*, Paris 1948, 233, on Mt 12⁶.

⁴ P. Katz, *Philo's Bible*, Cambridge 1950, 25f. Swete Intr.³ 307.

Inscriptions give a parallel for ἡ θεός and ἡ θεά Ac 19²⁷. Also papyri: θεοὶ . . . παῖσαι P. Eleph. 23¹³ (223 B.C.). SB 3444 (iii/B.C.). Or. gr. 132¹² (130 B.C.). θεὰς πάσας P. Grad. = SB 5680 (229 B.C.). Attic θεός was common gender, but later -α indicated a fem. deity ¹.

Sometimes a pl. masc. noun covers masc. and fem. subjects: Lk 24¹ οἱ γονεῖς. To 10¹² B τοὺς πενθεροὺς. So οἱ ἀδελφοί, οἱ παῖδες. Thus οἱ κύριοι (Lk 19³³ Ac 16^{18, 19}) may cover a man and woman owner ².

The form πέτρος (Mt 16¹⁸ σὺ εἶ πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ) which is usually masc. (but in Hell. period also fem., probably in accordance with λίθος) means a *boulder*, a *stone*, and as a simplex it is restricted on the whole to poetic and elevated diction. On the other hand, the generally preferred πέτρα means chiefly *rock*; it is also a kind of collective or augmentative to πέτρος, and later it takes also the meaning a *fragment of rock*, a *stone*. The name of the apostle Πέτρος, if it actually means *rock* and corresponds to Aram. קִּיפּוֹרָא, cannot be connected directly with πέτρος, since this was out of general use; it does not mean *rock* but is a masculinizing of πέτρα (Wackernagel op. cit. 14f).

§ 2. The Number of Nouns ³

SINGULAR: (1) In LXX and pre-Christian papyri, a generic sing. may appear with persons or races, and in the pap. with numbers (like our *six foot*). The usage is not unclass., especially in the historians, and dates from Homer (Schw. II 41): with ὁ Ἰουδαῖος Ro 3¹ (*the Jew* as a Jew) cp. ὁ Συρακόσιος and ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Thuc. 6, 78, 1, ὁ Χαλκιδεύς 6, 84, 3, ὁ Ἑλλήν Hdt 1, 69, and the proverb *Romanus sedendo vincit*, etc. With ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος and ὁ πονηρὸς ᾧ. Mt 12³⁵, ὁ ἀσθενῶν Ro 14¹, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον 13³, and ὁ δίκαιος and ὁ ἀσεβής 1 Pt 4¹⁸, cp. ὁ δικαστής Lycurg. 79. Generic also are the class. κέραμος Thuc. 2, 4, 2 and ἄμπελος 4, 90, 2. With class. ἡ ἵππος Hdt 1, 80, cp. LXX Ge 14¹¹ *cavalry*, Ex 8⁶ ἀνεβιβάσθη (ὁ) ἡ βάτραχος *frogs*. 1 Pt 2²⁴ LXX τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθητε Rev. 11⁸ πτόμα αὐτῶν.

¹ Wackernagel II², 25.

² So Souter in *Expos.* VIII, 1914, 94f; IX, 1915, 94f.

³ K-G I, 13-20. Schwyzer II 38-46. Gild. I §§ 37, 42-59. Mayser II 1, 34-45. Wackernagel I 73-105. U. Holzmeister, "De 'plurali categoriae' in Novo Testamento et a Patribus adhibito," *Biblica* 14, 1933, 68-95.

It is not possible to classify here ὁ πτωχός Jas 2⁶ or ὁ δίκαιος 5⁶; these refer to an individual example (e.g. 2²).

We demur also at 1 Co 6⁵ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ: it is less likely to be generic than a combined result of Semitic influence and abbreviation thereof (full: *between brother and brother*), because in LXX we find e.g. ἁ.μ. ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος Ge 1⁶ and ἁ.μ. ποιμένης καὶ ποιμένης 32¹⁶. It is not a great step to omit the repeated noun.

(2) Contrary to normal Greek and Latin practice, the NT sometimes follows the Aram. and Heb. preference for a distributive sing. Something belonging to each person in a group of people is placed in the sing.: as τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν 1 Co 6¹⁹, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν Lk 1⁶⁶. On the other hand, NT does frequ. exhibit the pl., e.g. καρδίαι Mt 9⁴.

καρδία sing. of a group (Sem.)		Pl. of a group (normal)
Mt. Mk.	Mt 13 ¹⁵ LXX 15 ⁸ LXX = Mk 7 ⁶ . Mk 3 ⁵ 6 ⁵² 7 ²¹ 8 ¹⁷	Mt 9 ⁴ 18 ³⁵ (sing. Syr. Copt ^{bo}) Mk 2 ^{6.8} (sing. Syr ^{pe} . Copt ^{bo} 2MSS)
Lk. Ac	Lk 1 ^{51.66} 8 ^{12.15} 9 ⁴⁷ 12 ³⁴ 24 ^{32.38} Ac 2 ³⁷ 28 ²⁷ LXX bis	Lk 1 ¹⁷ 3 ¹⁵ 5 ²² 16 ¹⁵ 21 ^{14.34} Ac 7 ^{39.51} v ¹⁵⁴ 14 ¹⁷ 15 ⁹
Jn	12 ⁴⁰ LXX 14 ^{1.27} 16 ^{6.22}	
Paul	Ro 1 ²¹ 2 Co 3 ¹⁵ 6 ¹¹ LXX Eph 1 ¹⁸ 4 ¹⁸ 5 ¹⁹ 6 ⁵ Ph 1 ⁷ Col 3 ¹⁶ DeEKL	Ro 1 ²⁴ 2 ¹⁵ 5 ⁵ 16 ¹⁸ 2 Co 1 ²² 3 ² 4 ⁶ 7 ³ Ga 4 ⁶ Eph 3 ¹⁷ 6 ²² Ph 4 ⁷ Col 2 ² 3 ^{15.16} 4 ⁸ 1 Th ²⁴ LXX 3 ¹³ 2 Th 2 ¹⁷ 3 ⁵
Heb	8 ¹⁰ LXX vl.	3 ⁸ LXX 1 ⁵ LXX 4 ⁷ LXX 8 ¹⁰ LXX vl. 10 ¹⁶ LXX 2 ²
Jas	3 ¹⁴	4 ⁸ 5 ^{5.8}
Jn. Epp	1 Jn 3 ¹⁹ vl. 20 ^{bis} 2 ¹	3 ¹⁹ S lat Syr ^h
Pet.		1 Pt 3 ¹⁵ 2 Pt 1 ¹⁹
Rev		17 ¹⁷

κεφαλή sing. of a group		Pl. as normal
Mt. Mk.	Mt 10 ³⁰ = Lk 12 ⁷	Mt 27 ²⁹ = Mk 15 ²⁹
Lk. Ac	Lk 12 ⁷ = Mt 10 ³⁰ Lk 21 ¹⁸ Ac 18 ⁶ 21 ²⁴	Lk 21 ²⁸
Rev		44 97. 17. 19 18 ¹⁹
LXX	Ps 21(22) ⁷ 37 ⁴ Je 14 ⁴ 18 ¹⁶ Ziegler La 2 ¹⁵ etc.	Ps 108(109) ²⁵ etc.

ὁσφύς sing. of a group		Pl. as normal
Lk. Ac		Lk 12 ³⁵
Paul	Eph 6 ¹⁴	
1 Pt		1 ¹³

σῶμα sing. of a group		Pl. as normal
Mt. Lk	6 ²⁵ = Lk 12 ²³	
Paul	Ro 8 ²³ 1 Co 6 ^{19. 20} 2 Co 4 ¹⁰	1 Co 6 ¹⁵ Eph 5 ²⁸
Jas	3 ³	

χείρ with preposition (metaph.) ἐς, ἐκ, ἐπί, διά		Plural
Mt. Mk		Mt 17 ²² = Mk 9 ³¹ = Lk 9 ⁴⁴ Mt 26 ⁴⁵ = Mk 14 ⁴¹ = Lk 24 ⁷
Lk. Ac	Lk 1 ^{71. 74} Ac 2 ²³ (but C ³ EP pl) 15 ²³	Ac 5 ¹² 14 ³ 24 ⁷ v1 28 ¹⁷
Jn	10 ³⁹	
Rev	13 ¹⁶ 20 ⁴	

In addition we find ἀπὸ προσώπου and similar Semitisms always sing.: Lk 2³¹ Ac 3^{18. 21} 7⁴⁵; κατὰ πρ. Lk 2³¹; διὰ στόματος Lk 1⁷⁰ Ac 3^{18. 21} Eph 4²⁹ Col 3⁸ Rev 11⁵. We find distrib. sing. τύπον 1 Th 1⁷ (see Milligan's note) 2 Th 3⁹; στολή λευκή Rev 6¹¹. Distrib. sing. also in papyri: κατὰ γεωργόν (Mayser II 1, 45 n. 6).

PLURAL: Exceptionally the pl. may be used in the NT for one person or thing in both a Semitic and a normal Greek manner¹.

(1) *Semitic*. עוֹלָמִי is behind αἰῶνες², which means both *world* (Heb 1² 11³ 1 Ti 1¹⁷? 1 Cl 35³ 55⁶ 61² To 13^{7. 11}) and *eternity* (Sext. Emp. phys. 1, 62. Orac. Sib. 3, 767. Barn 18² To 13² Si 18¹ Da 6²⁷ Lk 1³³ Ga 1⁵ Eph 2⁷ 3¹¹ Jude²⁵ Rev 14¹¹, and often), esp. in εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (Ps 60⁵ 76⁸ 88⁶³ Mt 6¹³ v1 Lk 1³³ Ro 1²⁵ 9⁵ 11³⁶ 2 Co 11³¹ Heb 13⁸), εἰς πάντας . . . (To 13⁴ Da 3⁵² Enoch 9⁴ Or. Sib. 3⁵⁰ Jude²⁵), and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων (Ps 83⁵ ZP 4, 1038, 22b 15, Ro 16²⁷ Ga 1⁵ Ph 4²⁰ 1 Ti 1¹⁷ 2 Ti 4¹⁸ Heb 13²¹ 1 Pt 4¹¹ 5¹¹ Rev 4^{9†} 10⁶ 15⁷ 19³ 20¹⁰ 22⁵, 1 Cl 20¹² 32⁴ 38⁴ 43⁶). Thus we have *end of the world* τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων in 1 Co. 10¹¹, as in T. Levi 14¹, but it may be the normal pl. of αἰών: *the fulfilment of the ages or the frontiers of the ages* (i.e. the limits dividing one of the seven ages from the ensuing one); Or. Sib. 8³¹¹ τέλος αἰώνων *end of time*.

שָׁמַיִם is behind οὐρανοί: but here again, following a Jewish idea, the pl. of seven heavens may be intended, esp. in 2 Co 12² Eph 4¹⁰. In the material sense of *sky* the sing. predominates: the exceptional plurals are Mt 24³¹ (contrast Mk 13²⁷, LXX De 30⁴), 31^{6. 17} = Mk 11^{0. 11} (but Lk has sing.), Ac 7⁵⁶. In the less common figurative sense of *heaven* as God's abode the pl. predominates, as Mt 5^{16. 45} 6¹ etc.: the exceptional singulars (like ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς Plat. Phaed. 246E) are Lk 10²⁰D (rest pl) 11¹³ (exc. p⁴⁵) Eph 6⁸S (rest pl) Col 4⁸* BAC (rest pl) 1 Pt 1⁴S (rest pl), everywhere in Jn and Rev (exc. 12¹² LXX) Did 8². Taken as a whole, the sing. is more normal Greek, and scribes would correct to the sing. There is a significant variant at Mk 13²⁷: pl. is found in some MSS and some Old Latin, which is perhaps original in view of the tendency of scribes. In LXX the sing. is normal (Ge 1¹ 14^{19. 22} To 7¹⁷ BA Da Bel⁵ 1 Mac 2²⁷ al), with pl. in poetic passages (Jth 9¹², esp. Pss). For the LXX see P. Katz, *Philo's Bible* 141–146; H. Traub in Kittel WB V 510f.

(2) *Normal Greek but late*. Class. poetic sometimes: ἄμματα of one only (K–G I 18, n. 2). The allusive pl. is sometimes used when a class or variety rather than number is stressed. This is so in post-class. Greek and always the importance of the individual's action appears to be emphasized, not that of a group: Mt 2²⁰ τεθνήκασιν οἱ ζητοῦντες

¹ Kummerer. *Über den Gebrauch des Plur. statt des Sing. bei Soph. und Eur.*, 1869. Wackernagel I 97ff.

² H. Sasse in Kittel WB I 197–208 (αἰῶνες).

(Herod), Ostr. Berol. P. 10987 = SB 4631 (106 B.C.) τῶν οἴνων *the wine*, P. Hib. 54, 23 (245 B.C.) *send us the cheese* (τυρούς). P. Petr. II 20 col. 2, 5 πλήθη σίτου *a quantity of corn* (250 B.C.). PSI VI 584, 30 (iii/B.C.) γράφον μοι . . . ἀντίγραφα *an answer* (Mayser II 1, 34f, 39).

A difficult pl. which may be explained in this way is Mt 2²³ *prophets*: the reference is to one prophet only. Zerwick calls it *pluralis categoriae* (§ 4a) and he further suggests it as an explanation of Mt 27⁴⁴ (after Jerome, Aug., Ambrose): both robbers are said to reproach Jesus whereas it was only one, and we need not call in another tradition to help us out. Other difficulties are thus solved: Mt 14⁹ Mk 6²⁶ ὄρκους *oath* (Xen. Hell 5, 4, 54. 2 Mac 4³⁴ 7²⁴ 14³². Ep. Arist. 126. Jos. Ant. 3, 272; 7, 294; see J. Schneider in Kittel WB V 458-467). Mt 21⁷ ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν (scribes soften the harshness), 22⁷ *army*, Mk 4¹⁰ *parable*, 7³⁷ *deaf* . . . *dumb* (sing.), Lk 5²¹ βλασφημίας sing. Jn 6¹⁴ σημεία B al. Old Lat a boh, 6²⁶ σημεία 8²⁴ *sin*, 9¹⁶ *sign*, 10²¹ *blind man*. Zerwick (§ 4b) suggests that the women of Mt 28⁹ is a pl. of category referring only to Magdalene, in view of Jn 20¹⁴⁻¹⁸. Abel suggests (§ 41d) that this pl. of species is used in Ac 21²⁸ Ἑλλήνας = only Trophimus! 19³⁸ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν too, because there was but one proconsul. Matthew uses the pl. of ὄχλος where we do not find the word at all in Mark: 5¹ 7²⁸ 9⁸. 33 12⁴⁶ 13³⁴. 36 14¹⁵. In this respect he is supported by Luke in Mt 11⁷ 12²³ 14¹³. In addition, Matthew has ὄχλοι πολλοί 4²⁵ 8¹. 18 vl 13² 15³⁰ 19². It seems that ὄχλοι πολλοί means no more than ὄχλος or ὄχλος πολὺς (or πλεῖστος) or πολὺ πλῆθος (Mk 3⁷), and is not intended to be understood of separate groups, in view of the Mk and Lk parallels. Therefore πολλοί must be taken in the unusual sense (as with χρόνοι) of *great* (= ἱκανοί or μεγάλοι). The usage is not quite confined to Mt (see Lk 5¹⁵ 14²⁵). But the motive for using the pl. of ὄχλος is not clear; it is confined to Mt Lk and Ac 1-17 (apart from a vl in Mk and Jn, and Rev 17¹⁶ where more than one crowd is meant). Probably it betrays the influence of the later Greek meaning of the pl., i.e. *the masses*.

(3) *Classical*. The directions *north*, *south*, etc. are pl. Mt 21²⁴ 27 Lk 13²⁹ ἀπο ἀνατολῶν. Pl. also in Diod. Sic II 43, Dio Cass. 987. 32, Jos. c. Ap. 1, 77, Philo spec. leg. 3, 187, Lucian peregr. 39, 1 Cl. 104, LXX Ge 13¹⁴ Nu 23⁷. But sometimes sing. in NT: Mt 2². 9 ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ (or is the sing. astronomical rather than geographical? See Bauer s.v. = *rising*). Rev 7², 16¹² ἀνατολῆς (-ῶν A). 21¹³ ἀνατολῆς (even alongside pl. δυσμῶν; but B² ἀνατολῶν). Dit. Syll³ 1112, 25. Jos. Ant. 1, 37 al. Herm. V. I 4, 1.3. Also δυσμαί *west*, which is sing. in LXX, Enoch, Philo, Jos., Or. Sib., but generally pl. in Biblical Greek: BGU 1049, 8. LXX Ps 106³. T. Jud 5². Mt 8¹¹ 24²⁷ Lk 13²⁹ 12⁵⁴ Rev 21¹³. In MGr some place-names exist in the pl., referring to the region around; thus Ἀνατολάς = various parts of Asia Minor (Thumb Handbook³ 27f); it may be that here we have a clue to the pl. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν Mt 21 (also LXX Ge 11²).

Right and *left* are pl., but also (as class.) sometimes sing: Ro 8³⁴ Eph 1²⁰ etc. *District* is pl. τὰ μέρη Mt 2²² etc., and *beyond* ἐπέκεινα Ac 7⁴³ LXX Am 5²⁷ probably (better vl ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη D^{*}). Names of

festivals are formed on the class. principle, as in the papyri (Mayser II 1, 39): Mt 14⁶ Mk 6²¹ Jn 10²². *Sabbath* pl. for sing.: Zen. P. Cairo 762.6 (iii/B.C.), Plu. mor. 169c, Mt 12¹. 5 28¹ Mk 1²¹ Lk 4¹⁶ Ac 13¹⁴. 16¹⁸ Col 2¹⁶, LXX Ex 20¹⁰ Le 23³², Philo Abr. 28, Jos. Ant. 1, 33, Diog. 4, 3. That is unless we take σάββατα as a sing. (formed from סַבְבָּת with -α added to make it easier Greek). Other pl. festivals: τὰ ἑξυμὰ Mt 26¹⁷ Lk 22¹ Ac 12³ etc. Mk 14¹ (D om); οἱ γάμοι *wedding* (feast) poet. class., frequent in papyri (where sing. = *wedlock*, as sing. in Heb 13⁴): Preisigke s.v. (ii/A.D.), P. Ox I 111 (iii/A.D.), BGU III 909.3 (A.D. 359); also Diog. L. 3.2; it is suggested that the pl. is a Latinism from *nuptiae*; Mt 22² 25¹⁰ etc., Est 2¹⁸ 9²². Sing.: Mt 22⁸ Jn 2¹⁷ and LXX. To 6¹³ 8¹⁹ 1 Mac 9³⁷ 10⁵⁸. Τὰ πάσχα Mt 26¹⁸W may be a mistake for τὸ πάσχα. Τὰ γενέσια (γενέθλια class. papyri; Mayser II 1, 39) Mt 14⁶ Mk 6²¹. Τὰ ἐγκαίνια LXX and Jn 10²².

Further class. plurals: πύλαι Mt 16¹⁸ only Wi 16¹³ (elsewhere sing. for one gate); θύραι in NT of one door in fixed idioms only, ἐπὶ θύραις Mt 24³³ = Mk 13²⁹, πρὸ τῶν θ. fig. Jas 5⁹, πρὸ τῆς θ. lit. Ac 12⁶, elsewhere several doors Jn 20¹⁹. 26 Ac 5¹⁹ 16²⁶ 21³⁰ (5²³ sing. or pl.?): κόλποι Hell. Lk 16²³ (sing.²²); αἷματ¹ shed blood of several persons, LXX Hab 2⁸ etc. Rev 16⁸S (sing. BACP) 18²⁴B (sing. p⁴⁷ SACP), ancestral Jn 1¹³ (of husband and wife); ὕδατα Mt 14²⁸ Jn 3²³ Rev 1¹⁵ 14² 17¹. 15 etc.

Less usual in class. Greek: ἀργύρια Mt 26¹⁵ 27⁵ 28¹²; ὀψώνια Hell. LXX pap. (sing. and pl. iii/B.C.; Mayser II 1, 37) Lk 3¹⁴ Ro 6²³ etc., sing. 2 Co 11⁸; κέντρα². Hell. Ac 9⁵ TR 26¹⁴ (perhaps pl. because the goad was double-pointed); ἱμάτια *upper garment* Jn 13⁴ 19²³ Ac 18⁶. 7 (but *clothes* pl. Mk 5³⁰ et al.); χιτῶνες Mk 14⁶³; τὰ ἑγια *temple*, or part of, LXX, e.g. 3 Km 8⁶ Jdt 4¹² 16²⁰ 1 Mac 3⁴³ etc. Or. Sib. 3³⁰⁸ Heb 8² 9². 3. 24¹ 13¹¹ Philo Jos.; αἱ κριθαὶ Rev 6⁶ SACP (sing. B), sing. in post-cl. and LXX (Bauer s.v.; Mayser II 1, 35, several papyri iii/B.C.); αἱ διαθῆκαι Eph 2¹² Ro 9⁴ SCK (sing. p⁴⁶ BDE), sing. elsewhere in LXX NT; names of towns, Φίλιπποι, Ἀθήναι, Πάταρα, Ἱεροσόλυμα (P. Zen. 259 B.C.), To AB, 1 Esd A (see Abel § 41); αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ 1 Co 16³?; ἡμέραι Mk 2²⁰ (and one day in same verse) but probably a Hebraism; καιροὶ *period* Rosetta stone 20 (196 B.C.) P. Petr. II 45 (246 B.C.) PSI IV 432, 5 (iii/B.C.), P. Par. 46, 7 (153 B.C.) etc. Mt 16³ this (*end-*) *period*, 21⁴¹ Lk 21²⁴ (T. Naphth. 7¹), Ac 1⁷ 17²⁶ *the allotted span*, Ac 3¹⁹ *Messianic period* (so 1 Th. 5¹ 1 Ti 4¹); χρόνοι Lk 8²⁷ TR (rest sing.) 20⁹ 23⁸ Ac 1⁷ Ro 16²⁵ 1 Th 5¹ 2 Ti 1⁹ Ti 1² 1 Pt 1²⁰ Jude¹⁸ Pol 1², not quite *years*, as in much later Greek, but advancing that way, certainly *period*, as in τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων (*the earlier period*) P. Hib. 96, 6.23 (259 B.C.), Mayser II 1, 38, 2 Cl. 19⁴ οἱ νῦν χρ. = *the present period*, Herm. S. IX 20, 4 οἱ πρότεροι χρ. = *the earlier period*, M. Pol. XVI 2 οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρ. = *our own period*.

Sometimes NT uses the Pluralis Poeticus for abstract subjects in a class. way³: e.g. φόνοι P. Teb I 5, 5 (118 B.C.), μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι,

¹ See Behm in Kittel WB I 172 n. 6.

² See K. L. Schmidt in Kittel WB III 664, 18ff.

³ E.g. θρόνοι μάχαιραι σκηπτρα in the tragedians: Menge, *De poetarum scaenic. Graec. sermone*, Göttingen 1905, 32ff.

κλοπαί Mt 15¹⁹ Mk 7^{21f}; ἔρεις, ζῆλοι (vl in 2 Co 12²⁰) Ga 5^{20f}, with several other abstract nouns; ὑποκρίσεις 1 Pt 2¹ vl, with other abstracts, 4³, 1 Co 7² Jas 2¹ Jude¹³. These plurals may imply *cases of* . . . (Katz, op. cit. 112). In 2 Co 11²³ 2 Co 11¹⁰ (p⁴⁶ Syr) θάνατοι may imply ways of dying, i.e. *deadly perils*. Similar examples are μεθοδεῖαι Eph 6¹¹ *astuteness*; οἰκτιρμοί Ro 12¹ etc. (Hebrew), sing. Col 3¹² (K pl.); ἀναγκαί 2 Co 6⁴ 12¹⁰; θελήματα *that which (I) wish* Ac 13²² Eph 2³; μάχαι 2 Co 7⁵ Ti 3⁹; φόβοι 2 Co 7⁵ Xen. hier. 6, 5. Behind these plurals may be the thought of the diversity of words or expressions involved, although the Atticists resorted to the pl. to avoid hiatus.

The Pluralis Sociativus, or letter writer's plural (or *modestiae* or *auctoris*), is frequent in Paul especially with personal and possessive pronoun, but mainly where he seems to be writing on behalf of a group: Col 1³ (but sing. Eph 1^{15f}) Ro 1⁵. See also Mk 4³⁰ Heb 5¹¹ 6^{1.3.9.11} 13^{18f.22f} 1 Jn 14. This is common enough in all periods of Greek from Homer onwards and does not call for much comment. One can safely judge only by the context what number the writer really intends, since sing. and pl. alternate as capriciously in Paul as in contemporary letters. In 1 Jn the writer seems to identify himself very closely with other members of the fellowship; hence *we*.¹

¹ On this subject see K. Dick, *Der schriftst. Pl. bei Paulus*, Halle 1900, Wackernagel I 98f, Stauffer in Kittel WB II 341A, 354f, Moule 118f.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Comparison in Biblical Greek¹ is affected by the double influence of Semitic usages and the general trend of the Greek language. This resulted in more emphatic comparison, the positive adjective with παρά (= Heb. adj. and *ἡ*), a levelling of comparative and superlative, and a moving down one stage in the use of each of the three degrees. The disappearance of the Dual number is in line with this popular inability to distinguish between comparative and superlative (Zerwick § 112).

§ 1. Heightening of Comparison

As in the papyri the genuine comparative is still in wide use but the opportunity is frequently taken to heighten comparison by the addition to the comparative of particles like ἔτι and adverbs like πολύ and πολλῶ and even accumulations like πολλῶ μᾶλλον much more than in class. Greek². Note also the comparative form of a comparative: 3 Jn⁴ and Archiv f. Pap. (Wilcken) iii 173 (iv/A.D.) μειζοτέρων.

Πολύ or πολλῶ: PSI IV 435, 19 (258 B.C.), Ros. stone 31 (196 B.C.), Jn 4⁴¹ 2 Co 8²²; πολλῶ μᾶλλον P Par 26, 48 (163 B.C.) Ph 1²³ *much more better!*; μᾶλλον: I Cl 48⁶, Herm. S. IX 28⁴, 2 Co 7¹³; μᾶλλον περισσότερον Mk 7³⁶; πολὺ μᾶλλον: P. Tor. VIII 65 (119 B.C.), inscr. Preiss. Samm. 5827, 17 (69 B.C.); ἔτι: P. Petr. II 13(18b)11 (255 B.C.), Ph 1⁹ *still more greatly*, Heb 7¹⁵ *still more manifest*.

§ 2. Comparative for True Superlative

Mt 8¹² τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, 11¹¹, 18¹. 4 ὁ μείζων (or relative: *very*). In Apollodorus, of Odysseus tied under the *largest* ram: τῷ μείζονι (Radermacher² 68); μέγιστος is almost obsolete by this time, but appears

¹ K.-G I 20ff, II 301ff. Schwyzer II 183-185. Gild. §§ 28-39. Mayser II 1, 45-54. Jannaris 315-317. Radermacher² ch. VII. M. Zerwick S.J., *Græcitas Biblica*³, Rome 1955, §§ 107-116. Otto Schwab, *Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison in der klassischen Litteratur* (Beitr. zur histor. Syntax der griech. Spr. herausg. v. M. Schanz. IV 1-3), 1893-95.

² Hesiod Erga 127 πολὺ χεϊρότερον.

in Atticistic 2 Peter. Mk 9³⁴ τίς μείζων, Lk 7²⁸ ὁ μικρότερος *the least*, 9⁴⁸ ὁ μικρότερος ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, 1 Co 12²³ Heb 8¹¹, LXX 1 Km 17^{13A} 1^{4A} Jg 6¹⁵, Barn 12² ὑψηλότερος πάντων *highest of all*.

§ 3. Comparative for Elative Superlative

In many instances where the comp. form indicates an unusually high degree of comparison in the NT and papyri (but not in Hermas), one may speak of an *elative* sense which normally belongs to the superlative. This is not class. usage and is characteristic of the inferior popular speech (Mayser II 1, 49f).

Add to Mayser's examples: P Teb. 33 (ii/B.C.) ἐν μίζονι ἀξιώματι, BU II 417, 28 (ii-iii/A.D.), 451, 11 (i-ii/A.D.), 615, 9.28 (ii/A.D.) ταχύτερον Ac 24²⁶ πυκνότερον *very often or so much the more often*, 2 Cl 17³ *as often as possible*, also Clem. Hom. ep. ad Jac 9, Ga 4¹³ τὸ πρότερον = τὸ πρῶτον *originally* (but the true compar. sense is possible: *the first time*), Ac 27¹³ ἄσσον *as near as possible* (or read θᾶσσον), 24²² ἀκριβέστερον *very accurately*, 18²⁶ 23^{15.20} same, P Petr. II 16.13 (iii/B.C.), PSI IV 444, 11 (iii/B.C.), Epict. I 24, 10, Herm. V. III 10¹⁰, Philo, Jos., BU II 388 II 41 (ii-iii/A.D.), Ac 25¹⁰ κάλλιον *very well* (or merely pos.), 2 Ti 1¹⁸ βέλτιον same (Ac 10^{28D}), Ac 4^{16D} φανερότερον *extremely obvious*, 17²² δεισιδαιμονεστέρους not class. *rather* but probably popular elative *extremely god-fearing* (strengthened by ὥς), 2 Co 8¹⁷ σπουδαιότερος *very zealous*, Ph 2²⁸ adv., Clem. Hom. 1¹⁴ τάχιον *as quickly as possible*, 11¹³ same (distinguish from 9²³). But in some instances these might well be comp. for pos.

§ 4. Comparative for Positive

Especially τάχιον *quickly*: Jn 13²⁷ (but could be elative) 1 Ti 3¹⁴ SKL 0142 (WH ἐν τάχει) 2 Ti 4⁹ I 33 (rest τάχεως or ἐν τάχει) Heb 13¹⁹ (but prob. a true comp.) 13²³ soon Herm. M.X 1, 6.

Other examples are νεώτερος and καινότερος, often positive however in class. Greek; so in NT πρεσβύτερος is simply a religious official; Ac 17²¹ καινότερον *something new* (but possibly an Atticistic refinement: *newer*), 25¹⁰ κάλλιον (but perhaps under § 3), Ro 15¹⁵ τολμηρότερον *boldly*; PSI V 484, 7 (258 B.C.) πρεσβύτεροι = no longer young, *old* (older than they used to be, not older than others); Mayser II 1, 47f; Or. gr. 48, 15 (iii/B.C.) οἱ νεώτεροι *the young*, P. Petr. I 21 (237 B.C.) μείζω more than normally *large*; very often in Ptolemaic papyri πλείονες = *many, more than one*: Lk 11⁵⁴ περὶ πλείονων (vulg. *de multis*), 1 Co 9¹⁹ 10⁵ 15⁶ Ac 19³² β-text 27¹² 2 Co 2⁶ 4¹⁵ 9² Ph 1¹⁴ Heb 7²³ (RSV *many in number*); Ac 2⁴⁰ ἑτέροις τε λόγοις πλείουσιν and M. Pol. 12¹ ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα exclude *majority* and *more* (it must be *many* or *several*);

P. Madg. 21, 6 (222 B.C.) τοῖς φυλακίταις καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν *many others*. We suggest *many* for all the above NT examples of πλείονες, rather than the class. *more* or *the majority* of.

§ 5. Elative Superlative

Not so prominent in pre-Christian papyri as in NT and Christian texts: αἱ πλεῖσται Mt 11²⁰ *very numerous* Ac 19³²D *very many*; ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος Mt 21⁸ Mk 4¹ *very large*; σὺν ἄλλοις πλείστοις = *with very many others* P. Teb I 45, 17; 46, 14; 47, 11 (113 B.C.). Τιμωτάτος *most rare* Rev 18¹² 21¹¹ Jos. Ant. 17, 225. Κράτιστε *Most Excellent* Lk 1³ Ac 26²⁵ Dion. Hal. opusc. I 3, 6. Ἐλάχιστος *very small* Mt 5¹⁹ 25^{40, 45} Lk 12²⁰ 16¹⁰ 19¹⁷ 1 Co 4³ Jas 3⁴. Ἠδίστα Ac 13⁸D. Ἰαρώτεραι Herm. S. IX 10, 7. The elative superlative may be intensified by the addition of ὥς, ὅτι, ἦ, οἶος, and sometimes ἐν τοῖς (sc. δύνασθαι or οἶος ἦν): e.g. ὡς τάχιστα Ac 17¹⁵, culminating in MGr ὅσον τὸ (τὰ) μπορεῖς γληγορότερα *as quickly as you can*. On the other hand the true superlative, less frequent now but still active enough in the less uncultured papyri (Mayser II, 1, 51), is virtually dead in NT through Semitic influence. But see Ac 26⁵ ἀκριβεστάτην, Eph 3⁸ ἐλαχιστότερος (a compar. superlative: *less than least*). Mk 12²⁸ πρώτη πάντων. Mt 2⁶ 5¹⁹ 1 Co 6² 15⁹ ἐλάχιστος. 1 Co 14²⁷ τὸ πλεῖστον *at most*.

§ 6. Positive for Superlative

We have no NT example of repetition of the positive, as in pre-Christian papyri, but the positive itself is used in a superlative sense under Hebraic influence (although there are class. poet. examples with gen.: κακὰ κακῶν, K-G I 21, 339): Mt 22³⁶ μεγάλη *greatest* (not *the great one*; equivalent to πρώτη πάντων in the parallel Mk 12²⁸, 5¹⁹ Jn 2¹⁰ τὸν καλὸν οἶνον *best*, Lk 9⁴⁸ μέγας *greatest*, Lk 1⁴² εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν, LXX Ca 1⁸ ἡ καλὴ ἐν γυναιξίν, Heb 9²¹ LXX τὰ ἅγια c. gen. *holiest*).

§ 7. Positive for Comparative

Mk 9⁴² καλὸν . . . μᾶλλον *better*. Lk 5⁸⁹ ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστός ἐστὶν *is better*. Then the frequent οἱ πολλοί which is class., the *majority*, even without of (as a vl) in Mk 6² 9²⁶. Then Mt 20²⁸D ἔτι κάτω = κατώτερον, cp. MGr κόμ (= ἔτι) καλός *better*. Where comparison is introduced by ἦ, μᾶλλον (ἦ), παρὰ or ὑπέρ (or ἀπὸ LXX) on the Semitic pattern, the adj. may be positive as well as comparative (although the adj. with μᾶλλον and μάλιστα had already occurred in Ionic prose and Attic poetry to a small extent): Ac 20³⁵ μακάριον . . . μᾶλλον . . . ἢ *happier than*, Ga 4²⁷ LXX πολλά . . . μᾶλλον ἢ *more than*, 1 Co 12²² πολλῶ μᾶλλον . . . ἀναγκαῖα *much more necessary*, Lk 13² ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ *more sinful than*, 18¹⁴ SLB δεδικαιωμένος παρὰ (D adds μᾶλλον) (ἦ in W Θ, like LXX Ge 38²⁶ δεδικαιώται . . . ἢ ἔγω); Mt 18⁸¹ Mk 9^{43, 45, 47} 1 Cl 51³ καλὸν ἢ *better than*; Mk 10²⁵ Clem. Alx. εὐκόλως . . . ἦ (it is suggested that this

is the true pre-MSS text which was amended to εὐκοπώτερον); Ap. Const. 4³ μακάριος ἥπερ; LXX Ge 49¹² λευκοὶ ἤ; Ex 18¹¹ μέγας παρά (Philostr. Ap. III 19), Nu 12³ προῦς παρά, 1 Km 1⁸ Ec 2⁹ 9⁴ ἀγαθὸς ὑπέρ, Hag 2⁹ μέγας ὑπέρ. The pos. with παρά is also MGr: see Pernot *Études* 75, who sees in this the ultimate influence of Hebrew on MGr. Germane to this is the frequent reduction of μάλλον ἤ to simple ἤ or παρά: LXX Ps 45(44)⁸ ἔχρισεν . . . παρά, Lk 15⁷ χαρὰ ἔσται . . . ἤ; 1 Co 14¹⁹, Just. Ap. 15⁸, BU III 846¹⁵ (ii/A.D.), Epict. III 22 θέλω . . . ἤ; Lk 17² Το 3⁶ λυσιτελεῖ . . . ἤ; Mk 3⁴ ἐξεστίν ἤ; LXX Nu 22⁶ ἰσχύει . . . ἤ; 2 Mac 14⁴² θέλω ἥπερ (but βούλομαι ἤ in Homer and often); it is a Semitism but there are some class. parallels: Andoc. I, 125 λυσιτελεῖν ἤ, Hdt 9, 26 δικαῖόν ἐστιν . . . ἥπερ (K-G II 303), Aesop 121 συμφέρει ἤ. Even without ἤ in Mt 5²⁹. ³⁰ συμφέρει σοι . . . καὶ μή.

§ 8. Superlative for Comparative

To complete the picture, πρῶτος and ἔσχατος must be mentioned here. Πρῶτος = πρότερος Aelian Anim. II 38; VIII 12, P. LPw (ii-iii/B.C.), Plut. Cat. min § 18, IG XII 5, 590, Kaibel Epigr. 642, 10 (iii-iv/A.D.), Mt 21²⁸. ³¹ elder, Jn 1¹⁵. ³⁰ superior to or before me, 15¹⁸ before us. Πρῶτος meaning former and ἔσχατος meaning latter occur in Mt 27⁶⁴. Thus πρῶτος in Ac 1¹ is ambiguous: either Luke is guilty of a popular Hellenistic mannerism or he intended to write three volumes. Similarly difficult is Lk 2² αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη. It is the first census of a series (if class. Greek); or first of two (if Hellenistic). And if Hellenistic it could mean either the first census of the two made by Quirinius, or the census before the (greater) census made by Quirinius; see Lagrange *S. Luc* in loc.

With this popular Hellenistic failure to appreciate the significance of the Dual, we may compare the confusion of ἄλλος and ἕτερος, τίς and πότερος (Mt 9⁶ τί γάρ ἐστιν εὐκοπώτερον), and the use of ἀμφοτέροι for more than two. See below, ch. 14 § 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

VOCATIVES¹

§ 1. The use of ὦ

Whereas in class. Greek it was only exceptionally that ὦ was omitted, the reverse is now the case. Semitic and Koine influences once again united in their effect upon the NT, for in the Hell. period ὦ was reserved for emotional or stilted speech. "So erscheint ὦ bei Epiktet neben Eigennamen nur da, wo es sich um Grössen der Vergangenheit handelt" (Johann. DGKPS 13). In pre-Christian papyri it apparently occurs nowhere for certain except in an Artemis curse of iv/B.C. (Mayser II 1, 55). In Luke and Paul it occurs with only four out of seventeen vocatives. There will therefore be some special reason for each occurrence in the NT. Surprisingly we never find it used in prayer invoking the deity; but its use is confined to

(a) the beginning of a sentence where emotion is expressed: Mt 15²⁸ (not D) ὦ γύναι, μεγάλη (emph. position, increasing the emotion) σου ἡ πίστις (contrast γύναι alone: Lk 22⁵⁷ Jn 24 4²¹ etc.); Mt 17¹⁷ Mk 9¹⁹ ὦ γενεά ἀπιστος (great emotion); Lk 24²⁵ ὦ ἀνόητοι (exasperation); Ac 3¹⁰ ὦ πλήρης (indignation); Ga 3¹ ὦ ἀνόητοι Γάλαται (anger); 1 Ti 6²⁰ ὦ Τιμόθεε (affection). But there is no great emotion in: Ro 2¹. 3 9²⁰ Jas 2²⁰, and in fact simple ἄνθρωπε is found Lk 12¹⁴ 22⁵⁸. 60. Never ὦ πάτερ in NT, but in Josephus and Corpus Hermeticum. See Schrenk in Kittel WB V 985, n. 251;

(b) exclamations (= ὦ): Ro 11³³ ὦ βάθος;

(c) Acts, the only NT book where ὦ cannot be said to involve some emotion: 18¹⁴ ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι (not the first word, but correct position of the vocative in Attic style), 27²¹ ὦ ἄνδρες same. (Without ὦ: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί 1⁶ 13²⁶ etc.; ἄνδ. Ἰσραηλεῖται 3¹²; ἄνδρες 7²⁶ etc.; ἄνδ. Ἰουδαῖοι 2¹⁴; βασιλεῦ 26⁷). There is no emotion, and everything that is classically correct, even to position after the first main verb, about ὦ Θεόφιλε 1¹; and yet Luke relapses into κράτιστε Θ. in Lk 1⁸, perhaps by a Latinism; cp. Dion. Hal. Orac. Vett. 1 ὦ κράτιστε Ἀμμαίε. See Schwyzer op. cit. on this subject. The only other Biblical book which has unemphatic or unemotional ὦ (i.e. not corresponding to Heb. exclam. הִי) is 4 Mac.; see Johanness. DGKPS 8-13.

¹ K-G I 47ff. Schwyzer II 59-64. Gild. I §§ 14-25. Humbert §§ 417-424. Wackernagel I 305-312. Mayser II 1, 55ff. Johannessohn DGKPS 7-15. Moulton Einl. 108ff. Abel § 42. Zerwick §§ 22-24.

§ 2. Nominative form instead of Vocative

Although there is no certain example in the pre-Christian papyri, yet in the less educated writers of the post-Christian papyri there is a tendency for nominative forms to usurp the vocative. In the NT generally, when adjectives are used alone, it is the nominative form: Ac 13¹⁰ ὁ πλήρης; Lk 12²⁰ 1 Co 15³⁶ ἄφρων (vl. ἄφρον). In class. Attic the articular nominative of a single noun sometimes accompanied rather harsh address to inferiors, somewhat impersonally and with particular definiteness (almost pointing): ὁ παῖς, ἀκολούθει Aristoph. Ra. 521.

There is no vocative of the article in Greek, and so if the article was required the nom. form was used, the noun taking the nom. ending, if this was different, in sympathy with the article: Ga 4²¹ οἱ ὑπὸ νόμου θέλοντες εἶναι, Col 3⁵ τὰ μέλη *members, mortify earthly things*, 318¹ αἱ γυναῖκες, . . . οἱ ἄνδρες, . . . τὰ τέκνα, etc., 4¹ οἱ κύριοι, Eph 5¹⁴ ὁ καθεύδων. Some NT examples owe themselves to Hebraic influence, the Semitic vocative being constituted by articular nominative; thus LXX Ps 21² Lk 18¹¹ ὁ θεός, cp. ὁ πατήρ, etc., Lk 8⁵⁴ ἡ παῖς, ἔγειρε, Mk 5⁴¹ τὸ κοράσιον (= Aramaic emphatic state **ܢܬܝܠܝܬ**), Mt 11²⁶ Mk 14³⁶ Ro 8¹⁵ Ga 4⁶ Ἀββᾶ, ὁ πατήρ (Aram.), Jn 17²¹ πατήρ (anarthr.), Jas 5¹ οἱ πλούσιοι, Jn 13¹³ ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος, 20²⁸ ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου perhaps because the vocative form κύριε is lightly used in the Gospels as almost *sir*¹; hence the emphatic form here takes its place, *my Lord*; 19⁸ χαῖρε, ὁ βασιλεύς (S βασιλεῦ) (where Mt 27²⁹ BD Mk 15¹⁸ SBD have χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ . . .) said by Moulton to be due to "the writer's imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom"; actually it is an artist's stroke, the def. article pointing the finger of scorn; Rev 15³ ὁ βασιλεύς (S βασιλεῦ) τῶν ἐθνῶν (but Ac 26⁷ etc. βασιλεῦ, which, Moulton felt, admitted the royal prerogative whereas ὁ βασιλεύς in the mocking of Jesus does not); Lk 18¹¹ Heb 10⁷ OT etc. ὁ θεός (in Heb 1⁸ it is only just conceivable that ὁ θεός is nom. = *thy throne IS God*); Rev 11¹⁷ 15³ OT κύριε ὁ θεός (but Mt 27⁴⁶ θεέ μου, and seldom articular in LXX²), cp. Epict. II 16, 13 κύριε ὁ θεός which is from Jewish-Hellenistic magic; Rev 6¹⁰ ὁ Δεσπότης ὁ ἅγιος; Lk 12³² Mk 9²⁵ Rev 18⁴ ὁ λαός μου: Mt 9²⁷ 20³⁰. 31 (p⁴⁵ υἱέ) υἱὸς Δαυίδ, anarthr. because of Heb. construct state (but Mk 10⁴⁷ υἱέ Δαυίδ); Ac 7⁴² οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ anarthr. because of construct state (LXX

¹ Κύριε of Jesus: Mk 7²⁸ 10⁵¹; Mt 7^{21f} 8². 6. 8. 21. 25 14²⁸. 30 15²². 25. 27 16²² 17⁴. 15 18²¹ 20^{30f}. 33 25³⁷. 44 26²²; Lk 5⁸. 12 6⁴⁶ 7⁸ 9⁵⁴. 59 vl 61 10¹⁷. 40 11¹ 12⁴¹ 13²³. 25 14²² 17³⁷ 18⁴¹ 19⁸ 22³³. 38. 49; Jn 4¹¹. 15. 19. 49 5⁷ 6³⁴. 68 9³⁶. 38 11⁸. 12. 21. 27. 32. 34. 39 13⁶. 9. 25. 36. 37 14⁵. 8. 22 21¹⁵. 16. 17. 20. 21. Of others: Mt 11²⁵ 13²⁷ 21²⁹ 25¹¹. 20. 22. 24 27⁶³; Lk 10²¹ 13⁸. 25 14²¹ 19¹⁶. 20. 25; Jn 12²¹. 38 20¹⁵.

² Helbing DKVS 34. Thackeray OT Gr. § 10, 10. Katz, *Philo's Bible* 59f, 152f.

Am 5²⁵); Jn 17¹¹B 21BDW 24. 25AB πατήρ; Jn 12¹⁵ABDW OT Lk 8⁴⁸ BKLW Mt 9²² DGLW Mk 5³⁴ BDW LXX Ru 2²² ABL Jg 11³⁵ B, etc. θυγάτηρ anarthr. How are we to explain the anarthrous nominatives among the above? They probably never had the article, but scribes fell into the contemporary way of substituting nom. forms in the 3rd declen. for the special forms of the vocative. E.g. BGU II 423.11 (ii/A.D.) κύριέ μου πατήρ, P. Ross. Georg. III 2, vol. 27 (iii/A.D.) μήτηρ.

Moreover the nominative is common, as in class. Greek to a less extent, when additions other than an adjectival epithet, and especially participles, are made to the vocative, including a second or a third vocative: Mk 9¹⁹ D Lk 9⁴¹ D ὦ γεναὶ ἄπιστε (but other MSS and Mt 17¹⁷ ἄπιστος), Jn 17¹¹ πάτερ ἄγιε, Lk 11³⁹ ὑμεῖς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, Mt 6⁹ πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, Lk 6²⁵ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι, Ac 13¹⁶ ἄνδ. Ἰσρ. καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν; cp. Xen. Cyr. III 3, 20 ὦ Κύρε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, Ro 21. 3 ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων, Rev 12¹² οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες, 18²⁰ οὐρανὲ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, 19⁵ αἰνετε . . ., πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ, LXX Hag 2⁴ Sach 3⁸ Ἰησοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας. Zerwick (§ 23) suggests that the speech of Elisabeth in Lk 1⁴⁵ becomes more intelligible if we understand ἡ πιστεύσασα as a vocative, as implied in the Vulgate's 2nd person: *Blessed are you because you have believed*. The difficulty is the αὐτῇ which soon follows, making the whole into 3rd person; of course, Vulg. alters this. Artemis pap. 1 (iv/B.C.) θεοὶ οἱ μετὰ Ὁσεράπιος καθήμενοι, P. Par. 51.39 (159 B.C.) εὐφράνεσθαι (= εὐφραίνεσθε), οἱ παρ' ἐμοῦ πάντες, J. Chrysostom *Hom. Stat.* 467, 17 (387 A.D.) ὁ θεός, ὁ μὴ θέλων τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ. "Cette construction devint fréquente à l'époque romaine, si bien que le nominatif avec l'article a fini par être l'équivalent du vocatif (σύ)."¹

¹ Soffray p. 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUBSTANTIVAL ARTICLE AND PRONOUN

§ 1. Substantival Article¹

The def. art. has always preserved its demonstrative force; this is apparent even in MGr. in τὸ καὶ τό, τὰ καὶ τὰ *this and that* and πρὸ τοῦ *previously*. In the beginning the def. art. grew out of the old demonstrative pronoun in Homer: *this one, he*. It separates some from others, individualizing something as this and not that. Considering the total use of the article, it is true that the higher the type of Greek above ordinary speech the less prolific is the use of the article, so that whereas Atticistic style keeps fairly close to the norm established by Attic prose popular speech uses the article freely. However this does not apply to the special use of the article considered in this section, the pronominal use, that is, the substantival use as opposed to the adjectival; this is much reduced in the NT. Only in Ac 17²⁸, a quotation, does τοῦ = τούτου, and there is no trace of καὶ τόν *and him*, τὸν καὶ τόν *such and such a one*, or πρὸ τοῦ *before this*. All we have is occasional occurrences of ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ *the one . . . the other* and indefinite *one . . . another*, and ὁ δὲ *but he*, and ὁ μὲν οὖν *now he*.

(a) ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ: Ptol. pap. very rare (Mayser II 1, 56f); 1 Co 7⁷ (ὅς . . . ὅς p⁴⁷ S^oKL), Eph 4¹¹, Heb 7^{20f. 23f} 12¹⁰. Lk 8^{5f} ὁ μὲν . . . καὶ ἕτερος, Mt 13²³ ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ . . . ὁ δὲ (but accent ὁ neut., cp.⁸). Mt 22⁵ C² X, Mk 4⁴ W τὸ μὲν. Jn 7¹² οἱ μὲν . . . ἄλλοι δέ. Its place is usually taken by a non-class. use of the relative: Lk 23³⁸ ὃν μὲν . . . ὃν δέ, Mt 13⁴ ἃ μὲν . . . ἄλλα δέ (D ἃ δέ) 13⁸ 16¹⁴ οἱ μὲν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ . . . ἕτεροι δέ, 21³⁵ 22⁵ 25¹⁵, Mk 4⁴ 12⁵ Lk 8⁵ Ac 14⁴ 17¹⁸ (τινὲς . . . οἱ δέ) 27⁴⁴ 28²⁴, Ro 9²¹ 14² ὅς μὲν . . . ὁ (ὅς FG) δέ, 14⁵, 1 Co 11²¹ 12^{8. 28} 2 Co 2¹⁶ Ph 1¹⁶, 2 Ti 2²⁰, Jude 22^f. Papyri: P. Teb. I 61(b) 29 (118 B.C.) τὴν μὲν . . . ἦν δέ, P. Ox. IX 1189, 7 (c. A.D. 117) ἦν μὲν . . . ἦν δέ. There are also Semitic substitutes: ὁ εἰς . . . ὁ ἕτερος Mt 6²⁴ Lk 16¹³, εἰς . . . καὶ εἰς Mt 20²¹ 24^{40. 41} Mk 10³⁷. Even Luke has ὁ εἰς . . . ὁ ἕτερος.

¹ K.-G I 583-588. Gild. II §§ 515ff. Schwyzer II 19-27. F. Völker, *Syntax d. griech. Papyri* I. Der Artikel, Münster 1903, § 1. Winer-Schmiedel § 17. Moulton Einl. 129.

(b) ὁ δέ, ἡ δέ, οἱ δέ. In class. Attic ὁ δέ rarely refers to the subject of the preceding sentence (Gild. II § 518). It occurs frequently in NT to continue a narrative, even in Jn where it occurs least often: 5¹¹ ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη SC*GKL (δς δέ AB, as Mk 15²³ SD and P. Ryl. II 144, 14 (A.D. 38), P. Soc. It. IV 313, 8 (iii-iv/A.D.) δς δέ). Mt 26⁶⁷ 28¹⁷ οἱ δέ. It usually marks a change of subject for the new sentence, as in Attic (e.g. Mk 1⁴⁵ and throughout Mk). In Mk 10³² where οἱ δέ does not mark a change of subject the reading is probably to be rejected in favour of καί. On its rare appearances in papyri it is sometimes followed by a participle.

(c) ὁ μὲν οὖν. Acts only: 5⁴¹. With ptc. 1⁶ 2⁴¹ 8⁴ 11¹⁹ 15³. 30 23¹⁸ 28⁵.

There is no instance of the article as a relative pronoun in the NT.

§ 2. Substantival Pronouns¹

(a) *Personal*. These are very frequent in the NT.

1. The nominatives ἐγώ σύ ἡμεῖς ὑμεῖς were usually not employed in class. Greek except for emphasis or antithesis; this principle is not strictly observed in NT and papyri (Mayser II 1, 33), e.g. the stock phrases in letters ὡς ἐγώ θέλω, ὡς ἐγώ ἀκούω, etc., cp. Tit 1⁵ ὡς ἐγώ σοι διαταξάμην. But in the following examples at least there is some sort of emphasis or antithesis:

ἐγώ Mk 14²⁹ Lk 11¹⁹ Jn 10³⁰ Ro 7¹⁷ 1 Co 7¹² Eph 4¹ (but prob. simply to carry an apposition) 2 Ti 4⁶; if ἐγώ occurs in the papyri it is usually emphatic. Σύ Mt 6¹⁷ 26⁶⁴ 27¹¹ Jn 2¹⁰ (cp. with πᾶς ἄνθρωπος) 4⁹ (but simply to carry a phrase in apposition, rather than emphatic: also 10³³ Lk 1⁷⁶ Ac 1²⁴ Ro 14⁴) 4¹⁰ 18³⁷ (*you have said it, not me*) 21²², Ac 10¹⁵ 11¹⁴, 2 Ti 4⁵ Jas 2³. Ἡμεῖς Mt 6¹² 17¹⁹ Ac 15¹⁰ Ga 2⁹. Ὑμεῖς Mk 6³⁷.

Without much emphasis are the following: Mk 13⁹ βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς, 23 ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε, Lk 11⁸ ἐγώ γάρ εἰμι πρεσβύτης, 9⁹ ἐγώ, Jn 1³⁰ (c Syr^c om ἐγώ), 18³⁸ superfluous ἐγώ, 1 Co 2³ καὶ ἐγώ, 11²³ ἐγώ, Ph 4¹¹ ἐγώ. Mt 11²³ σύ, 27¹¹ σύ, Jn 1⁴² σύ, 6³⁰ τί οὖν ποιεῖς σύ σημεῖον; 18³³ σὺ εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς; Ro 2³ σύ. Ac 4⁷ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς are together stylistically but it is fanciful to suppose the meaning is *people like YOU doing a miracle like THIS*; the simple question was angry, not subtle. Jn 5³⁸. 39. 44 (some correctors have om. ὑμεῖς). Eph 5³² (it is straining things to say that ἐγώ = *I as an apostle*; the corresponding phrase in

¹ K-G I 555f. Gild. I §§ 68ff. Schwyzer II 186-207. Wackernagel II 84-101. Mayser II 1, 62-73. Winer-Schmiedel § 22. Moulton Einl. 135. G. Dronke, "Beiträge zur Lehre vom griech. Pron. aus Apollonius Dyscolus," *Rh. M.* 9, 107ff.

1 Co 11¹² is simply λέγω δέ. Lk 10^{23f} (there cannot be any difference between ἀ βλέπετε and ἀ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε standing side by side). 2 Co 11²⁹ (the sudden insertion of ἐγώ is gratuitous and meaningless in τίς ἀσθενεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενῶ; τίς σκανδαλίζεται καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ πυροῦμαι;). Mt 10¹⁶ 11¹⁰ ἰδοὺ ἐγώ is the Heb. וְאֵנִי, but the Aram. *'anāh* is used unemphatically, especially with the participle. Thus there are no grounds for thinking that scribes have inserted the pronouns; we should retain them in the variant readings.

2. The difference between the enclitic and the accented forms of pers. pronouns in the oblique cases, like μου and ἐμοῦ, is once again the fact that the accented form tends to mark a contrast, as in class. Greek: P. Rein. 18, 5 (108 B.C.) γραψαμένου ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς μητρός. But in Biblical Greek, and particularly the LXX (Johannessohn DGPS 369ff) there is a large number of these accented and enclitic forms, especially in the genitive, occurring without emphasis; clearly this is due in some part to Semitic influence and the resultant tendency to attach pronouns like suffixes to substantival and verbal forms with a liberality and casualness which offends classical taste. So the redundancy in the NT also is obviously a Semitism (Lagrange, *S. Matth.* XCVI); Hebrew and Aramaic employ this pronoun so often in the form of a suffix that it would be surprising if Jewish writers did not carry the habit into their Greek. The MSS show many variants but we do well to prefer the reading which retains the superfluous αὐτοῦ, etc. The general tendency of the language was certainly in this direction, and unliterary Gentiles indulge in the repetition of μου, σου, αὐτοῦ and the other oblique cases (Moulton-Howard 431f), but this will not explain the 34 instances of αὐτοῦ in Lk 1 where the Semitic background is so obvious, and the Semitic Matthew's usage is no more abundant than Mark's or Luke's. His extreme ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτῷ (25²⁶) is in line with the rest of NT. Of course, the writers vary in the degree to which they depart from the Greek norm of economy in this respect, some equipping every verb with a pronoun when it can be readily inferred from the context.

Very close to the Greek norm: Jn 8³⁸ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ (SD add μου) and ὁ πατήρ often in Jn without pronoun, unless he means simply *the Father*. Mt 27²⁴ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, 15² τὰς χεῖρας (αὐτῶν add CDEF). Ac 7⁵⁸ τὰ ἱμάτια HPS (viii-xi/A.D. uncials; but rest have pro-

noun), 16¹⁵ παρεκάλεσεν λέγουσα, 13³ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀπέλυσαν, Mk 6⁵ ἐπιθ. τ. χεῖρας. Ph 1⁶ ἐπιτελέσει (sc. αὐτό). Eph 5¹¹ (sc. αὐτά). 1 Ti 6² (sc. αὐτούς). Jn 10²⁹ (sc. αὐτούς). Lk 14⁴ (sc. αὐτόν).

Less Greek: Lk 24³¹ αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, Herm. S.V 7, 3 αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔστιν πᾶσα ἐξουσία A, VIII 7, 1 ἄκουε καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν. Ac 7²¹ superfluous αὐτόν bis, as scribal activity indicates. Mt 6³ superfl. σου. Mt 8¹ v1 Mk 5² superfl. αὐτῷ; and same kind of repetition occurs in Mt 4¹⁶ OT 5⁴⁰ 8¹ 26⁷¹ Col 2¹³ Ph 1⁷ Jas 4¹⁷ Rev 6⁴. On the other hand, such repetition is not unknown in class. authors (K-G II 579, n. 2 and 3) where the first pronoun forms part of a preceding participial clause: eg. Mk 10¹⁶, ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ κατευλόγει τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά, and 9²⁸ Lk 1⁶² Ac 7²¹ 2 Pt 3¹⁶ and especially in Rev; see also Acta Thomae 198¹⁷ ἀνθρώποις ὑμῖν οὖσιν ὡσπερ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζῴοις ἐπιτιθέασιν ὑμῖν φόρους (Ljungvik SSAA 27 gives further examples from apocryphal Acts). The question of rhythm may play some part in the repetition, e.g. Mt 22³⁷ (as in Engl.: *with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength*); Rev 9²¹ οὐ . . . αὐτῶν οὔτε . . . αὐτῶν οὔτε . . . αὐτῶν. And there is insertion for emphasis, e.g. P. Oxy. VIII. 1162 (iv/A.D.) τὸν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν Ἀμμώνιον παραγινόμενον πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνδέξασθαι (=σθε) αὐτὸν ἐν ἱερῇ; Passio Barth. 141⁸¹ τοὺτους πάντας τοὺς κατακειμένους ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ βαρέων νοσημάτων τίς ἐστιν ὁ καταβλάπτων αὐτούς; Jn 18¹¹ τὸ ποτήριον . . . οὐ μὴ πῖω αὐτό; Mt 6⁴ ὁ πατήρ σου . . . ἀποδώσει σοι, 1 Pt 5¹⁰ PHL ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς . . . καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς, Rev. 21⁶ 046 ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ.

For accus. and infin. instead of plain infin., see pp. 147f.

For superfluous αὐτοῦ etc. after a relative, see p. 325.

See also Lk 12⁴⁸ Jn 6³⁹ 15².

It is usual to find that the accented forms of 1st p. sing. pronoun in oblique cases are used for special emphasis in the NT, especially after a preposition (with the notable exception of πρὸς: e.g. Mt 25³⁶ πρὸς με (S ἐμέ), Mk 9¹⁹ πρὸς με (p⁴⁵ S ἐμέ), Ac 22⁸ (S*AB ἐμέ)¹⁰, even emphatically Mt 3¹⁴ σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς με; however nearly all MSS read πρὸς ἐμέ in Jn 6³⁷ first time, and SE al the second time; inscr. from Magnesia 19¹⁰ πρὸς ἐμέ, 22⁵ πρὸς με, PSI IV 326, 4 πρὸς ἐμέ (261 B.C.), P. Hib. 63, 3 πρὸς με (265 B.C.)).

Quite in keeping with the animated style of Paul's letters is the usage of ἐγὼ and σύ (all cases) which is first found in the late class. Greek of Demosthenes and which is actually more a matter of rhetoric than syntax. Paul instances both himself and his reader in a vivid way to illustrate a point, not intending to apply what is said literally to himself or his reader: Ro 2¹⁷ 7^{7ff.} 9¹ 8²

11¹⁷ 14⁴ etc. 1 Co 10³⁰ Ga 2¹⁸. We must refer to Bauer s.v. ἐγώ (end); Stauffer in Kittel WB II 355ff.

Normal in secular Greek is the sense-construction with pronouns: Ac 8⁵ *Samaria* foll. by αὐτοῖς, similarly Mt 4²³ 9³⁵ 11¹ Lk 4¹⁵ Ac 16¹⁰ 20² 2 Co 21² Ga 2² 1 Th 1⁹ etc.; Jn 8⁴⁴ αὐτοῦ can only refer to a general conception like *falsehood* which has been no more than implied (it is unhelpful to translate *his father*; this needs at least a change of subject just before, as RV^{ms}, and the whole thing becomes confused at once; it might refer to a mythological *devil's father*, but even this author could scarcely be so credulous); Ro 2²⁸ αὐτοῦ has no expressed antecedent but again is vague in reference; Eph 5¹² αὐτῶν too has but a general reference which must be drawn from σκότος just before; Theodoret I 914 τοῦτο τῆς ἀποστολικῆς χάριτος ἰδίων αὐτοῖς γάρ (ἀποστόλοις must be inferred); 2 Co 5¹⁹ αὐτοῖς after κόσμος; Mt 1²¹ αὐτῶν after λαός; Jn 17² αὐτοῖς after πᾶν (but S*W correct to αὐτῶ); Mt 14¹⁴ Mk 6⁴⁵ αὐτοῖς after ὄχλος; 3 Jn⁹ αὐτῶν after ἐκκλησία; Mt 28¹⁹ Rev 19¹⁵ LXX Ex 23²⁷ Dt 4²⁷ 18¹⁴ al Ac 15¹⁷ OT ἔθνη foll. by αὐτούς; Ro 21⁴ by οὗτοι, Ac 16¹⁷ OT by οὗς; Lk 23^{50f} αὐτῶν of members of Council, inferred; LXX Jon 1⁸ εὔρε πλοῖον βαδίζον εἰς Θαρσίς . . . καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦ πλεῦσαι μετ' αὐτῶν; Mt 8⁴ Mk 14⁴ Lk 5¹⁴ αὐτοῖς after ἱερεῖς, unless it is a general ref., not to the priests but to the public; Mt 14¹¹ Mk 6²⁸ αὐτῆς after κοράσιον; Mk 5²³ αὐτῇ after θυγάτριον (p⁴⁵ AK correct to αὐτῶ); Lk 2²¹ αὐτόν after παιδίου; Col 2¹⁵ αὐτούς after ἀρχάς, ἐξουσίας; Rev 17¹⁶ after κέρατα, θηρίον. This is fairly common in class. Greek and very common in LXX: Dt 21⁸, 1 Km 14³⁴ Wis 16²⁰ αὐτοῖς after λαός; Jdt 5³ αὐτῶν after λαός; Wis 16³ αὐτοί after λαός, Si 16³ αὐτῶν after παροιμία.

3. In MGr αὐτός has become the pers. pronoun *he* (not *himself*). The beginnings of this development appear already in pre-Christian papyri (Mayser II 1, 64), in LXX (e.g. Ge 12¹²), and in NT especially in Luke; e.g. 11⁷ αὐτός προεβύσεται αὐτοῦ,²² καὶ αὐτός, 22⁸ καὶ αὐτός ἐδέξατο αὐτό,⁵⁰ καὶ αὐτοί,^{323, 415} καὶ αὐτός, 63⁵ 7⁵, 93⁶ καὶ αὐτοί, 11¹⁴ καὶ αὐτό, 16²³ 24²¹. It is possible to argue that the emphasis is still present even in the NT examples, but even here in place of αὐτός a class. Attic writer would use ἐκεῖνος. The LXX appear to use αὐτός without emphasis but not αὐτή or αὐτό; perhaps Lk 11¹⁴ shows αὐτό so used, if καὶ αὐτό ἦν is genuine; as to αὐτή, the editors of the NT text are divided in preference for αὐτή and αὐτη (Lk 23⁷ 71² 84² Heb 11¹¹). The text is uncertain in Lk 4¹⁵ καὶ αὐτός ἐδίδασκεν (Ae om. αὐτός), 51⁷ 19².

It is not easy to decide, but probably the pronoun has some emphasis in all the following: Mt 1²¹ Col 1¹⁷ *he* and no other, Mt 8¹⁷ (Isa 53⁴).

αὐτός . . . ἔλαβεν *he himself* carried, 12⁵⁰, Mk 1⁸, 2²⁵ *he* *himself*, 5⁴⁰ αὐτός δέ (ὁ δὲ AMW), 14⁴⁴ αὐτός ἐστιν *he is the man*, Lk 5³⁷ 6⁴² 10¹ 18³⁹, Jn 4² 6⁶ 9²¹ 16²⁷, Ac 3¹⁰ αὐτός (BDEP οὗτος), 14¹² 18¹⁹ Ro 8²³ 16² καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ *she herself*, 1 Co 3¹⁵, 1 Th 3¹¹ 4¹⁶ 5²³, 2 Th 2¹⁶ 3¹⁶, Col 1¹⁸ καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ . . . *he himself* (alone).

The proleptic pronoun followed by resumptive noun is an Aramaic peculiarity¹: Mt 3⁴ αὐτός δὲ ὁ (ὁ om. D) Ἰωάννης *he, i.e. John*; Mk 2²¹ (see below under partitive ἀπό), 6¹⁷ αὐτός γὰρ ὁ (ὁ om. D) Ἡρ. *he, i.e. Herod*, 2²AC τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος *her daughter, i.e. Herodias's*, Jn 9¹³ ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Φαρισαίους, τὸν ποτε τυφλόν. Probably also: Mk 6¹⁷. 18. 22 12³⁶. 37. It appears particularly in codex Bezae²: Mt 12⁴⁵ D αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου; Mk 5¹⁵ D καὶ θεωροῦσιν αὐτὸν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον . . . διηγῆσαντο δὲ πῶς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ; 6¹⁸ D αὐτὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. Ac 3² D (but mistake for παρὰ τῶν?). This hypothesis of Aramaic influence could explain the apparent use of αὐτός = οὗτος in a demonstrative sense: see p. 194.

(b) *Reflexive*. These pronouns do not share in the general increase in the use of pronouns in Hell. Greek. In the NT and pre-Christian papyri as in Hellenistic generally, even in the old colloquial Attic (but not class. Attic), the simple personal pronoun often serves as a reflexive; otherwise the regular reflexive is a formation of αὐτός like ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ, αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς (2 Th 1⁴), ὑμῶν αὐτῶν (e.g. Ac 20³⁰ 1 Co 5¹³ OT), ἑαυτῶν. In the NT sometimes αὐτον may be αὐτόν, but if so, it is difficult to see why this abbreviated form should be used instead of ἑαυτόν when it obviously causes confusion with αὐτόν. The contracted form is dying out in Hell. Greek (Blass-Debr. § 64.1) and in the NT period αὐτοῦ is virtually dead. It is therefore precarious to read αὐτοῦ where the uncials have ΑΥΤΟΥ, and so with αὐτόν and αὐτούς (Lk 23¹² Jn 2²⁴ Ac 14¹⁷ Ph 3²¹).

1. *Direct reflexives*. Used as a direct complement of the verb (Jn 14²¹ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἑμαυτόν) referring back to the subject, we have in the NT usually these compound -αὐτός

¹ C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford 1922, 85ff. Moulton-Howard 431.

² M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*², Oxford 1953, 70-74.

forms, but sometimes the simple pronoun (e.g. Mt 6^{19†} *θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν* (for *ἐαυτοῖς*) *θησαυρούς*; 17²⁷ *ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ* (Aram. influence for *ἐμαυτοῦ*?): Ac 26⁹ *ἔδοξα ἐμαυτῷ* (= class. *μοι*), 1 Co 4⁴ *ἐμαυτῷ σύννοιδά*. Pre-Christian papyri exhibit examples of both emphatic and unemphatic reflexives formed from *αὐτός* (Mayser II 1, 66). But although personal pronouns have greatly increased in number in Biblical Greek, reflexive pronouns are retreating. The process is held up by the fact that the disappearance of *ἐμός* and *σός* often calls for the substitute of a refl. pronoun. In Luke *ἐαυτοῦ* is more frequent (60 times) than in Matthew (31). Note that Luke has altered Matthew's *θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν* (6^{19†}) to *ποιήσατε ἐαυτοῖς* (12³³). Instead of the reflexive, Mt has *ἐλεγξον . . . μετὰξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ* (18¹⁵) and *δὸς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ* (17²⁷). But Luke uses the reflexive gen. without emphasis (*ἐαυτοῦ* 15²⁰, Ac 14¹⁴). The confusion has a Semitic explanation, in that Hebrew-Aramaic pronominal suffixes allow no distinction between personal and reflexive (Zerwick § 156).

Another development in the LXX, NT and illiterate papyri is the use of the 3rd person reflexive in place of 1st or 2nd person. In the plural we have e.g. for 2nd pers.: Jn 12⁸ *μεθ' ἐαυτῶν*, Lk 17³ *προσέχετε ἐαυτοῖς*, Ph 2¹², Heb 10²⁵ *ἐαυτῶν*, Mt 3⁹ *ἐν ἐαυτοῖς*, 23³¹ *ἐαυτοῖς*, Ac 13⁴⁶, Heb 3¹³ *ἐαυτούς*, Mt 25⁹ Ro 6¹³ 1 Jn 5²¹. 1st pers.: Ro 8²³ *ἐν ἐαυτοῖς*, 1 Co 11³¹ *ἐαυτούς*, 2 Co 1⁹ *ἐν ἐαυτοῖς*, Ac 23¹⁴ 2 Co 10¹² *ἐαυτούς*. In the sing. the substitution is even more commonly found; for 2nd pers.: Mt 23³⁷ Lk 14⁵ 13³⁴ Mk 12³¹ *ὦς ἐαυτόν*, Jn 18³⁴ *ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ σὺ . . .*, corr. to *ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ* by SBC*L, Ro 13⁹ FGLP, Ga 5¹⁴ FGLN*P (OT) *ὦς ἐαυτόν* (but *σεαυτόν*, as in Mt 22³⁹ LXX, is prob. to be preferred), Ac 25²¹ *αὐτόν* for *σαυτόν*. For 1st pers.: Herm. V IV 1⁵ *ἡρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἐαυτῷ* S*a s (corr. to *ἐμαυτῷ* by S^c), Herm. S. II 1 *τί σὺ ἐν ἐαυτῷ ζητεῖς*, IX 2⁵, Clem. Hom. XIV 10, XVII 18 *ἐαυτοῦ*, BU 86 (ii/A.D.) *ἐαυτοῦ*.

Although after a preposition we find *ἐαυτοῦ* etc. (as Jn 8¹⁸ *ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ*), yet often in NT and Koine a simple personal pronoun will be used, and this is certainly so in Mt: 5^{29†} 18^{6†} *βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ*, 6² *μὴ σαλπίσσης ἐμπροσθέν σου*, 11²⁹ *take my yoke ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*, 18¹⁶ *παράλαβε μετὰ τοῦ* BDIW (but *σεαυτοῦ* SKLM); and especially where two

pronouns are connected: 18¹⁵ μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ, 17²⁷ ὁδὸς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ. But even Mt has the reflexive form too: 9³. 21 εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, 12²⁵ *divided* καθ' ἑαυτῆς, 15³⁰ ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. P. Petr. II 40(a) 27 (223 B.C.) περὶ ὑμῶν ἐντεινεσθε, PSI IV 443, 19 (iii/B.C.) ὑμᾶς παρεξόμμεθα, etc. (Mayser II 1, 67). Ph 2²³ τὰ περὶ ἐμέ, Eph 2¹⁶ ἐν αὐτῷ either *by himself* or *by it* (the cross): similar ambiguity Col 1²⁰, 1 Jn 5¹⁰, Jas 5²⁰.

There is the Semitic periphrasis for reflexive pronoun ¹ by means of **𐤒𐤏𐤋**, e.g. Lk 9²⁴ ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ is the same as 25 ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς, and cp. Mt 20²⁸ (Mk 10⁴⁵) with 1 Ti 2⁶. Mt 16^{25f} (Mk 8³⁵⁻³⁷) in this sense: at least, Luke seems to have understood it so, for he writes ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀπολέσας 9²⁵. So also OT quotations: Mt 12¹⁸ ἡ ψυχὴ μου (= ἐγὼ αὐτός), Ac 2²⁷ Heb 10³⁸. But clearly the contexts intend us to feel the force of the double meaning of **𐤒𐤏𐤋** as *soul* and *life* which cannot be rendered so neatly in Greek.

2. *Indirect reflexives*. There are NT examples, though comparatively few, of the use of the reflexive pronoun where there is little or no dependence on the verb, because of the intervention of a noun or a phrase: Mt 12⁴⁵ πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ (DE*W αὐτου), Mk 5²⁶ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς (ABL αὐτης), 8³⁵ τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ σῶσαι (first time) B Orig. D², (second time) C³ WXYΘ fam¹³ (the rest correct to αὐτοῦ), Lk 11²¹ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, 13³⁴ τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσσιάν. (D αὐτῆς), 14²⁶ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ B, τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ, 33^{τοῖς} ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν (DW correct to αὐτοῦ), 16⁸ τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν, 24²⁷ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ (DEL αὐτου); often in Paul, e.g. Ro 4¹⁹ 5⁸ 16⁴. 18, 1 Co 10²⁹ συνείδησιν δὲ λέγω οὐχὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ (emph. and contrast), 33 τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ συμφέρον; Heb 10²⁵ τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν (= ἡμῶν). This is quite common in the papyri (Mayser II 1, 67ff). The use of the simple pers. pronoun is more common in the NT.

(c) *Reciprocal pronouns*. As in the papyri and to some extent in earlier Greek, ἑαυτῶν serves for ἀλλήλων in NT.: P. Petr. II 45 (246 B.C.), P. Par. 46, 12 (153 B.C.), etc.; 1 Co 6⁷ having lawsuits μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, Eph 5¹⁹ speaking ἑαυτοῖς, Col 3¹⁶ admonishing ἑαυτούς, 1 Th 5¹³ be at peace ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (SD*FGP αὐτοις, clearly = αὐτοῖς); but Mk 9⁵⁰ εἰρ. ἐν ἀλλήλοις. Often side by side with ἀλλ. for variety: Lk 23¹² μετ' ἀλλήλων . . . πρὸς

¹ Schwyzer II 192 n. Huber 67. Mayser II 1, 65-72; II 2, 65-74. Winer-Schmiedel § 22, 18b. Lagrange, *S. Matth.* XCVII. Zerwick § 160.

ἐαυτούς (SBLT αὐτους, clearly = αὐτούς), Col 3¹³; Ph 2³ is precise: ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερεχόντας ἑαυτῶν; so Mk 9⁵⁰ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλλα καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις. Other alternatives for ἀλλ.: Ac 2¹² ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον (ἄλλος ἄλλον in Mayser II 1, § 26 n.2). For "Semitic" εἰς τὸν ἕνα. see p. 187.

(d) *Demonstrative pronouns.* On the article as demonstr. pronoun, see pp. 34, 36f. The usual pronouns are οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος, less often ὅδε.

1. "Ὅδε, fading rapidly in the Koine and lacking in the i/B.C. papyri (Mayser II 1, 73f), especially in its substantival use, in the NT it is almost confined to τάδε λέγει Ac 21¹¹ Rev 21. 8. 12. 18 31. 7. 14, P. Giss. I 36, 10 (135 B.C.), 37 II 11 (134 B.C.), etc. It is commoner in LXX, especially in the more literary parts (Thackeray OT Gr. 11). It tends to belong to official writing and not to living literature. See also Lk 10³⁹ καὶ τῇδε ἦν ἀδελφή not = ταύτη but *behold there was*, as LXX use τῇδε to render תָּהָּ Ge 25²⁴ = 38²⁷ καὶ τῇδε ἦν δίδυμα *behold there were*, 50¹⁸ οἶδε ἡμεῖς σοι οἰκέται *behold we are*, Ex 8²⁹⁽²⁵⁾ ὅδε ἐγὼ ἐξελεύσομαι *behold I go*, Je 3²² οἶδε ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα σοι *behold we shall be*.¹ See also, in this light, Lk 16²⁵ fam¹ Marc. ὅδε = *this man* (not *he . . . here*; it was misunderstood by very early scribes as Hellenistic for *here* and therefore corrected to ὦδε, in the same way as in LXX ὅδε is corrupted to ὦδε Ex 8²⁹⁽²⁵⁾ Le 10¹⁶ DaΘ 3⁹²⁽²⁵⁾, and οἶδε to ὦδε, ἴδε, etc. Num 14⁴⁰).

2. Οὗτος is very frequent in papyri and NT and as in earlier Greek refers to someone actually present (often contemptuously Lk 15³⁰ ὁ υἱός σου οὗτος, 18¹¹ οὗτος ὁ τελώνης; also Mt 26⁶¹. 71 Mk 27 Jn 6⁴² 9²⁴ 12³⁴ Ac 5²⁸ 7⁴⁰ 17¹⁸), not necessarily referring to the noun which is nearest, but to the noun which is most vividly in the writer's mind (deictic). Mt 3¹⁷ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου, Ac 4¹¹ οὗτος Jesus (although *God* is the nearest noun), 8²⁶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος the road (not Gaza, though *G.* is the nearer noun), Mt 3³ οὗτος (refers right back to 1), 1 Jn 5²⁰ (God, not Christ, is the true God). It often refers back to a previous description or introduction of a person (anaphoric): Mt 27^{57f}

¹ J. Ziegler's conclusion; the MSS nearest to this are Marchalianus and Venetus (ιδου οιδε). but the great uncials (SB) have a corrupted text (ιδου δουλοι) which bears no relation to תְּהָּ תְּהָּ תְּהָּ. See *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta*, Göttingen 1958, 38–39.

ἄνθρωπος . . . οὗτος προσελθών, etc., Lk 23^{50f} ἀνὴρ . . . οὗτος οὐκ ἦν, Ac 1^{16ff} Ἰούδα . . . οὗτος, Heb 7¹.

Indeed οὗτος in the apodosis referring back to the protasis is a favourite usage in various NT writers (but Luke often gets rid of it): Mt 10²² 24¹³ ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας . . . οὗτος σωθήσεται = Mk 13¹³ (Lk alters), Mk 12⁴⁰ = Lk 20⁴⁷ κατέσθοντες τὰς οἰκίας . . . οὗτοι λήψονται, Jn 6⁴⁸ ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτος ἐώρακεν, 7¹⁸ ὁ δὲ ζητῶν τὴν δόξαν . . . οὗτος ἀληθὴς ἐστίν, 15⁵ ὁ μένων ἐν ἐμοί . . . οὗτος φέρει καρπὸν, Mt 5¹⁹ ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ . . . οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται, 2 Jn⁹ ὁ μένων . . . οὗτος . . . Mt 21⁴² = Mk 12¹⁰, Mt 13²⁰. 38 15¹¹ 18⁴ 26²³, Mk 3³⁵ 6¹⁸ Lk 9²⁴ Ro 7¹⁵ ὁ μισῶ τοῦτο ποιῶ, Jas 3² εἰ τις . . . οὗτος . . .

A characteristic usage in Paul and John is οὗτος in the preceding clause with ἵνα, ὅτι, or infin. or a noun to follow: Lk 1⁴³, Jn 3¹⁹ αὕτη . . . ὅτι, 8⁴⁷ etc. διὰ τοῦτο . . . ὅτι, 13³⁵, 1 Jn 2³ ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκομεν . . . ἐάν, 3¹¹, 5² ἐν τούτῳ ὅταν, 2 Jn⁶, 1 Co 7³⁷ τοῦτο κέκρικεν . . . infin., 2 Co 2¹ ἔκρινα ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ . . . ἐλθεῖν, 13⁹ τοῦτο καὶ εὐχόμεθα, τὴν ὑμῶν κατάρτισιν, 1 Ti 1⁹ εἰδὼς τοῦτο, ὅτι . . . , Heb 2¹⁵ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι . . . (examples in Pernot *Études* 50f, 62, 119, 144f), P. Petr. II 13 (19) (252 B.C.) τοῦτο . . . ὅτι, P. Par. 63 (165 B.C.) τοῦτο . . . ὅτι, PSI V 495, 23 (258 B.C.) same. Antecedent of a relative: Mt 11¹⁰ οὗτος περὶ οὗ, Jn 7⁴⁹ Ac 7⁴⁰ οὗτος ὃς, Ph 2⁵ τοῦτο . . . ὅ. We find various adverbial usages: αὐτὸ τοῦτο = Pauline *just this* Ro 9¹⁷ OT 13⁶ Ph 1⁶ 2 Pt 1⁵; τοῦτο αὐτό = *just for this reason* 2 Co 2³. See Bauer s.v. αὐτός 1 h. In Attic and literary Koine there is τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ *on the one hand . . . on the other* Heb 10³³. καὶ τοῦτο = *and indeed* Ro 13¹¹ 1 Co 6⁶. 8 Eph 2⁸; pl. class. Heb 11¹². τοῦτ' ἐστίν is formal and literary, mostly in Ac, Paul, Heb (besides Mt 27⁴⁶ Mk 7²).

3. Ἐκεῖνος, which in its substantive use is almost never found in pre-Christian papyri, refers to the remoter person or thing, and is rarer in NT than οὗτος (except in John), with which it is practically interchangeable; it very seldom marks an opposition to οὗτος, as it does in Herm. M. III 5: ἐκεῖνα (*the past*) . . . ταῦτα (*the present*), but there is Lk 18¹⁴ οὗτος . . . παρ' ἐκεῖνον, Jas 4¹⁵ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο, Jn 5³⁸ δὲν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ However, in Jn 21²³ οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος are not so much for contrast as for variety. Ἐκεῖνος denotes persons in their absence deictically: ἐκεῖνοι opposed to ὑμεῖς Mt 13¹¹ Mk 4¹¹ Jn 5³⁹ Ac 3¹³

2 Co 8¹⁴; opposed to ἐγώ or ἡμεῖς Jn 3²⁸. 30 1 Co 9²⁵ 10¹¹ 15¹¹. As οὗτος was seen to represent the person nearest to the author's mind, so ἐκεῖνος represents the remoter person, e.g. Jn 1^{6ff}: οὗτος (John) ἦλθεν . . . ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι' αὐτοῦ; Jesus has now been mentioned and John becomes in thought the remoter person; hence οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς. 7⁴⁵ the officers (who were away from the scene of action) came to the priests καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι. 13^{24f} νεύει τούτῳ (John) . . . περὶ οὗ λέγει (Jesus subject) . . . ἐκεῖνος (John, the remoter person, now Jesus has been introduced). Contemptuously like οὗτος: Jn 7¹¹ 9²⁸ 19²¹ *this fellow*. More often anaphorically, in the apodosis like οὗτος: Mk 7²⁰ τὸ . . . πορευόμενον, ἐκεῖνο κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Jn 1³³ ὁ πέμψας . . . ἐκεῖνος, 5¹¹, 9³⁷ ὁ λαλῶν μετὰ σου ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, 10¹ ὁ μὴ εἰσερχόμενος . . . ἐκεῖνος . . . , 14²¹ ὁ ἔχων . . . ἐκεῖνος . . . , Ro 14¹⁴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ . . . ἐκεῖνω κοινόν, 2 Co 10¹⁸ οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν συνιστάνων, ἐκεῖνος . . . , Xen. Cyr. 6, 2, 33 ὁ . . . ἀκούων, ἐκεῖνος . . . , Herm. M. VII 5. It is dependent on the personal whim of the writer whether οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος is used in this anaphoric way, Matthew preferring οὗτος, John liking both. Ἐκεῖνος is even, like οὗτος, used in the protasis with resumptive ὅτι, relative pronoun, etc.: Mt 24⁴³ ἐκεῖνο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι, Jn 13²⁶ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὃ ἐγὼ βάψω (Judas was not even absent, and by any rule we would expect οὗτος, as in Mt's parallel), Ro 14¹⁵ ἐκεῖνον . . . ὑπὲρ οὗ, Heb 11¹⁵ ἐκεῖνης ἀφ' ἧς. Thus, like οὗτος, its meaning is often weakened (especially in Jn) to *he* or *they*: Mk 16¹⁰. 13. 20 Jn 10⁶ *they* (S* om), 5³⁷ 8⁴⁴ 9⁹. 11. 25. 36 11²⁹ 12⁴⁸ 14²¹. 26 16¹⁴ etc. So it is inadvisable to build any theories of authorship on the notorious ἐκεῖνος (= *he*, the eye-witness) in Jn 19³⁵.

4. Τοιοῦτος and τοσοῦτος are several times used substantively in the pre-Christian papyri, especially with the article (Mayser II 1, 76), as also in the NT: τοιοῦτος Lk 9⁹ anarthr.; Mt 19¹⁴ Ac 19²⁵ Ro 13² 1 Co 7²⁸ 2 Co 10¹¹ etc. articular. Τοσοῦτος Ac 5⁸ Ga 3⁴ Heb 1⁴ etc. anarthr.; none articular. Articular τοιοῦτος may be weakened into a more indefinite term for οὗτος: 1 Co 5⁵ 2 Co 2⁶. 7 12². 3. 5. In correlative clauses we have Ac 26²⁹ τοιούτους . . . ὁποῖος *qualiscunque*; Heb 1⁴ τοσοῦτῳ . . . ὅσῳ.

Other less class. (more popular and Semitic) uses of correlatives include: Mk 9³ οἷος . . . οὕτως; 13¹⁹ οἷα . . . τοιαύτη; Rev 12⁹. 14 ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ; 16¹⁸ οἷος . . . τηλικούτος; 17⁹ ὅπου . . . ἐπ' αὐτῶν. We can

best explain Ro 9⁶ (οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν) as a mixture of οὐχ οἶον (Hell. for οὐ δήπου Phryn. 372) and οὐχ ὅτι (see p. 298).

(e) *Relative pronouns.* Already in the Koine the distinction between the relative pronoun of individual and definite reference (ὃς and ὅσος) and that of general and indeterminate reference (ὅστις and ὁπόσος) has become almost completely blurred. Indeed in general relative clauses ὃς is the rule, and although ὅστις is still used occasionally in its proper sense of *whoever*, it is nearly always misused, by Attic standards, of a definite and particular person (Mayser II 1, 76. Pernot *Études* 150-180). Moreover the use of ὅστις for ὃς is very old in Ionic Greek (e.g. Hdt II 99).

The same development proceeds in the NT. Complete indifference to the distinction is shown by Matthew who writes ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ ὃς in one place (18²³) and ἀνθρώπῳ βασιλεῖ ὅστις in another (22²) after exactly the same phrase; and by Luke who writes πόλιν Δαυὶδ ἥτις καλεῖται Βηθλέεμ (24) where to translate *utpote quae* (class.) is obviously wrong. Ὅστις is almost limited to the nominative in all writers, though least of all in John who uses ὃς (sing. and pl.) nom. 16, acc. 50, gen. 6; dat. 2 times. Ὅσος is restricted, except in Hebrews, to nom. and acc. In LXX ὅστις is confined to nom. and accus. In Luke the indef. forms are restricted to ἥτις οἵτινες αἵτινες; this may have been a general rule (perhaps to avoid confusion with the article) since we note the following interchange in Heb 9² ἐν ᾗ . . . ἥτις,⁹ ἥτις . . . καθ' ἣν, 13⁷ οἵτινες . . . ὧν, Eph 5⁵ ὃς (ὁ vl) becoming in Col 3⁵ ἥτις, Ro 4¹⁶ ὃς ἐστὶν πατήρ becoming in Ga 4²⁶ ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ. Heb 11³³ οἷ is the sole exception in that book. Cadbury¹ explains the few exceptions to this rule in Lucan writings as due in part to doubtful readings, in part to Luke having drawn some of his material from Mark (e.g. Lk 8¹³ = Mk 4¹⁶), and in part to euphonic considerations for avoiding a clash with a previous τινες (e.g. Lk 8² γυναῖκες τινες αἱ ἦσαν . . .). The rule is effective for Paul too, except that he has αἵτινα for αἵ: Ro 16^{3ff} is particularly revealing, viz. οἵτινες . . . οἷς . . . ὃς . . . ἥτις . . . οἵτινες . . . (οἷ in ⁷, but notice the vl ὃς p⁴⁶ and τοῖς DG) . . . ἥτις. It is effective for John, except that he has ὁ τι and αἵτινα; and except for ὅστις 8⁵³ (D ὁ τι),

¹ JBL 42 (1923) 150-157.

where however it might be excused by class. standards (Zerwick § 165). As to Matthew, in general relative clauses he observes the rule in respect of *ὅς* in 10¹⁴ 23¹⁶. 18, but not in respect of *ὅστις* in 5³⁹. 41 7¹⁵. 24 10³³ etc.¹, nor *πᾶς ὅστις* 7²⁴ 10³² 19²⁹. He breaks the rule with *πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργὸν ὃ* 12³⁶, *πᾶσα φυτεία ἥν* 15¹³. The Ptolemaic pap. follow the same rule, irrespective of general or individual reference. The conclusion is that we must not in exegesis read into *ὅστις* any shade of meaning like *quippe qui* (*because*); e.g. Ac 17¹¹ they were not more noble *because* they received the message, but simply *who* received the message, whatever the context or theology may demand. Care must be taken also not to read in too much of consecutive (Mt 2⁶) or concessive (Lk 12⁰) meaning.

Ὅσπερ, which still flourishes a little in pre-Christian papyri (Mayser II 1, 77) has been abandoned in NT, except for Mk 15⁶ C^ΘEFG, and Jn 10¹⁸ *ἥπερ* p⁴⁵

Ὅ ἐστιν = i.e. Mt 12³ 27³³ Mk 3¹⁷ 5⁴¹ 7¹¹. 34 12⁴² 15¹⁶. 42 Col 1²⁴ Heb 7² Rev 20². 12 21¹⁷; P. Petr II 13 (17) 4 (258 B.C.), W. Chr. 167, 21 (131 B.C.), P. Goodsp. 6, 5 (129 B.C.), P. Lond. III no. 879 (p. 9) 21 (123 B.C.).

(f) *Interrogative pronouns*². (The adjectival use is also, for convenience, discussed here.)

1. The direct interrog. pronouns *τίς ποῖος πόσος ποταπός* now find themselves used in indirect questions, since the indirect pronouns are going out of use. The confusion was not unknown in class. Greek, but the interchange is much more freely employed in the Koine.

Indirect use: P. Hib. 29, 41 (265 B.C.) *γράφων τι ὀφείλεται*, P. Eleph. 13, 7 (223 B.C.) *γράφειν τί . . .*, PSI IV 425, 28 (iii/B.C.) *εἰδήσωμεν τίνες οὐκ εἰλήρασαν*, P. Par. 34, 9 (157 B.C.) *ἠρώτησάν με ἐν ποίῳ καταλύματι . . . (= ἐν τίνι)*, P. Par. 60, 4 (154 B.C.) *ἀπόστανόν μοι πόσον ἔχει καὶ ὑπὸ ποίου χρόνου (= τίνος)*. For *ποῖος* = *τίς* cp. also Dit. Syll³ 344, 59 (303 B.C.) *ἐκ ποίας πόλεως*, Ac 23³⁴ *ἐπερωτήσας ἐκ ποίας ἐπαρχίας (= τίνος)*, 1 Pt 1¹¹ *ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν* (tautologous for emphasis), Lk 7³⁹ *ἐγίνωσκεν ἂν τίς καὶ ποταπὴ ἡ γυνή . . .*, 2 Pt 3¹¹ *ποταπὸς δεῖ . . .*, P. Oxy. XIV 1678, 16 (iii/A.D.) *γράφον μοι ποταπὸν θέλει*.

¹ In 7¹⁵ in fact the class. meaning *utpote qui* is quite appropriate (*οἷτινες ἔρχονται . . . ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων*).

² K-G II 515ff, Schwyzer II 212ff. Wackernagel II 110-125. Mayser II 1, 78-80. Winer-Schm. § 25. W. Petersen, "Greek pronominal adjectives of the type *ποῖος*," *Trans. and Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XLVI. 59.

2. Confusion of relative and interrogative pronouns is usual in Hellenistic Greek, although sometimes Luke appears to be correcting Matthew.

(α) In the same sentence both types of pronoun may occur: P. Par. 62, 2, 6 (ii/B.C.) ὅσα . . . ἔστιν καὶ τίνες . . . καὶ ὅσας, 1 Ti 1⁷ μήτε ἀ . . . μήτε περὶ τίνων, 2 Cl 1² πόθεν . . . ὑπὸ τίνος . . . εἰς ὃν τόπον . . . ὅσα.

(β) The relative pronoun was used in indirect questions and after verbs of knowing, sometimes even in class. Greek (K-G II 438f), and frequently in the Koine: P. Goodsp. 3 (iii/B.C.) ὅπως εἰδῆς ὃν τρόπον οἱ θεοὶ σε οἰδαίν, P. Petr. II 11 (1) (iii/B.C.) ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ἐν οἷς εἶ, etc. . . ., Mt 6⁸ οἶδεν . . . ὃν χρεῖαν ἔχετε (see Bauer s.v. οἶδα 1 f.g.). But ὅστις ἦτις δ, τι hardly ever occur in this way in the Koine or NT as they did in class. Greek: Jn 5²⁷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν δ, τι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἔστιν *to judge what a man is* (? or read as ὅτι), Ac 9⁶ δ τι SBAC (but vl. τί), Herm. S. VIII 1, 4 δηλωθήσεται σοι δ, τι ἔστιν (A τό τί). We do however find ὁποῖος: 1 Co 3¹³ Ga 2⁶ 1Th 1⁹ Jas 1²⁴. Οἷος may occur: Lk 9⁵⁵ οἷου πνεύματος (but ποίου D 700 al; p⁴⁵ W al om the whole). *Ὅπως Lk 24²⁰.

(γ) Τίς = ὅστις or ὅς as a relative (perhaps as old as Sophocles) is Hellenistic: Athen. X 438 fin τινὶ ἢ τύχῃ δίδωσι, λαβέτω (saying of Ptolemy Euergetes); Ptol. pap.: five exx. in Mayser II 1, 80, a papyrus (Cnidus ii-i/B.C.) ὅτι τί θέλ(ε)ς πράξω *that I will do what you want*, BU III 822, 4 (iii/A.D.) εὗρον γεοργὸν τίς αὐτὰ ἐλκύσῃ, LXX Le 21¹⁷, Mt 10¹⁹ δοθήσεται τί λαλήσῃτε (= διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἀ δεῖ εἰπεῖν in Lk 12¹²), 15³² οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν, 26⁶², Mk 2²⁵ οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν Δαυὶδ (= Lk 6³ δ), 14³⁶ οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλὰ τί συ (D corrects to οὐχ δ . . . ἀλλ' δ . . .), ⁶⁰ οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνη τί (= δ) οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν (but this involves understanding πρὸς before οὐδέν; we must therefore divide into two sentences οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνη; τί οὗτοι . . .), Lk 17⁸ ἐτοίμασον τί δειπνήσω, Ac 13²⁵ τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι, οὐκ εἰμι ἐγὼ p⁴⁵? CD (τί ἐμέ SAB), Jas 3¹³ (but probably interrog.), Ign. Rom. 5³ τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, BU III 948, 13 (iv-v/A.D.) οὐδὲν ἔχω τί ποιήσω σοι.

(δ) The confusion goes to extreme lengths in NT when we find ὅστις introducing *direct* questions, unless we are to understand δ, τι *why* as an abbreviation of τί (ἔστιν) ὅτι: Mt 16⁷ ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἐλάβομεν, Mk 2¹⁸ ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν . . . ἐσθίει; BL 33 (AC correct to τί ὅτι, and SDW harmonize with Mt and Lk διατί), ⁹¹¹ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς . . . (W harm. with Mt τί οὖν); this could be ὅτι after λέγοντες, but the parallel Mt 17¹⁰ has the question τί οὖν; and the Lat. vns. have *quare* and *quia*; 9²³ ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἡδυνήθημεν (ADHII διατί, harm. with Mt); Jn 8²⁵ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν (Bodmer p⁶⁶ εἶπον ὑμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν is simply an insertion to make things easier) *why do I speak to you at all?* (class. τὴν ἀρχὴν = ὅπως Hdt 4, 25; Dem. 23, 93; Lucian Eunuch. 6; P. Oxy. 472, 17 (A.D. 130); Philo spec. leg. 3, 121; Jos. Ant. 1, 100 etc.; Philostr. 1, 356, 17; Hom. Clem. 6¹¹ τί καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . διαλέγομαι, 19⁶ ἐπεὶ τί καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν

ζητεῖ); LXX Ge 18¹³ A ὅτι (τί ὅτι DM), 2 Km 7⁷ B ὅτι (Luc. τί ὅτι), 12⁹, 4Km 8¹⁴ AB ὅτι *why* (rest τί), 1 Ch 17⁶ ὅτι *why*, Barn. 8⁵ ὅτι δέ (presumably same meaning as διατί δέ in 4. 6), 10¹ ὅτι δέ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν Gr. Enoch 3¹ δι' ὅτι *why*?

It may not be too bold to go a step further and claim interrogative status¹ for ὅ in the notorious ἐταῖρε ἐφ' ὃ πάρει Mt 26⁵⁰ *what have you come for?* (vulg. *ad quid*). Certainly the gen. of ὅστις occurs in this way in eccles. Greek e.g. ἀνθ' ὅτου dir. question (Jannaris § 2038), and so also of ὅς, e.g. ὦν ἐνεκα Euseb. Praep. Ev. VI 7 p. 257d (Usener, *Der hl. Tychon*, 50); possibly Arr. Epict. IV 1, 120 ἦν δοκεῖς; the abbott Arsenius asks himself Ἀρσένιε, δι' ὃ ἐξῆλθες; (Migne PG 65, 105c. Zerwick § 169).

(g) *Interrogative pronouns used as exclamations.* Whereas class. Greek employs the relatives οἷος, ὅσος, ἡλικός, etc. in this way (K-G II 100f), as the NT also employs οἷος in 1 Th 1⁵ 2 Ti 3¹¹ and ἡλικός in Col 2¹ (possibly ὅσα in Ac 9¹⁶ 14²⁷)², yet in the NT the interrogatives are used as exclamations just as they are used in indirect questions (see p. 49):

Mt 27¹³ (B*ὅσα), Mk 15⁴ ἴδε πόσα . . . Ac 21²⁰, Ga 6¹¹ ἴδετε πηλίκους (p⁴⁶ B corr. to ἡλίκους), 2 Co 7¹¹ (direct), Heb 7⁴; Acta Phil 62⁹ σὺ ἀγαπητὲ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰωάννη, πόσα αὐτοῖς διελέξω καὶ οὐχ ὑπηκούσθης, 59^{12.17}; Acta Thom. 235⁸; Acta Joh. 170^{12r}; Mart. Petri et Pauli 158^{17r} πόσων καλῶν πραγμάτων τε καὶ σημείων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοι δεικνυμένων θαυμάζω πῶς ἀμφισβητεῖς. The usage is not generally recognized as pre-Hellenistic, in spite of the contention of O. Lagercrantz, *Eranos* 18, 1918, 26–113.

On the whole then two points are notable in the NT and contemporary use of pronouns: 1. a great increase, to the extent of redundancy, and 2. "subtiliorum distinctionum abolitio" (Zerwick §§ 146, 161–169, who rightly insists that, for correct interpretation of the NT text, canons of classical and literary taste must be laid aside).

¹ Other interpretations, making ὃ a relative: (1) the ὃ refers to the kiss; paraphrase. "Friendly? You give me a kiss, for *which* I presume you have come here?" (2) Wellhausen has to supply too much, i.e. "By this kiss you are accomplishing the purpose for which you are here." (3) More simply, supply a verb, e.g. "Do that for which you are here." (E. C. E. Owen in *JThS* 29, 1928, 384–386; and Klostermann, *Zschr. f. nt. Wiss.* 29, 1930, 311, who adduces ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφ' ὃ πάρειμι, sc. ποιήσω). (4) Supply a ref. to the kiss: "Is *this* the reason why you are here?" (Radermacher² 78). (5) Emend to ἐταῖρε, αἶρε "Take what you have come for" (Blass).

² In Lk 5^{3D}, Heb 10³⁷, Philitas 7D, ὅσον ὅσον = ὀλίγον ὀλίγον (Hesychius) *very little or how little!*

CHAPTER SIX

THE VERB: VOICE¹

§ 1. Absolute Verbs (Mayser II 1, 80ff)

Many transitive verbs are used in an absolute sense, apparently as intransitive, the object understood from the context:

Mk 10¹⁹ μὴ ἀποστερήσης, P. Par. 26, 35 (163 B.C.) ἀποστεροῦσιν = *they deprive* a person, 1 Co 6⁸ ἀδικεῖτε καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε (MM Vocab. s.v.); Col 2¹⁵ ἐδειγμάτισεν (unless we take the previous object), cp. PSI IV 442, 18 (iii/B.C.) *arranged an inspection*, Mk 13¹⁷ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν, P. Magd. 4, 6 (222 B.C.) ὅν λευκὴν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσιν *be pregnant*; Mt 23^{16, 18} ὀφείλει: Semitic עָפַי is not needed to explain this absol. use, as we have Rev L. 5, 1 (259 B.C.).

§ 2. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs (Mayser II 1, 82-87)

Transitive verbs have a noun-object either in the accus. or in an oblique case; in intransitive verbs the verbal idea is entirely realized in the subject itself.

(a) Hellenistic Greek extensively gives to trans. verbs an intrans. sense and substitutes a reflexive idea for the object. The most frequent instance of this in the Koine is ἄγω and βάλλω with their compounds, compounds of στρέφω, and less often ἀνακάμπω, κλίνω, λύω- and ἔχω- compounds.

ἄγω: Mt 26⁴⁶ etc. ἄγωμεν *let us go*, class. phrase ἄγε *come!*; παράγω *pass by* Mt 9²⁷ 20³⁰ Mk 15²¹ etc., Polyb. V 18, 4, P. Tebt. I 17, 4 (114 B.C.); *disappear* 1 Co 7³¹; περιάγω *go about, traverse* (not cl.) Mt 4²³ Ac 13¹¹; ἐπανάγω *return* Mt 21¹⁸ Xen. etc., P. Vat. A 15 (168 B.C.); in P. Par. 12, 20 (157 B.C.) = *return home*, but Lk 5^{3, 4} *put out to sea* sc. boat; προάγω *go forward* 2 Jn⁹ v1, P. Lond. I no. 21 (p. 13) 15 (162 B.C.); *to go before* (τινα) Mt 2⁹ and *passim*, 1 Ti 1¹⁸ Heb 7¹⁸, P. Tor. I 8, 21 (116 B.C.); ptc. = *previous*; προσάγω *draw near* Ac 27²⁷ Xen. Hellenistic; συνάγε ἐπὶ ἄνω *move up* (but *assemble* in Or. gr. 130, 5 (146-116 B.C.) Mt 20²⁸ D; ὑπάγω Jn 3⁸ (and esp. often in Jn) = simplex as in MGr, especially in imperative, and only in pres. tense, P. Par. 15 (p. 225) 4 (121 B.C.) bis.

¹ K-G I 89-259. Gild. I 61-190. Schwyzer II 216ff. J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit*, Heidelberg 1907. Jannaris 356-364. Wackernagel I 105-294. Mayser II 1, 80-130.

αἶρω: Ac 27¹³ *set sail*; μεταίρω *depart* Mt 13⁵³ 19¹, Aqu. Ge 12⁹.

βάλλω: Ac 27¹⁴ ἐβάλεν . . . ἄνεμος *rushed*; Mayser gives no parallels but there are Aesch., Eurip., Aeschin., and Enoch 18⁶, and ῥίπτω in the same sense (Radermacher², 23); Mk 4³⁷ class. ἐπιβάλλω *rush upon*; Lk 15¹², P. Lille 3, 64/5 (241 B.C.) τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος; P. Grenf. I 33, 33 (103 B.C.) ἡ ἐπιβάλλουσα μέρος a fixed formula *belonging to* (Mayser II 1, 84); Mk 14⁷² ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλειεν is controversial: *begin* is possible in later Greek (Migne PG 93, 1708) supported by DΘ 565 ἤρξατο κλαίειν, gloss of Theophylact and Euthymius ἀρξάμενος; Diog. Laert. VI 27 ἐπέβαλε *begin*; P. Tebt. I 50, 12 (112 B.C.) ἐπιβαλὼν συνέχωσεν, exx. in Mayser II 1, 84 meaning *set to work and*; but *consider* is also possible (Marc. Ant. X 30 ἐπιβάλλων τούτῳ sc. νοῦν *consider this*).

βρέχω: Mt 5⁴⁵ Jas 5¹⁷ = ὕειν (class.) as in vernacular.

ἐγείρω: Lk 8⁵⁴ ἔγειρε (= ἐγέρθητι 7¹⁴) *be roused*.

ἔχω: Ac 21¹³ 2 Co 12¹⁴ etc. *to be in a certain condition* (class.), often in pap. letters with καλῶς *be well*, like Mk 16¹⁸; ἀπέχω *be distant* Lk 15²⁰ etc. (pp. 291, 336 for impers. use); ἐνέχω Mk 6¹⁹ Lk 11⁵³ *hate, persecute*; ἐπέχω *tarry* Ac 19²², P. Rev. L. 4, 2; 17, 6 (259 B.C.); προσ- *listen to* Ac 8⁶ 16⁴ Heb 2¹ 2 Pt 1¹⁹ pap. (τὸν νοῦν no longer inserted, as in class. Attic); *stands written* 1 Pt 2⁶ περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ¹; Jos. Ant. 11, 104 ἐν αὐτῇ περιέχει; ὑπερ- *excel* Ro 13¹ 1 Pt 2¹³ Ph 2³ 3⁸ Wis 6⁶ (Johannessohn DGKPS 69; 2 Mac 11²² ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολὴ περιεῖχεν οὕτως).

ἀνακάμπτω: *return* Mt 2¹² Lk 10⁶ Ac 18²¹ Heb 11¹⁵; often in papyri (Mayser and MM Vocab.).

κλίνω: *decline* Lk 9¹² 24²⁹, Hell., Polyb. P. Hib. 38, 8 (252 B.C.), MGr.; ἐκκλίνω *turn aside* Ro 16¹⁷ etc., P. Tor. I 2, 17 (116 B.C.).

προκόπτω: Ro 13¹² Hell.

ἀναλύω: *go home* Lk 12³⁶ Ph 1²³, P. Par. 22, 29 (165 B.C.) etc. See Bauer s.v. and Büchsel in Kittel WB IV 338.

ἀπορρίπτω: Ac 27⁴³, class. poet., Hell.

στρέφω: *turn intr.* Ac 3¹⁹ 7⁴²? 1 Pt 2²⁵ C (rest pass.), Jn 12⁴⁰ LXX WKLMX (rest pass.), Polyb.; ἐπιστρέφω *turn round*, P. Par. (Mayser II 1, 87), but the Bibl. context requires *be converted*; ἀναστρέφω *return* Ac 5²² 15¹⁶, P. Strass. II 111, 23 (iii/B.C.); ἀποστρέφω *return* Ac 3²⁶ P. Magd. 29, 9 (219 B.C.).

καταπαύω *take rest* Heb 4⁴ 10 LXX (Ge 2² Ex 31¹⁸ etc.), Com. Att. fragm. III no. 110⁸ p. 425 Kock (see Helbing DKVS 169f), but largely trans. in class.

ἐπιφαίνω: *show oneself* (of stars) Lk 1⁷⁹ Ac 27²⁰, Hell.

(b) Sometimes a causative sense is given to intrans. verbs, so that they may have an object. Thus in LXX βασιλεύω = *cause to reign*, ἐξαμαρτάνω = *cause to sin*, and some translators, esp. Lamentations, have gone very far in this direction², but the

¹ The reading of C corrects it and makes it transitive again: ἡ γραφή.

² Thackeray OT Gr. 24; J. Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta*, Gött. 1958, 53.

process is advanced also in NT: ἀνατέλλω *cause to rise* Mt 5⁴⁵ (but intr. oft.) class. poet. Ionic, LXX Ge 3¹⁸ (Helbing DKVS 78) 1 Cl 2⁴, Diog. 12¹, Ev Naas.²; ἀναφαίνω *cause to appear* (a Hell. peculiarity) Ac 21³ SB*, Lucian dial. mar. X 1 ἀνάφηνον; εὐαγγελίζω Ac 16¹⁷ D* Rev 10⁷ 14⁶ (but p⁴⁷S have middle, as elsewhere in NT), Hell. (see Friedrich in Kittel WB II 708, 710); μαθητεύω *make a disciple of* (for *be a disc.*, as Mt 27⁵⁷, Plut.) Ac 14²¹; κατακληρονομέω Ac 13¹⁹ OT *cause to inherit*; θριαμβεύω *lead in triumph* (for *celebrate a triumph*; class. intr.) 2 Co 2¹⁴, Plut., MGr τονέ σπουδάζω *I make him study*, τονέ ζῶ *I make him live*, μὲ πέθανε *he has caused me to die* (see Psichari 185).

§ 3. The Active Voice (Mayser II 1, 89ff. Jannaris 356 ff. Abel § 52)

The intransitive active is used in a passive sense with παρά and ὑπό c. gen., e.g. ἀποθνήσκω ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης *died in grief* P. Par 23, 12 (165 B.C.). It was the rule in Attic Greek, and the pass. of ἀποκτείνω was τελευτάω or ἀποθνήσκω, as in NT, although we find the pass. form ἀπεκτάνθη in Mk 9³¹ etc. Hdt 6, 92 ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. The pass. of (εὖ, κακῶς) ποιέω was (εὖ, κακῶς) πάσχω, as in Ga 3⁵ ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ, and we find in Mt 17¹² an excellent example of act. and pass. together: ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῇ . . . μέλλει πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν (see P. Amh. 78, 4 βίαν πάσχων . . . ὑπὸ Ἐκύσεως). See Ac 27^{17. 28. 29} for ἐκπίπτω as pass. of ἐκβάλλω (in Ptolemaic papyri πίπτω as pass. of ἐπι-, προβάλλω; Mayser II 1, 90). The intr. ἕστηκα *I still stand* (= I have been placed), pass. in meaning though act. in form, is well established in class. Greek, as also ἕστην, intr. but active in form (*stand*). The simply conceived expressions ἐξεληλύθει Lk 8² (as pass. of ἐκβάλλω) and τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθύν Mt 17²⁷, may be due to Aramaic influence (Wellhausen Einl.² 19), but they are not foreign to Koine ways of speech either: e.g. P. Giss. I 39, 9 (130 B.C.) ἐὰν δέ τις ὄρκος ἢ τεκμήριον . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου πέσῃ (sc. εἰς σε) *be imposed (on you)*. The use of 3rd. p. pl. act. instead of pass. will be discussed pp. 292f.

§ 4. The Middle Voice (Mayser II 1, 91-116; Abel § 53)

MGr retains merely an active and a passive-deponent voice. The trend of the language in our period may have moved only

very slightly away from the class. norm but it was in this direction: where class. writers preferred the middle voice to express a somewhat loose connection between the subject and the action of the verb, in Hell. Greek the active voice is preferred. The forms of the middle and passive voices are tending to merge. The fut. and aor. tenses of the middle are declining; they alone anyway remained distinct from the passive in form even during the class. period. Now deponent verbs prefer passive forms, and ἀπεκρίθη in the NT is used (about 195 times) in place of ἀπεκρίνατο, while ἐγενήθημεν (*we were*, not *we were made*) displaces ἐγενόμεθα. Moreover, where there was formerly a fut. act. with a fut. mid. form, very often it conforms now with the active (e.g. ἀκούσω for ἀκούσομαι).

(a) The middle voice has sometimes been described as reflexive, and there are many instances of this in pre-Christian papyri (Mayser II 1, 94–105), but Hell. Greek will as soon use the active with a reflexive or personal pronoun in order to express a reflexive idea. Theoretically the middle involves the whole subject in the verb's action and expresses the subject in some special relationship to himself; e.g. 1 Co 6¹¹ ἀπελούσασθε *you were washed*, i.e. got yourselves washed. But in our period there is not always any significance in the writer's choice of middle or active, and the reflexive middle in the NT is relatively rare: Mt 6¹⁷ ἄλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν, 27⁵ ἀπήγγξατο, Mk 14⁵⁴ θερμαινόμενος, Jn 19²⁴ OT διαμερίσαντο . . . ἑαυτοῖς, 2 Pt 2²² ὅς λουσαμένη (Radermacher² 147). The reciprocal middle is even rarer: perhaps Mt 26⁴, Jn 12¹⁰ *took counsel with one another*.

(b) There is much confusion in the use of middle and active in NT. Of some verbs there is the middle form only, no active, both in Hell. and earlier Greek (e.g. αἰσθάνομαι); but of others the middle form is often used where we expect the active in spite of what has been noted as to the tendency of the language to allow the middle to disappear. There was enough deadening of linguistic sensitivity to make this possible. So much so that in the papyri and NT we can find even the active and middle of the same verb together in the same phrase; some distinction may have been intended, but none is apparent. E.g.:

1. αἰτέω and αἰτέομαι: an attempt was often made by exegetes to distinguish these in the NT, the active being described as a simple requesting and the middle an asking for what is due by contract. It is

true that the middle has a commercial or contractual flavour where the active serves for requests to God. "Commercial": Mt 27²⁰.⁵⁸ etc. (mid.), Mk 6²² (act., but mid. in SW),²³ (act.),²⁴ (mid.),²⁵ (mid.). Simple requests of a beggar or son: Mt 7^{9f} Ac 3² 16²⁹ (act.) 1 Co 1²² (act.). But, although in the pre-Christian papyri the middle prevails in the official style (Mayser II 1, 109f), there is often no principle either here or in the NT. For instance, prayer to God can be middle: Mt 18¹⁹ etc., Ac 13²¹ LXX 1 Km 8⁵. And yet "contractual" requests can be active or, rather, even vary in the same context: Mt 20²⁰ (act.),²² (mid.), Mk 10³⁵ (act.),³⁸ (mid.). No rule applies to that or the following: Jas 4^{2f} οὐκ ἔχετε διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς· αἰτεῖτε καὶ οὐ λαμβάνετε διότι κακῶς αἰτεῖσθε, 1 Jn 5^{14f} αἰτῶμεθα . . . ὃ ἐὰν αἰτῶμεθα, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἔχομεν . . . ὃ ἡτήκαμεν. The change may have significance, but what? For the papyri see Mayser II 1, 109 n. 3, who quotes the ancient grammarian Ammonius to the effect that the active is used of requesting without reference to repayment, whereas the middle is to request with a view to using the thing requested and repaying it. But this hardly illuminates NT usage.

2. καρποφορέω and καρποφορέομαι: can there be significance in the contrast between the active in Col 1¹⁰ and middle καρποφορούμενον in 1^{6f}? The middle is rare, but there seems to be no difference (see Bauer s.v., but also Lightfoot in loc.).

3. *Some other verbs* appear in the middle where one expects active, since they have a transitive sense: the mid. of τίθημι in an act. sense has some class. precedent (e.g. Demosth. 56, 4 θέσθαι ἐν φυλακῇ like Ac 4³), 1 Co 12²⁸ οὐς μὲν ἔθετο, 1 Th 5⁹ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς; for pap. see Mayser II 1, 111; in view of Koine parallels, σπασάμενος in Mk 14⁴⁷ can easily be changed to act. in Mt 26⁵¹ ἀπέσπασεν; further the following appear in the NT in the middle with apparently the same meaning as the active: ἀμύνω *aid* (see Bauer), ἀπείλω, ἐπιδεικνύω, ἀπεκδύομαι Col 2¹⁵ (ICC in loc.) *strip* or *spoil*, but *divesting oneself* is the more usual meaning for mid., συνκαλέομαι Lk 9¹ 15⁶ DF⁹ ADEGW 23¹³, Ac 10²⁴ 28¹⁷, ἐμβάπτομαι Mk 14²⁰ (Mt alters to act.), ἐπιδείκνυμαι *display* Ac 9³⁹, ἐπιτελέομαι *pay in full* 1 Pt 5⁹ P. Teb. 61 (b) 35 (118 B.C.) (ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτελῶνται οἱ γεωργοὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια), ζηλόδομαι Ga 4¹⁸ (or passive? Moule 25f), φανερόω Eph 5¹³ *that which illuminates*, or pass.?, φυλάσσομαι *observe* Mk 10²⁰ (parallels make it act.) LXX Ge 26⁵ Le 20⁸. Πληρώω is controversial: it appears in the act. Eph 4¹⁰ *fill*, but is this the same as the mid. in 1²³? AV and RV take it so, but some take it as pass., of Christ's being filled. Other words never appear in the act. in the NT but have an act. in the earlier Attic: προβλέπομαι Heb 11⁴⁰ *foresee*, περιβλέπομαι Mk 9⁸ etc. (mainly Mk, except for Lk 6¹⁰) *look around*, ἀρμόζομαι 2 Co 11² (no direct parallel, but see Moulton Pr. 160, MM Vocab. s.v.), ἐκδίδομαι Mt 21³³.⁴¹ Mk 12¹ Lk 20⁹ (here Mt retains Mk's mid.) frequ. in pap.: P. Giss. I 1 col. 1, 8 (173 B.C.), καταλαμβάνομαι Ac 4¹³ 10³⁴ 25²⁵ Eph 3¹⁸ *apprehend* mentally, Dion. Halic. etc., παρατηρέομαι *watch closely* Lk 6⁷ 14¹ Ac 9²⁴, *observe scrupulously* Ga 4¹⁰. Ἐκλέγομαι *choose* Mk 13²⁰ Lk 10⁴² (11 times in Lk-Ac) Jn 6⁷⁰ (4 times) Eph 1⁴ 1 Co 12⁷.²⁸ Jas 2⁵, P. Magd. 29, 4

(221 B.C.) ἐγλεξάμενος τὸν βέλτιστον τρόπον. The following middles are active with intrans. sense, and also have an active form in NT: ἀπορέομαι *be in doubt* Lk 24⁴ Jn 13²² Ac 25²⁰ Ga 4²⁰ 2 Co 4⁸; ὑστερέομαι *be inferior* 1 Co 12²⁴; ἐνεργέομαι Ro 7⁵ (8 times Paul) Jas 5¹⁶ *operate* (in act reserved for God or divine δυνάμεις in NT); see Lightfoot Gal. 204f., Milligan Thess. 28f., Mayor Jas. 177ff; but πολύ might be object in Jas 5¹⁶, thus making the verb trans. προέχομαι Ro 3⁹ (see Field Notes 152f., ICC in loc., Vaughan in loc.).

The evidence makes it difficult to claim, as Zerwick does (§ 178), that many of the above instances display a special use of the middle voice in which the subject is indicated as acting "ex se ipso", much less that ἔθετο in Ac 12⁴ indicates that Herod locked Peter up *very carefully*, i.e. for himself. The general lack of nice distinctions in use of the middle rules it out.

(c) On the other hand, some verbs appear in the active where we would expect the middle in class. Greek. The context supplies all that is required in the way of a reflexive idea. This is notably true of ποιέω with a verbal noun.

The middle of ποιέω is so rare in NT that its few (mainly Lucan) examples are worth studying (see Abel § 53 e): it is followed by ἀναβολήν, λόγον, μνείαν, πορείαν, σπουδήν; Lk 5³³ δεήσεις ποιούνται, 13²² πορείαν ποιούμενος, Ac 1¹ λόγον ἐποιησάμην (class., not same usage in pap.), 20²⁴ οὐδενός λόγον ποιούμεαι τὴν ψυχὴν, 25¹⁷ ἀναβολὴν μηδεμίαν ποιησάμενος, P. Amh. 34(e) 6 (157 B.C.), Ac 27¹⁸ ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο (techn.). The middle was the rule in class. Greek, and in some instances there is a variant correcting to the middle of ποιέω where the active appears in the stronger text: Mk 3⁶ συμβούλιον (mid. W), Jn 14²³ μονήν (mid. vl), Ac 8² κοπετόν (mid. EHP), 23¹³ HP συναμοσίαν (mid. vl). But the active, unchallenged, appears where we expect the middle: Mk 2²³ ὄδόν, 3⁶ συμβούλιον, Lk 1⁷² 10³⁷ ἔλεος (Hebraism; LXX Ge 24¹²), 18⁷. 8 ἐκδίκησιν, Ac 8² κοπετόν, 23¹² συστροφὴν, 25³? ἐνέδραν; Jn 5²⁷ Jude 1⁵ κρίσιν, Rev 11⁷ etc. πόλεμον.

This is true too of (κατα-)δουλόω: Ac 7⁶ OT 1 Co 9¹⁹ 2 Co 11²⁰ Ga 24 2 Pt 2¹⁹; and of εὐρίσκω *obtain* (where Attic prose had middle): Mt 10³⁹ 11²⁹ Lk 1³⁰ Ac 7⁴⁶ 2 Ti 1¹⁸ etc. Attic poets. See also Mt 26⁵¹ ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν (but correctly σπασάμενος Mk 14⁴⁷ Ac 16²⁷), 18²³⁽²⁴⁾ 25¹⁹ συναίρω λόγον (Moulton Pr. 160), 26⁶⁵ διέρρηξεν τὰ ἱμάτια, Ac 7³³ OT λῦσον (mid. LXX), 16¹⁶ παρείχεν ἐργασίαν (mid. C), 19²⁴ A* DE (mid. vl), 28² παρείχον φιλανθρωπίαν, 3 καθῆψεν (mid. C). See Deissmann NB 81ff; Moule 24-26. The middle is on its way out.

(d) Other verbs are passive in form but with middle or deponent meaning (middle-passive). These are also in the papyri: αἰσχύνομαι ἡσχυνήθην, γίνομαι ἐγενήθην, δύναμαι

ἡδυνήθην, ἀποκρίνομαι ἀπεκρίθην, ὀργίζομαι ὠργίσθην, φοβέομαι ἐφοβήθην, ἀνάγομαι ἀνήχθην, ἐνθυμέομαι ἐνεθυμήθην.

This is all part of the general Hellenistic tendency to substitute either the passive or active forms for the declining middle. The confusion of ἐβαπτίσθην and ἐβαπτισάμην has long puzzled expositors, but there is no mystery; both the middle and passive are now being used in the sense of *to allow oneself to be* . . . , and both voices become at times virtually an intransitive active: cp. ἀναστὰς ἐβαπτίσθη Ac 9¹⁸. In the variant readings therefore there is no *prima facie* evidence either way: Lk 11³⁸ 1 Co 10². The development is fairly advanced in NT, where ἡγέρθη for instance is passive only in form and is used of the resurrection with a very active nuance: Mk 14²⁸ 16⁶ Mt 27⁶⁴ etc. There is simply no difference between this and ἀνέστη, where the action of the Father is assumed no more and no less (Zerwick § 175). No one *placed* the Pharisee in the Temple in Lk 18¹¹ or Paul on Mar's Hill in Ac 17²²; although σταθεῖς is used, they *stood* there. Translate *stand* also in Mt 18¹⁶ Ac 5²⁰ Ro 14⁴ Col. 4¹².

The following also are intrans. active in idea, rather than passive or middle: ἀπογράφομαι Lk 21³ 5⁵ *register*; κείρασθαι, ξύρασθαι 1 Co 11⁶ *cut her hair*; ὀφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται Ga 5¹² (MM Vocab. s.v.); ἀδικέομαι *submit to fraud*, ἀποστερέομαι *submit to loss* 1 Co 6⁷; δογματίζομαι Col 2²⁰ *submit to rules*; γαμίζομαι Mt 22³⁰ 1 Co 7³⁸ etc. *get married*; συσχηματίζομαι Ro 12² *conform*; ἰλάσθητι Lk 18¹³ *be merciful*; ἁγιοσθῆναι Ac 21²⁴ 26⁶ *purify oneself*.

§ 5. The Passive Voice (Mayser II 1, 116-130; Abel § 54)

(a) In common with class. Attic, when NT authors transfer certain verbs with a genitive or dative object to the passive, the indirect object becomes the subject of the verb; there may also be an impersonal indirect object in the accusative, and this remains so. E.g.:

With dative: ἐγκαλέομαι *be accused* Ac 19⁴⁰ etc., P. Magd. 21, 6 (1 B.C.) τοὺς ἐγκεκλημένους, also 33, 11 (221 B.C.) etc. (Mayser II 1, 120); διακονέομαι *be served* Mt 20²⁸ Mk 10⁴⁵; μαρτυρέομαι *be well spoken of* Ac 6³ 1 Ti 5¹⁰ Heb 7⁸ etc. (Deissmann NB 93); but this construction is not followed in 3 Jn¹² Δημητρίῳ μεμαρτύρηται, Dion. Hal. de Thuc. 8); πιστεύομαι *be entrusted with* Ro 3² etc. Polyb. etc.; *find belief, be believed in* 1 Ti 3¹⁶ of Christ, 2 Th 1¹⁰ of his witness; χρηματίζομαι *be warned* Mt 21¹² etc. Lk 22⁶ D (different construction in the rest: ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον); εὐαρεστεύομαι *be pleased* Heb 13¹⁶, Diodor., Diog. Laert.; ἀρχέομαι Lk 3¹⁴

I Ti 6⁸ He 13⁵ 1 Cl 2¹, Ign. Pol. 5¹, P. Par. 22, 20 (165 B.C.), 38, 11 (160 B.C.), BGU VI 1247, 13 (149 B.C.) etc.; ἐπιτρέπομαι *be permitted* Ac 26¹ 28¹⁶ 1 Co 14³⁴, Thuc. 3, 22 (οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν), P. Magd. 27, 6 (220 B.C.), but here the verb becomes impersonal when it is passive and the object of the act. remains still in the dative.

With genitive: καταγινώσκω *stand condemned* Ga 2¹¹ (Field Notes 188f) Diodor., M. Aurel.; κατηγορέομαι *be accused* Mt 27¹² Ac 22³⁰ 25¹⁶; πληρόμαι Jn 18⁹.

(b) Many trans. deponent verbs may be used with passive sense (see K-G I 120, 4; Stahl 73, 3) in both class. and later Greek. In the Koine this extends to all tenses with certain verbs, like βιάζομαι, ἐργάζομαι, λογίζομαι, but the pres. tense is rare, as in class. and NT.

Aorist: these passives are easy to detect as the two voices differ in form in the aorist (and future). κατεργάσθην 2 Co 12¹² *be performed*, several pap. (Mayser II, 1, 121); ἐλογίσθην λογισθήσεται *be reckoned* Lk 22³⁷ Ac 19²⁷ Ro 2²⁶ 4³ etc., pap.; ἰάθην ἰαθήσεται Mt 8⁸ etc.; ἀπαρνηθήσεται Lk 12⁹; ἐχαρίσθην Ac 3¹⁴ etc.; ἐρρούσθην Lk 17⁴ etc.; ἐμνήσθην *be remembered* Ac 10³¹ Rev 16¹⁹ LXX, not class. or pap. See A. Prévot, *L'aoriste grec en -θην*, Paris 1935, 148-153.

Perfect: ἰάται Mk 5²⁹; ἐσμέν εὐηγγελισμένοι Heb 4²; ἐπήγγελται Ga 3¹⁹ 1 Cl 35⁴, LXX 2 Mac 4²⁷; ἐπιλελησμένον Lk 12⁶.

Present: rare in NT, class. λογίζομαι Ro 4⁴ 5. 24 9⁸; εὐαγγελίζομαι Mt 11⁵ Lk 7²² 16¹⁶; βιάζομαι Mt 11¹² (not Lk 16¹⁶), P. Tebt. I 6, 32 (140 B.C.), Stahl 73, 3; ἰάομαι Ac 5¹⁶ D Barn 8⁶.

(c) The passives of verbs like ὁράω ὁπτάνω φαίνω γινώσκω εὐρίσκω may attach the person concerned by means of the dative, rather than ὑπό c. gen., and then they have an intransitive meaning:

ὁφθῆναι c. dat. P. Cair. Zen. 28, 3 (255 B.C.), P. Par. 63, 11, 56 (165 B.C.), Mt 17³ Mk 9⁴ Lk 11¹ 22⁴³ etc.; ὁπτάνομαι Ac 1³, Eurip. Bacch. 914 (ὁφθητί μοι), P. Par. 49, 33 (160 B.C.); φαίνομαι Mt 27 Lk 9⁸ Ph 2¹⁵ Heb 11³ etc., frequ. in pap. (Mayser II 1, 122) *appear*; γινώσκομαι *become known* Ac 9²⁴ etc., Eurip. Cycl. 567, Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 44 (but with ὑπό 1 Co 8³); εὐρίσκομαι¹ Ro 10²⁰ LXX (vl. ἐν), Ac 8⁴⁰ ε. εἰς Ἀζωτον 2 Co 12²⁰ *come to* (Heb. infl.), LXX Est 1⁵, Herm S. IX 13, 2; = *in regnum dei venire* (vet. lat.); Acta Thom. 175²¹; also 116⁴¹ πῶς νῦν εὐρέθης ὦδε; Acta Andr. et Matth. 90⁹¹ πῶς εὐρέθης ἐνταῦθα; *what are you doing here? or how have you got in here?* (Wright II, p. 103); Gesta Pil. 12³; see de Boor's index to Theophanes: P. Ox. I 131 (vi-vii/A.D.); Acta Xanth. 76³²¹ ἡ δὲ Πολυξένη ἐξελθοῦσα τῆς πόλεως καὶ μὴ ἐπισταμένη διὰ ποίας ὁδεύσης ὁδοῦ, εὐρέθη εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους ὁρέω (a striking parallel to Ac 8⁴⁰); Migne PG 65, 377c; MGr μου εὐρέθη εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην μου *he came to me in my need*; θεάομαι Mt 6¹ 23⁵ *appear*; σταθῆναι see Blass-Debr. §§ 97, 1; 191.

¹ See Sophocles Lexicon s.v. for its use in later Greek in this sense.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE VERB: ASPECT AND TENSE¹

IN SOME places in the NT interpretation is affected by a consideration which is important for understanding the verb. Originally in Indo-Germanic speech the tense-stems of the verb were not intended to indicate kinds of *time*, e.g. present, past or future. That came later, and incidentally can usually be assumed in Greek; but essentially the tense in Greek expresses the kind of *action*, not time, which the speaker has in view and the *state* of the subject, or, as the Germans say, the *Aspekt*. In short, the tense-stems indicate the point of view from which the action or state is regarded. The word *Aktionsart* (kind of action) has been taken over in all countries to express this essential idea. The chief kinds of action are: (1) continuous, which grammarians call *linear*, and (2) instantaneous, which they call *punctiliar*. By their very meaning some verbs can express only either one or the other *Aktionsart*, but the majority may be used in both ways. The aorist stem expresses punctiliar, and the present expresses linear action. Sometimes however the aorist will not even express momentary or punctiliar action but will be non-committal; it regards the action as a whole without respect to its duration; time is irrelevant to it. Now the augment (ἐ-) is a different matter. It was this which in Greek indicated the time as distinct from the *Aktionsart*, and the augment was added to both present (which becomes imperfect) and aorist action-stems

¹ K-G I 129-200. Gild. I 79-143. Stahl 74-220. Schwyzer II 246-269. Wackernagel I 149-210. Jannaris 433-444. W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, Lond. 1897. E. W. Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek*⁴, Chicago 1909. A. Svensson, *Zum Gebrauch der erzählenden Tempora im Griech.*, Lund 1930. J. Holt, *Études d'Aspect*, Copenhagen 1943 (a hist. of *Aspekt-theories*). J. W. Carpenter, *The Aktionsart of the Aorist in Acts* (Diss. of S. Baptist Theol. Sem.) 1943. Gildersleeve, *AJP* 23, 1902, 241-53. E. Purdie, "The Perfective *Aktionsart* in Polybius." *IF* 9, 1898, 63-153. Moulton *Einl.* 176-237. O. E. Johnson, *Tense Significance as the Time of Action*, Language Diss. no. 21, 1936. J. Humbert, "Verbal Aspect: Has it evolved from Ancient to Modern Greek?" *The Link*, Oxford 1938, 1, 21-28. Zerwick §§ 180-214a. Moulton *Proleg.* ch. VI.

to show that the time had passed, from the speaker's standpoint. If there is no augment to the stem we may assume that the speaker refers either to some contemporary action or else that he is not concerned with the time as such at all. Besides the augment, the future tense too indicates a temporal relationship with the speaker and considerations of *Aktionsart* do not often intrude.

§ 1. Present Indicative

It normally expresses linear action and, until the augment has transferred this tense to the imperfect, the linear action is understood as taking place at the same time as the speech. The equivalent in English might be the periphrastic present: *I am walking*. There is however a complication, because Greek has no present stem with a punctiliar root. In order to say *I walk* without reference to time, English can be unambiguous; not so Greek. It must use the indicative of the present, with all the disadvantages of ambiguity arising from its linear stem; if the aor. indic. were used it would but confuse still more by bringing in the augment which indicates past time. Thus in Greek one seldom knows apart from the context whether the pres. indic. means *I walk* or *I am walking*. In other moods than indic., of course, the problem does not arise, there being no complicating augment, and so the aorist stem is freely used to indicate punctiliar action in *present* time. One must always bear that in mind for exegesis.

(a) The *Historic Present* is common to cultured and unliterary speech, to class. Greek, the papyri, LXX, Josephus, and MGr., especially in vivid narrative where the speaker imagines himself present¹. In spite of the present being the tense of linear action, the hist. present is an instance where *Aktionsart* and tense-forms do not coincide; this present usually has punctiliar action. Mark and John are particularly fond of it, and their narrative is made vivid thereby. Mk has 151 exx. (72 verbs of speaking: λέγει and pl., and φησίν); Mt has 93 exx. (68 verbs of speaking); Lk only 9, and the Hellenistic 2 Maccabees only two (14¹⁶ συμμίσγει, 15⁵ φησίν). Luke markedly

¹ K. Eriksson, *Das Praesens Historicum in der nachclassischen griechischen Historiographie*, Diss. of Lund, 1943. Wackernagel I 162ff. Zerwick *Untersuchungen*, 49-57. Hawkins *Hor. Syn.*² 143f, 213ff.

tries to avoid it, as vulgar if used to excess. Were it not for the universal precedent in Greek we would be tempted to allege that the influence of the Aramaic participle accounts for this (see Moulton-Howard 456f). As Lagrange points out (*S. Matth.* XCII), it is Aramaic to use λέγει or pl. at the beginning without connecting particle: "en grec on dirait εφη, après un mot quelconque." In Daniel we have ענה ואמר, and this appears already in Pap. Eleph. 45 l. 16, but one also finds in these papyri the asyndetic אמר at the beginning. Mt has this λέγει 17 times: 8⁷ 16¹⁵ 17²⁵ 18²² 19⁸. 18. 20. 21 BΘ 20⁷. 21. 23 21³¹. 42 22⁴³ 26²⁵. 35. 64 27²². Jn extensively uses it and varies it with the aorist quite naturally, sometimes keeping the main events in the present and the incidentals in the aorist (e.g. 1²⁹⁻⁴³). In all speech, especially the least educated, forms like λέγει and φησίν appear in reports of conversation: Mt Mk Jn prefer the former, Lk the latter. Sometimes it indicates that an event took place simultaneously with, or immediately after, a point of time already given: e.g. Mt 21³ Mk 14¹⁷, Herm. V. I 1³, but the hist. pres. is so universal that it is impossible to theorize. We can only say that in post-class. Greek there is an increasing tendency to find it with λέγει and verbs of speaking, with verbs of seeing (this is frequent in the LXX Pent.), and with verbs of motion, especially coming and going (also frequ. in LXX later historical books). Thus there are 1145 pages in the eleven books of the Archaeology of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and 1000 historic presents—almost one each page (Eriksson op. cit. 39). And at its most frequent in Josephus we find: Ant. 5 (245/68 pp.), 6 (280/82 pp.), 18 (273/71 pp.), BJ 1 (379/140 pp.) (Eriksson op. cit. 76). The proportion in Arrian's *Anabasis* is 162/100 pp., as compared with Xenophon's *Anabasis* 165/100 pp. (Eriksson op. cit. 83). But doubtless the frequency of the picturesque participle in Heb. narrative, which tended to be translated by the present indic., contributed to its popularity in Biblical Greek.

It occurs about 337 times in LXX, of which 232 are in 1-4 Kms (Horae Synopticae², 213). Here, according to Thackeray (Schweich Lectures p. 21), it introduces a new scene in dramatic narrative, especially a new character or change of locality or a turning-point. "Even the colloquial λέγει . . . may be brought under the same head. It is the *loquitur* introducing a new speaker. It marks the exact point where *oratio recta* begins, the past tense being retained even in the verb immediately preceding; 'he answered and saith,' ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει in St. Mark,

ὁπολαβὼν λέγει in Job LXX. The main function is this, I maintain, to introduce a date, a new scene, a new character, occasionally a new speaker; in other words, a fresh paragraph in the narrative." In what Thackeray called Early Reigns "the clearest instance of the date-registering use is the present βασιλεύει, which, along with θάπτεται, is constant in the recurrent deacease-and-accession formula" in 3 Kms. "With this mannerism of the Alexandrian translators we should contrast the later fourth book, where the formula consistently runs ἐκοιμήθη—ἐτάφη—ἐβασίλευσεν." Thackeray suggested that the presents in Mark (except λέγει) were used in a similar way for new scenes and characters (p. 22). "They generally coincide with chapter-openings in the capitulary system in Codex Alexandrinus." But the very fact that Thackeray's later translator does not observe this canon is overwhelming evidence that if there was such a rule it was not universally observed. At most, it may be a tendency.

Mayser divides the use of hist. pres. in the pre-Christian pap. into three: (a) the dramatic: and a typical example is given, showing the variation with the aorist, in the same way as in Mk and Jn: P. Par 23, 9ff (165 B.C.) (II 1, 131), (b) in reports of dreams, obviously for drama and vividness, and (c) in making records, especially on letters and documents.

(b) The *Perfective Present* is rare.

It occurs in NT with ἀδικέω Ac 25¹¹ (Mt 20¹³ is the usual sense of pres.) almost = *be worthy of death, be in the wrong*, P. Tebt. I 22, 11 (112 B.C.) γραψὼν ἡμῖν τίς ἀδικεῖ.—Ἦκω Lk 15²⁷ Jn 8⁴² etc. *be here*, Or. gr. 186, 6 (58 B.C.) ἦκω καὶ πεποίηκα τὸ προσκύνημα.—Ἀπέχω Mt 6² etc. (Deissmann L. v. 04. 88) = ἀπειλήφα or ἐσχρηκα, v. frequ. in the Koine (Mayser II 1, 132f).—Ἀκούω Lk 9⁹ 1 Co 11¹⁸ 2 Th 3¹¹, class. Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 26, P. Hal. 1, 167, 177 (250 B.C.), P. Amh. II 37, 8 (ii/B.C.) etc. *have heard*.—Νικάω Ro 12²¹ Rev 2⁷ 15² etc., class. *be a conqueror*. Πάρεσιν Ac 17⁶ *have come* (Burton 10).—Πειθόμεθα Heb. 13¹⁸ (corr. to perf. in ScC^cD^bc IK).—Κεῖται Mt 3¹⁰.—Πάρεστιν Jn 11²⁸.—Ἡττωνται 2 Pt 2²⁰.

(c) The Present which indicates the continuance of an action during the past and up to the moment of speaking is virtually the same as Perfective, the only difference being that the action is conceived as still in progress (Burton § 17). It is frequent in the NT: Lk 24⁸ 13⁷ (ἰδοὺ τρία ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἔρχεται) 15²⁹ (τοσαῦτα ἔτη δουλεύω σοι, and I still do), Jn 5⁶ 8⁵⁸ (εἰμί) 14⁹ (μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμί) 15²⁷ (ἔστέ), Ac 15²¹ (Μ. γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει, and still has) 26³¹ (πράσσει, his manner of life still continues), 2 Co 12¹⁹, 2 Ti 3¹⁵ (οἰδας), 2 Pt 3⁴, 1 Jn 2⁹ 3⁸.

(d) Concerning the *Futuristic* use of the *Present*, Moulton¹ suggested that these presents differed from the future tense "mainly in the tone of assurance which is imparted"; they are confident assertions intended to arrest attention with a vivid and realistic tone or else with imminent fulfilment in mind, and they are mainly restricted to the vernacular. In English it would be *I am to . . .* or *I am about to . . .*. It is oracular sometimes in class. Greek (e.g. Hdt 8, 140) and so it is not surprising that it is used so much in the NT of the Coming One, with the verb ἔρχομαι: Mt 11³ ὁ ἐρχόμενος *the Messiah*, 17¹¹ Ἡλίας ἔρχεται, Jn 14³ ἔρχομαι (immediately foll. by a verb in the fut.), Lk 12^{54f} same, 1 Co 16^{5f} ἐλεύσομαι . . . διέρχομαι (*I am going through . . .*) . . . διαμενῶ; but in other languages too verbs of going employ a futuristic present (Wackernagel I 161).

In a prophetic or oracular sense other verbs too: Mk 9³¹ παραδίδοται (periphr. fut. in Mt-parallel) foll. by fut. καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν, Mt 26² παραδίδοται, 27⁶³ ἐγείρομαι, Jn 11⁴⁸ ἐλεύσονται καὶ αἰτοῦσιν p⁴⁵ (Θ ἔρουν; rest fut.), 20²³ ἀφίστανται WΘ eschat. fut.? (J. Jeremias in Kittel WB III 753), Lk 13³² ἐκβάλλω . . . ἀποτελῶ . . . τελειοῦμαι, 1 Co 15³² OT ἀποθνήσκομεν. In other senses: Mt 2⁴ γεννᾶται *is to be born* or *about to be born*, 24⁴³ Jn 4³⁵ ἔρχεται, Mt 26³ γίνεται, P. Par. 51, 39 (159 B.C.) [ἀφ']εῖς μοι γίνεται ταχύ, Mt 20¹⁸ Jn 20¹⁷ ἀναβαίνομεν, P. Par. 47 (153 B.C.) ἀναβαίν(ει) αὔριον, O. P. 1157, 25f (iii/A.D.), largely rhetorical and poet. in class. Greek, Lk 14¹⁹ Jn 14². 12. Ac 20²² πορεύομαι. This use appears in the papyri; it is not always easy to decide whether there is futurity, e.g. in wills καταλείπω *I leave*, as in English (Mayser II 1, 134). See also: Mt 18¹² ζητεῖ (alongside a fut.), 26¹⁸ ποιῶ τὸ πασχα *I am about to celebrate*, Lk 3⁹ ἐκκόπτεται καὶ βάλλεται, 19⁸ δίδωμι καὶ ἀποδίδωμι, Jn 10¹⁵ τίθημι, 21²³ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει, 1 Co 15²⁶ καταργεῖται, Rev 9⁶ φεύγει. See K-G I 137, 5. Stahl 88, 4. Wackernagel I 159, 161f.

(e) A *Conative Present*, having the same nuance as the imperfect, is conceivable where there is the notion of incompleteness and attempt: Jn 10³² *do they want to stone me?* 13⁶ *are you trying to wash . . . ?* Ro 2⁴ *try to lead or tend to lead*, Ga 5⁴ *try to be justified*, 6¹² *try to compel*, Jn 13²⁷ *what you want to do*, Ac 26²⁸ *you try to persuade me*, 2 Co 5¹¹ Ga 2¹⁴. *Incohesive (begin)*: Mk 11²³ 4¹⁷.

(f) Burton (12) discusses a *Gnomic Present* used in generalizations or proverbs: Mt 7¹⁷ Jn 7⁵² 2 Co 9⁷ Jas 1¹³⁻¹⁵.

¹ *Einleitung*, 196.

(g) The *Aktionsart* is often difficult to determine in the present because of the lack of a punctiliar stem in the indic. which does not indicate past time. As already explained, the Greek pres. indic. must serve for *I walk* as well as *I am walking*. The following however are thought to be punctiliar actions taking place at the moment of speaking (Burton 9): Mt 5²². 28 etc. *I tell you*, 14⁸, 26⁶³, Mk 2⁵ Mt 9² *sins receive forgiveness* herewith, Lk 7⁸ *off he goes*, 12⁴⁴, Jn 5³⁴, 9²⁵, Ac 8²³, 9³⁴ ἰᾷται σε *he heals you* (not *is healing you*) or ἰᾷται perf.?, 16¹⁸ παραγγέλλω σοι herewith *I bid you*, 26¹ ἐπιτρέπεται almost = *herewith receive permission*.

(h) Present in reported speech referring to the past. Not only after verbs of speaking, but also perception and belief, the NT prefers the pres. tense in indirect discourse reported in the past; class. Greek has it only when the point of view of the original speaker (not the narrator) is adopted.

Mt 2²² ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἀ. βασιλεύει, 18²⁵ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει B Orig. (rest εἶχεν), 21⁴⁵ ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγει (but past in Mk-parallel 12¹²), Mk 8¹⁶ διελογίζοντο ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν p⁴⁵ B (D corrects to εἶχαν), but rest make it orat. recta, Ac 22² ἀκούσαντες ὅτι προσφωνεῖ DEH (rest. corr. to προσεφώνει). Exceptions in NT, conforming to class. precedent: Mk 12¹² ἔγνωσαν ὅτι τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν (see Mt-parallel above), Jn 16¹⁹ ἔγωγ ὅτι ἠθέλον (vl. ἤμελλον) αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν.

§ 2. Imperfect

The contrast between the indicatives of the imperfect and aorist illustrates the difference between linear and punctiliar *Aktionsart* in its most acute form, for the imperfect is the tense of incomplete action, duration and continuity; the presence of the augment indicates that all this is in past time. Although imperfects are retreating before aorists in the Koine, they are still in wide use and the class. distinctions are still being observed. There is a certain interplay between the tenses; indeed we can find no difference between ἔλεγεν and εἶπεν in the NT. Although it is usual to distinguish various kinds of imperfect, and for convenience we preserve these divisions, the classification is not inelastic and the chief determining factor for translators will be the context itself.

1. Behind its use with verbs of asking, requesting, and commanding is the idea of incomplete action in the past. It is

close to the conative idea. Such verbs, in their very nature "imperfect", await a fulfilment in a further action by another agent: ἀξιόω, κελεύω, παρακελεύομαι, (ἐπ-)ερωτάω, πέμπω, ἀποστέλλω, πυνθάνομαι, etc.; and in the Koine also ἀπαιτέω, λέγω, προσμαρτυρέω, προσφέρομαι.

Mt 24 ἐπυνθάνετο; so also Lk 15²⁶ 18³⁸ Ac 4⁷ 10¹⁸ (BC aor) 21³³ 23¹⁹. Mk 8⁵ ἠρώτα; so Ac 3³ 16³⁹. Mk 8²³. 27. 29 ἐπηρώτα. Mt 8² προσεκύνει = *request*; so 9¹⁸ 15²⁵ S*BDM, as distinct from the aorist which means *worship* (Mt 21¹ 14³³ etc.), but Mt 18²⁶ προσεκύνει could mean *prostrated*, and this is its usual meaning in NT. Lk 8²⁹ παρήγγελλεν the unclean spirit to come out (aor. is expected). Ac 15³⁸ ἡξίου *requested not to take with them*, cp. P. Tor. I 4, 73 (116 B.C.): it may mean that Paul's suggestion about Mark was only tentative at first. Ac 16²² ἐκέλευον to beat them (breaks the rule about unfulfilled action, as magistrates would be certain their command would be obeyed: vulg. *iusserunt*). Ac 27³³ παρεκάλει to take food (but Iterative?). Where the aorist is found the request is usually peremptory, demanding obedience (see Zerwick § 202 on the difference between Mk 5¹⁰: "rogatio vana est, ideo imperfectum": and 5¹² request successful and therefore aorist. Vulg. neglects the distinction): Ac 10⁴⁸ προσέταξεν to be baptized (essential), 23¹⁸ ἠρώτησεν (-αν) me to bring this young man to you (*demand*), Mt 8³⁴ παρεκάλεισαν to go away, 18² *begged*, 26⁵³ *demanded*, Mk 9¹⁶ (merely a dir. question, but by Jesus), Lk 8³⁷ *insisted*, Ac 8³¹ *he made Ph. come up* (not invited), 16¹⁵ *insisted* (παρεβιάσατο shows how insistent he was). In Jn 4⁵² ἐπύθετο is merely a question, but an urgent one, and the answer known.

2. A *Conative* or *Desiderative* imperfect¹, of incomplete or interrupted action, which sometimes softens the harshness of a remark or makes it more diffident, is discernible in NT but rare in the Koine. Mt 3¹⁴ Mk 9³⁸ (vl. aor.) Lk 9⁴⁹ p⁴⁵ SBL *wished to hinder*, Lk 15⁹ *wished to name him Z.* (Abel cites Xen.), Ac 7²⁶ *tried to reconcile them*, 25²² ἐβουλόμην . . . ἀκοῦσαι *would like to listen*, 26¹¹ ἠνάγκαζον *tried to make them blaspheme* (2 Mac 6¹⁸ ἠναγκάζετο *the attempt was made to force him to eat*), where to misinterpret this tense with AV is serious, 27⁴¹ ἐλύετο *the surf seemed to be trying to break up the prow* (or Inchoative), Ro 9³ ἠύχομην γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι *I could almost pray*, Ga 4²⁰ ἤθελον . . . παρῆναι, Phm¹³ ἐβουλόμην, Heb 11¹⁷ *tried to offer*, Mk 15²³ *tried to give*, Ac 18⁴ *tried to persuade*.

3. An impf. with a linear *Aktionsart* is used in descriptions in narrative to portray and set in relief the manner of the action;

¹ K-G I 141. Stahl 100, 3. Mayser II 1, 135f. Burton § 23.

it is common in the Koine of the Imperial period, less so in the Ptolemaic (Gild. I 93; Mayser II 1, 136). It seems to represent a past event as still taking place at the time when an event in the aorist suddenly intervenes to cap it. In fact, the aorist advances the bare story and the imperfect supplies the picture's details, when the two tenses are woven together in narrative. On the other hand, sometimes the change of tense is prompted by no other motive than avoidance of monotony, as when Mt changes Mk's οὐχ ἠύρισκον into οὐχ εὗρον (Mt 26⁶⁰ Mk 14⁵⁵). There is a papyrus parallel to Mk's two imperfects: P. Hamb. no. 27, 4 (250 B.C.) ἐπεζήτουν καὶ οὐχ ἠύρισκον, but by capping it with an aor. Mt is probably more stylistically correct: they *were* seeking a long time and in spite of that there was no sudden solution. So in Lk 7⁶ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο *he was going when* ἐπεμψεν *the centurion sent friends*. Correct too is Ac 21²⁰ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν, εἰπόν τε, *they kept praising God and finally said*, 5²⁷ ἤγεν αὐτοὺς . . . ἀγαγόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔστησαν; the impf. indicates action which proceeded until finally they were presented to the Sanhedrin, 21³ (we kept on our course to Syria [impf.] and finally landed at Tyre [aor.]), 21³⁰ they were in process of dragging P. out of the Temple (impf.) when suddenly the gates were shut (aor.), Mt 8²⁴ ἐκάθευδεν he kept on sleeping till finally ἤγειραν αὐτόν, 26⁶³ ἐσιῶπα Jesus kept silent till the High Priest εἶπεν, 3⁴ John's dress (impf.), ⁵ his audience (impf.), ⁶ his baptizing (impf.): all contributes to a vivid picture against the background of which John utters his rebukes (⁷ aor.), Mk 5³² περιεβλέπετο Jesus was looking around him until the woman came ἦλθεν, 9²⁰ ἐκυλίετο he kept rolling about, and presumably they watched him awhile until Jesus spoke ἐπερώτησεν. There are many instances of descriptive impf., however, without a finalizing aorist to follow. These apparently are intended to make the narrative interesting and continuous until some action is expected in the aor. to give point to the whole description; but more often than not the description is left without climax: Mk 14³⁵ ἐπιπτεν καὶ προσηύχετο (vivid details of Gethsemane), Mt 7²⁸ ἐξεπλήσσοντο, 26⁵⁸ ἠκολούθει καὶ ἐκάθητο, Lk 24⁷ ἐξίσταντο, 16¹⁹ ἐνεδιδύσκετο, 15¹⁶ ἐπεθύμει . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου, 17²⁷ describing Noah's times, 24¹⁴ ὠμίλουν, ²¹ ἠλπίζομεν Jn 11³⁶ ἐφίλει, 19³ ἤρχοντο, Ac 5⁴¹ ἐπορεύοντο, 15³ διήρχοντο . . . ἐποιοῦν, 14¹⁹ ἔσυρον, 18¹⁹ D διελέγετο (rest aor.), 21²⁹ ἐνόμιζον.

But how to account for Mt 4¹¹ ἄγγελοι προσῆλθον (aor.) καὶ διηκόνουν (impf.), 13⁸ the seed ἔπεσεν (aor.) and yet it ἐδίδου (impf.) καρπὸν, 25⁵ the maids ἐνύσταξαν (aor.) and yet ἐκάθευδον (impf.), 1 Co 10⁴ in the same verse and context ἔπιον and ἔπινον, 10^{6.11} in the same context ταῦτα τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν (aor.) and ταῦτα τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν (impf.)? Is it anything more subtle than a desire for variety? If the impfs. are descriptive, so must the aorists be, in these particular contexts. The most we can say is that the aor. records the action without stressing its execution, e.g. *angels, who had come, ministered to him; the seed, which had fallen, bore fruit.*

4. The *Iterative* or customary imperfect represents interrupted continuance or repetition, rather than an action that was done once and for all. In Mk 6⁴¹ Lk 9¹⁶ Jesus gives thanks and breaks the bread (punctiliar), but the next verb ἐδίδου reveals that the disciples kept returning to Jesus for more food (linear iterative).

Mk 1³¹ διηκόνει *began to wait on them*, 5¹³ ἐπνίγοντο, 7²⁶ ἡρώτα αὐτόν, 12⁴¹ ἔβαλλον (or Descriptive?), 15⁶ ἀπέλυεν, Lk 21³⁷ ἡϋλίζετο *he used to spend the night*, 24¹ ἐπορεύοντο κατ' ἔτος, 8²⁹ ἐδεσμεύετο . . . ἡλαύνετο, Jn 4³¹ ἡρώτων, Ac 2⁴⁵ ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον (often but spasmodic), 4³⁴ ἔφερον . . . καὶ ἐτίθουν, 18⁸ ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο. But the Markan use of this impf. is full of uncertainty. Mark keeps his aorists in proper use, but does he his imperfects? Very often he uses the periphrastic tense for the customary imperfect, and therefore in 1⁷ ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων the reference may be to some definite occasion and actual saying. 14^{60.61}, where ἐπήρωτα = ἐπηρώτησεν confirms this view.

5. The impf. often occurs where in English we would use the pluperfect: that is, to express past time relative to the time of the main action after verbs of perception and belief. Greek tenses do not so much express relative time, which emerges from the context, as indicate *Aktionsart*. If punctiliar action is intended, it will be aorist. Mk 6¹⁸ ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης *John had been saying*, 11³² *that John had been a prophet*, Lk 8²⁹ παρήγγελλεν *he had been commanding*, Jn 6²² *had been there*, 9¹⁸ *that he had been blind and made to see* (the latter aor., because punctiliar action), Mk 9⁶ Θ οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἐλάλει *what he had said*. Papyri: Mayser II 1, 137 (f).

6. Habit rather than logical principle appears to govern the choice of impf. or aor. with verbs of speaking. In the papyri

ἔλεγον *I said* is found in close conjunction with a series of verbs in the aorist, even εἶπα P. Par. 51, 9 and 17-21 (159 B.C.). In the NT ἔλεγεν occurs in Mk 4 21. 24. 26. 30 79. 20 Lk 5³⁶ 6⁵ 9²³ etc., in contexts where εἶπεν performs exactly the same function in Lk 6³⁹ 15¹¹ etc. MGr has this variation (Thumb *ThLZ* 1903, 422f; Schwyzer II 277f). — It is too much to claim any difference in *Aktionsart*, so that εἶπεν would be for simple reference to an utterance already made while ἔλεγεν introduced the detailed content of a speech. In Jn 11^{36f} there is no perceptible difference between ἔλεγον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι and τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶπαν: each introduces speech in the same way, and indeed scribes have standardized the εἶπαν to ἔλεγον (AK II). The general practice too was to use λέγων, not εἰπών, after another verb of saying. For imperfect in conditional clauses see pp. 91f.

§ 3. Aorist Indicative

See previous section for the relationship between impf. and aorist.

(a) The “Aoristic Perfect” and the boundary between aorist and perfect. The choice between perfective aorist and perfect seems to have become a matter of the personal feeling of the writer, depending on whether, in a past action, its fulfilment in the present was to be more or less prominently expressed. In the Hellenistic period, as Chantraine demonstrates (see below, pp. 81f.), the perfect increasingly trespassed on the sphere of the aorist as a narrative tense (aoristic perfect), and thereby committed suicide. By listing together the instances where both tenses occur side by side Mayser (II 1, 139ff) shows for the uneducated Koine that the perfect at first represented an action or phenomenon with great emphasis on the fact that it was past and with clear reference to its fulfilment in the present; and yet at the same time he gives plenty of evidence that decadence soon set in and that both tenses were used “promiscuously”. This is true especially of papyri in the Imperial period (Moulton *Prol.* 143). We have to ask whether NT usage is in line with the uncultured mass of the papyri rather than with the educated in this respect. The “promiscuous” use increased in the first three cc. A.D., and the aorist was used increasingly for the perfect, as well as vice versa, to such an extent that eventually in iv/A.D. the perfect as a distinct tense is altogether eclipsed. Its

doom had already been written in iv or iii/B.C. when the perfect left its first estate to become an active conjugation alongside that of the present and aorist, whereas it had originally been entirely intransitive. Such a climax led directly to its ruin, since it could not compete in the popular language with the pres. and aor. which now seemed to fulfil all its functions. Spoken language tends to eliminate superfluous elements, and having ceased to express *the state arrived at* and having assumed an active force as well it made itself redundant by sharing the meaning of the aorist. Its reduplicated stems had no chance against the simpler formations of the aorist. In MGr it has disappeared and a periphrasis takes its place. Although in Byzantine texts it is no longer distinguishable from the aorist in meaning, care must still be taken to ascertain whether the mingling in the NT is not by design, with the distinctions correctly observed. What is taken for "aoristic perfect" is often a true resultative perfect denoting a past action of which the results still vividly survive.

1. Mark is very careful when Pilate marvels that Jesus is *already dead* τέθνηκεν; Pilate then enquires when *he died* ἀπέθανεν (15^{44f}). So is Paul: 1 Co 15³ *Christ died* ἀπέθανεν *and was buried* ἐτάφη *and has risen again* ἐγήγερται. Mt 9²² *your faith has made you whole* σέσωκεν; *from that very hour received her wholeness* ἐσώθη. Mk 5¹⁹ *what the Lord has done* πεποίηκεν *and that he showed mercy* ἐλέησεν. Ac 21²⁸ *he brought in* εἰσήγαγεν *and has defiled* κεκοίνωκεν. There are many instances of such careful distinction in the pre-Christian papyri (Mayser II 1, 139f), e.g. *he did us no wrong* οὐθὲν ἡμῖν κακὸν ἐπύησεν, *but has always taken care of us* ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπιμεμελήται P. Grenf. II 36 (95 B.C.).

2. But undoubtedly there are exx. in NT where, either alone or in conjunction with another verb in the aorist, a verb in the perfect functions in a clearly aoristic sense in narrative; and often the perfect stem assumes aoristic endings in the papyri and NT—a disguise which helped it to survive a little longer:

(a) Narrative perfect with an aorist: Rev 5⁷ ἦλθεν καὶ εἰληφεν, (Dan O' 4^{30b} εἰληφα) 8⁵ εἰληφεν . . . καὶ ἐγέμισεν, 7¹⁴ εἰρηχα (B εἶπον) . . . καὶ εἶπεν (having no visible reduplication, the forms of εἰληφα and εἰρηχα may have appeared to the uneducated like aorists), 3³ εἰληφας καὶ ἤκουσας, 11¹⁷ εἰληφας . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας, Mt 25²⁰ ὁ τὰ πέντε

τάλαντα λαβών, and yet ²⁴ ὁ τὸ ἐν τάλαντον εἰληφώς, Jn 12⁴⁰ τετύφλωκεν . . . καὶ ἐπώρωσεν AB*Θ fam¹³ (corr. to perf. by B⁶Δ fam¹) or ἐπήρωσεν Bodm. pap. SW (LXX Isa 53⁵ ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ μεμαλάκισται, 57¹⁸ ἑώρακα καὶ ἰασάμην, 66⁸ ἤκουσεν . . . καὶ ἑώρακεν, Ex 52² ἐκάκωσας . . . ἀπέσταλκας, ²³ πεπόρευμαι . . . ἐκάκωσεν, 64⁴ παρωκῆκασιν . . . παρωκῆσαν (all in first part of Exodus), Col 1¹⁶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα . . . καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται (any subtle distinction here is doubtful, but the exegete could hardly be blamed for suspecting it), P. Oxy. III 482, 1-2 (ii/A.D.) ἀπεργασάμην καὶ πέπρακα (and see Moulton Prol. 143), Mt 13⁴⁶ πέπρακεν (perhaps because there is no aor. from the same root?) . . . καὶ ἡγόρασεν, Jn 1³ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν· ὁ γέγονεν, 2 Co 12¹⁷ ἀπέσταλκα . . . ἐπλεονέκτησα (DE corr. to ἐπεμψα, some cursives to ἀπέστειλα), 11²⁵ νυχθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ πεποίηκα, after a succession of aors., 1 Co 2⁸ ἔγνωκεν . . . ἔγνωσαν, Ac 7³⁵ κατέστησεν . . . ἀπέσταλκεν (CHP corr. to -στεῖλεν), 22¹⁵ ἑώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας, Jn 3³² ὁ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν, 17² ἔδωκας . . . δέδωκας, 18^{20f} λελάληκα (corr. to aor. by C⁸ΔΓ) . . . ἐδίδαξα . . . ἐλάλησα. 1 Jn 4^{10.14} ἀπέστειλεν . . . ἀπέσταλκεν, Justin M. Ap. I 22 πεποιηκέναι . . . ἀνεγείρει, also 32 ἐκάθισε καὶ εἰσελήλυθεν (Moulton Prol. 143).

(β) Isolated narrative perfects: the MSS show that there was a certain indeterminateness in the use of the two tenses which dates from an early period in textual transmission. Mk 11² κεκάθικεν A(W)XY ΠΦΔ (rest corr. to aor. like Lk 19³⁰), 14⁴⁴ δεδώκει (Mt. aor.), Rev 2²⁸ εἴληφα, 8⁵ εἴληφεν, 19³ εἴρηκαν (aor. termination), 2 Co 11²¹ ἡσθενήκαμεν p⁴⁶ SB (corr. to aor. by DGI^{vid}), 21³ ἔσχηκα, 7⁵ ἔσχηκεν (p⁴⁶ BFGK corr. to ἔσχευ), 1⁹, Ro 5² ἔσχήκαμεν (a true pf., as we still possess it?), Mk 5¹⁵ τὸν ἔσχηκότα τὸν λεγιῶνα, 3 Mac 5²⁰ ἔσχηκα, Lives Proph. Mal. 2 καλὸν βίον ἔσχηκε *he led a good life*. Moulton's view of ἔσχηκα was that it took the place of a constative aor. of ἔχω, which is lacking since ἔσχω is almost exclusively the ingressive aor. = *got, received* (Prol. 145). It is also very like the aors. ἔθηκα and ἀφῆκα. For secular use of pres. ἔσχηκα see Schmid II 53; for Polybius see Schoy 75-77.

The pf. γέγονα is commonly in the Gospels = γίνομαι or ἐγενόμην. For aor.: Mt 12² 21⁴ (see Jn 19³⁶ ἐγένετο), 24²¹ BLWZ (but corr. to ἐγένετο by SDΘ 700 e Geo¹ Eus Hipp², while the rest harm. with Mk), 26⁵⁶, Mk 5³³ 9²¹ 13¹⁹ οὕτω γέγονεν (corr. to aor. by D 299 565 184 b Old Lat. vulg. Aug Arm), 14⁴ (but om γέγονεν D 64 Old Lat (a ff i) Syr⁸, to harm. with Mt 26⁸), Dan 12¹ Θ οὐ γέγονεν (Ο' οὐκ ἐγενήθη), Lives Proph. Jer. 13f, Dan 6, Nah. 2, Elisha 2 (pap. exx. in Moulton Prol. 146).

Lk 9³⁶ ἑώρακαν, Jn 13¹⁵ δέδωκα S fam¹ fam¹³ (rest aor.), 13³ 6³² δέδωκεν vl, 13¹ ἐλήλυθα EFG (vl. aor.), Ga 3¹⁸ κεχαρίσται ὁ θεός, 4²³ γεγέννηται, Heb 7⁶ δεδεκάτωκεν . . . εὐλόγηκεν, ⁹δεδεκάτῳται, 8⁵ κεχηματίσται.

LXX evidence: Ge 16⁵ δέδωκα τὴν παιδίσκην, 24³⁰ οὕτως λελάληκέν μοι, 26²³ ἑώρακαμεν (cp. Lk 9³⁶ Jn 3³²), 29³⁴ Α τέτοκα, 31¹ εἴληφεν, 38²³ ἀπέσταλκα, 41⁵⁵ ἐκέκραξεν, 42³⁰ λελάληκεν, and some dubious ones. Isai 3⁹ βεβούλευνται, 13⁴ ἐντέταλται, 20³ πεπόρευται, 22⁸ πέφευγασιν, 48¹⁰ πέπρακα, 17 δέδειχα, 48¹⁶ SAQΓ ἀπέσταλκεν (B aor.),

49⁶ δέδωκα, 51²² εἴληφα, 54⁶ κέκληκεν, 60¹ ἀνατέταλκεν, 61¹ ἀπέσταλκεν, 66⁹ δέδωκα, ¹⁹ ἀκηράσιν . . . ὅρακασιν. Dan O' (all corr. to aor. or impf. in Θ): 2⁸ ἑώρακατε, ^{31. 34. 41. 45} ἑώρακας.

Chantraine¹ argues that the pf. in Mt is puristic, but cp. ἡλικος οὐδεὶς πω γέγονεν Demosth. 1, 9, similarly Isocr. 15, 30.

In view of the evidence from the Koine and LXX we cannot claim that the confusion of aor. and pf. is due to Latin influence. We find it also to a small extent in Polyb. (3, 10, 1; 4, 1, 1: δεδηλώκαμεν and ἐδηλώσαμεν) and more so in Diodorus (16, 1, 6) and Strabo 2, 5 p. 133 γέγονε = ἦν) who are further from the class. model.

(b) The *Aktionsarten* of the aorist. The rules concerning this which we have already described (above, pp. 59f.) must be viewed with great caution; the rules appear to collapse with the "linear" aorists in Ac 1²¹ (συνελθόντων, εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν) and with Lk 9³² διαγρηγορήσαντες, Mt 27⁸ ἐκλήθη . . . ἕως τῆς σήμερον (perhaps *praegnans*: *was called* [and kept the name] *until to-day*). Nevertheless, assuming as a working hypothesis the essential punctiliar and momentary meaning of the aorist stem, one will find various ways of using the indicative. They depend largely on the meaning of the verb itself and vary according to whether the preliminaries (Ingressive) or consequences (Perfective) of an action or state are chiefly in mind when the verb is used; or indeed whether the action is conceived on its own without reference to its progress and result (Constative). There are the following ways, and yet there is fundamentally but one kind of aorist action or aspect and that is punctiliar.

1. The *Ingressive* (Incohesive) aorist² or *Inceptive* aorist may be found with verbs expressing a state or condition; it indicates the point of entrance into such a state: βασιλεύω *became a king*, δουλεύω *became a slave*, πιστεύω *put his trust*, etc. The tense is to be distinguished from presents in -σκω, which indicate not so much the beginning of a state but are linear and indicate a gradual becoming, to become *more and more*; which is different from *began to be silent*, *a hush came upon it* (ἐσίγησεν Ac 15¹²), he ceased to be rich and *became poor* (ἐπτώχευσεν 2 Co 8⁹), *he sprang to life* (νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἐζήσεν Lk 15³²; the same translation in Ro 14⁹ Rev 2⁸ 13¹⁴ 20⁴), they did not cease to be ignorant or *begin to recognise* (οὐκ ἔγνωσαν Jn 11⁰ 16³), *he burst into*

¹ *Histoire du Parfait Grec*, Paris 1907, 235f.

² K-G I 155, 5. Stahl 137, 3. Goodwin 16. Moulton Einl. 177ff. Zerwick §§ 185f. M. W. Humphreys, "The Ingressive Second Aorist", *Transactions and Proceedings, Amer. Philol. Association*, 23, 62.

tears ἔκλαυσεν Lk 19⁴¹, ἔδάκρυσεν Jn 11³⁵), *they said no more* (ἐσίγησαν Lk 20²⁶, ἡσύχασαν Ac 11¹⁸). Sometimes this aor. will vitally distinguish the meanings of a word: ἁμαρτάνω *be a sinner*, but ἡμαρτον *commit a sin*, and so the apparent conflict between 1 Jn 2¹ and 3⁹ can be reasonably explained (Zerwick § 186), cp. Ro 6¹ with 6¹⁵.

Other exx. of Ingressive are probably: Mt 5¹⁶ λαμψάτω, 2¹⁶ ἐθυμώθη, 21¹ ἤγγισαν, 22⁷ ὠργίσθη, Mk 10²¹ ἡγάπησεν, Lk 6²² μισήσωσιν, 8²³ ἀφύπνωσεν, Jn 4⁵² κομψότερον ἔσχεν *started to mend*, Ac 7⁶⁰ ἐκοιμήθη *fell asleep*, 1 Co 4⁸ ἐβασιλεύσατε *become kings*, 2 Co 7⁹ ἐλυπήθητε, 8⁹ ἐπτώχευσεν *became poor*, πλουτήσητε, Heb 6¹⁸ κρατῆσαι (cp. pres. 4¹⁴), papyri Mayser II 1, 142. Possibly also: Mk 1¹¹ ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα *joy comes at thought of you* (but may be infl. of Heb. stative pf.), Lk 12³² *it was his happy inspiration to give you*, Mt 13²⁶ ἐποίησεν.

2. *Perfective* (or effective, or resultative) aorist (Stahl 128, 2), in which the emphasis is all on the conclusion or results of an action. Again the meaning of the verb makes this clear (e.g. shut, persuade, hide, fall, hinder, learn, save, escape). It is the reverse of the Conative impf. Mt 23² ἐπὶ τῆς Μ. καθέδρας ἐκάθισαν *they took their seat and still sit* (another explanation in Moulton-Howard 458) but it may be a Hebraism (perfective), 27²⁰ *they succeeded in persuading* (cp. the Conative pres. infin. in Ac 13⁴³ where Paul and Barn. could only *urge*, not succeed in persuading), Mt 27⁴⁶ Mk 15³⁴ (LXX Ps 21²) ἐγκατέλιπες, the present results of the action are much in mind, Mt 28¹⁵ διεφνημίσθη . . . μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, Ac 27⁴³ *succeeded in preventing*, 28¹⁴ *we were prevailed upon*.

3. *Constativ* (summary) or *Complexiv* aorist conceives the idea as a whole without reference to the beginning, progress, or end; it is a total yet punctiliar aspect, for it must not be supposed that punctiliar *Aktionsart* necessarily involves a brief space of time. The action is represented as complete, an assumption which must be made from the context, which indicates that no further action of the same kind is contemplated. E.g. Jn 7⁹ ἔμεινεν, Ac 14³ ἱκανὸν χρόνον διέτριψαν, 18¹¹ ἐκάθισεν, the limits of the action being defined by *eighteen months*, 28³⁰ ἐνέμεινεν *two whole years*, 10³⁸ διῆλθεν, Ro 15² ἤρρεσεν constantly, 2 Co 11²⁵ ἐραβδίσθη. Infin. Ac 11²⁶; imper. Mt 6³⁴.

4. The aorist in *Epistolary* style (as in Latin) is logical, since the action so described will be past at the time the letter

is read (Schwyzer II 281). Ac 23³⁰ etc. ἐπεμψα (ἀπέστειλα in the papyri, Mayser II 1, 144), Eph 6²² Ph 2²⁸ Col 4⁸ Phm¹². It is notable, however, that one never finds ἔγραψα (Koine) but always γράφω, and always ἀσπάζεται. 1 Co 5⁹ ἔγραψα probably refers to an earlier letter; 1 Co 5¹¹ Ro 15¹⁵ to an earlier place in the same letter. In Ga 6¹¹ it might be taken either way: if epistolary, the picture is of P. taking his pen and finishing the letter himself. Note that he does not use the epistolary aor. in 2 Co 13¹⁰ (γράφω). It may be epistolary in 2 Co 8^{17. 18. 22. 93. 5}. In 1 Jn 2^{12. 14} γράφω occurs three times, then ἔγραψα three times (perhaps for the sake of variety; the author of Jn is fond of varying his tenses) which may refer back to some earlier writing.

5. *Gnomic aorist*¹ is a timeless and almost futuristic aorist, expressing axioms which avail for all time. The explanation may be that, the present stem in Greek being linear, it would not be suitable for expressing generalities; the timeless tense is therefore used, but the augment denoting past time cannot be jettisoned and has to go with it. We must look rather to the stem than the augment. This is more likely to be the correct assumption than that the writer had in mind a single specific instance after the manner of fables and parables ("a certain man went . . ."). It is true however that in the NT the Gnomic aorist is found almost only in conjunction with comparisons (perfect with similar meaning: Mt 13⁴⁶ Jas 1²⁴). Mt 13^{44. 46. 48} (but these could well be ordinary aorists; see Moule p. 13), 18¹⁵ (vulg. fut.), 5²⁸, Mk 11²⁴ ἐλάβετε SBCLW (AN pres.; D fut.), Lk 7³⁵ ἐδικαιώθη *wisdom is justified* (general statement), Jn 1⁵, 15⁶ ἐβλήθη ἔξω . . . καὶ ἐξηράνθη (the latter aor. may suggest the immediacy of the result of excision), ⁸, Ga 5⁴, 1 Pt 1²⁴ (LXX Isai 40⁷) ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν, Jas 1¹¹ ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος . . . καὶ ἐξήρανεν τὸν χόρτον . . .; these may incidentally be Gnomic but they also would render the Heb. perfect too literally, unless we see in the aoristic punctiliar *Aktionsart* a graphic picture of the fading of the grass and flower; Moule includes also Jas 1²⁴ κατενόησεν . . . ἐπελάθετο *no sooner has he looked . . . than he has gone away and . . . forgotten* (p. 12) and aptly quotes Ign. Eph. 5³ ἑαυτὸν διέκριεν forthwith

¹ K-G I 161. Schwyzer II 286. Zerwick § 191. H. C. Elmer, "A Note on the Origin and Force of the Gnomic Aorist", *Trans. and Proceedings, Amer. Philol. Association*, 25, 59-63 (1894). Wackernagel I 181.

excommunicates himself; Herm. V. III 12, 3; 13, 2; M. III 2; S. IX 26, 2; Epict. IV 10, 27 (aor. and pres. together: ὅταν θέλῃς, ἐξῆλθες καὶ οὐ καπνίζῃ). See Jannaris § 1852 for MGr. The aorists in the Magnificat may be Gnostic (Lk 1⁵¹⁻⁵³); they possibly also help to explain the popularity of this kind of aorist in Biblical Greek—what God did in the past is evidence of what he will always do. Lk 16⁴ ἔγνων τί ποιήσω may be Gnostic, or merely an example of the way Greek more exactly interprets the *Aktionsart*: *the idea occurred to me, what to do*.

6. *Proleptic* aorist looks like a future, taking place after some actual or implied condition, e.g. Jn 15⁶ if a man will not abide in Christ ἐβλήθη ἔξω . . . καὶ ἐξηράνθη *he will be cut off and withered*, 15⁸ ἐδοξάσθη *he will be glorified if you bear fruit*. The timeless aor. is a suitable tense to express this projection of the future into the present as if some event had already occurred. Ga 5⁴ if you are going to be justified by the Law κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ *you will be severed from Christ*; see also 1 Co 7²⁸.

§ 4. Moods of Present and Aorist in relation to their Time and Aktionsarten.

(a) *Present and aorist Imperative and prohibitive Subjunctive*¹

The same distinction holds in the imperative as in the indicative; the present is durative or incomplete or iterative and the aorist punctiliar or constative. It affects commands in this way, that the aorist imper. is more or less restricted to precepts concerning conduct in specific cases; and this applies also to prohibitions, which in the aorist are subjunctive. Somewhat peremptory and categorical, they tend to be ingressive, giving either a command to commence some action or a prohibition against commencing it. On the other hand, present imperatives give a command to do something constantly, to

¹ K-G I 189C. Gild. I §§ 401-422. Stahl 148-152, 363. Schwyzer II 339-344. Mayser II 1, 145-150. Moulton Einl. 198ff, 271ff. Zerwick §§ 181-183, 189. Georges Cuendet, *L'impératif dans le texte grec et dans les versions gothique arménienne et vieux slave des Évangiles*, Paris 1924. E. Kieckers, *Zum Gebrauch des Imperativus Aoristi und Praesentis*, Idg. Forsch. XXIV, 1909, 10-16. F. W. Mozley, "Use of the Present and Aorist Imperative", *JThS* 4, 1903, 279ff. L. A. Post, "Dramatic Uses of the Greek Imperative", *AJP* 59, 1938, 31ff. W. Heidt, "Translating New Testament Imperatives", *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 13, 1951, 253ff.

continue to do it; or else a prohibition against its continuance, an interruption of an action already begun. But they are less pressing, less rude, less ruthless, than the aorist. Requests to the deity are regularly aorist, for they aim to gain a hearing for specific matters rather than to bind continually. These distinctions are broadly observed in all periods and even in MGr. On the other hand there are passages which do not conform: in 2 Co 13^{11, 12} after a chain of *present* imperatives we find the aor. ἀσπάσασθε without being aware of anything significant in the change. The problem of the *Aktionsarten* of the tenses is by no means solved as yet for the NT, and possibly John gives a clue when he seems to vary the tense according to the verb he is using. Why is the same prohibition, however, μὴ ὁμόσης in Mt 5³⁶ and μὴ ὁμύετε in Jas 5¹²?

1. *Present Imperative:*

(α) *Positive.* Mt 26³⁸ Mk 14³⁴ do not go away (aor.) but be on guard always (γρηγορεῖτε). Lk 22^{40, 46} Heb 13¹⁸ *keep praying* προσεύχεσθε. Pres. of περιπατέω and στοιχέω *go on walking*: 1 Co 7¹⁷ Ga 5^{16, 25} Eph 4¹⁷ 5^{2, 8} Ph 3¹⁶ Col 2⁶ 4⁵ 1 Th 4¹². See Lk 11⁹ αἰτεῖτε, ζητεῖτε, κρούετε: *petite perseveranter . . . quaerite indefesse . . . pulsate iterum atque iterum* (Zerwick § 181). But ἔρχου and ἐλθέ do not seem to conform, for the pres. = *start to come* Jn 14⁷ ἔρχου καὶ ἵδε, while the aor. ἐλθάτω = *continue to come* Mt 6¹⁰ (the Kingdom being present already as a grain of seed). In Mt 14²⁹ however ἐλθέ conforms: either ingressive *start to come!* or perfective *come here!* 1 Co 7³⁶ *let him go on doing what he wants* ποιεῖτω. But except for Jn 21¹⁰ ἐνέγκατε, we find always φέρε, φέρετε, whatever the context. Mt 5²⁴ *first be reconciled* (aor.) *and then come and offer as many gifts as you like* πρόσφερε (but 8⁴ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον). Another exception is ἔγειρε, ὕπαγε, πορεύου and pl., which are used perhaps for politeness, as less peremptory, regardless of the *Aktionsart*: Ac 22¹⁰ πορεύου where the rule demands aor. Mt 2²⁰ 25⁹ Lk 5²⁴ also. But πορεύθητι correctly Mt 8⁹ *be off!* We usually find πιστεύω in the pres. also: Mk 1¹⁵ *persevere in repentance* μετανοεῖτε *and belief* πιστεύετε, 5³⁶ *stop being frightened* μὴ φοβοῦ, but *go on having faith* πίστευε (perhaps corrected in Lk 8⁵⁰: *start to have faith* πίστευσον). In Mk the command is to continue to have as much faith as before; in Lk,

it is to begin having faith, or to have a better faith than before the child died. Perhaps Luke felt the subtle difference.

(β) *Negative*. Mt 6¹⁹ *stop laying up* μὴ θησαυρίζετε,²⁵ *cease being anxious* μὴ μεριμνᾶτε (but ³⁴ *never be anxious* μὴ μεριμνήσητε). Mk 5³⁶ 6⁵⁰ etc. Lk 11³. 30 21⁰ 51⁰ 85⁰ etc. *stop being frightened!* μὴ φοβοῦ and pl. Lk 8⁵² they were weeping, and he said *Weep not* (or *Stop weeping*) μὴ κλαίετε. Jn 21⁶ μὴ ποιεῖτε *stop making*, 5⁴⁵ μὴ δοκεῖτε *cease to imagine*, 19²¹ μὴ γράφε *stop writing*, i.e. *alter what you have written*, 20¹⁷ μὴ μου ἅπτου *stop touching me!* 6⁴³ μὴ γογγύζετε. Ro 6¹² μὴ βασιλευέτω *continue to reign*, ¹³ *do not continue yielding your members to sin* μὴ παριστάνετε, *but start yielding yourselves to God* παραστήσατε. 2 Co 6¹⁷ μὴ ἅπτεσθε (SAQ in LXX Isai 52¹¹, B aor.). Eph 4²⁶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, 5¹⁸ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε, Col 3⁹ μὴ ψεύδεσθε. Jas 1⁷ *he must stop thinking* μὴ οἰέσθω, 5¹² μὴ ὀμνύετε (aor. Mt 5³⁶). 1 Pt 4¹⁵ *let none of you ever suffer* πασχέτω; the writer prefers pres. to aor. imper.; we might expect aor. at 11³. 15. 17. 22 22. 13. 17 31⁰. 11. 14. 15 4⁷ 5². 5. 6. 8. 9. See also Mt 6¹⁶ 1 Ti 4¹⁴ 5²², PSI IV 353, 16 (254 B.C.) μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου ἡμῶν *do not forget us in future*. P. Tebt. I 6, 43 (140 B.C.) μηθενὶ ἐπιτρέπετε πράσσειν τι τῶν προδεδηλωμένων *stop allowing anyone to do what we have ordered previously*.

2. Aorist imperative or Prohibitive subjunctive.

(α) *Positive*. Important for exegesis is the aor. imper. in 1 Co 7²¹ μᾶλλον χρῆσαι; the Corinthian Christians are urged to make use once and for all of the opportunity to be free; only with a pres. imper. ought the interpretation to be *use your present state* to the glory of God. Mt's χαίρετε in 5¹² is altered by Luke to aor. because he adds *in that day*. Mt 5⁴² δός of a definite occasion and person, where Lk 6³⁰ δίδου to *anyone* who asks. Mt 6²⁸ καταμάθετε is a command now, once and for all, to look at the lilies, probably during a walk in the fields, Lk. 9²³ ἀρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ (aor.) καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι (pres.); the self-denying is a decision, once and for all (om. the harmonizing vl. καθ' ἡμέραν), but the *following* is a continuous discipline. 12⁵⁸ δός ἐργασίαν. 19³⁰ λύσαντες αὐτὸν ἀγάγετε. 14²³ ἐξελθε. Jn 21⁹ λύσατε. 41⁶. 35. Ro 13¹³ *now let us walk περιπατήσωμεν*. Jas 4⁹ *start to be wretched and mourn and weep ταλαιπωρήσατε πενήθησατε κλαύσατε*, ¹⁰ *start to humble yourselves*

ταπεινώθητε, 57.⁸ *be patient* (as a precept) μακροθυμήσατε. Mt 26⁴⁸ κρατήσατε *arrest him!* (but 2 Th 2¹⁵ κρατεῖτε *go on preserving*; Rev 2²⁵ aor. misused). Aorists for precepts until the coming of Christ: Mt 5³⁹ στρέψον, 6⁶, 1 Ti 6^{12.14.20}, 2 Ti 4^{2.5.11.14.22.3.15}. 1 Pt 1^{13.17.22} 2¹⁷ 5², 1 Jn 5²¹, 2 Cl 8⁶. Prayer: Mt 6¹⁰ δός (aor. because Mt adds *this day*) Lk 11³ δίδου *continue to give* because *day by day* is added (SD harm. with Mt); aor. in all petitions of Lord's Prayer (ἀγιασθήτω γεννηθῆτω δός ἄφες), and in prayer in papyri (Mayser II 1, 145f). Greetings: ἀσπάσασθε, but also pres. in papyri, against NT usage.

(β) *Negative*. Mt 5¹⁷ μὴ νομίστητε *never think!* 6² μὴ σαλπίσῃς *never sound!* Categorical prohibitions: Mt 7⁶ μὴ δῶτε, 6³⁴ μὴ μεριμνήσῃτε, Jn 3⁷ μὴ θαυμάσῃς. In 3rd. pers. prohibitions occur in aor. imper. and occasionally in the form μὴ τις with aor. subjunctive: 1 Co 16¹¹ 2 Co 11¹⁶ 2 Th 2³.

But there are exceptions to what seems a fairly definite principle: Jn 3⁷ has μὴ θαυμάσῃς, which sounds unnatural as *cease to marvel* (but perhaps like our *Never marvel!*). In Mt 1²⁰ 10²⁶ we expect *stop fearing* (pres.) instead of μὴ φοβηθῇς and pl. = *never fear*. We have some aorists too in prayer to the deity: Mt 6¹³ Lk 11⁴ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς, Ac 7⁶⁰ μὴ στήσῃς, but a suggested reason has already been given. In general, some writers prefer the pres. (Paul) and others the aor. (1 Pt) imper.

3. Difference in *Aktionsart* is best seen when both tenses lie together.

Ac 12⁸ *put your cloak on* περιβαλοῦ (punctiliar) *and keep behind me* ἀκολουθεῖ (linear). Jn 5⁸ ἄρον (ingressive) . . . καὶ περιπάτει (linear), 9⁷ ὑπάγε (exclam. and invariable) καὶ νίψαι, 25-8 φέρετε alongside ποιήσατε γεμίσατε ἀντλήσατε (see above for invariable φέρετε), 21⁶ ἄρατε ταῦτα ἐντεῦθεν *get these things out of here!* μὴ ποιεῖτε *stop making* Ro 6¹³ *do not continue* παριστάνετε, *but once and for all* παραστήσατε. Mt 26³⁸ Mk 14³⁴ *do not go away* μείνατε ὧδε (constative), but *continue to watch* γρηγορεῖτε, Lk 10⁴ *cease carrying* μὴ βαστάζετε, *never salute* ἀσπάσῃσθε, 17⁸ ἐτοίμασον τί δειπνήσω *get something ready*, περιζωσάμενος διακόνει μοι *continue to wait*. P. Petr. II 40(a) 12 μὴ ὀλιγοψυχήσῃτε *stop being faint-hearted*, ἀλλ' ἀνδρίζεσθε *continue to be brave* (223 B.C.).

To Moulton the general agreement of Mt and Lk in the use of tense in their parallel passages showed "how delicately the

distinction of tenses was observed" ¹. That is not the only possible conclusion to be drawn, and Moulton seems to many today to be a little over confident in the rules of *Aktionsart* ². There is a case for Luke having known Mt and having followed his use of tenses. In any case the NT use of tenses is not so strikingly standardized or logical.

Before the prohibitive aor. subjunctive we often find in the NT ὅρα ὄρατε βλέπετε, which do not, however, affect the construction: Mt 8⁴ 18¹⁰ Mk 14⁴ 1 Th 5¹⁵.

The prohibitive aor. imperative is later than the NT: Horn quotes the first as iii/A.D.

(b) *Infinitive of Present and Aorist* ³

In general the same distinction holds. When the infin. indicates a direct command, which is rare in the NT, though very frequent in the papyri (and *χρή* or *δεῖ* may perhaps be assumed), the tense is always present: ⁴ Lk 9³ *μηδὲν αἰρετε . . . μήτε ἂν δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν* ⁵; Ac 15²³ 23²⁶ Jas 1¹ (*χαίρειν*, the wish-infin. of epistolary style), Ro 12¹⁵ (*χαίρειν*, *κλαίειν*), Ph 3¹⁶ (*στοίχειν*), 2 Ti 2¹⁴ (*μὴ λογομαχεῖν*, which may however depend on *διαμαρτυρόμενος*; AC* *λογομάχει*); aor. Ign. Eph. 11¹.

The consecutive, final and exegetical infin. maintains the same distinctions in the pap. and NT (Mayser II 1, 151f); *pres.*: Mk 3¹⁴ to proclaim continually, Ac 20²⁸ to shepherd continually; more often with *aor* (see below p. 136). In sentences with *πρὶν*, *πρὶν ἢ*, *πρὸ τοῦ* the infin. again indicates *Aktionsart* rather than time; *aor.* Mt 11⁸ *before ever they came together*, 26³⁴ *before the cock start to crow*. Kind of action rather than of time is also differentiated by the independent articular infin. The distinction holds after verbs of which the meaning requires punctiliar action in the dependent infin.; they are *θέλω*, *βούλομαι*, *αἰρέομαι*, *δοκεῖ*, *κρίνω*, *δύναμαι*, *δυνατός*, *κελεύω* and verbs which concentrate on the fulfilment of the desired course. There are exceptions in the Koine: Jn 9²⁷ *pres.* with *θέλω*, Ac 16²² with *κελεύω*, in

¹ *Einleitung* 274.

² But the brilliant ch. VI of the Prolegomena is still vitally important for the student of tenses.

³ K-G I 192ff. Stahl 180ff. Mayser II 1, 150-168. Moulton Proleg. 204.

⁴ Unless, as seems likely, *κηρυχθῆναι* Lk 24⁴⁷ is imperatival.

⁵ An alternation of imperat. and infin. which is paralleled in the papyri, but always 3rd pers.: Mayser II 1, 303f.

pap. with βούλομαι (but proportion of 2:1 for aor.) and θέλω, κρίνω, δεῖ.

With μέλλω the fut. infin. was most frequent in class. Greek, but is restricted to Ac in NT; in the more official language as well as in the colloquial speech of the pap. there is the aor., and occasionally the fut. in official style, but in the less educated and in the NT the pres. prevails¹. NT has 3 fut., 5 aor., 84 pres. Aorist: Lk 20³⁶ D Marc., Ac 12⁶ AB, Ro 8¹⁸ Ga 3²³ Rev 3^{2. 16} 12⁴. Fut. infin. also for ἐλπίζω in NT, although class. fut. is found in papyri (Mayer II 1, 216). Note the subtle nuance in 1 Co 7⁹ κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι *to be in a married state (not to marry)*. Note also that when Barnabas wished to take Mark (παράλαβεῖν), all Paul may have objected to was παραλαμβάνειν (Mark's being with them throughout the journey) Ac 15^{37f}.

(c) *Participle of Present and Aorist*²

Like the infin., the ptc. had originally no temporal function but simply indicated the kind of action³. The *time* of action was inferred from the context. But eventually the aorist ptc. came to denote a time which was past in relation to the main verb, and the present ptc. time which was contemporaneous (Mayser II 1, 175f). The reason for this may have been the difficulty of thinking of an act as a simple event (aor. ptc.) without also conceiving of it as taking place in the (immediate) past. The pre-position or post-position of the ptc. has little to do with this: Mk 13¹ ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς (relative past time in spite of post-position). Yet in spite of that development there are numerous examples of the aor. ptc. denoting coincident action⁴, where the time of the action is not antecedent to that of the main verb; there is the common phrase ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν which is the same as ἀπεκρίθη εἰπών,

¹ K-G I 177n. 4. Stahl 195. Moulton Einl. 184, 2. Mayser II 1, 166.

² K-G I 197. Stahl 209ff. Gild. I §§ 329ff. Mayser II 1, 168-176. Schwyzer II 385-409. Moulton Einl. 211ff. C. D. Chambers, "A Use of the Aorist Participle in some Hellenistic Writers," *JThS* 24, 1923, 183ff. A. T. Robertson, "The Aorist Participle for Purpose in the Koινή," *JThS* 25, 1924, 286ff.

³ Zerwick § 184 goes so far as to distinguish ὁ ἀκούων (he who hears with lasting effect) from ὁ ἀκούσας (who hears ineffectively and momentarily): Lk 6⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹.

⁴ For the pre-Christian papyri, see Mayser II 1, 173f.

and also Ac 1²⁴ προσευζάμενοι εἶπαν and its reverse Mk 14³⁹ προσεύξατο . . . εἰπών. The meaning of the ptc. is not always that of the main verb: Mt 27⁴ ἡμαρτον παραδούς, Ac 10³³ καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος, 18²⁷ προτρεψάμενοι οἱ ἄδελφοὶ ἔγραψαν, Lk 15²³ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν; Heb 2¹⁰ ἀγαγόντα is more suitably interpreted of coincident action (*by bringing in*). So 1 Ti 1¹² Heb 6¹³. Usually the main verb is aorist, but sometimes future: Lk 9²⁵ 3 Jn⁶; sometimes pres. and impf. Mk 8²⁹; sometimes perf. Ac 13³³.

Even time which is *future* to the main action seems to be denoted by the aor. ptc. ¹: Mt 10⁴ Judas who was to betray him ὁ καὶ παραδούς αὐτόν, Jn 11² Mary who was to anoint ² ἡ ἀλειψάσα, Ac 16⁶ διῆλθον . . . κωλυθέντες (= ἐκωλύθησαν δέ?), 25¹³ κατήντησαν . . . ἀσπασάμενοι = καταντήσαντες . . . ἡσπάσαντο (vλἀσπασόμενοι to correct this anomaly) but we might by straining this make it an aor. of coincident action, the arrival and greeting being timed together! Wilcken Chr. 26 II³² (A.D. 156), LXX 1 Mac 15²⁸ ἀπέστειλε . . . ἓνα . . . κοινολογησάμενον (Lucianic; rest fut.).

Equally unexpected is the pres. ptc. expressing action relatively future in time. It is characteristic of Jn, e.g. 5⁴⁵ ἐστὶν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς (where the parallel κατηγορήσω just before makes it inevitable that this ptc. has future sense).

Ac 14²¹ ὑπέστρεψαν . . . ἐπιστηρίζοντες *they returned . . . to strengthen*, 15²⁷ ἀπεστάλακμεν ἀπαγγέλλοντας *we have sent . . . who will tell you*, 18²³ ἐξῆλθεν διερχόμενος τὴν Γαλατικὴν χωρὰν *he went from A. to go through*, 21¹⁶ συνῆλθον . . . ἄγοντες *went with us . . . in order to bring us*. Pre-Christian papyri, Mayser II 1, 170. Post-Christian also, e.g. P. Oxy. I 120 11 (iv/A.D.) ἀπόστυλον μοι τινα . . . παραμένοντά μοι.

It is debatable whether we may go so far as to see in the pres. ptc. an indication of time prior to the time of the main

¹ See Chambers, op. cit., for passages in support; also W. F. Howard *ibid.* 403-6; and *per contra* A. T. Robertson op. cit. For another explanation see Zerwick § 198: "fortasse potest intellegi de actione simpliciter subsequente (loco καὶ cum verbo coordinato: κατήντησαν καὶ ἡσπάσαντο)." There may be analogous cases in Ac, which Z. admits to be doubtful, but we are in danger, according to some grammarians, of making nonsense of grammar if we see fut. action in the aor. ptc. Nevertheless Z. draws a good example of ἔλῶν of posterior action from Philostr. vit. Ap. I 22.

² Unless a previous anointing is referred to, viz. Lk 7³⁸, in which case Mary of Bethany is identified with the sinful woman from the street. The aor. ptc. is usually explained however of time *past* in relation not to the events described but to the time of writing.

verb¹. Mayser gives some possibilities from the papyri and there are instances in class. Greek. The prior action which is thus indicated is usually continued action, so that the ptc. amounts to an impf.:

Mt 2²⁰ *they who were seeking* 23¹³ *those who were entering* (trying to enter?) τοὺς εἰσερχομένους, 27⁴⁰ *you who were trying to destroy* ὁ καταλύων . . . and rebuild οἰκοδομῶν, Jn 9²⁵ *I was blind* τυφλὸς ὢν but now I see, 12¹⁷ *the crowd that was with him* ὁ ὢν, Ac 4³⁴ *they sold* πωλοῦντες, Ga 1²³ *who persecuted* ὁ διώκων, Eph 4²⁸ *who stole* ὁ κλέπτων, Rev 20¹⁰ *who deceived them* ὁ πλανῶν αὐτούς, 2 Jn 7 ἐξῆλθον . . . οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες. Pres. and aor. together: Lk 24² ἀναβαινόντων αὐτῶν . . . καὶ τελειωσάντων.

§ 5. Perfect Indicative²

The following are the significant trends of the Hellenistic period, as they are exemplified in the NT probably better than in any other single text of the time.

(1) By extending its sphere to cover the functions of the aorist, the perfect tends eventually to disappear and be confused with the aorist (see above under Aoristic Perfect). There is, particularly in the less cultured papyri, a tendency to emphasize the connection of a past action with the present, and in consequence to favour the perf. tense.

(2) The confusion is well illustrated by the introduction into the perf. system of the "weak" endings of the aorist.

(3) The perf. participle middle is developed and gradually assumes the strength of an adjective.

(4) A periphrastic conjugation becomes established.

In common with the Koine generally the NT and Ptolemaic papyri significantly extend their use of the perfect to a greater extent than do the literary writers of the period. They allow it to trespass seriously on the territory of the aorist. The *Aktionsart* belonging properly to the tense is either fulfilment in the present of a process begun in the past or else the contemplation of an event having taken place in the past with an interval

¹ H. G. Meecham, "The Present Participle of Antecedent Action. Some N.T. Instances." *Exp. T.* 64, June 1953, 285. Mayser II 1, 170f.

² K-G I 146-150. Stahl 107-119. Gild. I §§ 226-34. Schwyzler II 286-288. Mayser II 1, 176-207. P. Chantraine, *Histoire du Parfait Grec*, Paris 1907. Moulton Einl. 220ff. Zerwick §§ 209-212. J. E. Harry, "The Perfect Forms in later Greek from Aristotle to Justinian," *Proc., Amer. Philol. Association* XXXVII 53. H. J. Cadbury, "A Possible Perfect in Acts ix, 34," *JThS* 49, 1948, 57ff. M. S. Enslin, "Perfect Tense," *JBL* 55, 121-31.

intervening, whereas the English perfect is used when no interval intervenes. It is therefore a combining of the *Aktionsarten* of aorist and present. Originally it had no resultative force but simply expressed the subject's state; this had been arrived at by some previous activity, but the state arrived at was represented by the perfect as so permanent that the perfect can be said from long before the NT period to have present meaning¹. Several examples of this present perfect have survived in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser II 1, 177f) and NT: οἶδα, ἔστηκα, πέποιθα *trust*, κεῖμαι, μέμνημαι, τέθνηκα *be dead*, πέπεισμαι *be sure*, ἔλπικα *hope*, ἠγγημαι *believe* (cl.), κέκραγα, ὄλωλα, πέφρηνα, εἶωθα. They have in fact become independent presents, each one divorced from its own present stem. Among these ἀπόλωλα was disappearing (Mt has 2, Lk 5), the popular style of Mk being innocent of it and the "literary" Luke having most; it was giving way to ἀπολλύω. Τέθνηκα is still *to be dead* but its distinction from ἀπέθανον is disappearing. Ἀνέωγα survives at Jn 1⁵¹ 1 Co 16⁹ 2 Co 6¹¹ but is already being displaced by ἀνέωγγμαι in cl. Attic, and Paul falls back on ἀνεωγμένης 2 Co 2¹². Πέποιθα Gospels: Mt has 2, Lk 3, Mk 10²⁴ τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ (τοῖς) χρήμασιν DAΘ fam¹ fam¹³ lat syr bo (but SBW *k sa om*), Paul. Ἔστηκα Gospels: Mt has 13, Lk 10, Jn 16, Mk ptc. only ἑστηκώς 9¹ 11⁵ (v1 ἑστῶτων) 13¹⁴ (vll. ἑστός and στήκον), ἑστώς 3³¹ (v1 στήκοντες), and usually in NT, but a new pres. form is being coined from this perf. i.e. στήκω (8 times, and in variants for ἔστηκα). Οἶδα the old pres. pf., is preserved. Ἐγρήγορα is archaic, but a new verb γρηγορέω has been built on it. Ἡγγικα *to be here* appears as well as ἐγγίζω Mk 1¹⁵ 14⁴² (SC aor.); conceivably it is a true pf. *to have drawn near*. Ἡκα Mk 8³ (v1 εἰσίν) Atticistic correction? Εἶωθα Mk 10¹ εἰώθει = impf.

But not all these intrans. perfects became independent presents. Some of them still survive with their resultative force in the Koine and Bibl. Greek: ἀκήκοα, κεκάθικα, ἠκολούθηκα, κέκραγα, εἶωθα, διαμεμένηκα, συμβέβηκα, τετελεύτηκα, μεμαρτύρηκα, κεκοπίακα, πεπίστευκα, σέσηπα, πέπονθα, εἶληφα, τέτυχα.

Four books from LXX: Ge (παρ-) ἔστηκα 18²² 24¹³. 30. 31. 43 45¹; γέγονα 3²² 18¹² 44²⁸ 47⁹; κεκόπηκα 8⁷. 8. 11; προβέβηκα 18¹¹ 24¹; γεγήρακα 18¹³ 27²; συνώκηκα 20³; προσώχθεικα 27⁴⁸A; παρεμβέβληκα 32¹; ἐκπεπόρνευκα 38²⁴; ἦκα 42⁷ 45¹⁸ 47³; συμβέβηκα 42²⁹ AD; ἡμάρτηκα 43⁹; ἐκλέλοιπα 47¹⁵. 18; τέθνηκα 50¹⁵.

¹ For ἔσχηκα, πέπονθα, and πεποίηκα in a present sense in Polyb., see A. Schoy, *De perfecti usu Polybiano*, Bonn 1913, 75f.

Ex (παρ-) (συν-) ἔστηκα 3⁵ 7¹⁹ 17⁶. 9 24¹⁰ 33⁸. 10 93¹ 18¹³. 14 20²¹ 24¹³; οἶδα 37. 19 5² 10²⁶ 32¹. 22. 23 33¹². 17 23⁹; τέθνηκα 4¹⁹ 14³⁰ 21³⁵; κέκραγα 5⁸; γέγονα 8¹⁵ 9¹⁸. 24 10⁶. 14 11⁶ 32¹. 28 34¹⁰; ἡμάρτηκα 9²⁷ 10¹⁶; πέφευγα 14⁵; καταβέβηκα 19¹⁸; τετέλευκα 21⁸⁴ 22¹; πέπτωκα 23⁵; κεχρόνικα 32¹.

Isa (συν-)πέπτωκα 3⁸ 9¹⁰ 21⁹ 23¹³; (ἀφ-) (παρ-) ἔστηκα 6² 5²⁹ 17⁵ 59¹¹. 14; πέπτωκα 9¹⁰ 21⁹ 23¹³; πέφευγα 22³; γέγονα 23²; ἀπόλωλα 23¹⁴; πέποιθα 30¹⁵. 32 33² 36⁷ 37¹⁰ 50¹⁰ 59⁴; κεκόπικα 47¹³ ἡγγικα 56¹; ἀνατέταλκα 60¹; ἦκα 60⁴; παραβέβηκα 66²⁴.

Dan O' ἔστηκα and compounds 2³¹ 3⁹¹ 7¹⁰ 8³. 6 10¹³ 11² 12¹. 5; ἡγνόηκα 9¹⁵.

Thus the old intrans. perfect was giving way before the active, transitive and resultative pf. The resultative was already popular in the Attic orators and continued to be so in the literary texts of the Hellenistic period, and subsequently in Atticistic texts. Many *new* perfects of a resultative kind appear. The vernacular shows the same tendency, and by iii/B.C. the verbal balance between the intrans. and resultative is reached. The decline of the resultative perfect did eventually set in (see above, pp. 68f.) and by i/A.D. as revealed by the NT the number of such perfects has shrunk, except in the literary traditions; its form is limited to only a few verbs (cp. the variety in the LXX books just examined) and its meaning is difficult to distinguish from the aorist. There is an instructive exception: in the Johannine writings, by contrast especially to the Synoptists and Paul, the resultative pf. is frequent. There are 77 examples; Mk has only 8, Lk 14, and Mt 7. The intrans. perfects are not less frequent: there are still 100 in the Joh. writings. We may ascribe this to the peculiar style of the Fourth Gospel, its love of emphasis and solemnity, its stress on the abiding significance of everything. Generally, however, the NT writers use only a perfect which is already well established by tradition, the same verbs being employed repeatedly. Let us take Mk as an example: 5¹⁵ ἐσχηκότα (om D 17* 27 Old Lat. vulg^{p1} syr^a bo), 5³⁴ 10⁵² σέσωκεν, 14⁴⁴ δεδῶκει, δέδωκεν Θ (aor. in D *ackr*¹ vulg¹: scribes did not like the "Latin" plupf. in Greek), 15¹⁰ παραδεδῶκεισαν (aor. DWΘ fam¹³ fam¹ 700 *a c* vulg¹), 5¹⁹ πεποίηκεν (aor. DKΦ fam¹ 517 565 700), 7³⁷ πεποίηκεν, 11¹⁷ πεποιήκατε BLΔΨ 892 1342 orig (aor. rest), 15⁷ pf. or plupf., 5³³ διό πεποιήκει λάθρα DΘ28 565 700 *a ff* geo arm (but neither διό nor λάθρα is Marcan!). In Mt εἶρηκα occurs twice, but the following only

once: ἔγνωκα, ἡτοίμακα, εἴληφα, πέπρακα, σέσωκα. Lk (who is more flexible) has: δέδωκα, συνήρπακα, συνείληφα, σέσωκα once; ἀπέσταλκα, κέκληκα, ἑώρακα, πεποίηκα 2. 1 Οο κέκρικα, εἴληφα, μεμέρικα, ἑώρακα once, κέκληκα 2, ἔγνωκα 3. The resultative pf. is however often used with what seems to be aoristic force. So the MSS show many variations with the aorist. Although the resultative pf. is so frequent in Jn the same verb occurs over and over again: ἤντηλα, βέβληκα, βέβρωκα, ἐλήλακα, τεθέσμαι, πεπλήρωκα, τετύφλωκα, πεφίληκα once; ἀκήκοα, γέγραφα, μεμίσηκα twice; ἀπέσταλκα, εὔρηκα, τετήρηκα 3; ἔγνωκα, πεποίηκα 4; εἴρηκα, μεμαρτύρηκα 5; λελάληκα 10; δέδωκα 14; ἑώρακα 17.

To a slightly less degree, as we have seen, there is the same limitation in the LXX. Thus, Ge κεκότακα 3; δέδωκα (NT) 5; τέθεικα, πέπρακα (NT), ἀνενήνοχα, ἐκπεπόρευκα, ἐκλέλοιπα, σέσωκα (NT), λελάληκα (NT) once; εἴληφα (NT) 3; πεποίηκα (NT) 5; (ἐπ-) ἀκήκοα 4; τέτοκα 3; ἑώρακα (NT) 4; εἴρηκα (NT) 3; ἀπέσταλκα (NT) 3; εὔρηκα 3. Ex καταλέλοιπα, ἐμπέπαιχα, συνκέκλεικα, λελάληκα (NT), ἡγάπηκα, κέκραξα, προσκεκύνηκα, ἦσαν πεποικηότες once; (εἰς-) ἀκήκοα 3; ἑώρακα (NT) 5; ἀπέσταλκα (NT) 5; δέδωκα (NT) 2; εἴρηκα (NT) 4; παρόκηκα 2; πεποίηκα (NT) 2; ἡμάρτηκα 3; εὔρηκα 4. Isa συνῆκα, ἀποβέβληκα, πεπότικα, ἔσπαρκα, ἐζωγράφηκα, εἴληφα (NT), κέκληκα (NT), πεποίηκα (NT), ἐγκαταλέλοιπα, ἀκήκοα, κέκληκα once; ἀπέσταλκα (NT) 3; λελάληκα (NT) 2; ἀπολώλεκα 2; ἑώρακα (NT) 2; δέδωκα (NT) 4, πέπρακα (NT) 2. Dan ἑώρακα (NT) 8; εὔρηκα, σέσωκα (NT), εἴρηκα (NT) once. This is enough to show that the resultative pf. was becoming lifeless, fossilized in a few verbs only. Comparing the situation, for instance, in Thucydides book II we find only εἴρηκα and δέδωκα among the resultatives which are so common in LXX and NT, and hardly any of the resultatives in that book are repetitions of the same verb. By iii and iv/A.D. the perfect has greatly declined, and in the collection of Christian papyri of this date by G. Ghedini¹ we find only εὔρηκα, ἐνήνοχα, (παρα-)δέδωκα, ἐπέσταλκα, προστέθεικα, ἡπάντηκα, εἴρηκα.

We may glance at some exegetically interesting examples of the perfect in the NT. It expresses a present state in πέπεισμαι *I am persuaded*, but it may not be simply a pres. pf., as the processes involved are important, as well as the resultant state; and the same is true of ἥλπικα. But truly present are τέθνηκα and ῥιγνμαι. Illustrative of a tense which expresses action begun in the past but fulfilled in the present is the series of resultative perfects in 2 Ti 4⁷: *I have fought ἡγώνισμαι, I have*

¹ *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III e IV secolo*, Milan 1923.

finished τετέλεκα, *I have kept* τετήρηκα, i.e. until now. It is remarkable that ἐώρακα occurs so often in the NT and ἀκήκοα comparatively seldom; but to explain the aor. of the latter side by side with the perf. of the former by the theory that to have seen the Lord was a more abiding experience than merely to have heard him, is utterly fantastic (Jn 3³² Ac 22¹⁵ Clem. Hom. 1⁹). Of the two perfects used by Pilate (Jn 19²² ὁ γέγραφα γέγραφα) the first must be simply for euphony, as it is aoristic.

Although a very large number of perfects in the NT cannot fairly be distinguished from aorists, there are still some which retain true resultative, and some a present, meaning.

§ 6. Other Moods of the Perfect in relation to Time¹

(a) Of perfects with present meaning there are in NT and Koine the *imperatives* ἔρωσο, ἔρωσθε (Ac 15³⁹ 23³⁰ SELHP) and the *periphrasis* with ἴσθι. In Eph 5⁶ τοῦτο ἵστε γινώσκοντες may be a Hebraism (cp. γινώσκων οἶδεν LXX 1 Km 20³, and ἵστε γινώσκοντες Sym Je 49(42)²²). In Jas 1¹⁹ ἵστε may be imper. or indic. (S* ἵστω); so also Heb 12¹⁷. In Mk 4³⁹ (as opposed to φιμώθητι in DW, and 1²⁵ Lk 4³⁵) πεφίμωσο is probably a solemn stereotyped phrase used in adjurations.

(b) On the other hand, the *infinitive* is fairly common. In indirect speech (antecedent action): Lk 10³⁶ 22³⁴, Jn 12¹⁸. 29, Ac 12¹⁴ 14¹⁹ 16²⁷ 25²⁵ 27¹³, Ro 15⁸, Col 2¹, 1 Ti 6¹⁷ 2 Ti 2¹⁸, Heb 11³. Subject or object (its time is coincident with the main verb): Lk 12⁵⁸ Ac 19³⁶ Ro 15¹⁹ Ac 26³² 2 Co 5¹¹, 1 Pt 4³ 2 Pt 2²¹. With prepositions διὰ εἰς μετὰ (antecedent action): Mk 5⁴ Lk 6⁴⁸ Ac 8¹¹ 18² 27⁹ Eph 1¹⁸ Heb 10⁹. 15 11³ (Mayser II 1, 186ff).

(c) The *participle* also is fairly common, and its time is relative to that of the main verb, either antecedent or coincident. E.g. coincident: Jn 4⁶ 19³³ Ro 15¹⁴. Antecedent: Mt 26⁷⁵ Lk 16¹⁸ Jn 11⁴⁴ 18¹⁸ (Mayser II 1, 192ff). It is here, as well as in the indicative, that a difference from class. Greek is apparent: there was a distinct tendency in the Hellenistic period to connect very closely a past action with its present consequences. Hence Mt 5¹⁹ οἱ δεδιωγμένοι. It was preferable to say "who has been here a week" than to say "who came here a week ago." Aquila came from Italy recently (Ac 18²), but in Hellenistic they thought, "he has been here since coming from Italy recently." Hence the perfect where class. Greek would have aorist. Thus there can be no difference between preaching Christ ἐσταυρωμένον (as he has been since Good Friday) and preaching Christ σταυρωθέντα (as he was on Good Friday): the one is rather more classical than the other.

¹ K-G I 1923. Stahl 152f. Gild. I §§ 406-409. Mayser II 1, 185-207. Moulton Einl. 277.

§ 7. Pluperfect¹

The tense was never very frequent in the class. period—much less so than in Latin or English—and in the Ptolemaic papyri it shrank to an inconsiderable number of verbs, and was restricted largely to epistolary style. It still appears in NT, but many of the plupfs. of the Latin Bible translate the aorist: e.g. Ac 14²⁷. When it occurs it is simply the perfect placed in past time, relative to the time of speaking: Lk 16²⁰ *he lay* (we might use the impf. *he was lying*), Jn 9³² *the Jews have agreed* put into the past, 11⁴⁴ *past of his face is swathed in a towel*.

§ 8. Future²

(a) *Indicative*. This is the one tense which does not express the *Aktionsart*, but simply states the time of action relative to the speaker. However, it is usually punctiliar, the periphrastic future being used when it is required to indicate linear action (Moulton Proleg. 149f), but the question is really a matter of opinion (Moule p. 10).

The future expresses a command, both in secular (Mayser II 1, 212f) and Biblical Greek. In the Mosaic Law this is particularly so, and prohibitions are formed by the addition of οὐ. All from the OT are: Mt 5²¹. 43. 48 1 Pt 1¹⁶. Otherwise it occurs: Mt 6⁵ οὐκ ἔσεσθε, 20²⁶ οὐκ οὕτως ἔσται, 21³ ἔρεϊτε, 13 κληθήσεται, 27⁴ σὺ δψῃ (Latin?), 24 ὑμεῖς δψεσθε (Latin?), Ac 18¹⁵ δψεσθε αὐτοί (Latin?); also Mk 9³⁵ Lk 1³¹; 1 Cl 60² καθαρεῖς, Herm V. II 2, 6 ἐρεῖς; several times in Barn. 19^{2ff}, Herm. M. XII 3, 1, Did. 11⁷. But Jesus' own commands are imperative: Mt 5⁴⁴ ἀγαπάτε, 10¹³ ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν (D fut). The MSS often vary between fut. ind. and imper. (Cuendet op. cit. 124), e.g.: Mt 20²⁷ Lk 17⁴.

Entirely due to Semitic influence is Rev 4^{9f} καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῶα δόξαν . . . πεσοῦνται . . . καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν . . . καὶ βαλοῦσιν *when they gave glory . . . they fell . . . worshipped . . . threw*; we suspect literal rendering of the Heb. impf. which can be future under some circumstances.

Apparently Gnostic are: Ro 5⁷ *will die* = *is willing to*, 7³ χρηματίσει almost imper. *let her be called*. Deliberative: Mt 11¹⁶ *am I to compare*.

(b) *Infinitive*. It expresses time which is future in relation to the main verb; it has died out in colloquial speech, for the pap. examples are nearly all very early (Mayser II 1, 216), but it is still found in Ac and Heb: Jn 21²⁵ SBC (rest aor.) οἶμαι, Ac 11²⁸ 24¹⁵ 27¹⁰ (μέλλω), 23³⁰ (μηνύω), 26⁷ B (rest aor.) ἐλπίζω, Heb 3¹⁸ (δμνυμι).

(c) *Participle*. The same applies. Independent use: Lk 22⁴⁹ τὸ ἐσόμενον (D γενόμενον), Jn 6⁶⁴ παραδώσω (D pres., S μέλλων), Ac 20²² τὰ συναντήσοντά μοι, Ro 8³⁴ ὁ κατακρινὼν? 1 Co 15³⁷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ

¹ K-G I 151ff. Stahl 119-123. Gild. I §§ 235-237, Mayser II 1, 207-211. Moulton Einl. 232ff.

² K-G I 170ff. Stahl 140ff. Gild. I §§ 265-284. Mayser II 1, 211ff. Keith. "The Future in Greek," *Class. Q.*, 1912, 6, 121.

γενησόμενον, 1 Pt 3¹³ τίς ὁ κακῶσαν ὁμᾶς, 2 Pt 2¹³ κομιούμενοι (S* B arm ἀδικούμενοι), Heb 3⁵ τῶν λαληθησομένων. Dependent: very rare, the pres. ptc. or infin. or a clause taking its place: Mt 27⁴⁹ ἔρχεται σώσων (W σῶζων, S* σῶσαι, D καὶ σώσει), Mk 11¹³ v1 ὡς εὐρήσων, Ac 8²⁷ ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων, 22⁵ ἐπορευόμεν ἄξων, 24¹¹ ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων, 17 ποιήσων . . . παρεγενόμεν, Heb 13¹⁷ ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες (probably genuine only in Ac and Heb). Instead, perhaps under Heb. or Aram. influence, we have the pres. ptc. for fut., e.g. Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδούς (Mt 26²⁵), ἀποδημῶν (25¹⁴), περὶ τῶν πιστευόντων (Jn 17²⁰); also Mt 20²⁰ 22¹⁶, Lk 1³⁵ 2³⁴ 14³¹ 22^{19f}, Ac 21^{2f} 26¹⁷. In all these, translate as a final clause or a future (Zerwick §§ 208, 208^a).

§ 9. Periphrastic Tenses¹

As Lagrange notes, it is a "construction très usitée en araméen, connue des Grecs mais surtout avec le participe au parfait." (S. *Matth.* XCI.)

(a) *Present and Imperfect*². For this εἰμί serves (but never γίνομαι in Ptol. pap. and rarely in NT) with pres. ptc. In NT it is rarely the pres. ind. of εἰμί but usually ἦν ἔσομαι εἶναι or ἴσθι. Scribes of a later age did not like the periphr. tense and altered it at e.g. Mk 1³⁹ 2⁴ 3¹ 5¹¹. 40 9⁴ 13²⁵ 14⁴ 15²⁶. But the development is not far advanced in Hell. Greek, not even in the popular style of the papyri (Mayser II 1, 223f). Due acknowledgement must therefore be given to the influence of Semitic speech³ for the popularity of the usage in NT: so many of the examples occur in Mt, Lk, and the first part of Ac. In Jn the ἦν cannot always be considered independently, even with a little straining: 1⁹. 28 2⁶ 3²³ 18³⁰ ἦν κακὸν ποιῶν (v1 κακοποιός). What possible distinction can there be between ἐβάπτιζεν and ἦν βαπτίζων in Jn 3²². 23, or between ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσεσυχόμενον and ἐν τῷ προσεσχεσθαι αὐτόν in Lk 9¹⁸. 29? Björck (op. cit. 68f) argues against Semitic influence and (op. cit. 53f) urges that sometimes the instances are only apparently periphrastic, the ptc. being adjectival. Indeed it is probably a supplementary predicate in Mk 1⁴ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ

¹ K-G I 38n. 3. Gild. I § 191. 285-290. 291. 293. Stahl 144-147. Schwyzer II 407 (ζ). Mayser II 1, 223ff. Moulton Einl. 357ff. Radermacher², 102. Bauer s.v. εἰμί 4. P. F. Regarde, *La Phrase Nominale dans la Langue du NT*, Paris 1919, 111-185.

² G. Björck, *Ἡ διδασκαλία. Die periphr. Konstruktionem im Griech.*, Uppsala 1940.

³ Aramaic in particular; de Zwaan in *Beginnings* II 62 mentions the Aram. imperfect.

ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων . . . (= ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκήρυσσαν), 93. 7, Mt 525, Lk 120, Ac 99. No doubt in some instances the copula really means *there is* or *there are*, but not in the vast majority.

Present: Mt 133 729 1922 2733 etc., Mk 541 1522. 34 Lk 648 832 SBD, Jn 142 52, Ac 112 436 1415 2510, Ro 136 154, 1 Co 85, 2 Co 217 912 1011, Ga 110. 22f 424, Col 16 25. 23 31, Eph 55 DEKL, 1 Ti 524, Jas 117 315, 2 Pt 37, Rev 118 317. Πρέπον ἐστὶν Mt 315 1 Co 1113. Δέον ἐστὶν Ac 1986 1 Cl 342. Ἐξόν (sc. ἐστὶν) Ac 229 2 Co 124. Συμφέρον (sc. ἐστὶν) 2 Co 121 p46 SBFGP (συμφέρει DEKL).

Imperfect: in Mk there is abundance of periph. tenses (29): 16. 13. 22. 33. 39 24. 6. 18 31 438 55. 11. 40 652 94 1022. 32bis 144. 40. 49. 54 157. 26. 40. 43; Mt 729 124 1424 SCE (B differs) 173 1922 2438 2755. 61 Lk 110. 21. 22 28. 33. 51 323 420. 31. 33. 38. 44 516. 17. 29 612 832 SBD (ACEFG diff) 40 930. 53 1114 1310. 11 141 151 1947 2137 238. 51 2413. 32. 53; Jn 128 26 323 55 1040 1323 1818. 25. 30 1941 ἦν τεθειμένος SB (AD [ἐτέθη]); Ac 110. 13. 14 22. 5. 42 81. 13. 28 99. 28 1024. 30 115 125. 6. 12. 20 147 169. 12 187 1914 213. 9 2219. 20; 2 Co 519; Ga 122. 23f 211; Ph 226; Eph 212; Ti 33; 1 Pt 225; Rev 116 102 174 2111. 14.

(b) *Perfect and Pluperfect*. We have an illustration of the principle that when a grammatical form tends to disappear, having lost its characteristic force, the language will find a substitute; often that substitute is a periphrasis. Class. Greek furnishes numerous examples of periphrastic optative and subjunctive, and the periphrasis began to extend to other parts so that εἰμί with perf. ptc. is very common in NT. No real difference can be detected between ἐπεγέγραπτο Ac 1723 and ἦν γεγραμμένον Jn 1919. Even in the same book within a few lines we find γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν Jn 2030 and ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται 2031. Cp. 1 Jn 412 τετελειωμένη ἐστὶν, 25 τετελείωται; Herm. S. IX 4 ὑποδεδυκῆναι ἦσαν alongside ὑποδεδύκεισαν. Although it may be possible occasionally to trace the presence of the class. force of *insistence*¹, as when Paul separates ἐστώς (a pres. pf.) from εἰμί with great emphasis, referring to his position as a suitor for Imperial justice (Ac 2510), yet usually there is no emphasis and the question of Semitic background is immediately raised. The same construction occurs in the early part of Acts, where there are grounds for supposing Semitic influence (525 εἰσὶν . . . ἐστῶτες). Mayser does not give many exx. from secular Greek. Nevertheless, whatever its origin, the periphrastic

¹ Thucydides book II: 43. 5 62 103 122 493 783 (often with expressive force).

perfect persisted in the mainstream of the language and is in regular use at the present day with the force of the Latin and English perfect.

LXX. Ge 27³³ 30³³ 40⁶ 41³⁶ 43⁹ 44³². Ex 12⁶. 34 17¹² 21²³. 36 32¹⁵ 33¹³ 34³⁰ 39²³. Isa 1¹¹ 8¹⁴. 17 9¹⁹ 10²⁰ 11⁵ his 12² 13³. 15 17⁷. 8. 9 20⁵. 6 22³. 14. 24 27¹⁰ 28⁷ 30¹² 33¹² 36⁴. 5 42²⁰ 54¹¹ 58¹⁴. Dan. 2²⁰. 42 35². 53. 54. 56 6³ 8²⁶ 10⁹ 12⁹.

Pre-Christian papyri: 5 in iii/B.C., 11 in ii/B.C. (Mayser II 1, 224f).

NT: Mt 12³ 9³⁶ 10³⁰ 18³⁰ 26⁴³; Mk 1⁶. 33 6⁵² 14²¹ D 15⁷. 26. 46; Lk 1⁷ 2²⁶ 4¹⁶. 17 5¹. 17. 18 8². 3 9⁴⁵ 12². 6 15²⁴. 32 18³² 20⁶ 23¹⁵. 51. 53. 56 24³⁸; Jn 1²⁴ 2¹⁷ 3²¹. 24. 28 6³¹. 45 10³⁴ 12¹⁴. 16 13⁵ 18¹⁸. 25 19¹¹. 19. 20 20³⁰; Ac 1¹⁷ 2¹³ 4³¹ 8¹⁶ 9³³ 12⁸. 12 13⁴⁸ 14²⁶ 16⁹ 17²³ 18²⁵ 19³² 20⁸. 13 21²⁹. 33 22²⁰. 29 25¹⁰. 14 26²⁶; Ro 7¹⁴ 13¹ 15¹⁴; 1 Co 1¹⁰ 5² 7²⁹ 14⁸ 15¹⁹; 2 Co 1⁹ 4³; Ga 2¹¹ 4³; Eph 2⁶. 8. 12; Col 2¹⁰; Heb 4² 7²⁰. 23 10¹⁰; Jas 5¹⁵; 2 Pt 3⁵. 7; 1 Jn 4¹²; Rev 7⁵ 17⁴ 21¹⁹.

(c) Future Perfect periphrasis is very rare too (Mayser II 1, 225): Mt 16¹⁹ 18¹⁸ Lk 12⁵² Heb 2¹³ (Isa 8¹⁷); but it takes the place of the normal fut. pf.

(d) Periphr. Future, normally linear in *Aktionsart*, is expressed by θέλω and μέλλω with infin. or by the fut. of εἰμί with the ptc. Mt 10²² 24⁹ Mk 13¹³, Lk 21¹⁷ ἔσεσθε μισοῦμενοι, 21²⁴. Mk 13²⁵ (corr. by Mt 24²⁹) Lk 5¹⁰ 12⁵² 22⁶⁹ Ac 6⁴ D 13¹¹ 1 Co 14⁹ Jude 1⁸; Lk 1²⁰ ἔση σιωπῶν. Μέλλω Mk 13⁴ Lk 7² 22²³ Jn 12⁴ Ac 18¹⁴ 20³ 28⁶.

(e) Periphrasis with aorist ptc. (= plupf.): Lk 23¹⁹ B ἦν βληθείς (Engl. impf. or plupf.?) vl. perf., Jn 18³⁰ S*, 2 Co 5¹⁹ ἦν θέμενος. No more in NT, but in post-Christian Greek (K-G I 38f. Gild. I 125f. Radermacher², 102).

(f). Periphrasis with verbal adjectives in -τος: Lk 4²⁴ δεκτός ἐστιν (= δέχεται), Ac 11¹⁷ ἡμην δυνάτος, 28²² γνωστόν ἐστιν, Jn 18¹⁵ ἦν γνωστός, 6⁴⁵ ἔσονται διδασκοί, Ro 1²⁵ ἐστιν εὐλογητός.

(g) Periphrasis with γίνομαι: Mk 9³ (9⁷), 2 Co 6¹⁴ Col 1¹⁸, Heb 5¹², Rev 1¹⁸ 3² 16¹⁰, Did 3⁸, LXX Isa 30¹².

(h) Other periphrases: pres. subjunctive Eph 4¹⁴ Jas 1⁴. Perf. subj. Lk 14⁸ Jn 3²⁷ 6⁴⁵ 16²⁴ 17¹⁹. 23 1 Co 1¹⁰ Ph 1¹⁰ 2 Co 1⁹ 9³ Jas 5¹⁵ 1 Jn 1⁴, LXX Isa 8¹⁴ 10²⁰ 17⁸ 20⁵. 6. Pf. imper. Lk 12³⁵. Pf. ptc. Eph 4¹⁸ Col 1²¹. Infin. Lk 9¹⁸ = 11¹. Imper. Mt 5²⁵ Lk 19¹⁷ Hom. Clem. ep. ad Jac³, Mart. Pelag. 26¹⁵. Eph 5⁵.

It is well to note that in true periphrastic tenses the copula keeps very close to the participle; there are hardly more than four exceptions to this rule in Mark.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE VERB: MOODS: INDICATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE

IN THE use of moods Hellenistic Greek moves further away from class. Greek than in its use of tenses. The optative mood is less used, although there is a considerable survival in the LXX and NT. The infinitive has retreated on some flanks and advanced on others.

§ 1. The Indicative¹

1. The imperfect indicative (without ἄν), in main clauses, to express necessity really concerns only ἔδει, since χρῆ is not Hellenistic². The time is either *past* (*it would have been necessary*, but did not happen) or else *present* (*it were necessary*, but is not happening); in English *ought* serves for both and we make the second verb carry the time-indication.

(a) *Past*: Lk 24²⁶ *would it not have been necessary* οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν, Heb 9²⁶ *it would then have been necessary* ἔδει αὐτὸν πολλάκις παθεῖν. Mt 18³³ *ought you not to have pitied*, 23²³ Lk 11⁴² *ought you not to have done*, Mt 25²⁷, Lk 13¹⁶. Ptol. papyri (dates): 266, iiim, 258, 258, 258, 258, 165, 107.

(b) *Present*: Ac 24¹⁹ *they ought to be here* οὐς ἔδει ἐπὶ σου παρεῖναι. P. Hib. 46, 13 (258 B.C.) ἔδει πάλαι τὰ ἐνέχυρα αὐτῶν ὥδε εἶναι καὶ πεπραῖσθαι, also iiim.

Other imperfects are used in a similar sense for the pres. in NT, but not the papyri: καθῆκεν Ac 22²² (D² καθῆκον), ἀνῆκεν Eph 5⁴ (DE τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) Col 3¹⁸, ἐδύνατο Mt 26⁹ Jn 9³³ Ac 26³², ὥφειλον 2 Co 12¹¹, καλὸν ἦν Mt 26²⁴, κρεῖττον ἦν 2 Pt 2²¹. It is not suggested that the past obligation was not lived up to; it is simply a present obligation expressed for some reason in the imperfect. The reason may be the same as that which

¹ K-G I 202-216. Stahl 351ff. Gild. I §§ 361-368. Schwyzler II 301-309. Mayser II 1, 226-229. R. Law, "Imperfect of Obligation in the NT", *Exp. T.* 30, 330ff. For fut. ind. as a command, see above.

² In NT only Jas 3¹⁰; in LXX only Pr 25²⁷ 4 Mac 8²⁵ A. There are two uncertain examples in the Ptol. pap.: Mayser II 1, 226.

prompts the English past tense *ought* instead of present *owe*: simply because the obligation logically conceived is anterior to the implied fulfilment of the obligation. What we do not find in NT are: ἐξῆν *it were possible*, ἦν with the verbal adj. in -τέος, ὀλίγου with aor. ind. for something that nearly happened, and προσήκει.

2. In the same way an unfulfilled or impossible wish can be expressed by ὄφελον or ἐβουλόμην, etc., as a regret. 1 Co 4⁸ ὄφελον (ὥφελον D^cEL) ἐβασιλεύσατε, 2 Co 11¹ ὄφελον (ὥφ. D^cEFGKL) fut. ind., Rev 3¹⁵ ὄφελον (ὥφ. BP) ψυχρὸς ἦς ἡ ζεστός, Ign. Sm. 12¹, LXX and Epict. have ὄφελον (and ὥφ.) with indic., Gr. Enoch 10⁶⁻¹⁰ ὄφελον subj. Nothing in papyri. In class. Greek a wish relating to the past which can no longer be fulfilled is expressed by εἴθε with ind.; a wish which cannot be fulfilled, relating to past or present, by ὄφελον or εἴθε (εἰ γάρ) ὄφελον, with inf. But the pap. and NT have no instance of εἴθε and εἰ γάρ used in this way.

By omitting the apodosis, a protasis with εἰ may become a wish clause (Lk 19⁴² Ac 23⁹).

Ac 26²⁹ S^cAB εὐξαίμην ἔν (class.), Ro 9³ ἠύχόμην ἀνάθεμα εἶναι. Ἐβουλόμην: Arist. Ran 866, P. Flor. I 6, 7 (A.D. 210) Ac 25²² Phm¹³. Ἦθελον: Soph. Ajax 1400, Epict. (= *I must*), Ga 4²⁰, Clem. Hom. 1⁹, BU IV 1078⁸ (A.D. 39), P. Lond III 897²⁰ (p. 207) (A.D. 84), MGr ἦθελα.

In cl. Attic the aor. (rarely the impf.) was used with ἔν to denote what would have happened at a past time if the attempt had been made, and therefore what *might, could, or should* have taken place. Thus ἠβουλόμην ἔν = *I should (could) have wished* (under other circumstances), Lat. *vellem*. But already in Attic orators the ἔν is dispensed with (K-G I 205; Stahl 358).

3. The "unreal" indicative (impf. for what *should be* now; aor. for what *should have been*) is found in conditional sentences; the ἔν which is the characteristic of "unreal" usage may not even be present. The tenses maintain their proper *Aktionsarten* (NB. plupf. Ac 26³² 1 Jn 2¹⁹).

(a) Apodosis with ἔν¹: Mt 11²¹ εἰ . . . ἐγένοντο (*had been*

¹ Whether Mt 15⁵ Mk 7¹¹ comes here is debatable. It might be an apodosis, with a protasis to be supplied like "if it had not been δῶρον." Thus translate, Δῶρον *is the benefit which you would have received from me*. But ἐάν is not elsewhere used for ἔν in "unreal" use (hence D's correction to ἔν).

done) . . . ἄν . . . μετενόησαν (*would have repented*), Jn 18³⁰ εἰ μὴ ἦν . . . , οὐκ (syrl^{ew} οὐδ') ἄν σοι παρεδώκαμεν *if he were not . . . we would not have*, 18³⁶ (see below). Ptol. pap: iii/B.C. (6), ii/B.C. (1) We have pres. indic. in the protasis in P. Par. 47 (153 B.C.) ἰ μὴ μικρόν τι ἐντρέπομαι, οὐκ ἄν με ἴδες τὸ π(ο)ρσωπόν μου πόποτε, which is parallel to Lk 17⁶ εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν . . . , ἐλέγετε ἄν *if you have faith, you would say* (the "real" condition, pres. indic., may be due to politeness, for the disciples had claimed to have *some* faith, when they asked for it to be increased. *If you had faith* would seem to deny this too bluntly.)

The position of ἄν: it goes back as far as possible, and often there is οὐκ ἄν; note the following: Lk 19²³ κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν σὺν τόκῳ ἄν αὐτὸ ἐπραξα, Jn 18³⁶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ἄν οἱ ἐμοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο (B^{*om} ἄν; SB^{ms} LWX have ἡγωνίζοντο ἄν), 8¹⁹ εἰ ἐμὲ ᾔδειτε καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου ἄν ᾔδειτε BLW (ᾔδειτε ἄν LGΔ), Ga 1¹⁰ χρ.δοῦλος οὐκ ἄν ἤμην, Heb 10² ἐπεὶ (*otherwise*) οὐκ ἄν ἐπαύσαντο.

(b) Apodosis without ἄν: Mk 9⁴² Lk 17² DW καλὸν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περιέκειτο (vl. περιέκειται) μύλος ὀνικός . . . καὶ ἐβλήθη (vl. βέβληται), but the "real" indic. of the other MSS may have some point: "If such a man as that is drowned, it is just as well!" So also Ga 5¹¹ εἰ . . . ἔτι κηρύσσω, τί ἔτι διώκομαι. Mt 26³⁴ Mk 14²¹ καλὸν (ἦν) αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγενήθη. Jn 9³³ εἰ μὴ ἦν . . . οὐκ ἠδύνατο, 15²⁴ εἰ τὰ ἔργα μὴ ἐποίησα . . . ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχον, 19¹¹ οὐκ εἶχες B (ἔχεις SA) ἐξουσίαν . . . εἰ μὴ ἦν . . . , 8³⁹ εἰ τέκνα . . . ἐστε, τὰ ἔργα . . . ἐποιεῖτε SB² DΓWΘ fam¹⁸ (+ ἄν S^cKL) (ποιεῖτε p⁶⁶ B^{*700} Old Lat syr^s), Ac 28³² ἀπολεῖσθαι ἐδύνατο . . . εἰ μὴ ἐπεκέκλητο Καίσαρα, Ro 7⁷, Ga 4¹⁵ (S^cD^cEKLP add ἄν), 2 Cl 20⁴, Gosp. Petr. 25, LXX 2 Mac 5¹⁸, 3 Mac 5³². Ptol. pap. (dates): 141 116 2.

4. The augment-indicative with ἄν stands in dependent clauses in an iterative sense (= class. optative). It is certainly found in class. Greek in *main* clauses to denote a customary past action¹. But in NT and simple Koine it never occurs in main clauses; in temporal and conditional relative clauses it may be a remnant of the class. usage² in main clauses. The class. δς ἄν (ὅταν) βούλοιο ἐδύνατο becomes in later Greek δς ἄν (ὅταν) ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο.

¹ He would often do it, he used to do it; Goodwin § 162. The only exception seems to be Soph. Ph. 442ff. δς οὐκ ἄν εἴλετο (Schwyzer II 350).

² Burton § 26.

Again *ἄν* stands early, as near as possible (if not actually joined) to the conjunction or relative: Mk 3¹¹ τὰ πνεύματα, *ὅταν* αὐτὸν θεώρουν, προσέπιπτον, 6⁵⁶ *ὅπου ἂν* (ἄν) εἰσπορεύετο . . . ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθεσαν . . ., 15⁶ *ὅν ἂν* ἡτοῦντο DG rightly, Ac 24⁵ 43⁵, 1 Co 12² ὡς *ἂν* ἤγεσθε; LXX Ge 38⁹, Ex 33⁸ *ἡνικα δ' ἂν* εἰσπορεύετο, Ps 119 (120)⁷ *ὅταν* ἐλάλουν αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν με δωρέαν *each time I spoke to them*, 1 Mac 13²⁰, Nu 21⁹ (A aor.): see Ottley, *Introduction to OT in Greek*, 1914, 306. Polybius 4, 32, 5 *ὅταν* . . . ἐν πειρασμοῖς ἦσαν, Herm S. IX 6, 4.

The aor. is found, as well as impf. Mk 6⁵⁶ ὅσοι *ἂν* (SΔ om) ἤψαντο SBDΛW (ἤπτοντο ANXHΓΠ) αὐτοῦ, ἐσφάζοντο: von Soden accepts impf., the more normal construction, but aor. is not without precedent. Mk 11¹⁹ *ὅταν* SBCKL (ὅτε AD) ὀψέ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως = *whenever it was evening, every evening*, not as some translators take it *when it was evening* (of that day); by class. standards it is what Field called a "solecism" (Notes 35), but not by Hellenistic, in which it is normal iterative indic. with *ἄν*. Ac 3² *ὅν* ἐτίθουν καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ. It would suggest, in Rev 8¹ (*ὅταν* ἤνοιξεν), that the Lamb's breaking of the seals was a repetitive performance, in spite of the aor. Aor. elsewhere: Polyb. 4, 32, 6 *ὅταν* . . . ἐτράπησαν, 13, 7, 8, 10. LXX Ge 30⁴² v1, Ez 10¹¹. Herm. S. IX 4, 5; 17, 3. Barn 12². P.Lond.IV 1394 (A.D. 709) ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἴ τι δ' *ἂν* συνῆξας χρυσίου ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δημοσίων For *ὅταν* with indic. however in a non-iterative meaning see pp. 112f. For pres. and fut. indic. with *ἄν* see p. 110.

§ 2. The Subjunctive¹

(A). MAIN CLAUSES

1. A substitute for the Imperative

The difference in meaning between pres. and aor. imper. has already been discussed (pp. 74-78); for the perfect imper. see pp. 85, 89. All that remain are the substitutionary forms of the imperative, of which we have already discussed the pres. and aor. infinitive and fut. indic. (pp. 78, 86). There remains the subjunctive, both positive and negative.

¹ K-G I 217-225. Gild. I §§ 369-386. Stahl 228, 364ff. Schwyzler II 309ff. Wackernagel I 230ff. F. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktiv und Optativ in den griechischen Dialekten*, I. 1915.

(a) *The Jussive.* This use of 2nd and 3rd p. subjunctive in positive sentences was never acceptable to Ionic and Attic writers (K-G I 220) and probably does not appear in NT¹ although there are examples from inscriptions of v-iii/B.C. (Sloty op. cit. 22ff) and post-Christian Greek². They are all aor. and so could be confused with fut. through the phonetic resemblance of -σαι and -ση, -σομεν and -σωμεν, etc. Moreover, confusion was already apparent in Attic Greek poetry between the subjunctive and optative for wishes (K-G I 225), and all the time the opt. was generally losing ground; thus the way was prepared for the jussive use of the subjunctive in the popular Koine (exx. in Sloty op. cit. 34, Mayser II 1, 230), while the analogy of the prohibitive subjunctive was ever at hand to suggest this development.

The hortative subj. in 1st p. does however occur in NT (as in class. Greek); Jn 14³¹ Ga 5²⁶ 1 Co 11³⁴ διατάζωμαι ADEFG (-ξομαι p⁴⁶ SBC). Also, where cl. Greek used ἄγε, φέρε or δεῦρο, Hellenistic has ἄφες (ἄς with 1st and 3rd p. subj. in MGr as an imper.) and δεῦρο with 1st p.: Mt 7⁴ 27⁴⁹ Mk 15³⁶ SDV 12⁷ Lk 6⁴² Ac 7³⁴ OT Rev 17¹ 21⁹, Lk 21⁵ διέλωμεν δῆ, Epict. 1, 9, 15 ἄφες δειζόμεν, P. Oxy. III 413, 184 (ii/A.D.).

(b) *Negative.* In prohibitions, as have seen (pp. 74-78), it depends on the *Aktionsart* of the verb whether the pres. imper. or aor. subj. with μή is used; never probably the pres. subj. in NT³ but Herm. S. IV 5 (A pap^{mich}) οὐδὲν διαμάρτης. In neg. hortatory sentences, e.g. 1 Co 16¹¹ μή τις . . . ἐξουθενήσῃ *let no one despise*, 2 Co 11¹⁶ 2 Th 2³.

Ὅπως (ἄν) and ὅπως μή with subj. or fut. ind. occur in the Ptol. pap. like the class. ὅπως and fut. ind., but not the NT.

(c) *Imperative ἵνα.* However the NT does display exx. of ἵνα with subj. in 2nd and 3rd p. ⁴ Mt 20³³ κύριε, ἵνα ἀνοιγῶσιν,

¹ Possible exceptions at 1 Co 7³⁹ FG γαμήθῃ (3rd p), 11³³ ἐκδέχησθε (2nd p).

² Reinhold, *Apost. Väter* 104; Ign. Pol 8³ διαμείνῃτε; Barn. 19¹ σπεύσῃ; Ljungvik BSSV 71 (ἐν νόῳ ἐχρῆς ὅτι BGU II 5, ii-iii/A.D.).

³ Possibly except Col 3⁹ p⁴⁶ μή ψεύδῃσθε.

⁴ Schwyzler II 318. Horn 120ff. Radermacher² 170. Pernot *Études* 63, 97ff, 123, 148f. Moulton Einl. 281. C. J. Cadoux, "The Imperative Use of ἵνα in NT," *JThS* 42, 1941, 165ff. H. G. Meecham, *ibid.* 43, 1942, 179f. A. R. George, *ibid.* 45, 1944, 56ff. (criticism of Cadoux and Meecham). H. G. Meecham *Exp. T.* 52, Aug. 1941, 437. Mayser II 1, 231f. Ljungvik SSAA 38.

Mk 5²³ ἵνα α . . . ἐπιθῇς (or it depends on παρακαλεῖ), 10⁵¹ Παββουνεῖ ἵνα ἀναλέψω. Lk 18⁴¹. Jn 6³⁹ ἵνα . . . μὴ ἀπολέσω, 9³ ἵνα φανερωθῇ, 13¹⁸ ἵνα ἡ γραφή πληρωθῇ, 15²⁵. 1 Co 5² ἵνα ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πράξας usually taken as final, but only imperat. ἵνα will make good sense, as RSV (but not quite NEB), 7²⁹ ἵνα . . . ὦσιν, 2 Co 8⁷ ἵνα περισσεύετε, 9⁴ ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν (p⁴⁶ C*DG it λέγω) *not to say*, Col 4¹⁸ ἵνα . . . ἀναγνωσθῇ *see that it is read*, Ga 2¹⁰ ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν *we must remember*, Phm¹⁹, Eph 5³³ ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῇται τὸν ἄνδρα. 1 Ti 1³ ἵνα παραγγείλῃς (or depends on παρεκάλεσα), 1 Jn 2¹⁹ (final in RV, NEB) ἵνα φανερωθῶσιν *they must be manifest*. Doubtful in Jn 1⁸ *he must bear witness*, 14³¹ *the world must learn*, 18^{9.32} 19²⁴, Mk 14⁴⁹ *the Scripture must be fulfilled*, 1 Co 7^{5.10.29} 2 Co 8^{7.13} 9⁴ Col 2⁴. None in Ac, Past, Heb, Jas, 1, 2 Pt, Rev. The use is popular (Sloty 35), although it is found also in LXX 2 Mac 1⁹ ἵνα ἄγῃτε τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας. Note νά with 2nd and 3rd p. subj. as imper. in MGr. Ptol. pap.: pos. iii/B.C. (2), neg. iii/B.C. (1).

LXX displays a great many exx. because of the influence of its Semitic background: Ge 18²¹ ἵνα γινῶ *I must know*, 30⁸? ἵνα εὕρῃ ὁ παῖς σου χάριν, 44²⁴ ἵνα μὴ ἴδω *let me not see*, 47¹⁹ *let me not die before you*. Ex. Le none. Nu 11¹⁵ *let me not see my wretchedness*, 21²⁷ *let the city be built*. Dt 5¹⁴ *your servant must rest*. Josh 22²⁴ *let not our children say*. Jg Ru Km none. 1 Ch 21³ ἵνα μὴ γένηται εἰς ἁμαρτίαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ *let him not be accused of sin*. 1 Esd. none. 2 Es Ne. To S none. To B 8¹² ἵνα θάψωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ μηδεὶς γινῶ (B ὅπως). Est. Jdt. none. Ps 38⁵ ἵνα γινῶ *let me know*. Pr Eccl Ca Wi Si Isa Je Ba. none. Ezk 37²³ *they must no longer be defiled* pres. subj. Dan O' none. 2 Mac 1⁹ ἵνα ἄγῃτε *see that ye keep*. 3 4 Mac none. Jb 32¹³ (cp. Eph 5³³ Mk 5²³) 1 Mac 1⁹? Acta Petri et Pauli 209¹⁴ ἵνα γινῶς, βασιλεῦ, Acta Phil. 39¹¹ ἵνα λαλῶσιν ὁμοίωτα ἄνθρωπον (following an imperat.), 86²¹ μὴ καλυψάτω με . . . ἀλλ' ἵνα διαπεράσω . . . Before an imperat.: Acta Thom. 253⁸ ἵνα . . . πέμψῃ . . . καὶ εὐφρανέσθωσαν . . . , 253¹⁰ ἵνα μὴ ἀπόλῃται ἡ πεποιθήσις μου καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μου ἡ ἐν σοὶ μὴ κατασχυνοθῇ, 254⁸.

In view of this wealth and the secular poverty of examples, we may claim the imperatival ἵνα as virtually a Semitism, illustrating the homogeneity of Biblical Greek and its distinction from the Koine.

2. *Emphatic Denial and Prohibition with οὐ μὴ*

Besides the imperatival use of the subj. in main clauses, we have the following:

The use of οὐ μὴ¹ to express emphatic denial or a strong

¹ Which also occurs as *nonne* in questions expecting answer yes (see below ch. 19 § 2).

prohibition¹, not so strongly as in class. Greek², is in NT almost restricted to quotations from LXX, to sayings of Jesus, and to Rev. The fut. ind. is also used in NT but not in Ptol. pap. The subj. is very strongly attested in the papyri, and this seems to rule out an exclusively Semitic influence. For theories on the origin of the οὐ μή construction, see Moulton Proleg. 188ff, Goodwin 389ff, Thompson *Syntax* 431-438. It was probably οὐ (no!)-μή (it is not), then punctuated οὐ μή.

(a) In Denials

1. *Aorist.* Aor. subj. occurs in class. Greek. L.S. (s.v. οὐ μή) gives exx from Aesch. Soph. Eurip. Hdt. Thucyd. Aristoph. Plato, Xen. Demosth. Post-cl.: Aelius Aristides (ii/A.D.), Diogenes; Epict. III 22, 33 οὐ μή ἀποθάνωσιν; Ep. Barn. 17² οὐ μή νοήσητε *you will not understand*; Ep. Clem. 27⁵ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ παρέλθῃ τῶν δεδογματισμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Ptol. Pap.: many exx., esp. Zen. P. 59084. 9 (257 B.C.) οὐ μὴ κινήθῃ *that will certainly make no impression on me*; 59396. 4 (iii/B.C.) πρὸς δέ σε οὐθὲν μὴ διενεχθῶμεν *we will certainly not quarrel with you*. Imperial: P. Oxy. 119 (ii-iii/A.D.) οὐ μὴ φάγω, οὐ μὴ πείνω. LXX: (Ge οὐ μὴ 15 times in 337 negs; Ex 13 in 302; Dt 33 in 499) Ge 6³ οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου etc. (9), Ex (6), Le (6) Nu (11), Dt (33), Isa (88), Je α (28) β (50); also, e, g, Jb 7⁹, Wi 1⁸. SA 3¹ 6²² 12¹⁰; Ps. Sol. I 5; Vit. Proph. Jer. 14. NT:—Mt 5¹⁸. 20. 28, 15⁶ οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ E*FGK (rest fut.), 16²⁸ οἴτινες οὐ μὴ γεύσονται θανάτου, 21¹⁹, 24². 34. 35 οὐ μὴ παρελθῶσιν (Mk 13³¹ ACD^o a harmonization), 21 οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ γένηται, 26²⁹. 35 οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσωμαι AEGK (rest fut.), Mk 9¹. 41, 13² οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, 19. 30, 14²⁵. 31 (-σωμαι SEFGK), 16¹⁸, Lk 9²⁷ 12⁵⁹ ο.μ. ἐξελεθῆς, 13³⁵ ο.μ. ἔδῃτε. 11⁵ ο.μ. πῆγ, 63^{7a.b}, 8¹⁷ ο.μ. γνωσθῇ . . . , 18⁷ οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ; 17. 29^f οὐχὶ μὴ ἀπολάβῃ, 21¹⁸. 32 22¹⁶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ, 18. 67. 68, Jn 4⁴⁸ 6³⁵ (vl. fut. ind.), 8¹² (vl. fut. ind.) 51. 52. (vl. fut. ind.), 10²⁸, 11²⁶. 56, 13⁸ οὐ μὴ νίψῃς (D fut. ind.), 18¹¹ οὐ μὴ πῖω αὐτό; Ac 13⁴¹ (LXX Hab¹⁵), Ga 4³⁰ οὐ μὴ (p⁴⁶ FG om) κληρονομήσῃ ACFG (rest fut.), Ro 4⁸ (Ps 31²) οὐ μὴ λογίσσῃται, 1 Co 8¹³ Heb 8¹² (Je 38³⁴), 13⁵ οὐ μὴ σε ἄνω οὐδὲ p⁴⁶ (rest οὐδ' οὐ) μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω D (rest-λείπω) very emph., Rev 2¹¹

¹ K-G I 176f, II 221-223. Jannaris § 1827. Slotty *Konj. und Opt.* 42 § 90. Gild. *AJP* 3, 1882, 202-205. C. D. Chambers, *Cl. Rev.* 10, 1896, 150-153; 11, 1897, 109-111; Wharton *ibid.* 10, 1896, 239; R. Whitelaw *ibid.* 239-244; A. Y. Cambell *ibid.* 57, 1943, 58-61. Mayser II 1, 233. R. Ludwig, *D. prophet. Wort* 31, 1937, 272-279. Moulton Proleg. 187-192.

² Very rare indeed in Hell. Greek. I read the following books without finding a single οὐ μή among 1370 negatives: Aratus *Phaenomena* (iv-iii/B.C.), Callimachus *Hymns and Epigrams* (iii/B.C.), Lycophron *Alexandra* (iii/B.C.), Aelian *Letters of Farmers* ii-iii/A.D.), Philostratus *Love Letters* (ii-iii/A.D.), Alciphron *Fishermen, Farmers, Parasites, Courtesans* (iv/A.D.). But in *Didache* (ii/A.D.), there were 2 out of 124 negs., and in Ep. Clem. (i/A.D.) 1 out of 95 negs.; in Eps. Ign. 1 out of 217.

οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ, 3¹², 7¹⁶, 15⁴ τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ; 18^{21. 23} etc. 1 Pt 2⁶ (Isa 28¹⁶).

2. *Present*. Classical: Xen. Plato, Soph. Is. Ptol. Pap: comparatively rare, e.g. Zen. P. 59610. 21 οὐ μὴ βούλωνται φυλάσσειν (iii/b.c.), Mich. Zen. 77. 13 οὐ μὴ ξηγίς αὐτῶι ἐγκαλέσαι (iii/b.c.). No true ex. occurs in NT, a vl. only Heb 13⁵ p⁴⁶. LXX, e.g. Ge 28¹⁵ Dt 15¹¹ AF, Isa 10²⁰ οὐκέτι μὴ πεποιθότες ὦσιν, 11⁹ οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσουσιν οὐδὲ μὴ δύνωνται, 16¹² οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτόν, 24²⁰ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἵναστῆναι 36¹⁴ οὐ μὴ δύνηται ῥύσασθαι ὑμᾶς, Je 1⁹ 15²⁰ 29¹¹ 30¹² 43⁵.

3. *Future*. Class.: Aesch. Soph. Aristoph. Xen. Aeschin. NT:—Mt 15⁶, 26³⁵, 16²² οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, Lk 21³³ οἱ δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρελεύσονται apparently a conflation of Mt-Mk: Mt 24³⁵ οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν, Mk 13³¹ οὐ παρελεύσονται. (ACD^e harmonize Lk with Mt; such details make it likely that Luke knew Mt.¹), Lk 10¹⁹ οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσει.

Jn 4¹⁴ οὐ μὴ διψήσει, 6³⁷ οὐ μὴ ἐκβαλῶ ἔξω, 10⁵ οὐ μὴ ἀκολουθήσουσιν (vl. aor. subj.), Mk 14³¹ οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι, Jn 20²⁶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω, Ga 4³⁰ οὐ γάρ μὴ κληρονομήσει (Ge 21¹⁰), Heb 10¹⁷, Rev 9⁶ οὐ μὴ εὐρήσουσιν, 18¹⁴ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ εὐρήσουσιν Herm. M. IX 2; IX 5; S. I 5. Barn 11¹ πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα . . . οὐ μὴ προσδέξονται, 19⁷ μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται (cp. Did. 4¹⁰). LXX:—e.g. Ge 21¹⁰ A οὐ γάρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱός . . . (D om μὴ), Nu 35²³ A (rest οὐ), Dt 4³¹ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει σε οὐδὲ μὴ ἐκτρέψει σε, 28³⁰ AF οὐ μὴ τρυγήσεις αὐτόν (B om μὴ). Isa (12), Je α (9), β (4). Enoch 98¹² 99¹⁰.

(b) In Prohibitions ²

1. *Fut. Ind.* In class. Greek "interrogative": Soph. Tr. 978, Eurip. Supp. 1066, Andr. 757, El. 982, Hipp. 213, Aristoph. Ach. 166, Nu. 367, V. 397. Editors and MSS vary between fut. ind. and aor. subj. Probably both were allowed, but subj. may have been commoner in denials and fut. ind. in prohibitions. LXX: Le 11⁴³ οὐ μὴ κοιμηθήσεται ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ . . . Dt 1⁴² οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ μὴ πολεμήσετε (F aor. subj.), 61⁴ AF οὐ μὴ πορεύσεσθε (B om μὴ), 71⁶ AF οὐ μὴ λατρεύσεις τοῖς θεοῖς (B om μὴ), 2 Km 24¹⁴ οὐ μὴ ἐμπέσω *let me not fall*, Je 11²¹ οὐ μὴ προφητεύσεις . . . (-σης A). Mt 16²² οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο. Barn 10⁴ οὐ μὴ, φησίν, κολληθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃς, 5.

2. *Aor. Subj.* LXX:—Ge 3¹ οὐ μὴ φάγητε, ³ οὐδὲ μὴ ἄψησθε, 21⁶ οὐ μὴ ἴδω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ παιδίου μου, Ex (7), Le (1), Nu (3), Dt (13). NT:—Mt 13¹⁴ Ac 28²⁶ (LXX Isa 6⁹) Jn 13⁸ οὐ μὴ νίψης μου τοὺς πόδας. Ep. Barn. 10⁶ οὐ μὴ γένῃ παιδοφθόρος οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ, ⁷ οὐ μὴ, φησίν, γεννηθῇς τοιοῦτος, 19² οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολάς κυρίου (cp. Did. 4¹³), ⁴ οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν, ⁵ οὐ μὴ διψυχήσῃς, ⁶ οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου, ⁶ οὐ μὴ γένῃ

¹ See *Studia Evangelica* (Texte und Untersuchungen, LXXIII) 1959, pp. 223-234.

² W. W. Goodwin, *Trans. American Philol. Assocn.* 1869-70, 52. Sloty op. cit. 43. Mayser II 1, 233 (very rare in papyri, and never prs. subj. or fut. ind.).

ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου . . . οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης,⁷ οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου (contrast Did. 41⁰).

3. *A Cautious Statement.*

Μή with subjunctive to express a cautious statement in a main clause¹ is rare in NT: Mt 25⁹ μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ ΣΑΛΣ (μήποτε οὐ μὴ ἀρκ. BWC; D ἀρκέσει), 1 Th 5¹⁵ ὁρατε μή τις ἀποδοῖ ἄλλὰ . . . διώκετε, 2 Ti 2²⁵ μήποτε δῶ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός *perhaps God will give*. Fairly frequ. in Platonic dialogue, e.g. *it would be rude* μὴ ἀγροικότερον ᾤ, *it would not be right* μὴ οὐ θεμιτόν ᾤ. Only rarely in Ptol. pap. (e.g. P. Par. 32, 162 B.C.) μὴ οὐκ ἀποδώσοι. It is similar to the prospective or future subj.² without μή.

Foreign to class. Attic, this substitute for fut. ind. emerges in later Greek (K-G I 218). It was understandable that the like-soundings -ης and -ει should be confused in fut. and aor., but ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῦς ἡ ἀμαρτία (LXX Isa 33²⁴) and εἰπω σοι (for ἐρῶ σοι)³ go beyond that. So also Ptol. pap. UPZ 31, 7 (162 B.C.) εὐδοκῶ . . . ἐπέλθω. Exx. from post-Christian pap. in Moulton Einl. 292, 2. LXX Isa 10¹⁶ S ἀποστείλῃ. Hom. Clem. 11³ δυνήθῃ.

4. *Deliberative Subjunctive*⁴.

The dubitative subj., the interrogative form of the hortatory, occurs in class. Greek (K-G. I 174, 233; Slotty 51) sometimes in 3rd p., but generally 1st p., negated by μή and introduced immediately by βούλει, βούλεσθε, etc. Incidentally the fut. ind. (see above p. 86) is found sometimes in class. Greek (Plato *Crito* 50B) and NT: Lk 16^{11f} τίς πιστεύσει; τίς δώσει; Mt 16²⁶ τί δώσει (for Mk 8³⁷ τί δοῖ, which p⁴⁵ ACDW harm. with Mt), Lk 22⁴⁹ εἰ πατάξομεν (-ωμεν GH), Mk 6³⁷ ἀγοράσωμεν . . . καὶ δώσωμεν p⁴⁵ AB (-σωμεν SD fam¹³ 28 565; δῶμεν WΘ fam¹), Ro 3⁵ 4¹ etc. τί ἐροῦμεν. Sometimes even pres. ind. in NT: Jn 11⁴⁷ Herm. S. IX 9, 1 τί ποιῶμεν, 1 Jn 3¹⁷ μένει (or μενεῖ) fut.). Plato *Symp.* 214A πῶς ποιῶμεν.

¹ K-G I 224, 7. Stahl 366, 3. Gild. I § 385. Moulton Einl. 303ff. Slotty §§ 84-86, 318, 331. Schmid Attic. III 90. Mayser I 1, 234.

² Schwyzer II 313f. Slotty § 130. Mayser II 1, 234-5. Moulton Einl. 292, 2. Reinhold 101-103. Sophocles Lexicon p. 45.

³ P. Würthle, *Die Monodie des Michael Psellos auf den Einsturz der Hagia Sophia*, 1917, 22f.; Mayser II 1, 235.

⁴ Mayser II 1, 235. Schwyzer II 318. A. W. McWhorter, "A Study of the so-called Deliberative Type of Question (τι ποιήσω;)" *Trans. and Proc., Amer. Philol. Association*, 41, 1910, 157ff.

Subjunctive: Mt 6²⁵ φάγητε, etc. 23³³ πῶς φύγητε: 26⁵⁴ πῶς . . . πληρωθῶσιν; Mk 12¹⁴ δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; Lk 11⁵ ἔξει . . . πορεύσεται . . . καὶ εἴπη (AD a fut.), ⁷ ἀκείνους εἴπη (D ἐρεῖ), 23³¹ ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ τί γένηται (DK fut.); γένηται also in Epict. IV 1, 97; 100. Ro 10^{14f} ἐπικαλέσωνται (p⁴⁶ KLP -σονται), πιστεύσωσιν (vl. -σουσιν), ἀκούσωσιν S^cA²B (L -σουσιν, S^{*}D -σονται, p⁴⁶ -σονται), κηρύξωσιν (vl. -ουσιν), Hom. Clem. 19² πῶς . . . στήκη (from Mt 12²⁶), Herm. S. V 7, 3 πῶς σωθῇ A (P. Mich. -θήσεται), Pass. Perp. et Felic. 1¹ διὰ τί μὴ . . . γραφῇ παραδοθῇ LXX 2 Km 23³ πῶς κραταιώσητε. In Ptol. pap. only in dependent clauses, e.g. οὐκ εἵχομεν ὅθεν αὐτῷ δῶμεν, (dates): 254 247 248 iim (3) 257; once infin. (251); see Mayser II 1, 235f. Introduced by θέλεις, βούλεσθε etc. as in class. Greek (K-G I 221f): Mt 13²⁸ Lk 9⁵⁴ 18⁴¹ Jn 18³⁹.

(B) SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

1. *Fearing.*

The subj. appears as in class. Greek after expressions of anxiety with μὴ or μήποτε or μήπως, e.g. P. Magd. 9, 3 (iii/B.C.) φοβουμένη μὴ συμπέσῃ, MGr φοβοῦμαι μήπως. It occurs after φοβοῦμαι in Luke, Paul and Heb. as a semi-literary feature, rather than popular. Pres. subj.:—Heb 4¹ μήποτε δοκῇ, 12¹⁵ μὴ τις ἐνοχλῇ (after ἐπισκοπέω). Fut. ind.:—Ro 11^{20f} φοβοῦ . . . μήπως οὐδὲ σοῦ φείσεται p⁴⁶ DFG (φείσεται in minusc. only; SABCP om μήπως). Aor. subj.:—Ac 23¹⁰ φ. (or εὐλαβηθεῖς HLP) μὴ διασπασθῇ, 27^{17. 29} μήπως. 2 Co 11³ 12²⁰. Past indic.:—Ga 4¹¹ μήπως εἰκῇ κεκοπίακα (p⁴⁶ 1739 ἐκοπίασα).

After other words than φοβοῦμαι:—Lk 12⁵⁸ δὲς ἐργασίαν . . . μήποτε κατασύρῃ σε . . . καὶ παραδώσει (note change to fut. ind.), 14^{8f} *do not sit . . . μήποτε . . . ἢ κεκλημένος* (D ἔξει), Ac 5³⁹ *we cannot kill them* μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὐρεθῇτε. 2 Ti 2²⁵. Perhaps Mt 25⁹ *go and buy . . . μήποτε . . .* PSI V 495, 8 εὐλαβεῖσθε μήποτε (subj.?) (258 B.C.). P. Tebt. 43, 22 προορώμενοι μήποτε . . . συκοφαντηθῶμεν (118 B.C.). P. Par. 45 προσέχων μὴ εὕρη (153 B.C.). Μὴ alone (Lat. *ne*): Mk 13³⁶ Col 2⁸ μὴ τις ἔσται (final?). Μήπως 2 Co 9⁴. Like cl. Greek, NT Greek distinguished between fear of an uncertain thing in the future (subj.) and fear regarding a present inevitable reality (indic.). Note the difference even in the same verse: Ga 2² *I laid before them the Gospel* μήπως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. 1 Th 3⁵ *I have sent . . .* μήπως ἐπείρασεν ὑμᾶς ὁ πειράζων καὶ εἰς κενὸν γένηται ὁ κόπος ἡμῶν.

2. Purpose

(a) *Use of* ἵνα, ἵνα μὴ, and μὴ¹.

The purpose clause has increased its modes of expression in Hell. Greek. Here we are simply concerned with ἵνα. Its mood was always subjunctive in class. Greek (or oblique optative), and it is generally so in the Koine, even after a secondary tense. The alleged opt. δῶν Eph 1¹⁷ is probably a subj. Hell. Greek also has fut. ind., and we have this in NT, especially in Rev and Paul, quite profusely but always with evidence that scribes have corrected to aor. subj. The addition of καὶ in two instances (Mk 6⁵⁶ Ac 5¹⁵) supplies a modifying or conditional element: *so that even if*.

Fut. indic.

Mt 12¹⁰ ἵνα κατηγορήσουσιν SWX (rest corr. to -σωσιν). Lk 14¹⁰ ἵνα . . . ἐρεῖ (ADW corr. to εἴπῃ), 20¹⁰ ἵνα δώσουσιν (CDW δῶσιν). Jn 7³ ἵνα θεωρήσουσιν (B³ X -σῶσιν). 17² ἵνα δώσει (var. corr.: δώσῃ S^cCG; δάσω S^{*}; δῶς W; ἐξηγ D). Ac 5¹⁵, 21²⁴ ἵνα ξυρῆσονται SB^{*}D^{*E}. 1 Co 9¹⁵ ἵνα τις κενώσει, 18 ἵνα θήσω, 21, 13³ ἵνα καυθήσομαι (CK -σωμαι; p⁴⁶ SAB καυχῆσωμαι), Ga 2⁴ ἵνα καταδουλώσουσιν SAB^{*}CDE (vl. subj.), Eph 6³, Ph 2¹¹ ἵνα κάμψῃ . . . ἐξομολογήσονται (ACDG -σεται). 1 Th 5¹⁰ ἵνα ζήσομεν A (D^{*E} corr. to ζῶμεν; S to ζήσωμεν). 1 Pt 3¹ ἵνα . . . κερδηθήσονται. Rev 3⁹ ἵνα ἤξουσιν (B -ωσιν) καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν (B -σωσιν), 6⁴ ἵνα σφάξουσιν, 11 ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται AP 046 1 (SC -σωνται), 8³ ἵνα δώσει (BP -σῇ), 9⁴ ἵνα ἀδικήσουσιν (SP 046 1 -σωσιν), 5 ἵνα βασανισθῶσιν (vl -σθῶσιν), 9²⁰ 13¹² ἵνα (μὴ) προσκυνήσουσιν (vl -σῶσιν), 14¹³ ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται (P -παυῶνται) (ὅτι p⁴⁷), 13¹⁶ ἵνα δώσει ΔΩΣ 1, 22¹⁴ ἵνα ἔσται . . . καὶ εἰσέλθωσιν (causal ἵνα, like 14^{13?}). On causal ἵνα see below p. 102. There are instances also where, after ἵνα, ὅπως, or μὴ, with subj., there follows καὶ with fut. ind. to indicate further result: Mt 5²⁵, 13¹⁵ OT, 20²⁸ D μήποτε . . . ἐπέλθῃ . . . καὶ κατασχευθῇ, Mk 5²⁸ A, Lk 22³⁰ (many vl), 12⁵⁸, Jn 12⁴⁰ OT, 15⁸ ἵνα καρπὸν . . . φέρητε καὶ γενήσεσθε (BDL corr. to γένησθε), Ac 21²⁴ (see above), Ro 3⁴ OT SADE, Eph 6³ OT, Barn 4³ S, Herm. M. VI 2¹⁰; S. IX 7⁶, 28⁵, LXX Je 29¹¹ DaSu²⁸. (Other exx. in Radermacher² p. 216).

Pres. ind.

Jn 5²⁰ ἵνα θαυμάζετε SL, 17²⁴ ἵνα θεωροῦσιν W (rest subj.), Ga 6¹² ἵνα . . . μὴ διώκονται p⁴⁶ ACGKL (subj. BSD), Eph 1¹⁸ FG ἵνα

¹ K-G II § 553. Mayser II 1, 240ff. Schwyzer II 671ff. W. B. Curry, *The Nature and Use of the ἵνα-clause in the NT* (Diss. of S-W Bapt. Sem., 1949). E. Stauffer in Kittel WB III, 327ff (NT in general); in *Theol. Stud. u. Kri.* 102, 1930, 232-257 (purpose-ἵνα in Paul). H. Diel, *De enuntiationis finalibus apud Graecarum rerum scriptoribus posterioris aetatis*, Munich 1895.

οἶδατε, Ti 2⁴ ἵνα σωφρονίζουσιν S*AGF, Rev 16¹⁵ ἵνα βλέπουν p⁴⁷, Ign Eph 4² ἵνα . . . ἔδετε . . . μετέχετε. Very rare in Ptol. pap.: P. Par. 23, 23 εἶνα διακονεῖ (165 B.C.), Or. gr. 139, 21 ἵνα . . . ὑπάρχει (146–116 B.C.); even these are doubtfully indicative and may be bad spelling for subj. (Mayser II 1, 244); later BU IV 1081³ (ii–iii/A.D.) ἐχάρην ἵνα σε ἀσπάζομαι (causal ἵνα?).

Pres. subj.

Mt none.—Mk 39. 14. 14 412 641 86.—Lk 51⁴ 816 940 aor.? 1133 185. 15 2230.—Jn 315. 16 436 520. 23. 40 628. 38 (86) 939 1010. 38 1315. 19 143. 16 152. 11. 16 164. 24 33 1711. 13. 19. 22. 23. 23. 24. 26 2031.—Ac 819 244.—Ro 911 1125 154. 6. 20.—1 Co 127. 27 57 734 1431 1528.—2 Co 19. 17 47 512. 15 93. 8 127 137.—Ga 116 417 612.—Eph 414. 28 527.—Ph 110. 26. 27 219.—Col 24 321.—1 Th 412. 13.—1 Ti 22 415 57. 20 61.—2 Ti 317.—Ti 19. 13 24. 5. 10 313. 14.—Heb 51 618 925 1317.—Jas 14.—1 Pt 411.—1 Jn 13. 4 21 417.—Phm 13. 14. 15.—Rev 318 71 116 1214 1615 (Total: = 111).

LXX Ge 619 2130 422 438.—Ex 119 2020 2613 2720 3629 3816. 27.—Dt 516. 29 1013 1620 299 306.—Jos 17 34 46. 24 2225. 27 236.—Jg 515 A.—2 Esd 610 725.—To 149 BbA.—Est 417.—Pr 36. 23 59 65. 22 265 2711. 26. 26.—Wi 92 1222 139 1417 163.—Si 84. 15 179 2213 3028. 36 352.—Isa 4020 4415.—Je 3914.—Ezk 1411.—1 Mac 1236.—2 Mac 118 615 1136.—3 Mac 230.—Jb 28 3330 (Total:—62). Ptol. pap. (dates): 223 251 241 iii 255 iii 240 iii 258 241 iii 250 223 261 250 222 255 241 iii 241 258 iii 240 260 253 251 258 261 248; 153 99 163 154 113 57 165 118 ii 161 131 110 103 152 95 168 5 2 166 153 164 118 114 ii 168 115 76 117 (Total:—57).

Aor. Subj.

Mt 122 215 414 529. 30 71 96 1210 (fut. ind.) 17 1415 1727 1816 1913. 16 214 2326 265. 56 2726.—Mk 138 210 32. 10 412 (see below) 21. 22 512. 23 636. 56 (ἵνα καὶ) 79 922 1013. 17 1125 123. 13. 15 1449 1511. 15. 20. 32 161.—Lk 14 524 67. 34 812 912 1150. 54 1236 1423. 29 1529 164. 9. 24. 28 194. 15 2010. 14. 20 228.—Ac 225 417 515 ἵνα . . . καὶ 921 1630 225. 24 2324.—Jn 17. 8. 19. 22. 31 317. 21 48 534. 36 65. 15. 30. 50 732 859 936 1010. 17. 31. 38 114. 11. 15. 16. 19. 31. 42. 52. 55 129. 20. 36. 38. 47. 47 1413. 29. 31 1516 171. 13 189. 28. 32. 37 194. 16. 24. 28; negative: 316. 20 415 514 612. 50 723 1235. 40. 42. 46 161 1828. 36 1931.—Ro 111. 13 38 520. 21 61. 4. 6 74. 13 84. 17 1111. 19. 31. 32 149 1516.—1 Co 128 212 318 46. 8 52 (imperative?) 5 75. 35 915. 19. 20. 20. 22. 23. 24. 25 1033 1119 145. 19 166. 11; neg.: 115. 17 813 912 1132.—2 Co 111. 15 24. 9 410. 11. 15 54. 10. 21 79 89. 14 117. 12. 16. 16 129 137; neg.: 23. 5. 11 63 93. 4 109 1310.—Ga 25. 9. 16. 19 314. 22. 24 45 613.—Eph 27. 10. 15 310. 18. 19 410. 29 526. 27 63. 13. 22; neg.: 29.—Col 118. 38 22 44. 8.—Ph 210. 15. 28. 30 38; neg.: 227.—1 Th 216 510.—2 Th 212 39. 14.—1 Ti 116. 20 315 516 619.—2 Ti 14 24. 10 417.—Ti 15 28. 14 37; neg.: 1 Ti 36. 7.—Heb 214. 17 416 109. 36 1135 1227 1312. 19 neg.: 313 411 612 1128. 40 123. 13.—Jas 59. 12 43.—1 Pt 17 22. 12. 21. 24 31. 9. 16. 18 46. 13 56.—2 Pt 14.—1 Jn 228 31. 5. 8 49 513.—Rev 210 311. 18 62 812 915 124. 6. 15 1315 1612 1915. 18 2115; neg.: 318 812 184 203. (Total:—322).

LXX Ge 26, Ex 37, Le 7, Nu 4, Dt 43, Jos 4, Jg Ru 3, Km 8, Chr 3, 1 Esd 1, 2 Esd-Ne 2. To S 2, To B 5, Jdt 6, Est 1, Ps 6, Pr 35, Ecol. 5, Wi 23, Si 25, Jb 16, Isa 26, Je 9, Ba 2, La 1, Ezk 3, DaO' 7, Θ 4, 1 Mac 3, 2 Mac 3, 3 Mac 1, 4 Mac 2. (Total:—112).

It is difficult to decide between telic and ecbatic force for *ἵνα* in the formula with *πληρόω, ἀναπληρόω, τελειόω*. It is probably telic, since *ὅπως* is occasionally substituted for *ἵνα* in the formula, and especially in view of the Jewish theology probably lying behind it. But in Lk 9⁴⁵ *ἵνα μὴ αἰσθωνται αὐτό* is probably consecutive rather than final. In Col 2⁴ *ἵνα* may be final: *I say this in order that . . .*, but equally possible is an imperatival sense: *Let no one . . .* 2 Co 1¹⁷ is similarly controversial. The *ἵνα* in Jn 9² (*τίς ἤμαρτεν . . . ἵνα*) is consecutive, but the weak variant *ὅτι* indicates that scribes took it for causal *ἵνα*. It is like Epict. III 1, 12 *τί εἶδεν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ Ἐπίκτητος, ἵνα . . . περιίδῃ*; So also the *ἵνα* in Mk 15³² *καταβάτω ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν* is obviously consecutive. For instances of ecbatic *ἵνα* elsewhere, see Jannaris §§ 1758, 1951; Radermacher² 191f.

The question of causal sense for some instances of *ἵνα* in NT has also been raised¹. In Rev 22¹⁴ it is claimed that *μακάριοι . . . ἵνα* is parallel with *μακάριοι ὅτι* in Mt 5³¹¹; but the possibility of telic force cannot be ruled out. In Rev 14¹³ the question of imperatival *ἵνα* arises: *They shall rest!* The *ἵνα* of Mk 4¹² = Lk 8¹⁰ is transformed into causal *ὅτι* in the Mt-parallel, but this would not prove identity of meaning. In 1 Pt 4⁶ (*ἵνα κριθῶσιν . . . καὶ ζῶσιν*) it would be possible to assume that *ἵνα* is causal and that a second *ἵνα* (telic) has fallen out before *ζῶσιν*—or that we are to take *ἵνα* first as causal and then as telic. The causal as well as final use of *ἵνα* was acknowledged by the grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus (ii/A.D.) and no doubt this was so in NT. The causal makes excellent sense in Jn 8⁵⁶ (Abraham rejoiced *because . . .*). The real crux is Mk 4¹². The consecutive of NEB is not so good as final (OT background) or causal (good precedent and excellent sense). Lohmeyer in

¹ On causal *ἵνα* see Jannaris § 1714; Pernot *Études* 90–95; H. Windisch, "Die Verstockungsidee in Mk 4.12 und das kausale *ἵνα* der späteren Koine," in *ZNW* 26, 1927, 203ff; A. T. Robertson, "The Causal Use of *ἵνα*," *Studies in Early Christianity* 1927, 49ff; C. H. Dodd, in *JThS* 23, 1922, 62f; U. Holzmeister, in *Biblica* 17, 1936, 512ff; LS s.v.; Bauer s.v. (112).

his commentary (Göttingen 1937, in loc) states truly "ἵνα bedeutet in der Koine . . . auch, wenn gleich seltener, 'weil'".

"ἵνα instead of almost any infinitive¹, for epexegetic infinitive, in demands after verbs of willing and the like, and also in an ecclastic sense, marks the beginning of a process which ended in the disappearance of the infinitive and substitution of *νά* with subj. in MGr.

Subjunctive:

Mt 4⁸ εἰπέ ἵνα . . . γένωνται, 16²⁰ ἐπετίμησεν B*D (διστείλατο SCΘ) ἵνα . . . εἰπωσιν.—Mk 5¹⁰ παρεκάλει . . . ἵνα μὴ . . . ἀποστείλῃ, 3⁹ εἶπεν . . . ἵνα . . . προσκαρτερῇ. 6²⁵ θέλω ἵνα . . . δῶς, 9³⁰ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοῖ, 10³⁵ θέλομεν ἵνα . . . ποιήσῃς, 51. Mk. command: 3^{9.12} 54³ 68.12 73⁶ 83⁰ 9⁹ 104⁸ 121⁹ 133⁴ 152¹; grant 103⁷ 111^{6.28}; beseech 510.18 65⁶ 726.32 822 918 1435.38 1318.—Mt 71² θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν, 181⁴ θέλημα . . . ἵνα ἀπόλῃται, 20²¹ εἰπέ ἵνα καθίσωσιν, 31 ἐπετίμησεν . . . ἵνα σιωπήσωσιν, 27³² ἡγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ, 28¹⁰ ἀπαγγεῖλατε . . . ἵνα ἀπέλθωσιν, 121⁶ ἐπετίμησεν . . . ἵνα μὴ . . . ποιήσωσιν, 143⁶ παρεκάλουν . . . ἵνα aor. subj., 24²⁰ 264¹ προσεύχεσθε . . . ἵνα aor. subj., 27²⁰ ἐπεισαν . . . ἵνα aor. subj.—Lk 631 θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν, 148 whence is this to me ἵνα ἔλθῃ; command: 4³ εἰπέ . . . ἵνα, 104⁰ εἰπὼν ἵνα, 183⁹ ἐπετίμων . . . ἵνα 20²⁸ ἔγραψεν . . . ἵνα; request: 73⁸ ἡρώτα . . . ἵνα, 83² παρεκάλεσαν . . . ἵνα, 831 παρεκάλουν . . . ἵνα, 94⁰ ἐδεήθην . . . ἵνα, 162⁷ ἐρωτῶ . . . ἵνα, 213⁸ δεόμενοι . . . ἵνα, 223² ἐδεήθην . . . ἵνα, 46 προσεύχεσθε . . . ἵνα; completing verbal idea 7⁸ ἵκανος . . . ἵνα, 17² better for him ἵνα; Ac. command: 163⁶ ἀπέσταλκαν . . . ἵνα ἀπολυθῇτε, 171⁵ λαβόντες ἐντολὴν . . . ἵνα, 194 λέγων . . . ἵνα, plot: 274² βουλὴ ἐγένετο ἵνα. Jn, will: 64⁰ θέλημα . . . ἵνα . . . ἔχῃ, 172⁴ θέλω ἵνα . . . ὧσιν, command: 115⁷ δεδώκεισαν . . . ἐντολὰς ἵνα, 132⁹, 34 ἐντολὴν καινὴν διδωμι ἵνα, 151² ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἵνα, 17 ἐντέλλομαι . . . ἵνα, 174 τὸ ἔργον . . . δὲ δέδοκάς μοι ἵνα ποιήσω, beseech: 44⁷ ἡρώτα ἵνα καταβῇ, 171^{5.21} ἐρωτῶ ἵνα, 193¹ ἡρώτησαν ἵνα, agree: 92² συνετέθειντο . . . ἵνα, 115³ 121⁰ ἐβουλεύσαντο ἵνα, allow: 127 ἄφες . . . ἵνα, epexegetic: 62⁹ τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ἔργον τ. θεοῦ ἵνα πιστεύητε, 85⁶, 122³ 131 162.32 ἡ ὥρα ἵνα, 15⁸ ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη . . . ἵνα καρπὸν πολὺν φέρητε, 13 greater love . . . ἵνα (= i.e.), 173 this is eternal life ἵνα, 183⁹ there is a custom ἵνα; consecutive: 92 τίς ἡμαρτεν . . . ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; completing verbal action 127 ἄξιός ἵνα, 225 χρεῖαν εἶχεν ἵνα, 434 ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα, 57 ἀνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα, 67 οὐκ ἄρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἕκαστος βραχὺ λάβῃ, 115⁰ 167 συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα, 132 put it in the heart ἵνα, 163⁰ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις ἵνα; after ποίεω 113⁷.—Rom command 162; pray 1531.32.—1 Co 161⁰ βλέπετε ἵνα; seek 141.12; say 72⁹; epex. 43; a small thing ἵνα 91⁸ (fut. ind.); beseech 11⁰ 141³ 161^{2.16}; it is required 42; 14⁵ θέλω . . . λαλεῖν . . . ἵνα προφητεύητε,

¹ Even subject infinitive, e.g. Jn 167 συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα ἐγὼ ἀπέλθω, and 1 Co 91⁸.

161² θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ.—2 Co beseech 12⁸ παρακάλεσα ἵνα; exhort 8⁶ 9⁵.—Ga consecutive 51⁷.—Eph pray 11⁷ 31⁶ 61⁹. 20 δεήσει ἵνα.—Ph pray 1⁹ epex. 2² *namely* ἵνα.—Col pray 1⁹ αἰτούμενοι ἵνα 4^{3,12}; βλέπε ἵνα 41⁷; after ποιέω 41⁶.—Th beseech 1 Th 41¹ 2 Th 31² παρακαλέομαι; pray 2 Th 111 31²; consec. 1 Th 54.—1 Ti exhort 13. 18 521 Ti 212 38.—2 Pt 31⁷ φυλάσσομαι.—Joh epp. command 1 Jn 323 421 51⁶ 2 Jn 5. 6; epex. 1 Jn 1⁹ (cp. Heb 610) faithful and just ἵνα; 22⁷ χρεῖαν ἔχω ἵνα, 311 the message ἵνα, 53 love of God ἵνα; 2 Jn 6 love ἵνα; 3 Jn 4 joy ἵνα; 2 Jn 8 βλέπετε ἵνα.—Rev command 611 94 ἐρρέθη ἵνα (fut. ind.); 9⁵ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς . . . ἵνα 19⁸; 141⁸ καὶ λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα ἵνα (fut. ind.); completing verbal action 221 χρόνος ἵνα; 8⁶ prepare ἵνα; 212³ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει . . . ἵνα; epex. (or consec?) 920 repented ἵνα (fut. ind.); 131³ ἵνα = i.e.; after ποιέω (cp. Mt 2424 ὥστε) 3⁹ 131² (fut. ind.) 15. 16. 17.

LXX: Ge 221⁴ consec., 24⁸ ἐξόρκισε σε κύριον . . . ἵνα μὴ λάβῃς.—Ex 611 λαλέω.—Dt command 62 ὅσα ἐνετείλατο ἵνα φοβήσθε κύριον; swear 421.—3 Km 62 (51⁷) command ἐνετείλατο ἵνα B^{ab}.—1 Ch 211⁸ command εἰπεῖν . . . ἵνα.—2 Ch 181⁵ adjure ὀρκίζω σε ἵνα μὴ λαλήσῃς (A fut. ind.).—1 Esd command 44⁷ ἔγραψεν . . . ἵνα προπέμψωσιν, 50 ἔγραψεν . . . ἵνα . . . ἀφίουσι (B pres. ind., A pres. subj.), 631 προστάξει ἵνα, 81⁹ προσέταξα . . . ἵνα . . . διδῶσιν pr. ind.; beseech 44⁶ δέομαι . . . ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὴν εὐχὴν; care 62⁷ ἀτενίσαι ἵνα συνοικώσιν.—Ne 7⁶⁵ εἶπεν . . . ἵνα μὴ φάγωσιν.—To S command 14⁹ ἐνυποταγήσεται . . . ἵνα ὦσιν . . .; beseech 61⁸ δεήθητε . . . ἵνα ἔλεος γένηται (not B); completing verbal idea 31⁵ *he has no other child* ἵνα κληρονομήσῃ αὐτόν (not B), 5⁷ χρεῖαν . . . ἔχω ἵνα βαδίσῃς (not B), 9 πιστὸς . . . ἵνα πορευθῇ μετὰ σοῦ (B τοῦ and inf.), 61⁵ *they have no other son* ἵνα θάψῃ αὐτούς (not B).—To B beseech 8⁴ προσευξόμεθα ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσῃ ὁ κύριος (S ὅπως).—Jdt 72⁸ μαρτυρόμεθα ὑμῖν . . . ἵνα μὴ ποιήσῃ.—Mal 1⁹ beseech δεήθητε . . . ἵνα ἐλεήσῃ ὑμᾶς S^{ca}.—Ps allow 381⁴ ἄνεις μοι ἵνα ἀνυψώξω.—Ca beseech 51 αἰτεῖται . . . ἵνα καταβῇ S.—Wi consec. 14⁴.—Si beseech 371⁵ δεήθητι . . . ἵνα εὐθύνῃ, 381⁴ δεηθήσονται ἵνα εὐοδόσῃ; promise 441⁸ διαθήκῃ αἰῶνος ἐτέθεσαν . . . ἵνα μὴ ἐξαλειφθῇ, 452⁴ ἐστάθη . . . διαθήκῃ . . . ἵνα . . . ᾤ.—Isa command 361²; βουλεύομαι 4221.—Ba pray 111 προσεύξασθαι . . . ἵνα ὦσιν.—Ezk after ποιέω 362⁷ ἵνα . . . πορεύσθε.—Da O' command 31⁹ προσέταξας καὶ ἔκρινας ἵνα πᾶς . . . προσκυνήσῃ (Th. μὴ and aor. subj.), 39⁶ κρίνω ἵνα . . . διαμελισθήσεται fut. ind. (no ἵνα in Th), 61² οὐχ ὀρισμὸν ὥρισω ἵνα πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μὴ εὐξῇται εὐχὴν (Th ὅπως), adjure 61² ὀρκίζομέν σε . . . ἵνα μὴ ἀλλιώσῃς . . . καὶ . . . ἐλαττώσῃς (Th om); fear 11⁹ ἵνα μὴ ἴδῃ (Th μήποτε); request 1⁸ ἤξιωσεν . . . ἵνα μὴ συμμολυνθῇ (Th ὡς οὐ μὴ), 21⁶ ἤξιωσεν ἵνα δοθῇ (Th ὅπως), 24⁹ ἤξιωσεν . . . κατασταθῶσιν (co-ord. in Th).—Da Θ be ready 31⁵ (LXX infin).—Jb command 37⁶ A.—1 Mac command 45⁹ ἔστην . . . ἵνα ἔγωνται, 1141 ἀπέστειλεν . . . ἵνα ἐκβάλῃ; write 151⁹ γράψαι . . . ἵνα μὴ συμμαχώσιν.—2 Mac command 2² ἐνετείλατο . . . ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλάβωνται; beseech 2⁸ ἤξιωσεν ἵνα . . . καταγαγῇ.—4 Mac beseech 161² οὐδ' ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωσιν ἐπέτρεπεν . . .

In the Greek Bible the books which use ἵνα in a non-final sense at least equally as often as in a final sense are: Ch, 1 Esd, To S, Dan O', 1 Mac, Mt, Mk.

As to order of clauses, the *ἵνα*-clause generally follows the governing main clause, except where a second clause depends on the main verb; the exceptions in pre-Christian papyri are (dates): iii 244 iii 164 152 (all pre-positive).

(b) *Use of ὅπως (μή), ὥς, etc.*¹

In NT *ὅπως* is rather strictly confined to final sentences and to its use after *beseech* (e.g. *παρακαλέω*). In class. Attic it was also used with fut. ind. after *strive, take care*, but that is restricted to *ἵνα* in NT. In both NT and Koine² *ἵνα* and *ὅπως* alternate for the sake of variety: Jn 11⁵⁷, 1 Co 12⁹ *ἵνα . . . καταργήσῃ, ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι* 2 Co 8¹⁴ *ἵνα γένηται . . . ὅπως γένηται*; 2 Th 1¹². John restricts himself almost entirely to *ἵνα*, in spite of the return of *ὅπως* in Hell. Greek; in the Ptol. papyri it is almost as frequent as *ἵνα* (302:260), although most exx. of *ὅπως* occur in official writing (Mayser II 1, 247-52, 256, 261). The figures of R. C. Horn (p. 31) corroborate Mayser:

Period	ἵνα	ὅπως	Proportion
Ptolemaic	222	200	same
Imperial	436	88	5 : 1
Byzantine	153	41	4 : 1

For class. Greek, see the figures in Goodwin, appendix III.

Ὅπως has largely lost its *ἔν* in NT, in spite of many instances in the early papyri and older inscriptions, especially in official writings (Mayser II 1, 254-57; II 3, 50; Meisterhans 254; Horn 31); exceptions in the NT are Lk 23⁵ Ac 32⁰ 912⁷ 151⁷ OT (Am 91² where no *ἔν*), Ro 3⁴ (Ps 50 (51)⁶), 91⁷ (Ex 91⁶ where our text has no *ἔν*).

The only place in NT where final *ὥς* occurs is Ac 20²⁴ (v.l. *ὅπως*). It is rare also in the Koine. R. C. Horn gives only P. Tebt. 56, 11ff (ii/B.C.), P. Prk. 5232, 35 (A.D. 14), P. Path 1 (99 B.C.), P. Prk 5357, 9 (prob. Byz.).

Other ways of expressing purpose in the later Koine are: *ὕπὲρ τοῦ* c. inf. (P. Giess. ii/A.D.), *πρὸς τό* c. inf. (P.B.M. A.D. 187,

¹ K-G II 375, 2; 385, 5. Schmid Attic. IV 621. Mayser II 1, 254-8.

² Mayser II 1, 245; Diogen. of On. I 8 οὐχ *ἵνα* . . . ἀλλ' *ὅπως* . . . Cp. in 1 Clem *ὅπως* and *εἰς τό*.

P. Flor. A.D. 514, O.P. A.D. 335, P.B.M. A.D. 345). εἰς τό c. inf. (O.P. A.D. 190, O.P. A.D. 427), ὥστε c. inf. (P. Flor. iii/A.D. bis). See pp. 135f., 141-144. In Hellenistic colloquial speech there was much overlapping in the use of ἵνα (or ὅπως) and ὥστε (or ὡς); so much so that ἵνα (ὅπως) are even used with the inf. and ὥστε with subj., with their final and consecutive rôles respectively reversed (see Ljungvik BSSVS 46f).

Certain writers like Aristophanes, Plato and the orators, favoured ἵνα, but Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Attic inscriptions of v-iv/B.C. favoured ὅπως. Polybius always chooses ἵνα and this development is reflected in NT and inscriptions and papyri of i/A.D., until the Atticistic revival of ὅπως set in about iii-iv/A.D.

	ἵνα	ὅπως
Homer	9	145
Thuc. (whole)	53	156
Xen. (i-iii)	32	52
Herodotus	17	107

	ἵνα	ὅπως
Polybius (i-v)	62	0
NT	746	58
Test. Sol.	16	10
Ep. Arist.	28	17
Pap. i/A.D.	2	0
ii/A.D.	17	3
iii-v	21	3

* From P. Bouriant, P. Lug. Bat. 1, 2, 3, P. Oslo 1, 2, 3.

Ac is the only NT book with much stylistic pretence in this respect (as with τε). Where there is a variant, except in Ac, we should probably accept ἵνα, e.g. Mt 6¹⁸D. However, ὅπως seems to be preferred with verbs of *beseeching*: Mt 8³⁴ παρεκάλεσαν, 9³⁸ δεῖσθαι, Lk 7³ ἑρωτᾶν, Ac 8¹⁵ προσεῦχεσθαι, Jas 5¹⁶ εὐχεσθαι.

3. Relative clauses ¹

A futuristic subjunctive (neg. μή) in relative clauses introduces an element of uncertainty and supposition. Sometimes

¹ K-G II § 559. Stahl 521ff. Meisterhans-Schw. 236f. Moulton Einl. 259ff. Mayser II 1, 261-267. M. L. Earle, "Subjunctive of Purpose in Relative Clauses in Attic Greek," *Trans. & Proc. American Philol. Assoc.*, 23, 17; J. E. Harry, "The Use of οἷος, ποῖος, and ὅποιος," *ibid.* 38, 18. A. W. Argyle, "The Causal Use of the Relative Pronouns in the Greek N.T.," *Bible Translator* 6, 1955, 165-169 (repetition is not a Semitism). H. J. Cadbury, "Relative Pronouns," *JBL* 42, 150-7.

the clause is the equivalent of a condition ($\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma$); sometimes of a final clause. The main verb is usually future or an imperative, but the general idea may be timeless. These general relative clauses almost invariably contain the particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (even if the verb is in the indic. mood¹), and it stands as near to the rel. pronoun as possible, though $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$, etc., may intervene. Its presence was virtually essential in classical prose and is only very rarely omitted in NT and Egyptian Koine. Of course, the conditional particle $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is gaining on $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ from iii/B.C. In the papyri it becomes more frequent at the end of ii/B.C. and during i/B.C. ($\acute{\alpha}\nu$:—iii 130; ii-i 78. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$:—iii 4; ii-i 16). The use of pres. or aor. subj. bears little or no relation to the *Aktionsart*. In the papyri, the difference appears to be that the pres. indicates that the time of the subordinate clause is coincident with that of the main (or durative action, if relatively past), while the aor. indicates a relatively past time. To take the half-dozen instances of pres. tense in Mt: in 7¹² the main verb is *do so to them* and the rel. clause is *what you wish them to do to you*, i.e. at the time when you are doing it to them; 11²⁷ the Father is known only to that man *to whom the Son has been willing* (from time to time, durative) *to reveal him* $\tilde{\omega} \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$; 16²⁵ 20²⁶. 27 *that man will lose his life who is desirous* (at that moment) *to save it* (whereas also in 16²⁵ is the aor., meaning *who by that time has already lost it, he will save it*); 20⁴ *I will pay you whatever* (at that time) *is the right payment* $\delta \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu \tilde{\eta} \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$. By way of contrast, we discover from the more abundant aorists in Mt that the relative action is always antecedent to the main action: 5¹⁹ *he will be called least, who* (by that time shall have) *relaxed*; 32 *he makes his wife an adulteress who divorces* (i.e. has already divorced) *her*.

1. Pres. subj.

(a) with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$: (x) coincident time, e.g., LXX Ge 39³, Mk 9³⁷ $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\mu\epsilon \delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ BL 892; Jn 2⁵ $\tilde{\omega} \tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta$ *whatever he will be saying to you*: do it at the time he is saying it (for a different explanation, making it equivalent to universal $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ c. subj. in conditional clauses, see Zerwick

¹ It is a feature of Hell. Greek that the connection between the mood and the conjunction (e.g. subj. after $\acute{\alpha}\nu$) is becoming less determined, and so we have $\epsilon\iota$ with subj., $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with indic., $\delta\tau\epsilon$ with subj., $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ with indic., etc. In MGr only the fuller conjunctions $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ remain; and they have both indic. (real) and subj. (probable).

§ 235: *whatsoever at any time he says to you.*) (β) antecedent continuous or iterative time, e.g. Mt 20²⁷ Mk 10^{43f} δς ἂν θέλῃ . . . ἔσται ὑμῶν (δοῦλος).

(b) with ἐάν: (α) coincident, e.g. LXX Ge 6¹⁷ ὅσα ἐάν ᾤ, 20¹⁵, 21²² (durative), 30³³, 44¹; Mt 7¹² ὅσα ἐάν θέλητε (or continuous), 11²⁷ ᾧ ἐάν βούληται, 20⁴ δ ἐάν ᾤ δίκαιον, Mk 6²² αἰτήσόν με δ ἐάν θέλῃς. (β) antecedent cont. or iterat., e.g. Mt 16²⁵ 20²⁶ Mk 8³⁵ δς . . . ἐάν θέλῃ.

(c) without ἂν or ἐάν, e.g. Mt 10³³ ὅστις δὲ ἀρνήσεται BLW (rest ἂν).

2. Aor. subj.

(a) with ἂν: LXX Ge 2¹⁷ 3⁵ 11⁶ 12¹ 21⁶ 22² 24¹⁴. 43 26² 42³⁸ 44⁹. 10 48⁶ AB. Mt 5¹⁹ δς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ, ²¹ φονεύσῃ, ²² 15⁵ εἰπῇ, 53¹ 19⁹ δς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ (OT Dt 24¹), 10¹¹ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν . . . εἰσέλθῃτε, ¹⁴ δς ἂν μὴ δέξῃται, ³³ ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσεται vl., 12⁵⁰ ὅστις . . . ἂν ποιήσῃ, 16²⁵ δς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ, 18⁶ δς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ, 19⁹ δς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ, (21⁴⁴ ἐφ' οὗ ἂν πέσῃ), 23¹⁶. 18 δς ἂν ὁμώσῃ, 26⁴⁸ ὃν ἂν φιλήσω. Mk 3³⁵ δς ἂν ποιήσῃ, 3²⁸ ὅσα ἂν βλασφημῇσιν SD (ὅσας ἂν AFΦ fam¹ 22 28 157 700), 3²⁹ δς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ, 6¹¹ δς ἂν (τόπος) μὴ δέξῃται, 9³⁷ δς ἂν . . . δέξῃται DWΔΘ (corr. to ἐάν by 565 579 700), ⁴¹ δς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ (S ἐάν; HΓΔ Ψ 28 ποτίσει), ⁴² δς ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ (ACX ἐάν), 10¹¹ δς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ (ANX 700 ἐάν), ¹⁵ δς ἂν μὴ δέξῃται (ANX 700 ἐάν), 11²³ δς ἂν εἰπῇ. 14⁴⁴ ὃν ἂν φιλήσω (LNΔΨ ἐάν).

(b) with ἐάν: LXX Ge 15¹⁴ 20¹³ 21¹² 28¹⁵. 22 31³² 34¹¹ 41⁵⁵ 42³⁸ 48⁶ (Rahlfs). Mt 5¹⁹ δς ἐάν . . . λύσῃ, ³² δς ἐάν . . . γαμήσῃ, 10⁴² δς ἐάν (vl) ποτίσῃ, 11⁶ δς ἐάν (vl) μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ, 12³² ἐάν (vl) εἰπῇ. 14⁷ δ ἐάν αἰτήσεται (an apparent exception: she had not asked anything yet, but would have done so before he was able to make the gift), 15⁵ ὠφεληθῇς, WHT (rest aor. ind.), 16¹⁹ δήσῃς, 18⁵ δέξῃται, ¹⁹ οὗ ἐάν αἰτήσονται ¹⁸ ὅσα ἐάν δήσητε, 21²² ἐάν (vl) αἰτήσητε, 22⁹ ὅσους ἐάν εὖρητε, 23³ πάντα . . . ὅσα ἐάν εἴπωσιν.—Mk 3²⁸ ὅσα ἐάν βλασφημῇσιν BΔΘ, ὅσας ἐάν βλ. CFE 33 565 892 1071, 6²³ ὅτι ἐάν με αἰτήσῃς BΔ p⁴⁵ 118 124 435, ὅτι δ ἐάν μ.α. SAC Θ fam¹³ 33, 7¹¹ δ ἐάν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς (DW 28 ἂν), 8³⁸ δς γὰρ ἐάν ἐπαισχυθῇ SBC Θ p⁴⁵ (ἂν GHKSUWΠΦ fam¹. 18 22 543 28 33 700 Cl. Alx D), 9³⁷ δς ἐάν ἐμὲ δέξῃται ACNXΓΣΦ, 10³⁵ δ ἐάν αἰτήσωμεν (ἂν DW 6369 C*; αἰτήσομεν S^cA), 13¹¹ δ ἐάν δοθῇ (ἂν ADW 229 1342).

(c) neither ἂν nor ἐάν: Mt 10³³ BLW ὅστις δὲ ἀρνήσεται.

3. Pres. and Aor. side by side

Mt 16²⁵ δς . . . ἐάν θέλῃ — δς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ.

Thus in Mt the situation is different from that in pre-Christian papyri, and precisely the same as in LXX Ge (Rahlfs' text).

PAPYRI

MATTHEW

Present			Aorist			Present			Aorist		
ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither
118	12	3	85	8	2	1	5	—	18	14	1

LXX GE

MARK

Present			Aorist			Present			Aorist		
ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither	ἔν	ἐάν	neither
1	5	—	13	10	—	2	2	—	12	7	—

Also in contradistinction to the papyri¹, the NT sometimes employs the subj. in relative clauses, in a final sense, where class. Greek used the fut. ind.: Mk 14¹⁴ Lk 22¹¹ ποῦ ἐστὶν τὸ κατάλυμα ὅπου φάγω (D corr. to fut.), Lk 11⁶ ὃ παραθήσω αὐτῷ *something to set before him*, 9⁵⁸ οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνει *nowhere to lay*, Ac 21¹⁶ ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι. LXX Je 11⁶ ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς . . . ἔχει . . . καὶ στηρίσει . . . καὶ . . . ἀποστῇ.

In the papyri too, qualitative-consecutive relative sentences employ the indicative, not the subjunctive. Like Latin, NT sometimes uses subj.: Heb 8³ ἔχειν τι . . . ὃ προσενέγκη *something to offer* (but also Isocr. IV 44 ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν), 1 Clem 38² ἔδωκεν δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῇ.

The difference between indic. and subj. in these general relative clauses is ideally and approximately that between εἰ c. indic. and ἐάν c. subj. in true conditional clauses. The former indicates an assumption which is actual and realized, while the latter points to future probabilities which may not actually be realized. But in the papyri which concern official decrees and statutes, as Mayser remarks, the distinction is often effaced and in fact the two moods can be used quite promiscuously (II 1, 266). This applies equally to the NT:

¹ Mayser II 1, 214, 267. But not necessarily to Hellenistic Greek generally. See examples in Radermacher² 170.

Mt 13¹² ὅστις γὰρ ἔχει (ind.), Mk 4²⁵ ὃς γὰρ ἔχει AE²G ὃς ἂν ἔχῃ (subj.), DE*F ὃς ἂν ἔχει (ind.), 4²⁵ ὃς οὐκ ἔχει (ind.), E*G ὃς οὐκ ἔχῃ (subj.), Lk 8¹⁸ ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ (subj.), δοθήσεται αὐτῷ, καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ (subj.), καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ (ind.) ἔχειν, ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.—Mt 10³² ὅστις ὁμολογήσει (ind.), 3³ ὅστις δ' [ἂν] ἀρνήσεται (subj.).—Lk 12⁸ πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ (subj.) p⁴⁵ SΘ (B*D Mcion. harm. with Mt 10³²). Thus the moods fluctuate for no good reason, and only the context can really decide whether the rel. clause is definite or indefinite.

Very occasionally the indic. occurs with ἂν in NT and LXX (see pp. 91, 92f): Future Mk 3²⁸ ὅσας ἐὰν βλασφημήσουσιν L, 8³⁵ SBCD² ἀπολέσει (ALW -ση), Lk 12⁸ ὁμολογήσει AB*DR, 17³³ SAL (BDEW -ση), Ac 7⁷ δουλεύσουσιν ACD. LXX Le 27¹² καθότι ἂν τιμηθήσεται. Barn 11⁸ SC δ' ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται. Present Mt 11²⁷ LW ᾧ ἐὰν βούλεται, Rev 14⁴ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγει.

There are a few exx. of subj. without ἂν (ἐάν) in the papyri—five, all told, in Mayser—but all the NT exx. are textually suspect: Mt 10³³ BWL, Ga 6¹⁶ p⁴⁶ ὅσοι στοιχίσωσιν, Jas 2¹⁰ SBC ὅστις . . . τηρήσῃ, 2¹⁰ SABC πταίσῃ, Herm. S. II 3 bis.

4. Temporal Clauses¹

A special kind of relative clause, they follow the same construction with regard to relative time in the use of subj. with ἂν. As with the relative conjunction, ἂν stands as near as possible to the temporal conjunction. It is only with ἕως, and then largely in the aor., that ἂν can be omitted. In post-Christian papyri these particles have a final sense (Ljungvik BSSVS 43–46).

(a) Clauses with ἄχρι, ἕως and μέχρι.

Pres. subj. = *as long as*, of indefinite continuance in either past or future.

With ἂν: none in NT. Ptol. pap. (dates): 237 285.

Without ἂν: none in NT. Ptol. pap.: 140.

Pres. indic.: Mt 5²⁵ ἕως ὅτου εἰ *while*. Jn 9⁴ ἕως ἡμέρας ἐστίν. Ptol. pap. (dates): 223 iii 164.

We may note ἕως with pres. indic. in a futuristic sense: Mk 6⁴⁵ SBL ἕως αὐτὸς ἀπολύει (v.l. ἀπολύσῃ, -σει, D αὐτὸς δὲ

¹ K-G II § 567. Stahl 444ff. Mayser II 1, 268ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 242, 9; 247, 1; 251b. Schwyzler II 648ff. A. Tschuschke, *De prōin particulae apud scriptores aetatis Augustae prosaicos usu* (Diss. of Breslau), 1913.

ἀπολύει), Jn 21^{22, 23} ἕως ἔρχομαι *until I come*, also 1 Ti 4¹³. This can hardly mean *as long as*, any more than in Herm. S. IX 11, 1 ἕως ἔρχεται, V 2, 2; IX 10, 5. 6. The papyri have ἕως with pres. subj. on two occasions with possible meaning *until*, but never pres. ind., or even fut. ind. like Lk 13³⁵ vl.

Aor. subj. (ἕως and μέχρι) = *until*, of a punctiliarly conceived future event preceded in time by the action of the main clause:

with ἄν: Mt 21³ ἕως ἂν εἶπω, 51⁸ 24³⁴ ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται, 52⁶ ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶς, 101¹ ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃτε, 12²⁰ ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ (Isa 42³), 16²⁸ ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν, 22⁴⁴ ἕως ἂν θῶ (Ps 110¹), 23³⁹ ἕως ἂν εἴπητε.—Mk 6¹⁰ ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃτε, 91 ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν, 12³⁶ ἕως ἂν θῶ.—Lk 9²⁷ ἕως ἂν ἴδωσιν, 20⁴³ ἕως ἂν θῶ (Ps 110¹), 21³² ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται.—Ac 2³⁵ (Ps 110¹).—1 Co 4⁵ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ.—Ga 3¹⁹ ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ (vl. ἄχρις οὗ).—Heb 11³ (Ps 110¹).—Μέχρις ἂν none.

without ἄν: Mt 10²³ ἕως ἔλθῃ, 14²² ἕως ἂν ἀπολύσῃ (-σει KΓ), 17⁹ ἕως οὗ ἐγερθῇ, 18³⁰ ἕως ἀποδῶ, 34 ἕως οὗ ἀποδῶ, 26³⁶ ἕως οὗ . . . προσεύξωμαι *while, as long as* (fut. subj.?).—Mk 13³⁰ μέχρις οὗ . . . γένηται (B μέχρις οὗ; S μέχρι; W ἕως; D ἕως οὗ), 14³² (-ζομαι D).—Lk 12⁵⁰ ἕως οὗ τοῦ τελεσθῆ, 59 ἕως ἀποδῶς 13⁸ ἕως οὗ σκάψω, 35 ἕως εἴπητε (vl.), 15⁴ ἕως εὗρῃ, 8 ἕως οὗ εὗρῃ, 17⁸ ἕως (+ ἂν AK) φάγω καὶ πίω *while, as long as*, 21²⁴ ἄχρι (οὗ) πληρωθῶσιν, 22¹⁶ ἕως οὗ πληρωθῇ, 18 ἕως οὗ . . . ἔλθῃ, 34 ἕως . . . ἀπαρνήσῃ, 24⁴⁹ ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσῃ.—Jn 13³⁸ ἕως οὗ ἀρνήσῃ.—Ac 23¹² ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωσιν, 14 -ωμεν (final, as in later papyri), 21 ἕως οὗ ἀνέλωσιν, 25²¹ ἕως οὗ ἀναπέμψω.—Ro 11²⁵ ἄχρι οὗ . . . εἰσέλθῃ.—1 Co 11²⁶ ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ, 15²⁵ ἄχρι οὗ θῇ (Ps 110¹).—2 Th 2⁷ ἕως (+ ἂν FG) . . . γένηται.—Heb 10¹³ ἕως τεθῶσιν.—Jas 5⁷ ἕως λάβῃ.—2 Pt 1¹⁹ ἕως οὗ . . . διαυγάσῃ.—Rev 6¹¹ ἕως πληρωθῶσιν, 7³ ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν, 15⁸ ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν, 17¹⁷ B ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν (vl τελεσθῇσονται), 20^{3, 5} ἄχρι τελεσθῇ.—Ga 4¹⁹ μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ.—Eph 4¹³ μέχρι καταστήσωμεν.

	Present subjunctive			Aorist subjunctive					
	ἕως	ἕως ἂν	μέχρι ἂν	ἕως	ἕως ἂν	μέχρι	μέχρι ἂν	ἄχρι	ἄχρις ἂν
Ptol.									
pap.	1	4	1	7	44	—	3	—	—
NT	—	—	—	28	18	3	—	9	1

In the earlier papyri ἕως ἂν predominates, but in the Imperial period ἕως is preferred.

(b) *Clauses with ἐπάν, ὅταν, ὥς ἄν.*

With pres. subj.

(1) Usually of an iterative action, indefinite, in the past or future. By far the most frequent, in secular and Biblical Greek, is ὅταν. The main clause has most often the present or future, but also the aorist. *Whenever.* See pp. 92f.

“Ὅταν:—Mt 6² ὅταν οὖν ποιῇς ἐλεημοσύνην, ⁵ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, 6. 16, 10²³ 15².—Mk 11²⁵ ὅταν στήκητε BWG (ACD -κετε; S στήτε) 134. 11 14⁷. 25.—Lk 11² (AWCH προσεύχεσθε), 21. 34 12¹¹ 14¹². 13 21⁷.—Jn 7²⁷ (SHXΔ* ἔρχεται) 8⁴⁴ 9⁵ 16²¹.—Ro 21⁴.—1 Co 3⁴ 14²⁶.—2 Co 12¹⁰ 13⁹.—1 Th 5³.—1 Jn 5².—Rev 4⁹ SQ δώσωσιν (vl. δώσουσιν 10⁷).
Ἡνίκα:—2 Co 3¹⁵ ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς.

(2) Of a definite action occurring in the future: *when.*

“Ὅταν:—Mt 26²⁹.—1 Co 15²⁴.—Rev 18⁹.—Pap (A.D. 270).

Ὅς ἄν:—Ro 15²⁴ πορεύομαι εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν. Only in Ptol. pap., not in later Koine (Horn 133). Its use in Paul (so also 1 Co 11³⁴, Ph 2²³) might be due to his familiarity with LXX; more probably he is using the spoken language of his day (Horn 136): P. Fay. I 111 16 (A.D. 95) ὥς ἂν βλέπῃς.

Ἐπὶ ἄν:—Lk 11³⁴ ἐπὶ ἄν δὲ πονηρὸς ᾗ (D ὅταν).

Ὅτε c. subj. is late (Jannaris § 1988), but see Lk 13³⁵ AD ὅτε εἰπῇτε.

With aor. subj.

(1) Most commonly of a definite action taking place in the future but concluded before the action of the main verb. Thus the main verb is usually fut. ind., but it may be imper. The particles are ὥς ἄν, ὅταν, and ἐπὶ ἄν.

Ἐπὶ ἄν:—Mt 2⁸ ἐπὶ ἄν δὲ εὐρηγῇ ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι (D ὅταν).—Lk 11²² νικήσῃ (D ἔάν), ³⁴ ᾗ (D ὅταν). BU 523, 17 ἐπὶ ἄν ἀναβῆς *after you have been*.

Ὅταν:—Mt 5¹¹, 9¹⁵ ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ, 10¹⁹ 12⁴³ 13³² 19²⁸ 21⁴⁰ 23¹⁵ 24¹⁵. 32. 33 25³¹.—Mk 2²⁰ 4¹⁵. 16. 20. 31. 32 8³⁸ 9⁹ 12²³. 25 13⁷ ὅταν ἀκούσῃτε (vl. ἀκούετε), 14. 28. 29.—Lk 5³⁵ ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ, 6²⁶ 8¹³ 9²⁶ 13²⁸ S ἴδῃτε (B*DX ὄψεσθε; AB^{corr} W -ῃσθε), 16⁴. * 17¹⁰ 21⁹. 20 23⁴².—Jn 4²⁵ 5⁷ 7⁸¹ 8²⁸ 10⁴ 14²⁹ 15²⁶ 16⁴. 18. 21 21¹⁸.—Ac 23³⁵ 24²².—Ro 11²⁷.—1 Co 13¹⁰ 15²⁴. 24. 27. 28. 54 16². 3. 5. 12.—2 Co 10⁶.—Col 3⁴ 4¹⁶.—2 Th 1¹⁰.—1 Ti 5¹¹.—Ti 3¹².—Heb 1⁶.—Jas 1².—Rev 11⁷ 12⁴ 17¹⁰ 20⁷.

Ὅς ἄν:—1 Co 11³⁴ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὥς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι.—Ph 2²³ ὥς ἂν ἀφίδω:—LXX Ge 12¹² ὥς ἂν ἰδωσίν σε . . . ἐροῦσι.—P. Hib. I 59, 2 (247 B.C.), UPZ I 71, 18 (152 B.C.); Horn 133, Mayser II 1, 271f, 274f.

(2). Much rarer are the instances where the action is indefinite or iterative:

Ἐπάν:—(= בכל-עת אשר) LXX Est 5¹³ S¹ ἐπὶ ἰδω Μαρδ. *all the while that*, Da O' Bel¹² ἐπὶ κλεισθῇ *after it has been*.

Ὅταν:—Lk 6²² 11²⁴ 12⁵⁴ 14^{8, 10} 21^{30, 31}.—Jn 2¹⁰.—Rev 9⁵.

Ἡνίκα:—LXX Ex 1¹⁰ καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν συμβῇ ἡμῖν πόλεμος *each time*.—Dt 7¹².—2 Co 3¹⁶ (Ex 34³⁴) ἡνίκα δὲ ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ.

For ὅτε, ὅταν, and ἐπὶ with indic., see pp. 92f.

	Pres. subj.		Aor. subj.				
	ὅταν	ὥς ἂν	ὅταν	ὥς ἂν	ἐπὶ	ἐπειδὴ	ὅπηνίκα ἂν
Ptol. pap.	20	10	19	49	3	2	3
NT	33	1	82	2	1	—	—

(c) *Clauses with πρίν.*

Neither πρίν nor πρίν ἂν occur with subj. in the Ptol. pap., but πρίν c. subj. occurs in papyri from ii-v/A.D. (Horn 128). Πρίν was possible without ἂν in class. Greek and it so occurs in LXX and NT. Lk 2²⁶ πρίν ἢ ἂν ἴδῃ (S* ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ; B om ἢ; ADW om ἂν), 22³⁴ πρίν ἢ ἀπαρνῆσῃ AWT (SBL ἕως; K ἕως οὐ; D ἕως οὗτου). With optative Ac 25¹⁶ (see next ch.). LXX Si 11⁷ πρίν (+ ἢ SA) ἐξετάσης; Sym. Ps 57 (58)¹⁰ πρίν ἢ (LXX πρὸ τοῦ c. inf.); Sym. Je 40 (47)⁵ πρίν ἢ ἀπαλλάγω ἐγώ.—Herm. S. V 7, 3 πρίν ἀκουσθῶσι τὰ ῥήματα.

5. *Conditional Sentences* ¹

The subjunctive occurs in the hypothetical protasis which is introduced by ἐάν. This is often written εἰάν and sometimes ἦν in the papyri, never in NT. Moreover, we find ἂν for ἐάν, as there was interchange at this time between the two particles; and this occurs six times in Jn especially in connection with τις (cp. ἂν τις ὑμῶν κακῶς ἐπεῖ in a very badly written papyrus from the Fayum, SB 5627, 11).

¹ K-G I § 399, 2; II § 575. Meisterhans-Schwyzzer § 89. Stahl 390. Schwyzzer II 682-688. Mayser II 1, 275-288. Moulton Einl. 292ff. E. B. Clapp, "Conditional Sentences in the Greek Tragedies," (*Trans. and Proc. Amer. Philol. Assn.* 22, 81). J. Sterenberg, *The Use of Conditional Sentences in the Alexandrian Version of the Pentateuch*. (Diss. of Munich, 1908.)

Parallel with relative and temporal clauses, the aor. subj. denotes a single event taking place in the future, and the pres. subj. a general or iterative occurrence which may or may not be expected to take place at any time. The pres. denotes also coincident action with the main verb, whereas the aor. is like the Latin future, and is fut. perf. in its relation with the main clause.

(a) *Ἐάν with pres. and aor. subjunctive.*

(1) *Present*: very common in Koine. In a general and iterative sense, as “*condicio universalis*” (Zerwick § 227c), the pres. subj. denotes a hypothesis which can occur over and over again (present *Aktionsart*). The most common example of this condition in the Ptol. pap. is stereotyped phrases in decrees and punishments, having a continual validity. In the main clause is a pres. ind. (or even optative), mainly an imperative or jussive of some kind.

Mt 5²³ ἐάν οὖν προσφέρῃς *as often as you*, 6^{22. 23}, 8² ἐάν θέλῃς, δύνασαι (how tentative, cp. with Peter’s εἰ θέλεις 174!), 10^{13. 13} 15¹⁴ 17²⁰ 21²¹.—Mk 14⁰ 9^{45. 47} 14³¹ ἐάν δέῃ . . . οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι (S -σωμαι).—Lk 5¹² 6³³ 10⁶ 13³ ἐάν μὴ μετανοῇτε is not distinguishable from ⁵ ἐάν μὴ μετανοήσῃτε (as scribes realized, correcting to μετανοῇτε), 19³¹.—Jn 3². 27 5³¹ 6^{62. 65} 7¹⁷ 8¹⁶. 31 9³¹ 11^{9.10} 12^{26. 28} 13^{17. 35} 14^{15. 23} 15^{4. 4. 7. 14} 21²² ἐάν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν . . . τί πρὸς σέ; (difficult because so definite; class. would be εἰ), ²³.—Ac 5³⁸ (see Zerwick §§ 219–220: Gamaliel seems strangely biased. He says doubtfully *If it should be of men* (ἐάν ᾤ) but confidently *If (as it seems) it is of God* (εἰ . . . ἔστιν), the one hypothetical, the other “real”. Luke has composed the speech and is giving his own conviction, not Gamaliel’s), 13⁴¹ 26⁵.—Ro 2^{25. 25. 26} 9²⁷ 11^{22. 23} 12^{20. 20} 13⁴ 14^{8. 8. 8.}—1 Co 4¹⁵ 5¹¹ 6⁴ 7³⁶ 9^{16. 16} vl. 11^{14. 15} 13^{1. 2} 14^{14. 24. 28} 16⁴.—Col. 3¹³.—1 Th 2⁸.—1 Ti 1⁸ 3¹⁵.—2 Ti 2⁵.—Jas 2^{14. 15. 17} 4¹⁵ (vl. aor. subj.).—1 Pt 3¹³.—1 Jn 1^{7. 9} 2³ γινώσκωμεν . . . ἐάν . . . τηρῶμεν (S* φυλάξωμεν), 15 3^{20. 21} 4¹².—Heb 6³ ἐάνπερ.

(2) *Aorist*: This represents a definite event as occurring only once in the future, and conceived as taking place before the time of the action of the main verb. It is expectation, but not fulfilment as yet. It is very near the meaning of ὅταν, and is often more than mere probability (see LXX Isa 24¹³ *when*; Am 7²). In the apodosis occurs fut. and pres. indic., or imper. or jussive.

Mt 4⁹ 5^{13. 20. 46. 47} 6^{14. 15} 9²¹ 12^{11. 29} 16²⁸ 18^{3. 12. 13. 15. 16. 17. 19} ἐάν συμφωνήσωσιν (SD fut. ind.) . . . γενήσεται FGKMW, ³⁵, 21^{3. 21. 25. 26}

22²⁴ 24²³. 26. 48 26⁴² 28¹⁴.—Mk 32⁴. 25. 27 52⁸ 78. 4. 11 8² 94³. 50 10¹². 30 11³. 31 12¹⁹ OT 13²¹.—Lk 4⁷ 6³⁴ 12³⁸. 45 14³⁴ 15⁸ 16³⁰. 31 17³. 3. 4 19⁴⁰ ἐάν οὗτοι σιωπήσωσιν (SBALWR fut. ind.; D σιγήσουσιν) κράξουσιν ΓΔΘ 20⁵. 6. 28 22⁶⁷. 68.—Jn 3³. 5. 12 54³ 65¹ 73⁷ 83⁶. 51. 52. 54. 55 92² 10⁹ 11⁴⁰. 48 12²⁴. 24. 32. 47 13⁸ 14³. 14 (vl. pres. subj.), 15¹⁰ 16⁷. 7 19¹² 44⁸ 64⁴. 53 75¹ 82⁴ 20²⁵.—Ac 15¹ 27³¹.—Ro 7². 3. 3 10⁹. 15 14²³ 15²⁴.—1 Co 4¹⁹ 78. 11. 28. 39. 40 88. 10 91⁶ (vl. pres. subj.) 10²⁸ 12¹⁵. 16 13³. 3 (vl. fut. ind.), 14⁶. 6. 7. 9. 11. 16. 23. 30 15³⁶ 16⁷. 10 (see Allo in loc., but this type of condition does not express mere probability: Zerwick § 226).—2 Co 5¹ 10⁸ ἐάν . . . καυχώσμαι (SLP fut. ind.) . . . οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσομαι p⁴⁶ BGH 33, 12⁶, 13².—Ga 1⁸ 5³.—Col 4¹⁰.—2 Th 2³.—1 Ti 2¹⁵.—2 Ti 2⁵. 21.—Heb 3⁶. 7 OT 4⁷ 10³⁸ OT.—Jas 2² 5¹⁹.—1 Jn 1⁶. 8. 10 2¹ ἐάν τις ἀμάρτην . . . ἔχομεν 22⁴. 28. 29. 32 42⁰ 51⁶.—Rev 2⁵ 33. 20 22¹⁸. 19.—Heb 3¹⁴ ἐάνπερ.

(b) *Ei with fut. indic.*

This sometimes conveys the same idea but occurs very seldom in Ptol. pap. The feeling of definiteness and actual realization accompanies it. It is almost causal. Mt 26³³ Mk 14²⁹ εἰ (καὶ) πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται (i.e. granting the assumption: *let us suppose that all will actually be offended*).—Lk 11⁸ εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει *although*.—1 Co 9¹¹ μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς . . . θερίσομεν (i.e. we are in fact doing it).—1 Pt 2²⁰. 20 εἰ ὑπομενεῖτε. The difficulty about this view is 2 Ti 2¹² εἰ ἀπαρνησόμεθα, where the condition was surely conceived as no more than hypothetical.

With pres. indic.

Si igitur. Mt 5²⁹ εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζει σε (altered from ἐάν c. subj. in Mk 9⁴³⁻⁴⁷), 6³⁰ εἰ . . . ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιένυσιν *since he clothes*, 17⁴ (a foregone conclusion for Peter). Lk 22⁴² εἰ βούλει.—Mt 19¹⁰.—Lk 6³², Jn 7⁴ εἰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, Jn 11^{12D} εἰ κοιμᾶται.—Ac 5^{38f}.—Ro 21^{7f} 71⁶. 20 81¹ 11¹⁷.—1 Co 7³⁶ εἰ δέ τις . . . νομίζει (Paul knows this is actually happening).—Ga 1⁹ 21⁸.—Heb 7¹⁵.

(c) *Ἐάν with pres. ind.*

This calls for some comment; it is an abnormal use in the Ptol. pap., confined to ἐάν δεῖ and ἐάν φαίνεται, for other exx. are of doubtful reading or capable of different explanation (Mayser II 1, 284f). But Horn quotes BGU 597 (A.D. 75). From ii/A.D. the construction makes more frequent appearance, as εἰ and ἐάν are beginning to be confused (we have exx. in ii/A.D., iii/A.D., and late Imp. period), and increases in Byzantine Greek. It seems to bear a causal sense: 1 Co 4¹⁵ ἐάν . . . ἔχετε

(perhaps a half-way-house of actuality between *ἐάν ἔχητε* *you may have* and *εἰ ἔχετε* *since you have*), 13² *ἐάν ἔχω . . . καὶ εἰδῶ?*, Jn 5³¹ *ἐάν . . . μαρτυρῶ?*, 1 Jn 5¹⁵ *ἐάν οἶδαμεν* (S corr. to *ἴδωμεν*).—1 Th 3⁸ *ἐάν . . . στήκετε* (S*DE corr. to *-ητε*).—Mk 11¹³ D (*εἰδεν εαν τι εστιν*).

Fut. indic. too: Ac 8³¹ *πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐάν μή τις ὁδηγήσει με* SB*GE, Rev 2²² SA.—Herm. M. V 1, 2; IV 3, 7.

Apparent use of *ἐάν* with impf. (*ἦν, ἦσθα, ἦσαν*) in papyri and LXX (also p⁴⁶ 1 Co 7³⁶ 14²⁸) is probably an illusion, since these forms are intended as subjunctive (see Debrunner *Glotta* 11, 1920, 25f).

	<i>ἐάν</i>		<i>εἰ</i>	<i>ἐάν</i>
	Pres. subj.	Aor. subj.	Fut. ind.	Indic.
Ptol. pap.	246	218	9	5 ?
NT	88	159	8	6 ?

(d) *Ei with subjunctive.*

It appears to encroach on the province of *ἐάν*. This is unusual in Ptolemaic times (there are two exx. from iii/B.C.) but it becomes increasingly common in papyri from ii/A.D. onwards (see confusion mentioned in previous section): BGU (c. A.D. 100), P. Giess. (ii/A.D.), P. Ryl. (ii/A.D.), P. Lips. (A.D. 240), P. Grenf. (late iii/A.D.), P. Rein. (iv/A.D.), PSI (iv-v/A.D.), OP (v/A.D.), PR (v-vi/A.D.), OP (v-vi/A.D.), OP (A.D. 583), P. Cair. (Byz.), etc.¹

There is therefore nothing surprising in Rev 11⁵ *καὶ εἴ τις θελήσῃ* SA (p⁴⁷ *θελήσει*; C *θέλει*; καὶ *η* in S* = *ἁν?*), Lk 11¹⁸ *εἰ μερισθῇ* p⁴⁵ Γ (*ῥεστ (δι)εμερίσθη*). On 1 Co 14⁵ see p. 321 (*ἐκτός εἰ μή* is a fixed formula).

6. Indirect Questions

Greek, unlike Latin, keeps the mood and tense of *direct* speech, e.g. Mk 6⁵⁵ *ὅπου ἤκουον ὅτι ἐστιν*. Therefore these

¹ R. C. Horn op. cit. p. 31; Reinhold op. cit. 107; Jannaris §§ 1988f; Radermacher² 199.

subjunctives in indirect speech will also have been subjunctive in direct speech. Thus Mt 6²⁵ is an indir. deliberative question: *μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τί φάγητε*; also Mk 9⁶ οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ (according to Latin standards this would be *he did not know what he was saying*, as in the Lk-parallel 9³³ δ λέγει); Heb 8³ after ἔχω is δ προσενέγκη; Mk 8¹¹ Lk 12¹⁷; Mayser II 1, 214, 235. Mt 10¹⁹ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν τί λαλήσητε; Mk 6³⁶. We may have fut. ind. in an indir. delib. question: Ph 1²² (p⁴⁶ B subj.), or else punctuate τί αἰρήσομαι;. In relative past time (for class. optative) NT keeps subj. as a rule: Ac 4²¹ μηδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς; but see under Optative (next ch.). This is so in Hell. Greek generally (e.g. Epict. Ench. 7; Marc. Ant. 9, 3, 7).

CHAPTER NINE

THE VERB: MOODS: OPTATIVE

THE MOOD was declining¹ during the last three centuries B.C. It is still used fairly widely to indicate a wish in the papyri, LXX and NT, in spite of the popularity of the imperative, in curses as well as requests. It was probably never used much in conversation, even in Athens; Xenophon was addicted to it but it is scarce in Attic inscriptions. The figures per 100 pp. are approximately Alciphron (*Letters*) 109, Xenophon (*Mem.*) 350, Plato (*Phaedo*) 250, Strabo 76, Polybius 37, Diodorus Siculus 13, Callimachus 49 (in 49 pp.), Aratus 94 (in 46 pp.). Even Dionysius of Halicarnassus (30 B.C.) and Diodorus Siculus (i/B.C.) who maintain the Attic tradition tend to dispense with it. In fact, the fut. optative, never more than a substitute in indirect speech for the future indic., is quite extinct in Hellenistic Greek. The aor. opt. proved toughest, lasting until viii/A.D. The optative to express a wish (volitive) was the most persistent, surviving particularly in set phrases like μή γένοιτο; whereas the potential optative, in main and conditional clauses, was rare in the Ptolemaic, and almost extinct and awkwardly used, in the

¹ Hilaire Vandaele, *L'Optatif Grec. Essai de Syntaxe historique*, Paris 1897. F. G. Allinson, "On Causes Contributory to the Loss of the Optative in Later Greek," *Studies in Honor of B.L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 353-356. K. Reik, *Der Optativ bei Polybius und Philo von Alexandria*, Leipzig 1907. C. Mutzbauer, *Die Grundbedeutung des Konjunctiv und Optativ und ihre Entwicklung im Griechischen* (Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache), Leipzig-Berlin 1908. C. Harsing, *De optativi in chartis Aegyptiis usu*, Diss. Bonn 1910. J. Scham, *Der Optativgebrauch bei Klemens von Alexandrien in seiner sprach- und stilgeschichtlichen Bedeutung. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Attizismus in der altchristl. Literatur*, Diss. Tübingen 1913. F. Slotky, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunctiv und Optativs in den griechischen Dialekten. I. Teil: Der Hauptsatz*, Göttingen 1915. D. C. Fives, *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of Theodoret, Bp. of Cyrus* (Patristic Studies of the Cath. Univ. of America) 1937. R. de L. Henry, *The Late Greek Optative and Its Use in the Writings of Gregory Nazianzen* (Patr. Stud. Cath. Univ. America, 68) 1943 (on pp. 95-99 are bibliographies of LXX, NT, and Papyri). E. L. Green, "The Optative Mood in Diodorus Siculus," *Proc. & Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.* 62. Mayser II 1, 288ff. Schwyzer II 338ff.

Imperial papyri¹. The reason for the decline probably lies in the "syntactical weakness" (Schwyzer II 337) of the optative. No one can or could quite define its essential function. The two chief functions, volitive and potential, were too dissimilar to give a unity to the mood, and the subjunctive was always at hand for a substitute for either. Moreover, the refinements inherent in the use of the optative were beyond the powers of uneducated Greeks and most barbarians. Those later writers who sought to revive the mood found it difficult to recapture the ancient subtleties. Horn has demonstrated that the optative did gain a new lease of life in the Byzantine period, usually in set phrases or interchangeably with the subjunctive, and its revival in ii/A.D. in the vulgar texts merely followed the earlier learned reaction against its disappearance. Literary writers, especially the Atticists, affected it. Even the ii-iii/A.D. papyri follow suit and the scribes of some NT MSS favoured it. Alongside this went a growing confusion in its use, indicating that the revival was artificial; even an educated writer like Procopius of Caesarea (Schwyzer II 338) confuses it with subjunctive, uses it excessively, and in a non-Attic way.

Optatives which do occur in Hell. authors may be classified:

	MAIN			SUBORDINATE					
	Volitive	Potential		Condition	Oblique	Comparat.	Final	Temporal	Total
Ptol. pap.	54	127	Total 181	13	17				30
LXX	434	41	475	26	7	18	13		64
NT	39	3	42	8	16			2	26

The NT thus shows only a slight decrease from the LXX. There is a tendency to replace optatives with the subjunctive, and optatives occur only in Lk-Ac (28), Paul (31), 1 Pt, 2 Pt (4), Jude (2), Mk (2), Heb (1).

¹ Thus it is used after *primary* tenses in the main clause: A.D. 249 ἵνα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἔχοις, ἐπιστέλλεται σοι; iv/A.D. ὁπότεν βουλευθείης; A.D. 345 ἐάν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἀφυστερήσιν καὶ μὴ παραστήσωμεν.

§ 1. Main Clauses

Its disappearance was slightly slower than in dependent clauses. In main clauses it has two distinct functions: to express a wish, usually in set phrases (where the mood survived longest), and to express a rather mild affirmation, generally with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ but occasionally without in uncultivated speech. The addition of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ to the latter does not infallibly distinguish the two functions, although in the papyri and NT $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is not usually lacking with potential optative.

(a) *Wish*

There is no $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. Gradually the subjunctive, fut. indic., and 3rd p. imperat. encroach upon this usage, but here the optative held out the longest. Even in class. times it was not easy to dissociate *wish* (opt.) from *exhortation* to others to fulfil the wish (subj.) or even from positive command (imper.). A cultured writer like auct. ad Heb. has the optative of wish only once. Radermacher (p. 160) illustrates this "struggle of the moods" by referring to a curse-table of 4 B.C. with $\mu\eta\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in the fourth line but $\mu\eta\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\iota$ in the eighth; and to Acta Thomae 129 $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Even in good literary texts $\eta\acute{\xi}\iota\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\upsilon$ often take the place of the older $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\iota\eta\upsilon$, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\eta\upsilon$, $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Ac 25²² $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\eta\upsilon$; Ga 4²⁰ $\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$); and $\epsilon\iota\alpha$ c. subj. will now express a wish. However, the opt. $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta$ occurs at all periods in the papyri and is common in Biblical Greek.

Mayser and Horn illustrate by the following occurrences the decline and revival of the wish optative in papyrus texts; it was weakest in the NT period. iv/B.C. (2), iii/B.C. (5), ii/B.C. (23), i/B.C. (1) i/A.D. (1), ii/A.D. or ii-iii/A.D. (8), iii/A.D. or iii-iv/A.D. (6), iv/A.D. (4), later (8, all $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$). By contrast, let us look at their incidence in Biblical Greek:

LXX. Ge 9²⁷ 19⁹ vl. 27²⁸ 28³ 31⁴⁹. 53 vl. 34¹¹ 43¹⁴. 14. 29 44^{7*17*} 48¹⁶. 16 49 6. 6. 8.—Ex 15¹⁶.—Lev 5¹⁶.—Nu 5²² 6²⁴. 24. 25. 25. 26. 26 23¹⁰. 10.—Dt 27¹⁵ (same phrase in 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 23. 24. 25. 26 28¹². 13. 20. 21. 22. 24. 25. 27. 28. 35. 36 29¹⁹⁽¹⁸⁾ 33⁷. 16. 27.—Jo 7²⁵ 22²². 29^{*} 24^{16*}.—Jg 5²⁴. 24. 31 9¹⁹. 19. 20 quat. (ter A) 13¹⁷ (not A).—Ru 1⁹. 9 (not A) 16. 17 24. 12. 12. 13 31¹. 12.—1 Km 1¹⁷ 2²⁰ 3¹⁷ 14⁴⁴. 44 20¹³. 13. 16 24¹³. 13. 16 quat. 25²². 22. 26. 31 26¹⁹. 19A 20. 24. 24. 24 A (B ind.).—2 Km 3⁹. 9. 29. 35. 35 7²⁶ 14⁷ 16⁴ 18³² 19¹³⁽¹⁵⁾ bis 23⁴ 24²³.—3 Km 1³⁷. 37. 47 22³. 23. 33 8⁵⁷ ter 10⁹ 19². 2 20⁽²¹⁾* 21⁽²⁰⁾ 10. 10.—4 Km 6³¹. 31 (Analysis:

* $\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$.

α, ββ, γγ = 41; βγ, γδ = 12).—1 Ch 12¹⁷B¹⁷B bis (S sec. ἐλέγξατο, A sec. ἐλέγξαι, 21³ 22^{12.12}.—2 Ch 74¹ 24²².—1 Esd 6³²⁽³³⁾.—2 Esd 15(5)¹³.—Ps 6¹¹ quat. (R imper.) 7^{5. 6. 6.} 6B 11 (12) 4B (AR fut. ind.) 16(17)² 17(18)³⁶R^{vid} (B imper.) 19(20)^{2. 2. 3.} 3B (R^{*vid} imper.)^{4. 5.} 5B (AR fut. ind.) 20(21)^{9. 9} 24(25)^{2. 2}U (B imper.)²⁰ 30(31)^{2. 18} ter 32(33)²² 34 (35)⁴ B bis (SAU imper.)^{19. 24. 25} Bab 26. 26. 27. 27. 27 B (SAR imper.) 35 (36)¹² B (ScaR fut. ind.) 36 (37)¹⁵ B (R imper.)¹⁵ 39 (40)¹² A (B ind.)^{15. 15. 15} B (R^{*} imper.)^{15. 17} 40 (41)³ ter 4 B (AR fut. ind.)¹⁴ 51 (52)^{6. 6} (R sec. indic.)⁶ Bc (B ind.) 62 (63)⁶ (R ind.) 66 (67)² ter 7. 8 67 (68)³ 68 (69)^{7. 7. 15. 25} 69 (70)³ quat. (SR imper.)⁴ (SR imper.) 70(71)¹ 71(72)¹⁹ 73 (74)²³ (Sca RT indic.) 84 (85)⁸ 88 (89)⁵³ 89 (90)^{5. 6} quat. 103 (104)^{34. 35} 105 (106)⁴⁸ 108 (109)^{7. 7. 13} Sca T (S imper.)^{14. 14. 15} 112 (113)² 113¹⁶ (115³)²² (115¹⁴) 118 (119)^{5. 41. 170. 172} (AR^{*} ind., T subj.) 120 (121)³ (subj?)⁷ (ART fut. ind.) 127 (128)⁵ ter (AR ind.; T subj.) 133 (134)³ A (S fut. ind., T aor. subj.) 134 (135)¹⁸ 136 (137)^{5. 6} 146 (147)¹.—Pr 4^{27b} A (B fut. ind.) 11²⁶ 24⁵² (30^{17. 17}).—Eccl. 5⁷ B (ACSc^a ind.).—Jb 1²¹ 3^{8. 4. 5. 5. 6} quat. 7. 7. 8. 9 ter 5⁴ B (A ind.)^{4. 5. 14. 15. 15. 16. 16} 6^{10. 29} 12^{25. 25} 13⁶ 15^{6. 6} C (B fut. ind.)^{28. 28. 30} B (A ind.)^{33. 33} 16^{6(5). 19(18).} 21(20). 21 (20) B 22 (21) 17⁸ B (A ind.) 9. 9 18^{7. 7. 8. 8} A (B pf. ind.) 9. 11. 11. 13. 14. 14. 17. 18 19²⁸ 20^{10. 10. 15} C (B ind.) 16. 16 B (A fut. ind.) 17. 23. 23. 24. 25. 25. 26. 26. 27. 27. 28. 28 21^{20. 20} 22²² S^{*} 23⁴ (Sca ind.) 5 ter 24^{18. 19. 20. 20} 27^{5. 7} 29¹³ 30²⁴ 31^{8. 8. 10. 10. 22. 22. 28. 30. 30. 40} (A subj.) 24^{10. 11} (A ind.).—Wi 7¹⁵.—Si 22² C (A fut. ind.) 25¹⁹ (26) 33 (36)^{4. 11} 38¹⁵ 43²¹ (23) S^{*} (B fut. ind.) 45²⁶ (31) 46¹¹ (14). 12 (14) 49¹⁰ (12) 50²³ (25) 51²⁹ (37) bis.—Jdt 10^{8. 8} 13²⁰ (26) 15¹¹ (12). 10 (11) B (SA aor. ind.).—To B 39. 11 51⁴ (19). 17. (22). 19 (24) 71⁷ (20) 10¹² 11¹⁷ 13¹⁰ (12) bis.—To S 3⁹ 5^{10. 14. 14. 17} quat. 19 77. 12. 17 9⁶ 10^{11. 11. 12} quat. 11^{14. 17} 13^{10. 10}.—Ob¹² A.—Jon 2⁸.—Zach 3².—Isa 14²⁹ 25¹ 28²².—Je 31⁹ 11^{5. 20} 15¹¹ 17¹⁸ ter 20¹² 36²² (29²²).—La 1²² 21⁸.—Da O' 33^{9. 44. 44. 44. 98} (41) 41⁶ (19). 34c.—Da Θ 33^{9. 44} ter 9⁸ (41) 72⁵ (26).—1 Mac 8^{23. 23} 9^{10*} 13^{5*}.—2 Mac 1² V (A inf.) 3. 4. 4. 5 ter 15²⁴.—4 Mac 6¹⁵ S (A imper.) 17. 21 13⁹ A (SV subj.).

NT. Mk 11¹⁴ (vl. subj.).—Lk 13⁸ 20^{16*}. 16*.—Ac 8²⁰ (the only pres. tense among the volitives).—Ro 3^{4*}. 6*. 31* 62*. 15* 77*. 13* 914* 111*. 11* 155. 13.—1 Co 6^{15*}.—Ga 217* 321* 614*.—1 Th 311. 12. 12 523.—2 Th 217. 17 35. 16.—Phm 20 δναίμην.—2 Ti 116. 18 416.—Heb 13²¹.—1 Pt 12 510.—2 Pt 12.—Jude 2. 2.

Ps. Sol 4⁷ ἐξάραι (or imper?) 8. 9. 16*. 18. 18. 19. 21 KPM (not AV) 22. 28. 29* 119 124. 4. 5. 6. 6. 8. 8 1710. 27. 27. 51 186 (The only other opt. in this book renders the Heb. frequentative impf.: ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν διέλθοι *went forth*).—Vit. Proph. (only final, after ἵνα).—T. Sol. D 6¹ βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, χαίροις.—Clem. ad Cor. tit. 23¹ 45⁷ 54.—Ign. ad Eph. 2¹ 112. 2 12², ad Magn. 11, ad Trall. 13³, ad Smyrn. 5³.

Some Hell. authors: Aratus *Phaenomena* (1154 lines): 16 (χαίρουτε), 100, 154, 155, 304, 324, 460, 637, 758, 823, 824, 824, 1049, 1050, 1086, 1088, 1090.—Callimachus *Hymn* I (Zeus) 64, 68; II (Apollo) 113; III (Artemis) 84, 137 (εἴην), 137; IV (Delos) 98, 162, 195, 240, 326 (χαίροι);

* μὴ γένοιτο.

VI (Demeter) 116 (εἴη).—Alciphron *Letters* II 2¹ 5³ (μή . . . γένοιτο) 14¹ 16¹ 17^{4*} 20³ 25³; III 12¹ 1 (εἴη) ⁵ (εἴη) ⁵ 15⁴ (γένοιτο) 26² 28⁴ 32¹ 1 35³ 37² 38³ 41; IV 3² (γένοιτο) 5¹ (εἴη) 9² (γένοιτο) 18³ 3* 16. 16 19²¹. 21.

It is clear then that the optative can still express a wish or prayer, nearly always in 3rd p. and especially in the formula *μή γένοιτο* (15 in NT). Only two of the NT instances are imprecations (prayers for evil): Mk 11¹⁴ Ac 8²⁰. In fact, there is a strong tendency to use the imperative: *ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* Ga 1^{8t} 1 Co 16²². The author of Ac uses *λαβέτω* instead of *LXX λάβοι* when citing the Psalms (1²⁰). In spite of this, there still remain 39 instances of wish-optative. The LXX does not contain any more on an average per page.

(b) *Potential*

The opt. with *ἄν* indicates a potential mood; sometimes it is described as an "urbane" or "deliberative" optative.

It frequently helped the writer to express what would happen on the fulfilment of some supposed condition; to express, in fact, an apodosis without a protasis. It was becoming a luxury of speech and was beginning to disappear in favour of the subj. or fut. ind. with *ἄν*. As with the volitive, it was largely in set phrases that it survived: thus *καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι*. Already in Polybius it seems to be confined to these. Careful authors use it more frequently than the NT authors, but they are in doubt whether to use *ἄν* or some other particle like *ἵσως* or *δήπουθεν*. The vagaries of scribal transmission may be partly responsible for the omission of *ἄν*, but Reinhold (*de Graecitate patrum Apost.* p. 110) brings forward enough examples to show that there was confusion here at the close of the Hellenistic period. In the Attic inscriptions investigated by Meisterhans (p. 247f), opt. c. *ἄν* is found only in some poetry (iv/B.C.) but in decrees, etc., there would be little occasion for it. In the iii/B.C. papyri however this opt. is widespread in certain epistolary phrases:

καλῶς ἄν ποιήσαις 264. 257. 245. iii.—*χαρίζοιο ἄν* *be so good* 258 ter. 250 bis. iii quat.—*καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι* 25 times in iii/B.C.—*εἴη ἄν ὥς θέλω* 260. 252. 223, 257.—*βούλομαι* P. Petr. III.—*εἴη ἄν ὥς ἡμεῖς θέλομεν* 257. 256. iii-ii.—*εἴη ἄν τὸ δέον*, 242 ter.—Other phrases 258 (Horn). iii (Horn). 223. 260 bis. 255.

ii/B.C.: *χαρίζοιο ἄν* 156.—*χαρίζοι<ο> δ' ἄν* 156.—*εἴη ἄν ὥς θέλω* ii (Horn). 170 (Horn). 153 (Horn).—*εἴη ἄν ὥς βούλομαι* 168. 153 ter.

* *μή γένοιτο*.

164 (cp. 2 Mac 11²⁸).—εἴη ἂν ὥς εὐχομαι BGU IV.—εἴη ἂν ὥς αἰρούμεθα Goodsp.—εἴη ἂν τὸ δέον P. Par. (156 B.C.).—Other phrases 160 (Horn). BU, P. Par. 63 (164 B.C.), 64. 64, P. Par. (156 B.C.), P. Lond. I (168 B.C.), Cairo (123 B.C.).

i/B.C.—none.

i/A.D.: εὖ ποιήσας (no ἂν) 95.

ii/A.D.: c. 130. 167.

iii/A.D.: 274. 298. late. iii–iv.

Later: 346. iv. 591. vi–vii.

It should be said that some of the above are not a fair sample of the popular speech, but are part of the florid style of officials or the affectation of literary aspirants. The less stereotyped phrases had been dropped from the living speech by the close of iii/B.C. All that was retained thereafter were certain polite set phrases which die very hard.

Unless we include 4 Mac, this optative is not common in the LXX, although we might include the deliberative optative in questions under this head. Apart from the latter there is only 2 Mac 11²⁸ outside 4 Mac (11. 5. 7. 8 no ἂν, 10 26. 24 34 S [AV ind.] 56. 13 no ἂν, 717. 22 86 96. 24). But there are questions of a potential or deliberative or futuristic kind: with ἂν: Ge 23¹⁵ 44⁸.—Dt 28⁶⁷. 67.—Jb 19²³ 25⁴ 29² 31³¹ 41⁴ (5).—Pr 20¹⁸ (24).—Si 25³ (5).—Ezk 15².

without ἂν: Nu 11²⁹.—Jg 9²⁹.—2 Km 18³³ (191).—Ps 119 (120)³. 3.—Ca 8¹.—Jb 23⁸ (A ἂν) 31³⁵ 38²⁰. 20.—4 Mac 8¹⁷ 14¹⁰ (Sca ἂν) 15⁴.

In NT there seems to be but one genuine instance which is not a question (Ac 26²⁹ ABS^c), and this is where in the royal presence of Agrippa, Paul employs the stilted εὐχαίμην ἂν. Luke makes the Athenians to say τί ἂν θέλοι οὗτος λέγειν; (Ac 17¹⁸), and the Ethiopian to ask *how could I?* πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυνάμην; (8³¹). Perhaps also Ac 21^{2E}. It was old-fashioned in the NT age, and the writers prefer a mere future (Ro 3⁶ 1 Co 15³⁵) or other device. But we must also include here many dependent questions of a deliberative kind which are only incidentally dependent, and are still deliberative when transformed into direct speech: Lk 1⁶² 6¹¹ (not D) 9⁴⁶ 15²⁶ (vl. om ἂν).—Jn 13²⁴ vl.—Ac 5²⁴ 10¹⁷ 17²⁰ vl. 21³³ (EHL^p add ἂν). But opinions may legitimately differ whether the following have opt. simply because of the class. rules of sequence: Lk 1²⁹ (but D ἂν) 8⁹ (vl. om opt.) 18³⁶ (vl. + ἂν) 22²³ (vl. ind.). In Lk 31⁵ (διαλογιζομένων μήποτε αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ χριστός) what they actually asked themselves may be expressed by opt. The presence of ἂν would seem to decide in favour of an original potential in these doubtful cases.

In this respect LXX and NT are much of a unity, and

because of the infrequency of this opt. the LXX should be classified with the papyri of i/B.C.-i/A.D. rather than those of iii/B.C.

T. Sol. D 4⁴ διαπορῶν τι ἄρα ἀποκρίνοιντο.—Ign. ad Eph. 2², ad Magn 2, 12, ad Rom 5², ad Polyc. 6².

Some Hell. authors: Alciphron *Letters* I 11³ (εἰποῖς ἂν *you might say*), 13¹ (ἠπόρουν ὃ τι πράξαιμι *I didn't know what to do*), 14³ (πῶς . . . ὑπομεινόμεν *how could we endure?*), 22¹ ἂν; II 2² (εἰπαις ἂν *you might say*), 10³ ἂν, 15² ἂν; III 2² (εἰποι τις ἂν *you might say, as it were*), 11¹ ἂν; IV 2³ ἂν, 3³ ἂν, 8¹ ἂν, 10⁴, 11⁵ ἂν, 13⁶. 7 ἂν, 16⁷ ἂν, 18² ἂν 2. 3 ἂν, 19³ ἂν.—Callimachus *Hymns* I 15. 15. 91 κεν; II 26. 27. 31 ἂν, 35 κε; III 15. 104, 155 κεν, 177 κεν, 250; IV 25 κε, 126 κε; V 103.—Aratus *Phaenomena* 12 κε, 78 ἂν, 142 ἂν, 169, 195 κεν, 211 κεν, 451 κε, 456 ἂν, 463 κε, 495 κε, 530 κε, 559 κεν, 562 ἂν, 566 ἂν, 579 ἂν, 607 ἂν, 712 κε, 729 κε, 731, 782 κε, 793 ἂν, 797 κεν, 798 ἂν, 802 κε, 815 ἂν, 816 ἂν, 818 κε, 827 κεν, 839 κεν, 839, 850 κε, 857 ἂν, 873 κεν, 876 ἂν, 879 ἂν, 888 κε, 904, 915, 1006 κε, 1066, 1085, 1144, 1144 κε, 1145 ἂν, 1148, 1148, 1154 κεν.

§ 2. Dependent Clauses

Here is a still more rapid decline in the Hell. period, and the opt. has become almost entirely alien to the popular speech. In more artificial language it still serves in indirect speech and final and conditional clauses, whereas in class. Greek it regularly appeared in dependent clauses after a historic tense where the subj. would have appeared had the clause depended on a primary tense. The NT retains the subj. even in historic sequence, in common with popular Greek in general from the mid-ii/B.C. The class. rule is rarely observed in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser II. 1, 288).

(a) Iterative

This is the regular class. function of the opt. in dependent clauses following a historic tense. It expresses reiteration, best rendered in English by *ever* (*whoever, whenever, if ever*). The impf. ind. or aor. ind., sometimes with ἂν (see above, Indic. Mood), was substituted for this in the later period. The LXX and NT have ὅταν and ὁπόταν with impf. or aor. ind., but Mayser can find no instance of this in the Ptolemaic papyri, while Radermacher finds one or two instances in Polybius. The iterative opt. was soon confused with the potential, and ἂν was consequently added, as is seen in Aristeas 59 (Wendland) τὴν διάθεσιν εἶχεν ὥστε, καθ' ὃ ἂν μέρος στρέφοιτο, τὴν πρόσσῳιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν.

Clear instances of iterative opt. are found in the Ptol. pap., Philo, and NT, especially with εἰ τύχοι *for example* (1 Co 14¹⁰ 15³⁷). Papyri:—

iv/B.C.: UPZ no. 1. 12f <δ> ε δ' ἀν[ε]λοι τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα [κα] ἰ ἀδικοῖ Ἀρτεμισίην. ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τῇ<ν> δίκην ἐπιθ[ε]ῖη. This is a potential opt. within a hypothetical relative clause, hardly distinguishable from the iterative.

iii/B.C.: Petr. II 18 (2b) 15 ἔτυπεν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ εἰς δ μέρος τύχοι τοῦ σώματος (246). Formal language of a bill of complaint. Magd. 42 πληγὰς μοι ἐνέβαλεν καὶ πλείους εἰς δ τύχοι μέρος τοῦ σώματος (221).

ii/B.C.: 162 (Horn). 118 (Horn). 117 (Horn). PSI III 167 18 (118 B.C.) formal language. Teb 24. 65 τύχοι (117 B.C.). BGU VI 1253. 10 (but Lobel's emend. does away with opt. here).

i/A.D.: 18 (Horn)

ii/A.D.: 131 (Horn)

iii/A.D.: c 376 (Horn)

later: 409 and eleven other *exx.* of temporal, to viii/A.D. Stylistic revival of opt. in Byzantine Greek: v-vi/A.D., vi/A.D., c 551. 616. In an iterative temporal clause this revival appears to have begun already in 2 Clem 12³ ὅταν λαλῶμεν . . . καὶ . . . εἴη.

Except for εἰ τύχοι the iterative opt. is no longer in use in LXX and NT, having quite disappeared from the colloquial language by this time¹. Mark's method of filling the gap (ὅταν with past ind.) is found elsewhere with extreme rarity². More frequently ἄν is added³ to the indicative.

(b) Conditional

The reaction in favour of the opt. influenced a wider circle than the Atticists, particularly in conditional and final clauses in the case of non-atticizing cultured writers. After ii/A.D. the influence spread to more popular authors. Radermacher observes that the text Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας (prob. i/A.D., not atticistic)

¹ In literary writers, e.g.: Aratus *Phaenomena* 823 ὅτ' εὐδίου κεχρημένος ἡμῶτος εἴης *whenever you desire a fair day*, 1141 ὅτ' ὄμβρου σήματα φαῖνοι (*mice build nests*) *whenever Zeus shows signs of rain*.—Callimachus *Hymns* III 136 τῶν εἴη μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλος ὅστις ἀληθής *whoever is a true friend of mine*. VI 68 ὅσσα πάσαιτο τόσων ἔχεν ἡμερος αὐτίς.

² Polyb. IV 32.5f.—LXX Ex 17¹¹. 11, Nu 11⁹ 21⁹, Jg 6³ (A ὅταν; B ἐάν), 1 Km 17³⁴, Ps 77³⁴ 118³² 119⁷, Jb 20²² (A ὅποτε; B ὅποταν). NT Mk 3¹¹.

³ LXX Le 27¹² καθότι ἄν c. fut. ind., To 7¹¹B ὅποτε ἄν εἰσεπορεύοντο. NT Mk 6⁵⁶ ὅσοι ἄν ἠψάντο, Ac 24⁵ 43⁵ καθότι ἄν χρεῖαν εἶχεν. 1 Co 12² ὥς ἄν ἡγήσθε.

employs as a typical form of conditional sentence εἰ c. opt. in the protasis and fut. indic. in the apodosis. So also Philo¹, Herm. S. IX 12, 4 (οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται, εἰ μὴ λάβοι: Harnack λάβῃ), Theophilus ad Autolyceum I 6. The atticizing influence must have been wide. Epictetus, and Diodorus (Kapff, p. 88) use opt. after εἰ quite extensively. It is rare in LXX and papyri (Harsing 38f; Mayser II 1, 293); none of the instances adduced by Horn appear to be earlier than i/A.D. and the majority are Byzantine. Radermacher notes that the Pergamum inscriptions have but one instance and prefer ἔάν c. subj. in the protasis and fut. ind. in the apodosis. Moreover in most examples from the Ptolemaic papyri εἰ c. opt. stands obliquely for the direct form ἔάν c. subj., and so ought strictly to be considered as indirect speech. Besides, most of them betray the stilted language of official letters or decrees.

Of true conditions with opt., there are only three in NT: Ac 24¹⁹ ἔδει . . . κατηγορεῖν, εἰ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ, 1 Pt 3¹⁴ εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε . . . , μακάριοι, ¹⁷ κρείττον . . . , εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, πάσχειν . . . There are about 25 in LXX, which is almost the same percentage, especially if 4 Mac is ignored: 1 Km 24²⁰. ²⁰ εἰ εὐροῖτό τις τὸν ἔχθρον . . . καὶ ἐκπέμψαι αὐτόν (fut. ind. in apodosis) (A εὐρών . . . ἐκπέμψαι), 14⁶ εἰ τι ποιῆσαι ἡμῖν Κύριος (sc. *it would be well*); hardly conditional: *Perhaps the Lord will.*—2 Km 16¹² εἰ πως ἴδοι Κύριος: *perhaps the Lord* . . . (see above).—4 Km 6²⁷ μὴ σε σώσαι Κύριος—πόθεν σώσω σε; Ps 138 (139)⁹ S*ca (BR* subj.) ἔάν λάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς μοι (apodosis fut. ind.).—Jb 6² εἰ γάρ τις ἰστῶν στήσαι μου τὴν ὀργήν, τὰς δὲ ὀδῶναι μου ἄραι ἐν ζυγῷ (apod. fut. ind.), 6³ εἰ γὰρ δώῃ, καὶ ἔλθοι μοι ἡ αἵτησις, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου δώῃ ὁ Κύριος (no apodosis): *if only God would give me* . . . / 20²³ εἰ πως πληρῶσαι γαστέρα αὐτοῦ (apod. opt.), 34¹⁴ εἰ γὰρ βούλοιτο συνέχειν (apod. fut. ind.), 38²⁰ εἰ ἀγάγοις με εἰς ὄρια αὐτῶν (a question; not a true condition).—Isa 49¹⁵. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλάθοιτο γυνή (apod. fut. ind.) (S* ind.).—2 Mac 9²⁴ ὅπως ἔάν τι παράδοξον ἀποβαίῃ (V ind.).—4 Mac 2⁸ κἂν φιλάργυρός τις εἴη . . . , 4¹⁷ εἰ ἐπιτρέψειεν . . . (apod. aor. ind.), ²³ εἰ τινες αὐτῶν φάνοιεν, 5³ εἰ δὲ τινες μὴ θέλοιεν, ¹⁹ εἰ μieroφαγήσαιμεν, 6¹⁸ εἰ νῦν μεταβαλοίμεθα ¹⁹ ἂν γενοίμεθα τοῖς νέοις ἀσεβείας τύπος (S γενώμεθα), 8². ² εἰ μὲν μieroφαγήσαιεν . . . εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγοιεν, 9² εἰ μὴ . . . γνώσει χρησαίμεθα, ²⁷ ὥς δ' εἰ φαγεῖν βούλοιτο, 12⁴ ἂν εἰ μὲν μὴ πεισθῆις (S πισθῆις), 14¹⁷ εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δύναιτο καλῶναι.

The use of slightly antique language in the presence of Felix, rather than εἰ τι ἔχουσιν, is understandable. The only way to account for the apparently impeccable Attic of the

¹ K. Reik, *Der Optativ bei Polybius und Philo*, Leipzig 1907, 154.

Petrine optatives is to suppose them to have been abstracted from the archaic periods of a solemn exhortation; even here the potential clause (opt. c. ἄν) which might have been expected in a classical apodosis does not occur, for the genius of living speech has forcibly interposed the pres. tense since persecution is at hand. Zerwick ascribes the opt. to the writer's tactfulness of heart and a reluctance to mention sufferings except very tentatively to those who were actually destined to meet them (§ 228d). The other instances of εἰ c. opt. are not so much real conditions as final clauses (Ac 17²⁷ 27¹²)¹, and there are parenthetical phrases introduced by εἰ = *if possible* or *as it were*: εἰ δυνατόν εἶη (vl. ἦν), εἰ δύναιτο (Ac 20¹⁶ 27³⁹) and εἰ τύχοι (1 Co 14¹⁰ 15³⁷). Other clauses introduced by εἰ and dependent on a verb like ζητεῖν are virtually indirect questions, a class. survival: Ac 17¹¹ 25²⁰. The LXX also uses εἰ c. opt. in these several ways—another indication of kinship in style and syntax with the NT. In neither LXX nor NT is there an instance of εἰ c. opt. in the protasis and opt. c. ἄν in the apodosis; and notice εἰ πως in 2 Km 16¹² Jb 20²² Ac 27¹². However, the LXX has εἰ c. opt. to express a wish, Hebrew ׀; Mk 8¹² uses εἰ c. fut. ind.

The constructions of εἰ c. opt. in conditions is still common in literary writers, but the style is very affected and poetic:

Aratus *Phaenomena* 563 ἀτὰρ εἰ νεφέεσσι μέλαιναί γίνονται *if they be dark with clouds*, 564 ἢ ὄρεος κεκρυμμένα ἀντέλλουεν *or if they rise hidden behind a hill*, 825 εἰ δ' αὖτως καθαρὸν μιν ἔχοι *if he be so pure again*, 826 δύνει δ' ἀνέφελος *and if he set cloudless*, 838 εἰ γὰρ μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀμυδίς κεκρημένος εἶη *if he is draped both in black and red*, 855 καὶ εἰ ποτε χεῖματος ὥρῃ ὠχρήσαι κατίων *if in winter his hue wax wan at evening*, 858 εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ἀνέφελος βάπτοι *but if cloudless he dip*, 872 εἰ μὲν κεῖναι μᾶλλον κνέφαρος φορέοιντο ἀκτῖνες *the more those beams are borne in shadow*, 874 εἰ δ' ὀλίγος τανύοιτο περὶ δνόφος ἀκτίνεσσιν *but if but faint the dust that veils his beams*, 887 εἰ δὲ μὲν ἐκ βορέαο μι' οἷη φοινίσσοιτο *but if only one shine purple to the north*, 905 εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ βορέω Φάτνης ἀμηνῆν φασίν *if the Ass shine feebly to the north of the Manger*.—Callimachus *Hymn III* 178 καὶ εἰ Στυμφαΐδες εἶεν *even if they were*, IV 129 καὶ εἰ μέλλοιμι βροάων διψαλέην ἀμπωτὶν ἔχων *even if I must wander*.—Especially frequent in the atticistic Alciphron's *Letters*: I 1. 5 εἰ χειμῶν ἐπιλάβοιτο *in case of bad weather*, 10, 4 ἔν' εἰ πού τι . . . εὗρεθῇ σῶμα *if any corpse is found* (oblique), 12, 2 εἰ . . .

¹ Ac 17²⁷ ζητεῖν τ. θεόν, εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν καὶ εὗροιν, 27¹² ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι . . . εἰ πως δύναιτο . . . παραχειμάσαι.

πύθοιτο *if he should hear* (+ fut. ind.), 13, 4; 16, 3; 20, 2; II 12; 14, 2; 15, 1; 18, 3 εἰ δὲ μάθοι *if he finds out* (+ fut. ind.); 21, 3; 28, 2; 37, 2; III 5, 2 εἰ μὴ τὸ χωρίον πρὸς τοῖς ἀργυρίοις λάβοι (*says she will not bestow her favours unless she gets the landed estate in addition to the cash* (oblique); 5, 3; 8, 2; 10, 3. 4; 14, 3; 16, 1; 26, 4; 28, 4; 34, 1; 38, 1. 2. 3; 42, 2; IV 3, 3; 10, 3. 3; 17, 6; 19, 3. 19. 21. Often in an oblique sense after a historic tense.

(c) *Final*

This is another atticism which is very rare in the papyri. Class. authors had used the opt. after a secondary tense, but apart from the doubtful Mk 12²⁸ (ἵνα λάβοι) we find it neither in the NT nor Koine generally; it is almost absent from Polybius. The Atticists went so far as to use the opt. where the classical rule preferred subj. After ii/A.D., less literary authors followed suit, e.g. Vettius Valens and some later papyri. Radermacher finds odd examples as early as Plutarch and the apocryphal Acts of Apostles. Attic inscriptions of the period invariably have subj. after ἵνα, although they occasionally have opt. after ὅπως. Diodorus Siculus, who is distinctly a literary man, has only about eight final optatives compared with 179 subjunctives. Epictetus, who has potential opt. four times, has it only once in a final clause. Meisterhans shows it once in Attic inscriptions, iv/B.C. fin. (p. 247). Examples in the Ptol. pap. are difficult to establish: there may be a fut. opt. in ii/B.C. ἡξίωσα ἵνα χρηματισθῇσοιτο P. Tebt I. There is nothing else before ii/A.D. fin. The discarding of the final opt. in post-class. Greek represents one of the furthest departures of that Greek from the Attic model.

Opt. after ἵνα, ὅπως: percentage, as compared with subj.					
Biblical	ii/ B.C.	i/B.C.	i/A.D.	ii/A.D.	iii/A.D.
2 Mac 71% (atticist) LXX 1.7% NT nil	Polyb. 7%	Diod. Sic. 5%	Josephus 32% Plutarch 49%	Arrian 82% Appion 87%	Herodian 75%

It is safe to say that there is nothing of this atticistic elegance in NT. It is unlikely that the pointing in Eph 1¹⁷ is δῶν (WH

text); B has δῶ (WH mg); and in any case the ἵνα may be imperatival; final opt. does not come very well after a present tense, except with the Atticists and much later writers, and makes the achievement of the purpose more remote than the author could have intended. The same δῶη occurs in 2 Ti 2²⁵ (vl. δῶ) after μήποτε and balances a subj., but it must be admitted that in the same epistle δῶη cannot be anything else than an opt. (116. 18)¹. There is textual uncertainty in two other places in Eph (31⁶ 61⁹) and in Jn 15¹⁶, but the opt. always rests on slender evidence. These optatives, like that in Mk 12², are probably the learned corrections of atticistic scribes. In Eph 61⁹ moreover the ἵνα is epexegetical rather than final. It may seem that the class. rule of sequence in oblique clauses is being followed in Mk 14^{10f} where παραδοῖ (as if from an -ω verb) is used in a final and a relative clause, but we must remember that οἱ and ἡ were often confused and this may be a scribe's correction of παραδῆ. This could also be the explanation of ἵνα τις γνῶι Mk 9³⁰ (a correction of a corrupt γνῆ).

Kinship in syntax between LXX and NT is further indicated by the fact that, apart from 4 Mac, there is no sure example of this optative.

LXX: Ps 37 (38)¹⁷ R* μήποτε ἐπιχαρῆσάν μοι οἱ ἐχθροί μου (B subj.).—Pr 22¹⁷ S* τὴν δὲ σὴν καρδίαν ἐπίσημον ἵνα γνῶις (vl. subj.),¹⁹ S* ἵνα γνῶρισον τὴν ὁδόν σου (vl. subj.).—Jb 21² A ἀκούσατε . . . ἵνα μὴ εἴη μοι (B ἦ).—4 Mac 4⁶ ὅπως . . . λάβοι, 23 ὅπως . . . θάνοιεν, 5⁶ ὅπως . . . σώζοιο, 6⁸ AS^a ὅπως ἐξανισταῖτο (S* ἐξανίστατο), 81² ὅπως . . . πείσειεν, 10¹ ὅπως ἀπογευσάμενος σώζοιο, 12⁶ ὅπως . . . παρορμήσειεν, 12⁶ V* ὅπως ποιήσαιεν (A ποιῆσαι), 17¹ ἵνα μὴ ψεύσειεν τι τοῦ σώματος.

Aratus *Phaen.* 381. 496. 1127 (after primary tense).—Callimachus *Hymn* I 34. 53, III 27. 61. 89. 108. 167.—Alciphron *Letters* I 15, 1 (after primary tense), II 3, 2 (primary), III 7, 5 (primary), IV 18, 3 (primary).

(d) Indirect Statements

The Atticists took this opt. too under their special protection, even after a primary tense; e.g. Alciphron IV 7, 5 τὰς νεφέλας ὁπόθεν εἰεν καὶ τίς ἀτόμους ὁποῖαι ἀγνοοῦμεν. After a secondary tense in indirect speech the opt. was employed in class.

¹ Moreover the argument about balance is weaker in view of 2 Mac 9²⁴ where an opt. does in fact balance a subj.

Greek but there was never any constraint about it; direct speech was legitimate within the dependent clause. Hellenistic writers took advantage of the concession, and, although Diodorus Siculus uses the opt. 29 times like this, he leaves the direct speech as it is in 475 instances¹. Even Atticists, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, shared this preference. On the whole it would not appear that the opt. in, and because of, indirect speech, even after a secondary tense, was favoured in Hell. Greek. In the papyri, most of the Hellenistic examples are early (9 out of 10 are iii/B.C.) and the rest are nearly all in the Byzantine period of optative-revival (A.D. 117. 265. 336. 345. 543. 583. 583).

In the LXX and NT therefore it is a sign of atticizing style, and only a few books display it: Jb 23³ (γινώσκειν) ὅτι εὕρομαι αὐτὸν ἔλθοιμι εἰς τέλος.—2 Mac 4¹ ἐκακολόγει . . . ὡς οὗτός τε εἶη.—4 Mac 4²².—Ac 25¹⁶ ἀπεκρίθην ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος . . . χαρίζεσθαι . . . πρὶν ἢ . . . ἔχει . . . τε . . . λάβοι (but οἱ and ἡ were often confused).

Alciphron I 13, 1 ἡπόρουν ὅ τι πράξαιμι, II 5, 2 τοῦ προξένου φήσαντος ὡς δεοίμην χρημάτων *when my sponsor said that I needed money*, III 2, 1 κατεμέμφετο ὅτι μὴ θαμίζοιμι παρ' αὐτόν *blamed me for not coming to see him more often*, 2, 2 φράσας παρ' ὅτου καλοῖτο *told her who had invited her*.

(e) Indirect Questions

This opt. also is rare, and here too in class. Greek it was permissible to retain the form of the direct question. Strangely, although it had disappeared in pre-Christian times, Luke is fond of this opt. Excluding deliberative questions, which are incidentally indirect², Luke has opt. six times. Thus in Lk 9⁴⁶ τὸ τίς ἂν εἶη μείζων αὐτῶν we have an indirect question and must not translate εἶη *might be*; it is not indefinite, deliberative, or future, but means *was*. Only Est. and 2 Mac (A-text) betray any traces of it in LXX, and there is sometimes the excuse of a

¹ See the tables in Kapff op. cit. p. 63.

² These probably owe their origin to a dir. delib. question: Lk 16² ἐνένευον . . . τὸ τίς ἂν θέλοι, 31⁵ διαλογιζομένων πάντων . . . μήποτε αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ χριστός, 61¹¹ διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίς ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. 15²⁶ ἐπυθάνετο τίς ἂν εἶη ταῦτα.—Jn 13²⁴ v.l. πυθέσθαι τίς ἂν εἶη.—Ac 5²⁴ διηπόρουν . . . τίς ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο, 10¹⁷ διηπόρει . . . τίς ἂν εἶη τὸ ὄραμα, 17²⁰ βουλόμεθα οὖν γινῶναι τίς ἂν θέλοι (B τίνα θέλει ταῦτα εἶναι), 21³³ ἐπυθάνετό τις εἶη καὶ τίς ἔστιν πεποιηκώς (v.l. τίς ἂν).

doubly dependent clause (Est 3³ 2 Mac 33⁷A). The only other examples, besides Clem ad Rom 14³, are in the papyri, mostly in iii/B.C.¹, and in the atticistic revival of such writers as Aleiphron².

LXX: Est 3 (13)³ πυθομένου . . . πῶς ἂν ἀχθείη τοῦτο ἐπὶ πέρας (potential?).—2 Mac 33⁷ A ἐπερωτήσαντος . . . ποῖός τις εἴη ἐπιτήδειος (V ἦν).—4 Mac 11¹³ πυθανομένου τοῦ τυράννου εἰ βούλοιτο . . .

NT: Lk 12⁹ διαλογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμός, 8⁹ ἐπερώτων . . . τίς αὕτη εἴη ἡ παραβολή, 18³⁶ ἐπυνθάνετο τι εἴη τοῦτο, 22²³ συζητεῖν . . . τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη, Ac 17¹¹ ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γράφας εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως, 25²⁰ ζήτησιν ἔλεγον εἰ βούλοιτο.

It is not clear why Luke should have indulged in this galaxy of atticisms. It lends at least some weight to the suggestion that the Lucan writings were finally written up not earlier than the second century.

We are led directly to a final point. Why all these optatives in Biblical Greek, if the Scriptures were written and rendered in the language of the people? The opt. was dead, as far as popular language was concerned, except for a few set phrases. It would appear from our survey that all the LXX books which have the opt. to a considerable extent must either be dated early in the Hellenistic period or else must be supposed to have been affected by the atticistic revival of this mood. Job uses it extensively, and it should be remembered that this book belongs to the Kethubim, and for a long time such works were not regarded with the reverence accorded to those of the first and second division of the Canon. As a translation the Greek Job is free enough to be called a paraphrase, and much of the Hebrew is omitted. Similar conditions apply to the Greek Proverbs, and that book, on account of its preference of οὐδεὶς

¹ P. Petr. III 51, 9 ἐρωτώμενος, «πόσον» εἰ «η» αὐτὸς εἴη (iii/B.C.); note that πόσον and η are added by the scribe himself and should not be read; doubly dependent.—II 20 πυθανομένου . . . εἰ τι συντεθεικῶς αὐτῷ εἴης (252 B.C.); doubly dependent.—BGU VI 1246, 3 πυθομένου . . . εἰ δυνάμην (iii/B.C.); doubly dependent.—P. Eleph. 13, 3 ἐπυνθανόμεν . . . εἰ τι βούλοιτο (223/B.C.).—Wilcken Theb. Book XII 12 ὑπεδείξαμεν ταυτὴν τὴν ὥνῃν αὐτία, εἰ πως δύναιτο προσεπιδέξασθαι τι (ii/B.C.).—P. Par 35, 29 πυθανομένων δ' ἡμῶν, τοῦ τίνος χάριν εἴησαν (163 B.C.).—Insc. Magnes. 215.—An inscr. i/A.D.—BGU 347².10.—Post-Christian papyrus A.D. 170—Harsing appears not to be able to find any post-Christian instances: p. 31.

² I 17, 1 ἡρόμην . . . οὐ εἴη. ἡρόμην . . . τίνα τρόπον . . . ἀποκέειτο. III 17, 1 ποῖ καταχέειν . . . καὶ εὐκαίρως ἐμφάγοιμι μόνος. 24, 2 εἰ πού τι τῶν κόκκων ἐπιδράξασθαι δυναθῇ.

to οὐθείς, could not be much earlier than 100 B.C. The opt. in these books, therefore, is more likely to be due to the atticistic revival than to survival from the class. usage in the early stages of Hell. Greek.

On the other hand, it is significant that we find the quota of optative in Comparative clauses almost exclusively in the Pentateuch, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah¹, which is an argument for grouping these books closely. Moreover, we find support for their early date in the fact that Mayser can only find one instance of this construction, and this is in iii/B.C. (P. Cair. Zen. 14, 18 κέχρηται ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν εἴ τις ἐχθρῶι χρησάιτο, 256 B.C.). There is no evidence that this construction is due to atticism, but it could well be a survival in iii/B.C. of the quite common class. construction, aided by the similar idiom in Hebrew (כִּאֲשֶׁר with impf.).

On the whole, it is more likely that the dependent optatives in Job, Psalms, and Proverbs (Kethubim) are due to a stylistic or atticistic influence rather than to a date in iii/B.C. or early ii/B.C. Isaiah, however, which has a volitive opt. and a comparative opt. once in 40 pages, and yet does not in other ways display an atticizing influence, but is good Koine Greek, may be supposed to date from iii/B.C. or early ii/B.C., if the use of the opt. is any criterion, and assuming that the needs of the synagogue lectionary would demand an early translation of this Prophetic book. The Prophets were read in the synagogues, in addition to the Pentateuch, and there was no distinction of "former" and "latter" until much later; so that the optatives in Jg, Kingdoms, Isaiah and Ezek. α might seem to be reasonably accounted for by the early date of their translation, which in turn was due to the desire to hear them in the synagogues.

There is much to be said for the suggestion that this apparent lingering of the indirect opt. into the NT period and beyond may be due to scribal activity in confusing like-sounding endings, and in addition to this, in the case of indirect questions, the potential idea may enter into each instance far more deeply than would appear at first; hence it is not the class. rule of sequence which is surviving so much as the old potential opt.—

¹ With ἄν: Ge 33¹⁰, Isa 66²⁰, Ezk 1¹⁶. Without ἄν: Ex 33¹¹ AF, Nu 22⁴. ⁷ (AF fut. ind.), Dt 13¹AF (B ind.)⁴⁴ 8⁵B (AF subj.) 28²⁹ 32¹¹, Jg 16⁹ (A ind.), Ps 82 (83)¹⁵ (R fut. ind.), Pr 23⁷ 25²⁶. ²⁶, Isa 11⁹ 21¹.

admirably suited to Christian aspiration and piety! Indeed, one must not reject too lightly the possibility that the optatives in NT owed their preservation in some measure to their incidence in the pompous and stereotyped jargon of devotion. These opt. phrases are decidedly formal (e.g. εἰ τύχοι = *e.g.*); εἴη, θέλοι and γένοιτο occur again and again. Because the LXX came to be a Church book, the same consideration should be given to the problem there. The optatives may reflect a date of translation early in the Hell. period. But if by any chance, as seems likely on other grounds, there was a new recension of some part at least of the LXX made much nearer to the Christian age, the retention of the optatives at a time when everywhere they were diminishing need not surprise us in view of their value for the liturgy, Jewish and Christian.

CHAPTER TEN

THE VERB: NOUN FORMS: INFINITIVE

IN SOME DIRECTIONS the infinitive¹ is now enlarging its sphere, especially in the infin. of purpose after verbs of motion; and, particularly in the more cultured Hell. writers, the articular infin.—a development which by chance coincides with Semitic partiality for the infin. with prepositions and thus explains its popularity in NT. In other directions the infin. is retreating, especially in face of *ἵνα* and *ὅτι*, the latter being prevalent after verbs of speaking, perceiving and believing—some of which kept very strictly to infin. in class. Greek.

§ 1. With the Function of a Dative

(a) *Final-consecutive*

This use with verbs of moving, sending, and giving, etc., or in loose connection with a whole clause which it supplements, has strongly increased in Hellenistic in comparison with class. prose. Malalas has especial preference for the final infin. after *εἶμι*, *ἔρχομαι*, *ἵσταμαι*, *ὁρμάω*, *περιτρέχω*, *πέμπω*, *ἀπάγω*, *κατάγω*, *καλέω*. In NT this development is even more pronounced. Sometimes the infin. is used alone, sometimes with *ὥστε* and more rarely *ἐφ' ὧ*.

1. The simple infin. of purpose (class. with *giving, permitting, etc.*) is used with still more verbs of motion than in class. Greek and became really popular from c. 150 B.C.:

With *ἔρχομαι* Mt 2² *ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι*, 4¹ *ἀνήχθη πειρασθῆναι*, 5¹⁷, 11⁷ *ἐξήλθατε . . . θεάσασθαι*, 20²⁸ *ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι*, 27⁵⁵ *ἠκολούθησαν διακονῆσαι* (rest ptc.), Lk 9⁵², 18¹⁰ *ἀνέβησαν προσεύξασθαι*,

¹ K.G II 3-46. Stahl 596-680. Jannaris 480-89. Wackernagel I 257-76. Meisterhans-Schwyzler § 90. Schwyzler II 357-384. Mayser II 1, 296-339. F. H. Allen, *The Infin. in Polybius compared with the use of the Infin. in Biblical Greek*, Diss. Chicago 1907. Abel §§ 69-71. Zerwick §§ 266-279^b. Ljungvik SSAA 40-45. Moulton Einl. 319ff. Pernot *Études* 31ff. 69ff. 102ff. 124ff. P. Aalto, *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitiv im Griech.*, Helsinki 1953.

Ac 10³⁸ παρέσμεν ἀκοῦσαι, Jn 4⁷ ἔρχεται . . . ἀντλήσαι ὕδωρ, 14² πορεύομαι ἐτοιμάσαι τόπον, 21³ ὑπάγω ἀλιεύειν, Ro 10⁶ 1 Co 10⁷ 16⁸ Heb 9²⁴ Herm. S. IX 9, 1, Mart. Petr. 88, 7, Acta Petri et Pauli 186, 4. But John is very fond of parataxis with verbs of motion, rather than the infin.; e.g. ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὄψεσθε 14⁰; also 14⁷ 11³⁴ 14³ 19³⁸ 20¹⁹ etc. The Atticists themselves quite often used the infin.: exx. in Schmid, *Der Attizismus*, 1887–1897, II 56, III 79, IV 81, e.g. ἀφίκετο, ἀκοῦσαι. Radermacher² (p. 152) draws several exx. from apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Pernot is exhaustive for the Gospels, and shows (pp. 103ff) that Mt often prefers infin. after verbs when Mk does not, thus, ὁμολογέω 14⁷ (cp. Mk 6²³), θέλω 15³² (cp. Mk 8³), δίδωμι 13¹¹ (cp. Mk 4¹¹), ἐτοιμάζω 26¹⁷ (cp. Mk 14¹²); and Mt tends to substitute an infin. for Mk's final ἵνα, thus ἀποστέλλω 21³⁴ (cp. Mk 12²), ἔρχομαι 28¹ (cp. Mk 16¹); or else εἰς τό c. inf. 26² for Mk's final ἵνα (cp. Mk 15²⁰). The fut. ptc. would have been more usual in class. Attic but it is scarcely used in NT.¹ In the Ptolemaic papyri ἀναβαίνειν, διαβαίνειν, ἀπέρχομαι, κατὰγω are followed by infin. of purpose (Mayser II 1, 297). Witkowski ep.² 38, 34 ἐὰν ἀναβῶ κἀγὼ προσκυνῆσαι.—Xenophon of Ephesus p. 393, 29 ἐληλύθει προσεῦξασθαι τῷ θεῷ.—Acta Petri et Pauli 17 ἀπῆει ποιῆσαι.—Mart. Petr. VI εἰσέρχομαι . . . σταυρωθῆναι.—Mart. Pauli IV ἔρχεται . . . κρῖναι. In the LXX there is a marked tendency to use the infin. after verbs of coming, going, and sending: e.g. Le 14⁴⁹ 17¹¹ 21¹⁷ Isa 61¹². It is used also with verbs like δίδωμι, ἀποστέλλω, as in class. Attic: Mt 25³⁵ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, Mk 31⁴ ἀποστέλλη κηρύσσειν, 7⁴ παρέλαβον κρατεῖν, Ac 12⁴ 16⁴ παραδιδόναι φυλάσσειν.—Often δίδωμι, φάγεῖν, or πειν.—Ac 12⁴¹ ἐξελέξω . . . λαβεῖν, 20²⁸ ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους ποιμαίνειν, Jn 6³¹ ἄρτον . . . ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν (LXX Ps 78²⁴) 6⁵²; 4⁷. 10 δός μοι πειν, 4³⁸ ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς θερίζειν. Ἐχω (cp. Byz. Greek): Jn 4³² βρώσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, (8⁶) 8²⁶ πολλὰ ἔχω . . . λαλεῖν, 16¹². Πέμπω: Jn 1³³ ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν.

The construction with ἵνα is sometimes substituted for infin. in the papyri, as in the phrase δέξασθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς εἶνα δεικνونهῖ ἡμῖν (P. Par 23, 22) which comes shortly after προσλάβεσθαι τὸν υἱὸν διακονεῖν ἡμῖν (22, 25) (165 B.C.). So also in NT: 1 Co 9¹⁵ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ . . . ἵνα . . . κενώσῃ, 14⁵ λαλεῖν . . . μᾶλλον . . . ἵνα προφητεύητε. It raises a question where the MSS differ between the constructions: have scribes and commentators introduced ἵνα or have atticistic correctors preferred the shorter form with the infin.? Mt 27²⁶ Mk 15¹⁵ Jn 19¹⁶ παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ, Jn 5³⁸ δέδωκεν . . . ἵνα τελειώσω (Tert. corr. to τελειῶσαι), 11³¹ ὑπάγει . . . ἵνα κλαύσῃ (Chrys. corr. to κλαύσαι), 5⁵ ἀνέβησαν . . . ἵνα ἀγνίσωσιν (Chrys. ἀγνίσαι), 12²⁰ ἀναβαινόντων ἵνα προσκυνήσωσιν (Chrys. προσκυνῆσαι).

2. The infin. of purpose is helped by ὥστε (and ὡς?) in LXX, NT, and occasionally in the papyri (Mayser II 1, 298) and Josephus; it is common after NT, down to Byzantine period;

¹ Ac 24¹¹ ἀνέβην προσκυνῆσων. Cp. Lk 18¹⁰ Ac 8²⁷.

it helped to give the dying infin. of purpose a little longer life in this period :

Mt 10¹ ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν ὥστε, 27¹ συμβούλιον ἔλαβον ὥστε θανατῶσαι αὐτόν (D corr. to ἵνα θανατώσουσιν), Lk 4²⁹ ἤγαγον . . . ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι (AC εἰς τό) 9⁵² εἰσῆλθον ὥστε ἐτοιμάσαι (vl. ὡς p⁴⁵ SB), 20²⁰ ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτόν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος (AWΓ εἰς τό), Ac 20²⁴ AHLΡ ὡς τελειῶσαι (E ὥστε, probably -τε has fallen out before τελ-). LXX Ge 15⁷ 1 Mac 42. 28 10³, 2 Mac 2⁶ Mart. Dasii 5 δέδοκται . . . ὥστε . . . προσαχθῆναι. Epict. IV 6, 8. ἐσπούδακας . . . μανθάνειν ὥστε ἄλυπος εἶναι. Final ὡς: Clem. Hom 12¹.

3. "Ὡστε also appears with finite verb, imperative and subjunctive (Mayser II 1, 300): Ga 21³ ὥστε συναπῆχθη (vl. συναπηχθῆναι) Jn 31⁶. 'Ὡς with indic.: Clem. Hom. 22⁵; ὡς with subj. 12¹⁷.

4. "Ὡστε c. infin. in a consecutive sense is more widely used than in class. Attic. Class. Greek would have indic. in Ac 15³⁹ ἐγένετο παροξυσμός ὥστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Clem. Hom. ὡς c. inf. 81¹ 201³.

5. Infin. without ὥστε, to express result. Lk 1⁵⁴ ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ . . . μνησθῆναι ἐλέους, 7² ποιῆσαι ἔλεος. The influence of Heb. infin. is likely in Lk 1-2 and the infin. is best rendered as a ptc. or gerundive (so also Mt 21³² Ac 71⁹ 151¹⁰ Ga 31⁰ Ph 31⁰).—Ac 5³ διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν . . . τὴν καρδίαν σου ψεύσασθαί σε, Heb 61⁰ οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι, Rev 5⁵ ἐνίκησεν . . . ἀνοῖξαι (B ὁ ἀνοίγων), 16⁹ οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν. Class.: Hdt V 76, Xen Hell. V 1, 14. Hellenistic: Epict. IV 1, 50, P. Oxy III 526, 3 (ii/A.D.), Herm. M. VIII 2, Did 4³. For ἵνα possibly expressing result, see p. 102.

6. The so-called Infinitive Absolute (class. ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) is literary and very rarely found in papyri or NT: PSI IV 392, 6 (242 B.C.) ὅπερ σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν πεπείσμεθα. Cair. Zen. 11, 7 (256 B.C.) σὺν θεοῖς ἐλπίζω σε στεφανωθήσεσθαι.—NT: Heb 7⁹ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (frequent class.).—Ign. Trall. 10; Sm 2 τὸ δοκεῖν.—Diogn. 61 ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν (see Schwyzer II 379).

(b) *Imperatival Infinitive*: see above, p. 78.

§ 2. Infinitive with Various Case-functions

(a) *Without Article*

To supplement verbs of perception, belief, saying, etc., it was usual in class. Greek to have the infin. as the object, but

the ptc. was also possible; and with all but verbs of believing it was also permissible to have a $\delta\tau\iota$ construction. Very prominent in NT is the vast reduction in the use of infin. and an extension of the $\delta\tau\iota$ construction, which now becomes usual except in the more educated writers, Luke, Paul, Hebrews. Even verbs of believing now have this construction. $\Omega\varsigma$ is nearly confined to Luke and Paul¹, and $\pi\omega\varsigma$ is now being confused with $\omega\varsigma$. Later on, $\pi\omega\varsigma$ absorbs all the functions of $\delta\tau\iota$, $\omega\varsigma$, and finally drives them out altogether. The beginnings of this seem to be appearing already in NT². We notice too a reluctance to use the class. indirect speech form of accusative and infinitive; even Luke prefers the direct form (Ac 14 25^{4f}). For Mark, see Zerwick *Untersuchungen* 24ff. Later on, $\omega\varsigma \delta\tau\iota$ too becomes the equivalent of $\delta\tau\iota$ (Mayser II 3, 45 n. 1; Jannaris § 1754; Sophocles Lex. s.v. $\omega\varsigma$): Hom. Clem. 17 11²⁸ 147 16⁶. 7, P. Oxy XVI 1831, 1; 1833, 1 (v/A.D.) $\omega\varsigma \delta\tau\iota\pi\epsilon\rho$. The beginnings of this (although without a verb of speaking to introduce it) may lie in NT use of $\omega\varsigma \delta\tau\iota$ (i.e., viz., to the effect that), 2 Co 51⁹ (RV to wit; RSV that is; NEB what I mean is, that . . .) 11²¹, 2 Th 2².

1. *Infinitive as a Direct Object.* *Verba putandi* in strong contrast to class. Greek now commonly are followed by $\delta\tau\iota$ in Hell. Greek (Radermacher² 190). But $\delta\omega\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ c. accus. and infin. 1 Co 12²³ 2 Co 11¹⁶; $\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ c. accus. infin. Ph 3⁸; $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ c. inf. Ro 3²⁸ 61¹¹ 14¹⁴ 2 Co 11⁵ Ph 3¹³; $\nu\omicron\mu\iota\zeta\omega$ c. inf. Lk 2⁴⁴ etc. and Paul; $\sigma\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ c. inf. Jn 21²⁵ Ph 1¹⁷ 1 Clem 30⁴ OT 2 Clem 14²; $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\theta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ c. accus. inf. Ac 26²⁶; $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\theta\alpha$ and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ Lk 20⁶ Ro 21⁹ 2 Co 10⁷, Ign Trall 3²; $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ c. infin. Ac 15¹¹ Ro 14²; $\upsilon\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ c. accus. inf. Ac 13²⁵ 27²⁷ Herm. V. IV 1, 6. In general the infin. with these verbs is confined to Luke, Paul and Heb., as a mark of literary style (Mayser II 1, 312). $\textcircled{\text{O}}\mu\nu\acute{\omega}\omega \delta\tau\iota$ (Mt 26⁷⁴ Mk 14⁷¹ Rev 10⁶) is unclassical; see by contrast Heb 31⁸ (fut. infin.). With *verba volendi* and *iubendi*, in class. Greek $\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ was often

¹ Mk 12²⁶ vl. $\pi\omega\varsigma$, Lk 6⁴ vl. $\pi\omega\varsigma$, 8⁴⁷ (D $\delta\tau\iota$), 23⁵⁵ 24⁶ (D $\delta\sigma\alpha$) ³⁵ (D $\delta\tau\iota$), Ac 10²⁸. 38 20²⁰ ($\pi\omega\varsigma$ at ¹⁸), Ro 1⁹, Ph 1⁸, 1 Th 21⁰. The Hellenistic use of $\omega\varsigma = \delta\tau\iota$ is the true explanation of Mk 14⁷² Lk 22⁶¹, not that in *Nov. Test.* 2, 1958, 272ff.

² $\Pi\omega\varsigma$ after $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\tau\epsilon$ Mt 12⁴ Mk 2²⁶ 12²⁶ vl.; after $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$ Mk 12⁴¹; after $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\upsilon$ Lk 14⁷; after $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ Ac 11¹³ 1 Th 1⁹. See also perhaps Mk 10²³ (A. Pallis, *Notes on St. Mark*, new ed. Lond., 1932, 35), and Pallis also includes Mk 10²⁴ $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$. $\textcircled{\text{T}}\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$, $\pi\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\acute{\nu}\omega\acute{\nu} \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon$, which he explains as hyperbaton for $\acute{\lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \pi\omega\varsigma (= \delta\tau\iota) \delta\upsilon\sigma\kappa. \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\upsilon, \textcircled{\text{T}}\epsilon\kappa\eta\alpha$. See also Barn. 11¹ 14⁶, 1 Clem 19³ 21³ 34⁵ 37² 50¹. Epict. IV 13, 15: $\delta\epsilon\iota\zeta\acute{\omicron}\nu \mu\omicron\iota \sigma\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu . . . \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\psi\epsilon\iota \delta\tau\iota \pi\omega\varsigma \omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ (yet $\delta\psi\epsilon\iota$ in II 12, 4).

added to the infin. or *ὅπως* and fut. ind. substituted, and later *ἵνα* which we find often in NT except in Luke, Paul and Hebrews. *ἵνα* after *ἔρωτάω* is Hellenistic (Mk 7²⁸ etc., Ptol. pap. Mayser II 1, 243). The accus. of the object with infin. after *παραινώ* is a mark of literary style (only Ac 27²²). *Θέλω* usually has accus. and infin., as in Ptol. papyri (Mayser II 1, 160), but *ἵνα* in Mt 7¹²; 1 Co 14⁵ has both (*θέλω ὑμᾶς λαλεῖν . . . , μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύετε*); cp. MGr *θά* = *θενά* = *θέλω ἵνα*. In Jn 8⁵⁶ *ἵνα* follows *ἡγαλλιάσατο* (*was glad that he should*), just as it follows *ἐχάρην* in pap. BU IV 1081, 5 (ii-iii/A.D.), whereas the ptc. follows *χαίρω* in Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 1, 175, 353). Different from class. Greek is the passive construction (as in Latin) instead of active after *verba iubendi*: Mt 18²⁵ *ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν παραῆναι*, Ac 5²¹ *ἀπέστειλεν ἀχθῆναι αὐτοῦς* (P. Tebt. 331. 16 [A.D. 131] *ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι αὐτοῦς*), 23³ *κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι*, Herm. S. IX 8, 3 *ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῶν παρθένων ἀπεχθῆναι* (P. Oxy I 33. col. II 14 [end ii/B.C.] *ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῆναι*, Mart. Matth. 243, 18ff *ἐκέλευσεν πληθὸς ἀνθρακίας ἐνεχθῆναι*; followed by active *φέρειν δέ*. Mk 6²⁷ *ἐπέταξεν ἐνεχθῆναι* (but SBCA act.: *ἐνέγκαι*) *τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ* (cp.³⁹), Ac 22²⁴ *εἶπας μάλιστα ἀνετάξασθαι αὐτὸν* (but act. in D* *ἀνετάζειν*), Mk 10⁴⁹ *εἶπεν αὐτὸν φωνηθῆναι* ADWX (but in SBCLΔ corr. to direct command). But active (like class. Greek): Ac 23¹⁰ 16²² Mk 6³⁹ *ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ἀνακλῖναι πάντας* (SB*G *ἀνακλιθῆναι*, to harm.¹ with Mt 14⁹), 54³ D *δοῦναι* (rest *δοθῆναι*). There is textual variation in Mk 8⁷ between *παραθεῖναι*, *παρατεθῆναι*, and numerous examples of alternation in apocryphal Acts (Ljungvik SSAA 42, n. 2). For LXX, see Bonnaccorsi 553, Abel § 309.

2. *Infin.* in looser dependence on main verb, without any apparent case-relationship.

a. *Adverbial*: with *be able*, *know how*, *begin*, *must*, etc., the Ptolemaic papyri and NT have only the infin.: *δύναμαι*, *ισχύω*, *ἔχω* (*must* Lk 12⁵⁰), *ἄρχομαι*. The latter never occurs with ptc. in NT, as in class. Greek (see pp. 154f); it is very frequent in the Syn. Gospels especially in a Semitic pleonastic sense as *ἤρξατο*, *ἤρξαντο* (see *JThS* 28, 352f), as it has very little force; in no instance must it definitely mean *begin to*, and often it is plainly better to ignore the auxiliary; it appears to be a periphrasis for both aor. and impf. It is liked by Mark (26 times, + 3 in D) more than Matthew (6 times) where it may even have some point (4¹⁷ 16²¹). Also with infin., are *προλαμβάνω* Mk 14⁸ (= class. *φθάνω* c. ptc.), *κινδυνεύω* Ac 19²⁷. 40, *προσποιέομαι* Lk 24²⁸, *προστίθεμαι* *to do more* (see p. 227); verbs meaning *to instigate*, *compel* (but *πείθω*, *ποιέω*, *ἀγγαρεύω* also have *ἵνα*); *to be on guard*, *be ashamed*, *be frightened* (but *ἵνα* with *βλέπετε*, *φυλάσσομαι*, *προσέχω*), *to allow* (but *ἀφίημι* with *ἵνα* Mk 11¹⁶), and there is in general a larger freedom to use the infin. in loose connection

¹ Nevertheless, this accus. c. infin. construction after a verb which already has an object has ample precedent: Pass. Barth. 133, 29f *σὺ κελεύεις ἡμᾶς λυθῆναι αὐτήν*; Mart. Andr. alt. 58, 14f *κελεύσας τοῖς δημίοις ἀδιαμῆτους αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγκύλας καταλειφθῆναι*; also Acta Joh. 170. 29f; Acta Thom. 218, 25ff.

with the verb perhaps under Semitic influence: e.g. *to see to cast out* (Mt 7⁵ Lk 6⁴²), *looked round to see* (Mk 5³²), *be a long time in coming* (Lk 12⁴⁵).

b. *Nominal*. An infin. or ἵνα will follow not only a personal verb but also an adj. or noun, or an impersonal verb.

(i) *Nouns*: the Ptolemaic papyri have infin. after ἐξουσία (NT), κήρυγμα, πρόσταγμα, σχολή, χρεία (NT), ὥρα (NT) etc. The NT has ἵνα after συνήθεια (Jn 18²⁹), ὥρα (Jn 12²³ 13¹ 16²); ὥρα followed by infin. as in class. Greek (Ro 13¹¹); καιρὸς τοῦ c. inf. (1 Pt 4¹⁷); καιρὸς c. inf. (Heb 11¹⁵ Rev 11¹⁸); καιρὸς c. ὅτε (2 Ti 4³), ὥρα c. ὅτε (Jn 4²¹. 23 5²⁵ 16². 25), ὥρα ἐν ᾗ (Jn 5²⁸). Apparently the use of ὥρα and καιρὸς with ὅτε or ἐν ᾗ is confined to definite prophecy; the inf. indicating a nearer imminence. The NT also has infin. after ἐξουσίαν ἔχω (Jn 10¹⁸ 1 Co 9⁴¹ Heb 13¹⁰ Rev 11⁶); δίδωμι ἐξουσίαν c. infin. (Jn 11² Rev 13⁶), c. ὥστε (Mt 10¹), c. ἵνα (Ac 8¹⁹), and χρεῖαν ἔχω c. infin. (Mt 3¹⁴ etc. Jn 13¹⁰ same subject, and ἵνα where there is a new subject¹, 1 Th 4⁹ SeD*H), τοῦ c. accus. infin. (Heb 5¹²), c. ἵνα (Jn 22⁵ 16³⁰ 1 Jn 2²⁷).

(ii) *Adjectives and adverbs*. The Ptol. pap. display ἄξιος (NT), δυνατός (NT), ἐπιτήδειος, ἔτοιμος (NT), ἐτοίμως (NT), ἱκανός (NT), πιστός, ὥριμος: all with infin. In the NT: ἱκανός c. ἵνα (Mt 8⁸ Lk 7⁶), c. infin. (elsewhere), ἄξιος c. ἵνα (Jn 12⁷), c. infin. often, c. τοῦ and infin. (1 Co 16⁴), c. relative clause (Lk 7⁴), ἔτοιμος, ἐτοίμως ἔχω c. inf. (Ac 21¹³ 2 Co 12¹⁴ 1 Pt 4⁵), ἐν ἐτοιμῳ ἔχω c. inf. (2 Co 10⁶).

3. The Infinitive as Subject.

Impersonal verbs: δεῖ, συμφέρει, ἔξεστιν, ἐγένετο, γίνεται, συνέβη—usually (acc. c.) infin., but sometimes ἵνα (e.g. συμφέρει ἵνα Mt 5²⁹ 18⁶ etc., ἔδει ἵνα πάθῃ Barn 5¹³). For the Ptol. pap. Mayser II 1, 307f (infinitive).

Neuter adjectives or nouns with the copula or without: Ptol. pap. ἀναγκαῖον, δίκαιον, ἔθος, ἐπιτήδειον, etc. (Mayser II 1, 306f) mainly infinitives. NT: δυνατόν c. infin. (Ac 22⁴), ἀρκετόν c. ἵνα (Mt 10²⁵), καλόν c. infin. (1 Co 9¹⁵), ἐλάχιστον ἵνα (1 Co 4³), βρῶμα ἵνα (Jn 4³⁴).

Preceding demonstrative pronoun: in Jn particularly, the infin. gives way to ἵνα (1 Jn 5³ αὕτη . . . ἵνα . . .), especially if the epexegetis is theory rather than fact (Jn 15⁸ ἵνα καρπὸν πολλὸν φέρῃτε). For fact he often substitutes ὅτι (1 Jn 2³ 3¹⁶ 5²).—Infin.: Ac 15²⁸ 1 Th 4³ Eph 3⁸ Jas 1²⁷.—But ἵνα: Lk 1⁴³ (although the epexegetis is fact) Jn 6⁴⁰ 17³ 1 Jn 3¹¹. 23 4²¹ 2 Jn⁶.

In Hebraistic figures of speech: Lk 21¹⁴ Ac 19²¹ τιθεῖναι (τίθεσθαι) ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ (τῷ πνεύματι): Hebraism. Ac 16¹⁴ ἡς διήνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν (Hebraism) προσέχειν (cp. τοῦ inf. Lk 24⁴⁵). Lk 2¹ δόγμα . . . ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Ac 14⁵ ἐγένετο ὁρμή.—On the other hand we find ἵνα following: Mt 18¹⁴ etc. θέλημά ἐστιν, Jn 13³⁴ Ac 17¹⁵ ἐντολὴ ἵνα, Ac 27⁴² βουλὴ ἐγένετο, Jn 13² put into the heart ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτόν.

¹ Hence Jn 16³⁰ the vl. of Syr^{lew} is not likely to be correct, having ἵνα introducing the same subject: οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε ἵνα τινὰ ἐρωτᾷς. Nor can οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχετε γράφειν be correct in S*AD⁶ at 1 Th 4⁹.

4. *The Infinitive with πρὶν, πρὶν ἤ.*

Πρὶν occurs three times (all iii/B.C.) and πρὶν ἤ five times in Ptol. pap. in Mayser's list. In NT and Koine generally we do not find the indic. but (a) after a positive sentence, accus. c. infin.: Mt 26³⁴. 75 (A adds ἤ) Mk 14⁷² Lk 22⁶¹ (B adds ἤ) Jn 4⁴⁹ 8⁵⁸ (not D and lat)¹ 14²⁹ Ac 2²⁰ OT (WH text); ἤ c. infin. Mt 1¹⁸ πρὶν ἤ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, Mk 14³⁰ (SD om ἤ), Ac 2²⁰ (WH^{ms}) 7². (b) after a negative sentence: ἤ c. subjunctive Lk 2²⁶; ἤ c. optative Ac 25¹⁶; ἤ c. infin. Diogn. 2³. In LXX and NT πρὶν is being superceded by πρὸ τοῦ, but it occurs mainly in To, Si, Isa, and 2-4 Mac.

(b) *Articular Infinitive*²

Essentially the function of an article with an infin. is the same as with a noun since the infin. is probably in origin a noun, except that with the infin. the article often appears for no reason except to supply the case-ending which is lacking. The cult of the articular infinitive was promoted by the Atticists but it is already seen in Luke, Paul, Hebrews, James and Peter, and especially in the higher kinds of Koine writing³. Votaw⁴ shows in his thesis that in the OT translation books the anarthrous and articular infinitives are about equal in number, whereas in NT the articular is rarer. It is almost absent from the Johannine writings, but in the Ptol. pap. its use is not confined to literary or official texts (Mayser II 1, 321).

It serves the purpose of almost every kind of subordinate clause.

A. *Without Preposition.*

1. Τό c. infin. serves the purpose of a mere infin. comparatively rarely in the Ptol. pap. and almost exclusively in the bureaucratic style. It is hardly used in the NT outside Paul:

Mt 15²⁰ τὸ . . . φαγεῖν (subject), 20²³ τὸ καθίσαι obj., Mk 9¹⁰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι (subject), 12³³ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν (subject),¹ Ac 25¹¹ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν, Ro 4¹³ τὸ κληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι, 7¹⁸ τὸ θέλειν . . . τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, 13⁸ τὸ . . . ἀγαπᾶν, 1 Co 11⁶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξύρασθαι, 14³⁹, 2 Co 8^{10f} τὸ θέλειν, Ph 1²⁴ τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν τῇ σαρκί, 2⁶ 4¹⁰ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν, Ga 4¹⁸ (SABC om τό), Heb 10³¹. 1 Co 7²⁶ 2 Co 7¹¹ 9¹ περισσόν μοι ἐστὶν τὸ γράφειν, 10² δέομαι τὸ μὴ παρὼν θαρρῆσαι, Ro 14¹³ τὸ μὴ

¹ For πρὶν without verb, used as preposition, see pp. 260, 270.

² Goodwin 315. Moulton Einl. 343. H. F. Allen, op. cit. 29ff.

³ There is but one instance of the very literary practice of adding an adj. (Heb 2¹⁵ διὰ παντός τοῦ ζῆν) as in 2 Mac 7⁹ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ζῆν, and class. Greek.

⁴ C. W. Votaw, *The Use of the Infin. in Biblical Greek*, Chicago 1896.

τιθέναι πρόσκομμα, ²¹, 2 Co 2¹, 1 Th 3³ τὸ μηδένα σαίνεισθαι, ⁴⁶ τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, Ac 4¹⁸ τὸ καθόλου μὴ φθέγγεσθαι (S*B om τὸ).—LXX 2 Esd 6⁸ τὸ μὴ καταργηθῆναι.

2. Τοῦ c. infin.¹ is used often in LXX (Hebrew Infin. Construct), more rarely in the Ptol. pap.; it belongs to a higher level of the Koine, and is mainly found in Paul (13) and Luke (44) in NT, and scarcely elsewhere except in Mt and Mk ².

(i) Epexegetical: after nouns like χρόνος (Lk 1⁵⁷ τοῦ τεκεῖν), καιρός (1 Pt 4¹⁷), ἐπιποθία (Ro 15²³), ἐξουσία (Lk 10¹⁹), εὐκαιρία (Lk 22⁹), γνώμη (Ac 20³) *to be of opinion that*, also ἐλπὶς and χρεῖα. See also Lk 2⁶ Ac 27²⁰ 1 Co 9¹⁰ Heb 5¹². But John on the contrary sometimes introduces ἵνα instead of τοῦ c. infin. after nouns like χρεῖα, ὥρα, χρόνος. Rev 12⁷ is possibly epexegetical or appositional ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ ACP (p⁴⁷ SB om τοῦ) πολεμῆσαι; on the other hand, it is more probably a translation of Semitic imperatival ? c. infin. (Moulton-Howard 448f); note the subjects of the infin. in the nom., which is not Greek at all; in support of imper. cp. LXX Hos 9¹³ Ἐφραΐμ τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν Ephraim must . . . , Eccl 3¹⁵ 1 Ch 9²⁵; elsewhere in Rev τοῦ c. inf. is also never sure (9¹⁰ p⁴⁷ SAP om τοῦ; quite weak vl. 14¹⁵); Debrunner suggested that the author was following his tendency elsewhere to use the nom. in preference to another case, so here instead of gen. or dat.³—After adjectives, as class. (Xen. Anab. 7, 7, 48; Polyb. 39, 9, 12): Lk 17¹ ἀνένδεκτον . . . τοῦ . . . μὴ ἔλθεῖν *impossible that*, 24²⁵, Ac 23¹⁵ ἑτοίμοι ἔσμεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, 1 Co 16⁴ ἄξιον . . . τοῦ πορεύεσθαι.—After verbs which in class. Greek took the gen.: Lk 1⁹ ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιάσαι (so LXX 1 Km 14⁴⁷; but class. has inf. only), 2 Co 1⁸ ἐξαπορηθῆναι . . . τοῦ ζῆν.

(ii) Consecutive or final sense, especially Luke and Paul, and the most common type in NT; on the whole, however, Paul prefers εἰς τό or πρὸς τό for final and consec.: Mt 13³ ἐξῆλθεν . . . τοῦ σπείρειν, 21³ ζητεῖν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι, 21³² μετεμελήθητε τοῦ πιστεῦσαι (consec.), 31¹³ 11¹ 24⁴⁵ (D om τοῦ); Lk 2²¹ *eight days* τοῦ περιτεμεῖν (fin. or consec.), Ro 8¹² ὀφείλεται . . . τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν, 12⁴ τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι (consec.), 11⁸ OT ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν *such as*, ¹⁰ OT σκοπισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθ. τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, 1 Co 10¹³ τοῦ δύνασθαι, Ac 14⁹ πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι (consec.), 9¹⁵, 2 Co 8¹¹ ἡ προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν, Ph 3²¹ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτόν *the power by which he can*, Ac 3¹² Ro 7³ Ph 3¹⁰ Heb 10⁷ OT 11⁵ Hom. Clem. 9²². Often the consec. sense is only weak: Lk 17³ 4¹⁰ 5⁷, 24²⁵ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι, Ac 7¹⁹ 18¹⁰, Ro 6⁶ 7⁸

¹ Schwyzer II 132. Birklein, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des substantivierten Infin.* (= Schenz, Beitr. III 1, Würzburg 1888) 55f. Moulton-Howard 448ff.

² But see Thuc. I 4, etc., and Tacitus Ann. II 59 Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.

³ Blass-Debr. § 400, 8.

Ph 3¹⁰, LXX 3 Km 17²⁰.—The mere infin. already has the same final sense, but for the purpose of clarity τοῦ may be added to a second final infin. (only in writings with pretence to style, viz. Mt Lk Ac, e.g. Mt 2¹³ μέλλει γάρ H. ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον τοῦ ἀπολέσαι αὐτό, Lk 1⁷⁷ ἐτοιμάσαι . . . τοῦ δοῦναι, 78¹ ἐπιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει . . . τοῦ κατευθῦναι, 22². 24 παραστήσαι . . . καὶ τοῦ δοῦναι, Ac 26¹⁷¹ ἀποστέλλω σε, ἀνοῖξαι . . ., τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι . . ., τοῦ λαβεῖν. For τοῦ after ἐγένετο, see Ac 10²⁵.—Τοῦ μή c. inf. after verbs of hindering, ceasing, etc. (Lk and LXX) has class. precedent (Xen. Anab. 3, 5, 11), but the use goes further in NT and LXX and τοῦ μή has a consecutive sense: Lk 4⁴² 17¹ 24¹⁶ Ac 10⁴⁷ 14¹⁸ 20²⁰. 27, LXX Ge 16² συνέκλεισεν τοῦ μή, 20⁶, Ps 38² 68²⁴ (Ro 11¹⁰).—Another Septuagintism, especially in Lk–Ac and Jas, is τοῦ c. inf. after verbs which in class. Greek would take the simple infin., e.g. Lk 4¹⁰ OT ἐντέλλεσθαι (Ps 90 (91)¹¹), 5⁷ κατανεύειν, 9⁵¹ στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον, Ac 3¹² ποιεῖν (BU II 625, 28 πᾶν ποιεῖν τοῦ: ii–iii/A.D.), Ac 2¹ D 10²⁵ (not D) Act. Barn. 7 ἐγένετο, 15²⁰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, 21¹² παρεκαλοῦμεν . . . τοῦ μὴ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτόν, 23¹⁵ ἔτοιμος, 20 συντίθεσθαι. 27¹ ἐκρίθη τοῦ *it was determined to*, 20³ ἐγένετο γνώμη τοῦ, Jas 5¹⁷ προσεύχεσθαι, Herm. V. III 7, 2 ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν; LXX e.g. 3 Km 1³⁵ ἐνετειλάμην, Ezk 21¹¹ I Mac 5³⁹ ἔτοιμος.

3. Τῷ c. infin. is sometimes instrumental in the Koine but usually causal (Mayser II 1, 323f; II 3, 61¹⁰; Polyb.). Only once in NT and causal: 2 Co 2¹³ *had no rest because* τῷ μὴ εὐρεῖν με Τίτον (various corrections: DE ἐν τῷ μὴ; LP τὸ μὴ; S*^{C2} τοῦ μὴ).

B. With a Preposition or Prepositional Adverb¹.

The construction was frequent enough in class. Greek, but in Hellenistic (especially NT) its frequency is proportionately far higher, particularly εἰς τό and ἐν τῷ. The prepositions occur in the following order of frequency in NT (Burton § 407): εἰς (63–72), ἐν (52–56), διὰ (27–31), μετὰ 15, πρὸς 12, πρό (9), ἀντί, ἐκ, ἕνεκεν, ἕως 1. In the Ptol. pap. on the other hand it is: διὰ 112, περὶ 38, μέχρι 18, πρὸς 16, ἐπὶ 15, ἕως 14, πρό 11, εἰς 10, χάριν 10, ὑπό 10, παρὰ, ἕνεκα 8, πρὸς c. dat. 7, ἐν, μετὰ 5, ἅμα, ἐκ 4, πλὴν 3, ἄνευ 2, ἀντί 1. Conspicuous is the frequency of διὰ in the Koine, and of εἰς and ἐν in Biblical Greek.

1. Διὰ τό c. infin. almost = ὅτι or διότι, denoting cause: Mt 13⁵. 6 24¹² Mk 4⁵. 6 Lk 24 64⁸ 8⁶ 9⁷ etc., in Jn 2²⁴ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας (om. Syr^{sin}) (the preposition with art. infin. is unusual in Jn),

¹ Mayser II 1, 324ff. Burton §§ 406–417. Goodwin §§ 800–803. Johannesson DGPS *passim*.

Ac 4² 8¹¹ etc., Ph 1⁷ (no other ex. in Paul), Heb 7^{23f} 10², Jas 4² (parallel with διότι in³). LXX Ge 39⁹ Ex 16⁸ 17⁷ 19¹⁸ 33³ Dt 13⁶ 1 Mac 6⁵³ 10⁷⁷ 11² 14³⁵ 2 Mac 2¹¹ 3¹⁸. 38 4³⁰ 6¹¹ 8³⁶ 10¹³ 15¹⁷ 3 Mac 1¹¹ 5³⁰ 4 Mac 15⁴. In Mk 5⁴ it is evidential rather than causal (Burton § 408).

2. Εἰς τό c. inf. = ἵνα or ὥστε, expresses purpose or result in Xenophon and often in LXX and post-Christian Greek, and is difficult to distinguish from τοῦ c. inf.; it occurs in Heb, 1 Pt, and Jas, but especially in Paul where it expresses hardly anything but purpose (e.g. Ro 12⁸ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, while Luke favours τοῦ c. inf. It may also express "tendency, measure of effect, or result" (Burton § 411). In LXX: = ὧ Ge 30³⁸ εἰς τὸ πιεῖν, 32⁸ εἰς τὸ σφίζεσθαι, 49¹⁵ εἰς τὸ πονεῖν, Ex 27²⁰ εἰς φῶς καῦσαι, 1 Mac 12³⁶ εἰς τὸ διαχωρίσαι, 2 Mac 1³ εἰς τὸ σέβεσθαι, 2²⁵ εἰς τὸ . . . ἀναλαβεῖν, 3 Mac 6⁶ εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι, 7³ εἰς τὸ . . . κολάζεσθαι: Johannessohn DGPS 300-2. See Mayser II 1, 331 and Moulton Proleg. 220 for papyrus exx.: here it is telic, but remoter purpose is in mind, which is just the position in NT according to Moulton. It is not strictly final.

These exx. seem to be final or very near it:

Mt 20¹⁹ εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι, 26² 27³¹.—Mk 14⁵⁵ (D ἵνα θανατώσουσιν).—Lk 5¹⁷ (not D).—Lacking in Joh. writings.—Ac 7¹⁹.—Ro 11¹. 20 (but a causal clause follows, and so may this be; as the passage deals with divine action, however, it is better to retain the usual near-final meaning of εἰς τό, whatever theologians may say: i.e. RV text is correct against RSV and NEB), 3²⁶ (parall. to 2⁵ εἰς ἐνδειξιν), 4¹¹. 11. 18. 18 7⁴ 8²⁹, Eph 1¹², Ph 1¹⁰, 1 Th 2¹⁶ εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι the purpose of God (final), 3⁵ in order to know, 1 Co 10⁶ 9¹⁸.—Heb 2¹⁷ 8⁸ (6 other exx. in Heb, all final).

These exx. may have a looser connection with what goes before. Here we are reminded of Westcott's distinction between εἰς τό and ἵνα, especially where they occur in close proximity; εἰς τό marks the remoter aim. Moulton (Proleg. 218ff) felt that in Heb. the use was uniformly telic, but Paul's use was not so uniform:—

Ro 12³, φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, 1 Co 8¹⁰ εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν expresses a measure of effect (*leading him to eat*), 11²² μὴ γὰρ οὐκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν *houses to eat and drink in*, 2 Co 8⁶ εἰς τό to such a degree that, Ga 3¹⁷, 1 Th 2¹² either equivalent to simple infin. or to ἵνα after verbs of exhorting, etc., 3¹⁰ δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ λδεῖν = ἵνα λδῶμεν, 4⁹ same (epexegetic).—Heb 11³ by faith we perceive that the universe was fashioned by the word of God εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι: perhaps consec. (NEB), but Westcott urged its final force because Heb always makes εἰς τό c. inf. final.—Jas 1¹⁹ ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι the infin. simply limits an adj. as it limits a noun in Ph 1²³: τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι (p⁴⁶ DEFG om εἰς in error).

3. Μετὰ τό c. inf. indicates time: *after*. Mt 26³², Mk 14¹⁴ 14²⁸ 16¹⁹, Lk 12⁵ 22²⁰, Ac 1³ 7⁴ 10⁴¹ 15¹³ 19²¹ 20¹, 1 Co 11²⁵, Heb 10¹⁵. 26.—LXX Ge 5⁴ etc., Ru 2¹¹, 1 Km 1⁹ 5⁹, 1 Mac 1⁹. 20.—For Polyb. and Diod. Sic. see Krebs, *Die Präp. bei Polyb.* 61.

4. Πρὸς τό c. inf. indicates purpose but is sometimes weakened to *with reference to*, and is much rarer than εἰς τό. It may express tendency and ultimate goal, rather than purpose, as in papyri.

Mt 5²⁸ ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι: there is hardly any telic force, but simple accompaniment (*and*); not even consecutive 6¹ πρὸς τὸ θαυθῆναι αὐτοῖς (final), 13³⁰ 23⁵ 26¹².—Mk 13²².—Lk 18¹ πρὸς τὸ δεῖν προσεύχασθαι *with regard to*.—Ac 3¹⁹ SB (rest εἰς).—2 Co 3¹³ final, Eph 6¹¹ (DEFG εἰς), 1 Th 2⁹, 2 Th 3⁸.—Jas 3⁸ TR.

LXX: Je 34¹⁰, 1 Mac 10³⁸ 12¹⁰, 2 Mac 4⁴⁵ 5²⁷, 3 Mac 4¹¹ (all final).

Polyb. 1, 48, 5.—Jos. Ant. 14, 170; 15, 148, etc.

No doubt the obvious correspondence with the Heb. לְ c. inf. assisted in the weakening of this expression in Bibl. Greek, till it means simply *in* — *ing* or is merely like a simple ptc, as in לִמְנָה.

5. Παρὰ τό c. inf. is not NT, but 1 Clem 39⁶. 6 = LXX Jb 4²⁰. 21 *because*, Polybius, papyri. LXX: causal Ge 29²⁰ (A om) Ex 14¹¹ Dt 9²⁸ 4 Km 1³. 6. 16 A Ba 3²⁸ Ze 3⁶ 4 Mac 10¹⁹ Dit. Syll.³ 834¹⁰.

6. Ἀντὶ τοῦ *instead of* (original meaning): Jas 4¹⁵. But causal Ezk 29⁹ 34⁷⁻⁹ 36³, pap. 113 B.C.

7. Διὰ παντός τοῦ ζῆν Heb. 2¹⁵.

8. Ἐκ τοῦ 2 Co 8¹¹ ἔχειν *according to your means* (cp. καθὼς ἂν ἔχη 12).

9. Ἐνεκεν τοῦ 2 Co 7¹² φανερωθῆναι (ἐν. redundant, but analogy of ἐν. τοῦ ἀδικήσαντος just before. Ἐνεκα before τοῦ c. inf. in Joseph. Ant. 11, 293, and in papyri (Mayser II 1, 325), and LXX 1 Esd 8²¹ ἔνεκεν τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ὀργήν, Am 1⁶ 2⁴ etc., and Menander Fr. 425, 2.

10. Ἐως τοῦ Ac 8⁴⁰ ἐλθεῖν (founded on the analogy of πρὶν, and post-class.); Polyb., Joseph., etc., pap. from iii/B.C.; LXX especially frequent with ἐλθεῖν Ge 10¹⁹ 19²² 43²⁵ 1 Mac 7⁴⁵ (without τοῦ) 16⁹; Ge 3¹⁹ 8⁷ 13¹⁰ 24³³ 28¹⁵ 33³ 1 Mac 3³³ 5¹⁹. 54 14⁴¹ (Johannessohn DGPS 304).

11. Μέχρι (ἄχρι) τοῦ c. inf. (class.) not Bibl. Greek.

12. Πρὸ τοῦ *before*. In all parts of LXX (usually = מִפְּנֵי) but only twice in Isa, twice in 2-4 Mac, and not in Wi or Si (these books prefer πρὶν): Ge 17, Ex 2, Le 1, Dt 1, Jos 1, JgRu 2, 4 Km 2, Ch 2, To 5, Jdt 2, Jb 2, Ps 6, Pr 6, MP 5, Isa 2, Je 4, Ezk 1, 2 Mac 2. With pres., Jn 17⁵ εἶναι, D γενέσθαι). With aor. Mt 6⁸, Lk 22¹ 22¹⁵ Ac 23¹⁵ Jn 14⁹ 13¹⁹, Ga 2¹³ πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τινας. 3²³. In Ptol. pap. only aor. inf. (Mayser II 1, 327).

Of other genitive prepositions, NT has no πλὴν (class. *except*) or ὑπὲρ (class. final; 2 Mac 4³⁶), and no ἀπὸ, ἐπὶ, μετὰ, περὶ, ἄνευ (Am 3⁵), χωρὶς or χάριν.

13. Ἐν τῷ c. infin.¹ is a marked feature of the style of Luke; in a temporal sense it occurs about 30 times in Lk, but only 5 in Ac. In its temporal sense it is a Hebraism and non-classical: it is the usual LXX rendering of כִּי c. infin. (Heb) and it renders כִּי c. infin. (Aram. Dan

¹ Mayser II 1. 328; Moulton-Howard 451; and see above (Introduction p. 8).

621 ©). It is doubtful whether its temporal sense occurs in Soph. *Ajax* 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιοςτος βίος; this is still the class. meaning of *consists in*. The total instances are: Lk 34, Ac 8, Paul 4, Heb 4, Mt 3, Mk 2. Thus in NT 55, LXX 500, Xenophon 16, Thucydides 6, Plato 26.

(a) The usual NT meaning is temporal (*while* or *after*) though in some instances it is not impossible to trace the element of cause too. There are few, if any, class. parallels for the meaning *while, during*, for which a gen. absol. or pres. ptc. would have been used. Probably the Heb. ׁ influenced the authors of Bibl. Greek, as in LXX Ge 28⁶ 1 Km 21⁹ Mal 17. 12. Mk 4⁴ ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν αὐτόν, Mt 134. 25 27¹² Lk 8⁵.—Lk 1⁸ 26. 43 (might be causal: *because they were returning*), 51 etc. Clearly its frequency in Lk is due to LXX influence (Zerwick § 273). Very often in Lk it is combined with ἐγένετο-constructions as a subordinate clause = ׁׁ, e.g. 1⁸ 26; Luke's imitation of LXX is particularly plain here (Zerwick § 275), e.g. Ge 11² for ׁ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινῆσαι αὐτούς, 35¹⁸; for כִּאֲשֶׁר 24⁵²; for וַיְהִי הֵם מְרִיקִים שְׂקֵיהֶם 42³⁵.—Ac 2¹ (causal, explaining why they were gathered together), 9³, 19¹ ἐγένετο.—Ro 3⁴ OT, 15¹⁸ ἐν τῷ πιστεῖν (DEGF om) *because you believe*.—Ga 4¹⁸. Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 1, 328f). Johannessohn, *Das biblische KAI EGENETO und seine Geschichte*, Göttingen 1926, 199ff.

Though Luke uses the aor. infin. he is more fond of the pres.; there are but twelve exx. of aor. in NT. It is probably not true to say quite simply that pres. infin. = *while* and aor. inf. = *after*. Aor. is timeless while pres. is durative. The context must decide relative time. Thus in Heb 2⁸ we have aor.; but RSV, looking at the context, could be correct to render it *putting everything in subjection*, not *having put* (NEB in *subjecting all things*). It is, however, a rough and ready rule to suppose, as with pres. and aor. ptc., that temporal ἐν τῷ c. pres. inf. indicates contemporaneity, and ἐν τῷ c. aor. infin. indicates anterior action. This being so, we may compare Lk 10³⁵ with 19¹⁵: ἐν τῷ ἐπανερχέσθαι (pres.) is *at my return*, but ἐν τῷ ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτόν is *after his return*. We may also compare Lk 9²⁹ with 14¹: ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτόν (pres.) is *while he was praying*, but ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτόν εἰς οἶκον is *after he had gone into the house*. The following exx. of aor. infin. in Lk—Ac may or may not imply anterior action: Lk 22⁷ ἐν τῷ εἰσαγαγεῖν *after they entered*, 32¹ ἐν τῷ βαπτισθῆναι *after they were baptized*, but the context may require *while they were being baptized* (NEB *during a general baptism of the people*, because it goes on to state καὶ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος; 8⁴⁰ (SB pres), 9³⁴. 36 11³⁷ 14¹ 19¹⁵ 24³⁰, Ac 11¹⁵).

LXX (= ׁ) Ge 28⁶ ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτόν (pres.) *while he blessed him*, Mal 17. 12 ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑμᾶς (pres.) *when you say*.—Ge 39¹⁵ = ׁ ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν (aor.) *when he heard*, 44³¹ ἔσται ἐν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν (aor.) *when he sees*.

(b) It appears in the LXX in a causal sense (= ׁ): Ge 19¹⁶ ἐκράτησεν . . . ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι κύριον αὐτοῦ *because the Lord was merciful to him*, 1 Mac 2⁵⁴. 58 ἐν τῷ ζηλωσαι ζῆλον *because he was deeply*

zealous RSV, 2⁵⁵ ἐν τῷ πληρῶσαι λόγον *because he fulfilled the command* RSV, 2⁵⁶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ *because he testified in the assembly* RSV.

NT: Lk 1²¹ ἐθαύμαζον ἐν τῷ *because he delayed*, Mk 6⁴⁸ βασανιζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν *by the rowing*, Ac 3²⁶ ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν instr. (Je 11¹⁷), 4³⁰ similar, Heb 8¹³ ἐν τῷ λέγειν *because he says*, 2⁸ ἐν τῷ ὑποτάξαι causal, or like a ptc.

It appears also in LXX in a final sense, translating ל: 1 Km 1²⁶ ἐν τῷ προσεύξασθαι *here in order to pray*.

(c) Other uses include an exegetical: He 3¹² ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι NEB (RSV consec.), 2 Co 2¹³ DE ἐν τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν (see above p. 142) Preisigke Sammelbuch I 620, 6f (inser. 97 B.C.) λείπεσθαι ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυχον *is wanting in this, that it has no . . .*; 1 Clem 10¹ πιστὸς εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτὸν ὑπήκοον γενέσθαι *in this, that . . .*, Lk 12¹⁵ οὐκ ἐν τῷ περισσεύειν τινὶ ἢ ζῶνι αὐτοῦ ἐστίν.

§ 3. Cases with the Infinitive¹

1. (a) There are few exceptions in the Koine to the class. rule that the subject of a dependent infin. is not expressed again if it is the same as the subject of the independent verb; dependence of the infin. upon a preposition makes no difference. (b) If the infin. has a nominal predicate or is connected with an apposition which defines the subject of the main verb, the apposition is not a ground for altering the construction to that of accus. and infin.; however, a nominal predicate will do this sometimes. (c) Also, if the object of the infin. is identical with the object of the main verb, there need be no repetition of the object.

Examples:—

(a) Subject of infin. not expressed: Lk 24²³ λέγουσαι . . . ἑωρακέναι, Ro 1²² φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί, 1 Jn 2^{6.9} ὁ λέγων ἐν αὐτῷ μένειν . . . ἐν τῷ φωτὶ εἶναι, Ti 1⁶ θεὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰδέναι, Jas 2¹⁴. Also for θέλω, βούλομαι, ζητέω, etc. there are abundant exx.

(b) Nom. with infin.: Mt 19²¹ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, Jn 7⁴ WH ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρησίᾳ εἶναι (p⁸⁶ BW*D have αὐτό accus.; syr^{our} b e om αὐτός), Ac 18¹⁵ κριτὴς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι, Ro 9³ ὑπόχρημα ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγώ, 1²² φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί *claiming to be wise*, Ph 4¹¹ ἔμαθον αὐτάρχεις εἶναι *learnt how to be*, 2 Co 10² δέομαι τὸ μὴ πάρων θαρρῆσαι *I beg that when I am present I may not be bold*, Heb 5¹² ὀφειλόντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι, 11⁴ ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος *certified to be righteous*. The construction conflicts with that in Mk 14²⁸ (μετὰ τὸ

¹ K-G II § 475f. Schmid *Atticismus* II 57; III 81; IV 83. 620. Mayser II 1, 334ff.

ἐγερθῆναι με προάξω), Ac 5³⁶ (Θεῦδας λέγων εἶναι τινα ἐαυτόν), and Jas 4² (οὐκ ἔχετε διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς).

(c) Also if the obj. of the infin. is identical with that of the governing verb, there need be no repetition of the obj.: Ac 26²⁸ ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι *you seek to convince me that you have made me in a moment a Christian*; a striking parallel is provided by Friderichsen (*Coniectanea neot.* III, 1938) from Xen. Mem. I 2, 49 πείθων τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ σοφωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν πατέρων (K-G II 32; Zerwick § 279^b).

2. Although class. writers preferred a personal construction it was possible to make it impersonal, and on the whole the latter is preferred in NT and Koine. But δοκέω at least has personal construction in NT: Act 17¹⁸ δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι, 1 Co 3¹⁸ εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφός εἶναι; 8² 14³⁷, Ga 2⁹ etc., Jas 1²⁶ (whereas there is impersonal δοκεῖ in Herm. M. IV 2, 2; S. IX 5, 1; Clem. Hom. 10²); and we find personal ἔδοξα ἑμαυτῷ δεῖν πρᾶξαι (Ac 26⁹) as well as impersonal ἔδοξε μοι (Lk 1³ etc., Ac 15²⁸ etc.), and there is, even in the passive, δεδοκίμασμεθα πιστευθῆναι (1 Th. 2⁴) *we have been approved to be entrusted with*. Adjectives like δυνατός and ἱκανός have a personal construction too. Moreover, there is the personal construction with πρέπει (Heb 7²⁶). However, there is nothing like the class. λέγομαι εἶναι.

3. Quite often in the Koine and NT, although the governing verb and the infin. have the same subject, the latter will be in the accus. This is distinct from class. Greek, which has either the nominative or no noun at all with the infin. It is a Latin construction and is reproduced in Greek inscriptional translations from the Latin but, as Moulton pointed out (Proleg. 213), this perfectly natural levelling process developed in regions untouched by Latin, and no outside influence was needed to increase the tendency towards uniformity. The reflexive pronoun, and sometimes the non-reflexive pronoun, in the accus. case, is added superfluously to the infin. In class. Greek they preferred to insert a non-reflexive referring to the subject of the main verb in the nominative; so they would probably have put αὐτὸς δέ for ἐαυτόν in Ac 25⁴ (ἀπεκρίθη τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον, ἐαυτόν δὲ μέλλειν . . .) where Luke may have deviated from class. usage into the accus. because he wished to co-ordinate the new subject with Παῦλον.

Reflexive pronoun:

Lk 23⁸ λέγοντα ἐαυτόν Χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, 20²⁰ ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι (D om εἶναι), Ac 5³⁶ λέγων εἶναι τινα ἐαυτόν,

8^o λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, Ro 2¹⁹ πέποιθας σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι *you are sure that you are* (αὐτός would be class., as in fact in 9^o), 6¹¹ λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι νεκροὺς (hardly accus. in class. Greek), 2 Co 7¹¹ συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι (non-reflexive with ptc. in class. Greek), Rev 2⁹ 3⁹ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς (gen. in class. Greek), Ph 3¹³ ἐγὼ ἑμαυτὸν οὕτω λογίζομαι κατειληφέναι (superfluous ἑμαυτόν), Heb 10³⁴ γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείσσονα ὑπαρξίν.

Non-reflexive pronouns:

Lk 20⁷ D ἀπεκρίθησαν μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς πόθεν, Ac 25²¹ ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρηθῆναι αὐτόν, Eph 4²² ἀπόθεσθαι ὑμᾶς (but a long way from governing verb ἐδιδάχθητε).

In the Ptol. pap., on the other hand, the non-refl. predominates over the reflexive (Mayser II 1, 335f).

4. The personal pronoun and not the reflexive, is added quite often when the articular infin. is introduced by a preposition: there is but one NT instance of this without a preposition (2 Co 2¹³ τῷ μὴ εὑρεῖν με Τίτον). Mt 26³² Mk 14²⁸ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναι με προάξω (for αὐτός), Mt 27¹² Lk 24 ἀνέβη . . . διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν (superfluous pronoun), 19¹¹ 9³⁴ 10³⁵ 22¹⁵, Ac 1³ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτόν, 4³⁰ 8⁴⁰ 19²¹ D, Ro 1²⁰ καθορᾶται . . . εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, 3⁴ OT, Heb 7²⁴ (superfl. αὐτόν), Jas 4² οὐκ ἔχετε διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰτεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς, Jn 2²⁴. Frequent in Hermas (V. II 1, 3; M. IV 1, 7; S. VI 1, 5; VIII 2, 5. 9; 6, 1; IX 6, 8; 18, 3). Papyri (Mayser II 1, 336).

5. The infin. is often used alone, where in class. Greek they would have employed the full accus. c. infin. construction.

Mt 23²³ ἔδει ποιῆσαι (sc. ὑμᾶς), Lk 22⁶ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχρηματισμένον μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον (sc. αὐτόν), Ac 12¹⁵ ἡ δὲ δι᾽ ἄσχυρλίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν (sc. ταῦτα, as in 24⁹), Ro 13⁵ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, Heb 13⁶ p⁴⁶ M ὥστε θαρροῦντας λέγειν (rest add ἡμᾶς), 1 Pt 2¹⁵ φμιοῦν (sc. ὑμᾶς?). Mayser II 1, 336f.

6. The accus. c. infin. is restricted in use in the Koine in comparison with class. Greek, the *ὅτι* periphrasis having taken its place in nearly all NT writers according to the tendency of later Greek. But there is still a place for accus. c. infin., after verbs of stating, showing, perceiving, making, allowing, and *κελεύω* (where the obj. is a different person from the subject). Then there is *ἐγένετο* and *συνέβη* and similar expressions like *δεῖ* and *ἀνάγκη*. Some anomalies occur, as when the accus. inadvertently remains (as sometimes in class. Greek) even

although the infin. is replaced by *ἵνα* or *ὅτι*: Mk 1²⁴ οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, Lk 13²⁵ οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, Mk 11³² εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὅτι προφήτης ἦν, Jn 9²⁹ τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν, Ac 3¹⁰ 4¹³ 16³ p⁴⁵DEH ἤδεισαν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὑπῆρχεν, 27¹⁰, 2 Th 2⁴ ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶν θεός.

7. The accus. c. inf. occurs as well as gen. or dat. c. infin. (especially in Luke).

(a) with verbs of commanding: Mk 6²⁷ ἐπέταξεν ἐνεχθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, Ac 15² ἐταξάν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον, 10⁴⁸ προσέταξεν αὐτοὺς βαπτισθῆναι. Dative:—Mk 6³⁹ etc. Ac 22¹⁰ 1 Co 5¹¹ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν μὴ συναναμίγυσθαι, Rev 3¹⁸ συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ. N.B. λέγω c. dat. Mt 5³⁴. 39 Lk 12¹³ Ac 21⁴, c. accus. Mk 5⁴³ Lk 19¹⁵ Ac 22²⁴.

(b) with impers. expressions: ἔξεστιν, ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀθέμιτον αἰσχρόν καλόν ἐστιν, συμφέρει. Accus.:—Jn 18¹⁴ συμφέρει ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν, Mt 17⁴ Mk 9⁵ Lk 9³³ καλόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε εἶναι, Ro 13¹¹ ὥρα ἡμᾶς ἐγερθῆναι (ἡμῖν class.), Mk 9⁴⁵ καλόν ἐστίν σε εἰσελθεῖν ... χωλόν, Mk 9⁴³. 47 (vl. σοι and σε), Mt 18⁸. 9 σοι. Dative:—Lk 23³⁸ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχηρηματισμένον μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον, Ac 5⁹ συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι. Wavering:—Mt 3¹⁵ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι (S* ἡμᾶς), Mk 2²⁶ ἔξεστιν c. accus. SBL (c. dat. ACDW), Lk 6⁴ ἔξεστιν c. accus. (D dat., like Mt 12⁴), 20²² ἔξεστιν c. accus. (CDW dat.), [Mk 10² ἔξεστιν dat.] [P. Lille 26⁶ (iii/b.c.) ἔξεστιν accus.], 1 Co 11¹³ πρέπον ἐστὶν accus., papyri Mayser II 1, 338.

(c) With ἐγένετο ¹ often: e.g. Ac 9³ ἐγ. αὐτόν ἐγγίζειν, 16¹⁶ ἐγ. δὲ ... παιδίσκην τινὰ ὑπαντῆσαι ἡμῖν, and even after a dat.: 22⁶ ἐγένετο δέ μοι ... περιεστράψαι φῶς. This is sometimes so, even when the person in the dat. is the same as in the accus.: 22¹⁷ ἐγ. μοι ... γενέσθαι με, Ga 6¹⁴ p⁴⁶ ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτό με καυχᾶσθαι (rest om με).

(d) With verbs of asking, etc. (ἐρωτάω, παρακαλέω, αἰτέομαι, ἀξιόω, παραινέω) the accus. c. inf. may follow: Ac 13²⁸ ἤτησαντο Πειλᾶτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν, 1 Th 5²⁷ ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, Ac 21¹² παρεκαλοῦμεν τοῦ μὴ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτόν. But with δέομαι the gen. follows: Lk 9³⁸ δέομαί σου ἐπιβλέψαι, Ac 26³ (δέομαι ἡμᾶς is class.).

(e) Often there is accus. c. inf., although it stands in apposition to a pronoun in the gen. or dat.: e.g. Lk 17³¹ τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ... ῥυθέντας λατρεύειν, Ac 15²². 25 (ABL dat.) etc., Ga 6¹⁴ p⁴⁶, Heb 2¹⁰ [2 Pt 2²¹ κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι ... ἢ ἐπιγνοῦσιν ὑποστρέψαι is classically correct; Lk 9⁵⁹ (but accus. in DΘ), Ac 27⁸ SAB (but accus. in HLP)].

¹ But the dat. and infin. is more usual with ἐγένετο: Ac 11²⁶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς διδάξαι, 20¹⁶, Ga 6¹⁴, P. Par. 26 (163 B.C.) ὑμῖν γίνετο κρατεῖν.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE VERB: ADJECTIVE-FORMS: PARTICIPLE

THE USE OF the participle ¹ is more lavish in Greek than in Latin. We are here discussing its substantival, adverbial, attributive, and predicative uses, leaving the genitive and accusative absolute for a later chapter. The predicative use (e.g. παύομαι λέγων), which supplements the main verbal idea, is on its way out. The adverbial use (e.g. 1 Ti 1¹³ ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα) is still strong, and so are the attributive and substantival. As far as forms go, the fut. is in eclipse (see pp. 86f, 135). For *Aktionsart*, see above pp. 86f. For periphrastic conjugation, see above p. 89.

The participle is not so much a mood, as an adjective, and so its modal function will be apparent only from the context. The ptc. standing independently as a main verb may be like an indicative or an imperative, but the NT and papyri instances are not difficult to explain as true participles (see p. 343).

§ 1. Substantival Participle

The neuter ptc., usually with article (as class.), is often used in the Koine to designate an abstract or concrete noun, whether individually or collectively. It is also used with masc. or fem. article of a person. The neuter is not so frequent as in class. Greek. For papyri, Mayser II 1, 346ff.

(a) *Personal*. Articular: these have pres. tense where we expect aor., esp. Mk 5^{15.16} ὁ δαμονιζόμενος even after his healing; action (time or variety) is irrelevant and the ptc. has become a proper name,

¹ K-G I 197-200; II 46-113. Stahl 680-761. Schwyzer II 384ff. Moulton Einl. 284-288; 352-368. Mayser II 1, 339-357. Jannaris 489-506. Wackernagel I 281-294. Radermacher² 205-210. H. Balser, *De linguae Graecae participio in neutro genere substantive posito*², Leipzig 1878. C. B. Williams, *The Participle in the Book of Acts*, Diss. Chicago 1909. H. B. Robinson, *Syntax of the Participle in the Apostolic Fathers*, Chicago 1915. C. O. Gillis, *Greek Participles in the Doctrinal Epistles of Paul*, Diss. of S-W. Bapt. Sem., 1937. W. K. Pritchett, "Μή with the Participle," *AJP* 79, 1958, 392ff.

it may be under Hebraic influence, insofar as the Heb. ptc. is also timeless and is equally applicable to past, pres. and fut. So also Heb 7⁹ ὁ δεκάτας λαμβάνων, Ph 3⁶ διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Sometimes the pres. has its proper durative force, e.g. 1 Th 1¹⁰ ὁ ῥυόμενος ἡμᾶς (Jesus' work is durative), 2¹² (5²⁴) ὁ καλῶν ὑμᾶς, 4⁸ ὁ διδοὺς τὸ πν. αὐτοῦ. . . . Virtually a proper name: ὁ ἐρχόμενος (fut), Mt 26⁴⁶ ὁ παραδιδούς με (*my betrayer*), Mk 1⁴ 6¹⁴. 2⁴ ὁ βαπτίζων (*the Baptizer*), Jn 8¹⁸ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ μαρτυρῶν, 6⁸⁸, Ac 17¹⁷ τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας (*casual passers-by* NEB), Ro 2¹ ὁ κρίνων (*you the judge*), Ro 8³⁴ τίς ὁ κατακρινῶν, Eph 4²⁸ ὁ κλέπτων (generic), LXX 1 Km 16⁴ ὁ βλέπων (gen.), Si 28¹ ὁ ἐκδικῶν (gen.). This ptc. can have an obj. or complement: Jn 1²⁹ ὁ αἵρων (*the sin-bearer*), Ga 1²³ ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς (*our persecutor*), Mt 27⁴⁰, BU 388 III 16 ὁ παρὰ Πτολεμαῖδος ἀργυρώματα λαβών.

Anarthrous: Mt 2⁶ OT ἡγούμενος *prince*, Mk 1³ OT φωνὴ βοῶντος *voice of a herald*, Lk 3¹⁴ στρατεύομενοι, Ro 3^{11f} OT BG(A) (rest art. LXX Ps 13 (14)^{11f} usually anarth.), Rev 2¹⁴ ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας.

With πᾶς, usually articular (unless it means *every*): Mt 5²² πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος, 28. 32 πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων *anyone who divorces*, 7²⁶ πᾶς ὁ ἀκούων *any hearer*, 8 πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει *every beggar receives*, Lk 6³⁰ ADPR 47 etc., Ac 1¹⁹ πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν, 10⁴³ 13³⁹, Ro 1¹⁶ 2¹ etc. Anarthrous: Mt 13¹⁹ παντὸς ἀκούοντος, Lk 11⁴ παντὶ ὀφείλοντι, 6³⁰ SBW, 2 Th 2⁴, Rev 22¹⁵.

(b) *Neuter*: Mt 1²⁰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέν *her unborn baby*, 2¹⁵ and often τὸ ῥηθέν, Lk 2²⁷ κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον (D ἔθος), 12³⁸. 44 τὰ ὑπάρχοντα *property* (8³), 3¹³ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν *your assessment*, 4¹⁶ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ *his custom*, 8⁵⁶ τὸ γεγονὸς *the occurrence*, 9⁷ τὰ γινόμενα *happenings*, Jn 16¹³ τὰ ἐρχόμενα *the future*, 1 Co 1²⁸ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα . . . τὰ μὴ ὄντα . . . τὰ ὄντα, 7³⁵ 10³³ Sc τὸ . . . συμφέρον (but rest σύμφορον) *your welfare*, 10²⁷ πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον, 14⁷. 9 τὸ αὐλούμενον, etc., 2 Co 3^{10f} τὸ δεδοξασμένον, τὸ καταργούμενον, 2 Th 2⁶ τὸ κατέχον, Heb 12¹⁰ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον, 12¹¹ πρὸς τὸ παρόν, P. Fay. 91, 28 κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, BU 362 V 9 τὰ κελυσθέντα; in Hell. Greek τὸ συνειδὸς = *conscience* (but a noun in Paul). Ambiguous is τὰ διαφέροντα (Ro 2¹⁸ Ph 1¹⁰; see ICC in loc.): either *different values* (= *moral distinctions* NEB) or *superior things* (RV, RSV, Lat. *utiliora*).

§ 2. Attributive Participle

Normally the ptc. ὢν is used with the predicate when further defining words are added to the predicate, e.g. Ac 14¹³ SB δ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, 28¹⁷ τρὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους, Ro 8²⁸ τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν, 2 Co 11³¹ ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς . . . , 1 Ti 1¹³ τὸν πρότερον ὄντα βλάσφημον. There is no need for ὢν where the predicate stands alone. The redundant use of ὢν is however characteristic of Ac and the Ptol. papyri: Ac 5¹⁷ ἡ οὖσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, 13¹ τὴν

οὔσαν ἐκκλησίαν, 14¹³ D τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς πρὸ πόλεως, Ro 13¹ αἱ δὲ οὔσαι, Eph 1¹ p⁴⁶ D τοῖς ἁγίοις οὓσιν καὶ πιστοῖς (which thus need not be rejected), P. Tebt. 309 (ii/A.D.) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν κώμῃ [τοῦ ἱεροῦ] θεοῦ . . . , P. Lille 29, 11 (iii/B.C.) τοὺς νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὄντας. It is conclusive from the papyri that the ὄν is somewhat redundant and means little more than *current* or *existent*. Translate *the local Zeus* (14¹³D), *the local church* (13¹), *the local school of the Sadducees* (5¹⁷); see *Beginnings* IV 56, Schwyzer II 409, Mayser II 1, 347f, Moulton Einl. 360.

The attributive ptc. stands both with and without the article and is equivalent to a relative clause: Mt 17²⁷ τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθύν, 25³⁴ τὴν ἐτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν *which has been prepared*, Mk 3²² οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες, 5²⁵ γυνὴ οὐσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος, 14²⁴ τὸ αἶμα . . . τὸ ἐχχυνόμενον (pres.), Lk 6⁴⁸ ὁμοίός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδομοῦντι οἰκίαν (= a rel. clause in the parallel Mt 7²⁴), 10³⁷ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔλεος, 15¹² τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, Ro 3⁵ μὴ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν; Ga 3²¹ νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι. Anarthrous: Ac 19²⁴ Δημήτριος . . . ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς *Demetrius, a maker of silver shrines* (attrib.) or *because he made* (adverbial), Heb 7⁸ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἄνθρωποι *mortal men* (attrib.) not adverbial. We must distinguish the attributive ptc. from a simple apposition (e.g. οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες εἶπον Mt 12²⁴, not *the Pharisees who heard*).

Also equivalent to a relative clause is the very frequent apposition ὁ λεγόμενος, (ἐπι)καλούμενος, with proper name following, always with an article after the person or object named: Mt 1¹⁸ Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός, Jn 5² κολυμβήθρα ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη . . . Βηθεσδά (S* τὸ λεγόμενον; W τῇ ἐπιλεγομένῃ) [the omission of ἡ D is an atticistic correction¹ made by those who were oblivious of NT usage], Ac 1¹² ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου ἐλαιῶνος, 10¹⁸ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος (rel. clause 10^{5. 32}), Rev 12⁹ ὁ ὄφις . . . ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος.

Whereas in class. Greek a relative clause would have been more correct after an anarthrous noun, in NT we often find an articular ptc., especially if it imparts some information which is well known, perhaps because of misunderstanding of an underlying Semitic ptc. (Moule 103), although it is not quite peculiar

¹ In cl. Attic the art. was not placed before the ptc., but before the proper noun. BU 512, 2 παρὰ Σύρου Συρίωνος ἐπικαλουμένου Πετακά is half-way between class, and NT usage.

to Biblical Greek, viz. BU 416³ καμήλους δύο θηλείας αἱ κεχαραγμέναι = *who were*

Mk 15⁴¹ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ αἱ συναναβάσαι, Lk 7³² παιδίοις τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθημένοις, Jn 12¹² ὄχλος πολὺς (BL add art.) ὁ ἐλθὼν, Ac 4¹² οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον τὸ δεδομένον = δ' ἐδόθη, 1 Co 2⁷ θεοῦ σοφίαν . . . τὴν κεκρυμμένην, 1 Pt 1⁷ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, 2 Jn⁷ ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι . . . οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες, Jude⁴ τινες ἄνθρωποι οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι. Unclassical also is the ellipse of the art. in 1 Pt 3^{19, 20} with a ptc. which follows a definite antecedent: τοῖς . . . πνεύμασιν . . . ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε. But after τινες the articular ptc. is classical (Stahl 691, 694): Lk 18⁹ πρὸς τινὰ τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, Ga 1⁷ εἰ μὴ τινὲς εἰσὶν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς, Col 2⁸. Mk 14⁴ is not an instance because here we have a periphrastic tense: ἦσαν τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες. Lysias 19, 57 (v-iv/B.C.) εἰσὶ τινες οἱ προαναλίσκοντες. Also cp. the class. Greek construction οὐδεὶς (ἐστίν) ὁ with fut. ptc.

We also find in the NT, as in class. Greek, the articular ptc. dependent on a personal pronoun: Jn 1¹² αὐτοῖς . . . τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, Ac 13¹⁶ (sc. ὑμεῖς), Ro 9²⁰ σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος (Jas 4¹² σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων [vl. δς κρίνεις]), 14⁴, 1 Co 8¹⁰ (p⁴⁶ B om σε). In some passages we must supply the pronoun, esp. with the imper.: Mt 7²³ OT 27⁴⁰, Lk 6²⁵, Heb 4³ 6¹⁸.

§ 3. Adverbial Participle¹

This circumstantial ptc. differs from a supplementary ptc. in that the latter cannot without impairing the sense be detached from the main verbal idea, whereas the circumstantial is equivalent to a separate participial clause. Such clauses may be either syntactically "joined" to the construction of the sentence, or they may be "absolute". Normally the clause will have reference to some noun or pronoun in the sentence agreeing with it in gender and number and case, but it may be syntactically independent in an isolated construction (see below, p. 322).

The relationship of this ptc. to the predicate may be of time, manner, cause, purpose, condition, or concession. This is not expressed by the ptc. itself, unless fut., but it is learned from the context or else from some added particle like καίπερ, ἅμα, εὐθὺς, ποτέ, νῦν. The Koine does not on the whole favour this

¹ K-G II 77ff. Stahl 681ff. Moulton Einl. 363ff. Mayser II 1, 384ff.

method but prefers a prepositional phrase, a true temporal (etc.) clause, or a further co-ordinate sentence; thus Luke prefers *κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε* (Ac 3¹⁷) to *ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα* (1 Ti 1¹³).

(a) *Modal-temporal* is the most frequent kind of adverbial participial phrase in NT and Koine, as well as elsewhere. Often there is no stress whatever on the temporal relationship.

Mt 19²² ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος *in sorrow*, Mk 11⁵ *what do you mean by loosing?* Mt 27⁴ *by betraying*, 21⁶ 13² 61⁷ 19²².—Mk 17.—Jn 16⁸.—Ac 21³².—1 Ti 1¹³.—1 Pt 5¹⁰.—BU 467, 15 etc. With *ἄμα*:—Mk 12³⁸ D Ac 24²⁶ 27⁴⁰ Col 1¹² p⁴⁶B, 4³. With *εὐθὺς*:—Mk 6²⁵. With *οὕτως* (modal), class., in NT in Ac only: 20¹¹. 25 27¹⁷.

Under this head should be included the large number of pleonastic participles in Biblical Greek (for pleon. ptc. in Ptol. pap., see Mayser II 1, 349). Apart from verbs of speaking (see below) the ptc. are ἄγων (pap.), ἀρξάμενος, ἔχων (pap.), φέρων (pap.), and (most used in NT) λαβών. These often have the meaning of the preposition *with*: Mt 15³⁰ (BU 909, 8) ἔχοντες μεθ' ἐαυτῶν (double pleonasm), LXX Ge 24¹⁵ ἔχουσα τὴν ὕδριαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων αὐτῆς, 1 Mac 8⁶ ἔχοντα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἐλέφαντας, Mt 25¹ παραλαβών, λαβών, Mk 14³ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου, Lk 24^{2D}, Ac 21²³ εὐχὴν ἔχοντες ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν, Jn 18³ *with a detachment* = Mt 26⁴⁷ μετ' αὐτοῦ; much of this is paralleled in the Koine. But λαβών and some other merely descriptive ptc. seem to owe their origin in Bibl. Greek to a Hebraic pattern. In Heb. such a ptc. indicates a movement or an attitude which precedes an action. Usually it is superfluous, but it can have its justification sometimes, perhaps very slightly temporal: Mt 13³¹. 33 14¹⁹ 21³⁵. 39 etc. LXX Jdt 12¹⁹ καὶ λαβοῦσα ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιε, Nu 7⁶ 1 Esd 3¹³. So ἀναστάς (ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ) and verbs of "departure": Mt 2²⁰ ἐγερεῖς; 26⁶² ἀναστάς, Mk 10¹, Lk 15¹⁸. 20 24¹², Ac 5¹⁷ 8²⁷ 9⁶. 11. 34. 39 10²⁰ 11⁷ 22¹⁰. 16, LXX Ge 22³ Nu 22²⁰; Mt 13²³. 46 ἀπελθών, 25¹⁸. 25; Mt 28 25¹⁶ 21⁶ Lk 7²² 13³² 14¹⁰ πορευθεῖς; 15²⁵ ἐρχόμενος; LXX Ge 21¹⁴ Ex 12²¹ ἀπελθόντες; Ge 45²⁸ 1 Mac 7⁷ πορευθεῖς; all these verbs after Heb. ⲓⲭⲏ. After Heb. ⲛⲱ is καθίσας: Mt 13⁴⁸ Lk 5³ 14³¹ 16⁶, LXX Nu 11⁴ Dt 1⁴⁵.

Reminiscent of the class. ἀρχόμενος *at the beginning*, ἀρξάμενος occurs with meaning *from . . . onwards* (class., and Lucian *somn.* 15 ἀπὸ τῆς ἔω ἀρξάμενος ἀχρι πρὸς ἐσπέραν) and pleonastically (perhaps

again, through Heb. influence)¹: LXX Ge 44¹² ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ἀρξάμενος (+ ἕως . . . unclass.), Mt 20^{8f}, Lk 23⁵, 24³⁷ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Μωϋσεως, 47 ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ, Jn 8⁹ ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (+ ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων unclass.), Ac 12² + ἄχρι, 8³⁵ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, 11⁴ ἀρξάμενος Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς καθεξῆς, only slightly pleonastic, as the emph. is on καθεξῆς; cp. LXX Jg 19⁶ ἀρξάμενος (B ἄγε δὴ) αὐλίσθητι, Jb 6⁹, Xen. of Eph. 5, 7, 9 ἀρξάμενη κατέχομαι. The Hebraism προσθεὶς ἔφη is similar (see below p. 227). But besides the pleonastic ptc., parataxis with καὶ is possible, also on the Heb. model; use of the participial phrase is reduced in Biblical Greek through this co-ordination. In LXX the ptc. has yielded to parataxis under Heb. influence: cp. Ge 32²² ἀναστὰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἔλαβε τὰς δύο γυναῖκας . . . καὶ διέβη with 32²⁸ καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς καὶ διέβη. NT authors however usually have recourse to the ptc.; but exx. of parataxis are Lk 22¹⁷ λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε, Ac 8²⁶ ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου (but D ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι), 9¹¹ B lat copt ἀνάστα πορεύθητι (rest ἀναστὰς), 10²⁰ D* ἀνάστα κατάρβηθι (rest ἀναστὰς), 3 Km 19⁵. 7 T. Abr B 110²⁰.

Very frequent also in NT are the pleonastic participles λέγων, εἰπών, ἀποκριθεὶς, etc. In both LXX and NT the λέγων which corresponds to ܠܡܢܐ appears repeatedly after ἀποκρίνομαι, λαλέω, κρᾶζω, παρακαλέω, etc., and often we have the formula ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν² (but not in Jn): twice in second part of Ac (19¹⁵ 25⁹) LXX Ge 18⁹; it is the LXX tr. of ܡܢܐ ܡܢܐ, whereas the asyndetic ἀπεκρίθη λέγων in Jn may be Aramaic; there never occurs ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπεν (Plato) or ἀπεκρίθη εἰπών.

This was already in slight use in class. Greek (Hdt ἔφη λέγων, εἰρώτα λέγων, ἔλεγε φάς), and can with little effort be paralleled in the Ptol. pap. Although the ptc. here has an obj. it does occur without: UPZ I 6³⁰ (163 B.C.) ἀπεκρίθησαν ἡμῖν φήσαντες, P. Giss. 36¹⁰ (135 B.C.) τάδε λέγει Ἀ. καὶ Ἀ. καὶ . . . αἱ τέτταρες λέγουσαι ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος (Mayser II 3, 63¹⁴). However, λέγων is not pleonastic if the preceding verb governs an obj.: BU 624¹⁵ πολλὰ γὰρ ἠρώτησε λέγων ὅτι δουλεύσω, P. Par. 51²³ καὶ πάλιν ἡξίωκα τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν λέγων. Ἐλθε . . . Pleonastic for certain are:—BU 523⁶ καὶ ἀντέγραφας λέγων . . . πέμψον, P. Par. 35³⁰ ἀπεκρίθησαν ἡμῖν φήσαντες. There is no doubt, however,

¹ On pleonastic ἄρχομαι see J. W. Hunkin, "Pleonastic ἄρχομαι in the NT", *JThS*, 25, 1924, 390–402; G. Delling in Kittel WB I 477; Lagrange *S. Luc* CVI.

² Mt 25⁹ (pl.), 37. 44 (fut.), Mk 15⁹ (D ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει), Jn 12²³ (pres.), Ac 15¹³ (not D). Ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων LXX Ezk 9¹¹B (rare). Note the difference between Synoptists and Jn. The Synoptists follow LXX but are more idiomatic in that they put the Heb. main verb in the ptc. (ἀποκριθεὶς); but Jn does not favour the ptc. and even prefers asyndeton. He also avoids the other redundant ptes. of the Synoptists: ἐλθών, ἀφείς, ἀναστὰς. He prefers co-ordination.

that such expressions when used on a large scale, as in Bibl. Greek, point away from the popular language to a specialized Semitic background. Cp. the concentration of ἀποκριθεὶς (ἀπεκρίθη καὶ) εἶπεν in Rec. B of T. Abr.: 106⁴. 11. 18 107¹B 108¹. 21. 23 110⁷. 16. 21 111¹⁸ 112⁶. 9 113⁹ 114⁶ 118¹⁵.

Λέγων occurs with other verbs too, especially in Luke, John and Paul. Thoroughly Septuagintal is Lk 1⁶³ ἔγραψεν λέγων (*as follows*), LXX 2 Km 11¹⁵ ἔγραψεν ἐν βιβλίῳ λέγων, 4 Km 10⁶, 1 Mac 11⁵⁷ (see Klostermann on the passage in Lk);

Also Lk 5²¹ ἤρξαντο διαλογίζεσθαι . . . λέγοντες (12¹⁷); Mt 15²³ ἡρώτων λέγοντες, 26⁷⁰ ἡρνήσατο λέγων (cp. Ac 7³⁵ εἰπόντες), Lk 12¹⁶ 20³ εἶπεν λέγων, Jn 13² ἐμαρτύρησεν λέγων (S* e om λέγων), 4³¹ 9² (D om) etc. ἡρώτων (-τησαν) λέγοντες, 19¹² ἐκραύαζον (vl. ἐκραζον) λέγοντες (S* ἔλεγον for ἐκρ. λ.), Mt 8²⁹ ἐκραζαν λέγοντες, 14³⁰ etc. Other participles of *saying* occur with these verbs: Lk 5¹³ ἤψατο εἰπών, 22⁸ ἀπέστειλεν εἰπών, Ac 7³⁵ ἡρνήσαντο εἰπόντες (prob. not pleon.), 21¹⁴ ἡσυχάσαμεν εἰπόντες, 22²⁴ ἐκέλευσεν . . . εἶπας, Jn 11²⁸ ἐφώνησεν τὴν ἀδελφὴν εἰπούσα (not pleon. = *with the words*); Mt 2⁸ πέμψας εἶπεν *sent with the words*, Mk 5⁷ κράζας λέγει (D εἶπε), 9²⁴ κράζας ἔλεγεν (DΘ λέγει; p⁴⁵ W εἶπεν), Ac 13²² εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας.

Moreover, in Heb. *answered* is followed by אָמַן and so, besides ἀπεκρίθη λέγων, the NT and LXX also have ἀπ. καὶ εἶπεν (often Jn, not Mt, rarely Mk Lk), the participial construction thus giving way in Bibl. Greek to the paratactic: ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν Jn 14²³ 18³⁰ 20²⁸ etc. (Jn almost always so, unless ἀπ. stands without addition), Lk 17²⁰, LXX Je 11⁵ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπα, Mk 7²⁸ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγει. With other verbs (in Jn especially): 1²⁵ ἡρώτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ, 9²⁸ ἐλοιδόρησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπαν, 13²¹ ἐμαρτύρησαν καὶ εἶπεν, 18²⁵ ἡρνήσατο καὶ εἶπεν, Lk 8²⁸D, Ro 10²⁰ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει.

Thoroughly Septuagintal also is the addition of the ptc. of the same verb in order to strengthen the verbal idea. It renders the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute¹, being the nearest approach to the infin., since the infin. itself would be too literal. It is very rare indeed in secular Greek; better Greek would render the Inf. Absol. idea by means of the dat. of the verbal substantive, and yet in the LXX it is rendered 171 times by the ptc. (against 123 by the dat., 23 by accus., and 5 through an adverb). E.g. Ge

¹ K-G II 99f. Moulton Einl. 118f. H. St. John Thackeray, "The Infinitive Absolute in the LXX," *JThS* 9, 1908, 597ff; *OT Grammar* 48f. Johannessohn DGKPS 57.

22¹⁷ εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε, 26²⁸ ἰδόντες ἐωράκαμεν, Ex 3⁷ ἰδὼν ἰδον, Jb 6¹, 1 Km 20³. In NT, only in LXX-quotations: Mt 13¹⁴ βλέποντες βλέψετε, Ac 7³⁴ ἰδὼν εἶδον, Heb 6¹⁴ εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθύνω σε, Eph 5⁵ ἵστε γινώσκοντες (uncertain textually), 1 Clem 12⁵ γινώσκουσα γινώσκω, P. Tebt. II 421¹² (iii/A.D.) ἐρχόμενος δὲ ἔρχου (ε)ἰς Θεογονίδα (but this may not be an instance: simply *when you come, come to Th.*).

(b) *Causal use.* This follows the class. pattern in the Koine, except that in NT we do not find ἄτε, οἶον or οἷα (papyri). Mt 11⁹ δίκαιος ὢν (= ὅτι), Lk 10²⁹ θέλων δικαιῶσαι ἑαυτόν, Ac 19³⁶ ἀναντιρρήτων . . . ὄντων τούτων, 23¹⁸ ἔχοντά τι λαλῆσαι σοι *because he has something to say*, 2 Co 12¹⁶ ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος, 1 Th 5⁸; Phm⁹ is ambiguous (causal or concessive), so also Ga 2³. The papyri show a hybrid construction, beginning with διὰ τό c. inf. and ending with the causal ptc.: P. Par. 12²¹ διὰ τό χωλὸν ὄντα, P. Leip. 108⁵ διὰ τό ἐμὲ μετριῶς ἔχοντα.

(c) *Concessive use.* Not frequent. Koine has καίπερ, καίτοι, and καὶ ταῦτα, like NT. Mt 7¹¹ πονηροὶ ὄντες, Ac 19³⁷, 17²⁷ καὶ γε (D* καίτε; S καίτοιγε; A καίτοι), 1 Co 9¹⁹ ἐλεύθερος ὢν, 2 Co 10³ ἐν σαρκὶ . . . περιπατοῦντες, Ph 3⁴ καίπερ, Phm⁸ πολλὴν . . . παρρησίαν ἔχων, Heb 5⁸ καίπερ ὢν υἱός 4³ καίτοι c. gen. ptc., 11² καὶ ταῦτα, 7⁵ καίπερ, 12¹⁷ καίπερ (p⁴⁶ καίτοι), 2 Pt 1¹² καίπερ.—P. Par. 8, 16 νυνὶ πλεονάκεις ἀπαιτούμενοι οὐκ ἀποδίδωσι *although they are often asked to do it*.

(d) *Conditional use.* Papyri (Mayser II 1, 351): BU 543¹³ εὐορκοῦντι ἔστω μοι εὖ, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ ἐναντία, 596¹¹ τοῦτο οὖν ποιήσας *if you do that* ἔσῃ μοι μεγάλην χάριταν κατατεθειμένος.

Lk 9²⁵ κερδήσας (Mt 16²⁶ ἐὰν κερδήσῃ), Ac 15²⁹, Heb 11³², Jn 15² μὴ φέρον καρπὸν *if it does not*, but (same verse) πᾶν τὸ καρπὸν φέρον (substantival ptc.) = *fruiting branch*; however, Jn's method is often to have variety of vocabulary and syntax in close proximity.

(e) *Final use.* Papyri (op. cit. 351f) esp. with ἀποστέλλω, πέμπω etc., with fut. ptc. (class.); only in Mt Lk. Mt 27⁴⁹ ἔρχεται σώσων (W σώζων, S* σώσαι, D καὶ σώσει), Ac 8²⁷ ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων, 22⁵ ἐπορευόμεν ἄξων, 24^{11.17}, 25¹³ ἀσπασόμενοι vl. Usually it is the pres. ptc.: Lk 7⁶ ἐπεμψεν φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης λέγων αὐτῷ, 10²⁵ ἀνέστη ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν.

The addition of ὡς (ὥσπερ, ὥσει)¹ will express subjective motive: Ac 3¹² ἡμῖν τε ἀπενίχτετε ὡς . . . πεποιηκόσιν, 28¹⁹, Lk 16¹ 23¹⁴ 1 Co 4¹⁸ ὡς μὴ ἐρχομένου δέ μου, 7²⁵ *in the conviction that*, Heb 13¹⁷ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες *with the thought that they must* (fut. ptc.), 12²⁷, 1 Pt 4¹², Rev 1¹⁵, Ac 23¹⁵. 20 27³⁰ *under pretence of*, 2 Co 5²⁰ gen. abs. (as well as comparison: Ac 2² Rev 1¹⁵).

N.B. class. Greek was fond of lengthening sentences by accumulating the circumstantial participles. The nearest approach to this form of ugliness in NT is 2 Pt 2¹²⁻¹⁵ βλασφημοῦντες ἀδικούμενοι ἡγούμενοι ἐντροφῶντες. On the other hand, Luke introduces ptc. quite effectively and thus presents a flowing style which is refreshing after the jerky epistolary style of Paul; Lk 4²⁰ καὶ πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον ἀποδοὺς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ ἐκάθισεν; with καὶ connecting, Ac 14²⁷ παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ συναγαγόντες, 18²² κατελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀναβάς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν (asyndeton to avoid ugliness), 23 ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, στηρίζων τοὺς μαθητάς = ἐξῆλθεν καὶ διήρχετο στηρίζων, 19¹⁶ ἐφαλόμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς . . . , κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυσεν = ἐφῆλετο καὶ . . . (the vl. καὶ κατακυριεύσας S*HLP gives the second ptc. a weaker connection with the first). Matthew, whose gospel is more stylistic than the others, has a little of the same tendency: 14¹⁹ κελεύσας (SZ ἐκέλευσεν) . . . λαβὼν . . . ἀναβλέψας, 27⁴⁸ δραμὼν . . . καὶ λαβὼν . . . πλήσας τε (τε om D) . . . καὶ περιθείς.

§ 4. Predicative Participle ²

In the same way as the ordinary adj., the ptc. may fulfil the rôle of a predicate and answer either to the subject or the direct complement of the proposition. In this way, with εἶναι and γίνεσθαι the ptc. forms a periphrastic tense (see pp. 87-89).

As a predicate answering to the subject the ptc. is found with verbs expressing a manner of existence, like ὑπάρχω, but in NT this is restricted and is found almost only in Luke, Paul and Hebrews. In the Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 1, 352f) the predicating ptc. is apparently still very well attested, though not in comparison with class. Greek. When this kind of verb has an adj. or prepositional phrase as a predicate, strictly there should be introduced the ptc. ὢν, but not so inevitably in NT and Hell. Greek; thus Phrynichus designates φίλος σοι τυγχάνω as "Hellenistic". The omission of ὢν is to be remarked in the

¹ With this ὡς there may be ellipse of the ptc. (class.): Ro 13¹³ ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, 1 Co 9²⁶ 2 Co 2¹⁷, Ga 3¹⁶ Eph 6⁷ Col 3²³ 2 Th 2², 1 Pt 4¹¹.

² K.-G II §§ 481-484. Stahl 699ff. Mayser II 1, 352ff. Moulton Einl. 361ff. Radermacher² 208.

following NT passages (as also in Strabo, Appian, and Philostratus):

Mk 12³, Lk 4¹ Ἰησοῦς δὲ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ὑπέστρεψεν, Ac 6⁸ πλήρης, 19³⁷ οὔτε ἱεροσύλους οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας (concessive), Heb 7^{2f}.

(A) *The Participle in the Nominative*

As in class. Greek, and often in the Koine:—

MODIFYING VERBS:

	NT examples	Parallels, excl. class. Greek
ὑπάρχω	Ac 8 ¹⁶ , Jas 2 ¹⁵ (Ac 19 ³⁶ ptc. prob. adjectival)	Koine i/B.C.
προϋπάρχω	Lk 23 ¹² (not D) (Ac 8 ⁹ ptc. prob. adverbial)	Josephus
παύομαι	Lk 5 ⁴ , Ac 5 ⁴² , 6 ¹³ etc., Eph 1 ¹⁶ Col 1 ⁹ , Heb 10 ²	Hell., LXX Ge 11 ⁸ , 18 ³³ , Nu 16 ³¹ etc., Hermas
τελέω	Mt 11 ¹ , Lk 7 ¹ D	Hermas Josephus
διατελέω	Ac 27 ³³	LXX 2 Mac 5 ²⁷ , Hom. Clem 14 ⁸ , Pap. Milligan p. 9 διατελῶ εὐχομένη I pray continually
ἐπιμένω	Jn 8 ⁷ , Ac 12 ¹⁶	Koine 2 Cl. 10 ⁵
διαλείπω	Lk 7 ⁴⁵ , Ac 8 ²⁴ D, 17 ¹³ D	LXX Je 17 ⁸ , 51 (44) ¹⁸ Lit. Hell. Koine
ἐγκακέω	Ga 6 ² , 2 Th 3 ¹³	
λανθάνω	Heb 13 ²	P. Hamb. I 27, 9 (250 B.C.)
φαίνομαι	Mt 6 ¹⁸	Koine
προφθάνω	Mt 17 ²⁵	Ep. Arist. 137
καλῶς ποιέω	Ac 10 ³³ , Ph 4 ¹⁴ , 2 Pt 1 ¹⁹ , 3 Jn ⁶	Koine

VERBS OF EMOTION:

ἀγαλλιάομαι	Ac 16 ³⁴	
τρέμω	2 Pt 2 ¹⁰	
χαίρω	Mt 2 ¹⁰ (<i>they were glad to see the star</i>), Jn 20 ²⁰ , Ph 2 ²⁸	Koine
εὐχαριστῶ	1 Co 14 ¹⁸ KL (p ⁴⁸ inf; SBD λαλῶ)	

VERBA SENTIENDI:

συνιῆμι	2 Co 10 ¹² SB p ⁴⁶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς μετροῦντες . . . οὐ συνιᾶσιν <i>they do not realise that they are measuring themselves by their own standards</i> (but D*G vulg. om οὐ συνιᾶσιν ἡμεῖς δέ)	Plut. 3. 231d Lucian D. Deor. 2, 1
μανθάνω	1 Ti 5 ¹³ ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἀργαὶ μανθάνουσιν περιέρχόμεναι or sc. εἶναι?). Cp. class. μανθάνω διαβεβλήμενος. More often inf.: Ph 4 ¹¹ , 1 Ti 5 ⁴ , Ti 3 ¹⁴ , 1 Cl. 8 ⁴ OT, 57 ²	

(B) The Participle in Oblique Case

(a) With verbs of sensual or spiritual perceiving and knowing: ἀκούω, βλέπω, γινώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι, εὐρίσκω, θεάομαι, θεωρέω, κατανοέω, οἶδα, ὁράω; all these are found in the Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 1, 354ff). Also in NT are: δοκιμάζω, ἔχω, μανθάνω. This ptc. is quite plentiful in NT, where it is almost always in an oblique case (Lk 8⁴⁶ ἔγων δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ *I felt that power had gone out*, not *I felt the power going*

out), and we do not find parallels to the class. ὁρῶ ἡμαρτηκώς *I see that I have sinned* (NT has ὅτι, see Mk 5²⁹ 1 Jn 3¹⁴). Ἀγνοέω and αἰσθάνομαι are found with ptc. in the papyri, but not NT.

Ἀκούω: in NT, if the content of the hearing is given, usually the accus. c. infin. or else ὅτι or ὥς; it is no longer frequently the ptc. In class. Greek the ptc. tended to denote facts and the infin. mere hearsay; but this distinction has quite disappeared and all we can say is, that with the ptc. the accus. appears to denote what is learned (indirect speech), while the gen. is retained for direct audition or hearing with the ears.

Accus. with ptc.: Mk 5³⁶ παρακούσας τὸν λόγον λαλούμενον exceptional (this is direct audition and one would expect gen. B seeks a remedy by inserting the article: τὸν λόγον τὸν λαλούμενον, since without it the meaning should be *overhearing that the word was being spoken*); Lk 4²³ ὅσα ἤκουσαμεν γενόμενα; Ac 7¹² ἀκούσας ὄντα σιτία; 2 Th 3¹¹ ἀκούομεν γάρ τινας περιπατοῦντας *we hear that*; 3 Jn⁴ ἀκούω τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα . . . περιπατοῦντα; P. Par. 48¹² ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σεραπείῳ ὄντα σε *that you were*. Even in Ac sometimes (9⁴ 26¹⁴) the accus. stands for class. gen.; indeed, the gen. is rare in NT outside Ac.

Gen. with ptc.: Mk 12²⁸ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητούντων, 14⁵⁸, Lk 18³⁶ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου, Jn 1³⁷ ἤκουσαν . . . αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, Ac 2⁶ 6¹¹ etc. Note in Ac 11⁷ 22⁷ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι (but accus. in 9⁴ 26¹⁴ [E gen]); if this pointless variation can occur in a writer like Luke, the class. distinction between accus. and gen. has now broken down.

Βλέπω, θεωρέω, θεάομαι, κατανοέω, ὁράω: ptc. Mt 24³⁰ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν . . . ἐρχόμενον, 15³¹, Mk 5³¹ βλέπεις τὸν ὄχλον συνθλίβοντά σε, Jn 1³² θετέαμαι τὸ Πν. καταβαῖνον, ³⁸. Papyri. LXX To 11¹⁶ Su³⁷. Use of ὄντα is class.: Heb 3¹ κατανοήσατε τὸν ἀπόστολον . . . πιστὸν ὄντα; Ac 8²³ ὁρῶ σε ὄντα. 17¹⁶ θεῶρ. κατείδωλον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν. But the ptc. of the verb *to be* may be omitted: Mt 25^{38f} σε εἶδομεν ξένον, ἀσθενῆ (BD corr. to ptc. ἀσθενοῦντα), Jn 1⁵⁰ εἶδόν σε ὑποκάτω τῆς συκῆς; the use of ὥς occurs instead in Ac 17²² ὥς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ, of which the sense must be *from what I see, it appears as if*, when we compare 2 Th 3¹⁵ ὥς ἐχθρόν ἡγεῖσθε *as if he were an enemy*.

Sometimes with *to see*, as with other verbs, this kind of ptc. (especially in the pf.) is more plainly separated from the obj. of the main verb, and becomes in effect a distinctive complement, leaving the obj. and its main verb still very closely linked together: Mt 22¹¹ εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον, etc. (relative clause) = *he saw a man and he had not on*, Mk 11¹³ ἰδὼν συκὴν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλα (*which had*), LXX To 1¹⁷ εἶ τινα . . . ἐθεώρουσαν τεθνηκότα *who was dead*, P. Leip. 40²⁰ καὶ εἶδεν τὰς θύρας χαμαὶ ἐρριμμένας *which were*. On ὅτι after *to see*, (see pp. 136f). In Mark the accus. c. ptc. construction occurs after ἰδεῖν 15 times, and ὅτι occurs 6 times.

Γινώσκω: in the Ptol. pap. usually with accus. c. ptc., but quite often also with infin. or ὅτι, διότι or ὥς—without much difference of meaning (Mayser II 1, 354f). Infin. or ὅτι also in NT. Lk 8⁴⁶ (Luke

has altered Mk 5³⁰ which is not a case in point, since Mk uses the ptc. attributively: ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν), Ac 19³⁵, Heb 13²³, BU 1078² γείνωσκέ με (this stereotyped letter-formula is very common in Ptol. pap.) πεπρακότα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν, 1078¹⁰ γείνωσκε δὲ ἡγεμόνα εἰσεληλυθότα τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι.

Δοκιμάζω: 2 Co 8²² ὃν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν *we have proved* σπουδαῖον ὄντα (for inf. see p. 147). With ptc., absent from LXX and papyri.

Ἐπίσταμαι: Ac 24¹⁰ ὄντα σε κριτὴν ἐπιστάμενος, 26³ γνώστην ὄντα σε . . . ἐπιστάμενος AC 614 (S* BEH om ἐπιστ.), 1 Clem 55² ἐπιστάμεθα πολλοὺς παραδεδωκότας ἑαυτοὺς, Ptol. pap., but more often with ὅτι or διότι. With ὅτι Ac 15⁷ etc.

Εὑρίσκω as a rule with ptc. (class.). Very often in Ptol. pap.: P. Leip. 40¹⁰ εὐρήκασι τοῦτον . . . τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ γαλλιαρίων. Mt 12⁴⁴ εὐρίσκει (sc. τὸν οἶκον) σχολάζοντα, 24⁴⁶ ὃν . . . εὐρίσκει οὕτως ποιοῦντα etc., LXX Ge 26¹² καὶ εὔρεν . . . ἐκατοστεύουσιν κριθήν. Away from the obj.: Ac 9² τινες εὕρη τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας *who were*. Passive with nom. of ptc. like class. φαίνομαι: Mt 1¹⁸ εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα.

Οἶδα: only 2 Co 12² οἶδα . . . ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον (but ὅτι in 3^r). Ptol. pap. dates: 254 253 145. With adj. without ptc. Mk 6²⁰. Elsewhere infin. or (usually) ὅτι, as in LXX and often in papyri.

(b) With verba dicendi et putandi (Mayser II 1, 312ff, 356):

Ἔχω: Lk 14¹⁸ ἔχε με παρητημένον. P. Oxy. 292, 6 διὸ παρακαλῶ σε . . . ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον.

Ἥγέομαι: Ph 3² ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν.

Ὁμολογέω: 1 Jn 4² Ἰ.Χ. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐλεληλυθότα (B inf.), ³ S, 2 Jn⁷. Without ὄντα: Jn 9²², Ro 10⁹.

(c) With verba declarandi (Mayser II 1, 355) never in NT, but Ign. Rom. 10² δηλώσατε ἐγγὺς με ὄντα.

PART II

WORD-GROUPS DEFINING A NOUN OR ADJECTIVE

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE ADJECTIVAL AND PREDICATIVE DEFINITE ARTICLE

THE NEW TESTAMENT USE of the article comes well up to class. Attic standards on the whole ¹. In later papyri the art. is used as a relative pronoun, but never in NT; nor is it a demonstrative pronoun except in the poetic quotations in Ac 17²⁸ and except with μέν and δέ. In Ionic (Herodotus) and later vernacular Greek the art. is sometimes omitted between the preposition and infin., but never in NT.

We have already considered the art. in its substantival use (see pp. 36f). In its adjectival, it particularizes an individual member of a group or class.

§ 1. The Individual Article with Proper Nouns ²

(a) Names of persons

In class. Greek, names of persons without attribute or apposition have no art. at their first mention. This appertains

¹ T. F. Middleton, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article*, 1808, rev. by H. J. Rose, 1858 last ed. K-G I 598-640. Schwyzer II 19-27. Jannaris, index. Mayser II 1, 56ff; II 2, 1-117, 171 (lit); III 3, index. Winer-Schmiedel §§ 17ff. Wackernagel II 125-152. Moulton Einl. 128ff. Radermacher² 112-118. Abel §§ 28-32. E. C. Colwell, "The Definite Article," *JBL* 52, 1933, 12-21. A. Svensson, *Der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikel in d. nachklass. Epik.* 1937 Lund. Humbert §§ 59-77. D. M. Nelson, *The Articular and Anarthrous Predicate Nominative in the Greek NT*, unpubl. diss. of S. Baptist Theol. Seminary, Louisville, 1945. R. H. Poss, *The Articular and Anarthrous Construction in the Epistle of James*, diss. of S-W. Baptist Theol. Seminary, 1948. J. Gwyn Griffiths, "A Note on the Anarthrous Predicate in Hellenistic Greek," *Exp. T.* 62, July 1951, 314. B. M. Metzger, reply to Griffiths, *Exp. T.* 63, Jan. 1952, 125. H. G. Meecham, "The Anarthrous θεός in John i.1 and 1 Cor. iii.16", *Exp. T.* 63, Jan. 1952, 126. Moule 106-117. R. W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article: Its Importance for Critical Pauline Problems* (Diss., Vanderbilt Univ.) 1953.

² Carolus Schmidt, *De articulo in nominibus propriis apud Atticos scriptores pedestres*, Kiel 1890. H. Kallenberg, *Philologus* 49, 1890, 515-547; *Studien über den gr. Artikel*, Berlin 1891. F. Völker, *Syntax der griechischen Papyri*: I Der Artikel, Münster 1903. Gildersleeve II §§ 536ff. *AJP* 11, 1890, 483ff; 24, 1913, 482 (articles by Gildersleeve); 27, 1916, 333-340 (F. Eakin, for i-ii/A.D. pap.); 341ff (C. W. E. Miller). A. Deissmann, "Die Artikel bei Eigennamen in der späteren griech. Umgangssprache," *Berliner philol. Wochen schr.* 22, 1902, 1467f. B. Weiss, "Der Gebrauch des Artikel bei den Eigennamen", *Th. Stud. u. Krit.* 86, 1913, 349-389.

also in Hellenistic: the art. is used after the person has already been pointed out (*anaphoric*, or pointing back) or when he is often referred to, as in letters in the papyri, giving a familiar tone proper to the colloquial language. A father's or a mother's name, appearing in the gen., usually has the art., although there are many exceptions. Moreover, names of slaves and animals have the art. even when mentioned for the first time, whereas the names of more important persons are *anarthrous*. The NT formula *Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος* has many parallels in the Koine. The final development of the popular tendency to use the art. is seen in MGr where proper names almost always have it. It is a mark of familiar style, like pointing with the finger, but despite the pundits it was largely a matter of individual caprice even in class. Greek, for some writers, like Plato, are extremely partial to articular personal names¹. No rule will account for τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει in Ac 19¹³ and τὸν Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι in 15. Moreover, the MSS are frequently divided. In other places, Luke abides by the rule: thus in Ac 8³ we are introduced to Σαῦλος (*anarth.*) but are referred back (*anaphoric*) in 9¹ to ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος, and meanwhile Δαμασκόν (*anarth.*) has been introduced, to be referred to *anaphorically* in 9³ as τῇ Δαμασκῷ.

Ἰησοῦς

In the Gospels, except perhaps Jn, Jesus takes the art. as a matter of course except where an articular appositional phrase is introduced (Mt 26⁶⁹. 71 μετὰ Ἰ. τοῦ Γαλιλαίου [*Ναζωραίου*], 27¹⁷. 22 Ἰ. τὸν λεγόμενον Χρ.—Lk 24³ Ἰ. ὁ παῖς, 24¹⁹ περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ). The rule is almost invariable in Mk, even with the gen. (5²¹. 27 14⁵⁵. 67 15⁴³); the exceptions are Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1¹) and the vocative (12⁴ 5⁷ 10⁴⁷). This would indicate that in 1⁹ the *anarthrous* Ἰησοῦς is to be taken closely with the phrase which follows, i.e. *Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee*. The

¹ As the following statistics for the art. with proper names will indicate:

In the first thousand verses of

Aesch. <i>Prom. V</i>	the art. occurs	210 times
-----------------------	-----------------	-----------

Soph. <i>Oed. T.</i>	" "	303 "
----------------------	-----	-------

Eurip. <i>Med.</i>	" "	159 "
--------------------	-----	-------

Aristoph. <i>Vespae</i>	" "	562 "
-------------------------	-----	-------

(where the speech is much less elevated)

Plato <i>Phaed.</i>	" "	768 " .
---------------------	-----	---------

(Gildersleeve, *AJP* 11; 486n.).

article does not occur before the prepositional phrase, it is true, but in any case this is not usual in Mark (except for scribal insertions). If it were *Jesus came from N. in Galilee*, it would have to be ὁ Ἰησοῦς to accord with Mark's practice. In Mt there is rather more latitude (anarthrous in the gen.: 14¹ 26⁵¹, and nom. 20³⁰; Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 1¹).

In view of this it is over subtle to explain the anarthrous Jesus in some MSS of Mt 28⁹ Lk 24¹⁵ on the ground that it is his first appearance as the risen Christ; rather accept the reading ὁ Ἰησοῦς of DL, which accords with Gospel usage.

Even in Ac, the first mention of Jesus is articular (1¹ SAE; but anarth. in BD).

Jn however normally follows the class. idiom by introducing proper names without the art., and adding it subsequently. This is usual also in the Koine and the rest of NT. E.g. the risen Christ is now τὸν Ἰησοῦν 20¹⁴ on his first appearance. However, ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς appears to be a set phrase (148. 50 etc.). The MSS are particularly divided in Jn 21.

In the Epistles and Rev., however, Jesus stands without the art., except for: 2 Co 4^{10f} (D*FG om art.), Eph 4²¹, 1 Th 4¹⁴, 1 Jn 4³; and then there is strong anaphora. The Epistles also usually omit the article with Χριστός; it is here regarded as a proper name rather than = Messiah, probably reflecting a development in Christology. But in Col 2⁶ the author reverts to the earlier designation of Χριστός as a title = Messiah. See H. J. Rose's appendix to his ed. of Middleton, 486-496, for the art. with Ἰησοῦς, κύριος, Χριστός.

Indeclinables

The art. without its proper force has occasionally to serve to determine the case: Mt 1^{21f} ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ . . . τὸν Ἰακώβ etc. (But the same form is also used in the case of declinable nouns, such as τὸν Ἰούδαν² and τοῦ Οὐρίου.⁶) It is superfluous with names which have a clause in apposition. Mt 1⁶ τὸν Δαυὶδ τὸν βασιλέα (700 om τὸν β.), in 1⁶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας (P. Oxy. I 2 B 6 prob. rightly om the first τὸν), Jn 4⁵ Ἰωσήφ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ (SB add τῷ), Lk 3²³⁻³⁸ ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἡλεί τοῦ Ματθαί . . . τοῦ Ἀδάμ τοῦ θεοῦ. N.B. no art. with the first in the list of genitives, as in the ii/A.D.

inscriptions (Moulton Proleg. 236), Ac 7⁸ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, 13²¹ ἔδωκεν . . . τὸν Σαούλ.

THE DECLENSION OF Αβρααμ IN NT IS AS FOLLOWS:

Nom	Αβρααμ	—18 times
Voc	Αβρααμ	—Lk 16 ²⁴⁻³⁰
Acc	τὸν Αβρααμ	—Mt. 3 ⁹ Lk 3 ⁸ 16 ²³ Heb 7 ⁶
	Αβρααμ	—Lk 13 ²⁸ Jn 8 ⁵⁷ Ro 4 ¹
Gen	τοῦ Αβρααμ	—rare (and then anaph.): Jn 8 ³⁹ Ga 3 ^{14. 29}
	Αβρααμ	—19 times
Dat	τῷ Αβρααμ	—11 times
	Αβρααμ	—Heb 7 ¹
with prepn.	Αβρααμ	—always, exc. Ga 3 ⁹

The genitive of proper nouns

In the papyri a parent's name is added in the gen. with the nominative art. normally. In the more official papyrus texts however the parental gen. has the nom. art. before it only when the name of the son or daughter is in the gen. Thus Mt 10² is thoroughly vernacular (Mayser II 2, 7. 22ff. 118): Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου. Also in the accus. Δαυὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Ac 13²² OT, but sometimes as in class. Greek without the art.: Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσχαριώτου Jn 6⁷¹ etc., Σώπατρος Πύρρου Βεροιαῖος Ac 20⁴ (pap. exx. in Abel § 44a). However, with the gen. case it is not usual to repeat the art., and τοῦ τοῦ (*of the son of*) is avoided (exc. 1 Clem 12² ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ τοῦ Ναυή): e.g. in class. Greek Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου, where τοῦ belongs to the first name since in the nom. we have Περικλ. ὁ Ξανθίππου; in NT Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλὶ τοῦ . . . Lk 3^{23ff} (see Klostermann p. 419 on this passage for parallels); papyri Βερενίκης τῆς Νικάνορος (254 B.C.) Mayser II 2, 7f.

It is not clear whether we are to supply υἱός with the apostle Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου (Lk 6¹⁶ Ac 1¹³) or ἀδελφός following Jude¹.

To identify a mother by her son we have (as class.) Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος Mk 15⁴⁷ (mother, not wife, because this follows Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσήτος μήτηρ⁴⁰), Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου Mk 16¹ Lk 24¹⁰. The art. is omitted except for Mt 27⁵⁶

ἡ τοῦ Ἰακ. μήτηρ. And to identify a wife by her husband (class. also): P. Ryl. II 140⁷ Ἀντωνίας Δρούσου *the estate of A., wife of D.*, Mt 1⁶ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου, Jn 19²⁵ Μαριάμ ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. The possession of slaves by a family may be indicated by this construction: τοὺς (scil. brothers, Christians) ἐκ τῶν (scil. slaves) Ἀριστοβούλου, Ναρκίσσου Ro 16^{10, 11}, τῶν (scil. slaves?) Χλόης 1 Co 1¹¹.

(b) *Geographical names*

(1) *Names of peoples.* These do not require the art. any more than personal names. (a) Anarthrous Ἰουδαῖοι in Paul's defences against the Jews: Ac 26^{2, 3, 4, 7, 21} 25¹⁰; πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι 26⁴ BC*E* (+ οἱ SAC² therefore wrong), the exception being 25⁸ (τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων). Anarthrous Ἰουδαῖοι also in Paul, exc. in 1 Co 9²⁰ (ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος) where he must have some special occasion in mind like Timothy's circumcision; τοῖς ἀνόμοις etc. (the Galatians?) in the following clauses, with τοῖς virtually demonstrative. (b) Anarthrous Ἕλληνες, although in class. Greek regularly with the art. (K-G I 599; Gildersleeve II § 538), and also in the Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 13); the point with Paul is never the totality of a nation, but its characteristic (*the Greek way of life*); consequently Ro 1¹⁴ (Ἕλλησιν τε καὶ βαρβάροις) is, like σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις which follows it, quite class.¹: Demosth. 8, 67 (πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις = all, whether Greeks or barbarians). (c) Correctly class.: Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες Ac 17²¹. (d) But in the Gospel narrative (and to some extent in Ac) we usually find the art. with Ἰουδαῖοι and other names of nations: however, Mt 28¹⁵ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις (D adds τοῖς), 10⁵ Lk 9⁵² εἰς πόλιν (κώμην) Σαμαριτῶν, Jn 4⁹ οὐ γὰρ συγχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρίταις (vl.). (e) An instance of a national name in masc. sing. is ὁ Ἰσραήλ (prob. because Jacob is thought of). The art. is wanting in Hebraic phrases like γῆ Ἰσραήλ, ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραήλ, etc. To conclude, class. Greek has art. only if it is anaphoric or the people is well known (K-G I 598f); there is no art. in the Attic inscriptions (Meisterhans-Schwyzler 225, 14); in the Ptol. pap. there is very little conformity with any rule (Mayser II 2, 12f).

¹ Blass-Debr. § 262, 1.

(2) *Lands and islands*¹. Like personal names, place names have the art. only if there is some special reason. But ἡ Ἀσία and ἡ Εὐρώπη take the art. regularly from early times, and in the Ptol. papyri (ἡ Ἀσία only), as the two grand divisions of the earth that are naturally opposed to each other;² but Ἀσία is articular even when it is used to denote the Roman province (in Ac 2^{9f} Μεσοποταμία, Ἀσία and ἡ Λιβύη ἡ κατὰ Κυρήνην are the only places with an art., because they seem like adjectives and one can supply γῆ). The only exceptions are Ac 6⁹ (ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσ.) and 1 Pt 1¹ (where the names of all the countries are without the art. and there is no art. at all in the whole address³. Beginnings of letters are formula-like: ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Ποντοῦ etc.). Many other names of countries also, being originally adjectives (sc. γῆ, χώρα) are never anarthrous. Cp. ἡ Ἰουδαία γῆ in Jn 3²² and also according to D in 4³. (The anarthrous Ἰουδ. Ac 2⁹ therefore is corrupt; there are several emendations proposed). Ἡ Γαλιλαία (except Lk 17¹¹ μέσον Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, where the omission with Σ. has caused omission with Γ. for balance). Ἡ Ἑλλάς Ac 20² (so MGr). Ἡ Ἰουδαία (for which the Hebraic γῆ Ἰούδα is also used Mt 2⁶). Ἡ Μεσοποταμία. Ἡ Μυσία (adj.). But names of countries in -ία that are identical with the feminines of related adjectives fluctuate (Gildersleeve II § 547): e.g. in one section of Xenophon (Anab. 1, 2, 21) we have εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν and ἐν Κιλικίᾳ and εἰς Κιλικίαν; NT anarthrous Ac 6⁹. Ἀραβία also fluctuates in Xen. and Hdt. Φρυγία fluctuates in Dem., Isocr., Xen., and Hdt. NT Φρυγίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν Ac 2¹⁰ (although strictly adjs.), but τῆς Παμφυλίας Ac 13¹³. The NT always has art. with Ἰταλία, generally with Ἀχαΐα (exc. Ro 15²⁶ 2 Co 9²). If χώρα or γῆ accompany the proper names, as frequently in Hdt., then those proper names are frankly adjectival, and we find the art. Gildersleeve II § 548). The preposition makes a difference; thus εἰς Συρίαν (although

¹ K-G I 598f. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 225, 15 (anarthrous except for Attica, Greece, and Asia, in Attic inscriptions). Gildersleeve II § 547ff. Radermacher² 116 (articular, if the adjectival nature of the name is still obvious, i.e. scil. γῆ. Thus ἡ Μεσοποταμία, ἡ Ἀσία, but Αἴγυπτος). Mayser II 2, 13f.

² K-G I 599. Gildersleeve 239ff.

³ See pp. 221f. Winer-Schmiedel § 18, 14. See also Mayser II 2, 14 for parallels in the abbreviated style of memorials, etc., where there is a long list as in 1 Pt 1¹.

strictly an adj.), Ac 21³, but Σ. does not have the art. in Isoc., Plato or Xen. (Gildersleeve II § 547); also εἰς Ἀραβίαν Ga 11⁷. Not being an adj., Αἴγυπτος never takes the art. in NT if we can except the reading of SBDAC p⁴⁵ in Ac 7¹¹ (where in any case the adj. ὅλος appears) and that of BC in 7³⁶. In the Ptol. pap. however, it has the art. always, except after a preposition and in the subordinate genitive (Mayser II 2, 13f). However, the geographical genitive does require the art. and so does the post-positive partitive genitive of the name of a country. This was in fact a rule of class. Greek, well observed by Thucydides (Gildersleeve II § 553). See Ac 13¹⁴ Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας DEHLP (rest accus.), 21³⁹ Ταρσεύς, τῆς Κιλικίας, 22³ 27⁵.

(3) *Names of towns and cities.* In MGr they always have the art. unless the town is preceded by a preposition (e.g. ἐξ Ἀμβούργου εἰς Νέαν Ὑόρκην); there was always, even in class. Greek, a tendency to resist the art. with common or proper nouns in prepositional phrases. But in class. Greek names of towns do not require the art. and even the anaphoric use is sometimes merely a device to avoid a hiatus; NT follows the rule, and has the art. only for a special reason. The art. is present only because it is anaphoric in Ac 9³. 38. 42 (τῆς Ἰόππης), 17¹³ (ἐν τῇ Β, because εἰς Β. in 10), 16 (ἐν ταῖς Ἀ., because ἕως Ἀ. in 15); in 18² τῆς Πώμης is due to attraction to τῆς Ἰταλίας; in 28¹⁴ the art. denotes Rome as the goal of the journey (demonstrative). Even Τρώας, although subject to an art. because it is Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρώας, is anarthrous in Ac 16⁸ 20⁵ 2 Ti 4¹³ (as in Xen. Hdt), and is articular only anaphorically in Ac 16¹¹ 20⁶ 2 Co 2¹² (referring to 1²³ where Troas was in mind). Yet there is no apparent reason for the art. with towns mentioned as halting-places: Ac 17¹ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν (εἰς Θεσσ. because of the preposition). Note further ἦλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον (Ac 20¹⁵), but on leaving and so anaphoric ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου (17), both with preposition; also παραπλεῦσαι τὴν Ἐφεσον (16), but πέμψας εἰς Ἐφεσον (because preposition). Yet there is a preposition with articular place-names in 20¹³ 21¹ (in spite of εἰς Πάταρα, etc.), 23³¹. Thus there is a rule, but it is not unbroken.

Unless an adj. is present (Rev 3¹²) Ἱεροσόλυμα, Ἱερουσαλήμ rarely take the art. If they do, it is anaphoric: Jn 2²³ 5². In Jn 10²² the art. is absent (but added by ABWL). The exceptions

to this rule are Jn 11¹⁸ Ac 5²⁸. Josephus usually observes it.

(4) *Names of rivers and seas*¹. They are generally articular in NT and Ptol. pap. (except sometimes with a preposition). In class. Greek rivers usually take ὁ ποταμός, like Mk 1⁵ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμός (elsewhere ὁ Ἰορδάνης) and Her. V. I 1, 2 τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Τίβεριν. Cp. Jn 18¹ τοῦ χειμάρρου Κεδρών (SBCD corrupt). Ac 27²⁷ ὁ Ἀδρία (class.).

(c) *Astronomical names and natural phenomena*

Winds. Always without art. in NT. Νότος *south wind* Lk 12⁵⁵ Ac 27¹³ 28¹³. With and without in the papyri (Mayser II 2, 18).

Points of the compass. With prepositions, they never have art. in NT: Mt 21⁸¹¹ etc. (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν), 12⁴² (βασιλίσσα νότου), 24²⁷ (ἕως δυσμῶν), Lk 12⁵⁴ (ἀπὸ δυσμῶν), 13²⁹ (ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου), Rev 7² 16¹² (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου). The NT exception is Mt 2².⁹ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ; therefore perhaps not a compass-point but *in its rising*.

Ἥλιος and σελήνη. The art. prevails, as in papyri (Mayser II 2, 18f), but we do find Mt 13⁶ ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος (D adds τοῦ), Lk 21²⁵ ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις (yet foll. by ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), Ac 27²⁰ μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρον ἐπιφαινόντων, 1 Co 15⁴¹ ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου . . . σελήνης . . . ἀστέρων, Rev 7² 16¹² ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, 22⁵ φωτὸς ἡλίου.

§ 2. The Individual Article with Common Nouns²

(a) *Individual anaphoric use: Introduction*

Used with nouns, the art. has the same double import in Hell. Greek as in class. Greek: it is either individualizing or generic. It either calls special attention to one definite member of a class so that ὁ = οὗτος ὁ (e.g. πλείονες = *more*, but οἱ πλείονες = *the majority*), or else it makes the contrast between the whole class, as such, and other classes, so that οἱ ἄνθρωποι = *mankind*, as opposed to οἱ θεοί. The generic use is considered below, pp. 180f. The necessity for using the art. is not dispensed

¹ K.-G I 599f. Gildersleeve II §§ 558-561. Mayser II 2, 16.

² K.-G I 589ff. Gildersleeve II §§ 565-567, 569, 571-572.

with by the addition of οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος, or a possessive. But the art. is often omitted where we expect it by the rules, especially in set phrases, titles, salutations, letter headings, pairs, lists (e.g. Ro 8³⁵. 38^f), definitions (e.g. Ro 11^{6f} 8²⁴). The Heb. construct state had an influence here (see pp. 179f). Sometimes the absence is almost inexplicable: Jas 2⁸ νόμον τελεῖτε βασιλικόν; we must understand it predicatively *the law as a royal commandment* (Radermacher² 117). Codex Bezae will often omit the art. in an arbitrary way, perhaps through Latin influence.

The individualizing use of the art. was described by Apollonius Dyscolus, an early grammarian, as *anaphoric*, in that it refers back to what is already familiar. Thus ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ is anaphoric, *that brother of his*; while ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ is *a brother of his*. It means that the art. will not normally be used when a person or object is first introduced, or when only an undefined part of a group or class is referred to, or when a person or object is thought of only predicatively (and therefore not individually and definitely). In such cases there is no anaphora to particular or well-known specimens or to a class considered as a whole. So it is usual to express a predicate without the art. (see exceptions, pp. 182–184).

It is not difficult to find instances where NT writers conform to this rule; we have seen it already with the proper names. We see it again in Lk 4¹⁷ βιβλίον and afterwards τὸ βιβλίον; Ro 5³. 5 ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται, ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα· ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς . . . ,⁷ (although he is not previously mentioned, *your good man* τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ is very definite); Jas 2¹⁴ πίστιν and then ἡ πίστις; LXX Bel et Drac.³. 4 Βήλ and then τῷ Βήλ. Therefore when we find τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ Lk 18¹³ it must be the *sinner of sinners*; in Ro 12¹⁹ we must think of it as *the well-known wrath*; in 1 Co 10¹⁴ that *worship of idols which you know so well*; in Rev 3¹⁷ ὁ ταλαίπωρος is *that wretched man*; Mt 5¹ τὸ ὄρος = that great hill which stood like a throne behind the sea (Zerwick § 124), Lk 14¹⁷ τὸν δοῦλον is the servant whose particular task it was to do this; Mt 8¹² ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων *that memorable or greatest of all*.

The art. was commonly used in class. Attic prose to mark a proper or usual connection of an obj. with its subject: τὴν χεῖρα is *his hand* Jn 7³⁰, τὸν ἀδελφόν *his brother* 2 Co 12¹⁸, just as in the papyri ἡ γυνὴ καὶ οἱ υἱοί is *his wife and children* (Mayser II 2,

23), and Ac 21⁵ σὺν γ. καὶ τέκνοις = *with their wives and children* (art. omitted because a formula, like Ac 11⁴ σὺν γυναιξίν, Ro 1⁷ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν), Heb 12⁷ τίς γὰρ υἱός, ὃν οὐ παιδεύει πατήρ (not ὁ πατήρ *his father*) *a father*.

(b) *Articular Use with certain nouns*

1. θεός and κύριος ¹.

Since these words come near to being proper nouns in NT, it is not surprising that the art. is so often omitted. Κύριος even more than θεός seems to have assumed this rôle, for we have Mt 21⁹ ὀνόματι κυρίου, Ac 2²⁰ vl. τὴν ἡμέραν κυρίου, 5⁹ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, 2 Co 31⁷¹ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὴν δόξαν κυρίου, Jas 51¹ τὸ τέλος κυρίου ². These names are especially anarthrous after a preposition, e.g. ἐν κυρίῳ *passim*, ἀπὸ θεοῦ Jn 3², or when they depend in the gen. on another anarthrous noun: Mt 27⁴³ θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός, Lk 3² ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ. Another near-proper name is θεὸς πατήρ 2 Pt 1¹⁷ Jude¹. In the LXX the anarthrous יהוה is rendered by the more slavish translators by means of anarthrous κύριος; but the addition of ה , יה , and יהו causes the art. to be used, hence: τῷ κυρίῳ, τὸν κύριον. But in NT we have both ἄγγελος κυρίου and ἐν κυρίῳ. Like the LXX is κύριος ὁ θεός, with and without gen.: Lk 1⁶⁸ OT κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, Rev 1⁸ etc. κύριος ὁ θεός. As a general rule it may be said that for Paul ὁ κύριος = Christ, and κύριος = Yahweh (Zerwick § 125^a); in which case, we must understand ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πν. ἐστίν (2 Co 31⁷) as = Yahweh but anaphoric.

2. οὐρανός, γῆ, θάλασσα, κόσμος.

These words are frequently anarthrous, especially after a preposition. But οὐρανός is anarthrous where there is no preposition: Ac 3²¹ 17²⁴ 2 Pt 3¹⁰ (ABC add οἱ). Papyri: Mayser II 2, 29. Γῆ prefers the art., even sometimes with a

¹ B. Weiss, *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 84, 1911, 319–392, 503–538. Bauckham s.v. κύριος II 2. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum . . .*, I Teil, Giessen 1929; *Der Gebrauch des Gottesnamens Kyrios in Sept.*

² This flatly contravenes the canon of Apollonius to the effect that an anarthrous noun may not be governed by a noun having the art.; but κύριος must be taken as a proper name = Yahweh.

preposition; however, we have it anarthrous: Mk 13²⁷ ἀπὸ ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου οὐρανοῦ, Ac 17²⁴ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς κύριος, 2 Pt 3⁵ οὐρανοὶ . . . καὶ γῆ, ¹⁰ οὐρανοί (ABC add οἱ) . . . στοιχεῖα . . . γῆ (CP add ἡ). With the preposition, anarthrous: Mt 28¹⁸ (BD add τῆς), Lk 21⁵ 1 Co 8⁵ 15⁴⁷ Eph 3¹⁵ Heb 12²⁵ 8¹. Θάλασσα too is anarthrous after a preposition or in gen. after another noun: Mt 4¹⁵ OT ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, Lk 21²⁵ ἤχους θαλάσσης, Jas 1⁶ κλύδωνι θαλάσσης, Jude¹³ κύματα ἄγρια θαλ. The same is true of κόσμος: anarthr. predicate Ro 4¹³ 11¹². ¹⁵, and in prepositional formulae: ἐν κόσμῳ 1 Co 8⁴ 14¹⁰ Ph 2¹⁵ etc. 2 Pt 1⁴ vl., ἀπὸ [καταβολῆς] κόσμου Mt 25³⁴ etc. Also anarthrous: 2 Co 5¹⁹ Ga 6¹⁴.

3. θάνατος.

It frequently appears without an art., especially in certain phrases like ἕως θανάτου (Mt 26³⁸), ἔνοχος θανάτου, ἄξιον θανάτου, παραδίδοναι εἰς θάνατον, γεύεσθαι θανάτου. Apart from the anaphoric use (e.g. ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θ. Rev 13³. ¹²), the art. is used (a) either of the actual death of a definite person (1 Co 11²⁶), or (b) of death in the abstract: Jn 5²⁴ καταβέβηκεν ἐκ τοῦ θ. εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, or (c) where Death is half personified (Rev 13³. ¹²), or (d) where assimilation to a noun in connection with it causes a borrowing of the art.: τὸ ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θ. (2 Co 1⁹).

4. πνεῦμα.

It is urged sometimes (e.g. A. M. Perry, *JBL* 68, 1949, 329ff) that the omission of the art. is important theologically, but the usage is often arbitrary. Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (rather more often τὸ πν. τὸ ἅγ.) is sometimes personal. When it is anarthrous it is a divine spirit inspiring man (1 Th 5¹⁵), but the matter is complicated threefold by the question of the non-use of the art. with proper nouns, and in prepositional expressions (increased in Hell. Greek), and even (in Biblical Greek through influence of the Heb. construct state) before a genitive. In none of these situations need the lack of the art. indicate any indefiniteness of reference, and with πνεῦμα the reference could still be to the Pentecostal Spirit. Nevertheless in Luke τὸ πν. τὸ ἅγ. tends to be the Pentecostal Spirit while ἅγιον πνεῦμα is an unknown power, God's spirit as opposed to that of men or demons (Procksch in Kittel WB I 105). Doubtless also anaphora

complicates the matter, as in Luke 2^{26. 27} Ac 24 8¹⁸. In 10⁴⁴ ἔπεσεν τὸ πν. τὸ ἅγ. ἐπὶ πάντας, there is reference to the well-known fact of the out-pouring. Omission, even when the reference is the Holy Spirit, is also occasioned by the presence of a preposition or by assimilation to an anarthrous noun: Ro 14¹⁷ after a list of anarthrous abstract nouns and after ἐν, Mt 1¹⁸ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Without a preposition (Lk 1^{15. 35. 41. 67} 22⁵ 31⁶ 41 11¹³ Ac 12 4²⁵ 6⁵ 7⁵⁵ 8¹⁵. 17. 19 10³⁸ 11²⁴ 19²) it is not the personal Holy Spirit, but the influence of a divine spirit which is intended, if St. Luke omits the article.

5. γράμματα:

2 Ti 3¹⁵ ἱερὰ γράμματα SC^bD*FG 33 Clem Epiph (AC* corr. to τὰ) is a technical formula (see Schrenk in Kittel WB I 765^{1ff}), Est 6¹, Jos. Ant. 16, 168.

6. ἐκκλησία:

1 Co 14⁴ ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖ, 3 Jn⁶ ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας. Is it a *congregation* or *the Church*? (see K. L. Schmidt in Kittel WB III 508^{18ff}).

7. Abstract nouns ¹.

They may be articular or anarthrous in all periods down to MGr. They tend to be anarthrous if there is greater emphasis on the abstract quality, but no vital difference was felt in class. Greek; the passage is too easy from articular to anarthrous. Thus Plato *Meno* 99A ἡ ἀρετή, 99E ἀρετή, 100B ἡ ἀρετή . . . ἀρετή. So Paul, Ro 3³⁰ ὃς δικαιώσει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως (prob. no significance for exegesis, but the art. is anaphoric: *by that same faith*). Translators do not trouble to distinguish τῇ χάριτι in Eph 2⁸ from χάριτι in 2⁵ (NEB *by his grace* both times); it may be that τῇ is merely anaphoric, looking back to ⁵, but there is another point of view: omission of the art. tends to emphasize the inherent qualities of abstract nouns while the art. makes them more concrete, unified and individual. In 2⁸ then the reference is to God's historical act of saving grace; in 2⁵, to grace as such, in contrast to other means of redemption (Zerwick § 131). The difficulty therefore is to account for the presence of the art.,

¹ K-G I 606 i. Gildersleeve II §§ 565-567. Mayser II 2, 30f.

just as with concrete nouns the problem is rather to account for its absence.

E.g. Mt 5⁶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην (contrast 5¹⁰), 7²³ τὴν ἀνομίαν (difficult), Ro 12⁷ εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ· εἴτε ὁ διδάσκων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ; Ro 12^{9†} ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι, τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί, because they are virtues assumed to be well known; 1 Co 13¹³ γυνὴ δὲ μένει πίστις ἐλπίς ἀγάπη . . . μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη (anaph.), 14²⁰ μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε (art. by attraction to the concrete ταῖς φρεσίν *your mind*), Col 3⁵ πορνείαν ἀκαθαρσίαν πάθος ἐπιθυμίαν . . . καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία *and that principal vice, covetousness* (the added clause individualizes the noun, as in Ac 19³ 26²⁷ 2 Co 8¹⁸), Heb 1¹⁴ εἰς διακονίαν, κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν (2³ 5⁹ 6⁹ 9²⁸ 11⁷), but τῆς σωτηρίας 2¹⁰.

Νόμος.

Paul is fond of anarthrous νόμος, but on no easily intelligible principle. Thus, in Ga, ὁ νόμος 10 times, νόμος 21. Ro 2¹³ is especially difficult: οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου (+ τοῦ KLP) δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ (BD* om) θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου (+ τοῦ D^eEKL) δικαιωθήσονται; it may not be the total Mosaic Law which Paul has in mind, but law as such (yet we still expect anaphoric τοῦ on the second mention). See also anarthr. νόμος in Jas 1²⁵ 4¹¹ 2¹¹ (but artic. in 10), 12 νόμος ἐλευθερίας (not Mosaic). Attempts have been made, from Origen onwards, to establish a principle¹ that the articular form indicates the Mosaic Law, but the context is a surer guide. See also Ro 3²⁰ διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας (epigrammatic: *to know any sin there must be some law*), 5¹³ ἄχρι γὰρ νόμου (*till a law came*), 6¹⁴ ἁμαρτία (not *no sin*, but "sin as power", as usual in Paul; see Lohmeyer *Zschr. f. nt. Wiss.* 29, 1930, 2ff; J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlswoorte Jesu*, 1935, 72f) ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει· οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον (*under any law*).

Σάρξ being virtually an abstract noun is anarthrous: *the natural state of man*; frequent ἐν σαρκί and κατὰ σάρκα (+ τὴν as vl. 2 Co 11¹⁸ Jn 8¹⁵).

ἀλήθεια.

Altogether inexplicable by the rules of anaphora are Jn 8⁴⁴ (καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἔστηκεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλήθεια ἐν αὐτῷ), 17¹⁷ (ἀγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστιν),

¹ Sanday-Headlam *ICC Ro* on 2^{13†}, p. 58; Burton *ICC Ga* 447-460.

3 Jn³ (μαρτυρούντων σου τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, καθὼς σὺ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περιπατεῖς). But Colwell's rule (see below, pp. 183f) may be relevant (Moule 112). Zerwick's suggestion is (§ 132) that the definite reference with the art. is to Christ as the real truth, life, light, etc.; all other truths, lives, lights, being transitory. So he explains the repeated art. in Jn 14⁶ ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή, which otherwise is inexplicable, not being anaphoric. Therefore 2 Jn¹ (οὗς ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐγνωκότες τὴν ἀληθειάν) *whom I sincerely love, and . . . all who have sincere standards* (anaphora?), ⁴ (περιπατοῦντες ἐν ἀληθείᾳ) *behaving with sincerity*, ³ *sincerity*, 3 Jn¹ *whom I sincerely love*, 2 Ti 2²⁵ 3⁷ Ti 1¹ ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας, Heb 10²⁶ ἡ ἐπίγνωσις τῆς ἀληθείας (not Christ, but articular by attraction), Eph 4²¹ (καθὼς ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ), 2 Co 11¹⁰ (ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια Χριστοῦ ἐν ἐμοί), 3 Jn⁴ (cp. above) ἵνα ἀκούω τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ περιπατοῦντα *in the Truth* (Christ), ⁸ ἵνα συνεργοὶ γινώμεθα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ (Christ), ¹² Δημητρίῳ μεμαρτύρηται ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας *Christ himself*. This distinction is a peculiarity of Biblical Greek; the papyri have the art. each time, P. Par 46; 47 (152 B.C.); 63. 16 (165 B.C.).

In the Ptol. pap. the following other abstract nouns are articular: φιλοτιμία, ἀηδία, τολμηρία, μέγεθος, ὕψος, πλῆθος, λογεία. The following are anarthrous: φιλανθρωπία, ἀντίληψις, ἐπισημασία, εὐγνωμοσύνη, ἀμνησία, ἡγεμονία μέγεθος (usually), φύσις, βάθος, μῆκος (usually), κρίσις, ἀναμέτρησις. These vary: πλάτος, γνῶσις (Mayser II 2, 31).

8. Numerals.

Usually with cardinal numerals there is no art., but if the art. stands it indicates (as in class. Greek) a certain fraction, as in the scribal correction of Mt 25² αἱ (Z) πέντε . . . αἱ (E) fam¹³ 543 28) πέντε, after δέκα, *the first five of them . . . the other five of them*; Lk 17¹⁷ οἱ ἐννέα *the nine of them*; Rev. 17¹⁰ ἐπτὰ . . . οἱ πέντε . . . ὁ εἷς . . . ὁ ἄλλος. Or else the art. marks a contrast of one fraction from another. Thus in Mt 20²⁴ = Mk 10⁴¹ *the ten* are the *remaining* ten disciples, not a fixed group of disciples (Wackernagel II 318).

The ordinary numeral also commonly lacks the art. as in class. Greek (e.g. ὀγδόω ἔτει), especially after a preposition, and especially with ὥρα. Mt 27⁴⁵ ἀπὸ ἑκτῆς ὥρας, Mk 15³³, Ac 12¹⁰ 16¹² (vl. -τη prob. corrupt), 2 Co 12². But there is anaphora

with ὥρα in Mt 20⁹ 27⁴⁶. In Mt 20⁶ there is the art. because of ellipse of ὥρα, and in Ac 3¹ because further defining words are introduced (τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐνάτην). Cp. papyri: P. Petr. II 10 (2) 5 (240 B.C.), P. Hib. 110, 65. 100 (253 B.C.) ὥρας πρώτης; P. Hib. 75, 79 (255 B.C.) ὥρα ἰᾱ; 106 (255 B.C.) ὥρας ιβ̄. With ἡμέρα the art. tends to be used, e.g. τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ always, and Jn 6^{39ff} ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (but 2 Ti 3¹ Jas 5³ ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις); but a preposition may cause its omission: Ac 20¹⁸ Ph 1⁵ (+ τῆς p⁴⁶ SBAP) ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας, like 1 Pt. 1⁵ ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ.

(c) *Absence of Article after Prepositions*¹

Such phrases may be formulae inherited from a pre-articular age of Greek. In class. Greek they are often anarthrous, like proverbs and enumerations, although anaphora or contrast may restore the art.: e.g. Lys. 12, 16 εἰς ἄστὺ *to town*, but 54 εἰς τὸ ἄστὺ; Demosth. 19, 30 ἐν ἀγορᾷ but 27, 58 ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. In NT: Mk 7⁴ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς, 15²⁷ ἐκ δεξιῶν . . . ἐξ εὐωνύμων, Mt 24³³ ἐπὶ θύραις, Lk 7³² ἐν ἀγορᾷ (but in Mt 11¹⁶ etc. ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς [CEFW om ταῖς]), Jn 6¹⁷ εἰς πλοῖον *aboard*; papyri ἐπὶ πόταμον *riverwards*, κατὰ πόλιν *in town*, κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν *by land and sea* (class.), ἐν δεξιᾷ *on the right* (class.). The omission in time-designation is class.: e.g. πρὸς ἐσπέραν Lk 24²⁹ (Ac 28²³), πρὸ καιροῦ Mt 8²⁹ (24⁴⁵ Lk 4¹³ 8¹³ Ac 13¹¹ Ro 5⁶ Heb 11¹¹), διὰ νυκτός Ac 5¹⁹ (vl. art.), μέχρι μεσονυκτίου Ac 20⁷ (but κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον 16²⁵). For personal anatomy one might expect the individualizing art., but ἐπὶ πρόσωπον Lk 5¹² etc. (2 Co 10⁷), and the omission occurs also in profane authors like Polybius; class. similar κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

Formulae like ἀπ' ἀγροῦ understandably have no art. because no individual field is in mind; but referring to a definite field in Mt 13²⁴ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ. But also ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ (D Chrys om τῷ) without indiv. reference (Mt 13⁴⁴) like τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ (6²⁸). The excuse for the art. must then be that it is generic, *the country* (like τὸ ὄρος *the highlands* Mk 3¹³ etc.).

(d) *Absence of Article before a noun which governs a genitive*²

A noun is sometimes made definite by a defining gen. or adj. In Heb. a noun may be in the construct state or have a suffix

¹ K.-G I 605f. Gildersleeve II § 569. Eakin 333. Mayser II 2, 14ff.

² Radermacher² 116. Zerwick §§ 136-137.

attached to it, and in either case it would be anarthrous. This influenced the LXX and in turn the NT writers in varying degrees. Thus ἄγγελος κυρίου is not *an angel* but *the angel*, δόξα λαοῦ σου is *the glory*. It usually happens that the second noun is also anarthrous; this balance is a Greek characteristic, not Heb. The canon of Apollonius Dyscolus asserts that, of nouns in regimen, either both have the art. (like ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας Col 1⁵), or neither (like ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας 2 Co 6⁷). Philo tends to violate the canon, Plato to keep it (exx. in Radermacher² 116). But the canon must be modified to this extent, that the governing noun may be anarthrous while the governed is articular (Ro 3²⁵ εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ; Eph 1⁶ εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ); this through Heb. influence. It is obvious that this omission occurs chiefly in prepositional phrases, to which secular writers normally do not add a gen. after the Semitic way: ἀπὸ προσώπου, διὰ χειρός, διὰ στόματος, ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου Lk 19⁴²; ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός (Mt 19¹² Lk 1¹⁵ Ac 3² 14⁸), ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς Ph 4³ (cp. Rev, Mk 12²⁶), ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ (Lk 11²⁰). A further complication is that proper nouns and geogr. names in the gen. may be anarthrous even when subordinate to an articular noun: ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων, τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν, ἐν τῷ βίβλῳ Μωϋσεως.

(e) *Generic Article*¹

The principle of the generic art. is to select a normal or representative individual. When all is said, the whole question is affected by personal taste; we have in one sentence both ὑπὲρ δικαίου and ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Ro 5⁷ (ICC Ro 128). Almost all the exx. in poetry have been explained on other principles, sometimes by anaphora, sometimes on the principle of contrast (Gildersleeve II § 563). Contrary to our own usage, the art. is put before nouns denoting a species, family or class of any of the kingdoms of nature; and before abstract nouns of virtues, vices, sciences, etc. (Jannaris § 1201), e.g. ὁ ἄνθρωπος *mankind*, ὁ σῖτος *corn*, ἡ ἀρετὴ *virtue*, ὁ κλέπτης (Jn 10¹⁰) *thieves*.

A generic art. also accompanies plurals like ἄνθρωποι, ἔθνη, νεκροί (exc. after a preposition): Mt 14² ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, 22³¹, 1 Co 15⁴² τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν, Eph 5¹⁴ OT ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, Col 2¹² BDEFG (rest om τῶν), 1 Th 1¹⁰ (ACK om τῶν). But Mt 17⁹ etc. ἐκ νεκρῶν

¹ K-G I 589, 1. Mayser II 2, 41ff. Gildersleeve II §§ 563f.

ἐγεροῦ, Ac 17³² 23⁶ etc. ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν (construct state and Apoll. canon), 1 Pt 4⁵ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, Heb 14 B p⁴⁶ Chrys ἀγγέλων. Double art.: τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου Lk 12³⁰ (Apoll. canon); but ἔθνη is especially liable to be anarthrous: Ac 4²⁵ OT Ro 11^{12f} 15¹² OT; οὐχὶ καὶ ἔθνων Ro 3^{29f}; esp. with prepositions Ac 4²⁷ 15¹⁴ 2 Co 11²⁶ Ga 2¹⁵.

(f) *Repetition of Article with several nouns connected by καὶ*¹

The art. may be carried over from the first noun to the other(s), especially if they are regarded as a unified whole and the gender and number are the same: Col 1² τοῖς ἐν Κ. ἁγίοις καὶ (sc. τοῖς) πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χ. *the saints and the faithful brethren*; Eph 2²⁰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν; Lk 22⁴ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ στρατηγοῖς; Ac 15² πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους. This is so even occasionally when the gender is different but the number the same, as in P. Tebt. I 14¹⁰ (114 B.C.); Lk 1⁶ ἐν πασαῖς ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασιν τοῦ κυρίου, 14²³ εἰς τοὺς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμούς, Mk 12³³ vī. Ac 15^{20. 29} 21²⁵ Col 2²² κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, unless κατὰ τὰ is due to dittography (but in LXX Isa 29¹³, to which this is an allusion, there is no κατὰ as well as no τὰ).

One must look critically at the common view that in Ti 2¹³ we have two clauses in apposition: τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ [sc. τοῦ] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν 'I.X. The same is true of 2 Pt 1¹ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ [sc. τοῦ] 'I.X. (S κυρίου for θεοῦ)². In Hell., and indeed for practical purposes in class. Greek the repetition of the art. was not strictly necessary to ensure that the items be considered separately. The relevant consideration on the other side is that the phrase *God and Saviour* in contemporary language referred to only one person, c. A.D. 100. Moreover, the art. could have been repeated to avoid misunderstanding if separate individuals had been intended³.

Often the repetition, even with nouns of the same gender, does indeed indicate that two distinct subjects are involved. Οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι involves no misunderstanding, but

¹ K-G I 611, 2. Gildersleeve II §§ 603-605. Mayser II 2, 47ff. Radermacher² 115. Zerwick §§ 138, 139.

² See Lock in ICC on Ti 2¹³, Hort on Jas 2¹, Moulton Proleg. 84, A. T. Robertson, "The Greek Article and the Deity of Christ", *Expositor* VIII, 21 (1921) 182-188, Stauffer in Kittel WB III 107²⁴⁸, Moule 109. Stauffer's plea, based on position of ἡμῶν, is grammatically weak.

³ *NEB* (text) is probably correct, following previous standard versions except AV which follows Vulgate (comma between, in Sixtine and Clementine).

the repetition of the art. prevents misunderstanding in Lk 11⁵¹ μεταξὺ τοῦ θουσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου, Jn 19⁶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται (not a unified whole like the chief-priests, elders and scribes of Mt 16²¹ etc.), Ac 26³⁰ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμῶν, 1 Co 3⁸ ὁ φυτεὺν καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἐν εἰσιν (cp. Jn 4³⁶), 1 Th 17.⁸ ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ (two separate provinces), then they are grouped together (ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ) and contrasted with ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ. Repetition generally takes place with τε καί, and that is probably why D adds τῶν in Ac 14⁶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων. There is frequently a variety of readings, e.g. Ro 4¹² τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν (ICC Ro in loc.)

(g) Article with Quotations¹

As in class. Greek the neuter art. may be prefixed to quoted words: Mt 19¹⁸ τὸ Οὐ φονεύσεις (DM om τό), Mk 9²³ *so far as the εἰ δύνῃ is concerned*, Ro 13⁹, 1 Co 4⁶ τὸ Μὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται; unless we emend, it is best taken as a quotation of a slogan (Howard in *Exp. T* 33, 479), Ga 4²⁵ v.l., 5¹⁴, 6⁹ τὸ δὲ Καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν (τό introduces a proverbial phrase; or τὸ καλόν is generic), Eph 4⁹, Heb 12²⁷.

(h) Article with Indirect Interrogatives²

Class., but in NT this usage is rarely represented except in Lk-Ac. The meaning is not affected by the addition of the art.: Lk 1⁶² ἐνένευον . . . τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι, 9⁴⁶ 19⁴⁸, Ac 4²¹ 22³⁰, 1 Th 4¹, Ro 8²⁶ (ICC in loc; Moule 200); Mk 9¹⁰ τί ἐστὶν τὸ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι (unless τό . . . is articular infin.).

In conclusion, almost anything in Greek can by the addition of the art. be made substantival, whether adj., ptc., infin., adv., prepositional expression, numeral, or any phrase whatever.

A characteristic of Hell. Greek is an anarthrous noun followed by an articular attribute (Zerwick § 145). See below pp. 185, 206, 221.

§ 3. The Article with a Predicate

An adj. or ptc. or a second noun may refer to a noun either as an attribute or as a predicate. As an attribute it usually

¹ K-G I 596f. Gildersleeve I 265.

² Mayser II 1, 80; II 3, 52f.

occurs between art. and noun. As a predicate it occurs either before the art. or after the noun, and the connection between them will be supplied by a copula, either stated or understood.

Although predicate nouns are usually anarthrous, the art. thus distinguishing the subject from the complement, the art. may be inserted if the predicate noun is supposed to be a unique or notable instance (e.g. Mt 6²² *the eye alone is the light of the body*). A predicate adj. or ptc. and the pronoun ὁ αὐτός (*the same*) will also have the art.

E. C. Colwell (*JBL*, 52, 1933, 12-21) formulates rules for the art. with predicate nouns in NT in sentences in which the verb occurs. He finds that (a) definite predicate nouns take the art., if (as is usual) they follow the verb; (b) otherwise they usually lack it; (c) proper nouns lack it; (d) in relative clauses it does not apply since nouns always follow the verb, anarthrous or not. Obviously if such a rule stands the test, it is valuable for textual decisions and translation.¹

Examples: (a) Mt 5¹³ ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, 13³⁷, 16¹⁶ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, 24⁴⁵, 26⁶³, 27^{11. 37}, Mk 3¹¹, 6³ οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων, 15^{2. 12} ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδ. (not AD), 3⁹, Lk 4⁴¹, 22⁷⁰, 23^{3. 37}, Jn 14. 8. 3^{9. 49}, 5³⁵ ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λύχνος, 8¹² ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς (cp. 9⁵ φῶς εἰμί), 4⁴, 11²⁷, 18³³, 20³¹, Ac 9²⁰, 21³⁸, Jas 3⁶ ὁ κόσμος predicate (M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, Gött. 1921, in loc.), 1 Jn. 3⁴ καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία 4¹⁵ 5⁶. With an adj. usually the predicate adj. is anarthrous, but Mt 19¹⁷ εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός, Rev 3¹⁷.

(b) Mt 4^{3. 6} 14³³ 27⁴⁰. 54 *Son of God* precedes the verb and so anarthr., 42 *King of Israel* precedes, 13³⁹.—Mk 15³⁹ 16⁷ 4³. 9 Jn 10³⁶ *Son of God* precedes.—Jn 5³⁷ *Son of man* precedes.—Jn 1¹ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος (there need be no doctrinal significance in the dropping of the art., for it is simply a matter of word-order), 9⁵ φῶς εἰμι, 14⁹ βασιλεὺς εἰ τοῦ Ἰσρ. 19²¹ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδ. εἰμί.

There are three passages in Mt where the author, striving for variety, has fallen into a definite pattern.

(1) 12⁴⁸ *my mother* (artic.) follows verb, 50 *my mother* (anarthr.) precedes verb. (2) 13^{37. 39} ὁ σπείρων . . . ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός (artic. following) ὁ δὲ ἀγρός ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος . . . οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοί . . . τὰ δὲ ζιζάνια εἰσιν οἱ υἱοί . . . , ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς . . . ἐστὶν ὁ διάβολος, ὁ δὲ θερισμὸς συντέλεια αἰῶνος ἐστὶν (anarthr. preceding), οἱ δὲ θερισταὶ ἄγγελοι εἰσιν. (3) 23^{8. 10} εἰς γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος (artic. following) . . . εἰς γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ πατήρ (idem) . . . ὅτι καθηγητὴς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἰς ὁ Χριστός (anarthr. preceding). See also Mt 18^{1. 4}.

¹ Thus Colwell's rule tends to prove WH wrong in 2 Pt 1¹⁷ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν. Then Tischendorf rightly places the predicate after the verb. (SA, etc.).

Colwell notes that variants in the MSS, as well as the undoubted text, also obey his canon, and from this he infers that not only among the NT authors but also among the scribes of a much later period this articular rule applied. For instance, it is true of S and B which, though they differ, differ according to rule in these passages: Mt 23¹⁰ B καθηγητης υμων εστιν εις (anarthr. preceding), S εις γαρ υμων εστιν ο καθηγητης (artic. following).—Jn 1⁴⁹ B συ βασιλευς ει του Ισραηλ (anarthr. preceding), S συ ει ο βασιλευς του Ι (artic. following).—Jas 2¹⁹ B εις θεος εστιν (anarthr. preceding), S εις εστιν ο θεος (articular following).

In Colwell's count, which is somewhat arbitrary, only 15 articular predicate nouns precede the verb ¹, while 239 follow it, and only 40 anarthrous predicate nouns follow the verb ² while 99 precede it. Judicious selection among the MS variants may remove some of the exceptions to Colwell's canon but cannot remove all. So that while the canon may reflect a general tendency it is not absolute by any means; after all, it takes no account of relative clauses or proper nouns, and he has also omitted a considerable class of "qualitative" nouns like that in *ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν*. Moreover, he is the first to admit the lack of objectivity in his method of counting: he professes to include only *definite* nouns among his anarthrous predicates, and the degree of definiteness is extremely difficult to assess.

¹ Lk 4⁴¹, Jn 1²¹ 6⁵¹ 15¹, Ro 4¹³ 1 Co 9¹. 2 11³. 25 2 Co 1¹² 3². 17, 2 Pt 1¹⁷, Rev 19⁸ 20¹⁴.

² E.g. Mt 20¹⁶, 27⁴³ *Son of God* (anarthr. following; but θεοῦ precedes), Mk 4³² 9³⁵ 12³⁸, Lk 20³³ 22²⁴, Jn 4¹⁸ 18¹³. 37, Ac 10³⁶, Ro 4¹¹. 18 7¹³ 8¹⁶. 29 11⁶, 1 Co 12²⁷ 16¹⁵ 2 Co 5²¹ 6¹⁶, Ga 4³¹, 1 Th 4³, 1 Pt 5¹², Heb 11¹. Paul is the most significant breaker of Colwell's rule.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

§ 1. The Adjectival Attribute¹

As in class. Greek, nouns appear instead of adjs. in an attributive sense: ἀνὴρ Lk 24¹⁹ Ac 11⁶ 31⁴ ἄνδρα φονέα, 22³; ἄνθρωπος Mt 18²³; πύθων Ac 16¹⁶ SBAC*D* (gen., not adjectival, in p⁴⁵ C³ D² E). Sometimes a noun will assume the form of an adj. by coining a fem. or neuter: δούλη Lk 13⁸. 48 Ac 21⁸, δοῦλα neut. pl. Ro 6¹⁹, ἔμμερα neut. pl. LXX 1 Mac 13¹⁶; Rev 4³ λίθω ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ.

Three relative positions are possible for the art. and noun with attributive adjs., ptes., or numerals: I. Classical ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ. II. ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός (the pte., especially with additional adjuncts, is liable to be placed in this position). III. Hellenistic ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός: much more frequent in the pap. than in class. Greek (Mayser II 2, 57f); the adj. is a kind of limiting after-thought² to a noun which originally was more vague. E.g. Lk 23⁴⁹ γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθοῦσαι women, viz. those who . . . , Jn 14²⁷ εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, 2 Ti 1¹³ ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐν Χ.Ι. This happens especially with the pte.: Ac 7³⁵ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὁφθέντος αὐτῷ, Ro 2¹⁴ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα³.

Thus the attribute participates in the force of the art. either by taking an intermediate position or, if placed in the post-position, by assuming its own art. There are occasions however when the adj. is not in the intermediate position and has no art. of its own. In these circumstances, it is predicative⁴ (see last ch. for nouns used predicatively); Mk 7⁵ κοιναῖς ταῖς χερσίν DW (rest om. art.) *with hands unwashed*, 8¹⁷ πεπωρωμένην

¹ K-G I §§ 404-405. Gildersleeve II §§ 608-613. Mayser II 2, 51-59.

² K-G I 613f. Radermacher² 115. Zerwick § 145.

³ For the further significance of this word-order, see above (Introduction, p. 8). Cp. BU 46 (A.D. 193) ὄνους τέσσαρες τοὺς καλλίστους, Mk 15⁴¹ Ac 10⁴¹ 19¹¹. 17 26²² 1 Pt 1⁷.

⁴ But the odd variant τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα ἅγιον Lk 12¹² must be a slip; also 1 Jn 5²⁰.

ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν, Jn 5³⁶ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω *I have a witness which is greater*, Ac 14¹⁰ εἶπεν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, Lk 6⁸ τῷ ξηράν ἔχοντι τὴν χειρὰ, 1 Co 11⁵ ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ, Heb 7²⁴ ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην *has a priesthood which is inalienable*, 9¹ τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν. More difficult to translate is ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς Jn 12⁹ (as scribes found: AB³D om ὁ; W adds ὁ το πολὺς),¹². It ought to mean *the crowd is great*, but evidently = ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος (Mk 12³⁷); it is probably done on the analogy of πᾶς and ὅλος. Cp. πολλῇ τῇ ἐμφερείᾳ Plut. etc. in Radermacher² 112; ὁ φόνος πολὺς Arr. An. I 9, 6. Also Isocr. *Philipp.* 56 τὸ σῶμα θνητὸν ἅπαντες ἔχομεν (Jn 5³⁶).

§ 2. The Article with Several Attributes

Where in class. Greek there are several attributes, the art. may or may not be repeated (Gildersleeve II § 669). Moreover, it often becomes clumsy to insert all the attributes between the art. and noun (as in 1 Pt 3³ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱμάτιον κόσμος), and there is a tendency to divide them so that some stand before the noun and some after it. Clauses placed after the noun do not always require repetition of the art. (e.g. Plato *Rpb* 532c πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεῖα) and may be translated predicatively. The art. is repeated where the defining clause implies a contrast or if the meaning would be ambiguous, and also where the defining words are emphatic, as in Rev. 21² τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν ὀξεῖαν Heb 11¹² ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος . . . ἡ ἀναρίθμητος.

There is nothing particularly emphatic about the following, but the numeral is thought of as part of the noun and there is but one real attribute: Jn 6¹³ Jas 1¹ Rev 21⁹. Predicative additions of an adj. etc. in NT:—Mt 24⁴⁵ ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος, 1 Co 10³ τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικόν S^cDEFG (p⁴⁶ A om αὐτό; S^{*}BA πν. βρ.), 16²¹ τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, Ga 1⁴ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ S^cDEFG (p⁴⁶ S^{*}BA τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ), 11³ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναστροφὴν ποτε ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, Col 1⁸ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην ἐν πνεύματι, 1 Pt 1¹⁸ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαράδοτου (not C).

Moreover, an adj. or ptc. which follows a gen. always takes the art., unless it be understood predicatively: Mt 31⁷ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, 2 Co 6⁷ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν, Eph 6¹⁶ τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ (om BD^{*}FG) πεπυρωμένα, Heb 13²⁰ 1 Pt 5¹⁰; predicatively Ti 2¹¹ ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις

τοῦ θεοῦ (ἢ add C^c) σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις: see Radermacher² 117. Also Ac 23²⁷ Ro 2²⁷ 8¹ A 16¹ 2 Co 11⁹ Ga 3¹.

It is possible for all the attributes to occur after the noun and yet for the art. not to be repeated: 1 Co 8⁷ τῇ συνηθείᾳ ἕως ἄρτι τοῦ εἰδώλου, Eph 3⁴ τὴν σύνεσίν μου ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῦ Χ. (the art. would contrast this particular σύνεσις of Paul with another), 2 Th 3¹⁴ τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, Col. 1⁴, Ph 1⁵. But if there is danger of ambiguity or confusion, the art. occurs, as in the following: Ro 7⁵ 8³⁹ 2 Co 9³ 1 Th 1⁸ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐξελέγηθεν.

Instead of additional attributes being placed after the noun they may, sometimes (but not usually) with the art., be placed before, as in class. Greek: Lk 1⁷⁰ τῶν ἀγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος . . . προφητῶν AC, 1 Pt 4¹⁴ τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα (but meaning is: *and therefore* the Spirit of God). In NT this position is usually found with the adjs. ὁ ἄλλος, οἱ λοιποί, as in the papyri (Mayser II 2, 60): Jn 19³² τοῦ ἄλλου τοῦ συσταυρωθέντος, Rev 2²⁴ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατείροις.

§ 3. Numerals

It is not a class. idiom to use εἷς for *first*, but Heb. (תָּחִיל) and Aram., by way of LXX (Ps 23 (24) tit. τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτου, Ge 8¹³ etc. μιᾷ τοῦ μηνός, Ex 40² Nu 11¹⁸ Ezra 10^{16f} 2 Mac 15³⁶), Mt 28¹ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, Lk 24¹, Jn 20¹.¹⁹ Ac 20⁷ 1 Co 16², Rev 6¹ μίαν *first*, 9¹² ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία. Mk 16² τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων. But Mk 16⁹ (later ending) is exceptional: πρώτη σαββάτου. Jos. Ant. 1, 1, 1 αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωϋσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπεν. Ga 4²⁴ δύο διαθηκαί, μία μὲν . . . *the first*.

Also Aramaic is the use of reciprocal εἷς τὸν ἕνα, 1 Th 5¹¹. But cf. Hdt. 4. 50 ἐν πρὸς ἕν, συμβάλλειν, Lucian *Conscr. Hist.* 2 ἐν . . . ἐνί.

Distributive ἀνά and κατὰ with a numeral are class. (Mk 6^{7D}, 40 Lk 9¹⁴ 10¹ Herm. S. IX 2, 3), but the following are less so, censured by the Atticists and rather Semitic and colloquial Koine: δυὸ δυὸ (Mk 6⁷, LXX Ge 7⁹, Si 36¹⁵), συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί (6^{39f}), δεσμάς δεσμάς (Mt 13³⁰ Epiph. Orig.; see Lagrange *S. Matth.* 268), τάγματα τάγματα (Herm. S. VIII 2, 8; 4, 2), ἐπτὰ ἐπτὰ Ge 7³, τρία τρία (P. Oxy. I p. 188 iii/A.D.), ἀνά δύο δύο (Gosp. Pet. 35, Lk 10¹ BK II), ἀνά ἐν ἐν (P. Columb. no. 318 c. A.D. 100), κατὰ δύο δύο (P. Oxy. VI 886¹⁹ iii/A.D.), κατὰ ἕνα ἕνα Isa 27¹². Heb תָּחִיל תָּחִיל, etc.

The multiplicative ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτα, as in LXX Ge 4²⁴, for עֶבְרִית שְׁבַעִים (77), is 77 *times* (Moulton Proleg. 98), i.e. 70 *times*

(and) seven, not 70 times seven (an error still perpetrated by NEB, without so much as a footnote) Mt 18²². D* rightly interprets it as ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτάκις, and Vulg. as *septuagies septies*. The same principle applies with ἑπτάκις ἔπτα 14 times (not seven times seven) T. Benj. 7⁴. So δώδεκα for δωδεκάκις in Rev 22², δύο for δίς in 9¹². Semitic speech has ambiguous numerals.

In Mk 4⁸. ²⁰ B reads εἰς . . . ἐν . . . ἐν, S reads εἰς . . . εἰς . . . εἰς (a correction), ADWQ εν . . . εν . . . εν (= ἐν . . . ἐν . . . ἐν) correct. "Εν is a sign of multiplication = ἑκατονταπλασίονα (an Aramaism).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

§ 1. Attributive Pronouns

1. *Possessive pronouns: unemphatic*¹

It was a tendency of the NT as well as the Koine to prefer the gen. of the pers. pronoun (μου) to the nom. possessive pronoun (ἐμός). The rule for word-order in the Koine generally seems fairly close to the class. model. The genitives of the pers. pronouns μου, σου, ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν stand without an art. of their own with an articular noun, either (a) after the noun, or (b) before its art., in the LXX, NT and Hell. generally; (c) where the noun has an attribute the gen. pers. pronoun follows the attribute. But if they are very emphatic, we may expect to find the 1st and 2nd pres. pronouns between the art. and the noun, even without this attribute². (d) The 3rd pers. pronoun in this position is not necessarily emphatic in Hell. Greek. With anarthrous nouns it is immaterial whether the gen. pronoun precedes or follows the noun (Mayser II 2, 66).

Exx.:—

(a) Very commonly, e.g. ὁ πατήρ μου Jn 15¹ etc., and abundantly frequent esp. with 3rd p. in the pap.³

(b) Less commonly, and special attention should be paid to the variant readings: Mt 2² αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα, 7²⁴, 8⁸ ἴνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην, 16¹⁸ 17¹⁵ 23⁸.—Mk 5³⁰ 9²⁴.—Lk 6⁴⁷ 12¹⁸ 15³⁰ 16⁶ 19³⁵ etc.—Jn 12⁷ 22³ 31⁹. 21. 33 44⁷ 91¹. 21. 28 113². 48 124⁰ 13¹ etc.—Ro 14¹⁶ 1 Co 8¹² Ph 2² 41⁴ Col 2⁵ 41⁸ 1 Th 2¹⁶ 31⁰. 13 2 Th 2¹⁷ 3⁵ Phm 5 1 Ti 4¹⁵ 2 Ti 14.—1 Jn 32⁰.—Rev 31. 2. 8. 15 10⁹ 14¹⁸ 18⁵ etc.—PSI IV 372. 12 (250 B.C.)

¹ K-G I 619, 4; 627, 3. Schwyzer II 202ff. Mayser II 2, 64ff. Winer-Schmiedel § 22, 14–17. Radermacher² 72f, 111. A. Wifstrand, *A Problem concerning Word Order in the NT*, Studia theol., Lund 1951. Internat. Zeitschriftenschau f. Bibelwiss., 1951–2, 180f. Helbing Kasus-syntax 178.

² K-G I 619, 2. UPZ 113. 12 (156 B.C.) τῆς ὑμῶν ἀγωγῆς. Moulton Einl. 59, 1. In NT, apparently only Pauline, and almost confined to ὑμῶν.

³ NT uses ἐμοῦ and σοῦ only in connection with another gen., e.g. Ro 11² ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ, 16¹³ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ.

ἀ καταβεβόσκηκέ σου τὰ πρόβατα. Before two nouns to save repetition: Lk 12³⁵ ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες . . . καὶ οἱ λύχνοι, Jn 11⁴⁸ ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸ ἔθος.—Ac 21¹¹.—1 Th 1³ 2¹⁹ 2 Ti 3¹⁰ Ti 1¹⁵.—Rev 2¹⁹.—Diod. Sic. 11. 16. The above are unemphatic pronouns, but they may be inserted in this pre-position for special emphasis: Lk 12³⁰ 22⁵³, 1 Co 9¹¹ εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικά θερίσομεν, Eph 2¹⁰ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα, Ph 3²⁰.

(c) Mt 27⁶⁰ ἐν τῷ καινῷ αὐτοῦ μνημείῳ, 2 Co 4¹⁶ ὁ ἕξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, 5¹ ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία, 1 Pt 1³ 2⁹ 5¹⁰ etc.

(d) The 3rd p. αὐτοῦ = *his* is found in the middle position of the attributive, not merely when emphatic, as in class. Greek, but in NT and Koine also when unemphatic (Mayser II 2, 66): Ro 11¹¹ τῷ αὐτῶν παραπτώματι ἡ σωτηρία τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, 3²⁴ τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, 1 Th 2¹⁹, Ti 3⁵ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος *emph.* (D*EFG τὸ ἐλ. αὐτοῦ), Heb 2⁴ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, 7¹⁸ διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενές καὶ ἀνωφελές (no *emph.*), 1 Pt 1³ τὸ πόλυ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος, 5¹⁰ τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν, 2 Pt 1⁹ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτιῶν, LXX 2 Mac 7⁹, Herm. M. VI 2, 2, Clem. Hom. 17. 11 3⁸ and often. But *emphatic*: Ro 3²⁶ τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. For 3rd p. ἐκείνου, see Jn 5⁴⁷ 2 Co 8⁹. 14 2 Ti 2²⁶ etc. (but Ro 6²¹ τὸ τέλος ἐκείνων). For 3rd p. τούτου: Ro 11³⁰ 2 Pt 1¹⁵ (but contrary to rule: Ac 13²³ Heb 13¹¹ Rev 18¹⁵)

Possessive pronouns: emphatic.

On the other hand, the genitives ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ, τούτου, ἐκείνου usually have the position of an attribute, not a predicate, both in class. and in Hell. Greek (Mayser II 2, 65). As a possess. gen. with a noun, ἐμαυτοῦ is found in NT only at 1 Co 10³³ τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον, while σεαυτοῦ is never found like this. In NT also, esp. in Paul, the *emph.* ὑμῶν is found in attributive position (cp. Soph. Oed. Rex 1458 ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρα) thus making ὑμέτερος almost superfluous in all NT writings (not ten instances, and none in Mt-Mk). The attributive ὑμῶν: 1 Co 16¹⁷ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα (BCD ὑμέτερον), 2 Co 1⁶ 9² (vl. ἐξ ὑμῶν), 12¹⁹ 13⁹, 1 Th 3⁷, Clem. Hom. 10¹⁵ (but the predicative position in Ph 3²⁰ ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα for greater emphasis; and Heb 10²⁵ τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν, for ὑμῶν αὐτῶν; reflexives: Lk 19¹³ δέκα δούλους ἑαυτοῦ *of his*, Ac 21¹¹ δῆσας ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας, Ga 6⁴. 8 (D*FG αὐτοῦ), Eph 4¹⁶ (SD*G αὐτοῦ), Herm. S. II 5; S. IV 5 (P. Mich. αὐτῶν); V 4, 3A (P. Mich. αὐτοῦ) (Mayser II 2, 70). Where the emphatic pronoun occurs in predicative position, there is often a variant reading created by scribes who correct it to unemph. pronoun, for which this position would be normal.

*Possessive adjectives*¹.

Ἐμός, σός, ἡμέτερος, ὑμέτερος had been used in class. Greek as emph. possessives, but they are out of vogue now, being replaced by the gen. (or dat.: σοι ἦσαν Jn 17⁶) of the pers. pronoun or by ἴδιος. Still ἐμός is frequent in Jn, and occurs in 1 Co ten times (e.g. 11²⁴ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν 16¹⁸), but often there is no emphasis: Lk 22¹⁹ Ro 10¹ Ga 1¹³ Ph 1²⁶; it = μου. But ἐμός and σός may be reflexive, as occasionally in class. Greek (K-G I 568f): Mt 7³ 2 Co 1²³ Phm¹⁹ (ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ), 3 Jn⁴ τὰ ἐμὰ τέκνα, Herm. S I 11 τὸ σὸν ἔργον ἐργάζου. Ἡμέτερος and ὑμέτερος are rarer: Ro 11³¹ 15⁴ 1 Co 15³¹ 16¹⁷ (ὕμῶν p⁴⁶ SA).

Word-order: in Jn about 30 times in post-position (unemphatic): ἐμός 3²⁹ (ἡ χάρὰ ἡ ἐμή), 5³⁰. 30 6³⁸ 7⁶. 8 8¹⁶. 31. 37. 43. 51. 56 10²⁸. 27 12²⁸ 14¹⁵. 27 15⁹. 11. 12 17¹³. 24 18³⁶ (4); σός 17¹⁷ (ὁ λόγος ὁ σός), 18³⁵; ὑμέτερος 7⁶ 8¹⁷. In pre-position, only three times (emphatic): 4⁴² τὴν σὴν λαλίαν, 5⁴⁷ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ῥήμασιν, 7¹⁶ ἡ ἐμὴ διδασχά.—In Mt Mk Lk only emphatic; therefore pre-position (e.g. Mt 7²² τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι bis).—With no art. Ph 3⁹ μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου (predicatively: *which is my own*). In Jn 4³⁴ ἐμὸν βρῶμα, 13³⁵ 15⁸ (attrib.); predicative 14²⁴ 16¹⁵ 17⁶. 9. 10. 10, also Mt 20²³ Mk 10⁴⁰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν τοῦτο δοῦναι.

*Ἰδιος as simple, possess. pronoun, or reflex. adjective*².

With the old class. meaning *peculiar, private*: Mk 15²⁰ τὰ ἴδια ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ (Θ om αὐτοῦ; BD om ἴδια), Ac 1¹⁹ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν (B*SD lat om ἰδίᾳ), 4³², 1 Co 3⁸ 7² (ἐκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔχτω, καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἰδιον ἄνδρα ἔχτω. Is this simply variety in style? Or is ἰδιος class.?), 7⁷ (certainly the class. use: *his own private gift*), 12¹¹ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ, 15³⁸ (*its own peculiar body*), Ti 1¹² ἰδιος αὐτῶν *their own poet* (i.e. not another nationality), Heb 7²⁷ (individual sins, as oppos. to the people's; cp. 4¹⁰). However, in the post-class. period there enters the meaning = ἑαυτοῦ (class. οἰκεῖος): Pap. Rev. Laws 52, 13, 23 (258 B.C.) εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χρεῖαν. Moreover, the LXX, NT, Josephus, Plutarch, etc. use it not only as a reflexive, but even as a mere possessive, differing little if at all from αὐτοῦ. Reflexive: Mt 14¹³ etc. κατ' ἰδίαν = class. καθ' ἑαυτόν, Lk 2³ (vl. ἑαυτοῦ), Jn 1¹¹ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, 4² τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἰδιον, Ac 24²³

¹ Mayser II 2, 67f, 68, 71ff. Moulton Einl. 59. G. D. Kilpatrick, "The Possessive Pronoun in the NT." *JThS* 42, 1941, 184-186 (for Mk and Lk). Cuendet 40 (for word-order).

² Mayser I² 2, 65; II 2, 73f. Meisterhans-Schwyzer 235. E. L. Green, "Ἰδιος as a possessive in Polybius," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 34, 4. Schwyzer II 205⁵.

τῶν ἰδίων, 2 Co 5¹⁰ p⁴⁶ lat τὰ ἴδια, 2 Pt 3³.¹⁶ Wi 19¹³ P. Oxy. I 37 τὸ ἰδιόν μου τέκνον. Possessive: Mt 22⁵ τὸν ἰδιον ἀγρόν, 25¹⁴, Ti 2⁹ ἰδίοις δεσπόταις, 1 Pt 3¹.⁵ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, 2 Pt 2¹⁶ ἰδίας παρανομίας. *Word-order* (Cuendet 41): in Syn. Gosp. pre-position (e.g. Lk 6⁴¹ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ, emph.), in Jn usually post-position.

2. *Attributive demonstrative pronouns*

"Οδε¹.

It no longer forms part of the living language; it is rare in NT and papyri but occurs attributively in Jas 4¹³ εἰς τήνδε τήν πόλιν, and hardly correctly even here² as it appears to mean τὴν καὶ τήν *such and such*, as in popular Attic and Hell.: LXX Ru 1¹⁷. MGr ὁ τάδε(ς) = ὁ δεῖνα: *Mr So-and-so*; Wackernagel II 107f., and literature.

Οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος³.

Whereas in the Ptol. pap. we hardly ever find them used attributively but only predicatively, on the the other hand in both the LXX and NT the attributive is by far the greater use. It is only in books like 2-4 Mac and Wi, and the writings of John and Paul that there is any approach to normal contemporary usage in this respect.

The omission of the art.⁴ is possible where conceivably the noun is regarded as a predicate of the pronoun, which is quite in accord with class. Greek. In the Ptol. pap. it is frequently omitted where ordinal numerals are concerned: Zen. pap. (258 B.C.) ἡδὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἔτος τοῦτο δεύτερον, UPZ (163 B.C.) ἔτος τοῦτο δέκατον *this is the tenth year*; cp. Lk 1³⁶ *this is the sixth month*, 2² *this was the first census*, 12 *this shall be a sign to you*, Jn 2¹¹ ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων *he did this as a beginning of the miracles*, 2 Pt 3¹ *this is the second letter*. So also Achilles Tatius 7. 11. 2 (iv/A.D.) τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν, Menander *Epirr.* 26f (iv/B.C.), Lucian *dial. mort.* 13. 3. But even Hdt 5, 76

¹ See above, p. 44. K-G I § 467 pp. 641ff. Gildersleeve II § 665. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 231-232. Τοιαῦδε only in 2 Pt 1¹⁷.

² It is correctly used in 1 Clem 50³ 63².

³ K-G I 627ff, 645ff. Mayser II 2, 79-82. N. Turner, "The Unique Character of Biblical Greek," *Vet. Test.* 5, 1955, 2, pp. 208-213.

⁴ J. E. Harry, "The omission of the article with substantives after οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος in prose," *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 29, 1898, 48-64. Bauer⁴ col. 1087. Winer-Schmiedel § 23, 12. L.S.s.v. οὗτος B I 4. Mayser II 2, 81.

τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο, and LXX Ge 27³⁶ δεύτερον τοῦτο. Nu 14²² Jg 16¹⁵. However, the real difficulty occurs where there is no copula, real or understood, but a main verb which excludes the possibility of supplying the verb *to be* and taking the noun as a predicate of the demonstrative pronoun. The difficulty is that in an attributive sense the art. is always present in earlier Greek (with the negligible exception of the Epic poets and sometimes in the tragedians). Yet in NT there are clear instances of omission: Mk 16¹⁷ σημειᾷ δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ταῦτα παρακολουθήσει *these miracles* (but ταῦτα may be construed as obj. of the ptc.), Ac 1⁵ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας (οὐ reverses the meaning of πολλὰς: thus *after these few days*), 24²¹ περὶ μιᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς ἧς ἐκέκραξα (*this single utterance*). The def. art. was being carelessly used, as time went on, in these connections. Radermacher notes its absence, where it would have been inevitable at an earlier period (πᾶς βίωτος *the whole life* on a Galatian inscription, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus has καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτόν) and there is little doubt of the attributive sense in the phrases τοῦτου πράγματος, ταῦτα ἀδικήματα, τοῦτο μνημα, ὀνόματα ταῦτα, τούτῳ δικαίῳ, τόδε σῆμα (p. 113). In the imperial period therefore the usage was already established and we should not strive to render the anarthrous demonstrative in NT in a predicative way unless the copula (actual or understood) makes this necessary.

The position of the attributive pronoun, like that of the adj., is either before the art. or after the noun. The post-positive position may in part be due to Hebrew influence, for in LXX Ge 7¹ (and thus in Syn. Gosp. and Heb 3¹⁰) הָיָה בַּיּוֹם becomes ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, and it was probably the later Hebrew הָיָה עוֹלָם (*this world-time*) that produced ὁ καιρὸς οὗτος (Mk 10³⁰ Lk 12⁵⁶ 18³⁰) and ὁ κόσμος οὗτος (Jn, Paul), which Paul more correctly terms ὁ νῦν καιρὸς, and אֲנִי עוֹלָם accounts for ὁ αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος Lk 20³⁵ (in Pastorals ὁ νῦν αἰὼν 1 Ti 6¹⁷ Ti 2¹²). There are a few examples of pre-positive position in NT (Mt 12³² 11²⁵ 12¹ 14¹ Ac 12¹) but not usually in the Heb. sense of *world-time*.

Τοιοῦτος and τοσοῦτος ¹.

Τοιοῦτος is occasionally preceded by the art. (when referring

¹ K-G I 630, 5. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 232. Gildersleeve II § 586. Mayser II 2, 82ff.

to individuals or individualizing a class): e.g. Mk 9³⁷ ABDLNW τῶν τοιούτων παιδίων (SC παιδ. τούτων), 2 Co 12³ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον, Jn 4²³ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας (predicative). Τοσοῦτος has the art. only Rev 18¹⁷ ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος.

Αὐτός = *self* as attributive ¹.

It is in general agreement with class. and Koine usage. It is found in the predicative position, e.g. αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα Ro 8²⁶ = *the Spirit himself*; but attributive τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα 2 Co 4¹³ = *the self-same Spirit*. The art. however does not belong to αὐτός but to the noun, and is therefore sometimes omitted, as in Jn 2²⁴ αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς. It is found in connection with the pers. pronoun (αὐτὸς ἐγὼ *I myself*) where it is to be distinguished from the reflexive (*I do this to myself*): Ac 20³⁰ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, 1 Co 5¹³ ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν *yourselves* (not reflexive), Ga 4¹⁷ ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε = αὐτοὺς αὐτοὺς (in 3rd p. αὐτός is not repeated) *the men themselves*.

It is a debatable point whether in the Ptol. papyri αὐτός can stand in demonstrative sense for οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος ²; it is any way almost restricted to the official style of writing. If so, it appears again abundantly in NT in Luke, especially in certain phrases (and even where Semitic sources are not in question, e.g. Ac 16¹⁸ 22¹³) ³. This significantly affects the exegesis of certain passages, where the translation is *this* or *that*, but not *the same*, or even *that very*, e.g. Lk 10⁷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ οἰκίᾳ, Lk 13¹ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ (ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κ. Mt 11²⁵) LXX To 3¹⁷; (ἐν) αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἡμέρᾳ Lk 2³⁸ (= ἐκείνῳ in 7²¹) 10²¹ 12¹² (ἐκεῖνος Mk 13¹¹) 13³¹ 20¹⁹ 24¹³ etc., P. Teb. I 411³ (ii/A.D.) αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ, P. Oxy III 528. 14 (ii/A.D.) αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, inser. Ditt. Syll.² 1173¹ (ii/A.D.) αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις, T. Abr. 113²⁹ 116²⁷ (αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ); αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί Herm. V. III 1, 2 S; 10, 7; ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί LXX To 2⁹. It appears to be synonymous with ἐκεῖνος in the otherwise puzzling sentence, 2 Ti 2²⁶ ἐζωγραφημένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνου θέλημα.

¹ K.-G I 627, 4. Gildersleeve II §§ 654–655. Ljungvik BSSV 8f. Mayser II 2, 75ff.

² Moulton says it can (Proleg. 91), but Black doubts this (AAGA² 72); the latter prefers the hypothesis of the influence of Aramaic proleptic pronoun (see p. 41).

³ Moulton-Howard, App. p. 432.

3 Indefinite pronouns in attributive use¹

τις.

As to word-order, though they are enclitics, τις and τι occasionally, when used adjectivally, stand before their noun, as long as they are not first word in the sentence (and even first word in Soph. *Trach.* 865, *Oed. Rex* 1471 Plato *Theaet.* 147c., Plutarch *Tranqu.* c. 13): Ac 3² καί τις ἀνὴρ, Ro 1¹¹. But τινές² may now stand first in the sentence: Mt 27⁴⁷ τινὲς δὲ τῶν, Lk 6² idem, Jn 13²⁹ τινὲς γάρ, 1 Ti 5²⁴ τινῶν ἀνθρώπων. Attributive τις, often with adjs. and numerals (*about*) in class. Greek, is now largely used in the sense of *quidam* = *so to speak*: Jas 1¹⁸ ἀπαρχήν τινα, Heb 10²⁷ φοβερὰ τις ἐκδοχή; but τινα in Ac 8⁹ (εἶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν) is not an instance, but is *a person of importance* (like Ga 2⁶ 6³), with μέγαν inserted for emphasis. With numerals also in Lk 7¹⁸ δύο τινάς, Ac 23²³ τινὰς δύο: not *about two* but *a certain pair*; so also Lk 22⁵⁰ Jn 11⁴⁹ εἰς τις *a certain one*.

As substitutes for τις there are ἀνθρωπος: Mt 12¹⁰, 13²⁸ ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρωπος, ⁴⁵ ἀνθρώπω (BS* om) ἐμπόρῳ CDΘ, ⁵² 18²³. Mk 1²³ etc. and ἀνὴρ (in Lk, e.g. 9³⁸ Ac 3¹⁴) like Aram. ܐܢܬܐ³ but also = Heb ܐܝܢ *each, anyone* (Thackeray OT Gr. 45). We find ἀνὴρ and ἀνθρωπος = τις in Homer and class. Greek (K-G I 272; Svensson op. cit. 136-140). Also γυνή: Mt 15²².

εἰς.

Another post-class. substitute for τις is the numeral εἰς⁴, as also in the Ptol. papyri, in the sense of *aliquis* or *quidam*, with analogies in modern languages (*one, ein, un*). In Luke it does not seem to be a Semitism; he always follows εἰς with a gen. (e.g. 15¹⁵ ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν; same phrase in Hyperides *Lycophr.* 13 (iv/B.C.), which makes it conform closely to Greek usage: pap. Mayser II 2, 86 ἀποστείλας τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἕνα. In Mk also in three places (5²² 14¹⁰. 6⁶) we have gen.; whereas in Mt 9¹⁸ 26⁶⁹

¹ K-G I 662, 663. Mayser II 2, 84ff. On confusion of relative and interrogative pronouns. including their attributive form (i.e. τις and ὅστις, πόσος and ὅσος, πῶς and ὥς) see pp. 4, 49f.

² Also τινὲς (substantivally) stands at the beginning of the sentence Ac 17¹⁸ τινὲς δέ, 19³¹, Jn 7⁴⁴ etc., especially where there is a contrasted clause Ph 1¹⁵ τινὲς μὲν . . . τινὲς δέ (classical).

³ Wellhausen Einl.² 20. Moulton-Howard 433 (Epict. 3, 23, 15). Black AAGA² 248-52.

⁴ Schwyzer II 27. Mayser II 2, 85. Lagrange *S. Matth.* XCIII. Winer-Schmiedel § 26, 5. Radermacher² 76. Moulton Einl. 154.

there is no gen. after εἰς or μία. Mt (e.g. εἰς γραμματεὺς 81⁹) thus comes closer to Semitic than do Mk or Lk, and is probably influenced by Heb. תַּחַת or Aram. תַּח. In 21¹⁹ he has συκῆν μίαν, where Mk 11¹³ has no μίαν (except SKM for harm.). Mt 18²⁴ 19¹⁶ Mk 10¹⁷ have εἰς for τις, where Lk has τις. Εἰς is more likely to reflect Semitic influence on the rare occasions when it is in post-position Mt 9¹⁸ ἄρχων εἰς S^bB lat syrpe. h1 (S^{*c} C^{*} DWΘ fam¹ 700 copt om εἰς), Jn 6⁹ παιδάριον ἐν ΑΓ, LXX Da 7⁸ ἄλλο ἐν κέρας ἀνέφυγ, 1 Esd 4¹⁸ γυναῖκα μίαν, but even here we have papyrus precedent (PSI IV 571, 15 ἄλλον ἕνα *a further one* παρατρέφω, 252 B.C.). The use with τις is class.: Lk 22⁵⁰ εἰς τις, Mk 14⁴⁷ (SA om τις), Jn 11⁴⁹ (Schwyzer II 215 b. 1).

-ουν and -ποτε¹.

These additions form an indef. pronoun, e.g. ὅστισοῦν, ὅστις δήποτε, but rarely if at all in NT. There is Ga 2⁶ ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν *whatever kind of persons they were* (ποτε is not a separate word, *at one time.*) Ac 19²⁶ D ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος τίς ποτε (not τότε): *gig hic Paulus nescio quem.*

οὐ . . . πᾶς.

This peculiarly Biblical Greek² phenomenon should be included among negative indef. pronouns. The Hebraistic οὐ (μὴ) . . . πᾶς = כֻּלָּ . . . אֵין, as also πᾶς . . . οὐ = אֵין . . . כֻּלָּ³. Mt 24²² Mk 13³⁰ οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθῃ πᾶσα σάρξ, Lk 13⁷ οὐκ . . . πᾶν ῥῆμα (*nothing*), Jn 12⁴⁶ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων . . . μὴ μείνῃ, Ac 10¹⁴ οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινόν, Ro 3²⁰, 1 Co 12⁹, Eph 4²⁹ 5⁵ πᾶς πόρνος . . . οὐκ ἔχει, 2 Pt 1²⁰, 1 Jn 2²¹ 3¹⁵, Rev 7¹. 16 9⁴ 18²² 21²⁷ 22³, LXX Ps 142 (143)² etc., Da O' θ 2¹⁰ πᾶς βασιλεὺς . . . οὐκ ἐπερωτᾷ, 2¹¹, O' 5⁹ 6⁵ etc., θ 4⁶ etc., Acta Pionii 11⁴ μὴ σύμπασαν for μηδεμίαν. As in class. Greek, οὐ πᾶς with nothing intervening: Mt 7²¹ 1 Co 15³⁹ *not everyone*. The harshness is mitigated where a positive

¹ K.G II 410, 3. Schmid Attiz. I 184, 426; IV 553. Wackernagel II 116, 121f, 317. Mayser I² 2, 70; II 2, 86f. Radermacher² 76f.

² Extra-biblical exx. are rare: Dion. Halic. (*de Plat. ad Pomp.*) 756 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πάντα περὶ αὐτῶν γράφων. P. Ryl. II 113¹² (A.D. 133) μὴ ἔχοντας πᾶν πρᾶγμα πρὸς ἐμέ. Apoll. Disc. *de Syn.* I 14 πᾶς λόγος ἀνευ τούτων οὐ συγκλείεται (where however one could join οὐ closely with συγκλ., as in the French *toute autre doctrine ne leur plaît pas* = all other . . . displeases).

³ Wackernagel II 273f. Ljungvik BZSSV 18ff. Moulton Einl. 126f. Radermacher² 219f.

clause with ἄλλα follows, containing the main point of the sentence: Jn 3¹⁶ ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλὰ ἔχῃ *that every believer may have . . . , and not perish*, 6³⁹.

§ 2. Attributive Pronominal Adjectives

ἄλλος and ἕτερος ¹.

For the position of ἄλλος with another attribute see p. 187 and Cuendet 112f.

ἕτερος is not in wide use in the NT and does not occur in Mk (16¹² only), Jn (19³⁷ only), Peter, Rev. It is chiefly found in Lk, and to some extent in Mt and Paul. It is correctly used in 1 Co 10²⁴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ . . . τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, Ph 2⁴ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων D*FG. In Lk 19²⁰ ὁ ἕτερος apparently = *the third* (A om ὁ). But in all writers it has largely lost its sense of duality by this time ². Mt 16¹⁴ οἱ μὲν . . . ἄλλοι δέ . . . ἕτεροι δέ (in the last two clauses Mk 8²⁸ Lk 9¹⁹ have ἄλλοι twice). Lk 8^{61f} καὶ ἕτερον three times (D ἄλλο, as in Mt 13^{51f} Mk 4^{51f}). 9⁵⁹ πρὸς ἕτερον *to another*. 6¹ εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἕτερος *another said*. 1 Co 12^{8f} ὃ μὲν . . . ἄλλω δέ . . . ἑτέρω—then four times ἄλλω δέ . . . ἑτέρω . . . ἄλλω δέ. Ἄλλος and ἕτερος are found together for variety, showing there is little difference between them: 2 Co 11⁴ ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν . . . πνεῦμα ἕτερον . . . εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον, Ga 1⁶. 7 εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ . . . (but ἄλλο probably serves to introduce the εἰ μὴ-clause. Papyri, e.g. UPZ I 42³². 33 (162 B.C.) καὶ ἄλλοι . . . καὶ ἕτεροι. Heb 11³⁶ ἕτεροι = *others*. Mt 15³⁰ καὶ ἐτέρους πόλλους. So also Lk 3¹⁸ πόλλα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερα, Ro 8³⁹ οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα, 13⁹ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή, 1 Ti 1¹⁰ εἴ τι ἕτερον. In class. Greek ὁ ἕτερος is never used for anything but a definite division into two parts, as it is in e.g. Mt 10²³ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ . . . εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν SBW (DCE corr. to ἄλλην, leaving the incongruous art.), Lk 4⁴³ ταῖς ἐτέραις πόλεσιν—the *remaining cities*. But ἄλλος too appears to mean *the next*, as in Hom. Clem. 15⁴ 19¹ τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας. Thus ὁ ἄλλος will usurp the province of ὁ ἕτερος and denote a division into only two parts: Mt 5³⁹ (Lk 6²⁹) τὴν ἄλλην (of a cheek), 12¹³ ἡ ἄλλη (of a hand), Jn 18¹⁶ 19³² 20³¹ etc. There

¹ K-G I 635, 275n. Meisterhans-Schwyzer 250, 5. 6. Gildersleeve II 587–593 (ἕτερος); 594–599 (ἄλλος). Mayser II 2, 87ff. Radermacher² 77. Moulton Einl. 125. 128. Winer-Schmiedel § 26, 6.

² Hom. Clem. 19⁹ a striking alternation: πολλούς . . . ἄλλους δέ . . . ἐτέρους δέ . . . ἄλλους δέ (ἄλλους = ἐτέρους).

were isolated examples of this in class. Greek¹. Papyri: Mayser II 1, 57; Corp. Pap. Rain. 22¹⁵ (ii/A.D.) τὸ ἄλλο ἡμῖν. The concentrated phrasing ἄλλοι ἄλλο is class. (*one one thing . . . one another*): Ac 19³² 21³⁴.

ἕκαστος².

In Attic inscriptions until 318 B.C. without exception, ἕκαστος with a noun and art. is in the predicative position; the rule is observed also in Attic writers except in prepositional expressions and genitive expressions of time. However, popular speech dispenses with the art., and the proportions in the Ptol. papyri are (with: without) 1:3 in iii/B.C. and 1:4 in ii-i/B.C.; and in popular speech ἕκαστος is used only rarely in an attributive position; we have intensive εἰς ἕκαστος, and (Heb 3¹³) ἕνα ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, (Rev 22²) μῆνα ἕκαστον. It is added to a plural subject without affecting the construction (class. and Koine): Winer § 58, 4, K-G I 286ff, Mayser II 2, 115, II 3, 373^{7ff}. Jn 16³² (εἰς in same way: 1 Co 4⁶) ἵνα σκορπισθῇτε ἕκαστος . . . καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ.

Καθ' εἰς is a colloquialism which does not occur widely in NT: Mk 14¹⁹ εἰς κατὰ εἰς (C εἰς ἕκαστος, harm. with Mt 26²²), Jn 8⁹, Ro 12⁵ τὸ δὲ καθ' εἰς (pap. Mayser I² 3, 205^{38ff} τὸ καθ' ἑν; LXX 3 Mac 5³⁴ ὁ καθελὶς τῶν φίλων), Rev 21²¹ ἀνὰ εἰς ἕκαστος. Its origin lies in the compression of καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον *each one by one* into καθεῖνα ἕκαστον and the next step was to invent καθ' εἰς when a nominative was needed (ἀνὰ εἰς appears by the same principle: distributive ἀνά). A further step was an addition to produce the pleonastic *one one by one* εἰς κατὰ εἰς.

In the NT ἐκάτερος does not survive.

ἀμφοτέρω.

This is substantival³ in the NT, as in the papyri, except for Lk 5⁷ ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πλοῖα.

¹ Eurip. Iph T. 962f: θάτερον . . . τὸ δ' ἄλλο. Plato Leg. 629D τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δ' ἄλλο, but probably corrupt.

² K-G I 634. 7. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 232. 38. Gildersleeve II 660, 661, 662. Mayser II 2, 90ff. Radermacher² 113, 117.

³ Ac 23⁸ Eph 2¹⁴ τὰ ἀμφοτέρω. Eph 2¹⁸ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, 2¹⁸ οἱ ἀμφοτέρω. See Mayser II 2, 94.

ὅλος¹.

Whole. Usually anarthrous in NT, whereas always articulated in Ptol. papyri: Mt 22³⁷ BS*Θ (vl. + art.), Mk 12³⁰. 33 BD* (vl. + art.), Lk 5⁵ δι' ὅλης νυκτός SABWL (CD + τῆς), 10²⁷ B* (vl. + art.), Jn 7²³ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον *a whole man*, Ac 11²⁶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον. With anarthrous city-names: Ac 21³¹ ὅλη Ἱερουσαλήμ (= πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα Mt 2⁸). With art., always predicative: Mt 16²⁸ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, 26¹³ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

ἅπας.

Only found in Lk-Ac with any frequency, and σύμπας is lacking altogether. Outside Lk: Mt 6³² 24³⁹ (D πάντες) 28¹¹ (A πάντα), Mk 8²⁵ (DW πάντα) 11³² 16¹⁵ (D om), Ga 3²⁸ ASB³; Eph 6¹³, Jas 3². Even Luke does not always observe the not invariable class. rule of πᾶς after a vowel and ἅπας after a consonant (1³ ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν); but ἅπας generally occurs after a consonant, as in papyri (see Mayser I¹ 161f; II 2, 96 n. 3). The MSS vary with πᾶς. Word order, like πᾶς.

πᾶς².

(1) In the interests of exegesis it is important to ask how much is involved in the Hellenistic deviation from class. standards as to the def. art. with πᾶς. First of all, πᾶς before an anarthrous noun means *every* in the sense of *any*; not every individual, like ἕκαστος, but any you please³. Similarly, the negative is *none*, *no*, as in Mt 24²² οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθῃ πᾶσα σάρξ (Semitic, see pp. 7, 196f).

Mt 3¹⁰ πᾶν δένδρον *any tree*, Lk 3⁹ *any tree*, not *every tree*, 2 Ti 3¹⁶ πᾶσα γραφή *whatever is Scripture*.

On the other hand, this anarthrous πᾶς also means *all, the whole of*, just as it does when it has the art. It may be that is

¹ K-G I 631. 6. Mayser II 2, 95f, 568. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 234, 45. Winer-Schmiedel § 20, 12.

² K-G I 631, 6. Gildersleeve II 642-52. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 233ff. Mayser II 2, 96f. Winer-Schmiedel § 20, 11. Radermacher² 112, 113, 117.

³ This is important for the correct interpretation of Mt 19³ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, which is not *for every cause*, but *for any cause* you like to single out among those in the Law, i.e. *for any cause at all*. Jesus was not being asked for his opinion on the varying merits of each Mosaic ground for divorce, but whether he rejected all grounds.

due to Hebraic influence: for לְכָל בָּשָׂר becomes $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$ *all flesh, everything fleshly* (Mt 24²² Lk 3⁶ Ro 3²⁰ 1 Co 1²⁹). Mt 3¹⁵ $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta$ *the whole of*; Ac 2³⁶ $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma \text{'I}\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ *whole*, 4²⁹ $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ *complete*, 23¹ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta$; Ro 11²⁶ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{'I}\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ *the whole of Israel*; Col 1²³ (S^cD^c add $\tau\eta$), 1¹⁵ $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \kappa\tau\iota\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$; Eph 2²¹ $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta$ (but S^aACP have art.) prob. not here as class. *whatever is built*, but (under Semitic infl.) *the whole building*; 1 Pt 2¹³ $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$ *the whole creation*.

It is more likely, however, that $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ with this meaning will have the art: Ac 12¹¹ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\chi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ *the whole*, Ro 8²² $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \eta \kappa\tau\iota\varsigma$ (cp. 1 Pt 2¹³), 1 Co 13² $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\nu \gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ and $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\tau\eta\nu \pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ *all that exists*; Eph 2²¹; 4¹⁶ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\omicron \sigma\omega\mu\alpha$; Ph 1³ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta \tau\eta \mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (DE om $\tau\eta$) *the whole*.

But sometimes a distinction can be traced between $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ with and without the art. in the same passage: 2 Co 1⁴ $\acute{\omicron} \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\nu \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta \tau\eta \theta\lambda\iota\phi\epsilon\iota \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ *in all our affliction*, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta \theta\lambda\iota\phi\epsilon\iota$ *in any affliction*.

If $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is placed after a noun with the art., special stress is laid upon the noun, e.g. 1 Co 15⁷ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha \text{'I}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\omega, \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$. A frequent use is that of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ with ptc., even without the art., e.g. Mt 3¹⁰ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\nu \mu\grave{\eta} \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$, 13¹⁹ $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Lk 11⁴.

Nevertheless the distinction of an anarthrous and articular noun with $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is not very clear in NT, even to the extent that $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ with an articular noun can approach the meaning of *any*: Mk 4¹³ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ *any parables*, not *all the parables*.

(2) The plural (*all*) does not require the art., any more than $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ does at this period, and much depends on the noun itself which accompanies $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$: Ac 17²¹ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \text{'A}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$ and 26⁴ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \text{'I}\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$ are class., for people-names do not require the art. (see p. 169). With $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$ *everybody* (Ac 22¹⁵ Ro 5^{12.18} 12^{17.18} etc.) and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ (Heb 1⁶ OT) the meaning is weakened and the art. is omitted because no totality is really involved: so also Ga 6⁶ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\iota\varsigma$, 1 Pt 2¹ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (S^{*} sing.). When however totality is involved the art. is still needed: Eph 3⁸ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\nu$ (P + $\tau\omega\nu$; p⁴⁶ om $\tau\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega\nu$). Its omission in Lk 4²⁰ is unclassical ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$) and that may have caused the MSS to change the position of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\eta \sigma$. in various ways.

(3) Sometimes, however, the art. occurs before $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, and then $\delta \pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\text{o}\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ contrast the whole with the part:¹ Ac 19⁷ $\text{o}\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ *the sum total of the men* (which is different from the predicative *men as a whole* $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \text{ o}\acute{\iota} \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, see Zerwick § 142), 20¹⁸ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ *all that time*, 27³⁷ $\alpha\acute{\iota} \pi\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota \psi\upsilon\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ *we were in all . . .*, Ga 5¹⁴ $\delta \pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ = “*universa lex*” as opposed to $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \delta \nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ = “*integra lex nullo praecepto excepto*” (Zerwick § 142), 2 Co 5¹⁰ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \eta\mu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ *the sum total of us*.

The non-attributive substantival use of $\text{o}\acute{\iota} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ is frequent in Paul: Ro 11³² 1 Co 9²² 10¹⁷ 2 Co 5¹⁵ Eph 4¹³ Ph 2²¹; and $\tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ Mk 4¹¹ vl., Ac 17²⁵ Ro 8³² 11³⁶ 1 Co 12⁶.¹⁹ 15^{27f} (pap. Mayser II 2, 101f).

(4) In relation to its noun, various positions are possible for $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$:² 1. $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, 2(a) $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \delta \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, 2(b) $\delta \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma \pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, 3. $\delta \pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ \acute{\alpha}\nu}\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, and the plurals respectively. Mayser (II 2, 102) shows that the Koine has developed the emphatic form 2(b), at the expense of 2(a) which incidentally is extremely popular in Biblical Greek (LXX NT). Hebrew influence has brought this about. The entry of a demonstrative pronoun may be between $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ and its noun or outside: 2(a) $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha} \pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ Mk 7²³, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\alpha} \beta\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ Lk 1⁶⁵, 2(b) $\tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu \tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\eta\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$ Lk 4⁶. Only Lk has the order $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$.

The following tables prove the essential unity of Biblical Greek against that of the Ptolemaic papyri, especially when the second table (percentage proportion) is examined. Types 2(b) and 3 occur scarcely at all in Biblical Greek, but occur strongly in secular. Type 2(a) is very strong in Biblical Greek, but only average in the papyri.

¹ Class. exx. e.g. Thuc. 1, 60, in K-G I 632f, Gildersleeve II 309ff. Papyri: Mayser II 2, 100f.

² See N. Turner op. cit. 211f; Cuendet 131f).

ACTUAL OCCURRENCES

	<i>Type 1</i> s. pl.	<i>Type 2(a)</i> s. pl.	<i>Type 2(b)</i> s. pl.	<i>Type 3</i> s. pl.
Papyrus iii/B.C.	17 2	14 40	18 56	22 5
Papyrus ii-i/B.C.	23 11	11 20	5 90	19 13
LXX				
Ge	58 12	69 160	2 1	1 -
Ex	99 1	64 105	1 1	- -
Le	109 6	57 56	- -	5 -
Nu	93 21	83 113	- 2	1 -
Dt	80 15	64 154	- -	2 -
Pentateuch	439 55	337 588	3 4	9 -
Jo 1-12	28 3	43 33	1 -	1 1
Jo 13-24	9 3	16 38	- -	- -
Joshua	37 6	59 71	1 -	1 1
Jg Ru B	31 6	36 36	- 1	1 3
Jg Ru A	25 8	42 41	- -	- 1
E. Kms	104 24	102 162	- -	3 1
L. Kms	73 18	91 124	- -	- -
1 Chr	53 21	24 43	- 1	7 3
2 Chr	79 13	62 100	1 2	1 3
Chronicles	132 34	86 143	1 3	8 6
1 Esd (para- phrase)	18 5	19 46	- 4	1 1
2 Esd-Ne	32 9	33 31	- -	2 4
Ps 1-77	17 4	22 105	- -	- -
Ps 77-151	23 8	20 120	- -	- -
Psalms	40 12	42 225	- -	- -
Pr	33 10	4 20	- -	- -
Eccl	20 2	9 12	- -	2 -
Ca	- 7	- 1	- -	1 2
Jb	31 2	3 16	- 2	- 1
Wi	11 2	2 1	- 3	1 -
Si	112 10	11 24	- 2	- -

	<i>Type 1</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(a)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(b)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 3</i> s. pl.	
Est	26	1	10	28	—	1	—	2
Jdt	38	7	57	68	2	—	—	—
To S	12	6	11	50	1	2	1	—
To B	16	2	4	37	—	—	—	—
Min. Proph.	20	9	36	110	—	—	—	—
Isa	67	9	26	75	1	6	—	1
Je α	38	4	35	73	—	—	1	—
Je β	28	5	44	102	—	1	1	—
Je γ	2	—	1	6	—	—	—	2
Ezk α	50	10	20	86	—	—	—	—
Ezk β	21	6	23	59	1	1	—	—
Da O'	35	3	19	56	—	1	—	—
Da θ	32	4	21	43	—	—	—	—
1 Mac	39	30	2	86	3	5	—	—
2-4 Mac	44	12	17	38	3	2	16	2
NT								
Mt. Mk	29	3	21	46	2	5	—	—
Lk	18	2	28	47	—	3	—	—
Ac	26	6	24	45	—	4	1	2
Jn	4	—	15	3	2	2	—	—
Jn. Epp	8	—	16	1	—	—	—	—
Rev	29	1	2	18	1	1	—	—
Ro. Co.	39	8	20	20	—	9	—	1
Ga. Th	12	2	3	9	—	1	1	1
Eph. Col. Ph	45	2	9	13	—	1	—	1
Past	21	5	1	7	—	2	—	—
Heb	13	1	2	7	—	—	—	—
1 Pt	9	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
Jas	7	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
2 Pt	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jude	1	—	1	3	—	—	—	—
T. Abr. A	17	1	13	18	—	2	—	—
B	4	3	3	3	—	2	—	—
Ps. Sol.	11	2	7	3	—	—	—	—

PERCENTAGE OF TYPE WITHIN EACH BOOK

	<i>Type 1</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(a)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(b)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 3</i> s. pl.	
Papyrus iii/B.C.	10	1	8	23	10	32	13	3
Pap. ii-i/B.C.	12	6	6	10	2	46	10	7
LXX								
Ge	20	4	22	55	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	—
Ex	33	$\frac{1}{4}$	23	39	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	—	—
Le	46	2	24	24	—	—	2	—
Nu	30	7	26	36	—	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	—
Dt	25	5	20	49	—	—	1	—
Pentateuch	30	4	25	40	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	—
Jo 1-12	25	2	39	30	1	—	1	1
Jo 13-24	13	5	24	57	—	—	—	—
Joshua	22	3	33	40	1	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Jg. Ru B	27	5	32	32	—	1	1	2
Jg. Ru A	21	7	36	36	—	—	—	1
E. Kms	26	6	26	41	—	—	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
L. Kms	24	6	30	40	—	—	—	—
1 Chr	35	14	15	28	—	—	5	2
2 Chr	30	5	23	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
Chronicles	32	8	21	35	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	2	1
1 Esd	19	6	20	47	—	5	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
(paraphrase)								
2 Esd-Ne	29	8	30	28	—	—	2	4
Ps 1-77	11	3	15	71	—	—	—	—
Ps 77-151	13	5	12	70	—	—	—	—
Psalms	13	3	13	70	—	—	—	—
Pr	49	15	6	30	—	—	—	—
Eccl	44	4	20	27	—	—	4	1
Ca	—	70	—	10	—	—	10	20
Jb	56	4	5	29	—	4	—	2
Wi	55	10	10	5	—	15	5	—

	<i>Type 1</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(a)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 2(b)</i> s. pl.		<i>Type 3</i> s. pl.	
Si	70	6	7	15	—	1	—	—
Est	38	1	15	41	1	1	—	3
Jdt	22	4	33	40	1	—	—	—
To S	14	8	13	60	1	3	1	—
To B	27	4	6	63	—	—	—	—
Min. Proph.	11	5	21	63	—	—	—	—
Isa	37	5	14	40	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Je α	26	3	22	48	—	—	1	—
Je β	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$	24	56	—	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
Je γ	20	—	10	60	—	—	—	20
Ezk α	30	6	12	51	—	—	—	—
Ezk β	20	$5\frac{1}{2}$	21	54	1	1	—	—
Da O'	30	$2\frac{1}{2}$	17	49	—	1	—	—
Da θ	32	4	21	43	—	—	—	—
1 Mac	23	1	18	52	2	3	—	—
2-4 Mac	33	9	13	28	2	2	12	2
NT								
Mt. Mk	27	3	20	43	2	5	—	—
Lk	18	2	28	47	—	3	—	—
Ac	25	5	23	44	—	3	1	1
Jn	15	—	59	11	7	7	—	—
Jn. Epp	32	—	64	4	—	—	—	—
Rev	57	2	3	35	2	2	—	—
Ro. Co	40	8	21	21	—	9	—	1
Ga. Th	41	7	10	31	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Eph. Col. Ph	63	3	13	18	—	1	—	1
Past	58	14	3	16	—	6	—	—
Heb	56	4	9	30	—	—	—	—
1 Pt	75	—	17	8	—	—	—	—
Jas	87	—	—	12	—	—	—	—
2 Pt. Jude	$37\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$37\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—
T. Abr. A	$33\frac{1}{2}$	2	$25\frac{1}{2}$	34	—	4	—	—
B	25	19	19	19	6	12	—	—
Ps. Sol.	48	9	30	13	—	—	—	—

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ATTRIBUTIVE RELATIONSHIP: SUBSTANTIVES

§ 1. In the same case: Apposition¹

A substantival attribute placed either before or after another noun, or a pers. pronoun, is said to be in apposition. This will occur with a proper noun, and the apposition then has the art. to distinguish that person from others of the same name: 'Ιωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής, Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος, 'Ιάκωβος ὁ τοῦ 'Αλφαίου, Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης (or Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς), Φίλιππος ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, Τιμόθεος ὁ συνεργός μου. The proper noun itself is generally anarthrous; and so the readings τῆς (SABD) Μαρίας τῆς μητρός (Ac 12¹²) and τὸν 'Ιωάννην (D*) τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον (12²⁵) are probably incorrect. There are some exceptions to the use of the art. with the apposition: Ac 7¹⁰ Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, 10⁶ Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ, 13¹ Μανὰσιν Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετραάρχου σύντροφος, 21¹⁶ Μνάσωνι τινι Κυπρίῳ. Col 1³ v1. 12 v1. 2² 3¹⁷ ὁ θεὸς πατήρ², 1 Pt 5⁸ ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος (ἀντιδ. adjectival?). The proper noun usually comes first; hence D corrects ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία to Μαρία ἡ Μαγδ. Lk 24¹⁰. Sometimes ὁ (ἐπι)καλούμενος or ὁ καὶ c. gen. precedes the surname. The latter is rare in the nominative in pre-Christian papyri (Mayser I² 2, 69; II 1, 60ff; II 3, 56); instead ὅς καί. In rather formal wording, as in the opening of an epistle, κύριος or θεός will occur without art., followed by an anarthrous appositional phrase: Ro 1⁷ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος . . ., Ph 3²⁰ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν 1 Th 1¹ ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυριῷ Ἰ. Χ., 1 Ti 1¹ θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. On Jn 8⁴⁴, see above p. 40, but note that to be predicative (*the devil is your father*) πατὴρ ὅς ought not to have the art.; τοῦ διαβόλου is therefore in apposition or else possessive genitive. A phrase in apposition with a pers. pronoun requires the art. in class. Greek: so Mk 7⁶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, Lk 6²⁴ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, Ac 13³³ C² EHLP τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῶν.

¹ K-G I § 406, pp. 281ff. Mayser II 2, 103ff. Radermacher² 116.

² But variants make it easier; e.g. in Col 1³: τῷ πατρὶ D*G Chrys, καὶ πατρὶ SA.

§ 2. In a different case:

1. ADJECTIVAL GENITIVE¹I. *True Genitive*

This is a large subject, as the genitive is so hard worked a case in Greek. The adjectival is the commonest way the case is used, and Luke is particularly fond of it. The relationship expressed by the gen. is so vague that it is only by means of the context and wider considerations that it can be made definite. For practical purposes perhaps the only real division among the genitives is that between subjective and objective (Zerwick § 25). The sole question which the translator and exegete need ask is whether the relationship is directed outwards from the noun in the genitive to some other person or from some other person to the noun in the genitive; or, to put it differently, whether or not the action implied by the independent noun is carried out by the noun in the genitive. Obviously, ἡ πτώσις αὐτῆς Mt 7²⁷ is subjective: the house *falls*; so is Ac 6¹ γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν: the Hellenists *murmur*; so also 2 Co 6⁷ *the armour of righteousness* is probably that which the divine righteousness provides.² Clearly οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου and τὸν ἀγαπητὸν μου, like the LXX ἐκλεκτοὺς κυρίου, are subjective. But Ph 1³ is quite ambiguous: ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνηίᾳ ὑμῶν may be (a) subjective: *whenever you remember me*, or (b) objective: *whenever I think of you*.

(a) *Possessive Genitive*. In class. and Koine Greek the relationship of parents to children is expressed in this way, with or without υἱός (see above, pp. 168f): but in the latter case the phrase is ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος, contrary to class. usage which omits the second art. The frequent addition of υἱός is Semitic rather than typically Greek, and even in the papyri this and θυγάτηρ are added only for clarity (Mayser II 2, 9): Lk 3² Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱόν. The only exception to the use of υἱοί with the sons of Zebedee (Mt 26³⁷ 27⁵⁶ Mk 10³⁵ Lk 5¹⁰) is Jn 21² οἱ τοῦ Ζ. ABL (SD οἱ υἱοί Ζ.). Figuratively υἱός is used with a noun in the genitive in order to express a certain quality. It

¹ K-G I § 414-421. Schwyzer II 89-137. Mayser II 2, 118ff. Eakin 335ff.

² Kittel WB, English translation, *Righteousness*, 1951, 53.

would seem to be a Semitism; it is rare in pre-Biblical Greek and is there confined to such phrases as υἱὸς Ἑλλάδος *a son of Greece*. It is very common in LXX: Ps 88²³ 2 Km 7¹⁰ 1 Mac 2⁴⁷ 4², and Hebrew uses the words *man, son, daughter, mother, father, lord*, in this sense.¹ In the NT: Mk 3¹⁷ υἱοὶ βροντῆς *thunderbolts*, Mt 5⁹. 4⁵ *sons of God*, 9¹⁵ ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς *bridegroom's friends*, 13³⁸ *men of the kingdom . . . of evil*, Lk 10⁶ *man of peace*, 16⁸ *men of this age*, 20³⁶ *of the resurrection* (= those who will rise), Jn 17¹² 2 Th 2³ Ap. Pet. 2 τῆς ἀπωλείας, Jn 8³⁹. 4⁴ Ga 3⁷ *children of Abraham*, Ac 13¹⁰ *of the Devil*, Eph 2² Col 3⁶ TR *of disobedience* (= disobedient), 1 Th 5⁵ υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας (and then without υἱοί), Ap. Pet. 3 Herm V. III 6, 1 υἱοὶ τῆς ἀνομίας, Ac 3²⁵ Ps. Sol. 17¹⁵ τῆς διαθήκης, Ac 4³⁶ υἱὸς παρακλήσεως (Bauer s.v. υἱός 1 c.δ). Vulg. inserts *fili* in Heb 10³⁹ where Greek has simple gen. In the same sense as υἱός we have τέκνον in Lk 7³⁵ Ga 4²⁸ Eph 2³ 1 Pt 1¹⁴ 2 Pt 2¹⁴ etc. In ecclesiastical Greek, e.g. Epiph. Haer. 43, 2.

(b) *Partitive Genitive*². This is the gen. of a whole which is divided. It is still in use in the Koine, but since class. times it has been more and more displaced by the use of the prepositions ἀπό, ἐκ, ἐν³. This ἐν is rare in the papyri (Mayser II 2, 352f), and ἀπό is more frequent than ἐκ. This ἐκ is not common in class. Greek but we do find μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων. Partitive ἀπό is even rarer there; it abounds in LXX and prevails in MGr (Mayser II 2, 348f.; Johannessohn DGKPS 17).

There is a construction which is not widely acknowledged in NT: the partitive ἀπό and ἐκ introducing a phrase which can stand independently of a noun as subject or object of a verb, with something like τινές suppressed, a substantival phrase in fact.⁴ It may be either subj. or obj.:—(a) subject: Mt 27⁹ ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ OT, Lk 8³⁵ D παραγενομένων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (sc. *some people from*), Jn 3²⁵ ἐγένετο ζήτησις (sc. ἐν τοῖς) ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν, 7⁴⁰ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου . . . ἔλεγον (vl.

¹ Thackeray OT Gr. 41f. Deissmann *Bibelstudien*, 1895, 162–166. Johannessohn DGKPS 32. Lagrange *S. Matth.* 166.

² K-G I § 414, 5. Mayser II 2, 121ff.

³ Esp. in LXX, through Heb. *in* partitive. E.g. Ex 9⁴. 6. 7 (οὐκ ἐτελεύτησεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν οὐδέν), 1 Mac 4¹⁵ ἔπεσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνδρας τρισχιλίου.

⁴ K-G I 345. Mayser II 2, 351f, 195f. Johannessohn DGKPS 18f. Schwyzer II 102.

πολλοί, to improve), 16¹⁷ εἶπον ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν *some of his disciples*, Ac 19³³ ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄχλου συνεβίβασαν (*some of the crowd*), 21¹⁶ συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν (*some disciples*), Rev 11⁹ 15⁷ p⁴⁷ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἔδωκαν (*some of the four*). LXX 1 Km 14⁴⁵ 2 Km 14¹¹ τῆς τριχός, 4 Km 10²³ τῶν δούλων, 1 Mac 7³³ ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, 10³⁷ κατασταθήσεται ἐξ αὐτῶν (*let some of them be stationed*). (b) object: Mt 23³⁴, Mk 2²¹ *some of it*¹, 6⁴³ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων *some fish*, 12² ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν *some fruit*, 14²³ ἐξ αὐτοῦ (drink) *some of it*, Lk 11⁴⁹, 2 Jn⁴, Rev 2¹⁰, Herm. S. VIII 6, 5 ἐξ αὐτῶν, Mk 9³⁷ WΘ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων παιδίων Lk 21¹⁶ θανατώσουσιν ἐξ ὑμῶν (*some of them*). LXX Ge 27²⁸ δώη σοι ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ (*may God give you some dew from heaven*), 2 Km 11¹⁷ ἔπεσαν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ (*some of the people fell*). This is a Bibl. Greek construction, not unknown but rare in class. Greek, really originating in LXX, and is parallel to similar constructions in Heb., Syriac and Arabic. Scribes felt the need to correct the construction in 1 Mac 6⁴⁸ καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνέβαινον A (SV οἱ δέ) *some soldiers of the king's army went up*. There is much further evidence: Ge 31² 44 33¹⁵ 45²³ Ex 17⁵ 1 Mac 8⁸.

With τις it is usually the simple genitive; but Ac 7⁵² Heb 15. 13 are interrogative τις. Thus Mt 9³ τινες τῶν γραμματέων, Lk 7³⁶ τις τῶν Φαρισαίων. The exceptions are John's Gospel and the LXX (e.g. Ex 16²⁷ τινες ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ). Partitive gen. without preposition appears to be the rule with ἕκαστος (e.g. Ro 14¹²), and usually so with εἷς (e.g. Mt 5²⁹. 30 10⁴²)². Other exx. are: Mk 2¹⁶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων (vI) *among?*, Lk 18¹¹ Rev 9²⁰ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Ro 15²⁶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀγίων *among*. However, ἐκ is usually found with πᾶς (Lk 14³³, Le 21²¹ πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν) in spite of the class. πᾶς Ἑλληνῶν, and with τις³: Mt 6²⁷ τις ἐξ ὑμῶν, 27²¹ τίνα ἀπὸ τῶν δύο (syr^{sin} only τίνα),

¹ The best reading from a syntax point of view in Mk 2²¹ is εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἰρεῖ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (*some of it*) τὸ πλήρωμα τὸ καινὸν (*the new fulness*) ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ (*namely, some of the old*). The prepositional phrase immediately follows the verb, which is good Bibl. Greek word-order. The MS variants are probably afterthoughts to remove the Aramaic construction of a proleptic pronoun followed by a noun. (For Proleptic Pronouns, see p. 41. See also Black AAGA² 37, 251; Moulton-Howard 461.) The suggestion is given to me verbally by Dr. G. D. Kilpatrick, and adopted by him in the (privately circulated) *Mark: a Greek-English Diglot for the use of Translators*, B. and F.B.S., 1958, 6.

² But ἐκ in LXX Ge 3²² εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, etc., Mt 10²⁹ 18¹² etc.

³ But gen. only in Ac 7⁵² Heb 15. 13. Some texts are uncertain: Mt 22²⁸ τίνος τῶν ἐπτά, Mk 12²³ τίνος αὐτῶν (Δ c k om αὐτῶν), Lk 7⁴² τίς αὐτῶν (D om αὐτῶν), 14⁵ τίνος ὑμῶν (D ἐξ ὑμῶν), 20³³ τίνος αὐτῶν (S* e ff² om αὐτῶν).

Lk 11¹⁵ Jas 2¹⁶. Against the apparent Semitism (נ or ל, as in Le 11³. 28) we must set the class. precedent for a partitive ἐν, as in Ac 5³⁴ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (D ἐκ), 1 Co 15¹², Jas 5¹³. 14. 19 τις (τινες) ἐν ὑμῖν. Probably we have a true Semitism from the Hebrew superlative in Rev 5¹¹ μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων (from 1 Enoch: Rev ICC in loc.). The partitive gen. may be used predicatively as well as attributively: Lk 22⁵⁸ Jn 18¹⁷ 1 Co 12¹⁵. 18 ἐκ, Ac 21¹⁶ 1 Ti 1²⁰ (ὧν ἐστὶν Ὑμέναιος). It is debatable whether we have partitive gen. in Col 1¹⁵ (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως) and Rev 3¹⁴ (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως) = *among*, or whether the idea is not rather that of rule and supremacy.

We have πάντων in Mk 12²⁸ without preposition: πόλα ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων (only πασῶν M*; om πάντων DW lat etc.); πάντων however may belong to the next verse: πάντων πρώτων. Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ (Euseb. minusc.). Without preposition are also the Hebraic superlative constructions τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

After an indication of quality we have one NT example of a phenomenon which has class. precedent, namely the assimilation of gender and number of a neuter substantival adj. to that of its dependent gen.; this occurs in Lk 19⁸ τὰ ἡμίσεια τῶν ὑπαρχόντων (for ἡμισυ, sc. μέρος), which reminds us of the class. ἡ ἡμίσεια τῆς γῆς (K-G I 279; Mayser II 2, 123; Abel § 44 d). Otherwise the neuter adj. is properly used: Mk 6²³ ἕως ἡμίσεος τῆς βασιλείας, LXX Est 5³, Rev 11¹³ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως, 12¹⁴ ἡμισυ καιροῦ.

The geographic gen. is partitive. It indicates the country within which a town lies and is class. and Koine. We may translate *in*. Mt 21¹¹ Mk 1⁹ Ναζαρεθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Jn 2¹ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Ac 16¹² ἥτις ἐστὶν πρώτη μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις = *a city in*, Ac 22³, ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας (Mayser II 2, 126; K-G I, 334).

(c) *Objective and subjective genitive.*¹ A noun in the gen. may be the object of the action implied in the noun on which it depends. There is much ambiguity here in NT interpretation. Often a gen. might equally well be subjective or objective: it is moreover important not to sacrifice fullness of interpretation to an over precise analysis of syntax. There is no reason why a gen. in the author's mind may not have been both subjective and objective. *The love of Christ constrains us* is not to be so strictly analysed, if the author thought of Christ's love to us and our love to him as a compelling force.² But it is always an

¹ K-G I 335ff. Mayser II 129.

² Zerwick § 25.

objective gen. which depends on *gospel* in the following instances: the good news *about* τῆς βασιλείας Mt 4²³ etc. (which is the same thing as the dir. obj. in Lk 8¹ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν), *about* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Mk 1¹, *about* τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1 Co 9¹² (= dir. obj. in Ac 5⁴²). It may be indirect object: Ga 2⁷ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας, *good news for the uncircumcised* (like the indir. obj. in Ac 14²¹ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν). Also indirectly objective are the following expressions: Ro 3²² Jas 2¹ etc. πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χ. (but πίστις εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰ. Χ. Ac 20²¹ 24²⁴ etc., and ἐν Χ. Ἰ Col 1⁴, especially where there is close proximity with a subjective genitive, e.g. 1 Th 1⁸ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, Col 2⁵ ἡ εἰς Χριστὸν πίστις ὑμῶν), ὑπακοή τοῦ Χριστοῦ or τῆς πίστεως or τῆς ἀληθείας (Ro 1⁵ 2 Co 10⁵ 1 Pt 1²² etc.), which are parallel to the indir. obj. with the verb in Ac 6⁷ ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει. But 2 Co 7¹⁵ πάντων ὑμῶν is subjective. Lk 4¹⁹ LXX ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν possessive? But Moule, 40, suggests that it is tinged with the subjective idea: *the year when the Lord will accept (man)*.

Either subjective or objective or both may be phrases like πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ro 3²², ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ (Χριστοῦ) Ro 8³⁵ 2 Co 5¹⁴ (subj.) Lk 11⁴² 2 Th 3⁵ (obj.). But δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ Ro 1¹⁷ 3²², τῆς πίστεως 4¹¹, 13, indicates the source, and is therefore subjective, as shown by the phrases ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη Ph 3⁹, ἡ ἐκ πίστεως Ro 9³⁰ and ἡ διὰ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη Ph 3⁹. Actually Ro 3⁵ (Ps 97 (98)²) is more like a possessive gen.: *the justice which God dispenses*. Other instances of a subjective gen. of origin or cause are Ro 1¹ 15¹⁶ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ (since the obj. is said to be περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ³), and the phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου (ἡμῶν) where the gen. is the preacher, although κατὰ also occurs for this in the titles (Ro 2¹⁶ 16²⁵ 2 Co 4³ 1 Th 1⁵ 2 Th 2¹⁴ 2 Ti 2⁸). That is doubtless the way to regard Mk 1⁴ βάπτισμα μετανόιας; it does not lead to, but springs from, repentance. So also Col 2² πληροφωρία τῆς συνέσεως: *conviction which is the result of insight (or intelligence)*; 1 Th 1³ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος: *the sustaining patience which hope brings*; it is parallel to τοῦ ἔργου τῆς πίστεως and τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης, *work done from faith and love*.

It is not easy to decide in 2 Co 13¹⁸ (ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος) between subjective and objective (Hauck in Kittel WB, s.v. κοινωνία). In 1 Co 2¹³ οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος the context requires subjective genitive: *which human wisdom teaches* (cp. Jn 6⁴⁵ Isa 54¹³); but in 1 Mac 4⁷ διδακτοὶ πολέμου is the very reverse, *masters of warfare*, unless it means *taught by war*.

The following are objective genitive: Mt 13¹⁸, 38 *the parable about*, 24⁶ ἀκοάς πολέμων *about wars* (Lk 21⁹ ἀκούσῃτε πολέμους), Mk 6⁷ etc. ἐξουσία c. gen. = *authority over* (Foerster in Kittel WB II 563), Jn 7¹³

20¹⁹ *for fear of*, Ac 4⁹ εὐεργεσία ἀνθρώπου *help given to a sick man* (NEB), Ro 2⁷ ὑπομονὴ ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ *perseverance in* (2 Th 3⁵ ὑπομονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ *steadfast loyalty to Christ?* or subjective?), 7² νόμος τοῦ ἀνδρός *the law about the husband* (Le 14² ὁ νόμος τοῦ λεπροῦ *the law about the leper*; class. ὁ νόμος τῆς βλαπῆς; Abel § 44 g), 1 Co 1¹⁸ ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταύρου, 1 Pt 3¹⁴ φόβον αὐτῶν (context decides for objective: *fear of them*), Col. 3¹⁴ σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος *the bond producing perfection*, Heb 9⁸ τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδόν, 10¹⁹ εἰς τὴν εἰσοδὸν τῶν ἁγίων *for entering the Holy Place* (Michaelis in Kittel WB V 109. 54ff.) This is perhaps the explanation of ὁδὸς ἐθνῶν (*a way leading to*) Mt 10⁵; ὁδὸν θαλάσσης Mt 4¹⁵; ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων Jn 10⁷ (or subjective: *where the sheep enter?*); ἡ θύρα πίστεως Ac 14²⁷ (*leading to faith?* obj., or *where faith enters?* subj.); ἡ θύρα τοῦ λόγου Col 4³ (same); μετοικεσία Βαβυλῶνος Mt 11. 12 *leading to*; ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων Jn 7³⁵; κῶμαι Καισαρίας Mk 8²⁷ (or possessive). The question of Semitism may be raised in view of LXX Ge 3²⁴ ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς *leading to*, Ps 44 (43)²² πρόβατα σφαγῆς = מִן הַבָּיִת לְמִן הַבָּיִת *destined for* (Ro 8³⁶), Am 8¹⁰ πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ ἡ *towards, concerning*. Moreover, there seems to be a gen. of place—where: Col 1²⁰ αἵματος σταυροῦ (blood) *shed on the cross*, 2 Co 11²⁶ κινδύνους ποτάμων, ληστῶν *in rivers, among robbers*; and a gen. of time duration: Lk 24⁴ ἦλθον ἡμέρας ὁδόν *a day's journey* (class.).

(d) *Genitive of relationship*. Often θεοῦ and Χριστοῦ in Paul are used to express an ill-defined relationship which may be called “mystical” (Deissmann *Paulus*, 1925, 126f), especially after ἐκκλησία, since it seems to be interchangeable with Deissmann’s “in”-formula: see especially 1 Th 2¹⁴ *the churches OF God which are in Judea IN Christ Jesus*, Ga 1²² *IN Christ*, Ro 16¹⁶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ *OF Christ*. Indeed, so rich is Paul’s compression of language with genitives that the attempt to define too narrowly the various types of genitive is vain; they all denote a relationship which is amplified by the context. We might even be tempted to borrow Paul’s own comprehensive way of speech and render δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ simply *divine grace*.¹ Perhaps some genitives which we have taken as subjective or objective may come under this “mystical” genitive: 2 Th 3⁵ τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ *steadfast loyalty in the Body of Christ*; Ro 3^{22. 26} *faith exercised within the Body*.

(e) *Genitive of quality*.² This is a feature of Biblical Greek which has been handed down to MGr, e.g. καράβι τοῦ πολέμου

¹ Zerwick § 28: genetivus “generaliter” determinans.

² Schwyzler II 122. Mayser II 2, 135f; II 3, 168. Johannesohn DGKPS 27f. Radermacher² 108f. Nachmanson, Eranos 9, 63ff. Wackernagel, *Mélanges de Saussure* 135.

battleship. With the help of Heb. influence the Bibl. Greek gen. often provides an attribute which normally would be supplied by an adj. The adj. was nearly non-existent in Heb., and so the LXX introduces such phenomena as πύργος ισχύος Ps 60 (61)⁴ (from טֹרֶם-לְחַיִּים) and ἡ στολή τοῦ ἀγίου Ex 29²⁹ (from שְׂרָפָה יָגִיב). There may be class. parallels, but they are poetic (Eurip. *Bacch.* 389 ὁ τᾶς ἡσυχίας βίωτος = ἡσυχος βίωτος: Jebb's note. Soph. *Ajax* 464f. K-G I 264). There may be Koine parallels, but they are few.¹

Combinations with σῶμα are especially common in Paul: Ro 6⁶ 7²⁴ τοῦ θανάτου (= adj. θνητός in 6¹² 8¹¹), Ph 3²¹ Col 1²² 2¹¹; with ἡμέρα Ro 2⁵ 2 Co 6² 1 Pt 2¹². Other exx. Mt 5²² etc. γέννα τοῦ πυρός, Mk 1⁴ etc. βάπτισμα μετανόας (?), Lk 2¹⁴ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας S*AB*DW among approval-men (i.e. "among men of whom God approves"); the Heb. would be בְּנֵי חַיִּים (εὐδοκία = חַיִּים, as in Si 15¹⁶ 39¹⁸); supply αὐτοῦ as in the opposite instance in Eph. 2³ (τέκνα ὀργῆς).² Lk 4²² οἱ λόγοι τῆς χάριτος, 16⁸ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας, 9 ὁ μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας (= ὁ ἄδικος μαμωνᾶς 16¹¹), 18⁶ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας, Ac 1¹⁸ 2 Pt 2¹⁵ μισθὸς (τῆς) ἀδικίας, Ac 6¹¹ ῥήματα βλασφημίας S*D (Rev 13¹ 17³ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας), 7³⁰ ἐν φλογὶ πυρός (2 Th 1⁸ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός) = LXX Ex 3² ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, 8²³ χολὴ πικρίας, 9¹⁵ σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς (Ro 9²². 23 σκεῦη ὀργῆς . . . ἐλέους), Ro 1²⁶ πάθη ἀτιμίας, 6⁴ ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς new life, 7⁶ ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος in a new spirit and not according to an out-of-date literalness, 8²¹ δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς, Col 1⁵ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου of the true Gospel (or apposition: the Truth which is the Gospel?), 2 Ti 4⁸ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος (or apposition?), 1 Pt 1⁴ τέκνα ὑπακοῆς, 5⁴ τῆς δόξης στέφανον, Heb 3¹² καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας, 5¹³ ἀπειρος λόγου δικαιοσύνης incapable of understanding correct speech (Schrenk in Kittel WB II 200⁶¹), 12¹⁵ ῥίζα πικρίας, Jas 1¹² Rev 2¹⁰ στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς (or apposition: that crown which is life), Jas 1²⁵ ἀκροατὴς ἐπιλησμονῆς, 2⁴ κριταὶ διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν judge by false standards (NEB) (better than Schrenk op. cit. II 98; Büchsel in Kittel WB III 944 n. 3), 1 Jn 2¹⁶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός (or subjective?), Rev 14¹⁰ etc. ὁ οἶνος τοῦ θυμοῦ LXX Ezk 14⁴ 44¹² κόλασις (τῆς) ἀδικίας. On the Heb. pattern, ἡμέρα is used in this connection: Mt 10¹⁵ κρίσεως, Lk 1⁸⁰ ἀναδείξεως, Ro 2⁵ ὀργῆς, 1 Pt 2¹² ἐπισκοπῆς, LXX Ezk 22²⁴ (= עֲיָר עֲיָרָה), Soph 2³.

¹ P. Tebt. 105 (ii/b.c.) ἀκίνδυνος παντός κινδύνου ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς, and ἀνυπεύθυνος παντός ἐπιτίμου. Etc. See Moulton Einl. 113 n. 1. The gen. of quality may be used predicatively however, as in normal Greek: ἦν ἐτῶν δώδεκα Mk 5⁴² Lk 2⁴² (not D). See Preisigke, s.v. ἔτος.

² See the discussion by Schrenk in Kittel WB II 245-8; C. H. Huntzinger, ZNW 44, 85ff.

A further Semitism¹ is the addition of the personal (or demonstrative) pronoun to the gen. of quality when properly it belongs to the first noun, e.g. his throne of glory (= *his glorious throne*) becomes "the throne of his glory" (Mt 19²⁸); this body of death (= *this dead body*) becomes "the body of this death" (Ro 7²⁴), our body of humiliation (= *our humble body*) becomes "the body of our humiliation" (Ph 3²¹); his son of love (= *his beloved son*) becomes ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ (Col 1¹³);² his word of power (= *his powerful word*) becomes "the word of his power" (Heb 1³); his plague of death (= *his mortal wound*) becomes "the plague of his death" (Rev 13³). This is because the Semitic rule adds the suffix in composite expressions to the second member, although the suffix pertains to the whole phrase.

(f) *Genitivus materiae, and exegeticus*.³ The appositive genitive. This gen. represents more than an adj.; it represents a second noun in apposition to the first, or indicates the material of which the first noun consists. It conforms to class. and Koine usage but is incidentally Hebraic: cp. class. πλοῖα σίτου, papyri οἴνου κεράμια and Heb. נֶבֶל-יַיִן (ἀσχὸς οἴνου) Ge 40¹⁶ 1 Sam 10³.

Mt 12³⁹ Lk 11²⁹ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ *the sign which was Jonah*, Mt 24³⁰ ambiguous, either *the sign which is the S.M.* (appos.), or *the sign which the S.M. will give* (possess.), see Feuillet in Rev. Bibl. 56, 1946, 354; very prevalent in Mark:—1⁴ *baptism involving repentance?*, 2⁸ *the region Galilee*, 4³¹ *a grain consisting of mustard seed*, 3⁷ *a storm involving wind*, 5¹¹ *a herd consisting of swine*, 25. 28 *a fount containing blood*, 8⁸. 20 *an abundance consisting of broken pieces*, 15 *leaven consisting of the Pharisees*, 9⁴¹ *a cup containing water*, 10¹⁴ τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ not necessarily possessive (as Mt 18³ and Jn 3³. 5 understood it); but *consists of such*; children are the very nature of the kingdom. 14³ ἀλάστρον μύρου, 13 κεράμιον ὕδατος, 15²⁶ *an inscription consisting of his accusation*, Jn 2²¹ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, Ac 2³⁸ *the gift which is the Spirit*, Ro 4¹¹ σημεῖον περιτομῆς (-μὴν is a correction by AC*) which is circumcision, 5¹⁸ *justification which is life* (Zerwick § 33), 2 Co 3³ ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίνας FK lat syr^p arm Iren Orig Eus (rest καρδαίως), 5¹ ἡ οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους, 5 τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος *the guarantee consisting of the Spirit* (cp. 1²²), Ga 5⁵ either (appos.) *the*

¹ Zerwick § 30.

² Which makes it more likely that ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός is *beloved son*, not *only son*, making a parallel phrase.

³ K-G I 333. Mayser II 2, 122f. NT examples in U. Holzmeister, Verb. Dom. 25, 1947, 112-117.

thing hoped for, which is righteousness (as ICC Ga p. 279) or (subj. gen.) the thing which the righteous hope for, Eph 1¹⁴ εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως: either (appos.) till our redemption which is our purchase by God (or which is our possession, if active), or (obj. gen.) till the redemption of those whom God has acquired (interpreting abstract noun by concrete), 2¹⁴ τὸ μεσότηχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, 4⁹ τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς: may be partitive, or appositive (Zerwick § 33) the lower regions, that is, the earth (it might also be comparative gen.: regions lower than the earth; Büchsel in Kittel WB III 641f), Col 2³ πλοῦτος τῆς πληροφορίας a wealth consisting of conviction, Heb 6¹ θεμέλιον . . . μετανοίας, Jas 3¹⁸ καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης the harvest of a life devoted to the will of God (Kittel WB II 203, ET), cp. Pr 3⁹ 11³⁰ Am 6¹², Rev 14¹⁸ the grapes which are the earth (Zerwick § 33). LXX Isa 38¹⁴ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

The gen. with πόλις, of city-names, which is like Latin, occurs almost only in poetry in class. Greek; it has one example in Ptol. papyri (Mayser II 2, 117) but appears more frequently in later Greek, and is attested only at 2 Pt 2⁶ for certain: πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας, because πόλεως Θυατείρων may be gen. of πόλις Θυάτειρα (Ac 16¹⁴). However, names of festivals with gen.: Jn 13¹ (Ex 34²⁵) τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, 7² (Dt 31¹¹) τῆς σκηνοπηγίας, Lk 22¹ (Dt 16¹⁶) τῶν ἁζύμων, class. Greek.

II. Ablative Genitive ("Genitivus separationis").

For replacing of this by means of ἀπό and ἐκ, see below pp. 235f.

(a) With adjectives and adverbs (much rarer now than in class. Greek, and κοινός and ἴδιος are never used with gen.):

(i) with adjectives having the idea of sharing: Mt 23³⁰ 1 Co 10¹⁸. 20 Heb 10³³ substantival κοινωνός c. gen. of person (an associate of). 1 Pt 5¹ 2 Pt 1⁴ Paul: (συγ-)κοινωνός c. gen. of thing. Eph 3⁶ συνκληρονόμα . . . συμμετοχα τῆς εὐαγγελίας. Ro 8²⁹ σύμμορφος τῆς εἰκόνος. Heb 1⁹ OT μέτοχος.

(ii) adjectives of fullness and emptiness: Mt 23²⁸ etc. μεστός, Lk 4¹ etc. πλήρης (κενός and ἐνδεής c. gen. never, although κένος ἀπὸ in Herm.) LXX Johannessohn DGKPS 43.

(iii) adjectives of worthiness and guilt: Mt 3⁸ 1 Co 6² etc. (ἀν-) ἄξιος. With ἔνοχος LXX has gen. and dat. (Johannessohn DGKPS 43). Mt 26⁶⁶ etc. Ge 26¹¹ Isa 54¹⁷ Si prol⁹ (dat. Jb 15⁵).

(iv) adjectives of strangeness (class.): Eph 2¹² ξένος. Jas 1¹³ ἀπείραστος inexperienced in (class. ἀπείρατος; for pap. Moulton Einl. 113 n.); but this may not be its meaning here. 2 Pt 2¹⁴ ἀκατάπαυστος ἁμαρτίας not ceasing from sin (but vl.-παστος perhaps unfed). Paul has created the phrase ἄνομος θεοῦ—ἐννομος Χριστοῦ (1 Co 9²¹)¹. The following always have ἀπό: Mt 27²⁴ ἀθῶος, Ac 20²⁶ καθαρός (Bauer s.v., Mayser II 2, 353, 570), Ro 7³ ἐλεύθερος independent of (pap. in Preisigke Arch. f. P. III 419³¹ vi/A.D. (ἐκ in 1 Co 9¹⁹), Jas 1²⁷ (CP ἐκ)

¹ The nearest parallels are Soph. Ant. 369, Eurip. Med. 737, and MGr ἄφοβος τοῦ θεοῦ (Thumb² § 45, 3).

ἄσπιλος. For LXX see Johannessohn DGPS 282. Very rare is *δμοιος* ὑμῶν Jn 8⁵⁵ SCLX (ὑμῖν ABDW); it is invariably the dat. (9⁹, 1 Jn 3² etc.); Barn 10³ *ἄμοιοι χοίρων*, Did. 3¹ *ἄμοίους ἐκείνου*, Aelian Hist. An VIII 1 (K-G I 413). Latin infl? The gen. with *δμοιος* in LXX Isa 13⁴ may not be an instance: *φωνή . . . ἄμοία ἐθνῶν πολλῶν* *a voice like [the voice] of a great multitude*.

(v) adverbs. Unlike LXX (Ge 45¹⁰ and often), ἐγγύς ¹ never has gen. (Johann. DGKPS 43): dat. Ac 9³⁸ 27⁸? Mt 4²⁵ etc. *πέραν*, 5⁴⁸ etc. *ὁ πλησίον*, 21³⁹ etc. *ἔξω*, 23²⁵ *τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου*, Mk 15¹⁶ *ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς* *further into the palace* (DP *ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν*), Lk 7⁶ SD *μακράν* (ABCL μ. *ἀπό*), 8²⁶ *ἀντιπέρα*, 17²¹ *ἐντός*, Jn 4⁵ *πλησίον*, 1 Co 6¹⁸ etc. *ἐκτός*, 2 Co 10¹⁶ *ὑπερέκεινα*, Ph 2²⁷ *παραπλήσιον* (v.l. dat.). Also see pp. 276ff.

(b) *Genitive of comparison*. In the latter part of the class. period it was still being used much more often than *ἤ*. But as in class. Greek and pap. (Mayser II 2, 140ff), *ἤ* is used chiefly in instances where the gen. would not have been sufficiently clear: Mt 10¹⁵ 19²⁴ Ac 4¹⁹ ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ, 5²⁹ 20³⁵ Ro 13¹¹ 1 Ti 1⁴ ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσιν μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκοδομίαν θεοῦ, 2 Ti 3⁴ φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι. But sometimes there is *ἤ* without such good reason: Jn 3¹⁹ 4¹ 1 Co 14⁵ 1 Jn 4⁴.

The class. gen. of comparison ² occurs still in e.g. Mt 3¹¹ ἰσχυρότερός μου, Lk 12⁷ πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε, Ac 23¹³. 21 24¹¹ 25⁶ πλείων c. gen., Mk 14⁵ 1 Co 15⁶ ἐπάνω (= πλείων in colloqu. Greek) c. gen., 1 Ti 5⁹ ἑλαττον c. gen. There is an abbreviated comparison, omitting a gen. art (Mt 5²⁰ ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν πλείον τῶν γραμματέων, Ac 4²² ἐτῶν . . . ἦν πλείονων τεσσαράκοντα: *of more years* (gen. of definition) *than forty* (gen. of comp., indeclinable), see Moule 42), which can cause ambiguity at times: Jn 5³⁶ ἐγὼ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μεῖζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου (*greater than John had or greater than John*), 21¹⁵ ἀγαπᾷς με πλεον τούτων (*more than these or more than these do*). The NT uses *παρά* and *ὑπέρ* in place of both gen. and *ἤ*. There are a few class. exx. (*ὑπέρ* rarer than *παρά*), and in MGr *παρά* or *ἀπό* is the regular substitute for gen. of comp. Lk 3¹³ πλεον παρά τὸ διατεταγμένον, 16⁸ φρονιμώτερον ὑπέρ, 18¹⁴ D μᾶλλον παρ' ἐκεῖνον (SBL om μ.; W ἢ ἐκεῖνος), Jn 12⁴³ μᾶλλον ὑπέρ (ABD ἤπερ), Heb 4¹² Barn 5⁹ ὑπέρ. LXX Ge 49¹² ὑπέρ and *ἤ* together (Johannessohn DGKPS 45).

¹ K-G I 352, 5. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 213, 11. Mayser II 2, 528. Radermacher² 144.

² What is not class. is *πρῶτός μου*, *πρῶτον ὑμῶν* Jn 11⁵. 30, because *πρότερος* would occur here.

III. *Position of Attributive and Partitive Genitive.*¹

The attributive gen. very rarely stands first either in class. or Koine Greek, but it does so, e.g. in Mt 1¹⁸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χ. ἡ γένεσις, obviously for emphasis on Jesus. The usual order in class. Greek was either (a) οἱ τῆς χώρας νόμοι, or (b) οἱ νόμοι οἱ τῆς χώρας. But increasingly more common in Hell. Greek, especially in NT, was (c) οἱ νόμοι τῆς χώρας. Mayser's figures for the pre-Christian papyri² are:

	(a)	(c)	Proportion		(a)	(c)	Proportion
iii/B.C.	32	44	3 : 4	ii-i/B.C.	45	94	1 : 2

It is doubtful whether any LXX books have a large proportion of (a) and (b), whereas in the first two chapters of Ge (c) occurs at 1¹⁰. 14. 17. 26. 28. 30 29. 12. 18. 18. 19. 19. 20. In the pap. (b) is extremely rare except in the attribute of proper nouns (e.g. Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου in NT). In Mk the relative position of the articular noun and its gen. is striking: it is almost invariably position (c), never (a) as is regular in the papyri; and (b) occurs twice with personal relationship and once (11³⁰) τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου. Thus, possessive 2 (b) : 35 (c), objective 0 (b) : 5 (c), subjective 1 (b) : 4 (c), content 0 (b) : 5 (c), partitive 0 (b) : 7 (c). In any case, the partitive gen. (as in class. Greek) must take this position, outside the art. and noun, either before or after, without repetition of the art. In the rest of NT, although (b) is still infrequent, (a) is more common than in Mark: e.g.

(a)	Jn 18 ¹⁰ BAC 2 Co 8 ⁶ . 19 (ten in Paul), 1 Pt 3 ¹ 4 ¹⁷ 5 ¹ . 1 2 Pt 1 ⁸ 2 ⁷ 3 ²
(b)	Jn 6 ³³ SD ὁ ἄρτος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, 7 ²³ S ὁ νόμος ὁ Μ., Ac 15 ¹ τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως (DEHLP om 2nd τῷ) ³ , 1 Co 1 ¹⁸ ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ, 2 Co 4 ¹¹ ἡ ζωὴ ἡ (p ⁴⁶) τοῦ (but 4 ¹⁰ ἡ ζ. τοῦ), Ti 2 ¹⁰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος . . .

¹ K-G I 617. 3. Mayser II 2, 143ff.

² This is based on the following for iii/B.C.: P. Hib. nos. 27-121; Zen. P. I and II, nos. 59001-59297; ii-i/B.C. UPZ I; P. Teb. nos. 5-124.

³ But with Μωϋσέως the position is that of (c), i.e. anarthrous: Mk 12²⁶ Lk 22² 24⁴⁴ Ac 13³⁹ 15⁵ 28²³.

A frequent construction is the appearance, as a kind of after-thought, of the art. with an attribute after an anarthrous noun: Ac 1¹² ἀπὸ ὅρων τοῦ καλουμένου ἐλαιῶνος, 26¹² καὶ ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Jas 1²⁵ εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

IV. *The Joining together of several different Genitives*

Characteristic of Paul and often ambiguous or obscure. Rather rarely two genitives depend on the same noun, which then usually stands between them: Ac 5³² αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων *his witnesses for these things*, 2 Co 5¹ ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους (possess. and appos.), Ph 2³⁰ τὸ ὑμῶν (subj.) ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας (obj.), 2 Pt 3² τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος perhaps *of the commandment of the Lord and Saviour transmitted by the apostles to you*, Rev 7¹⁷ ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων (scribes attempted to remove the obscurity: ζώσας).

More commonly, especially in Paul, but also in the papyri ¹ one gen. is dependent on the other, the result being sometimes a clumsy accumulation. We can usually assume in such circumstances that the governing gen. will precede the dependent one ²:

LXX Wi 13⁵ ἐκ γὰρ μεγέθους καλλονῆς κτισμάτων, 2 Co 4⁴ τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (gen. of origin: *light from the Gospel*) τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ (obj.). Note that the last of the genitives is usually a possessive. Eph 1⁶ εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης ³ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ *for the praise of his grace* (DE τῆς δόξης, which would be *praise of the glory of his grace*; cp. Eph 1^{12, 14}), 1¹⁸ ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ, 1¹⁹ κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, 4¹³ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Col 2¹² διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Th 1³, Rev 14⁸ 16¹⁹ 19¹⁵. Note the order of words in 1 Pt 3⁸ ὁ . . . ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν . . . κόσμος.

¹ Abel § 44, Mayser II 2, 143, 144.

² There are exceptions: Mt 24³¹B μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης, 2 Co 3¹⁸ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος (assuming it = *the Sp. of the Lord*), Heb 6² βαπτισμῶν διδασχῆς (p⁴⁰B prob. rightly: διδασχὴν) *teaching concerning baptisms*.

³ To be taken very closely together, as in Ph 1¹¹ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον.

V. *Attributive and Partitive Genitives in Mark*

TRUE GENITIVE

Possessive	Partitive	Objective Subjective	Quality	Content	Price
18. 7. 15. 16. 16 19. 24. 29. 30 210. 18. 26. 28 35. 17. 27. 28. 34 537. 38. 40. 41 63. 17. 24. 56 73. 5. 27. 28. 31 823. 38 924. 31. 41 1025. 35. 46. 47. 48 1110. 15 1214. 17. 26. 35. 40 1335 143. 47. 54 1521. 40. 43. 46	19. 28 26 16. 21 322 51. 22 615 23 71. 2 810. 27. 28 91. 37 111. 5 1213. 28 1410. 12. 43. 47. 66 1535	11. 4. 14. 17 228 419 67. 43 74. 35 935 1044 113. 22 129. 27 137. 8 144. 9 152. 9 subj. 78. 9. 13 1130 1224	14 229 44. 19 51. 42 621. 48 833 1113 1538	14. 28 411 31. 37 511 25. 29 724. 31 88. 15. 20 941 101. 14 1216 142. 3. 13 1526	637 837

ABLATIVAL GENITIVE

With adjectives	Comparison
329 647 819 936 1464	17 431 935 1222. 28. 31. 33. 43 145. 12 162

One gospel has been chosen in order to illustrate the variety and difficulty of interpreting the genitive.

2. ADJECTIVAL DATIVE¹

(a) *With nouns.* It occurs in class. and Koine Greek with a verbal noun, but in NT only 2 Co 9^{11. 12} εὐχαριστία τῷ θεῷ. With other nouns: 1 Co 7²⁸ θλίψις τῇ σαρκί, 2 Co 21³ ἀνεσις τῷ πνεύματι, 12⁷ σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί. Many apparent instances display not an attributive, but a predicative, use of the dat. (ATR, 536f). However, Col 2¹⁴ may be an example of a noun with a dat. attribute: τὸ . . . χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν *sub-
scription to the ordinances.*

¹ K-G I § 424. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 209ff. 26-31. Schwyzler II 137-173. Radermacher² 110. J. Humbert, *La Disparition du Datif (du I^{er} au X^e siècle)*, Paris 1930. Mayser II 2, 145-151.

(b) *With adjectives.* Mk 6⁴⁸ etc. ἐναντίος (πρός Ac 26⁹) Ac 41⁶ 71³ 1 Ti 41⁵ (vl. ἐν) ἀρκετός, ἱκανός, φανερός, Ac 73⁹ ὑπήκοος, 10⁴⁰ Ro 10²⁰ ἐμφανής, Ac 16¹⁵ πιστός, 26¹⁹ etc. ἀπειθής, Ti 21¹ σωτήριος, 3⁸ ὠφέλιμος. These correspond to a cognate verb which has the dat. Then there are adjectives of likeness: ὁμοιος frequent (in the "abbreviated" construction: Rev 9¹⁰ ἔχουσιν οὐράς ὁμοίας σκορπίοις, 13¹¹ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὁμοια ἀρνίῳ), Mt 20¹² ἱσους . . . ἡμῖν, 1 Co 11⁵ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ, Ph 3²¹ σύμμορφος, Ro 6⁵ σύμφυτοι τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ (unless instr. dat., in which case the gen. goes with συμφ., but this is unnatural), 2 Pt 1¹ (Jude 7) τοῖς ἰσότητιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν ("abbreviated"), Heb 11¹¹ αὐτῇ Σάρρα = class. *together with Sarah* (better sense than αὐτῇ Σάρρα).

(c) *Dative of respect.* The dat. of respect (e.g. ὀνόματι by name) in NT has almost displaced the class. accus. of respect, and as in the papyri (Mayser II 2, 149f, 285) it becomes almost an adverb, and is especially used when contrast is involved, e.g. φύσει . . . νόμῳ, λόγῳ μὲν . . . ἔργῳ δέ.

Mt 5³ πτωχὸς τῷ πνεύματι, ⁸ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, 11²⁹ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, Ac 4³⁶ etc. τῷ γένει *by birth* (and pap.), 7⁵¹, 14⁸, 16⁵ τῷ ἀριθμῷ (BU II 388 III⁸ ii-iii/A.D.), 18⁵, 25, Ro 5¹⁷ πολλῷ μᾶλλον, 12¹⁰⁻²² (several), 1 Co 7³⁴, 14²⁰, 2 Co 7¹¹ difficult: συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι (ἐν would make better sense than εἶναι; D^bEKLP read εἶναι ἐν), Ga 2⁵ εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ *yield submissively*, ¹⁵ Ph 2⁷ (Philo Byz. σχήματι or σχήμασι 69¹²), 3⁵ *with respect to circumcision*, Heb 5¹¹ νωθροὶ γεγονάτε ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, 10²⁹ πόσω . . . χείρονος *by how much . . . worse*. Diod. 12¹⁸ 13⁸⁹ προβεβηκώς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, UPZ II 161⁶¹ (119 B.C.), 162 VII 29 (117 B.C.) τοῖς ἔτεσιν. With this dat., ἐν is often used: Lk 1⁷ προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν (1¹⁸ 2³⁶), but προβεβηκώς (ταῖς) ἡμέραις LXX Jo 23¹. ² 3 Km 1¹ (accus. τὴν ἡλικίαν is atticistic 2 Mac 4⁴⁰ 6¹⁸), Ditt. Syll ³ 647¹⁷ (ii/B.C.). There is both dat. and accus. of respect in LXX: 2 Mac 5¹¹ τεθριωμένος τῇ ψυχῇ (accus. in Lucian: atticistic), Johannessohn DGKPS 69-71.

3. ADJECTIVAL ACCUSATIVE.¹

During the Hell. period the accus. of respect (or specification, or general reference) yields to the dat. of respect, as we have just seen, or to a prepositional phrase, as in the pre-Christian papyri and LXX, as well as in NT. Sometimes the two cases appear side by side: Mt 27³² (τῷ) ὀνόματι, 27⁵⁷ τοῦνομα.

¹ K-G I 315ff. Mayser II 2, 151. Schwyzer II 67-88 (part).

But NT uses τῷ γένει for the class, τὸ γένος (Mk 7²⁶ Ac 4³⁶), and where Diod. Sic. (20, 1) has τὴν ψυχὴν, Heb 12³ has τῇ ψυχῇ.

Jn 6¹⁰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν *as to number*. But in Ac 17²⁸ ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν the translation is *we are his offspring* (because of v. 29), although in Aratus Phaenom. 5 γένος is an accus. of general reference. Ac 18³ v.l. σκηνοποιὸς τὴν τέχνην (but better reading is τῇ τέχνῃ), cp. P. Oxy. I 40 (ii-iii/A.D.) ἰατρὸς ὑπάρχων τὴν τέχνην, Heb 2¹⁷ 5¹ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν (same phrase is adv. accus. in Ro 15¹⁷). For δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας see p. 247. For τὸ λοιπὸν see p. 336.

§ 3. Attributive Prepositional Phrases¹

In the same way that adjectives, pronouns, pronominal adjectives, and nouns in gen. or dat. or accus., may be employed as attributive phrases defining a noun, so also may a prepositional expression be used. The class. arrangement is still found: Ac 26³ τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἔθων, Ro 11²¹ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων, ²⁷ ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, 16¹⁵. If this prepositional expression stands in post-position, the repetition of the art. is necessary for the sake of clarity, e.g. Ac 3¹⁶ ἡ πίστις ἣ δι' αὐτοῦ, Ro 3²⁴ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Ga 1²² ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς Ἰουδαίαις ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, Ph 3¹¹ τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 1 Th 1⁸ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν ἣ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. For this very reason we hardly ever find a prepositional clause used as attribute to an anarthrous noun: in 1 Co 12³¹ εἴ τι for ἔτι is read by p⁴⁶ D*F, making καθ' ὑπερβολὴν no longer an attribute of the anarthrous ὁδόν. The only real exceptions appear to be: Mk 1²³ ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, Ro 14¹⁷ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, 2 Co 12² ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ, and with the art. before the attribute: Ac 16²³ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν (an address), 26¹⁸ πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ, ²² ἐπικουρίας . . . τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, Ro 9³⁰, Ph 3⁹, 1 Ti 1⁴, 2 Ti 1¹³.

In NT, as opposed to class. Greek, a considerable number of instances of omission of the second art. appear to exist, apart from those cases where the noun has additional defining clauses: Mk 6⁶ τὰς κόμας κύκλω (but κύκλω may define the verb περιῆγεν; it is used with a verb in Ro 15¹⁹; Swete takes it so), Lk 16¹⁰ ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ = ὁ ὢν . . ., Ro 6⁴ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος

¹ K-G I 594. 6. Schwyzer II 417ff. Mayser II 2, 152ff. Winer-Schmiedel § 20, 1-6. Radermacher² 112, 117. Johannesson DGPS 365.

εἰς τὸν θάνατον, 10¹, 1 Co 10¹⁸, 11²⁴ 12¹², 2 Co 1¹¹, 9¹³ Ph 1¹⁴ (unless ἐν κυρίῳ is taken with πεποιθότας), Col 1², 1 Th 4¹⁶, Eph 2¹¹, 4¹, 6⁵ SAB, Col 3²² p⁴⁶ S, 1 Ti 6¹⁷.

It is not surprising that we find the types δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ πίστεως and τὸ χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν fairly frequently in NT, and there is no need to explain away the construction or adopt a more orthodox variant reading, for these types appear (less regularly than the other two) in the Koine. Thus, for pre-Christian papyri:—

	iii/B.C.	ii-i/B.C.
1. ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη	98	210
2. ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ πίστεως	74	6
3. δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ πίστεως	16	66
4. ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως	10	5

See Mayser II 2, 161.

In conclusion we may note that attributive adverbs¹, though found already in class. Greek, occur much less frequently in NT than other attributives. Nevertheless they do occur sometimes, e.g. Ro 3²⁶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, cp. PSI IV 402, 7, ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ (iii/B.C.); Ac 20²⁶ ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα (Ro 11⁸ 2 Co 3¹⁴); 2 Pt 3⁶ ὁ τότε κόσμος.

¹ K-G I 594, 6; 609. Mayser II 2, 168–171. Winer-Schmiedel § 20, 7.

PART III

WORD-MATERIAL WHICH DEFINES A VERB

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

PREDICATIVE USE OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

§ 1. Adjectives

The predicative use of adjectives, participles and pronouns has already been discussed in connection with the definite article. When the predicate occurs before the articular noun it tends to be emphatic. For papyrus examples, see Mayser II 2, 172f. For class. Greek, K-G I 273, 2.

Μέσος and ἄκρος were used in this predicative way in class. Greek, but more rarely now: Mt 25⁶ μέσης δὲ νυκτός Lk 23⁴⁵ ἐσχίσθη δὲ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον, Jn 19¹⁸ μέσον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Ac 26¹³ ἡμέρας μέσης. But elsewhere τὸ μέσον with partitive gen. We never have the class. περί μέσας νύκτας, but κατὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτός (Ac 27²⁷) or κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον (16²⁵); for class. τὸ δάκτυλον ἄκρον we have τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου (Lk 16²⁴), like τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ (Heb 11²¹). We may take Mt 24³¹ (ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν) and Mk 13²⁷ (ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς) in the class. predicative sense, but they may equally well be intended for the gen. of τὰ ἄκρα and τὸ ἄκρον.

In class. Greek a predicative adj., especially a temporal numeral ending in -αῖος, may correspond to an adverb, since it defines a verb. Although this idiom is rare in NT, yet in the neuter gender it became increasingly popular in post-classical Greek and eventually became the regular way of forming adverbs in MGr.

Mk 4²⁸ αὐτομάτῃ ἡ γῆ καρποφορεῖ, Lk 21³⁴ αἰφνίδιος, 24²² γενόμεναι ὀρθριναι ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον (cp. Herm. S.V 1, 1 ὀρθρινὸς ἐλήλυθας), Jn 4¹⁸ τοῦτο ἀληθὲς εἶρηκας (SE ἀληθῶς) class., 13³⁴ καινὴν δίδωμι I give you it anew, Ac 12¹⁰ αὐτομάτῃ, 14¹⁰, 20⁶ D πεμπτᾶιοι, 28¹³ δευτεραῖοι ἦλθομεν on the second day, Ro 10¹⁹, 1 Co 9¹⁷, Heb 11²³ p⁴⁶ ἐκρόβῃ τριμήνος, 2 Mac 10³³ V ἄσμενοι περιεκάθισαν.

There is therefore not surprisingly some confusion of μόνος with the adv. μόνον: Mk 6⁸ μηδὲν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον (D μόνην), Ac 11¹⁹ μηδενὶ εἰ μὴ μόνον (D μόνους) Ἰουδαίους, Heb 12²⁶ ΟΤ

σεῖσω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . ., 2 Ti 4⁸, 1 Jn 5⁶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον (B μόνῳ). In Jn 5⁴⁴ μόνου is best taken adverbial; not *from him who alone is God*, but *only from God* (Jewish monotheism was unimpeachable; Jesus was referring to their love of human praise), in spite of the word order. Lk 5²¹ adv. μόνος.

§ 2. Adverbs¹

Already in class. Greek adverbs are used predicatively, e.g. ἐγγύς, πόρρω: Eph 2¹⁸ οἱ ποτε ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγύς, Ph 2⁶ τὸ εἶναι ἴσα (adv) θεῷ, 4⁵ ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς. But οὕτως is not good class.: Mt 1¹⁸ ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν (class. = τοιαύτη ἦν or οὕτως ἔσχεν, as Ac 7¹ etc.), 19¹⁰, Mk 2¹², Ro 4¹⁸, 9²⁰, 1 Pt 2¹⁵, LXX Ge 1⁶. 9. 11. In spite of PSI IV 442, 14f (iii/B.C.) οὐ δίκαιον οὖν ἐστίν οὕτως εἶναι *so to behave oneself*, the construction may correspond to Aramaic ܢܝܕܢ (Lagrange, *S. Matth.* XCVIII). More class. are Mk 11¹⁹ ὁψὲ ἐγένετο, Jn 18²⁸ ἦν δὲ πρῶτ. Fairly frequent in NT is ἔχω with predicative adv.: Jn 4⁵² κομψότερον, Ac 21¹³ 2 Co 12¹⁴ 1 Pt 4⁵ ἐτοίμως. Also γίνομαι: Ac 20¹⁸ πῶς . . . ἐγενόμην (D ποταπῶς ἦν), 1 Th 2¹⁰ ὡς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐγενήθημεν.

Proleptic attraction (*whither* for *where*) is found once in NT: Lk 16²⁶ μηδὲ οἱ (S*BD om οἱ) ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν (unless we supply θέλοντες διαβῆναι from the foregoing); *whence* for *where* Mt 25²⁴. 26 συνάγων ὄθεν; *thither* for *thence* Mt 2²² ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν (reverse Ac 22⁵); ποῦ for ποῖ Jn 7³⁵.

Very rarely ἐκεῖ may be temporal: Mt 24⁵¹ Lk 13²⁸.

§ 3. Adverbial Verbs

Some verbs came to express certain adverbial ideas; they were used as main verbs, but the main verbal idea was transferred to an infin. or ptc. E.g. λανθάνω c. ptc. *unconsciously, secretly* Heb 13² (elsewhere adv. λάθρᾳ, Mt 1⁹ etc.), LXX To 12¹³ B, Jos. BJ 3, 7, 3; διατελέω, ἐπιμένω, οὐ διαλείπω c. ptc. = *permanently, incessantly* Jn 8⁷ (ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες), Ac 12¹⁶ (*he knocked persistently*), 27³⁴ (ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε), Lk 7⁴⁵ οὐ διέλειπεν καταφιλοῦσα, P. Oxy. 658⁸ θύων καὶ σπένδων τοῖς θεοῖς διετέλεσα; φιλέω c. infin. Mt 6⁵ *gladly*, Ael. 14, 37

¹ K-G I 38, 4; 43 n. 1. Schwyzler II 414. Mayser II 2, 175ff.

(φιλῶ τὰ ἀγάλατα . . . ὀρᾶν). We mention here¹ the Hebraistic προστίθεμαι c. infin.: in Hebrew the verb which represents the adv. may be joined syntactically with the verb which represents the main verbal idea (הִלְשָׁה הִשָּׁחֵה *he sent again*) but sometimes both verbs are finite (Ge 25¹); the first method is more common and is imitated in Lk 20¹¹ (not D) προσέθετο πέμψαι, Mk 14²⁵ D οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πειν. The question for the translator is whether the meaning is *he did something AGAIN* or *he ALSO did something*. Lk 20¹¹, by the parallel Mk 12^{4.5} (πάλιν), would mean *he sent again*. But Ac 12³ appears to mean *he also arrested Peter*. It is one of the very few Hebraisms in the atticistic Josephus (Ant. 6, 287; 19, 48), but here the meaning must be *to attach oneself to, acquiesce in* (Thackeray *JThS* 30, 1929, 161-370). 1 Clem 12⁷ καὶ προσέθεντο αὐτῇ δοῦναι σημεῖα *also gave*, P. Grenf. I 53²⁹ (iv/A.D.) (see Moulton-Howard 445). LXX Ge 4² προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν *also bore*, Ex 10²⁸ προσθεῖναι ἰδεῖν *see again* 14¹³ Dt 3²⁶ 18¹⁶ Jo 7¹² etc. Similarly there is προσθεῖς εἶπεν: LXX Ge 25¹ προσθέμενος Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβε γυναῖκα *took another*, 38⁵ προσθεῖσα ἔτι ἔτεκεν *bore again*, Jb 27¹ 29¹ 36¹ προσθεῖς εἶπεν *again spoke*, Lk 19¹¹ προσθεῖς εἶπεν παραβολὴν *another parable? or he also told a parable?* Polyc. 31, 7, 4, Apoc. Pet. 4, Acta Phil. 10.

For *beforehand*, προλαμβάνω c. inf. Mk 14⁸, προυπάρχω c. ptc. Lk 23¹². For *willingly* θέλω (fin. and ptc.), unless it involves a definite act of will, Mk 12³⁸ Lk 20⁴⁶ τῶν θελόντων περιπατεῖν *who love to*, Jn 6²¹ ἡθέλον οὖν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, 8⁴⁴ *you gladly do his will* (so in class. Greek with ἐθέλω; Origen contra Marc., ed. Wetst. 35, with βούλομαι). For *from the beginning* ἀρχομαι Ac 1¹ ὧν ἤρξατο (= ἀ ἐποίησεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς). So also the adverbial use of τυγχάνω, φθάνω, φάνερός εἰμι.

§ 4. Position of the Adverb

An adverb usually follows the adj. or verb which it determines, in NT. Mt 21⁶ ἐθυμώθη λίαν, 4⁸ ὑψηλὸν λίαν, Lk 12²⁸ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ὄντα σήμερον *which exists to-day* not *which is in the field to-day*. Exceptions: Mk 16² λίαν πρῶτ (D om λίαν), 2 Ti 4¹⁵ λίαν γὰρ ἀντέστη, P. Par. 42³ λίαν σοι χάριν μεγάλην

¹ W-M § 54, 5. Thackeray OT Gr. 52f. Lightfoot on Clem. 1 Co. 12. Moulton Proleg. 67, 233. Deissmann BS 67. MM Vocab. s.v. Moulton-Howard 445.

ἐσχήκαμεν. Therefore, in Col 1³ it will be more natural to take παντότε with the former verb εὐχαριστοῦμεν than with the subsequent ptc. προσευχόμενοι. Occasionally the adv. is given great emphasis by its divorce from its verb: e.g. Lk 7⁶ at the beginning of the clause. But in Lk 15¹ the adverbial phrase διανοία καρδίας goes closely with ὑπερηφάνους (i.e. *haughty in heart*) and not with διεσκόρπισεν which is furthest from it.

To what does μόνον refer in 1 Co 15¹⁹ εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπικότες ἐσμέν μόνον? Not to *this life*, but *we have done no more than hope in Christ*.

Mt has the peculiar habit, in the imperative, of giving second place to adverbs which in other moods he puts first:

Imperative	Other moods
31 ⁵ ἄφες ἄρτι	91 ⁸ ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν 26 ⁵³ ἄρτι παρακαλέσαι ADCW
181 ⁶ παράλαβε . . . ἔτι	1920 ἔτι ὑστερῶ 26 ⁶⁵ τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν;
274 ² καταβάτω νῦν, 43 ῥυσάσθω νῦν	26 ⁶⁵ νῦν ἠκούσατε

In the exception, 51³ ἰσχύει ἔτι, it should be observed that DW omit ἔτι.

However, in the Ptol. pap. the normal position of adverbs in the simple sentence increasingly tends to be before the verb to which they belong. Even in the class. period a considerable flexibility obtained, under the influence of rhythm or emphasis, and the conversational style differed markedly from the rhetorical.

	Conversational style		Rhetorical		Ptol. pap.	
	Plato: Apol	Xen. Hell. I	Thuc. II	Demosth. I	iii/ B.C.	ii-i/ B.C.
Pre	171 (5)	77 (3·5)	2·5	2·1	30	40
Post	35 (1)	22 (1)	1	1	28	25

(Mayser II 2, 181f.)

In the language of Ptol. documents the normal pre-positive adverbs and those which for a rhetorical purpose are post-positive are fairly evenly distributed. In many documents, such as official acts, the tendency to emphasize the adverb in post-position is very strong. Conversely certain adverbs are always pre-positive, others always post-positive; others again are both.

In Mark *πάλιν* is used both as an adv. and as a conjunction. When, like *εὐθύς*, it occurs at the beginning of its phrase, it may be reasonable to take it as a mere conjunction.¹ Usually, however, it occurs either just before or just after its verb: i.e. 23 out of 29 instances. This close proximity with the verb suggests that here we should treat it as a true adverb (before verb 4¹, 73¹ 82⁵ 10¹. 24 124 143⁹. 40 vl. 70 154. 12. 13; after verb 21. 13 31. 20 714 vl. 813 101. 32 1127 146⁹). But the text is doubtful at 52¹ where we have both *πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέραν* and *εἰς τὸ πέραν πάλιν*, and perhaps the fact that Mark usually has *πάλιν* near its verb sways the balance in favour of the latter.

Nevertheless Mark uses *εὐθύς* only five times near the verb, i.e. as an adverb (viz. 128 513 vl. 36. 42 625 725 131 vl. 36 vl.); elsewhere it is probably merely a connective conjunction, occurring at the beginning of its clause (viz. 110. 12. 18. 20. 21. 23. 29. 30. 31 vl. 42. 43 22 vl. 8. 12 36 45. 15. 16. 17. 29 52. 29. 30. 42 625. 27. 45. 50. 54 725. 35 810 98 vl. 15. 20. 24 1052 112. 3 1443. 45. 72 151). Some thirty of these instances are *καὶ εὐθύς*: *and so* (consecutive, like the Heb.), like *καὶ ἰδοὺ* in Matthew. But it must be said that sometimes, as at 625, *εὐθύς* has rather stronger adverbial force: *she went in immediately*.²

¹ 52¹ 81 vl. 1010 113 vl. 125 vl. 146¹.

² For *πάλιν* and *εὐθύς* I owe much to private communications from Dr. G. D. Kilpatrick.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CASE ADDITIONS TO THE VERB: WITHOUT A PREPOSITION¹

§ 1. Nominative²

(a) *The nominative "ad sensum"*: Eph 3¹⁷ κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν . . . ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι, 41. ² παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς . . . ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι . . . , ἀνεχόμενοι, Col 2² ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν, συνβιβασθέντες, 3¹⁶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτω . . . , διδάσκοντες.

(b) *Proper nouns without syntax*³. Proper nouns usually fit syntactically into the construction (e.g. Mt 12¹. 25 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, Mk 3¹⁶ Πέτρον, vl. Πέτρος, Ac 18² εὐρών τινα . . . ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, 27¹ ἑκατοντάρχῃ ὀνόματι Ἰουλίῳ), but sometimes they are introduced independently in the nominative: Lk 19²⁹ 21³⁷ τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Ἐλαιῶν (unless this is ἐλαιῶν, like 19³⁷), Jn 13¹³ φωνεῖτέ με ὁ κύριος . . . Rev 9¹¹ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλῶν, P. Par. 18. 3 (Abel § 42 (a)).

The divine name (ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος Rev 1⁸) is used in nom. after ἀπό: Rev 1⁴. There is some LXX history behind this name, which is based on Ex 3¹⁴ ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν . . . ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με. Jeremiah has ὁ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε (4) and Hos 1⁹ οὐκ εἰμί ὑμῶν (Ziegler *Duodecim Prophetæ*, Göttingen 1943, in loc., and *Beitr. z. Ieremias-LXX*, 1958, 40). It may have been regarded as indeclinable in Greek.

(c) *Nom. is found in parenthesis (class.)*: ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (= ἰησῷ), LXX Jg 13², Jn 1⁶ (but S*D*W add ἦν); 3¹ (but S* ὀνόματι) adds ἦν, however. More common are the phrases ᾧ (ῃ, οὖ) ὄνομα, and ὀνόματι. Zen. pap. 59037, 7 (258 B.C.) ὄνομα δ' ἐστὶ αὐτῷ Ἡδύλος, 59148, 2 (256 B.C.) ᾧ ὄνομα Ὀνήσιμος.

¹ K-G I 44-51 (nom. voc.), 250-448 (acc. gen. dat.). Schwyzer II 52ff. Gildersleeve I §§ 3-25 (nom. voc.). Johannessohn DGKPS. R. Helbing, *Die Kasusyntax der Verba bei den LXX*, Göttingen 1928. A. Jannaris § 1242ff (MGr). L. D. Brown, *A Study of the Case Construction of Words of Time*, New York, 1904. Wackernagel I 14f, 17-20, 294-312.

² K-G I 44ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzer § 84, 1-5. Gildersleeve I §§ 3-13. Radermacher² 21, 111, 219, 223. Mayser II 2, 185-187.

³ Thackeray OT Gr 23. Johannessohn DGKPS 7. Abel § 42 a. Mayser II 2, 185ff. Moulton-Howard 154. Kittel WB II 342f.

(d) *The nom. with time-designation.* Here we expect accus. It may be an instance of ellipse and we are to supply a main verb (e.g. εἰσιν) with καί. Class.: ὄσαι ἡμέραι *daily*. LXX Jo 1¹¹ Α ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι ὑμεῖς διαβήσεσθε (true text has καί before ὑμεῖς), Eccl. 2¹⁶ ἤδη αἱ ἡμέραι ἐρχόμεναι τὰ πάντα ἐπελήσθη, Mt 15³² ὅτι ἤδη ἡμέραι (S accus.) τρεῖς (D adds εἰσιν καί) προσμένουσίν μοι, Lk 9²⁸ 13¹⁶(?), Ac 5⁷ Acta Paul. Thecl. 8 (P. Oxy. I 6. 3) ἡμέραι γὰρ ἤδη τρεῖς καὶ νύκτες Θέκλα καὶ ἐγγήγερται, and fairly often in post-Ptolemaic papyri. Adverbial nom.: Mk 6^{39f} συμπόσια συμπόσια, πρασιαὶ πρασιαί.

Nom. pendens is a nom. standing at the head of a clause without construction. See p. 316.

Ἴδε with nom. as object is explained by the fact that, like ἰδοῦ, Ἴδε has become a stereotyped particle of exclamation. So have ἄγε and φέρε: Jn 1²⁹ Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, 19²⁶. 2⁷ Ἴδε ὁ υἱὸς σου . . . Ἴδε ἡ μήτηρ σου.

§ 2. Genitive¹

(a) *True Genitive*

1. *A possessive² gen.* may be used predicatively with εἶναι *to belong to*, e.g. Jn 17⁶ W σοῦ ἦσαν (rest dat.), Ac 27²³, 1 Co 11² 3⁴ 6¹⁹, 3⁹ *fellow-workers belonging to* (not *with*) *God*, 3²¹, 14³⁷ DFG κυρίου ἐστίν (but p⁴⁶ S*BA add ἐντολή), Heb 5¹⁴ 12¹¹. With γίνεσθαι, e.g. Ac 20³ ἐγένετο γνώμη.

2. *With verbs and verbal adjectives.* The gen. with verbs like *accuse* denotes the ground of accusation: only Ac 19⁴⁰ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως. The construction is so rare³ that one is tempted to take the gen. closely with σήμερον, and thus construe in the usual way περὶ τῆς σήμερον στάσεως. Elsewhere in Ac we have the class. περὶ after ἐγκαλεῖσθαι and κρίνεσθαι, 23⁶. 29 26⁷.

Gen. with μεταδίδωμι (Helbing 252, Mayser II 2, 197) is not found in the NT; instead we have accus. (Ro 11¹ 1 Th 2⁸) and elsewhere the dative. With μεταλαμβάνω (Helbing 136, Mayser II 2, 197f) *to receive a share of* always the gen., e.g. Ac 2⁴⁶ 27³³ Heb 6⁷. With μετέχω (Helbing 136, Mayser II 2, 198) ἐκ is found only 1 Co 10¹⁷, elsewhere gen. (1 Co 9¹² Heb 2¹⁴). But

¹ Schwyzler II 89-137. Mayser II 2, 118-145, 187-240.

² K-G I 372, 1 b. Mayser II 2, 188f. Radermacher² 124.

³ But see Dio Cass. 58. 4. 5. ἀσεβείας.

with the last two verbs, the gen. is limited to Luke, Paul and Hebrews. With κοινωνέω gen. occurs only ¹ at Heb 214.

To *touch* still has gen., never accus. in NT (Mayser II 2, 199, Helbing 123), but ψηλαφάω has accus. (Lk 24³⁹ Ac 17²⁷ 1 Jn 11) and in passive Heb 12¹⁸. To *take hold of* (ἐπι-) λαμβάνομαι regularly has gen., especially the part grasped, in LXX, NT and papyri (Mayser II 2, 202, Helbing 127): in Lk 14⁴ Ac 9²⁷ 16¹⁹ 18¹⁷ ἐπιλαβόμενος ἴασατο αὐτόν the accus. goes with the main verb (but see Delling in Kittel WB IV 9, n. 3), in Lk 23²⁶ SBCDL have accus. but WA have gen., Mk 8²³ D λαβόμενος τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τυφλοῦ (unusual Greek), in LXX Ezk 16⁴⁹ χεῖρα . . . οὐκ ἀντελαμβάνοντο (but accus. is rare in class. and Hell. Greek). But κρατέω has surrendered to the accus., as in Hell. Greek, only the part grasped being in the gen.: Mt 9²⁵ Mk 13¹ 54¹ Lk 8⁵⁴ Mk 9²⁷ SBD. But if it means to *hold fast to* (Ac 27¹³ Heb 4¹⁴ 6¹⁸), or like ἔχομαι *hold sway over*, more literary works have gen. (Ac 27¹³ Heb 4¹⁴ 6¹⁸) but Rev 2¹⁴.¹⁵ accus. If it means to *arrest*, NT has accus. (but Luke avoids). Gen. with αἴρω Mt 22¹³ D lat syr, and with the figurative uses of (ἀντ-) ἔχομαι (Helbing 128f, Mayser II 2, 200, Nägeli 54).

Gen. (class.) is still used with *desire, reach, obtain* (Helbing 136–144, Mayser II 2, 203ff), but there is a tendency towards the accus. in Hell. Greek. Thus ἐπιθυμέω c. gen. Ac 20³³ 1 Ti 3¹ LXX Ex 34²⁴ Pr 21²⁶; c. accus. often in LXX (Helbing 138; Johannessohn 40) Ex 20¹⁷ Dt 5²¹, Mt 5²⁸ BDWE (S* gen.). Accus. δικαιοσύνην after πεινάω and διψάω Mt 5⁶ (class. gen.; LXX Ex 17³ διψάω ὕδατι). But with the following verbs of *reaching, obtaining*, there are relics of the gen. in the more cultured authors: τυγχάνω Lk 20³⁵ Ac 24³ 2 Ti 2¹⁰ Heb 8⁶, ἐπιτυγχάνω Heb 6¹⁵ 11³³ (but accus. Ro 11⁷, and pap. 161 B.C. UPZ I 41²⁵). Phrynichus protests against the Hell. accus. with κληρονομέω *inherit*, but it occurs Mt 5⁵ 19²⁹ Lk 10²⁵ Heb 6¹² LXX Si 41³ 6¹.

While the gen. with *to fill, be full of*, is still apparent, the accus. is encroaching on the gen. already in LXX (Ex 31³; Johannessohn DGKPS 37, Helbing 144–150) and Koine (K-G I 354, Mayser II 2, 205, Völker *Pap. gr. synt. spec.* 14): Ph 1¹¹

¹ Dative: Ro 12¹³ 15²⁷ 1 Ti 5²² 1 Pt 4¹³ 2 Jn 11; ἐν Ga 6⁶ Barn 19⁸ and papyri; εἰς Ph 4¹⁵.

πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης, Rev 17³ γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.

We may include here the difficult gen. in 2 Pt 2¹⁴ καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας (vl. dat.) *trained in extortion?* (it may be gen. of quality, giving further definition: *a heart trained and greedy*).

Although *to eat, drink, of* (= 𐤀𐤋 LXX) have partitive preposition or the accus.¹, nevertheless gen. is found in NT with the meaning *satiety, eat one's fill*, chiefly where we may suspect the influence of literary style (class. authors would have used the gen. often where accus. is found in NT): Ac 27³⁸. With γεύομαι occurs θανάτου and other genitives, on the Aram. model: Mt 16²⁸ Mk 9¹ Lk 9²⁷ 14²⁴ Jn 8⁵² Ac 23¹⁴ Heb 6⁴⁷; the accus. is not class. (e.g. Jn 2⁹ τὸ ὕδωρ, Heb 6⁵ 2) and is a Hebraism³, perhaps influenced by the construction with 𐤀𐤁𐤕 (sifre Num. on 11⁴ 𐤀𐤁𐤕 𐤀𐤁𐤕), and it is fairly common in LXX: 1 Km 14⁴³ 2 Km 19³⁵ Jb 12¹¹ 34³ Si 36²⁴ To BA 7¹¹ Jon 3⁷.

The partitive gen. occurs in NT with verbs of perception⁴, especially with a personal object. For ἀκούω, the class. rule is that the person whose words are heard is in the gen. (sometimes with παρὰ) but the thing (or person) about which one hears is in the accus., and ἀκούω c. accus. may mean *to understand*. In NT, ἀπό is also found with the person (Ac 9¹³ 1 Jn 1⁵) as in Heb. (see especially ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματός τινος Lk 22⁷¹ Ac 14^D 22¹⁴). NT breaks the class. rule with τὴν βλασφημίαν Mt 26⁶⁵ Mk 14⁶⁴ DWAG, τὸν ἄσπασμόν Lk 14¹, λαλοῦντας Ac 2^{6D}. We have to ask whether the class. distinction between gen. and accus. has significance for exegesis in NT. There may be something in the difference between the gen. in Ac 9⁷ (the men with Paul heard *the sound*) and the accus. in Ac 22⁹ (they did not *understand* the voice): Zerwick § 50. On the whole, the accus. is used of the hearing of speech in NT (except Lk 6⁴⁷, which corrects Mt 7²⁴,

¹ ἀπό Mt 15²⁷ Mk 7²⁸ Lk 22¹⁸ LXX Le 11⁸ 22⁶; ἐκ Jn 4¹⁴ 6²⁶ 1 Co 11³⁸ Rev 14¹⁰ LXX Ge 9²¹. Accus.: Mt 15² Mk 1⁶ 1 Co 8¹⁰ 10¹⁸. 25. 27.

² But Moule (36) suggests that καλὸν θεοῦ ῥῆμα is virtually a substantival clause = καλὸν εἶναι θεοῦ ῥῆμα (cp. the ὅτι-clause 1 Pt 2³). Moulton (Proleg. 66) however had found the variation from gen. in 6⁴ to accus. in 6⁵ "subtle and suggestive."

³ Behm in Kittel WB I 675 n. 7. There are one or two secular parallels: see Mayser II 2, 206 (οἱ συμπόσιον γεύμενοι) but the Aris-totelian instance to which Mayser refers is conjectural.

⁴ Helbing 150-159. Mayser II 2, 207ff.

Jn 7⁴⁰ 12⁴⁷ 19¹³ vl.), whereas the gen. would be class. (unless it means *understand*). In Jn it seems possible to trace a distinction between the gen. (*obey* 5²⁵. 28 10³. 16 etc.) and accus. (mere perception 3⁸ 5³⁷) with ἀκούω and φωνή, but there is no such discrimination in Ac or Rev or LXX (Ac 9⁴. 11 11⁷ (p⁴⁵ D accus.) 22⁷. 9. 14 (E gen.) Rev 1¹⁰ 4¹ 10⁴ (p⁴⁷ SCP) 14¹³ 16¹ 21³: Johannessohn DGKPS 36, Mayser II 2, 207). In class. Greek αἰσθάνομαι = *understand* if it has accus. as Lk 9⁴⁵ (NT = συνίημι elsewhere).

So also with *remember* and *forget* the accus. is now encroaching on the gen. Gen. with μνησκόω Heb 2⁶ 13³ (as usually LXX: Johannessohn DGKPS 37, Helbing 108). But gen. (usually e.g. Lk 17³²) and accus. (e.g. Mt 16⁹, Jn 15²⁰ SD (rest gen.), 1 Th 2⁵, 2 Th 2⁸, 2 Ti 2⁸, Rev 18⁵) with μνημονεύω.

Gen. with ἐπιλανθάνομαι, only Heb 6¹⁰ 13². 16, accus. Ph 3¹³ Heb 13² S*, and papyri. Gen. with ὑπομνήσκω Lk 22⁶¹, accus. Jn 14²⁶ 3 Jn¹⁰, but he may have had ὅζω in mind, and Hom. Clem. 13¹⁶ has μύρου δὲ πνέει, τῆς ἀγαθῆς φήμης, and Stobaeus (v/A.D.) ἐμπνεῖν Ἀραβίης ὀσμῆς (Schwyzer II 2, 128).

The verbs of emotion ὀργίζομαι, θαυμάζω, ἐλεέω, no longer have gen. of cause, but ἀνέχομαι *bear with* retains it: Mt 17¹⁷ Col 3¹³ (not gen. in Mt 18²⁷ with σπλαγχνίζομαι, but with δοῦλος). The gen. has survived in LXX and NT with verbs meaning *to care for*, but ἐντρέπομαι has only accus. in NT and nothing of the former gen. survives. Verbs meaning *to rule* or *surpass* also still have gen., but καταβραβεύω has accus.

The gen. of price occurs with *to buy*, *sell*, and *agree on* (συμφωνέω), in addition to ἐκ. Moule (39) suggests classifying Jude¹¹ here: μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν *they went headlong for a reward*.

The substantivized verbal adjective, as a passive, has the gen. to designate the agent, e.g. Mt 11¹¹ Lk 7²⁸ γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν, Mt 24³¹ ἐκλεκτοὶ θεοῦ *chosen by God*, Ro 1⁷ ἀγαπητοὶ θεοῦ *beloved of God*, Jn 6⁴⁵ διδασκοὶ θεοῦ, 1 Co 2¹³ οὐκ ἐν διδασκοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις *words dictated by wordly wisdom*. Hebrew influence is apparent here. The θεο- in θεοστυγεῖς (Ro 1³⁰) may be a gen. (= θεοῦ), and so we should take the word passively in a subjective, not an objective sense: *out of favour with God*. With a passive ptc.: Mt 25³⁴ οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς, Lk 22⁷ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου (D ἔθος).

3. *Local and temporal.* Very little trace of local gen. remains, and it was rare and poetical in Attic¹. It survives in ποῦ, αὐτοῦ, etc. LXX To B 10⁷ οἶας ἀπῆλθεν, Lk 5¹⁹ ποῖας εἰσενέγκωσι, 19⁴, Ac 19²⁶, 1 Pt 1¹ *sojourners in the Diaspora* (E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London 1955, 118).

The class. gen. of time-within-which still occurs: Mt 2¹⁴ νυκτός *during the night*, Mk 5⁵ Lk 18⁷ Ac 9²⁴ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, Mt 24²⁰ Mk 13¹⁸ χειμῶνος, Mt 24²⁰ D σαββάτου, Lk 2⁸ 9³⁷ p⁴⁵ Rev 21²⁵. Class. is τοῦ λοιποῦ (like τὸ λοιπόν) *henceforth*: Ga 6¹⁷ Eph 6¹⁰ p⁴⁶ S*BA. A distributive gen. occurs with numerals, e.g. class. δις τῆς ἡμέρας *twice a day*, Lk 18¹² δις τοῦ σαββάτου, Heb 9⁷ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ. But the gen. of point of time is not class.: Mt 25⁶ μέσης νυκτός *at midnight*, Mk 13³⁵ μεσονυκτίου and ἀλεκτοροφωνίας (SBC μεσονύκτιον), Lk 24¹ ὁρθοῦ βαθέως, Jn 11⁴⁹. 51 18¹³ τοῦ ἑνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου *that year*, Ac 26¹³ ἡμέρας μέσης; it occurs in the Ptol. pap. ὥρας ἑωθινῆς and the like (Mayser II 2, 225), and in MGr τοῦ χρόνου *next year*.

(b) *Ablatival Genitive*²

The gen. (or ablative) of separation has been largely replaced by ἀπό or ἐκ which, in addition to the regular gen., were both found in class. Greek; LXX and Koine also often use ἀπό (Johannessohn DGKPS 38f, Helbing 159–181, Mayser II 2, 227ff, 234ff), as well as later Greek. The verbs concerned are ἐλευθερώω, καθαρίζω, λούω, λυτρῶω, λύω, ῥύομαι, σφίζω, χωρίζω. In NT, also with gen. ἀπαλλοτριῶ *separate* Eph 2¹² 4¹⁸, ἀποστερέομαι 1 Ti 6⁵, μεθίστημι Lk 16⁴ AW (SBD ἐκ; L ἀπό), καθαιρέομαι Ac 19²⁷ SBAE (HLP accus.), κωλύω τινά τινος Ac 27⁴³ (as normally), but τι ἀπό τινος *to refuse someone something* (Semitism, LXX Ge 23⁶) Lk 6²⁹, φείδομαι (class. always gen.: as in Ac 20²⁹ Ro 8³² 2 Pt 2⁴. 5) LXX has prepositions (Abel § 44k); also ἀπέχομαι, ὑστερέω, βραδύνω, παύομαι (ἀνα-, κατα-), ἀφίσταμαι, λείπομαι, ἀστοχέω 1 Ti 1⁶ (but περί τι, 1 Ti 6²¹ 2 Ti 2¹⁸).

The gen. may also depend to some extent on prepositions in compounds; here it is mainly κατά (*against* or *down upon*) which concerns

¹ K.-G I 384. 2. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 205. 14. Mayser II 2, 223ff.

² K.-G I §§ 420f. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 207, 18. 19. Mayser II 2, 227ff. Radermacher² 123ff. Helbing 159–178.

us, and the more usual compounds, which in class. Greek had gen., have now tended to go over to accus. (e.g. καταδικάζω Mt 12⁷ Jas 5⁶; κατακρίνω): Helbing 182ff., Mayser II 2, 237ff.

§ 3. Dative¹

The case tended to disappear in later Greek, but the process has scarcely begun yet; in the NT there is not much to choose between the comparative frequency of accus., gen., or dat., but the special popularity of ἐν makes the dat. more frequent than it would normally be. Besides this encroachment of ἐν, there is the growth of διὰ, σύν and μετά in the post-classical period at the expense of the simple dat. There are in NT already traces of the process which ended in the complete disappearance of the simple dat. in MGr; Zerwick (§ 36) points to Mk 8¹⁹ (εἰς = *for*), Ac 24¹⁷ (εἰς = *for the benefit of*), 1 Pt 1⁴ (εἰς = *for*). It is the more remarkable, therefore, that in Hell. Greek the dat. does sometimes oust the class. accus. (e.g. Rev 2¹⁴ ἐδίδασκεν c. dat.), and in NT the dat. is still retained in a large range of meanings, notwithstanding the constant tendency to add ἐν (even with instrumental dat.).

The dat. indicates the person more remotely concerned:

(a) *As indirect object.*

To give: dat. as well as εἰς c. acc., (ἐπι-)χορηγέω, ἐπαγγέλλομαι promise Jas 2⁵ dat. *To serve*: διακονέω, δουλεύω, λατρεύω, υπηρετέω always dat., but προσκυνέω has dat., accus., and (Hebraistic) ἐνώπιον c. gen.; and ἀρέσχω has dat. and (Ac 6⁵) ἐνώπιον c. gen. *To show, reveal, appear*: always dat. (verb *to be* in this sense 1 Co 14¹¹ ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος).

Verbs of *speaking, writing, etc.* The following have dat.: ἔδω and ψάλλω Eph 5¹⁹ Col 3¹⁶ (LXX Je 20¹³), αἰνέω Rev 19⁵, ἀπολογέομαι make a defence before Ac 19³³ 2 Co 12¹⁹ Hell., ἀποτάσσομαι say farewell to Mk 6⁴⁶ etc. Hell., ἔξ-, ἀνθ- ομολογέομαι Mt 11²⁵ Lk 23⁸ 10²¹ Ro 14¹¹ 15⁹, εὐχομαι Ac 26²⁹ (but πρὸς 2 Co 13⁷), καυχάομαι boast to 2 Co 7¹⁴ 9², ὁμολογέω praise Heb 13¹⁵, confess before Mt 7²³ Ac 24¹⁴ (+ ἐν also), promise Mt 14⁷ Ac 7¹⁷ vl., προσεύχομαι dat. only, ψεύδομαι c. accus. Ac 5³ deceive by lying (class.), 5⁴ c. dat. lie to. In class. Greek κέλεύω usually has accus., as in NT (but dat. Mt 15³⁵ EFG); class. dat. = *summon*. Other verbs for *censure and command*: dat. (but ἐγκαλέω κατὰ c. gen. Ro 8³³).

¹ K.G I 406-448. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 208ff. 23-40. Mayser II 2, 240-297. Radermacher² 126ff. Helbing 191-319. Schwyzler II 137-173 (part). J. Humbert, *La Disparition du Datif en Grec*, Paris 1930. A. Green, *The Dative of Agency. A Chapter of Indo-European Case-Syntax*, Diss. New York, 1913.

Λέγω πρὸς, which is common in Luke (Gosp. 99, Ac 52), absent in Mt, Mk 5, Jn 19 times, Paul twice, is part of the Hellenistic tendency to use prepositions in place of the simple case.

	λέγω	εἶπον	κατηγορέω	ἀποκρίνομαι	λαλέω
John	2 ⁸ , 3 ⁴ 41 ⁵ , 33, 49 6 ⁵ , 7 ⁵⁰	44 ⁸ , 62 ⁸ v.l. 34 73, 35, 85 ⁷ v.l. 11 ²¹ , 121 ⁹ 161 ⁷ , 192 ⁴	54 ⁵	83 ³ v.l. Otherwise always dative	Always dative

It is mainly with the reflexive that πρὸς occurs after verbs of *saying* in Mk and Jn. Representative figures from other books written in Biblical Greek show a large proportion of πρὸς c. accus.

	πρὸς or dat. after verbs of speaking: λαλέω, λέγω, εἶπον									
	Lk	Ac	Heb	Rev	Gen. 1-25	26-50	4 Mac	T. Abr. A	B	Ep. Barn
πρὸς	99	45	4	—	27	31	—	31	32	10
dat.	187	48	4	28	75	154	4	30	36	15
μετά				6						

But the reversal of technique half way through LXX Genesis is remarkable; either different translators divided the LXX books between them, or the books were subsequently revised piecemeal.

Besides the dat., πέποιθα and πιστεύω have also ἐν, ἐπί (dat., acc), εἰς; and πειθάρχω has accus. (class.). Dat. occurs with πείθομαι, ὑπακούω, ἀπιστέω, ἀπειθέω. When πιστεύω has dat., it may mean *believe in*: Ac 514 1634 (D ἐπί c. accus.) 18⁸ (D εἰς); same meaning with εἰς (e.g. εἰς τὸ ὄνομα) and ἐπί c. accus. (Mt 2742 SBL Ac 942 1117 1631 2219 Ro 424), ἐπί c. dat. only with ref. to LXX (according to J. Jeremias in Kittel WB IV 275f): Ro 933 1011 1 Pt 2⁸ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, but this is not true, because of 1 Ti 116 and Lk 2425 *slow of heart* τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν (but this might mean *on the basis of*, not *in*¹), and Mt 2742 WEF (SBL ἐπί c. accus.; DΘ αὐτῷ). When πιστεύω is followed by ἐν, the meaning may be *believe absolute*, and the prepositional phrase taken separately, viz. in Mk 115 *believe, in the sphere of the Gospel*, in Jn 315 B ἐν αὐτῷ to be taken closely with ἐξη ζωῇ (Bauer s.v.).

¹ A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*⁴, 1927, 591f.

But LXX has ἐν: Ps 77²² 105¹². 24 Si 35²¹. 23 Je 12⁶, Johannessohn DGKPS 60f. According to Bultmann in Kittel WB VI 204, πιστεύω εἰς = *to believe that Jesus is the Christ, or that J. died and rose, etc.*

The dat. with ἐλπίζω *to hope in* (instead of ἐπὶ c. gen. or dat., or εἰς) occurs only in Mt 12²¹ (D + ἐν) = Isa 42⁴ (ἐπὶ c. dat.). Jude¹¹ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαάμ . . . ἐξεχύθησαν *abandon themselves to?*

(b) The dat. of advantage and disadvantage¹ (or “*dativus commodi*”) marks out a person whose interests are much less remotely concerned than in the previous section.

Mt 13¹⁴ ἀναπληροῦνται αὐτοῖς (D + ἐπὶ) ἡ προφητεία, 23³¹ Lk 4²² Jn 3²⁶ Ro 10² etc. μαρτυρεῖν *bear witness to* someone, Mt 27⁷ εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις, Lk 18³¹ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γράμματα . . . τῷ υἱῷ (D περί c. gen), 1 Pt 5⁹ τῇ ἀδελφότητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, 2 Co 2¹ ἔκρινα ἔμμεναι τοῦτο, also Mt 6²⁵ Lk 12²² μεριμνάω, Lk 1⁵⁵ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι . . . (dat. can hardly be in appos. to accus., and may be dat. commodi: *he spoke to our fathers in favour of Abraham*; Zerwick § 40), LXX 1 Esd 4⁴⁹ ἔγραψεν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. The dat. commodi is probably “*the curious dative*” (Moule, 43) in Rev 8⁴ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς ταῖς προσευχαῖς *in favour of their prayers*, although it may be temporal dat. (BGU 69, A.D. 120, ἀς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ ἔγγιστα δοθησομένῳ ὀψωνίῳ *which I will pay you with the next wages that are paid*). For dat. of disadvantage see Rev 2⁵. 16 ἔρχομαι σοι; advantage 21² κεκοσμημένην τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς. See also: Mk 10¹² 1 Co 7³⁹ γαμέομαι, Ro 14⁴ τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει, 14⁶ κυρίῳ φρονεῖ . . . κυρίῳ ἐσθίει *in honour of*, 11²⁵ ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι p⁴⁶ FG (AB + ἐν, SCD + παρ’), 6²⁰ ἐλεύθεροι . . . τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, 8¹² ὀφειλέται . . . τῇ σαρκί, 1 Co 7²⁸ θλιψὶν τῇ σαρκί (D*FG + ἐν), 2 Co 10⁴ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ, 2¹³ ἀνεσιν τῷ πνεύματι μου, Jas 3¹⁸ καρπὸς . . . σπείρεται τοῖς ποιοῦσιν εἰρήνην.

(c) *Reference*. Paul has various loose combinations: Ro 6¹⁰ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν . . . ζῇ τῷ θεῷ, 2 Co 5¹³ εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν, *for God’s sake . . . in your interest*. This is aptly named a dat. of reference, in so far as the idea of personal interest is so diminished as to be no more than a vague reference. Jas 2⁵ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ, Jude¹⁴ ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . τούτοις (J. B. Mayor in loc. *he prophesied for these*, but better sense in the context is provided if this is the dat. of vaguer reference: *as to these*, although περί c. gen. would be more natural, like Mt 15⁷ Mk 7⁶).

(d) “*Dativus relationis*” is very similar (see p. 220). Where class. Greek tended to have accus. (even in NT at Mt 27⁵⁷

¹ K-G I 417, 17. Mayser II 2, 270ff.

ἄνθρωπος . . . τοῦνομα Ἰωσήφ), the dat. now occurs in an adverbial sense :

Mt 5⁸. πτωχὸς τῷ πνεύματι, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, Mk 5²² Lk 1⁶¹ Ac 18²⁴ etc. ὀνόματι, Mk 7²⁶ Ac 4³⁶ 18²⁴ τῷ γένει, Ac 16⁵ στερεοῦσθαι τῇ πίστει περισσεύειν τῷ ἀριθμῷ, Ro 12¹⁰ τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ . . . φιλόστοργοι, 1 Co 14²⁰ νηπιᾷζειν τῇ κακίᾳ, 2 Co 7¹¹ ἄγνος τῷ πράγματι (if text is sound), Ph 2³⁰ παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ, 3³ οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες, Col 2⁵ τῇ σαρκί *physically*.

(e) *Ethical dative*. Perhaps Mt 21⁵ OT ἔρχεται σοι and Rev 25. 16 (Hebraisms) (see under (b)), 2 Pt 3¹⁴ ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ (God) εὐρεθῆναι. The ethical dat. in Ac 7²⁰ ἄστεϊος τῷ θεῷ (*in God's eyes*) is a Hebraism, reminding us of LXX Jon 3³ πόλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ **יְהוָה** (an elative; i.e. *very big* according to D. W. Thomas in *Vet. Test.* III, 1953, 15ff, as the LXX fail to appreciate that **יְהוָה** or **לֵן** sometimes express a superlative). The dat. in Lk 2¹¹ ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σήμερον σωτήρ may be described as "sympatheticus"; see SIG 1240. 25 (ii/A.D.) πληθῆοι αὐτῷ οἶκος παίδων γοναῖς (Schwyzer II 147f; J. Weber, *Der sympathetische Dativ bei Herodot.* diss. Münster 1915).

(f) Where εἶναι with dat. forms part of the predicate it usually carries the idea of credit (or discredit) in the person's eyes :

Mt 18¹⁷ ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικός, Lk 5¹⁰ κοινωνοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι (D gen.) *Simon had in them partners*, Ac 9¹⁵ σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ἐστίν μοι οὗτος *I have in him*, 19³¹ ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι (but gen. Jn 19¹² etc.), Ro 1⁴ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί, 8¹² (but 15²⁷ gen.), 1 Co 1¹⁸ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν *serves as folly*, 2¹⁴, 11^{14. 15} ἀτιμία αὐτῷ, 15³² τί (μοι) τὸ ὄφελος, 2 Co 2¹⁵ Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμέν τῷ θεῷ, Ga 5¹³ μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί (ellipse of verb), 1 Th 2¹⁰ ὁσίως . . . ὑμῖν ἐγενήθημεν (but adverbs are rare in this construction), LXX To 3¹⁵ μονογενὴς εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου.

(g) There is also more obviously a dat. of possession (K-G I 416, 15; Mayser II 2, 269f), in which the personal interest, which is always latent in the dat. is strengthened to the point of ownership, and the class. distinction between the gen. for emphasis on the possessor and dat. for emphasis on the object possessed is often preserved : Mt 19²⁷ 18¹² Ac 21²³. Exceptions : Lk 12²⁰ ἃ ἡτοίμασας, τίνι ἐσται; (D corrects to τίνος), Ac 28⁹ ὑμῖν ἐστίν ἡ ἐπαγγελία, Ro 7³, 7⁴ (cp. Heb. **נִשְׁאָר לָהֶם**). Besides

εἶμι and γίνομαι, ὑπάρχω is used like this (Lk 8³ Ac 28⁷ 2 Pt 1⁸).

(h) In addition, εἶμι c. dat. occurs with the meaning to *happen to*: Mt 16²² οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο, and with ellipse of the verb: Mk 1²⁴ τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Lk 1⁴³ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο; 1 Co 5¹² etc. τί γάρ μοι; Epict. 1, 22, 15 τί μοι καὶ αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐ δύναται μοι βοηθῆσαι (see 1, 27, 13).

(i) *Dat. of Agent*¹. In NT there are very few exx. of dat. with passive = ὑπό c. gen. Lk 23¹⁵ ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ (D + ἐν, c in); however, it could be taken as *in his case*, Ro 8¹⁴ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, Ga 5¹⁸ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, LXX Ge 14¹⁹, Jos. Ant. 11, 206 ἡμῖν δεδῆλωται, Gosp. Pet. 11 τοῖς ἀγαπωμένοις αὐταῖς, Clem. Hom. (atticistic) 3⁶⁸ 9²¹ 19²³.

(j) *Instrumental dat.* Jas 3⁷ δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ, 2 Pt 2¹⁹ ὃ τις ἤττηται, Jude 1 τοῖς . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς. It is the instrumental ἐν which is more used than plain dat. in Biblical Greek; it occurs only occasionally in secular Greek (see pp. 252f). Without the preposition: Lk 21²⁴ στόματι μαχαίρης, Ac 12² μαχαίρῃ. There are phrases like *to season with* Mk 9⁴⁹ Col 4⁶, *to burn with* Mt 3¹² Lk 3¹⁷ Rev 8⁸ 17¹⁶ (SBP) 21⁸ (with ἐν 14¹⁰ 16⁸ 17¹⁶ vl. 18⁸), LXX with and without ἐν, *to baptise with* usually ἐν but ὕδατι Lk 3¹⁶ (D + ἐν) Ac 1⁵ 11¹⁶, χρίω πνεύματι 10³⁸, *to vindicate by* Ro 3²⁸ (also ἐν and ἐκ), *to mix with* Rev 15² (also ἐν and μετὰ), *to measure with* Lk 6³⁸ Rev 21¹⁶ (also ἐν).

This instrumental dat. is sometimes used where the class. rule expects the gen. construction: Eph 5¹⁸ LXX Pr 4¹⁷ μεθυσκομαι οἴνῳ, Mt 20¹⁸ Mk 10³³ κατακρινουσιν αὐτοῦ θανάτῳ, (Hellenistic: Büchsel in Kittel WB III 953 n. 1) 2 Pt 2⁶ καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν.

Other exx. of instrumental dat. are probably: Ro 1²⁰ τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα *perceived by means of his works*, 5^{15.17} τῷ . . . παραπτώματι *by the transgression*, 8¹³ πνεύματι . . . θανατοῦτε *by the Spirit*, 8¹⁴, Ga 5^{5.16.18.25}, Ro 12² μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός *transformed by*, Eph 2⁵ χαριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι *by grace*.

(k) *Associative dat.* which, when used with verbs is often known as “*dativus sociativus*” or “*comitativus*”, expresses the “*means by which*”, but with strong emphasis on physical

¹ Moulton-Howard 459.

accompaniment or nearness. E.g. ἀκολουθέω often has dat., but also μετά and the Biblical ὀπίσω; συνέπομαι Ac 20⁴; ἐγγίζω Lk 7¹²; κολλάομαι Lk 15¹⁵ etc.; κοινωνέω Ro 12¹³ etc.; ὁμιλέω Ac 24²⁶; and other verbs of this kind. However, μάχομαι (class. dat.) has only πρὸς (Jn 6⁵²), πολεμέω (class. dat.) only μετά (Rev 21⁶ 12⁷ 13⁴ 17¹⁴).

But this dat. may be more loosely connected with the verb to describe accompanying circumstances or manner, and it is then often designated "dativus modi". NT adds ἐν with the former:

Mt 16²⁸ ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, Mk 1²³ 7²⁵ p⁴⁵ ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ, Lk 14³¹ ἐν δέκα χιλίοισιν ὑπαντᾶν, 23⁴² ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου (BL correct to εἰς), Ac 7¹⁴ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδ. πέντε, 1 Co 4²¹ ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω, Heb 9²⁵ εἰσέρχομαι ἐν αἵματι, Jude¹⁴ ἦλθεν . . . ἐν ἀγίαις μυρίασιν αὐτοῦ. Of clothing: Lk 4³² 24⁴, Ac 1¹⁰ ἐν ἐσθήσεσι λευκαῖς, Col 2¹⁵, LXX 1 Mac 11⁵⁸ 3 Mac 1¹⁶. Of manner (dat. alone): Mt 8¹⁶ ἐξέβαλεν τὰ πνεύματα λόγῳ, Mk 5⁴ πέδαις καὶ ἀλύσεσιν δεδεσθαι, 14⁶⁵ ῥαπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον (a Latinism? see Cicero Tusc. 2, 34 verberibus accipere. But Acta Joan. 90 τί εἰ ῥαπίσμασιν με ἔλαβες; pap. c. A.D. 100, Blass-Debr. § 198 κονδύλοις ἔλαβεν), Lk 23⁷ νηστειαῖς καὶ δεήσεσιν λατρεύουσα, Ac 28¹¹. 40 τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, 16³⁷ δημοσίᾳ, 24⁴ ἀκοῦσαι . . . τῇ σῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ with your clemency, Ro 8²⁴ τῇ ἐλπίδι . . . ἐσώθημεν in hope but not actually, 1 Co 10³⁰ χάριτι with thankfulness, 11⁵, 14¹⁵ προσεύχομαι τῷ πνεύματι . . . τῷ νοῖ (or local dat.?), Ph 4⁶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει μετὰ εὐχαριστίας (NB. both dat. and μετά), Col 3¹⁶ ψαλμοῖς etc., Heb 6¹⁷ ἐμεσίτευσεν ὄρκῳ (but μετά in Mt 26⁷² and pap.).

Then there are various stereotyped phrases (e.g. παρρησίᾳ): Ph 1¹⁸ παντὶ τρόπῳ. But μετά and ἐν are found in such phrases in both LXX (Johannessohn DGPS 209ff) and NT, and papyri (e.g. μετά βίας). Some are almost peculiar to Biblical Greek, e.g. ὁδῶ, ἵχνεσιν, with πορεύομαι, περιπατέω, στοιχέω: Lk 10³¹ B, Jas 2²⁵ ἑτέρα ὁδῶ ἐκβαλοῦσα, but usually figuratively in NT: Ac 9³¹ πορεύομαι τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου, 14¹⁶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, 21²¹ τοῖς ἔθουσιν περιπατέω, Ro 4¹², 13¹³ Ga 5¹⁶ Jude¹¹ Hom. Clem. 10¹⁵ τῷ ὕμῳν στοιχεῖτε παραδείγματι.

(l) The Hebrew infinite absolute shows its influence in the use of the cognate dat. of verbal nouns in LXX and NT (Thackeray OT Gr 48f, Johannessohn DGKPS 56f), e.g. Ge 21¹⁷ Mt 15⁴. There was already some class. precedent (Schwyzer II 166), but Biblical Greek has a wealth of exx: Lk 22¹⁵ ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, Ac 21⁷ ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιαζέσθαι, 41⁷ ἀπέληλ ἀπειλησώμεθα vl., 52⁸

παραγγελία παρηγγείλαμεν, 23¹⁴, 28²⁶ LXX, Ga 5¹ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ... ἡλευθέρωσεν, Jas 5¹⁷. However, the addition of an attribute almost always results in the substitution of the accus. of content: so Jn 3²⁹ χαρᾷ χαίρει becomes Mt 2¹⁰ ἐχάρησεν χαρὰν μεγάλην; but not always, because we find Mk 5⁴² ἐξέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλη 1 Mac 14²⁹ δόξῃ μεγάλη ἐδόξασαν.

(m) *Cause*. This dat. is extraordinary ¹. Ac 15¹ περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως (not D) may be *because of the Law* (for according to we would expect κατά). Most exx. are in Paul: Ro 4²⁰ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, 11²⁰ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν, ^{30. 31}, 14¹⁵ μὴ τῷ βρώματί σου ἐκεῖνον ἀπόλλυε, 2 Co 2⁷ τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ καταποθῇ (or local?), 2¹³ τῷ μευρεῖν με *because I did not find*, Ga 6¹² ἵνα τῷ σταύρῳ τοῦ Χρ. μὴ διώκωνται, Col 2¹⁴ (transposing τοῖς δόγμασιν after δ ἦν) *which was against us because of the decrees* (but Eph 2¹⁴ adds ἐν, suggesting that this is a dat. of attendant circumstances, even instrumental; i.e. take the phrase closely with the verb implied in χειρόγραφον *written in* . . .), Ph 1¹⁴ πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου *confident because of my imprisonment*, Heb 13¹⁶ τοιαύταις εὐαριστεῖται, 1 Pt 4¹² μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ, Jude¹¹ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κόρε ἀπώλονται *because of the contradicting of*. More commonly a preposition takes the place of dat. at this period.

(n) *With compound verbs* ². Here the dat. is frequent, but is often supplemented by a preposition, and increasingly so in Hell. Greek. The construction with the dat. is often figurative e.g. ἀνατίθεμαι Ac 25¹⁴ etc. The dat. predominates with verbs compounded with ἀντι-, and πρὸς is rare. But compounds with εἰς- always take a preposition. Compounds with ἐν- in a literal sense always have a preposition; but these figurative meanings always have a plain dat.: ἐγκαλέω, ἐμμαίνομαι, ἐμπαίζω, ἐνέχω, ἐντυγχάνω (Ro 11², Wi 8²¹, BUI 246¹² ii-iii/A.D.). With ἐπι- the practice fluctuates, but usually the plain dat. is figurative. With παρ- it is almost only the dat., and Ac 15¹⁹ has dat. where Hell. Greek has usually accus. (Mayser II 2, 299f); the same is true of περι- and προσ- and συν-.

(o) *Locative* ³. This is the "in-" case, the case of position. The predominant use is now with prepositions, e.g. ἐν Ἀθήναις, not

¹ K-G I 438, 11. Mayser II 2, 284.

² K-G I 431 n. 1; 443 n. 1. Helbing 268-319. Mayser II 2, 285ff.

³ K-G I 441ff. Schwyzer II 154ff. Mayser II 2, 295f.

Ἀθήναζε, and even in the class. period the plain dat. was extremely limited. It is doubtful whether there are any more than these exx. in NT: πάντη, πανταχῇ; Jn 21⁸ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ πλοιαρίῳ ἦλθον; Ac 23³ 53¹ τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ ὤψωθεις. For pap. see Mayser, and also Vettius Valens 181, 22, and Herm. V. IV 3, 7.

(p) *Temporal.* (i) Of time-when¹. Still in NT, but ἐν often enters to clarify the meaning, as class. The dat. is used for only point of time, strictly speaking, but p⁴⁶ in Ro 13¹³ has ἡμέρα for *in the day* (the rest add ἐν). Normally, the dat. alone (or with ἐν) indicates a specific day or night, e.g. Mk 14³⁰ ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί; it is useless to multiply examples. There is the Hebraism ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα *every day* 2 Co 4¹⁶. It is usual to add ἐν when ἐκείνῃ and ταύτῃ are used. Φυλακή *night watch* and ὥρα are used like ἡμέρα, but ἔτει only has ἐν (Lk 3¹). The temporal dat. is still used with names of festivals: Mt 14⁶ γενεσίοις δὲ γενομένοις SBDL is apparently a dat. absolute², Mk 6²¹ (p⁴⁵ + ἐν), Mt 12¹ etc. τοῖς σάββασιν *on the sabbath*, Lk 24¹ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα (D + ἐν). Other instances: Ac 13³⁶ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ, Ro 11³⁰ τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ *at the time of their disbelief*, Eph 2¹² τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ p⁴⁶ (2nd hand) SBAD*FG (p⁴⁶ D^c EKLP + ἐν), 3⁵ ἑτέραις γενεαῖς *in other generations*, 1 Ti 6¹⁵ καιροῖς ἰδίῳις.

(ii) Of duration of time. Class. usage has accus.; Hell. Greek uses dat. (even Josephus) mainly with transitive verbs: Lk 1⁷⁵ πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν (cp. Mt 28²⁰ πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας), 82⁹ πολλοῖς χρόνοις συνηρπάκει αὐτόν (unless it means *on many occasions*), Ac 8¹¹ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ, 13²⁰ ὡς ἔτεσιν . . . ἔδωκεν *for 450 years*, Ro 16²⁵ χρ. αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου. Examples abound in Hellenistic sources; and since they are usually with transitive verbs, it may be that there was some reticence felt at placing a second accus. alongside a verb which already had an accus. of dir. object. Textual variants in NT illustrate the uneasiness of scribes about the use of the dat.: Mk 8² ἤδη ἡμέραις τρισίν B

¹ K-G I 445, 2. Schwyzer II 158f. Moulton Einl. 116f. Mayser II 2, 296f.

² There may be instances in Greek of dat. absolute. See C. C. Tarelli on Plutarch (Moule 45). In the NT: Mk 9²⁸ p⁴⁵ (SBCDLWΘ fam¹ fam¹³ 700 have gen. absol) εἰσελθόντι αὐτῷ, Ac 28¹¹ παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις *with the Dioscuri as ship's insignia* (inscriptional precedent, W. M. Ramsay, *St. Luke the Physician*, London 1908, 36f).

(some have nom.; some accus.), Lk 8²⁷ χρόνῳ ἰκανῶ (some have gen.), Jn 14⁹ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ SDLWQ (BA corr. to accus.), Ac 28¹² B ἡμέραις τρισίν (some nom.; some accus., as Mk 8²).

§ 4. Accusative¹

(a) *The simple accus.* of external object occurs also with verbs which were originally intransitive, as a characteristic of Hell. Greek. The absol. ἐνεργέω *to be at work* is increased to *to be at work at something* in literary Koine (1 Co 12⁶ Ph 2¹³ etc.), by the simple addition of an accusative.²

Similar words in NT are: ἐμπορεύομαι *defraud* 2 Pt 2³ (Bauer s.v.), ἐνεδρεύω Lk 11⁵⁴ Ac 23²¹, εὐσεβέω Ac 17²³ 1 Ti 5⁴, θριαμβεύω 2 Co 2¹⁴ Col 2¹⁵ (Kittel WB III 160, n. 2), λειτουργέω Ro 15¹⁶, καρτερέω Heb 11²⁷ (Bauer s.v.), πλεονεκτέω Paul, συνεργέω Ro 8²⁸ BA, τρίζω Mk 9¹⁸, ὑβρίζω, χορηγέω 2 Co 9¹⁰ 1 Pt 4¹¹. The same process has occurred with verbs of emotion: ἀπορέομαι Ac 25²⁰ SBAHP; ἐλεέω Mt 9²⁷ etc. Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 308); εὐδοκέω Mt 12¹⁸ (OT) S*B, Heb 10⁶. ⁸, LXX Ps 50¹⁸ etc.; θέλω with same meaning Mt 27⁴³ ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν, LXX Ps 21⁹ 40¹² To 13⁸; θαυμάζω Lk 7⁹ (D om αὐτόν) Jn 5³⁸ Ac 7³¹ Jude¹⁶; ἱλάσκομαι *propitiate* Lk 18¹³ (pass.), *expiate* Heb 2¹⁷, LXX, Philo; κλαίω Mt 2¹⁸ (not LXX) Lk 23²⁸ D; κόπτομαι class. Lk 8⁵²; πενθέω 2 Co 12²¹, LXX (only dat. in Ptol. pap.). The same tendency to accus. in Hell. Greek appears with verbs which (in class. Greek) would have governed the (partit.) gen.: Mt 5⁵ κληρονομέω τὴν γῆν, ⁶ πεινάω διψάω, ²⁸ ἐπιθυμέω γυναῖκα, Jn 6⁵³ ἐσθίω πίνω; if the writer wishes to emphasize the *part* he often uses prepositions (Mt 15²⁷ 1 Co 11²⁸). Hellenistic addition of an object sometimes changes the entire meaning, as appears in μαθητεύω: cp. Mt 27⁵⁷ B with 28¹⁹ Ac 14²¹.

The accus. also accompanies verbs of fearing, fleeing, swearing, guarding from; but NT does have ἀπό c. gen. in addition, under strong Semitic influence (occasionally class.). Thus φοβέομαι has accus. except at Mt 10²⁸ = Lk 12⁴ (ἀπό), LXX has accus. and ἀπό c. gen., whereas Ptol. pap. has only accus. Jas 5¹² δμνυμι c. accus., while elsewhere there is a preposition as in LXX; but (ἐν-) ορκίζω *adjure* still has accus. Φεύγω ἀπό *shun* 1 Co 10¹⁴, *flee from* Mt 3⁷ = Lk 3⁷, Mt 23³³, Rev 9⁶ (in class. Greek ἀπό was only local, as in Jn 10^{5f} Jas 4⁷), ἀπό προσώπου

¹ K-G I 293-331. Schwyzer II 67ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzer 204-6-12. Mayser II 2, 151, 297-336. Johannessohn DGKPS 67. Radermacher² 120-122.

² F. Krebs *Zur Rection der Kasus*, 1887-90, *passim*. Moulton Proleg. 63ff.

(ἡμῶν σου) Rev 20¹¹. Before Plutarch, ἐντρέπομαι usually has gen., but accus. in Mt 21³⁷ Lk 18² Heb 12⁹.

On the other hand, the dat. is sometimes used instead of, or besides, the class. accus.: καλῶς ποίεω (class. accus.) has the Hellenistic dat. Lk 6²⁷, and so does εὖ ποίεω Mk 14⁷ (A corrects to accus.), but accus. still in LXX (Schwyzer II 144; Mayser II 2, 263f). In addition to class. accus. προσκυνέω has dat. about 150 times in LXX (against about ten times with accus.), also in Dio Cassius, Jos., Aristas, Lucian, 2 Clem. 31; so NT e.g. Mt 22.¹¹ Jn 4²¹ Ac 7⁴³ 1 Co 14²⁵ Heb 1⁶ Rev 4¹⁰ 7¹¹ 13⁴. 15 14⁷ 16² 19⁴. 10. 20 22⁸. 9; with acc., only Mt 4¹⁰ = Lk 4⁸, Lk 24⁵² (D om), Jn 4²². 22. 23 (S* dat.) 24 9³⁸ D. Rev several times (9²⁰ 13⁴. 8. 12 14⁹. 11 20⁴) in addition to dat. The dat. in LXX is due to influence of ἡ, and in order to avoid the interpretation *kiss*¹. Of human superiors: c. dat. Mt 22.⁸ 8² 9¹⁸ 14³³ 15²⁵ 18²⁸ 28⁹ Mk 15¹⁹ Jn 9³⁸: c. accus. Mk 5⁶ vl.

The accus. has usurped the place of class. dat. with verbs meaning *censure, revile, blaspheme, curse* (Helbing 1-23): ἐπηρεάζω (Lk 6²⁸ 1 Pt 3¹⁶; not in LXX); ὀνειδίζω (Wi 2¹² is only ex. of dat. in LXX); καταράομαι (the dat. in Mt 5⁴⁴ D* and Lk 6²⁸ EHL is an atticistic correction; the rare dat. in LXX is also probably atticistic: 4 Km 2²⁴ Ep. Je⁶⁵); φθονέω Ga 5²⁶ p⁴⁶ BG (SACD dat.). As well as class. εἰς NT (Hell. Greek) has plain accus. with βλασφημέω like LXX (4 Km 19⁴. 6. 22), Jos., Vett. Val., Babrius (ii/A.D.): Lk 23³⁹ Ac 19³⁷ Rev 13⁶. Whereas class. Greek has dat. of person with εὐαγγελίζομαι, NT has accus. as well. With ἐγκόπτω *hinder* (class. dat.), NT has accus.: Ac 24⁴ Ga 5⁷ 1 Th 2¹⁸ (Stählin in Kittel WB III 855). Some NT exx. of accus. gaining over gen.: Mt 1²⁰ 9⁴ ἐνθυμέομαι (gen. in P. Par. 63 vii 9, ii/B.C.), Mt 12⁷ Jas 5⁶ καταδικάζω, Ro 2¹⁰ προηγέομαι Ph 1¹¹ πληρόομαι.

(b) *Content, or internal object* ("cognate accusative"). This follows a Semitic principle, and may consist of a noun with an attribute: Mt 2¹⁰, 2 Co 6¹³ τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν πλατύνθητε, perhaps pregnant for τὸν αὐτὸν πλατυσμὸν ὡς ἀντιμισθίαν (or adverbial: *with the same reward*, or accus. in apposition to a sentence, Moule 35f), 1 Pt 3¹⁴ τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν (of them) μὴ φοβηθῆτε, Rev 16⁹ ἐκαυματίσθησαν καὶ μέγα, Jn 7²⁴ κρίνω with τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν, Mk 10³⁸ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθῆναι, Jn 17²⁶ ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἡγάπησάς με (D ἦ), Eph 2⁴. No attribute: Lk 2⁸ φυλάσσω φυλακάς, Jas 5¹⁸. It may consist of

¹ Kittel WB VI 762f.

an adj. or pronoun: Lk 12⁴⁷ δαρήσεται πολλάς, ὀλίγας; the neuters of certain pronouns (τοῦτο, τί, οὐδέν, πάντα) are less frequent than in class. Greek but they still appear: Lk 4³⁵ μηδέν βλάψας (or accus. of respect?), Mt 19²⁰ τί ὑστερῶ, Mk 7³⁶ ὅσον *as much as* (W 700 dat.), Ac 10²⁰, Ro 6¹⁰, 1 Co 9²⁵, 10³³, 11², 2 Co 12¹¹, 12¹³, 12¹⁴ 13¹ τρίτον, Ga 2²⁰ ὁ νῦν ζῶ, 5² ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει, Ph 1⁶ πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο *in just this confidence* (= *I am sure*), 2¹⁸ Mt 27⁴⁴ τὸ δ' αὐτό *in the same way*. We might take ἄ like this in Col 2¹⁸ ἀ ἐώρακεν ἐμβατεύων, εἰκῇ φυσιούμενος *upon what he vainly imagined in the vision of his initiation* (making the conjectural emendations unnecessary). Papyri of 145 and 118 B.C.: πολλὰ χαῖρε and χαίρειν (Mayser II 2, 319).

(c) *Double accusative*¹. The NT conforms mainly to class. usage, with certain verbs: e.g. *teach* and *remind* Mk 6³⁴, Jn 14²⁶, Ac 21²¹, 1 Co 4¹⁷, Heb 5¹² τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τὰ στοιχεῖα (but διδάσκω c. dat. Rev 2¹⁴); *enquire* and *entreat* Mk 6²². 23 Lk 12⁴⁸ Mt 21²⁴ Mk 4¹⁰, LXX has both single and double accus.; *dress* and *undress* Mt 27³¹ Mk 15¹⁷. 20 (ἐγδύω τινά τι in pap.), Lk 19⁴³, LXX περιβάλλω τινά τι, τί τινι, ἔν τινι. Causatives are more popular than in class. Greek and have double accus.: ποτίζω Mk 9⁴¹ 1 Co 3², φορτίζω Lk 11⁴⁶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία. We find the double accus. of both external and internal object: Lk 4³⁵, Jn 17²⁶, Ac 13³² ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν . . . ἐπαγγελίαν, Ga 4¹², 5², Eph 2⁴, Rev 14⁷ p⁴⁷ δοξάσατε αὐτὸν δόξαν. An accus. of object and a predicative accus. (without the help of a ptc. or a particle like ὥς, such as would be needed with other cases) occurs in the class. manner: *to reckon as* Ac 13⁵ (but with ὥς Mt 21²⁶, with εἰς 21⁴⁶ vl.); *to receive as* Jas 5¹⁰; *to make to be* Lk 19⁴⁶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε σπηλαῖον, Jn 6¹⁵, Ro 4¹⁷ LXX πατέρα . . . τέθεικά σε, Lk 12¹⁴ Heb 1²; *to do something to* Mt 27²² τί οὖν ποιήσω Ἰησοῦν, Herm. S. I 4 τί ποιήσεις τὸν ἀγρόν, LXX Nu 24¹⁴ τί ποιήσεις . . . τὸν λαόν σου; *to designate as*, Mk 10¹⁸, Lk 1⁵⁹, Jn 9²² (D + εἰνάι), 10³⁵, Ro 10⁹, 1 Jn 4² (B accus. c. inf.), 2 Jn⁷, and Semitism καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην etc. Mt 1²¹. 23. 25 Lk 11³. 31 22¹; *to consider as* Lk 14¹⁸. 19 ἔχω, Ac 20²⁴ ποιοῦμαι, Ro 6¹¹ p⁴⁶ DAEFG λογίζομαι, Ph 3⁷ ἔγγημαι (cp. Lat. *habeo*); *to prove to be* 2 Co 6⁴ Ga 2¹⁸. To this predicative accus. we may add 1 Co 9⁵ ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα after περιάγω (it is not attributive:

¹ K.-G I 318ff. Mayser II 2, 320-323. Helbing 38-68. Radermacher² 121.

a wife who is a sister, but predicative: a sister as a wife); Lk 11¹¹ which of you shall the son ask as the father (τὸν πατέρα predicative of τίνα); 1 Pt 1¹⁷ if you invoke as father the one who judges (πατέρα a predicate of τὸν . . . κρίνοντα). In a Semitic way, εἰς (like normal Greek ὡς) may be added to this predicate: Mt 21⁴⁶ εἰς προφήτην (v.l. ὡς), Ac 13²² εἰς βασιλέα, ⁴⁷ (= Isa. 49⁶), 7²¹, 1 Clem. 42⁴ εἰς ἐπισκόπους, BGU 1103¹¹ (13 B.C.) δ' εἶχεν εἰς φερνάριον which he has received for dowry.

(d) *Accus. with passive.* This occurs with the passive of verbs which have double accus. in the active, and is classical: e.g. μουσικὴν διδασκόμεν. 1 Co 12¹³ ἐν πνεύμα ἐποτίσθημεν, 2 Th 2¹⁵, Heb 6⁹, Lk 16¹⁹ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν. In the Koine, and actually already in LXX, occurs accus. instead of gen. with *fill, be full*: Ph 1¹¹ πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης, Col 1⁹ πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν *filled with knowledge*. The person which appears in dat. with active voice may become the subject with the passive, and therefore such a passive will have accus. of the thing (as in English: "I am given a book"): Lk 12⁴⁷ δαρήσεται πολλάς, Ga 2⁷ πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 1 Th 2⁴, 1 Co 9¹⁷.

(e) *Adverbial accus.* (i) *Manner*: for τὸ λοιπὸν see p. 336. Also δωρεάν *gratuitously* and μακράν have become simple adverbs. Mt 15¹⁶, Heb 5¹³ D* E* ἀκμήν (Hellenistic, not LXX). This accus. is often formed by a superfluous article: Lk 11³ 19⁴⁷ Ac 17¹¹. ²⁸ D 19⁹ D τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν *daily* (class.); Ac 5²¹ D τὸ πρῶτ, Ro 1⁵ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, ⁹⁵, 12⁵. ¹⁸, 15²², 16¹⁹, 1 Co 14²⁷, 1 Pt 3⁸. For Jn 8²⁵ τὴν ἀρχήν see pp. 49f. Lk 11⁴¹ τὰ ἔνδοντα may be attributive accus. (*alms relating to what is within*) or accus. of respect (*as for what is inside, give alms*), but neither makes as good sense as adverbial accus. (*give alms from the heart*). Other instances: ἐν τρόπῳ Mt 23³⁷ 2 Ti 3⁸ etc. (LXX often) (pap. Mayser II 2, 329), τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον Jude⁷, Mt 13³⁰ LXX δῆσατε αὐτὰ δεσμάς (SBCEF add εἰς; D om αὐτά), Lk 9¹⁴ κατακλίνετε αὐτοὺς κλισίας. Cp. adverbial nom., p. 231.

(ii) *Extent.* In Mt 4¹⁵ ὁδὸν θαλάσσης (in LXX Isa 8²³ perhaps a harmonization with the NT) is a literal translation of Heb. מִן הַיָּם = *seawards*, rather than a ref. to some road leading to the sea. Lk 22⁴¹ ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν, ²³⁶ ζήσασα . . . ἔτη ἑπτὰ, Mt 28²⁰, Mk 4²⁷ Ac 26⁷ 2 Th 3⁸ ADE (SB gen.). Distributive: Mt 20² τὴν ἡμέραν *per day* (Mayser II 2. 333), Mk 9²⁶ πολλά

σπαράξας *fit after fit*. There is a Hell. Greek idiom for indicating duration of time by placing the preposition with the inappropriate noun: e.g. instead of *six days before the passover* Jn 12¹ reads *before six days of the passover*¹.

(iii) Point of time. This is not unclass. (e.g. Demosth. 54, 10 ἐκείνην τὴν ἑσπέραν *on that evening*), and is found in the Koine (Moulton Proleg. 63), LXX (e.g. Ge 43¹⁶ Ex 9¹⁸), and Church writers (e.g. Justin M. Apol. 1, 67, 8 τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν; but 67, 3 dative). In NT Jn 4⁵² ἐχθὲς ὥραν ἑβδόμην, Ac 10³ ὥραν ἐνάτην, 10³⁰ (unless τὴν ἐνάτην = *the ninth-hour prayer*, cogn. accus.), 20¹⁶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς (D + εἰς), Rev 3³ ποίαν ὥραν.

(iv) For the accus. in apposition to a clause, see pp. 220f.

¹ Moulton Proleg. 100f.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

CASE ADDITIONS TO THE VERB: WITH A PREPOSITION¹

§ 1 Preparatory Note on Prepositions in NT

This study is important for the exegete, provided he is aware that class. niceties must not be pressed too far. In the search for a theology of prepositions it is straining credulity for instance to adopt a distinction between ἐκ and διὰ in Ro 3³⁰ (ICC Ro in loc.; Moule 195). In Hell. Greek there is a strong preference for the preposition against the simple case, and also a growing laxity which entails closer examination of the context. Thus the meanings of εἰς and ἐν tend to approximate to each other in Hell. Greek.

Although the NT has kept most of the old "proper" prepositions the number was decreasing until only seven were left in MGr, and ἀμφί and ὡς have been discarded as in LXX and pap.², while ἀνά and ἀντί have been much curtailed. The variety in the use of each preposition has also diminished. On the other hand, ἐν εἰς ἐκ are much more widely used. The dat. is beginning to wane at this period with all prepositions (except ἐν in NT) and has disappeared entirely with ἀνά μετά περί ὑπό, bringing to a close a development already present in the class.

¹ K-G I 448-555. Schwyzer II 417ff. Jannaris 365-399. Wackernagel II 153-248. Mayser II 2, 337-543. F. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybios*, Würzburg 1882; *Die Präpositionsadverbia in der späteren historischen Gräcität*, 2 Teile, Munich 1884-5; *Zur Rection der Kasus in der späteren histor. Gräcität*, 1887-90. R. Helbing, *Die Präpositionen bei Herodot und andern Historikern* (B.z.h.S.dgr.Spr. 16), 1904. W. Kuhring, *De praepositionum Graecarum in chartis Aegypt. usu quaestiones selectae*, Bonn 1906. C. Rosberg, *De praepositionum Graecarum in chartis Aegypt. Ptolemaeum aetate usu*, Jena 1909. P. F. Regard, *Contributions à l'étude des prépositions dans la langue du NT*, Paris 1919. J. Waldis, *Die Präpositions-Adverbien mit der Bedeutung "vor" in der Septuaginta*, Lucerne 1921-2. M. Johannesson, DGPS, Berlin 1926. R. F. Rickelson, *The Ablative after διὰ*, Diss. S-W. Bapt. Sem., 1944. P. Southern, *The NT Use of the Preposition KATA*, *ibid.* 1949. B. Blackwelder, *Causal Use of Prepositions in the Greek NT*, *ibid.* 1951. Kittel WB VI 11, 1958, 683ff. (πρό); VI 12, 1958, 720-725 (πρό).

² Rosberg 11. Regard Prép. 683f. Mayser II 2, 338.

period. There is now a preference for the accus. In the LXX the dative is used with *περί* four times only, and with *ὑπό* in Job 12⁵ A only. In NT the only prepositions which still have all three cases are *ἐπί* and *παρά*¹. In MGr only the accus. is used with prepositions.

The niceties of class. Greek in the precise use of cases after prepositions are obliterated in Hellenistic; the distinctions in the cases after *διὰ ἐπί πρός*, for example, are becoming less clear.

Because of the tendency of the language towards fuller forms, the "improper" prepositions begin to gain ground in Hell. Greek: in the NT there are 42, against 18 "proper". These are adverbs or nouns in various cases which assumed the character of prepositions, but are not compounded with verbs. They now supplement the old stock of prepositions.

No distinct line of demarcation between adverbs and prepositions can easily be drawn and the combination of a preposition and adverb is common in the Koine; ² e.g. in NT *ἀπό τότε* for *ἀφ' οὗ* Mk 8² D (popular), *ἐκ πάλαι* etc. ³.

The old adverbial meaning of the prepositions is not well attested in Hell. Greek, except of course when compounded with verbs, and it is doubtful whether all the instances suggested for the NT can be accepted, viz. *ὑπέρ* (accent?) 2 Co 11²³ *ὑπὲρ ἐγώ* *I more* (Wackernagel II 167), 11⁵ 12¹¹ *ὑπὲρ λίαν* (but perhaps a compound *ὑπερλίαν*, like *ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ* Eph 3²⁰ 1 Th 3¹⁰ 5¹³), Lk 16⁸ *φρονιμώτεροι ὑπέρ*; *ἐν* Mk 1²³ *ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ* *with an unclean spirit in him*; Ph 3¹³ *ἐν δέ* *but thereby*, for *ἐν δέ*. The Ptol. pap. have *παρά* thus apparently only once (Mayser II 2, 339) and *ἐπὶ δέ* *moreover*, *ἐξ καὶ πρός* *six and more* (Pap. Oxy. I 68²⁴ A.D. 131). The LXX has *τὸ πρὸς πρῶτῃ* *right early* Ps. 45⁶, *πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις* *moreover besides this* Sir 29²⁵, and Cant 1¹⁶ has *πρὸς* *moreover*, and Aquila Deut 33³ has the same; Aquila Eccles. 1¹⁷ 7²³ (22) *πρὸς* (adv.). Symmachus in Eccles 9² has *πρὸς τε* (adv.).

In brief, the LXX and NT share the following innovations of the Hellenistic period in the use of prepositions: (a) the tendency to discard one of the cases where formerly a preposition was used with more than one. (b) Adverbs and adverbial prepositions now supplement the old stock of prepositions: thus

¹ On the other hand. the accus. is declining with *ὑπό ὑπέρ περί*, while *μετά περί ὑπό* have ceased to take the dat., and *κατά* has lost its hold of the gen.

² Schmid, *Der Attizismus* IV 625. Hatid. 213.

³ See also *ἀφ' ὅτε* Hermas, and *μέχρι ὅτε* (Blass-Debr. §§ 241, 2; 455, 3).

ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον etc. for πρό; ἐπάνω for ἐπὶ; ἀπάνωθεν, ἐπάνωθεν, ὑπεράνω for ὑπέρ; ὑποκάτω for ὑπό; ἀνά μέσον for μεταξύ; κύκλῳ, περικύκλῳ for περί; ἐχόμενος etc. for παρά. (c) There is a new use of ὑπέρ and περί. (d) εἰς and ἐν are now confused in two ways: 1. ἐν is used after verbs of motion (= 2), 2. εἰς is used for ἐν after expressions denoting rest. (e) There is a change in the relative frequency of prepositions: e.g. ἀπό encroaches on ἐκ and ὑπό.

§ 2. Prepositional Periphrases for the simple cases

This usage is greatly extended in Hell. Greek; e.g. εἰς and πρὸς c. accus. serve for the simple dat., ἐν c. dat. for the simple dat., and παρά is used after a comparative in place of the simple gen. In place of the simple gen., Polybius can write ἡ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον πορεία.

(a) *For Genitive*: see pp. 207ff, 231ff. For partitive ἀπό, see pp. 208f; for gen. of separation, see pp. 258f; for ἀπό instead of accus. after verbs of fleeing, fearing, etc., see p. 244. Besides these, there is the Pauline use of ἀπό in the sense of alienation, where older Greek would have the simple case, e.g. Ro 9⁸ ἀνάθεμα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ Χ., Col 2²⁰ ἀποθνήσκω ἀπὸ (for dat.). The following verbs are followed by ἀπό in the same way: παρέρχομαι Mt 26³⁹ = Mk 14³⁵, παραφέρω Mk 14³⁶ = Lk 22⁴² (cp. MGr θὰ περάσω ἀπὸ τῆ Σμύρνης; we must not interpret ἀπό as *far from*), μετανοέω Ac 8²² (ἐκ in Rev 2²¹ etc.; noun in Heb 6¹), ἀφαντος γίνομαι Semitism Lk 24³¹, καταργέομαι Ro 7⁶ Ga 5⁴, φθείρω 2 Co 11³, εἰσακούω Heb 5⁷ (but the meaning is difficult; perhaps *on account of*).

(b) *For Dative*¹. For διὰ c. gen. in instrumental or modal use see p. 267. As a circumlocution for the simple case ἐνώπιον c. gen. Ac 6⁵ appears to render עֲנִי, עֲנִיָּה, or עֲנִיָּה; to a less extent also ἐμπροσθεν, ἐναντίον (Heb 13²¹ 1 Jn 3²²). Lk 15¹⁸. ²¹ ἀμαρτάνω ἐνώπιον, Mt 7⁶ βάλλω ἐμπροσθεν, Heb 4¹³ ἐμφανῆς ἐνώπιον.

The preposition ἐν, too, takes the place of plain dat. in instances where *in* is quite unsuitable as a translation.

¹ K-G I 436, n. 7; 483. Mayser II 2, 354ff. Johannessohn DGPS 239f. Radermacher² 127.

(i) In an adverbial sense, quite briefly stated. Thus in Ro we have: *powerfully* 14, *openly* 22⁸, *secretly* 29, *patiently* 92², *in this way* 141⁸, *in carnal things* 152⁷, *joyfully* 32, *quickly* 162⁰. Perhaps we may also include the six exx. in 127⁸: *liberally*, *zealously*, *cheerfully*, etc. In 1 Co we have *weakly*, *fearfully*, *tremblingly* 23, 154². 42. 43 quat., *ἐν πρώτοις* 153, *peacefully* 161¹, and perhaps *in love* 161⁴. Other NT exx. come to mind: the class. *ἐν τάχει* *quickly* Lk 18⁸, *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ* = *δικαίως* Ac 173¹ Rev 191¹, *ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ* = *ἀσφαλέστατα* (Ac 523), *boldly* (Col 215). The *ἐν δόλῳ* of Mk 141 shows how close we are to the instrumental sense: *by means of guile* or *guilefully*.

(ii) An *ἐν* of accompaniment is apparently the equivalent of *μετά* or *σύν* or simple dat. (= *with*), as in class. Greek. The idea of manner is often implied. There is in Mk 123 52 the man *with* the unclean spirit, unless we may take this as *in the power of*; but in 525 the woman must be *with*, not *in the power of*, a flow of blood. *With* is also the way to translate Lk 1431 *with ten thousand* (especially as *μετά* occurs in the adjacent parallel phrase), Ro 127 relations *with* women, 1529 to come *with* a blessing, 1 Co 421. 21 come *with* a rod . . . *with* love (but this may be instrumental rather than of accompaniment), Heb 923. 25 *with* blood, Jude14 *with* his saints. The method is classical enough and belongs to the Koine, but its use in the LXX to render *ב* seems to have suggested an increase of use in NT. Col 15 *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* *by means of the Gospel* (or perhaps temporal *ἐν*: *when the true Gospel was preached*).

(iii) There is the relatively frequent instrumental use,¹ in the stricter sense: e.g. nineteen times in Mt 1-14, twenty-five in Ro, twenty-eight in 1 Co, and very common in Rev. It is least common in the second part of Ac. It is as old as Homer, who uses this preposition for seeing *with* the eyes, but it is comparatively rare before the LXX,² in which it is extremely common (on the model of *ב*)—much more so proportionately than in the NT. Moreover, it is not very common in the Koine,³ where many apparent instances, as in NT, may be accepted satisfactorily in the strictly locative sense. We cannot rule out the possibility⁴ of *in water* Mt 311, nor of *in one mouth* Ro 156, since words are certainly formed here, as thoughts were considered to be formed in the heart. Our own idiom is often *in* in these phrases: *in* God's will (Ro 110), *in* the likeness (83), to sum up *in* one word (139), but usually we shall employ *with*. Semitic influence may be behind *swear by* (Mt 534),

¹ K-G I § 431, 3a. Kuhring § 30. Rossberg 28, 2. Mayser II 2, 357f. Deissmann BS 115f (against Hebraism). Johannesson DGKPS 52ff. N. Turner, "The Preposition EN in the NT," *Bible Translator*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1959. Lagrange S. *Matth.* XCIX.

² K-G I 464f. Helbing 146f. Radermacher² 130, n. 4.

³ *ἐν μαχαίρῃ* in the pap., but not combined with *kill*, etc. (Moulton Einl. 15f., Kuhring 43f, Rossberg 28, Mayser II 2, 358, 393). NT has *ἐν μαχαίρῃ*. *ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ* Mt 2652 Lk 2249 Rev 216 68 1310 1921.

⁴ Many readers will prefer a stronger word, even "certainty". But I hesitate because of the imminent parallel *ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ καὶ πυρί*.

with his arm (Lk 1⁵¹), ransom by (Rev 5⁹), call with a loud voice (14¹⁵); and Semitic influence was probably at work in Mt 7² ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ (because Lk 6³⁸ avoids it), 7⁶ ἐν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτῶν, 22¹⁶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ (because Mk 12¹⁴ Lk 20²¹ have ἐπ' ἀληθείας), 24⁴¹ ἐν τῷ μύλῳ (Lk 17³⁵ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό). But Greek usage sufficiently accounts for salted with (Mt 5¹³), to be known by means of (Lk 24³⁵), mingle with (Rev 8³), burn with fire (18⁸). So also Mt 9³⁴ Ac 17³¹ Col 1¹⁶.

A causal sense is probably best included here. We must render *because of* at Mt 6⁷ 11⁶ 13⁵⁷ Jn 16³⁰ (= *propterea*) Ac 7²⁹ 24¹⁶ Ro 2¹⁷. 23 53. 11 14²¹ 1 Co 2⁵. 5 4⁴ 10⁵ Col 1¹⁶, and *because* (ἐν ᾧ) at Ro 2¹ 8³ Heb 2¹⁸ 6¹⁷.

A curious instrumental dat. of price is found with ἐν, a distinctly Semitic construction literally rendering the *beth pretii* 1: Ro 3²⁵ 5⁹ Rev 5⁹ (at the cost of his blood).

Then there is a semi-forensic sense, suggested by 1 Co 6² 11¹³ and found in the Koine: *in your judgment*.

Probably εἰς, as in MGr, also occurs as a substitute for the dat. (or gen.): Ga 3¹⁴ ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται, unless we understand εἰς = *among*. Cp. γίνομαι εἰς in papyri (Mayser II 2, 406) *to fall to someone* as a possession.

(c) *The accus.* occasionally appears in place of the predicative nominative owing to the Hellenistic tendency towards greater expressiveness and this is assisted by the Semitic εἰς (= ל) ², although there are occasionally parallels outside Biblical Greek (Jannaris § 1552, Radermacher² 20f). (i) with γίνομαι and εἰμί: Mt 19⁵ = Ge 2²⁴, 1 Co 6¹⁶ ἔσονται εἰς σάρκα μίαν (but Mt 19⁶ has truer Greek predicative nom.), Mt 21⁴² = Ps 118²² ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν, Lk 3⁵, 1 Co 15⁴⁵ = Ge 2⁷ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, 2 Co 6¹⁸ Heb 8¹⁰ LXX, and (outside of quotations) Lk 13¹⁹ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον, Jn 16²⁰ ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται, Ac 5³⁶ ἐγένετο εἰς οὐδέν, 8²³ εἰς γὰρ χολὴν . . . ὁρῶ σε ὄντα, 1 Th 3⁵, 1 Jn 5⁸, Rev 8¹¹, 16¹⁹. (ii) with λογίζομαι: ³ Ac 19²⁷, Ro 4³ = Ge 15⁶, 9⁸, 22⁶, LXX Isa 40¹⁷ 1 Mac 2⁵² (A corrects to nom.).

(d) *For Accusative*: on εἰς for predicative accus. see pp. 246f.

¹ *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, ed. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Oxford 1906, s.v. εἰς, III. 3.

² Zerwick § 20. Johannessohn DGKPS 4f. Psichari 201f. Jannaris § 1552. Helbing 60–67. Moulton Proleg. 71f. Moulton-Howard 462f.

³ Helbing 66f. Bonaccorsi 603f. Mayser II 2, 362ff; 416ff. Heidelberg in Kittel WB IV 287, 288 n. 4.

§ 3. Anomalies in the use of Prepositions

(a) For ἀπό with nom. see p. 230.

(b) Εἰς for local ἐν¹.

Etymologically these two prepositions are related, and at this period, from c. 150 B.C., εἰς is used instead of ἐν in a local sense, for the distinction between motion and rest becomes obscured in Hell. Greek. The same approximation occurs between πρὸς c. accus. and παρὰ c. dat. In the Koine εἰς and ἐν are freely interchanged, until in MGr εἰς has absorbed ἐν completely, consistently with the disappearance of the dat. However, under Hebraic influence ἐν appears almost twice as often as εἰς in NT, and confusion between the two prepositions has already begun, εἰς often appearing for ἐν and more rarely ἐν for εἰς (see p. 257).

Even in the class. period we sometimes find εἰς for ἐν in a compressed or pregnant construction,² but no NT writer except Mt³ is entirely innocent of the replacing of ἐν by εἰς in a local sense; in Lk-Ac most of the exx. are found. Mk 1⁹ ἐβασίλισθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην (possibly pregnant, implying the notion of *coming*), Lk 9⁶¹ τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου (no idea of motion), 11⁷ (D ἐν), Jn 1¹⁸ εἰς τὸν κόλπον (Syr^{our} gen.): there is therefore nothing very profound here concerning mutual motion between Father and Son; nevertheless John (including Rev) does not usually blur the distinction between εἰς and ἐν, and except for Mt he has fewer exx. of εἰς = ἐν than any NT author. Mk 1³⁹ (EF ἐν) 2¹ (SBD ἐν), 8²⁸ μηδενὶ εἰπῆς εἰς τὴν κώμην, 10¹⁰ (AC ἐν), 13³ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε (= Mt 10¹⁷ ἐν, D εἰς), 1⁶ (= Mt 24¹⁸ Lk 17³¹ ἐν), Lk 4²³ (vl. ἐν), 9⁶¹, Jn 20⁷ τὸ σουδάριον . . . ἐντετυλιγμένον εἰς ἓνα τόπον (pregn?), Ac 2⁵ (S^cBDCE ἐν) 2⁷ OT (motion impossible), 3⁹ τοῖς εἰς μακράν (a Semitism; not in LXX of Isa 57¹⁹), 4⁵ S (pregn?), 7⁴ (but perhaps by attraction), 1² (but LXX Ge 42², which is cited, has ἐν), 8²³ (or *destined for the gall of bitterness*), 9²¹ SA (rest ἐν), 9²⁸, 11²⁵ D, 12²⁵ SB (pregn.?), 14²⁵ (BCD ἐν), 17¹³ D, 18²¹ D, 19²² (D ἐν), 21¹³, 23¹¹, 11, 25⁴, 26²⁰, 1 Pt 5¹² (a post-script?) τὴν χάριν . . . εἰς ἣν ἐστήκατε KLP. Especially Semitic are the following: Lk 1⁴⁴ ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου, Ac 20¹⁶ 21¹⁷ 25¹⁵, Jn 17²³ 1 Jn 5⁸ εἰς (τὸ) ἐν. But εἰς = ἐν occurs in the secular Koine: P. Oxy VI 929¹² ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνενῆι εἰς τὸν χιτῶνα καρπῶν *inside the brown tunic*, see also Bauer s.v. εἰς.

¹ Mayser II 2, 371ff. Moulton Einl. 93. Rossberg 54. Radermacher² 140, 145. Johannessohn DGFS 330ff.

² As in NT Jn 9⁷ ὑπάγε νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν, 20¹⁹. 26 ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον, 1 Pt 3²⁰ εἰς ἣν ὅλγοι διεσώθησαν *by entering which* (pregn.).

³ C. H. Turner examined the use of εἰς for ἐν in Mk and pointed out that Matthew and Luke disliked the confusion, especially Matthew. See *JThS* 26, p. 14.

The Pauline and Johannine epistles and Rev (in spite of its Semitic character) do not often confuse local *ἐν* and *εἰς*. This is important for the exegete, because in Mt, the epistles, and Rev we can always presume that *εἰς* has its full sense even where one might suspect that it stood for *ἐν* (e.g. Mt 28¹⁹ baptism *into* the name, i.e. a relationship as the goal of baptism; also Mt 10⁴¹ receiving a righteous man *εἰς* *ὄνομα* of a righteous man, which is not the same as *ἐν* *ὀνόματι*, for it has the Semitic causal sense, *εἰς* being *ל*. See *ל* Jo 9⁹ Ezk 36²²: *because of* or *for the sake of* a righteous man's name. Cp. Mt 12⁴¹ they repented *because of* the preaching of Jonah. See Zerwick § 70a, 76. But in Mt 5³⁵ *μὴ ὁμῶσαι . . . εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*, *by*).

In the LXX (e.g. Ge 31³³ Nu 35³³), Diodorus (e.g. 3, 44), and in Hermas (e.g. V, I 2, 2; II 4, 3; S. I 2), *εἰς* = *ἐν* is common. Note especially *κρύπτω εἰς* Jb 40⁸ (13), Pr 1¹¹ Isa 2¹⁰ Je 42⁹ Ps 88⁴⁰ (Johannessohn DGPS 331f, Jannaris § 1548, Oepke in Kittel WB II 418f. n). There do not seem to be any papyrus exx. earlier than the Imperial period, e.g. P. Fay. 111¹¹ b (A.D. 95-100) *ἐνετιλάμην σου εἰς Διονυσιάδα μῖνα* *I have bid you remain at Dionysias*. The earlier examples are pregnant with the idea of motion (Mayser II 2, 371ff), but while it is true that some of the instances in NT (especially Lk 21³⁷ Jn 19¹³) may be the "pregnant" construction, the real explanation at this date lies not so much here as in the inevitable progress of the absorption of *ἐν* by *εἰς*¹.

(c) Interchange of *εἰς* and *ἐν* in a metaphorical (non-local) sense.

Polyb. V 13, 8 *εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστέριον* *on the next day*, Lk 1²⁰ *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν* *at their proper time* (*ἐν* correctly Mt 21⁴¹ 2 Th 2⁶), 13⁹ *εἰς τὸ μέλλον* *in the future* (P. Oxy. I 36, iii 3), class. *ἐς αὔριον*, Ac 13⁴² *εἰς τὸ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον* *on the next Sabbath*, 2 Co 13² Ph 1¹⁰ *εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ*, 1 Th 4¹⁵ *εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν* (P. Oxy. XIV. 1764. 9). In Ac 7⁵³ *εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων* may be a Hebraism (A. T. Robertson 482) or an Aramaism (*Beginnings* II 148). Also *εἰς* varies with *ἐν* in the formula which renders *לְשָׁנָה* (1 Km 1¹⁷ etc., Mk 5³⁴ Lk 7⁵⁰ 8⁴⁸ *ἐν*). We have *εἰς* in the baptismal formula Ac 19³ *εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα*. Corresponding to Heb *ב*, *εἰς* or *ἐν* occurs where the dat. would suffice, with *πιστεύω*, *δυνάμει*, *εὐδοκέω* (e.g. with *βαπτίζω*: Ac 8¹⁶ 19⁵ *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, as well

¹ For this reason alone the argument of J. H. Greenlee seems mistaken in his article in *The Bible Translator*, vol. 3, Jan. 1952.

as Ac 10⁴⁸ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι. Variation occurs too with ποιῶ and ἐργάζομαι (see pp. 236f.). In Jn 15²¹ ποιήσουσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς and Mt 26¹⁰ ἡργάσατο εἰς ἐμέ, εἰς occurs where one expects ἐν. With ἵστημι: Ro 5² ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν, but 1 Pt 5¹² εἰς ἣν στήτε. But variation was possible in class. Greek also with verbs of public speaking; so in NT κηρύσσω Mk 13¹⁰ εἰς (D ἐν), 14⁹ εἰς (Mt has ἐν), Lk 24⁴⁷, 1 Th 2⁹ (S* dat.), and εὐαγγελίζομαι Ga 1⁶ ἐν, 1 Pt 1²⁵ εἰς; Ac 17¹⁵ D; "it is an Aramaic construction" (Black AAGA² 71).

But a distinction between the two prepositions may sometimes, especially in Paul, be intended. Ph 1⁵ κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον: Jerome (Vulg.) and other translators may have failed to appreciate that Paul is not prone to confuse εἰς and ἐν. A process may be envisaged therefore (Zerwick § 77). The Vulg. etc. may also be wrong at Ph 2¹¹: not *confiteatur quia dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris*, but *in gloriam* (confess to the glory of . . .), Zerwick § 78. Even more important theologically, the distinction between εἰς and ἐν has been missed in Col 1⁶: *omnia per ipsum et ipso* (εἰς αὐτόν) *creata sunt*; but to Paul Christ is the *efficient and the final* cause (§ 79). Probably the only instance where Paul does confuse them is Eph 3¹⁶ κραταιοθῆναι . . . εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον (strangely, Vulg. has *in c. accus.*: §80).

(d) Sometimes also εἰς appears to stand for ἐπί and πρὸς. Except for mere stylistic variation there is no point in the change in Phm⁵ πρὸς τὸν κύριον Ἰ. καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους (so also 2 Ti 2²¹ 3¹⁷). In Mk 5³⁸ καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον, the sequel εἰσελθὼν λέγει αὐτοῖς makes it clear that εἰς = πρὸς. In Mk the instances of πρὸς are limited and εἰς assumes much of the sphere of πρὸς and ἐν; the full meaning of εἰς and ἐν cannot be insisted on. So also Mt 12⁴¹ *repent c. εἰς* (class. πρὸς), 21¹, Mk 11¹, ⁸ (= ἐπί), Lk 9¹⁰ 18³⁵ 19²⁹, Jn 4⁵ εἰς πόλιν *to*, not *into*, 11³¹. ³⁸ ὑπάγει (ἔρχεται) εἰς (D in ³⁸ corrects *to ἐπί*) τὸ μνημεῖον *towards*, and in 20³ εἰς cannot be *into* (from the context). Ἀμαρτάνω c. εἰς: Mt 18²¹ Lk 15¹⁸ (cp. P. Eleph. I, 9 *κακοτεχνεῖν μηδὲν . . . εἰς Δημητρίαν*); βλασφημέω εἰς Lk 12¹⁰. There is the Hebraism (or Aramaism) in Lk 15²² δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα (for class. *περί*), and εἰς often directs to a part of the body *to*, or on, which an act is done: Mk 8²³ Mt 27³⁰ ἔτυπον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν, 2 Co 11²⁰, cp. P. Tebt. III 798¹⁶ λακτίσαντες εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, Acta Petr. et Paul. 187¹ δραμὼν τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ Ἰουβενάλιος ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Πέτρου. With verbs of seeing:

Mt 22¹⁶ βλέπω εἰς, cp. P. Oxy XIV 1680¹¹ βλέπων εἰς τὸ ἀσύστατον. With verbs of speaking: Jn 8²⁶ λαλῶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

It may be that πρὸς tends to be used with a personal object, εἰς with an impersonal: 2 Co 1¹⁶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, then εἰς Μακεδονίαν, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν; Mk 2¹³ πρὸς αὐτόν but 3⁷ a vl. gives εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Nevertheless εἰς αὐτόν Ro 11³⁶.

(e) Confusion of διὰ τινος and τινά. See pp. 267f.

(f) Confusion of παρὰ τινος and τινί. See p. 273.

(g) Use of ἐν for εἰς. This occurs often enough in the LXX and even in Imperial and later papyri (Johannessohn DGPS 330ff; Mayser II 2, 372f).

Since there are 2,698 exx. of ἐν in NT it is not surprising that sometimes it bears the meaning of *into* or *into a state of* (especially ἐν μέσῳ). Mt 26²³ after *dip* (but Mk 14²⁰ εἰς), Lk 11⁷ ἐπιστρέψαι . . . ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων (or instrumental ἐν?), 4¹ (SBDLW have ἐν after *was led*) but the parallel has εἰς (Mt 4¹); Ro 1²³. 25 have ἐν after *change*, but 1⁸ has εἰς. After ἰσχύει (tr.) and τιθέναι the use of ἐν is class.: Ac 5²⁷; Mt 27⁶⁰ (Mk 4³⁰ is instrumental), Mk 6²⁹. 56 15⁴⁶ Lk 1⁶⁶ 21¹⁴ 23⁵³ Jn 19⁴¹ Ac 1⁷ 54. 18. 25 71⁶ 93⁷ Ro 9³³ 1 Co 12²⁸ 2 Co 5¹⁹ 1 Pt 2⁶. Sometimes after δίδωμι the preposition is pleonastic and means no more than *to*, but not always: Lk 12⁶¹ (*bring into*), Jn 3⁵³ (*committed into*), 2 Co 1²², 8¹⁶ (*put into the heart*). After other verbs of motion of course the usage is more extensive in later Greek than in class., especially so in LXX. The usage is not class. after verbs of coming and going (e.g. Rev 11¹¹ A), but it is literary and non-literary Hellenistic.

However, ἐν, is not likely to be *to* or *into* after ἔρχομαι in Mk. Except for ἐπὶ c. accus. in two instances, Mark's rule is invariable for expressing motion after this verb: εἰς (22 times) or πρὸς (12 times); and so in 5²⁷ 8³⁸ 13²⁶ the prepositional phrase will not express motion from place to place, but rather the accompanying circumstances or the sphere in which motion occurs. Nor is there any support at all for the rendering *into* after πίπτω in Heb 4¹¹; never, except in the compound ἐν μέσῳ, does ἐν occur in NT in a pregnant sense after this verb, even in the more Semitic parts. In a work like Hebrews it is even less likely to occur in the LXX sense of a literal rendering of ז. Nor is Lk 7¹⁷ a case of constructio praegnans: the Word spread abroad *in* . . . (Nain is certainly away from Judaea, but the addition of "surrounding districts" makes *in* more natural than *to*.)

§ 4. True Prepositions¹

I. WITH ONE CASE

Hellenistic Greek tends to limit prepositions to one case each, preferably accus.

(a) Genitive

Ἀντί is represented by 318 exx. in LXX, but only 22 in NT. The class. ἀνθ' ὧν remains, and coincides with Heb. **בְּגִלְגָּל** **מִן** etc.: *because* Lk 12¹⁰ 1944 Ac 12²³ 2 Th 2¹⁰; *therefore* Lk 12³. It alternates with ὅτι and διότι in Biblical Greek, and sometimes the two are combined: ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι. For *therefore* there is also ἀντί τούτου. The class. ἀντί with a kind of gen. of price also remains: Mt 17²⁷ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀντί ἑμοῦ καὶ σοῦ (class. ὑπέρ), 20²⁸ = Mk 10⁴⁵ λύτρον ἀντί πολλῶν (1 Ti 2⁶ ἀντίλυτρον ὑπέρ), Ro 12¹⁷ κακὸν ἀντί κακοῦ. Clearly in a substitutionary sense: Lk 11¹¹ ἀντί ἰχθύος ὄφιν, 1 Co 11¹⁵ κόμη ἀντί περιβολαίου (*instead of a wrap*), Jas 4¹⁵ ἀντί τοῦ λέγειν ὑμᾶς (*instead of saying*). It is more difficult to decide in the case of the atonement passages and of Jn 1¹⁶ χάριν ἀντί χάριτος ἐλάβομεν (substitutionary? i.e. the Spirit *in place of* Jesus' presence; or does it imply a *succession of graces*?)².

Ἀπό takes the place of ὑπό in a causal sense³. Mt 13⁴⁴ etc. ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς, Lk 12⁵⁷ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε *because of yourselves? for your own sake?*, 22⁴⁵ *for grief* (class. ὑπὸ), Ac 20⁹ κατενεχθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, 2 Pt 1²¹ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάβησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι (or perhaps for τὰ ἀπὸ θεοῦ?). The MSS vary greatly between ἀπό and ὑπό with the agent after passive verbs: Lk 12⁶ angel sent ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, Lk 6¹⁸ 7³⁵ 8⁴³ Ac 10³³ 15⁴. 2 Co 7¹³ Jas 1¹³ 5⁴ Rev 12⁶ (all pregnant: *prepared and derived from?*). Note the variants: Mt 11¹⁹ B² CDEF ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων, 16²¹ (D ὑπό), Mk 8³¹ AXW (1st hand), Ac 4^{9D} 3^{6B} (D ὑπό) 15⁴ BC (yet ὑπό in previous verse) 1 Pt 2⁴ C. Variants for ὑπό in LXX: Isa 11¹¹ (AQ ἀπό) etc.

Ἀπό stands for παρά c. gen. (rare in class. Greek): after ἀκούω

¹ K-G I § 428ff. Krebs, D. P. Polyb. Radermacher² 137ff. Moulton Einl. 158ff. Johannessohn DGKPS; DGPS. Mayser II 2, 373ff.

² J. M. Bover, "Χάριν ἀντί χάριτος", *Biblica* 6, 1925, 454-460. M. Black, *JThS* 42, 1941, 69f (*grace instead of disgrace*).

³ Imperial papyri, see Kuhring 35. See also Johannessohn DGPS 281f. Also MGr.

(see pp. 233f), *μανθάνω* (Ga 3² Col 1⁷), *παραλαμβάνω* (1 Co 11²³ etc.). After *coming* from a person: Jn 3² 16³⁰ *ἀπό* θεοῦ (Jn 8⁴² *ἐκ*, 16²⁷ *παρά*, ²⁸ *ἐκ*), Ga 21².

The confusion of *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* is common enough in Hell. Greek, and the process of incorporating *ἐκ* in *ἀπό* has begun already in NT; nevertheless *ἐκ* still outnumbers *ἀπό*: thus Rev has proportion 100:20. In a local sense the usage is still fairly accurate, except e.g. in Mk 16⁹ (C*DWL correct to *παρά*), Ac 13⁵⁰ 16³⁹ (E corrects to *ἐκ*, since they went *out of*, not *from*, the city), Heb 11¹⁵. But particularly in Lk, *ἀπό* is used with *ἐξέρχομαι* (going *out of*): 13 times, and never with *ἐκ*, in contrast to Mk who only once has *ἀπό* with *ἐξέρχομαι* (11¹²), but *ἐκ* 10 times (Zerwick § 62a). Nevertheless *ἐξέρχομαι* does have the sense of going *away from* in Lk 5⁸ (*ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*). Similarly Ac 12⁷ has *ἐκ* where one expects *ἀπό* (*ἐξέπεσαν αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν*).

But to mark the place of origin, *ἀπό* appears as well as *ἐκ*: Mt 21¹¹, Jn 1⁴⁴ has both (*ἦν ὁ Φ. ἀπὸ Βηθσαιδά, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου*), ⁴⁶ (but ⁴⁶ 4²² *ἐκ*), 11¹ has both (*ἀπὸ Βηθανίας, ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας*), Ac 10³⁸; *ἀπό* apparently occurs where *πόλις* or *κώμη* is not included. Always *ἀπό* for the country of origin (except in Jn): Ac 6⁹ 21²⁷ 23³⁴ 24¹⁸, papyri (Mayser II 1, 14ff; II 2, 377, 383.).

In the sense of *after* (class. *ἐκ*): Mk 7⁴ *ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς on return from market*, Heb 11³⁴ *ἀπὸ ἀσθενείας after weakness*. Temporal sense: *ἀπό τότε* Mt 16²¹ 26¹⁶ Lk 16¹⁶ (never *ἐκ*), *ἀπ' ἄρτι* Jn 13¹⁹ etc. (never *ἐξ*), but *ἐκ τούτου* Jn 6⁶⁶ 19¹² etc. (unless causal), *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου* Mt 11¹², *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* Mt 25³⁴ Lk 11⁵⁰ Heb 4³ 9²⁶ Rev 13⁸ 17⁸, *ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου* Ro 1²⁰; but *ἐκ παιδιόθεν* Mk 9²¹, *ἐκ γενετῆς* Jn 9¹, *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου* Ga 1¹⁵ (cp. LXX Isa 49¹), *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν* Ac 24¹⁰, *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος* Jn 9³².

There cannot be much significance in the change in 1 Th 2⁶ οὔτε ζητοῦντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀφ' ὑμῶν οὔτε ἀπ' ἄλλων. Vulg. ignores the distinction; in Mt 3¹⁶ ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος (after standing on the bank?) surely nothing different is intended from Mk's ἀναβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος (Mk 1¹⁰).

Ἐκ: for partitive use, see pp. 208ff. As subjective gen. 2 Co 8⁷ τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ, 9² (p⁴⁶ SBCP om *ἐξ*). One or two peculiarities confront us: it is used in a causal sense ¹ (= ὑπό):

¹ Mayser II 2, 388f. Abel § 46 b. MGr: Thumb² § 161, 5.

Mt 23²⁵ *they are full because of greed*, but perhaps *full of greed*, Jn 4⁶ *because of the journey*, 2 Co 7⁹ ζημιωθῆτε ἐξ ἡμῶν, 13⁴ ἐξ ἀσθενείας, 1 Pt 2¹² *because of good deeds*, 1 Jn 4⁶ ἐκ τούτου γινώσκομεν (or instr.), Rev 8¹³ οὐαί . . . ἐκ, 16^{10. 11. 12} *because of*. The instrumental use is similar: class. σωτηρία ἐκ τινος, θνήσκω ἐκ τινος, and τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεα; Lk 16⁹ *make friends ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ*, Jn 6⁶⁵ Rev 2¹¹ (like the class. δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν, Ac 26²³ (or local?), Ga 3⁸ ἐκ πίστεως *by means of?*, 1 Jn 4⁶ (see causal), Rev 18³ ἐκ . . . ἐπλούτησαν; papyri in Abel § 46 b. Rev 15² τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου is probably a compressed phrase (sc. *by separating themselves from or and delivered themselves from*). It is difficult to decide in Ro 14 ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἐξ ἀναστάσεως whether ἐκ is causal or temporal. A frequent use in Paul is the sense *belonging to* (-ists, of a sect or school): ὁ ἐκ or οἱ ἐκ Ro 3²⁶ οἱ ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ *believers in Jesus* (the noun after ἐκ expresses the character or standards of these men), 4¹⁴ οἱ ἐκ νόμου *nomistae*, 16 *who share Abraham's faith*, Ga 3^{7. 9. 310} *believers in justification by works*. Outside Paul (without def. art.): Jn 8²³ etc. 1 Jn 3¹⁹ *God-ists, devil-ists, world-ists*, also Jn 8^{44. 47} 15¹⁹ 17¹⁴ 1 Jn 3^{8. 10. 12}. Indeed ἐκ in general is very common in the Johannine writings.

Πρό has 48 instances, mainly temporal, e.g. Mt 5¹² 8²⁹ Lk 2²¹ Jn 11⁵⁵ (D has πρὶν τὸ πάσχα in accordance with the general preference for accus. with prepositions in Hell. Greek), 1 Co 2⁷. It is local: Ac 5²³ vl., 12⁶ (vl. πρὸς c. dat.),¹⁴ Jas 5⁹. Preference: Jas 5¹² 1 Pt 4⁸, perhaps Col 1¹⁷ (or temporal). For the Hellenistic construction πρὸ ἐξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα (Jn 12¹), πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων (2 Co 12²) etc., see Wackernagel II 194f: like the Latin means of dating with *ante*, e.g. *ante diem tertium Nonas Maias* (the second day before the nones of May). But the earliest exx. are before the date of Latin influence: LXX Am 1¹ πρὸ δύο ἐτῶν τοῦ σεισμοῦ, Herm S. VI 5, 3, Hom. Clem. 9¹, 13¹¹, Did. 7⁴ (see also Jannaris § 1651, K-G I 391, Johannessohn DGPS 188f, Moulton Proleg. 100ff. See previous chapter, p. 248).

(b) *Dative*

Ἐν. See pp. 254–7 for εἰς and ἐν confused. In spite of the substitution of εἰς by some authors, ἐν is the most popular

preposition in NT. J. H. Moulton described it as "a maid of all work" in late Greek and thought the increasing vagueness of its meaning contributed to its ultimate disappearance; in MGr it no longer survives in the spoken language. In the Koine all the prepositions become increasingly elastic and their sense has to be determined more often by the context than was earlier the case. This is notably so with εἰς, ἐν and ἐκ. Such elasticity makes it dangerous to press doctrinal distinctions as though our authors were writing class. Greek. For idiomatic translation, either the immediate context or else parallel usage of the prepositional expression in other contexts will be decisive. But *in* or *among* is still the primary meaning in Hell. Greek, even NT Greek.

Three factors contributed to the popularity and extension of usage in NT: first, the growing lack of clarity in the dat. case; then, the influence of the LXX, wherein ἐν had been widely employed to render the much-used כ; but equally important is the influence of Christian ideas, especially in phrases peculiar and vital to the Christian religion, like *in Christ*.

The meanings in NT may be classified: (1) Local: (a) *in* etc., actual and metaphorical, (b) *into* etc. (praegnans); see p. 257. (2) Temporal: *in*, *at*, *within*, *during*. (3) Peculiarly Christian usages, especially *in the Lord*, *in Christ*. After this we reach controversial meanings, where the idea of *within* is seldom satisfactory, and these together represent about one-third of all the NT instances: (4) Circumstance and instrument. (5) As a dat. of advantage or disadvantage. (6) Various occasional uses: reference, rate, etc.

(1) *Local*: (a) The meaning which still predominates in NT is *within*, *inside*, *on*, *at*, *among*, but a distinction must be made between those in a material sense and those in a metaphorical sense. Among the former are quotation-formulae: *in the book* (ἐν τῷ Ὠσηέ Ro 9²⁵), *in the Law*, *in David* (Heb 4⁷), ἐν Ἠλίου *in the story of Elijah* Ro 11², of which there are class. exx. (K-G I 431, 462-6): as well as *among* and *in the house of* (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Lk 2⁴⁹), and *at home* (Mk 2¹ 1 Co 11³⁴ 14³⁵), and the class. ἐν μέσῳ; there is also the notion of being *inside* clothing or equipment (Mk 12³⁸ Jn 20¹² Jas 2²) which is class. Among the metaphorical are phrases like *in the heart*, *in secret*, *in prayers*, *in thoughts*, *in the mortal body*, *on the right hand*, *in the mouth*, *in*

glory, in the vine, in a race, in the church. There are some borderline cases: 1 Co 7¹⁷ may be *in* or *to* the churches. Ac 17³¹ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ may be *in the person of* or may be instrumental. There may be a causal ἐν in Ro 1²⁴ (*because of the lusts of their hearts*);¹ so also 1²¹.

The local sense is slightly extended to denote *in the sphere of*, especially of God, Christ, and the gospel, and probably also of the Spirit's sanctification (1 Pt 1²) and the Name. The following are some spheres *in* which individuals, Christians or not, are mentioned: the gospel, the Law, darkness, circumcision, uncircumcision, grace (but in Ro 5² it may be instrum.), new life, death, sin, the flesh, the spirit, a calling, Adam (for in 1 Co 15²² it is not instrumental; Adam is a representative man *in whom* all mankind is viewed), the Christian wife or husband (1 Co 7¹⁴ also representative). 1 Co 7¹⁵ might be *in the sphere of* (Christian) peace, or probably *into* peace. Ro has 23 exx. of this use, and 1 Co has 14.

(b) *into*: see p. 257.

(2) *Temporal meanings*: ἐν often reinforces the dat. of time, both point of time and duration. The first may be rendered *in*, *at*, or *on*; the second by *within* or *during*, e.g. *in one day* (1 Co 10⁸), and this may be the way to take ἐν ὀλίγῳ in Ac 26²⁸ (*in a short time*), although *by a short argument* (scil. λόγῳ) is not impossible. Note here also ἐν with the articular infin., especially with Luke; most NT exx. have the temporal significance, and sometimes it is the class. meaning: e.g. *in rowing* Mk 6⁴⁸, *in the abounding* Lk 12¹⁵, *in turning* Ac 3²⁶, and also Mt 13⁴ Mk 6⁴⁸ Ro 3⁴ 15¹⁸ Ga 4¹⁸. All these are present infin. and the meaning is usually *while*, but with aor. infin. *when* or *after* (e.g. Lk 9³⁶). However, this is not invariable, because the aor. construction in 1 Co 11²¹ must mean *while you are eating* or *in eating*.

(3) *Peculiarly Christian usages*: the phrases *in Christ*, *in the Lord*, difficult to define, occur in Ro, for instance, 21 times and in 1 Co 21 times. The inventiveness of Christian usage is seen also in their frequent resort to similar expressions, such as *in the truth*, *in the Spirit*, *in the Name*. Sometimes Paul says we are in Christ (or the Spirit), and sometimes that Christ (or the Spirit) is in us: once indeed he says both in the same sentence,

¹ H. A. A. Kennedy, *Exp. T.* xxviii, 322, argues for this.

Ro 8⁹ *you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God dwells in you.* Such ideas seem to be mutually exclusive and it is tempting in view of contemporary Greek to translate the preposition simply *belongs to* or *with*. However, full weight must be given to the mystical conception of being *in Christ*¹, inside a new sphere of experience and spiritual existence, so that the early Christian could define it illogically and experientially as Christ being *in me*. In no other way is the ἐν of the Johannine epistle to be explained: *in* (not *with*) God is no darkness; men walk *in the sphere of* either darkness or light, truth or lies, love or hate; his word is *in us*, his love is made perfect *in us*, we abide *in* God and he abides *in us* (*with* is inadequate). It would be misleading to explain this as God *with us* or *for us*, and we *with him*; it is more profound. This applies to all other Christian experiences: hope, consecration, peace. It would not be safe to ignore the primary force of the preposition in any of these. They are states in which the believer moves. It is legitimate to take Eph 4⁴ 1 Th 4⁷ 1 Co 7¹⁵ as instances of *constructio praegnans*; but then the translation is *into*, not simply *to*. Paul carefully distinguishes ἐπὶ from ἐν in 1 Th 4⁷ and has a reason for the change from one preposition to the other. It is misleading in Col 3²⁰ to render *pleasing TO the Lord*; Paul means that obedience to parents is fit and proper *in that state of grace* in which the Christian now lives. In Paul, *to* after εὐάρεστος is simple dat., not ἐν, and we would expect only the dat. here if *to* is meant; moreover, the parallel with ἐν κυρίῳ, in the command to women just above, would be lost; for just above it can only mean *in the Lord*. We perceive then that it is from theology and Biblical syntax, and not from comparative syntax, that light is shed on this peculiar relationship expressed by ἐν; to compare non-Biblical parallels is largely irrelevant. Internal syntax-study reveals for the NT that πιστεύω is followed by εἰς or ἐπὶ or simple dat. when it means *believe in* someone or something; when the meaning is *believe someone*, it has the simple dat. The instances with ἐν are predicated of Christ or the gospel and mean *in the sphere of* Mk 1¹⁵ Jn 3¹⁵ v.l. 2.

¹ A. Deissmann, *Die nt. Formel "in Christo Jesu"*, Marburg, 1892. Oepke in Kittel WB II 534 n. Zerwick § 88.

² The same is probably true of πιστις ἐν: Ro 3²⁵ Col 1². 4 Eph 1¹. 15 1 Ti 3¹³ 2 Ti 3¹⁵ either *the belief of those who are in Christ*, or *Christ's personal faith*. (In Eph 3¹² the object after πιστις is expressed by a gen.)

With καλέω in 1 Co 7¹⁸ the phrase does not mean *to uncircumcise* but *while he was uncircumcised*; and 7²⁴ *let each remain in the state he was in when he was called*. Therefore in 7²² (ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεῖς) it is the less likely that the meaning is *called to or by the Lord*. Moreover, the presence of another preposition besides ἐν in Col 3¹⁵ indicates that here ἐν cannot mean *to* but must denote membership *within* the Body. Elsewhere in NT εἰς is used with καλέω for *inviting to* weddings, fellowship, eternal life, and glory; and ἐπί with dat. for *inviting to* liberty and impurity (nine times in all). In Ro 6¹¹ there is the simple dat. as well as ἐν: ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. When Paul means *to live to*, and not *in the sphere of*, he uses the simple dat.: Ga 2¹⁹, Ro 6¹⁰, 14⁷.⁸, 2 Co 5¹⁵; and when he means *to live by* he uses ἐκ: 1 Co 9¹⁴ 2 Co 13⁴.⁴ and OT quotations. There can be no question about the meaning of ἐν with ζάω in Ga 2²⁰ Ph 1²² *in the flesh*, Col 2²⁰ *in this world*, Ti 2¹² *in the present age*. For *to* with φανερόω the dat. is used; ἐν means *in, in the sphere of*. So with παρρησιάζομαι.

(4) *Circumstance and instrument*: see pp. 241, 252f.

(5) *Advantage or disadvantage*. No doubt occasionally ἐν c. dat. stands pleonastically for the normal dat., *to or for*¹ (sometimes in Attic poetry): *did to him* Mt 17¹², *done to me* Mk 14⁶, *speak to the perfect* 1 Co 2⁶, *veiled to those* 2 Co 4³, *to me* (perhaps *through me*) Ga 1¹⁶. *To the churches* is possible in 1 Co 7¹⁷ 2 Co 8¹ 2 Th 1⁴, but *within* is not impossible; *among* is possible Lk 2¹⁴ Ac 4¹² (the sphere of activity is emphasized). *Among* is possible Ro 10²⁰, where the presence of the preposition depends on the variant readings; 1st time p⁴⁷ BDFG; 2nd time BD). It may well be that in 1 Co 14¹¹ ἐν (SBA) was inserted by Paul in order to prevent λαλῶν being taken closely with ἐμοῖ, but it is omitted by some good authorities (p⁴⁶ DFG Clem. Alx. Chrys.). Jas 5³.⁵ ἐν not equivalent to a plain dat. (*treasure for the last days, for a day of slaughter*) but εἰς of Greek OT is deliberately altered to ἐν, since we are now *in* the last days. Jude¹ (difficult): the preposition may be displaced, but *beloved in God* in the Christian mystical sense is reasonable. Ac 20³² not simply a general statement that God's grace gives an inheritance *to* those who are sanctified, but that he will give *to* these

¹ Zerwick § 90.

particular saints at Ephesus, whose pastors Paul is addressing, an inheritance *among* all the sanctified, emphasizing the corporate nature of the Church *within* which these believers have their place¹.

(6) *Various occasional usages.* There are still a few phrases which elude classification. There is the *ἐν* which, as in the papyri, seems to mean *amounting to, at the rate of*, in the parable of the Sower: *sixtyfold, a hundredfold* Mk 4^{8, 20}, and the quotation at Ac 7¹⁴. A meaning *consisting in ordinances* Eph 2¹⁵ can be supported from the papyri, and this seems right at 1 Co 4²⁰: RSV *the kingdom . . . does not consist in talk*. For *ἐν* = occupied in (1 Ti 4¹⁵ Col 4³) we have papyrus support. It is permissible to classify a number of phrases as dat. of reference: *concerning or with reference to*. In Ro 8³⁷ we are said to be conquerors *with regard to* all these things: 11² *about Elijah*. So also 14²² 15¹³ 16² 1 Co 15. 5. 7. 10 32¹ 4² 7¹⁵ 9¹⁵ 12⁶ 15^{28, 41, 58}. A variety of interpretations is possible at Col 2¹⁵ (1) *local in him, or on it* (the cross), (2) *instrum. by means of him or by means of it* (the cross; cp. Eph 2¹⁶).

Σύν: *including* in Attic Greek (μετά *with*). Ionic and Hellenistic *with*, synom. for μετά. In NT, most frequent in Lk-Ac (but Ac 14⁴ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις has something of the inclusive meaning of *on the side of*). It is absent from Heb, 1 Pt, 2 Th, Phm, Past, Johann. Epistles, Rev², and almost absent from Jn (12² 18¹; without vl. only 21³; μετά very common). Only in Col does Paul make much use of it. It appears to be a synonym of μετά, e.g. Mt 26³⁵ σὺν σοὶ ἀποθνήσκω *in your company*, Lk 9³² Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, 1 Th 4¹⁷ 5¹⁰ Ph 1²³ Jas 1¹¹.

(c) *Accusative*

This becomes the popular case with prepositions in Hellenistic Greek.

Ἀνά: ³ rare in class. Greek, only 13 times in NT and only in ἀνά μέσον, ἀνά μέρος *in turn*, and in distributive sense as a

¹ Luke does not in fact use δίδωμι with ἐν for *give to*. Out of 81 occasions when he uses this verb with a possible indirect object, 74 have simple dat., and of the seven others it is very doubtful whether the preposition means *to* in any instance: it more naturally introduces an adverbial expression and is not an indirect object.

² See Wackernagel II 154, who notes the fact that the "stylistic" Hebrews and the "vulgar" Rev. shares this aversion to σὺν.

³ K.-G I 473f. Tycho Mommsen, *Beitr. z. Lehre von den griech. Präp.*, Berlin 1895, 381. Mayser II 2, 401ff. Krebs Polyb. 33f. Preisigke s.v. Moulton Einl. 170. Radermacher² 20, 72, 138, 140, 143, 145.

particle, *each*: ἕχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ Rev 4⁸, and as a distributive preposition: Mk 6⁴⁰ AL (but SBD κατά) Lk 9¹⁴ 10¹ Jn 2⁶ (Hellenistic).

Εἰς: ¹ “une des prépositions les plus riches en surprises” (Psichari 178). See pp. 253–256.

Its use is very extensive and it is encroaching on the functions of other prepositions, especially ἐν.

(1) In its normal local sense it is used with a variety of verbs of *coming, going, etc.*, when the verb indicates direction, and so is used of motion into a place or state. Mk 14⁵⁴ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν. It occurs also with verbs like πέμπω ἀποστέλλω παραβάλλω ἀποδημέω καταλύω ἄγω (and compounds): so Lk 21¹² παραδιδόντες εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς, 2 Ti 4¹⁸ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, 1 Pt 3²⁰ εἰς ἣν ὅλγοι . . . διεσώθησαν.

(2) Distributive εἰς with numbers = *fold, up to*: Mk 4⁸ εἰς τριάκοντα (v.l. ἐν or τὸ ἐν).

(3) Purposive εἰς, with τέλος ² (*with a view to the end, fully*) Lk 18⁵ Jn 13¹ LXX Barn Herm. P. Tebt. III 793 xi 8 τὸν (sic) Δωρίωνος δεξιὸν εἰς τέλος ἐξέτεμεν; with τὸ παντελές Lk 13¹¹; with κενόν Paul (class. διὰ κενῆς, as in LXX Jb and Ps) 1 Th 3⁵ Diodorus, LXX Pr; with μάτην (on analogy of εἰς κενόν). Otherwise purposive εἰς Mt 8³⁴ (εἰς ὑπάντησιν), 27⁷, Mk 14⁴ Ac 2³⁸ etc. εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Mk 14⁸, Lk 2³² LXX, 21¹⁸, Jn 9³⁹ εἰς κρίμα, Ro 5¹⁸ εἰς κατάκριμα . . . εἰς δικαίωσιν, 10¹, 4.10, 13⁴ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν *for your good*, 1 Co 14²², Ph 1¹⁹ εἰς σωτηρίαν (LXX Jb 13¹⁶), Col 3¹⁰ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν, ¹⁵ εἰρήνην . . . εἰς ἣν, Ti 3¹⁴, Heb 6⁶ εἰς μετανόαν, 9²⁸, Jas 5³ εἰς μαρτύριον ὑμῶν, 1 Pt 1⁵, 2²¹, 3⁹; P. Ryl. II 174¹⁵ εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν *to be annulled and cancelled*; NB εἰς τοῦτο completed by ἵνα or ὅπως, or infin. clause: Jn 18³⁷ Ac 26¹⁶ Ro 9¹⁷.

(4) εἰς for Heb. לָ Mt 21⁴⁶, εἰς τί = מָה? Mt 14³¹.

(5) Some contexts would certainly suit a causal sense:³ Mt 3¹¹ *because of repentance* (so some modern translators); 10⁴¹; 12⁴¹ = Lk 11³² μετενόησαν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰωνᾶ: they repented *because of* the preaching of Jonah (but *at* is sufficient); Ac 2³⁸ *be baptized εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν on the basis of* (but *with a view to* is sufficient, if your theology is satisfied), Ac 7⁵³; Ro 4²⁰ *on account of* the promises of God, Abraham did not waver (but *looking to* is sufficient); 11³² God has imprisoned all *because of disobedience*; 2 Ti 2²⁶ God gave them repentance *because they knew the truth* (but purposive εἰς is better); Ti 3¹⁴ *to maintain good works,*

¹ K.G I 468ff. Krebs Polyb. 106. Rossberg 30ff. Johannessohn DGPS 293–305. Moulton Einl. 93ff. Radermacher² 20f, 122, 128, 135f, 140, 146.

² Bauer s.v. εἰς 3. Mayser II 2, 419, 570. Preisigke s.v. τέλος.

³ On the possibility of causal εἰς in NT, see J. R. Mantey in *JBL* 70, 1951, 45ff, 309ff, and Zorell's *Lexicon* s.v.

because of the compelling need of them; Heb 12⁷ *you are enduring because of discipline* (but *as a discipline* is sufficient); 1 Jn 5¹⁰. Mantey brought forward examples from Hellenistic Greek in support of a *causal* sense for εἰς, but some of them can be taken in a purposive way. By way of reply, R. Marcus observed that if Mantey is right to interpret these NT passages causally his support must come from theology rather than linguistics.¹ In Mt 14³¹ Mk 15³⁴ εἰς τί is not strictly = διὰ τί (Mt 9¹⁴ Mk 2¹⁸) but is *in order to what* rather than *because of what*. Hardly any of the Hellenistic parallels brought forward by Mantey are convincing, as Marcus has shown.

II. WITH TWO CASES: GEN. AND ACCUS.

Διά: ² c. gen.

Through, place Mk 9³⁰ διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, time Lk 5⁵ δι' ὧν νυκτός, Heb 2¹⁵ διὰ παντός τοῦ ζῆν, 1 Mac 12²⁷ 2 Mac 13¹⁰ 4 Mac 3⁷; unclass. is the meaning the period of time within which something takes place: Mt 26⁶¹ Mk 14⁶⁸ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν *within three days*, Lk 9³⁷ D διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας *in the course of the day*, Ac 1³ *during forty days* (not continuously, but *now and then*). Of agency:³ Ro 11³⁶ δι' αὐτοῦ (creation), 1 Co 1⁹ 12⁸ Ga 1¹ Phm⁷ Heb 2¹⁰ 13¹¹ 1 Pt 2¹⁴. Of manner: 1 Ti 2¹⁵ σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας *shall be kept safe throughout child-birth* (temp.) or *shall be saved by means of* (Moule 56), 1 Pt 3²⁰ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος (attendant circumstances or environment), Heb 3¹⁶ οἱ ἐξεληθόντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ Μωϋσέως, Ac 15²⁷ διὰ λόγου *openly* (as opp. to *by letter*, ³² διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ *at length, with much talk*, Ro 2²⁷ *with all your scripture and circumcision*, ⁴¹¹ (Schrenk in Kittel WB I 765) *believers for all their uncircumcision*, 14²⁰ *with offence*, Ac 24², Ro 8²⁵, 1 Co 16³, 2 Co 2⁴, 3¹¹, 5⁷, 6⁸, 10⁹, Ga 3¹⁸, but not 4¹³ (not as vulg. *per*, but *propter*), Col 1²², Eph 6¹⁸ *with all possible*, 1 Ti 2¹⁰ 4⁵. ¹⁴ 2 Ti 2² *in the presence of*, Heb 9¹², 13²², 1 Jn 5⁶ 2 Jn 1², 1 Th 4¹⁴ τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *with Jesus*. In an urgent petition = *by* (Latin *per*, Attic πρὸς c. gen.): Ro 12¹ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, 15³⁰, 1 Co 1¹⁰ 2 Co 10¹ διὰ τῆς πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Uncertain meaning: Ac 3¹⁶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ *faith which is caused by him* (author) or *faith in him* (circumstantial), 2 Pt 3⁵.

c. accus.

Through (local), only poetical in class. Greek, but Hellenistic prose: Lk 17¹¹ only, SBL, διήρχετο διὰ μέσον . . . : never Polyb. (Krebs 68f) or LXX (Johannessohn DGPS 241, n. 1). Elsewhere consecutive *on account of*, e.g. Mk 6²⁸ Ac 18² 28² Rev 12¹¹ 13¹⁴; but sometimes there

¹ JBL 71, 1952, 44.

² K-G I 480ff. Krebs Polyb. 65. Rossberg 37f. Mayser II 2, 419ff. Johannessohn DGPS 235. Radermacher² 135 (instrum.), 138 (διὰ ~ ἐνεκα), 142 (accus. instrum.). 145 (διὰ ~ ἐν). Moulton Einl. 169ff. Moule 54-58.

³ Mayser II 2, 421ff. Ljungvik BSSVS 29ff. Johannessohn 237.

are indications of a later final sense, denoting purpose (ἐνεκα in class. Greek)¹ = γιά MGr *for*: Mt 24²², Mk 2²⁷ τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο, Jn 11⁴² 12³⁰, Ro 3²⁵ διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων *with a view to*, 4²⁵ δς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν (*because of*) καὶ ἡγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν (*with a view to*), 11²⁸ etc.

Κατά: ² more frequent c. accus. than gen.

c. gen.

Against (hostile) Mt 12³⁰, Mk 9⁴⁰, 14⁵⁵ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Lk 11²³ Ro 8³¹. Local, *down from* Mt 8³², Ac 27¹⁴ ἔβαλεν κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικός (*down from Crete? or against the ship?* The first may be better topographically), 1 Co 11⁴ etc.; *throughout* (Hellenistic) Lk 4¹⁴ καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου, 23⁵, Ac 9³¹. 42 10³⁷. Special uses: 2 Co 8² ἡ κατὰ βάθους πτωχεῖα *profound poverty* (*from the depths or down to the depths*) Mt 26⁶³ Heb 6¹³. 16 with ὕμνῳ.

c. accus., various senses (generally as class.):

1. For possessive or subjective gen. (from local sense *spectans ad* to metaph. *pertinans ad*), frequ. in Hell. Greek: Ac 17²⁸ οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιηταὶ *your poets*, 18¹⁵ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς *your law*, 16³⁹ D, 25¹⁴ τὰ κατὰ Παῦλον *Paul's case*, Ro 1¹⁵ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον *as far as I am concerned*, 9¹¹ ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ *God's purpose of choosing*. Perhaps the Gospel headings come under this category: i.e. of *Matthew*; this is found with the authorship of books (2 Mac 2¹³ κατὰ Νεσμῖαν). 2. But more probably *in accordance with*: Ro 8²⁶. 27 2 Co 7⁹. 11 κατὰ θεόν *in a godly way*, 11²¹ κατὰ φύσιν *in accordance with nature*, 1 Co 15³ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς 2 Co 10³ κατὰ σάρκα *in accordance with material standards*, Ga 3¹⁵ *in human fashion*, Eph 4²⁴ *in God's image*, Heb 9⁹. 3. Distributive: Mt 27¹⁵ Mk 15⁶ καθ' ἑορτήν *at each feast*, Heb 7²⁷ *daily*, 9²⁵ *yearly*, Mk 6⁴⁰ κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πενήκοντα SBD *one hundred each*, 1 Co 14³¹ καθ' ἓνα *one by one*, Eph 5³³ οἱ καθ' ἓνα *individually*, Heb 9⁵ κατὰ μέρος *in detail*. The phrase κατὰ εἰς or καθεὶς (Mk 14¹⁹ Jn 8⁹ Ro 12⁵) has now become stereotyped as an adverb. More difficult to assess are: Mt 19³ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν (causal), Mk 13⁸ κατὰ τόπους *in places*, Lk 1¹⁸ κατὰ τί *in view of what? whereby* (or causal?), 15¹⁴ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην *throughout that land*, Ac 12¹ *at* (temporal), 25²³ τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν *eminent men* (a stock phrase for *par excellence*), 1 Co 7⁶ *as a concession*, 2 Co 8³ κατὰ δύναμιν *according to their power*, 8¹² *in proportion to what one has*, 10⁷ τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον *what is in front of you*, Heb 7¹⁶ κατὰ νόμον . . . κατὰ δύναμιν *by virtue of*.

Μετά: ³ c. gen.:

Its frequency relative to that of σύν:

¹ H. G. Meecham, *Exp. T. L.* no. 12, Sept. 1939, 564.

² K-G I 475ff. Krebs Polyb. 128. Mayser II 2, 427ff. Johannessohn DGPS 245ff. Radermacher² 139ff. Moulton Einl. 158 (frequency), 169f.

³ K-G I 505ff. Tycho Mommsen, *Beitr. z. Lehre von d. griech. Pap.* 256f. Krebs 58ff. Rossberg 8f. (frequency), 49-50 (use). Mayser II 2, 440ff. Johannessohn DGPS 202-216. Moulton Einl. 158 (frequency), 170, 172. Radermacher² 128, 138, 140f 145, 146.

	Ptol. texts (Rossberg)	Polyb. (Krebs)	Lucian	NT (Moulton)
μετά	1·5	6·7	7	3·5
σύν	1	1	1	1

Ionic influence accounts for the greater relative frequency of σύν in Ptol. pap. and NT. On the whole, μετά far outweighs σύν in NT, but in some individual books σύν holds its own (e.g. Ac). The accus. is on the decline: thus in Ptol. pap. gen.: accus. is 2·5:1 (iii/b.c.), 3:1 (ii/b.c.), 10+:1 (i/b.c.). The NT has 3·6:1 (361:100), LXX Ezek β 14·5:1, Ps 16:1.

(1) *amongst* Mk 1¹³ ἦν μετά τῶν θηρίων, 10³⁰ μετά διωγμῶν, Lk 22³⁷ μετά ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη, 24⁵ μετά τῶν νεκρῶν, Jn 11⁵⁶, 1 Ti 4¹⁴ μετά ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν (impersonal for person: *among those who laid on their hands*), but perhaps (2), Heb 12¹⁴ 2 Ti 2²² εἰρήνην διωκέω μετά not *peace with*, but *in company with* (Foerster in Kittel WB II 412, 415), 1 Jn 4¹⁷ τετελειῶται ἡ ἀγάπη μεθ' ἡμῶν.

(2) *with*, of mutual participation (e.g. κρίνομαι 1 Co 6⁶, λαλέω Jn 4²⁷; also πολεμέω, εἰρηνεύω, συμφωνέω, etc.) or accompanying circumstances (e.g. μεθ' ὄρκου Mt 14⁷) or instrument (e.g. Lk 22⁶² ἐξήλθατε μετά μαχαίρων). In contrast to σύν, the meaning of μετά is never *in addition to*. In composition with a verb, when the meaning is *with*, συν- or ὁμο- is used, and not μετα- (except with μετέχω, μεταδίδωμι and μεταλαμβάνω).

c. accus., only *after* (temporal): an exception may be Heb 9³ μετά τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα. Ac 1⁵ etc.

Περί: ¹—*about*, literal or metaph.

c. gen. extremely common.

Esp. metaph. with such verbs as *think, care, etc.*: Mt 9³⁶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν, Mt 20²⁴ Mk 10⁴¹ ἠγανάκτησαν περὶ, Lk 21⁸ θαυμάζω, Jn 7¹³, 9¹⁷, 1 Th 5²⁶ προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν, 1 Pt 5⁷ αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν, Lk 24²⁷ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, Ac 18²⁵ Ph 2²⁰. Absolutely, at the beginning of the sentence: 1 Co 7¹ 25 8¹ 12¹ 16¹. Also *on behalf of, on account of* (= ὑπέρ) class. and Hell., in the debatable phrase Mt 26²⁸ τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ (D ὑπέρ) πολλῶν ἐκκυνόμενον (ὑπέρ in parallels of Mk, Lk, Paul), Heb 10²⁶ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν (same sense 10¹²

¹ K-G I 491ff. Krebs 98ff. Rossberg 8f (frequ.), 41ff (use). Kuhring 15. Mayser II 2, 445ff. Johannessohn DGPS 219ff. Radermacher² 118, 125, 135, 139, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146. Moulton Einl. 158. 170. Moule 62f.

ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν); Heb 5^{1.3} ὑπὲρ . . . ὑπὲρ . . . : then περί . . . περί . . . περί . . . , Jn 17⁹, Ac 26¹ (B ὑπὲρ), 1 Co 1¹³ D*B p⁴⁶ ἐσταυρώθη περί ὑμῶν, Ga 1⁴ (S^cB ὑπὲρ). Perhaps with περισσός in mind, AV has *above all things* in 3 Jn² περί πάντων . . . εὐδοῦσθαι (*in every respect*), but it may correspond to the salutation which occurs in papyrus letters: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν *before all*.

c. accus. rarer :

About literally (local and temporal), Mk 4¹⁰ Lk 22⁴⁹ οἱ περί αὐτόν *his disciples* or *those who were round him*, but οἱ περί Παῦλον (Ac 13¹⁸) includes Paul, as in class. idiom. But πρὸς τὰς περί Μάρθαν καὶ Μαρίαν (Jn 11¹⁹ p⁴⁵ Θ AC² Γ) denotes Martha and Mary only (as in later Greek; see Bauer s.v. 2 δ). Temporal: Mt 20³ etc. περί τρίτην ὥραν *about the third hour*. Also concerning with ἐπιθυμῆσαι (Mk 4¹⁹), περισπάομαι, θορυβάζομαι (Lk 10^{40f}), τοὺς περί τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας (Ac 19²⁵); the general tendency, culminating in MGr, was for the prepositions to be followed only by the accus., and already in Aristotle there are instances where περί c. accus. is used for the Attic περί c. gen. (Wackernagel II 215); so Paul, Ph 2²³ τὰ περί ἐμέ *my affairs*, exactly as 2²⁰ τὰ περί ὑμῶν *your affairs*, 1 Ti 1¹⁹ περί τὴν πίστιν ἐναυάγησαν, 6^{4.21}, 2 Ti 2¹⁸ 3⁸, Ti 2⁷ περί πάντα *in all respects*.

Πρίν :

= πρὸ, c. acc. Mk 15⁴² D πρὶν σάββατον, Jn 11⁵⁵ D πρὶν τὸ πάσχα; c. gen. (as Hell. Greek) Mt 26³⁴ p^{37.45} L fam¹ πρὶν (ῃ) ἀλεκτοροφωνίας; acc. or gen.? Jn 8⁵⁸ D lat πρὶν Ἀβραάμ.

Ὑπὲρ : ¹ = *over*, but not locally in NT (except Heb 9⁵ D* E* for ὑπεράνω); locally in papyri (Mayser II 2, 461). Comparatively rare in Ptol. pap. (13th place among true prepositions) and Herodotus (16th place) and NT (12th place). The accus. is comparatively rare: Ptol. 20 : 1, LXX 239 : 211 (1 : 1), NT 6 : 1. c. gen.

For, on behalf of (Mk 9⁴⁰ 1 Co 4⁶), often oppos. to κατὰ in the same passages; περί is often substituted, but there is also the reverse change of περί to ὑπὲρ for concerning (e.g. λέγω ὑπὲρ)², which is almost confined to Paul in NT: Jn 13⁰ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον (corrected to περί S^cAC³L), Ac 8²⁴ pray ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, 2 Co 1⁸ ἀγνοεῖν . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως, 8²³ ὑπὲρ Τίτου *as for Titus*, 12⁸ *about this*, 1 Th 3² παρακαλεῖσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν *to encourage you concerning your faith*, 2 Th 2¹ ἐρωτάω ὑπὲρ, Ph 4¹⁰ φρονέω ὑπὲρ *think upon*; note the two prepositions together in the same sense Eph 6^{18f} προσευχόμενοι περί πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. Etc.

¹ K-G I 486ff. Schwyzer II 518f. Krebs 40ff. Rossberg 8f, 40f. Kuhring §§ 19. 20. Johannessohn DGPS 216ff. Radermacher² 139 (ὑπὲρ = ἀντί), 140, 143 (frequency). Moulton Einl. 158 (relative frequ.) 170f. Mayser II 2, 456ff.

² Mayser II 2, 457ff. Johannessohn DGPS 217f.

in Paul. The boundary between *ἐντί* and *ὑπέρ* c. gen. is very narrow (substitution), necessarily so because what is done *on behalf of one* is often done *in one's stead*; the compound of *ἐντί* occurs closely with *ὑπέρ* in 1 Ti 2⁶ *ἐντίλυτρον ὑπέρ πάντων*; Mk 14²⁴ *blood is shed ὑπέρ* (but *ἐντί* in 10⁴⁵), Jn 11⁵⁰, Ac 21²⁶, Ro 5⁷, 8, 1 Co 15²⁹, 2 Co 5¹⁴, 15²¹, Ga 3¹³, Phm¹³, 1 Ti 2⁶, Ti 2¹⁴. Adverbial *ὑπέρ*: 1 Co 4⁶(?) 2 Co 11²³.

III. WITH THREE CASES

Ἐπί: ¹

	Polyb.	Ptol. pap.	NT	LXX Pent.	Isa.	LXX total	
gen.	1.5	4.5	1.2	2.5	1	1730	1.4
dat.	1	1	1	1	1	1219	1
acc.	3	2.5	2	3.7	2	4629	3.8

Even in class. Greek the distinctions between the cases with this preposition are difficult to define; all attempts to be dogmatic in Biblical Greek are doomed. Although all cases are largely represented, there is a tendency for the accus. to prevail, as is seen in Mk 4³⁸ (Wackernagel II 215) where D has an atticistic correction to the gen. *ἐπὶ προσκεφαλῶν*.

c. gen.

(1) Local, usually = *upon*: Mk 21⁰ etc. *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*; but also place to which: Mk 4²⁶ *βάλλη τὸν σπορόν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*; Rev 14¹⁹ S (p⁴⁷ *ἐπὶ* c. acc.; ACP *εἰς* etc.; *at, by* Mt 21¹⁹ *ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, etc.; *in the presence of* Mt 28¹⁴, Mk 13⁹ etc. (2) Metaph., *over* (authority, oversight), with *καθίστημι* and *βασιλεύω*, but *ἐξουσία ἐπὶ* c. gen. is exclusively Biblical. (3) Temporal:² Mk 2²⁶ *ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως*, Mt 1¹¹, Ac 11¹⁹ *AE τῆς θλίψεως τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Στεφάνου at the time of Stephen's death* (but vl. *ἐπὶ* c. dat. *on account of*), Heb 1² etc. *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν* (Semitism). Mk 12²⁶ Lk 20³⁷ *in the passage where*.

c. dat.

(1) Local, not easy to distinguish from *ἐπὶ* c. accus. or gen.: *before, upon* Eph 1¹⁰ *τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (interchangeable);

¹ K-G I 495ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 211, 36; 217, 29. Krebs 76. Rossberg 44f. Kuhring § 29. Johannessohn DGFS 305ff. Radermacher² 125, 126, 128, 136. Moulton Einl. 173f. Moule 49f. Mayser II 2, 462ff.

² C. H. Turner, "Ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου (1 Tim. vi. 12, 13)", *JThS* 28, 1927, 270ff.

as also Ac 27⁴⁴ ἐπὶ σάνισιν and ἐπὶ τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου), Mt 24³³, Jn 4⁶, Mt 16¹⁸ (D acc.), Ac 8¹⁶ (D* acc.) etc. (2) More often to denote cause, especially with verbs expressing motion, and also Mt 4⁴ Lk 15⁹ etc.; Ro 5¹² 2 Co 5⁴ ἐφ' ᾧ *because*,¹ Lk 5⁵ ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ῥήματι σου. (3) Addition, Lk 3²⁰ 16²⁶ (SBL ἐν), Col 3¹⁴, Heb 8¹. (4) Condition Ro 8²⁰, 1 Co 9¹⁰, Ga 5¹³, 1 Th 4⁷, Ti 1². (5) Final Ga 5¹³ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, Eph 2¹⁰, Ph 3¹², 1 Th 4⁷. (6) Consecutive 2 Ti 2¹⁴. (7) Temporal Jn 4²⁷ ἐπὶ τούτῳ (S*D ἐν) *at this juncture*, 1 Co 14¹⁶, Ph 1³ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείᾳ ὑμῶν, 2¹⁷, 4¹⁰ ἐφ' ᾧ *whereon*, Eph 4²⁶, 1 Th 3⁷, Heb 9²⁶ *at the close of the ages*, 11⁴.

c. accus. :

(1) In class. Greek it answers to question "whither", but also in Hellenistic it is interchangeable with gen. and dat. : Mk 4³⁸ (DW gen.), Mt 14²³ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν SBW (CD gen.), but gen. in Mk 6⁴⁸ Jn 6¹⁹; Mt 14²⁸ WFG (SBDC gen.); Rev 13¹ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς; 13¹⁶, 14⁹ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου . . . ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα (p⁴⁷ corrects to gen). Κάθημαι ἐπὶ c. accus. Rev 4², c. dat. 21⁶, c. gen 14¹⁶. (2) In metaph. sense: Lk 1³⁸ βασιλεύσει ἐπὶ; same interchange, e.g. Mt 25²¹ ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἡς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω; it is used with σπλαγχνίζομαι *upon* (Mt 15⁸²), μοιχάομαι *with* (Mk 10¹¹, cp. LXX Je 5⁹ χρεμετίζω ἐπὶ) etc. (3) Temporal: Ac 16¹⁸ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας *for many days*; Mt 25⁴⁰? ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε (vulg. *quamdiu*), etc.; Ac 4⁵ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον (Hell. Greek: Krebs 17, Mayser II 2, 540).

Παρά ²

The most frequent after ἐν, εἰς, ἐπί in Ptol. pap. but in 12th place in NT.

The relative frequency of the cases reveals a sharp contrast between the NT and contemporary Koine.

	Hdt.	Ptol. pap.	Mk	Lk-Ac	Ro Co Ga	NT	Pent	Isa	Ps.	LXX	
gen.	1.8	22.5	6	1.6	0.2	1.6	2	8	1.6	501	2.
dat.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	191	1
acc.	3.5	2.5	7	1.5	1.3	1.2	2	1.3	1	293	1.

¹ ICC Ro. 5 p. 349. But cf. S. Lyonnet, "Le sens de ἐφ' ᾧ en Rom 5: 12 et l'exégèse des pères grecs", *Biblica* 36, 1955, 436-456.

² K-G I 509ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 207, 17; 219, 40. Krebs 51ff. Rossberg 51ff. Mayser II 2, 482ff. Radermacher² 126, 136, 139, 141f, 225. Moulton Einl. 158, 173. Johannessohn DGPS 226-35.

c. gen. :

In class. Greek *from the side of* (so Lk 14⁵) ; unclass. with κατηγορέομαι Ac 22³⁰ HLP (rest ὑπό), and Mk 3²¹ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ *his kinsfolk*.

c. dat. :

In all NT writers except Heb and Jude (but Mt 13⁵⁶ has αἱ ἀδελφαὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσι, instead of class. Attic παρ' ἡμῖν, marking the Hellenistic preference for accus. : Wackernagel II 215) ; rarest of the cases : *by, beside* (nearly always personal), not of immediate neighbourhood : Jn 19²⁵ ; *in the house of* Lk 19⁷ Jn 14⁰ Ac 10⁶, *amongst* Rev 2¹³. Figurative : Lk 1³⁰ *with*, etc. The local παρά c. dat. has almost disappeared in NT.

c. accus. (never occurs in Johannine writings, incl. Rev, or in Cath. epistles) :

Beside, in answer to questions where? and whither? But not, as frequently in class. Greek, with personal names (πρὸς instead), oppos. of κατὰ (metaph.) *contrary to, beyond* Ro 12⁶ 11²⁴ 1 Co 3¹¹ 2 Co 8³ ; *more than* Lk 13². 4 παρά πάντας, Ro 12⁵ 12³ 14⁵ ; *minus or except* Lk 5⁷ D παρά τι *almost*, 2 Co 11²⁴ 40 *minus one*, Herm. S VIII 1, 14 ; IX 19, 3 ; *because* 1 Co 12¹⁵ οὐ παρά τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος *that is no reason for its not being*. Mt Mk have παρά c. accus. only in local sense.

Πρὸς¹

In 8th place of frequency in the Ptol. papyri. With regard to the use of the cases, NT and LXX are decidedly *sui generis*.

	Hdt.	Polyb.	Ptol. pap.	NT	LXX
gen.	2	0.2	0.02	0.16	23 (0.2)
dat.	1	1	1	1	104 (1)
acc.	6	15	4	116	<i>passim</i>

c. gen. :

In class. Attic πρὸς, like ὑπό, was used with all three oblique cases. But πρὸς c. gen. is found only three times in Polyb., rarely in inscriptions and in the Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 493f). It occurs only 23 times in LXX

¹ K-G I 515ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 220. 43 ; 45. Wackernagel II 208. Mayser II 2, 492ff. Krebs 113ff. Rossberg 54ff. Kuhring 17, 29, 31. Johannesohn DGPS 259-71. Radermacher² 135, 136, 141, 145, 146. Moulton Einl. 173.

(Moulton Proleg. 106); in NT, only at Ac 27³⁴ τοῦτο πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει *advantageous to* (very close to Thuc. 3, 59, 1 οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης τάδε).

c. dat.:

By, at (class.). Six times in NT (accus. instead): Mk 5¹¹ πρὸς τῷ δαίμονι, Lk 19³⁷ (D acc.), Jn 18¹⁶ 20¹¹ (vl. acc.)¹² Rev 1¹³.

c. accus.: abundantly used.

In accordance with (class.): Mt 19⁸ Mk 10⁵ Lk 12⁴⁷ 1 Co 12⁷ 2 Co 5¹⁰. With verbs of saying, it illustrates the Hellenistic tendency to use prepositions in place of the simple case (pp. 236f, 251). So with verbs of coming, sending, etc. Also taking the place of παρά after εἰμι etc.: e.g. Mt 13⁵⁶ πρὸς ὑμῶν εἰσιν, 26¹⁸. 55 vl, Mk 6³ Jn 1¹, especially Mk 9¹⁰ ἐκράτησαν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς, 11³¹ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς (cp. Mt 21²⁵ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς), Mt 21¹ πρὸς τὸ δρόμον (vl. εἰς), Mk 1³³, 2², 11¹. 4. Temporal: *about*, such phrases as πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καιρὸν, ὥραν, ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, Lk 8¹³ 24²⁹ Jn 5³⁵ Heb 12^{10f} etc. Relationship, hostile or friendly: Mt 27⁴ Jn 21²². 23 Mk 12¹² Lk 20¹⁹, Ac 28²⁵ ἀσύμφωνος, 1 Co 6¹ πρᾶγμα ἔχω πρὸς, Heb 4¹³. Purpose, result: 2 Co 10⁴ Eph 4²⁹ 1 Ti 4⁸.

ὑπό¹

In the Ptol. papyri, 12th place: in NT 10th place.

PROPORTIONS:

	Hdt.	Polyb.	Ptol. pap.	NT	Pent	Mi. Pr.	2-4 Mac	1 Mac	Isa	LXX
gen.	10.8	61	60.4	3.3	0.5	4	5	3	6	(291) 1.4
dat.	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	*
acc.	1	25	10.6	1	1	1	1	1	1	(203) 1

* Only Jb 12⁵ A.

Whereas ὑπό still occurs with dat. about eleven times in Polyb., it never (ex. Jb 12⁵ A) occurs so in LXX or NT and there is the same tendency as with πρὸς.

¹ K-G I 521ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 222, 50. Mayser II 2, 509ff. Krebs 47ff. Rösberg 58ff. Kuhring § 25. Johannessohn DGPS 174ff. Radermacher² 139, 142, 145. Moulton Einl. 170.

c. gen. : *by* (agent), after passive and virtually passive verbs.
c. accus. :

Under (combining the old local use of ὑπό c. gen. and dat. : Mayser II 2, 371); never in Jn (except 1⁴⁸ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν) or Rev (which has ὑποκάτω). In class. temporal sense (*circa*), only Ac 5²¹ ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον.

§ 5. Repetition or Omission of the Preposition¹

Both repetition and omission of the preposition before two or more phrases connected by καί is found in Ptol. pap. and NT. Polyb. is fond of repeating the preposition, especially in quotations, sometimes three or four times. The omission can sometimes be rather harsh in NT : Mt 4²⁵ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας . . . καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

Actually, repetition is more usual when each of the united ideas has to be brought into emphatic prominence; but in by far the greater majority of instances in the Ptol. papyri, especially in the unofficial style of writing, the preposition is not repeated. Repetition in any large degree is a peculiar feature of Biblical Greek². In Thucyd. book I there are only six instances of repetition, out of 25 opportunities for its occurrence, and in these six instances there is an emphasis which makes repetition necessary. Let us compare this with Biblical Greek.

	Ezek. (B-text) *	Mk	Mt	Lk	Ac	Jn	Ro I Co	Eph	Past	Rev
opportunities	93	26	35	55	56	15	24	16	24	38
repetitions	78	10	11	9	16	8	14	6	4	24

* The result is even more remarkable, assuming the AQ readings.

§ 6. Improper Prepositions

Ἄνευ³

Only three examples in NT : Mt 10²⁸ ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν

¹ K-G I 548. Mayser II 2, 515f. Krebs 10f. Black AAGA² 83. See also above, Introduction, p. 4, n.7.

² See N. Turner, "An Alleged Semitism", *Exp. T.* LXVI 8, 1955, 252-254.

³ K-G I 402, 4. Kuhring 46f. Mayser II 2, 518ff. Johannesson DGPS 337-339. Radermacher² 140.

without the knowledge of or without the permission of, like *ἄνευ θεῶν* in Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 519f) 1 Pt 3¹ 4⁹. Usually *ἄνευ* has post-positive position only after interrog. and rel. pronouns, but 3 Mac 4⁵ and Aristot. *Metaph.* 1071^a 2 are among the exceptions (Wackernagel II 199).

Ἐνεκα, ἐνεκεν ¹

= *propter* and *διὰ* c. accus. Position nearly always pre-positive in NT, following Semitic model; but post-positive in Ptol. pap. and Polyb. more than twice as often as pre-positive.

Ἐως and *μέχρι (ἄχρι)* ².

In the Ptol. pap., although these prepositions will appear with the same meaning in the same phrase, *ἕως* is much more frequent than *μέχρι* both in its temporal and local meaning. Whereas the relationship in the Ptol. papyri is 1 : 8, in Polyb. it is only 1 : 1.7. Originally *ἕως* was a conjunction (see pp. 110f), becoming a preposition in the Hell. period. It is often combined with an adverb: *πότε, κάτω, ἄρτι, σήμερον*; and sometimes it receives strengthening from another preposition: *ἕως πρὸς* Lk 24⁵⁰, *ἕως ἐπὶ* Ac 17¹⁴, *ἕως ἔξω* Ac 21⁵, *ἕως καὶ εἰς* 26¹¹, *ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν* Mk 14⁵⁴.

Ἀχρι(ς) occurs in Mt 24³⁸, and Lk-Ac, Paul, Heb, Rev; *μέχρι(ς)* in Mt, and occasionally in Lk, Ac, Paul, Heb; they are also conjunctions (e.g. *ἄχρις οὗ* Ro 11²⁵, *μέχρις οὗ* Mk 13³⁰). All absent in Jn, except 8⁹ S.

§ 7. Prepositional Adverbs

Ἄμα ³

This adv. has the dat. only at Mt 13²⁹ *ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον* (D *ἅμα καὶ τ.σ. σὺν αὐτοῖς*); elsewhere *ἅμα σὺν* 1 Th 4¹⁷ 5¹⁰. Cp. *ἅμα μετ' αὐτῶν* Ditt. Syll.³ 705 ⁵⁷ (112 B.C.).

Ἐγγύς

Very frequent in NT. See p. 216.

Ἔσω ⁴

Mk 15¹⁶ *ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς* (vl. *ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν*). Only used as an adv. in the Ptol. papyri (Mayser II 2, 528).

¹ K-G I 462c. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 213, 12; 215, 23-27. Mayser II 2, 520ff. N. Turner, *Vet. Test.* 5, 1955, 210f.

² K-G I 346, 2. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 217, 30. Schwyzler II 549f. Mayser II 2, 522ff. Johannessohn DGPS 304f. Radermacher² 140.

³ K-G I 432, 2; II 82 n. 3. Mayser II 2, 526ff. Johannessohn DGPS 212, 322. Radermacher² 142.

⁴ Radermacher² 66, 224.

Ἐκτός¹

Except: as a preposition in Ptol. pap. 30, in NT 9 (e.g. Ac 26²² 1 Co 15²⁷), in LXX 20, in Polyb. 43. See p. 216.

Ἐνάντιον²

In NT the meaning is weakened from *opposite* (class.) to *before* (a mere substitute for πρό). Never as adv. in NT. Mk 21² ACD (vl. ἐμπροσθεν), Lk 1⁸ SAC, 20²⁶, 24¹⁹ (D ἐνώπιον), Ac 7¹⁰ 8³² OT. Ἀντικρύς *opposite*: Ac 20¹⁵ ἀντικρύς Χίου. ἀπ- and κατ- ἀντικρύ(ς) do not appear at all. The β-text has κατὰ Χίον at Ac 20¹⁵.

Ἐντός³

See p. 216. Rare in LXX, only twice in NT, but 37 times in Polyb., and about 20 times in Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 530).

Ἐνώπιον⁴

Hellenistic, earliest in LXX. Frequent in Lk and 1st part of Ac and Rev. In Jn, only at 20³⁰ 1 Jn 3²² 3 Jn⁶. Never in Mt Mk. κατενώπιον Eph 1⁴ Col 1³² Jude 2⁴ (Biblical Greek word).

Ἐξω⁵

See p. 216. In class., Polyb., Ptol. pap. and NT, used as a preposition.

Κυκλόθεν

LXX Je 17²⁶, NT (Rev), Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 532).

Ἀόθρα

K-G I 402, 4. Mt, Mk, Jn, Ac.

Μεταξύ⁶

Rare in NT and LXX (only Ge² Jg¹, Km⁴, Wi³), which prefer ἀνά μέσον and ἐν μέσῳ. Μεταξύ is the literary and even atticizing form, and occurs in three insertions from Aquila: Jg 5²⁷ (in same verse ἀνά μέσον), 3 Km 15^{6. 32}. NT: Mt 18¹⁵ etc. Adverbial: Jn 4³¹ Ac 13⁴².

Ὅπισθεν

As a preposition only at Mt 15²³ Lk 23²⁶. But ὀπίσω occurs 26 times (300 in LXX); twice as an adv. The prepositional use belongs to Bibl. Greek and arises from LXX rendering of "חַלְפִּי. It does occur, but extremely rarely, in the Koine (Mayser II 2, 533: "lässt sich als Präposition nur im Kanop. Dekr. 62 und in post positiver Form nachweisen." But see also P. Oxy. 43B IV 3 (iii/A.D.) ὀπίσω Καπιτολείου). Ac 5³⁷ Rev 13².

¹ K-G I 402, 4. Mayser II 2, 529. Kurhing § 51. Johannessohn DGPS 336. Radermacher² 140, 144.

² K-G I 353. Meisterhans-Schwyzer 215, 22. Mayser II 2, 529f. Johannessohn DGPS 190 (365 times in LXX). Radermacher² 144.

³ K-G I 385 n. 3. Meisterhans-Schwyzer 205, 14. Johannessohn DGPS 336.

⁴ Mayser I² 3, 120; II 2, 530ff. Johannessohn DGPS 194-196, 359-361. Radermacher² 140, 143, 145. Moulton Einl. 159 n. 2.

⁵ K-G I 402, 4. Mayser II 2, 531ff. Radermacher² 144.

⁶ K-G I 348 n. 4. Mayser II 2, 532f. Johannessohn DGPS 173f. Radermacher² 138, 144. P. Katz, *Vetus Test.* 8, 1958, 267.

Ὁψέ

Literature in Bauer s.v. Mt 28¹ Mk 16¹ ὁψέ σαββάτων. A Latinism? *Just after.*

Πέραν¹

In pap. of 258 B.C. πέρα Μέμφεως. See p. 216.

Πλήν

Except: Mk 12⁸² Jn 8¹⁰ EGHK Ac 8¹ 15²⁸ 27²²; also as adv. and conjunction.

Χάριν²

Lk, Jn, Past. Cp. ἐνεκα. With one exception, post-positive. Hell. Greek favours the pre-positive position (but οὗ χάριν etc. in pap.).

	Polyb.	Ptol. pap.	LXX	NT
post-positive	76	18	8	8
pre-positive	100	32	13	1

Χωρίς³

Without. Hellenistic.

§ 8. Proper Prepositions combined with Adverbs

The tendency of the later language is towards fuller forms, and these are Hellenistic⁴. Ἐναντι Lk 1⁸ BD Ac 7¹⁰ S 8²¹ (vl. ἐνώπιον). Ἀπέναντι occurs three times only in Polyb., four or five times only in all the Ptol. pap. examined by Mayser (II 2, 538), but six times in NT alone and 80-90 in LXX: Mt 27²⁴ (vl. κατέναντι)⁶¹ Mk 12⁴¹ (vl. κατέναντι) Ac 3¹⁶ 17⁷ Ro 3¹⁸ OT. Κατέναντι occurs only once in the Ptol. papyri as a preposition, but 83 in LXX, 9 in NT (e.g. Mt 27²⁴ κατέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου *in the sight of*); see Mayser II 2, 541.

Ἐμπροσθεν⁵ is in NT the normal word for *before* in the spatial sense, as alternative to πρό which is seldom used in a local sense. In class. Greek and Ptol. pap. (Mayser II 2, 539) it is used more often as an adv. than with the gen. It is extremely rare outside

¹ K-G I 402, 4. Mayser II 2, 533.

² K-G I 461 n. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 222, 52. Mayser II 2, 535. Johannessohn DGPS 244. Radermacher² 144.

³ K-G I 402, 4. Mayser II 2, 536ff. Kuhring § 34. Johannessohn DGPS 337, 339. Radermacher² 140-144.

⁴ Mayser II 2, 538. Johannessohn DGPS 193, d. Radermacher² 140, 143, 144.

⁵ Johannessohn DGPS 189-198. Radermacher² 144, 145.

Bibl. Greek, and Semitic influence is obvious. Mt Mk Lk Jn Ac Past Rev; more frequent in Mt (e.g. 10³² 27¹¹). Rev 19¹⁰ (B ἐνώπιον) 22⁸ (A πρό). Temporal = πρό (also class.) perhaps Jn 1¹⁵. 30 (or = *ranks before me*). Adverbial: only Lk 19⁴. 28 Ph 3¹³ Rev 4⁶. Adjectivally: ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν Jn 1¹⁵. 30.

Ἐπάνω¹. *On top of*. In place of simple ἐπί. Hell. Greek also uses ὑπεράνω: only Eph 1²¹ 4¹⁰ Heb 9⁵. Such compounds are already found in Attic, but the meaning is weakened by this time. The later language prefers the longer forms. Ἄνω and κάτω are always adverbs. Βάλλω ἔξω and βάλλω κάτω are always preferred to ἐκβάλλω and καταβάλλω (Mt 4⁶ 5¹³). Mt 5¹⁴ ἐπάνω ὄρους (for older ἐπ' ὄρους), 21⁷ ἐπάνω αὐτῶν. Adverbial: Mt 2⁹.

ὑποκάτω: an adv. and preposition from Plato on; still more frequent in Koine (Diodorus, Plutarch); only twice in Polyb. About 90 times in LXX as substitute for ὑπό (Johannessohn DGPS 183): very prevalent in Kms (19 against 17 ὑπό c. acc.) and MiPr (8 against 4) and Ezek (13 against 6), Isa (8: 4); but Pent only 16 against 42. Never in Est, 1 Esd, To, Wisdom literature or Mac (exc. Si once). In NT eleven times and only as a preposition. Lk 8¹⁶ ὑποκάτω κλίνης (for older ὑπὸ κλίνην). Rarely as adv. in Ptol. papyri.

§ 9. Biblical Circumlocutions by means of Nouns with Gen.

Πρόσωπον:² for Heb. פָּנִים the LXX bequeathes ἀπὸ προσώπου c. gen. to Bibl. Greek (Thackeray OT Gr. 44) in place of the normal ἀπὸ or παρὰ. It occurs in Ac 3²⁰ 5⁴¹ (with *come, go*), 7⁴⁵ Rev 6¹⁶ 12¹⁴ 20¹¹ (with *drive, hide, flee*). So from פָּנֵי? πρὸ προσώπου Mt 11¹⁰ Lk 1⁷⁶ (SB ἐνώπιον) Ac 13²⁴. So κατὰ πρόσωπον: Lk 2³¹ Ac 3¹³ 25¹⁶ 2 Co 10¹ (= פָּנֵי). So εἰς πρ. 2 Co 8²⁴ and Aquila Ge 17¹. Prepositional compounds of πρόσωπον are undoubtedly a Semitism in spite of their occurrence in the papyri of ii/A.D. and one of iv/A.D. (MM Vocab. 553).

¹ Mayser II 2, 539ff. Radermacher² 144. G. D. Kilpatrick, "Mark xiv. 5 Ἐπάνω," *JThS* 42, 1941, 181ff.

² Johannessohn DGPS, 184-186, etc. Cf. also 1 Clem 48. 10 18¹¹ 28³ Barn. 6⁹ 11⁷ ἀπὸ προσώπου. Ign Pol 2² εἰς πρόσωπον. 1 Clem 35¹⁰ κατὰ πρόσωπον. 1 Clem 34³ Ign Eph 15³ πρὸ προσώπου. Aqu. 1 Km 22⁴ 2 Km 6¹⁴ πρὸ προσώπου, Aqu. Isa 7² ἀπὸ (ἐκ Q) προσώπου.

Χεῖρ: Heb. יָד becomes εἰς χεῖρας *in the power of* Mt 26⁴⁵ Lk 23⁴⁶ Jn 13⁸ Heb 10³¹ etc., or ἐν (τῇ) χειρὶ Jn 3³⁵ Ac 7³⁵ (vl. σύν), or διὰ χειρός, χειρῶν (Ge 39⁴ etc.) Mk 6² Ac 2²³ 5¹² and oft. Heb. יָדָא becomes ἐκ χειρός Lk 1⁷¹ Ac 12¹¹. (Johannessohn DGPS *passim*.)

Στόμα although Heb. influence has increased the usage, στόμα is used in many similar ways in class. Greek: διὰ (Lk 1⁷⁰ Ac 1¹⁶ etc.), ἐκ, ἐπί. (Johannessohn DGPS *passim*.)

CHAPTER NINETEEN

NEGATIVES

(especially the encroachment of MH upon the province of OY)

§ 1. General¹

The distinction between οὐ and μή is now far less subtle than in class. Greek. Broadly, in the LXX οὐ renders אֵין and μή לֹא, and οὐχί אֵין־לֹא (e.g. Ge 40⁸).

In his examination of the Ptol. pap., Mayser observes that the use of the two negative particles (οὐ as objective, μή as subjective), as handed down from the classical period, managed to hold its own in the Koine of the Hellenistic period as far as finite verbs are concerned. There are of course many deviations from classical standards. The infin. and ptc. play a special role in so far as here μή has won from οὐ the major part of its use (Mayser II 2, 543).

In post-classical prose, appreciation of the nice differences between οὐ and μή, which broadly speaking are like those between *non* and *ne*, has partially disappeared. It is not good to bring the difference between οὐ and μή under a definite rule, but doubtless there is a large increase in the use of μή in the later language. The same observations apply to the NT. There is sometimes no valid reason in favour of one particle against the other, and either may be used according to the author's own way of looking at things. There can be no difference between ἀμαρτίαν μή πρὸς θάνατον and ἀμαρτία οὐ πρὸς θάνατον 1 Jn 5¹⁶. Blass² made the rule that, in the NT, οὐ negatives the indicative (facts) and μή the remaining moods (ideas): this applies also to οὐδεὶς μηδεὶς, οὐδέ μηδέ, οὔτε μήτε,

¹ K-G II 178-223. Gildersleeve *AJP* 3, 202. O. Birke, *De particularum μή et οὐ usu Polybiano, Dionysiaeo, Diodoreo, Straboneo*, Diss. Leipzig 1897. E. L. Greene, "Mή and οὐ before Lucian," in *Studies in Honor of Gildersleeve*, 1902. Mayser II 2, 543-567. Radermacher² 210 (with literature).

² Blass-Debr. § 426.

οὐπω μήπω, οὐκέτι μηκέτι, οὐδαμῶς μηδαμῶς, οὐδέποτε μηδέποτε. There are exceptions where μή negatives the indic., and οὐ is used with infin. and ptc. With a few exceptions, Blass's rule applies to the Ptol. papyri (Mayser II 2, 552) for the infin., but with the ptc. οὐ maintains its position fairly constantly, although even here also μή finally prevailed.

In general it seems that οὐ stands its ground where a clause with ἀλλά follows it, and for the major part where the negative expressions form a single idea, like οὐκ ὀλίγοι, οὐ πολλοί, etc. (Mayser II 2, 550). Mt 9¹³ οὐ θυσίαν, Mk 9³⁷ οὐκ ἐμέ, Ro 9²⁵ τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, 10¹⁹ (LXX Dt 32²¹) ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει **עַל אֵל**. Like οὐ βούλομαι (*refuse to*) in Ptol. pap., we find in NT οὐ θέλω Mk 9³⁰ (*I am averse to*), οὐκ ἔχω Mt 13¹², οὐκ ἐάω Ac 16⁷ (*forbid*), οὐκ ἀγνοέω 2 Co 2¹¹ (*know well*). So also Lk 15¹³ Ac 1⁵ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, Jn 3³⁴ οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου, Ac 17⁴ οὐκ ὀλίγα, 20¹² οὐ μετρίως, 21³⁹ οὐκ ἀσήμου, 27¹⁴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ, 1 Co 12⁶ οὐ πολλοί, Eph 5⁴ τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα. In LXX: 2 Mac 4¹³ οὐκ ἀρχιερεὺς. In the Ptol. pap. οὐκ ὀλίγοι = πολλοί, οὐκ εὖ ὢν = χάκος, and οὐχ ὁ τυχών = *unusual*. It should be observed that οὐ πᾶς is capable of two meanings, limiting and denying: (1) *not all*, i.e. *some*,¹ and (2) *not any*, i.e. *none at all* (οὐδεὶς).² Both senses appear in Jn. The similar use of μή in class. Greek³ does not appear in NT; in each instance the μή has another explanation.

§ 2. Main clauses

The prohibitive future has μή in NT (and οὐ μή Mt 16²²), whereas class. Greek sometimes has μή (as in Hom. Clem. 3⁶⁹ μηδένα μισήσετε). Mt 5²¹ 6⁵ 20²⁶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν.

Both οὐ and μή are both found in questions: ⁴ οὐ or οὐχί or οὐδέ or οὐκοῦν ⁵ if a positive answer is expected (= *nonne*)

¹ E.g. Mt 7²¹ 19¹¹ 1 Co 15³⁹.

² E.g. Mt 24²² οὐ . . . πᾶσα σὰρξ = Heb, **לֹא כָל** or **כָּל לֹא**; Ac 10¹⁴ οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινόν.

³ Plato *Gorg.* 459, 6 ὁ μὴ ἱατρός, *Ant.* 5, 82 οἱ μὴ καθαροί, Thuc. 2, 45, 1 τὸ μὴ ἐμποδών.

⁴ K.-G II 524. F. C. Babbitt, "Questions with μή," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assocn.* 32, 43.

⁵ Jn 18³⁷ is difficult, because a neg. answer is expected; οὐκοῦν appears to be merely inferential (the stress on the οὐν). In Ac 2⁷ οὐχί ἰδοὺ is a Koine idiom, like the class. ἀρ' οὐ; *Beg.* in loc.

Mt 7²² 13²⁷. 55 Mk 14⁶⁰ Lk 12⁶ 17¹⁷ Ac 13¹⁰ 21³⁸ Ro 2²⁶ 1 Co 9¹ (οὐχί alongside οὐ) 14²³; μή or μήτι if a negative answer (*num*, *surely not*): Mt 7¹⁶ 26²⁵ (Judas's μήτι ἐγώ εἰμι *expects* a negative answer but receives a positive), Jn 5³⁸ (may be a question: *do you marvel at this?*), 7⁵¹ (Nicodemus is rather subtle in using μή), 21⁵, 6⁶⁷, 7³¹. 47, Ro 11¹ (μή ἀπόσατο is expressly answered in 11² with οὐκ ἀπόσατο), 1 Co 6³ (elliptical μήτιγε, as Demosth. 2, 23). Sometimes the difference is illustrated in a single verse: Lk 6³⁹ μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν (answer no); οὐχί ἀμφοτέροι εἰς βόθυνον ἐμπεσοῦνται (answer yes); 1 Co 9⁸ μή κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει; 2 Co 12¹⁸ μήτι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος (no); οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιπατήσαμεν (yes); Jn 4³⁸⁻³⁵, Ro 9^{20f}.

A positive answer will be expected if οὐ μή (= *nonne*) is found in questions: Lk 18⁷ Jn 18¹¹ Rev 15⁴.

Where μή negatives the whole sentence the verb alone may already be negated by οὐ (Paul, as class.), and so μή . . . οὐ stands with a sentence which expects a positive answer: Ro 10^{17ff} μή οὐκ ἤκουσαν *surely you haven't not-heard it* (missed hearing it), 1 Co 9^{4f} μή οὐκ ἔχομεν: 11²², 2 Co 12²⁰ μήπως . . . οὐχ . . . εὐρω.

In some passages the strength of μή is somewhat modified: Jn 4²⁹ μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός *he must be* (or *perhaps he is*) *the Messiah*; hardly *num* here; it is more like οὐ; the distinction is sometimes difficult to draw for much depends on the tone of the speaker; it is here rather hesitant, as in 4³³. On the later μήτι = *perhaps*, see Abbott Joh. Gr. 2702 b 1. See also A. T. Robertson, "The NT Use of μή with hesitant question in the Indicative Mood," *Expos. Series VIII* No. 152, 1923.

In main clauses μή occurs with subjunctive (Mk 12¹⁴ Ga 6⁹), optative (only wish-opt. in NT., viz. Mk 11¹⁴ Ro 34. 6. 31 Ga 6¹⁴ etc.), and imperative (Mt 6³ μή γνώτω, 24¹⁸ μή ἐπιστρέψάτω ὀπίσω, LXX Ex 34³ Ps 6²). But see 1 Co 5¹⁰, 1 Pt 2¹⁸ (οὐ μόνον), 3³ (ὢν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ . . . κόσμος), and we find οὐ and ἔστω in Ptol. pap. and οὐδενὶ ἐξέστω in inscr. cited by Radermacher (171).

§ 3. Dependent Clauses

The indicative with εἰ has οὐ in the NT and Koine, if the condition is "real", seldom the μή which was normal in

classical;¹ sometimes even class. Greek had οὐ if εἰ = ἐπεὶ or = *if, as you hope* (K-G II 189f), in which case always οὐ in NT and Koine. Lk 11⁸ εἰ καὶ οὐ δώσει, 16³¹ εἰ Μωϋσέως . . . οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, Jn 10³⁷ εἰ οὐ ποιῶ τὰ ἔργα . . . εἰ δὲ ποιῶ. So also Lk 14²⁶ 16¹¹ Jn 12⁵ 31² Ro 11²¹ 1 Co 7¹¹ 15¹³ 1 Ti 3⁵ 5⁸ Jas 2¹¹ Rev 20¹⁵. Contrary to normal Greek usage, οὐ enters once with "unreal" indicative: Mt 26²⁴ Mk 14²¹ καλὸν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγενήθη. But μή is always found when εἰ = *nisi* (e.g. Mt 5¹³ Ac 26³² Ga 1⁷).

Relative clauses regularly have οὐ with indic., and μή on very rare occasions: Lk 8¹⁸ ὃς ἂν μὴ ἔχη (conditional), Ac 15²⁹ D, Col 2¹⁸ ἃ μὴ ἑώρακεν C vulg syr^p (p⁴⁶ S*ABD om μή), Ti 1¹¹ διδάσκοντες ἃ μὴ δεῖ (= 1 Ti 5¹³ τὰ μὴ δέοντα), 2 Pt 1⁹ ὃ γὰρ μὴ πάρεστιν ταῦτα (correct according to literary style, as the speech is not about definite things: K-G II 185f), 1 Jn 4³ ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ, Rev 14⁴ p⁴⁷ οἱ μὴ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἐμολύνθησαν (rest: οὐκ). See also Ac 3²³ Rev 13¹⁵, LXX Le 23²⁹ (πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἦτις μὴ ταπεινωθήσεται), Si 13²⁴.

In statement clauses with ὅτι and ὥς, and temporal and causal clauses with indic., although οὐ largely remains, μή is encroaching in the Koine.² Jn 3¹⁸ ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν *because (such a person) would not have believed* (but οὐ in 1 Jn 5¹⁰), Heb 9¹⁷ ἐπεὶ μὴ ποτε ἰσχύει, B.U. 530³⁵ ἐπὶ μὴ ἀντέγραψας αὐτῇ (i/A.D.), Jos. c. Ap. 1, 217, Hom. Clem. 8¹⁴ etc. Blass-Debr. § 428, 5.

§ 4. Participles³

The post-classical language strongly tends towards μή (MGr only μὴ) with participles, whereas in class. Attic the decision to use μὴ depended on the meaning of the ptc. in each instance. NT follows the Hellenistic tendency and μὴ is the rule, especially with articular ptc., and even where the ptc. has

¹ Classical μὴ: Lk 6^{4D} εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας; 1 Ti 6³ εἰ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ καὶ μὴ προσέχεται (yet οὐ in 3⁵ 5⁸).

² K-G II 188. Jannaris § 1818. Mayser II 2, 551. Moulton Einl. 271n. Radermacher² 211.

³ K-G II 198ff. Jannaris §§ 1815f. Mayser II 2, 556ff. G. E. Howes, "The Use of μὴ with the Participle, where the negation is influenced by the construction upon which the Participle depends," *Harvard Studies* 12, 1901, 277ff. A. G. Laird, "When is generic μὴ particular?" *AJP* 43, 1922, 124-45.

an "indicative" sense: 2 Co 6³ μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόντες προσκοπήν, Ti 1⁶. 7 τέκνα ἔχων πιστά, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἁσωτίας. Indeed the use of μὴ in NT is wider than in the Ptol. papyri. The proportions for the latter are: iii/B.C. οὐ: μὴ = 4:1, ii-i/B.C. οὐ: μὴ = 2:3 (Mayser II 2, 556, 562). However, the use of individual NT authors does vary to some extent. Thus in Mt and Jn οὐ is scarcely found at all apart from Mt 22¹¹ εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον ἔνδυμα γάμου (C³D μὴ), Jn 10¹² ὁ μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὢν ποιμὴν (μὴ more correct as it refers to no definite person; but καὶ μὴ is not liked in the Koine). But Lk-Ac is more classical in this respect: Lk 6⁴² αὐτὸς . . . οὐ βλέπων (not D), Ac 7⁵ οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου, 19¹¹ 28² οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν (*no ordinary*; in Ptol. pap. with same meaning: BU 436⁹ καὶ ὕβριν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν συνετελέσαντο *committed a more than ordinary outrage*¹), 26²² οὐδὲν ἐκτὸς λέγων, 28¹⁷ οὐδὲν . . . ποιήσας, 1⁹ οὐχ ὥς ἔχων.

But Paul, Heb. and 1 Pt (with few exceptions) prefer the Hellenistic μὴ. The exceptions are Ro 9²⁵, 1 Co 9²⁶ ὥς οὐκ (but 2 Co 10¹⁴ ὥς μὴ where it is a conception only and not a fact), 2 Co 4⁸¹ (p⁴⁶ μὴ), 5¹² CDEFG (p⁴⁶ SB μὴ). The fact that Paul almost invariably uses μὴ with participles does lead to ambiguity²: Ga 6⁹ μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι (which in class. Greek must be *if we do not faint*; but by Paul it is intended as a fact), Ro 8⁴ ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν (it would be *IF we do not walk* . . . in class. Greek, but Paul probably means *us who DO not* . . .).

§ 5. Infinitive³

Here in general is μὴ, but there are traces of an older use of οὐ. It is simplifying too much to say that μὴ stands throughout; it occurs indeed even after verbs of feeling (Ac 25²⁵ 2 Co 11⁵), but there is Ac 19²⁷ εἰς οὐθὲν λογισθῆναι and 2 Ti 2¹⁴ μὴ λογομαχεῖν ἐπ' οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, even if with Blass in Mk 7²⁴ Jn 21²⁵ Ac 26²⁶ we rather perversely take the οὐ more closely with the main verb than with the infin. (Blass-Debr. § 429). A redundant μὴ appears with infin. sometimes depending on a

¹ Mayser II 2, 518, 546. Preisigke s.v. τυγχάνω 4. Bauer s.v. 2d.

² Zerwick § 307a.

³ Mayser II 2, 552ff, 564f. Jannaris § 1815. Moulton Einl. 271 n.

negative main verb (class. and Hell.), e.g. Lk 4⁴², 17¹ ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἔλθεῖν, 20²⁷ WA (SBD etc. avoid it by harmonizing with Mt Mk), 22³⁴ (SB om μὴ), Ac 4²⁰ οὐ δυνάμεθα . . . μὴ λαλεῖν, Ga 5⁷, 1 Pt 3¹⁰, 1 Jn 2²².

§ 6. Double Negatives

These are of two types, self-cancelling and pleonastic. The self-cancelling is classical and appears rarely in NT: Lk 8¹⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν κρυπτόν δ' οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται; also Mt 24² Ac 4²⁰ 1 Co 9⁶ 12¹⁵. Sometimes however it is not so much that the negatives are self-cancelling as that both have their full force: Mt 10²⁶ Lk 12² οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, Mt 24² etc. οὐ . . . δὲ οὐ, Ac 19³⁵ τίς ἐστὶν . . . δὲ οὐ.

Pleonastic negatives, which were frequent in class. Attic and well suited to the lively Greek temperament, are not as plentiful now. The negative was strengthened by sequences like οὐ (μὴ) . . . οὐδεῖς (μηδεῖς), e.g. Mk 5³ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλύσει οὐκέτι οὐδεῖς ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν δῆσαι, 11² vñ. οὐδεῖς . . . οὐπω, ¹⁴ μηκέτι . . . μηδεῖς, 15^{4. 5} (οὐ . . . οὐδὲν often in Ptol. pap.), Lk 4² 23⁵³ Jn 15⁵ 19⁴¹ Ac 8³⁹ (οὐκ . . . οὐκέτι in Ptol. pap.) Ro 13⁸ 2 Co 11⁹ 1 Ti 1⁷ μὴ . . . μηδέ . . . μηδέ is frequent in Ptol. pap.) Heb 13⁵. But two constructions are not classical: (1) the use of τις with the negative in the Koine (for οὐδεῖς), e.g. Mt 11²⁷ οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει, 12¹⁹, Jn 10²⁸ οὐχ ἀρπάσει τις, 1 Co 6¹², 1 Th 1⁸ μὴ . . . τι (in Ptol. pap. μὴθὲν . . . τι, οὐτε . . . τι, and μὴδὲ . . . τινάς (Mayser II 2, 567); (2) the amalgam of οὐδὲ and οὐ μὴ to form a very strong but pleonastic οὐδ' οὐ μὴ, e.g. Mt 24²¹ (D οὐδὲ μὴ), Mk 14²⁵ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῶα (SDWCL om οὐκέτι), Heb 13⁵ from LXX Dt 31⁶ where only A has οὐδ' οὐ μὴ (p⁴⁶ οὐδὲ μὴ), Mt 25⁹ BDC Did 4¹⁰ μήποτε οὐ μὴ, LXX Am 2¹⁵ Jb 32²¹, pap. Wilken Chr. no. 122⁴ (A.D. 6) οὐδ' οὐ μὴ γένηται. On μὴ οὐ see p. 98. On οὐ μὴ see pp. 95-98.

§ 7. Yes and No

Yes ναί Mt 5³⁷ Lk 7²⁶ 2 Co 11⁷ Jas 5¹² and no οὐ or οὐχί (MGr ὅχι) Mt 13²⁹ Lk 1⁶⁰ etc. Note the contrast of objective and subjective negative in Mk 12¹⁴ ἔξεστι . . . δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν;

§ 8. Position of the Negative

As a rule the negative precedes what is negated, except that it may also (as in class. Greek) precede the preposition or ὡς if such occurs before a ptc. or adj.: Ac 1⁵ Lk 15¹³ D οὐ μετὰ

πολλὰς ἡμέρας, 2 Co 10¹⁴ p⁴⁶ μὴ ὥς (the rest correct to ὥς μὴ), Heb 11³ τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων. Often negative and verb are blended in one idea: οὐκ ἐάω (and more popular οὐκ ἀφίω) *prevent* Ac 19³⁰ etc. This may be altered to achieve emphasis, and in Ac 7⁴⁸ the position of οὐχ puts *the Most High* in relief, as μὴ in Jas 3¹ puts πολλοί in relief (also οὐδέν emphatic, away from λανθάνειν in Ac 26²⁶, and οὐ before the inappropriate verb in 1 Co 2²). So LXX Nu 16^{29b}. But a negative which is separated from its verb may affect the complement: Mk 9³⁷ οὐκ ἐμὲ δέχεται *it is not me that he receives*, 2 Co 3³ ἐνγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι *written not with ink*. The rule is several times broken with πᾶς: Ro 3²⁰ πᾶσα σὰρξ . . . οὐ, Eph 5⁵ 1 Jn 2²¹ πᾶς . . . οὐ, Eph 4²⁹ πᾶς . . . μὴ, 1 Co 15⁵¹ πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα (*must*=οὐ πάντες). On the other hand, οὐ πάντως (Ro 3⁹) must be reversed or taken separately: *no! absolutely* or *certainly not* (*not in all cases* is scarcely possible); scribes felt the difficulty, too.

This page intentionally left blank

BOOK TWO
THE SENTENCE COMPLETE:
SYNTHETIC SYNTAX

PART I
THE ORDINARY SIMPLE SENTENCE

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER TWENTY

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE:

APPARENT ABSENCE OF SUBJECT¹

§ 1. Impersonal Verbs²

Hellenistic (Polyb.) βρέχει Jas 5¹⁷ for class. ὕει (Mayser II 3, 2; Abel § 39a); but personal at Mt 5⁴⁵ (as class., and LXX Ge 19²⁴). For βροντῆσαι Jn 12²⁹ has βροντὴν γεγενῆσθαι. The problematic ἀπέχει Mk 14⁴¹ may be impersonal, for class. ἀρκεῖ: *it is receipted, the account is settled* (consistent with the meaning of the variant in DW ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος *it has its end, the matter is settled*); so in P. Lond. IV 1343³⁸ (709 A.D.), etc.³ Lk 24²¹ may not be impers., τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἔχει, but the subject is Jesus: *he has already allowed three days to pass* (see Bauer s.v., ἔχω, 4). In Mk 2² ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν, the last four words may be the subject of χωρεῖν (Moule 27). Impers. μέλει Mt 22¹⁶ Mk 12¹⁴ Jn 10¹³ 1 Co 9⁹ 1 Pt 5⁷. But in Mk 4³⁸ Lk 10⁴⁰ 1 Co 7²¹ a clause is the subject.

The impers. passive, quite common in Latin, is fairly so in NT but on the whole is very rare in Greek apart from some exx. of the perfect παρσκευάσθαι *preparations are made*. The desire to avoid God's name enters into the picture in NT. Mt 7² μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν (but a cognate noun μέτρον may be understood), Lk 6³⁸ δίδετε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν (but further on μέτρον . . . δώσουσιν), 1 Pt 4⁶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη; a cognate noun may be supplied here, but not in Ro 10¹⁰ πιστεύεται . . . ὁμολογεῖται, 1 Co 15^{42f} σπείρεται . . . ἐγείρεται.

Certain verbs are only apparently impersonal, since the clause which follows can be taken as subject, e.g. ἐρρέθη in Mt 5³¹ Ro 9¹²; and so also δεῖ, ἔξεστιν, ἐξόν, ἐγένετο, ἐνδέχεται,

¹ K-G I § 352, pp. 32ff. Gildersleeve I 68-82. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 195. Wackernagel I 113f. Mayser II 3, 1ff. Zerwiok §§ 1-4.

² For δέον, χρῆ, ἔδει see pp. 88, 90, 148, 322; for δοκεῖ p. 147.

³ Alternative suggestions: A. Pallis, *Notes on St. Mark*, new ed., Oxford 1932, 47ff; G. H. Boobyer *NTS* 2, 1955-6, 44ff.

γέγραπται, πρέπει, ὠφελεῖ, which have a following infin. as subject (e.g. Ac 7²³ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, Semitic). Lk 17¹ has as subject τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν (Moule 27); so with λυσιτελεῖ (only Lk 17²), πρέπειν ἐστίν, συμφέρει, συνέβη. In 1 Pt 2⁶ περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, the quotation may be the subject. But in Mt 13¹² περισσευθήσεται is probably passive and impers., because of the parallel (not *he shall be made to abound*).

§ 2. Impersonal "they"

Much more usual than the impers. passive, and a characteristic feature of Mk's style, is the 3rd plural without subject, meaning *one* or *they*. Languages which lack any special indefinite subject like *man* (German) or *on* (French) tend to display this finite plural in verbs of speaking and narrating. The tendency of Aramaic to avoid the passive has exercised an influence extending to other verbs in NT, e.g. Lk 12²⁰ (ἀπαιτοῦσιν), and the same Aramaic tendency appears in words like ἀναβαίνω, said of the fish which is *taken up* Mt 17²⁷, or ἐξέρχομαι in place of ἐκβάλλομαι Lk 4⁴¹ 8²; see also ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν in place of βληθῆναι Mk 9⁴⁴; so Mt 5¹⁵ οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον, 9² ἰδοὺ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παραλυτικόν, 17 οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον. Dan 4²² Ο' and θ, 4²⁸ σοὶ λέγουσιν (Ο' λέγεται), 4²⁹ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σε ἐκδιώκουσιν . . . χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ψωμιοῦσιν σε. In Mk 2¹⁸ the undefined plural may be impers. or it may refer to the subject of the preceding sentence; but ἔλεγον in 3²¹ is an example of the impers. pl. which C. H. Turner showed to be a special feature of Mark (*JThS* 25, 1924, 377-386). In at least two places this is of some importance to the exegete, for (1) at Mk 3²¹ we read *when his own people heard, they went out to take him, for THEY said . . .* ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη. It is wrong to assume that his mother and brothers think that Jesus is mad, for the verb ἔλεγον can be considered an indef. plural: *rumour had it*, that he was mad. (2) Also Mk 14² becomes more intelligible if ἔλεγον is taken as an indefinite plural: the chief priests and scribes were plotting the death of Jesus with subtilty, *for* (true text of Mark) *THEY said, Not during the feast . . .* This γάρ gives a reason for their decision, and *they* is therefore someone else, not the chief priests and scribes (C. H. Turner, op. cit. 384f).

Aramaic influence has enlarged the class of verbs which may be so used, since Aramaic avoids the passive, but Moulton and Milligan (Vocab. 52) cite a iii/A.D. papyrus with ἀπαιτοῦσιν, like Lk 12²⁰; so also P. Fay. III 14 λέγουσιν, P. Hib. 27. 167 κάουσιν. In class. Greek the construction was used primarily with verbs of saying, φασί, λέγουσι, καλοῦσι, ἔρχονται, but in NT we have also τεθνήκασιν (Mt 2²⁰), συλλέγουσιν (Mt 7¹⁶ Lk 6⁴⁴), προσέφερον (Mk 10¹³). In Heb 10¹ προσφέρουσιν and δύνανται may be in this class. The subject οἱ ἄνθρωποι is actually present in Mk 8²⁷ Lk 6³¹, and this may be the intermediate stage towards the impers. verb. The suppression of the subject seems to bring emphasis on the action. At times the 3rd pl. may be used circumspectly for God's own action, and so his name rather than οἱ ἄνθρωποι is to be understood: Lk 6³⁸ δώσουσιν, 12^{20.48} (ἀπ-)αἰτοῦσιν, 16⁹ (*that God may receive you into eternal dwellings*), 23³¹ (?). See Moulton-Howard 447.

§ 3. Scil. "the Scripture"

In the quotation formula λέγει, etc. a subject θεός or γραφή is understood: Ro 10⁸ λέγει p⁴⁶ SAB (DFG insert ἡ γραφή); λέγει also in 2 Co 6² Ga 3¹⁶ etc., φησὶν in 1 Co 6¹⁶ Heb 8⁵, εἶρηκε Heb 4⁴. We have something like a diatribe in 2 Co 10¹⁰ φησὶν *says my opponent*. See also Wackernagel I 113.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE:

ABSENCE OF THE VERB "TO BE"

§ 1. The Copula¹

From the standpoint of class. Attic there is nothing remarkable about the extensive absence of the copula in NT, for this was the most common form of ellipse and, except where ambiguity threatened, was almost the rule. The NT is indeed nearer to Ionic Greek where "en dehors de quelques expressions consacrées, [Herodotus] n'exprime plus, dans la langue courante, un jugement en juxtaposant simplement le sujet et l'attribut. Il ajoute une copule." (Barbelenet 103). The pure nominal phrase is still a living thing in Herodotus, but very seriously limited (*ibid.* 18); it is commoner in the Ionic poets (*ibid.* 19). In NT the ellipse is not so general as in the earlier Attic Greek and is almost confined to ἐστίν and to these "expressions consacrées", viz. dead phrases of either an impersonal or stereotyped and epigrammatic character (incl. ὄνομα) or else very live phrases of a rhetorical and dramatic sort. It was the post-classical tendency to view the pure nominal phrase as an ellipse and to reserve it for poetic archaism, stylistic expressions and set formulae (Schwyzer II 623). The NT has gone further than class. Attic or contemporary literary Hellenistic in inserting the copula, but not so far as Herodotus, except in Mk and Jn. Semitic influence may have assisted the NT, but more probably

¹ K-G I § 354, pp. 40ff. Gildersleeve I 83-86. Meisterhans-Schwyzler § 80, pp. 195ff. Mayser II 3, 16ff. J. E. Harry, "On the omission of the copula in certain combinations in Greek," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assn.* 34, p. viii ff. J. Kinzel, *Die Kopula bei Homer und Hesiod*, Progr. Mährisch-Ostrau 1908, 1909. C. G. Wilke, *De ellipsi copulae verbi εἶναι in fabulis Euripideis*, Breslau 1877. D. Barbelenet, *De la Phrase à Verbe être dans l'Ionien d'Hérodote*, Paris 1913. E. Ekman, *Der reine Nominalsatz bei Xenophon*, 1938. P. F. Regard, *La Phrase nominale dans la Langue du NT*, Paris 1919. A. W. Mildner, "The possessive in the predicate in Greek," *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assn.* 37, 24; "The article in the predicate in Greek," *ibid.* 40, 63.

it is a matter of literary standards.¹ Luke and Paul resort much less to the copula than Mark or John. In MGr it is not usual to omit the appropriate part of εἶναι unless oratorical effect is deliberately sought.

So side by side in Biblical Greek there are the Attic pure nominal phrase and the Ionic nominal phrase with the copula, both used by each Biblical writer with equal spontaneity; but the writers vary considerably in their preferences. In common with the Indo-Germanic languages in general, Greek was tending to replace the pure nominal phrase by the phrase with a copula, and some writers have taken the process further than others.

(a) *Fixed phrases*

In detail, the part of the verb which most usually is to be supplied is 3rd sing. pres. ind., as in class. Greek. This is seen in certain impers. phrases introduced by the neuter of an adj. (αἰσχρόν, ἀρκετόν, ἀδύνατον, δῶρον, δῆλον, εἰ δέον, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐξόν, κακόν, καλόν, μέγα, ὄφελον, (ἔτι) μικρόν (καί), οὐ μόνον, οὐχ οἶον, πρόδηλον, συμφέρον, φάνερρον), or by a noun expressing possibility or necessity (ἀνάγκη, χρέη, ὥρα). This is so occasionally, even in Ionic (Hdt). It is true that πρέπον is never found without ἐστίν in NT (unlike 1 Mac 12¹¹; but ἦν in 3 Mac 7¹³), and neither are the impers. ἄξιον or δίκαιον found without ἐστίν, as they are in contemporary Hellenistic writers. But ellipse is frequent with the other words. There is however no regular pattern within the NT.

A similar archaic usage is the Ionic ἐνι (= ἐν) as a kind of adverbial predicate without the copula. It is always negative in NT, not in Hdt. (Barbelenet 13).

A more frequent NT example of the survival of a lifeless formula is the pure nominal phrase containing ὄνομα, whether as a parenthesis or as a main or subordinate clause. The formula may be Hebraistic, through the influence of *שֵׁם* and *הַשֵּׁם* (LXX 1 Km 1¹ etc.), but it is not absent from class. and Hell. Greek and the papyri. The papyri and NT even here

¹ In the nearly exhaustive references at the close of this chapter not enough notice or discussion of text variants could be given. The student of the text will, however, gather the general principles behind each author's usage, and the exceptions, and ought thereby to be able to come nearer to a decision between the text variants.

sometimes insert a copula: Jn 18¹⁰ Lk 8³⁰, Zen. pap. 59037, 7 (258 B.C.).

Another antique survival of the pure nominal phrase is the stereotyped phrase at the beginning and end of letters. We may supply either the optative or imperative or fut. indic. (Mayser II 3, 19). The formulae are less stereotyped at the end than at the beginning of letters. No doubt Semitic influence assisted their survival in NT (cf. **עֲלֶיךָ שְׁלֹמֶה** Ge 43²³). See Büchsel in Kittel WB III 300f.

The survival of the pure nominal phrase is seen above all, as in class. Greek (even in Hdt.), in proverbial saws which abound in the NT. When we do occasionally find the copula it may be that special emphasis is intended.

(b) *Spontaneous or live expressions*

These on the contrary are not verbally the same phrases as in earlier Greek, which testifies to the originality and spontaneity of the method of using the pure nominal phrase in NT. Attic influence may explain it, since the corresponding phrase in Ionic Greek usually has the copula (Regard 45).

On the Semitic model, and occurring in an OT atmosphere, is **ἰδοὺ** (scil. pres. or impf. or even aor. or fut. of **εἶμι** and of **πάρεμι** and **(παρὰ)γίνομαι**), although there are secular parallels. Besides, interjections do not need a verbal predicate in normal Greek, as **οὐά** in Mk 15²⁹. Yet the copula does occur with **ἰδοὺ** in NT. On the Semitic model is **οὐαί** (**וְהִנֵּה**, etc.) and yet the copula appears here too.

Free of any suspicion of archaism are pure nominal phrases in the form of exclamations. They are very common in NT, even when we exclude direct LXX quotations, e.g. **ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ** Lk 1⁴⁹, **εὐλογήμενος ὁ ἐρχόμενος** Mt 21⁹ 23³⁹ = Lk 13³⁵ 19³⁸ = Jn 12¹³, **εὐλογητὸς κύριος** Lk 1⁶⁸, **εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός** 2 Co 1³, and **μακάριοι ὄν, μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὅς** Ro 4⁷ Jas 1¹². Usually the order is attribute-subject. Again we are reminded of Semitic influence, but we should remember the class. and Hell. parallels. Moreover, there are many instances where the copula creeps in, even in the **μακάριος** phrase. In the doxologies, indic., imper., or optative might equally well be supplied. However, in spite of LXX precedent,¹ it is not the optative

¹ 3 Km 10⁹ **γένοιτο εὐλ.**, Jb 1²¹ **εἴη εὐλ.**

idea which is in mind, for God is thought of as being *already* blessed and glorious. Since there is no need to pray for it, the phrase is simply an exclamation.

Akin to this is the pure nominal phrase in a series of graphic clauses. The most outstanding instance is the series of exclamations in 1 Co 15³⁹⁻⁵⁶ and Ph 1²¹⁻²⁴. It is typically Pauline but it is found in the LXX and in contemporary Hell. authors. The statements are usually brief and vivid and abound in passages which rise to heights of oratory. One frequently finds it in the apodosis and protasis of conditional sentences. Yet sometimes in NT the copula is found in this kind of phrase, especially if the identity of the subject would otherwise be obscure. This literary tendency also appears when there is a striving after rhetoric in epigrammatic phrases and those which express general or abstract truths, especially in connection with the demonstrative pronoun; again there are exceptions. Some of these questions are stereotyped, but the majority are spontaneous. In the NT it is equally common to find the copula as the pure nominal phrase in questions.

The pure nominal phrase is found sometimes in indirect questions in Lk and Paul, as in literary Hell. Greek; also after $\delta\pi\omega\upsilon$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. Pernot (p. 53) notes the rather frequent absence of the copula in Jn after $\delta\tau\iota$ (although it is far more often inserted) and we find this ellipse all over the NT (Mt Mk Lk 1 2 Co Ph Ro Rev), as well as in class. and Hell. writers, and papyri.

(c) *Ellipse of other parts besides $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$*

This is more rare, and the pers. pronoun is usually added to avoid ambiguity—though not always in Paul. Almost universally in NT, $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ is inserted. If there is ellipse of $\epsilon\iota$, there is usually a pronoun, but ellipse is rare. Only in Paul is both pronoun and $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$ absent. The ellipse of $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is also rare: Lk 6²⁰ has neither pronoun nor copula. Ellipse of $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ is much more frequent, especially when it closely follows that of $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$. The fut. indic. never suffers ellipse in NT except for rare instances of $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$. Almost the only kind of phrase in which $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ might be supplied is that with $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$; there are a few other instances, especially in vivid and interrogative phrases and the stereotyped $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\nu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$. It is all but impossible to

decide whether ἦν is a copula or something stronger. Other persons of impf. indic. are to be supplied very occasionally: ἦσαν or ἐγένοντο, and ἤμην.

There are but two or three places in NT (nearly all in Paul) where subjunctive ἦ and ὦσιν may be supplied. The ellipse after δς ἄν etc. is classical (K-G § 354e, n. 2c; Gildersleeve I § 86). As well as epistolary formulae and formal wishes, there is the spontaneous use of the pure nominal phrase where optative is expected, as with εἰρήνη (Hebraic). There is no ellipse of ἔστω except in χάρις τῷ θεῷ (class. and early papyri). There are some further exx. in NT and Koine vernacular. Imper. ἐστέ may be supplied with some participles in Peter and Paul. But the ptc. is perhaps in itself imperatival; the phenomenon, which may be a peculiarity of the "eastern" Koine, is frequent in the vernacular and in Malalas. Something like ἴσθι is presumably to be supplied with δεῦρο. There is never need to supply ἔσεσθε.

Some phrases have only an apparent ellipse, because they follow immediately upon a previous clause which has the copula, and the copula is to be understood of both phrases: Mt 22¹⁴ 25^{35f} 28³ Lk 19² Jn 15⁵ 20²⁶ 1 Co 14¹⁰. 22 11³ 2 Co 10¹¹ 1 Jn 3¹² Rev 10¹ etc.

§ 2. Stronger or Essential meaning of ἔστιν or εἰσιν

On occasion, when emphasis or feeling is more than normal, there is even ellipse where the meaning is *there is (are)* or *it is*, and stronger than a mere copula. This happens also in both class. and literary Hell. Greek, and even sometimes in the papyri. Something like ἔστιν is to be supplied *before* ἵνα at times in Jn, and to some extent in Mk, Lk, and Paul. We may compare the ellipse before οὗχ ὅτι in Jn and Paul.

§ 3. Individual writers

The books of Biblical and certain secular writers may be laid side by side and in a general way the relative tendency to introduce or omit the copula will be discovered. It will be seen that in the Gospels there is some considerable difference from secular usage. (The copula infin. and ptc. have been excluded.)

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Ac	Jn
Verb <i>to be</i>	257	174	318	213	395
Ellipse	81	37	91	27	47
Proportion	3:1	5:1	3:1	8:1	8:1

	Ro	1 Co	2 Co	Ga	Eph	Ph	Col	1 Th	2 Th	1 Ti	2 Ti	Ti	Ph
<i>To be</i>	67	133	48	48	38	11	24	9	6	20	13	8	2
Ellipse	105	90	72	19	19	29	5	10	7	16	7	5	2
Propn.	$\frac{2}{3}:1$	1:1	$\frac{2}{3}:1$	$2\frac{1}{2}:1$	2:1	$\frac{1}{2}:1$	5:1	1:1	1:1	1:1	2:1	$1\frac{1}{2}:1$	1:1

	Paul (non- Past)	Past	Heb	Jas	2 Pt Jude	Joh. Epp.	Rev 1-4, 21f	Rev 5-20	Rev tot	1 Pt
<i>To be</i>	386	41	35	27	15	105	48	44	92	8
Ellipse	358	28	60	16	4	2	39	52	91	28
Propn.	1:1	$1\frac{1}{2}:1$	$\frac{1}{2}:1$	2:1	5:1	50:1			1:1	$\frac{1}{4}:1$

	Strabo I 1 64 B.C.— A.D. 21	Diod. Sic. pt. 1 (c. 50 B.C.)	Dio Chrys. <i>Kingship</i> I, II (A.D. 40-120)	Philostr. <i>Vit. Apoll.</i> I (ii-iii/A.D.)	Hdt I-IV approx. *
<i>To be</i>	37	48 (some are essential)	51	70	381
Ellipse	54	27	55	83	70
Propn.	$\frac{2}{3}:1$	2:1	1:1	1:1	5:1

* For Hdt, the figures are based on Barbelenet; I take responsibility for the others.

Individual writers: Paul¹.

(a) *Fixed phrases*: δῆλον εἶπαι 1 Co 15²⁷ 1 Ti 6⁷ D^cKLP; αἰσχρόν c. infin. 1 Co 11⁶ (but 14³⁵ Eph 5¹² copula), δίκαιον 2 Th 1⁶, εἰ δυνατόν Ro 12¹⁸ Ga 4¹⁵, ἐξόν c. infin. 2 Co 12⁴, μέγα εἰ 1 Co 9¹¹ 2 Co 11¹⁵, συμφέρον 2 Co 12¹, ὀφελον c. ind. 1 Co 4⁸ 2 Co 11¹ Ga 5¹², ἀνάγκη c. inf. Ro 13⁵ SBA (but p^{46c} DEFG Iren^{1st} have imper. without ἀνάγκη; p^{46*} imper. and καὶ without ἀνάγκη), ὥρα c. infin. Ro 13¹¹, οὐχ οἶον 9⁶, etc. (Exceptions: Ph 1⁷ καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον, 1 Co 4³ 7⁹ 11²⁰ etc.). Epistolary formulae: χάρις (ὑμῖν) καὶ εἰρήνη Ro 1⁷ etc., χάρις ἔλεος εἰρήνη 1 Ti 1² 2 Ti 1², ἡ χάρις . . . μετὰ Ro 16²⁰; and Ro 15³³ 1 Co 16²¹ Eph 6²³ Col 4¹⁸ 2 Th 3¹⁶ 2 Ti 4²² (Exception: with ἔσται 2 Co 13¹¹). Proverbial expressions: 1 Ti 2⁵ εἰς γὰρ ὁ θεός, Ti 1¹⁵ πάντα καθαρά τοῖς καθαροῖς; 1 Co 6¹³ τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ . . .; note πιστὸς ὁ θεός 1 Co 1⁹ etc., with the exception πιστὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος 2 Th 3². Strangely, the copula does appear with οὐαὶ 1 Co 9¹⁷ (unlike Syn. Gospels).

(b) *Spontaneous phrases*: exclamations (we are reminded of Heb. infl. in the Semitism μακάριος ὁ Ro 14²², but there are Greek parallels; another Hebraism, not from the LXX, is ὡς ὠραῖοι Ro 10¹⁵). Ro 11³³ ὡς ἀνεξεραυνήτα, 1 Co 12³ ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, κύριος Ἰησοῦς, 15¹⁴ κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, 17. 24. 57, 2 Co 2¹⁴, χάρις τῷ θεῷ Ro 6¹⁷ etc., Ro 7²⁴ ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος, Ph 4⁵ ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς, etc. There are phrases with μάρτυς, as 1 Th 2^{5.10} Ph 1⁸ (but ἐστὶν is retained Ro 1⁹). Then there is the negative phrase οὐ θαῦμα 2 Co 11¹⁴ (see Bertram in Kittel WB III 40). Doxologies: εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ) 2 Co 1³ Eph 1³, ᾧ ἡ δόξα Ga 1⁵ etc. (but ἐστὶν added 1 Pt 4¹¹). (Exceptions: ὅς ἐστιν εὐλ. Ro 1²⁵, ὁ ὢν εὐλ. 2 Co 11³¹.) Graphic sentences (typical of Pauline style): ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ Ro 10¹⁷, οὐ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία (sc. essential ἐστὶν) 2 Co 3¹⁷, τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια 4¹⁸; 7^{4.5} (sc. essential ἐστὶν), Ph 3¹, Ga 3¹⁸, Ro 2^{28f}, 5^{16.18}, 6²³ 7¹² 8^{6.10} 1 Co 12⁶ 32^{2f} 4¹⁰ 2 Co 10¹⁰ Ph 1^{21.22.24} 3¹⁹, 4⁸.

Conditional sentences: with ellipse in both apodosis and protasis Ro 11^{6.12.15f}. (Exceptions: the copula is sometimes found in these graphic sentences, especially if the identity of the subject would otherwise be obscure: ὁ γὰρ ἐν κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς δοῦλος ἐστὶν Χριστοῦ 1 Co 7²².)

Other expressions, mainly rhetorical or epigrammatic: 1 Co 5⁶ οὐ καλὸν τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν, Ro 9⁷ (οὐδὲ) πάντες τέκνα, 13¹⁰ πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου (ἡ) ἀγάπη, 1 Co 12⁴ p⁴⁶ Clem Alx Χριστὸς θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία²; Ro 3^{20.22} 4¹³ 5¹⁶ 6²¹ 7⁸ 8⁷ 10⁴ 13¹¹ 14¹⁸ 2 Co 4¹⁵ 5^{17.18} 8^{23.24} Ro 10^{1.12} 12¹⁹ Ga 5⁸ 1 Co 11^{11.12} 13¹³ 15^{21.39} (and so throughout

¹ I have drawn up a complete list of every occurrence in the NT, but there is room only for representative instances in this volume, and the rest must be left over for a separate monograph. The word "etc." indicates that there are further examples. See also footnote above, p. 295.

² The source from which Paul may have derived the phrase, i.e. Dan 9²⁰, has the copula: ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ.

this eloquent chapter: 40. 41. 46. 47. 48. 56. 56) 2 Co 17. 21 26 55 104 Eph 59. 23 Col 217 1 Th 23 46 2 Th 32 1 Ti 44 525 2 Ti 316 Ti 115 (Exceptions: Ro 119 1 Co 618 729 (periph. pf.) 118 214 319 44 617. 19 916 117. 8. 15. 25 (Lk's parallel 2220 omits the copula; Cadbury remarks on the strangeness of this¹, in view of Luke's regular practice of inserting the copula, esp. if he found it in his sources. It is probably not a Pauline phrase, but one which he inherited) 1214. 22 37 67 714. 14 1415, Col 118 καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, 1 Ti 15 τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη.)

Much emphasis (= *is certainly*) appears to be achieved by the insertion of ἐστὶν in πιστὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος 2 Th 33 (better text); so also Ro 116 228 1123 1 Co 125 317. 21 1171 1433 2 Co 317 Ga 312 42. 26 519 Eph 518. 32 612 1 Ti 316 48. 8 610 2 Ti 411. 11 Ti 110. There is no subject expressed in ἐστὶν ἀπίστου χειρῶν 1 Ti 58, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν Ro 73 1 Co 739, Ro 134. 6 1 Co 740 Ga 53, and therefore the verb *to be* is inserted for clarity's sake.

Demonstratives: there is sometimes ellipse when the attribute is a demonstrative adj. or adv. (οὕτως καὶ τὸ χάρισμα, etc.) Ro 515 96. 8. 9 1 Co 1212 1412 2 Co 107 Eph 28 1 Th 518 1 Ti 23. (Exceptions: Ro 89. 14 1 Co 93 1028 1124 2 Co 112 1018, Ga 37 (emphatic however), 424 (εἰσιν = *represent*), Eph 410 61 Col 320 1 Ti 54 Ti 38; and τοῦτ' ἐστὶν is a frequent idiom: Ro 112 718 98 106. 8 Phm12.)

Interrogatives: τί γάρ μοι; 1 Co 512 etc., τί (μοι) τὸ ὄφελος 1532, τί οὖν; Ro 39 615 117, τί γάρ; Ro 33 Ph 118. Questions introduced by τίς or τί: Ro 31 831 1 Co 512 2 Co 22. 16 614 (sc. essential ἐστὶν) 14. 15. 16 Ga 319 1 Th 219. By ποῦ: Ro 327 1 Co 120 *ter* 1217. 17 1555. 55 OT, 1219 (sc. ἦν), Ga 415. By πόθεν: 1 Co 1354. 56 1533. Simple interrogative: ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; . . . Ro 329; also 49 77 Ga 321 1 Th 219 (sc. ἐστε). By μή: Ro 35 914, in a series of five rhetorical questions 1 Co 1229. 30. (Exceptions: τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς; 1 Co 35 918 1415 Ro 920 144 2 Co 38, 1 Co 1016. 16 (but = *represent*; stronger than copula), 2 Co 1213.)

Subordinate clauses: indir. questions: τί Ro 827 122, τίς, τί Eph 118 (but after ἐστὶν in the previous clause), τί τὸ πλοῦτος Col 127. (Exceptions: ὁποῖόν ἐστιν 1 Co 313, τίς ἐστὶν Eph 118, τί ἐστὶν 510.) After ὅπου sc. ἐστὶν 1 Co 33. In protasis of conditions: sc. ἐστὶν 1 Co 116; sc. ἦν 1 Co 1217. 17; sc. essential ἐστὶν, *there is* Ro 330 139; sc. ἐστὶν or ἦν Ro 414; sc. ἐστὶν 831 116 2 Co 39 517 Eph 429; sc. ἦν? 2 Co 311. This is Lukan and Pauline practice, which accords with class. and Hell. usage. (Exceptions: ἐὰν ἦς Ro 225, εἴπερ εἰσιν 1 Co 85, ἦν 1 Co 1219, ἐστε 2 Co 29, ἐστὶν (periph. pf.) 43, εἰμι 2 Co 1211, εἴ τις ἐστὶν Ti 16.) In relative clauses (see under Graphic, above): also Ro 94 ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία (sc. essential ἐστὶν), 1423, 1 Co 51 (sc. ess. ἐστὶν), 86 (do.), 2 Co 120, 818 (do.); Ph 315 43; confined to Luke, Paul, Heb. in NT, but more general in class. and Hell. (Exceptions: ἐστὶν Ro 125 38 416 514 834 165 1 Co 311 417 2 Co 44 Ga 17 41 424 *constitutes* . . . *represents*, 426 difficult, as ἐστὶν is merely copula, 519 *consists of*, Eph 114. 23 313; 416 55 *constitutes*; 62. 17,

¹ *Style and Literary Methods of Luke*, 149.

Ph 4⁸, Col 1⁷. 15. 18. 24. 27 210. 17. 22. 23 35. 14 49 2 Th 2⁹ 31⁷; 1 Ti 1²⁰ 2 Ti 1¹⁵ 21⁷ *se trouve*; 1 Ti 31⁵ 41⁰ 2 Ti 1⁶ *ess. ἔστιν*; Ro 9⁴ 16⁷ 1 Ti 6¹ *εἰσι*; Ga 31⁰ *εἰσι se trouvent*; Ro 1⁶ *ἔστε*, 2 Co 11¹⁵ *ἔσται*.) After *ὥς*: Ro 51⁵ *ὥς τὸ παράπτωμα*, 2 Co 10⁷, Col 1⁶ (but *ἔστιν* in previous clause), Eph 5²². (Exceptions: copula after *ὥσπερ* 1 Co 8⁵; after *καθώς* Eph 4²¹ (essential) Ph 1⁷ Col 1⁶ (periphr. pres.) 1 Th 21³ (*ess. ἔστιν*).) After *καθάπερ*: sc. essential *ἦν* 2 Co 8¹¹ (exception: 1 Co 121²). After *ὅτι*: Ro 71⁶ 81⁸ 113⁶ 141⁴. 23 1 Co 84. 4 2 Co 10⁷ 13⁵ Ph 211 (*ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*). Regard (p. 55) thinks that this emphasizes *κύριος*, since this type of phrase has the copula elsewhere, e.g. 1 Jn 41⁵. 1 Ti 1⁸ Eph 211 (sc. *ἔστε*). (Exceptions: Ro 13² *εἰσιν*, 22 421 71⁴ 81⁶ *ἔσμεν* 151⁴ *ἔστε* 1 Co 111 61⁵. 16 101⁹. 19 113 155⁸ (but *emph.*) 143⁷ 161⁵ 2 Co 11⁸ 23 91² 13⁶ *ἔσμεν* Eph 42⁵ *ἔσμεν* 53⁰ (do.) 51⁶ *εἰσιν* 23 *ἔστιν* 2 Th 24 (do.) 2 Ti 11² (do.).)

(c) *Ellipse of other parts besides ἔστιν*: Scil. *εἰμι*: Ro 72⁴ (exclam.), *κάγω* 2 Co 112² *ter.* Not even the pronoun is present with *πρόθυμος* Ro 11⁵ *d e vulg* (2) Orig. Ambst. Ambr., and *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ* 2 Co 11⁶ (D*E add *εἰμι*), *ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γνώσει* 11⁶, *ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινός* 101. (Exceptions: more often *εἰμι*, whether essential or copula, is present: Ro 114 71⁴ 111. 13 1 Co 112 34 91. 2 121⁵. 15. 16. 16 132 159. 9. 10 2 Co 121⁰ Ph 411 Col 25 1 Ti 11⁵.)

Scil. *εἰ* even without pronoun: *εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρόνομος* Ga 4⁷ (but the sense is made clear by *εἰ* in previous clause). See further under Interrogatives. (Exception: Ga 4⁷.)

Scil. *ἔσμεν*: with pronoun 2 Co 10⁷. No pronoun: *εἰ δὲ τέκνά, καὶ κληρονόμοι* Ro 81⁷ (but *ἔσμεν* in previous sentence), Ph 31⁵ 2 Co 4⁸ 7⁵ 11⁶; see also Graphic. (Exceptions: Ro 61⁵ 81² 14⁸ 12⁵ *vl. etc.*)

Scil. *ἔστε*: see Graphic. 2 Co 114 Eph 211 (after *ὅτι*) 21³ (= *vous trouvez*). (Exceptions: Ro 61⁴. 16 89 1 Co 130 33 1 Th 220 49 54. 5 *etc.*)

Scil. *εἰσιν*: in connection with ellipse of *ἔστιν* 2 Co 82³. But not always: Ro 21³ 41⁴ 111⁶. 28. 28 1 Co 169 2 Co 84 (ptc. as main verb) 101⁰. (Exceptions: Ro 21⁴ (cp. previous verse) 131 (periphr. pf.),³ 152⁷ 1 Co 141⁰. 22 101⁸ 3⁸ 2 Co 112² (question: *Ἐβραῖοι εἰσιν*; essential *εἰσιν*) Eph 51⁶ (*ὅτι*) 1 Ti 52⁴ 62. 2 (*ὅτι*) 2 Ti 3⁶ (*ess.*) Ti 11⁰ (*ess.*) 31⁰ (*ess.*).

Scil. fut. indic.: doubtful are 1 Co 152¹ 2 Co 311. Apart from these possible instances of *ἔσται* the fut. never suffers ellipse in Paul (or indeed in NT). Scil. imperf. indic.: very rare; there is the stereotyped *εἰ δυνατόν* Ga 41⁵, also 1 Co 24 Ph 25 Ro 41³. There is ellipse of *ἦσαν* in *καθώς τινες αὐτῶν* 1 Co 10⁷. Otherwise the impf. is always expressed.

Scil. subjunctive: this ellipse occurs only in Paul (and Heb 121⁶¹). 2 Co 811 *ὅπως . . . καὶ τὸ ἐπιτέλεσθαι*,¹³ *οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἅλλοις ἀνεσις, ὑμῶν θλίψις* (sc. *ess. ᾗ*), 122⁰ *μή πως ἔρις* (do.). It is probably subjunctive which has to be supplied in 2 Co 51⁰ (*εἴτε . . . εἴτε . . .*), and we may supply *ὥσιν* before *ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ* Ro 12⁷; another instance is 2 Co 122⁰ where *ὥσιν* is preferable to *εὐρεθῶσιν*. Also scil. the essential verb Ro 41⁶. In this respect Paul is nearer to class. practice than any other NT writer. However, the insertion of subjunctive is much more regular.

. Scil. optative: see epistolary formulae, above. Other wishes are: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς . . . (ὁ . . .) Ga 3^{10, 13}, εἰρήνην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλεος 6¹⁶. Paul does not use opt. of εἰμι.

Scil. imperative: ἔστω is rarely omitted except in the formula χάρις τῷ θεῷ (see Exclamations), which is class. too (K-G § 354 n. 2e; Abel § 157) and occurs in the early papyri. There are also ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος Ro 12⁹, ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι Col 4⁶, and perhaps before κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν Ro 12⁶. (Exceptions: ἦτω 1 Co 16²², ἔστω 2 Co 12¹⁶ Ga 1⁸.) Ἔστέ may be supplied with the ptes. in Ro 12^{9f}. 16^{ter} Col 3¹⁶ 2 Co 9^{11, 13} 8²⁴ BD*G (against S) Eph 4², and Regard includes the ptes. at Eph 5¹⁵⁻²³ 6^{16, 18, 18} (pp. 211f). But the ptc. itself may be imperatival; in fact, ἔστέ imper. does not occur at all in NT (but there is ἔστε with γινώσκοντες Eph 5⁵, which may be intended for ἔστέ), 1 Ti 4¹⁵ ἴσθι.

(d) *Stronger meanings of ἔστιν and εἰσιν*: even here there is ellipse in Paul, which is not confined to the copula; there is the meaning *there is (are)*, or *it is*; e.g. 1 Th 5⁸ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, 2 Ti 1⁵ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί, Ro 28. 9. 10 4^{18, 18} 8¹ 9^{16, 32} 11¹¹ 1 Co 8⁶ 11³⁰ 13⁸ 15⁴⁰ 2 Co 1²⁰ 3¹⁷ 4⁶ 6² Ga 2²¹ 3^{4, 5} Eph 2^{8, 9} 4^{4, 5, 9}, a series of four in the vehement passage Ph 2¹, 1 Ti 2⁵. Something like ἔστιν is to be supplied before ἵνα 1 Co 7²⁹ 1 Ti 3¹⁵, and οὐχ ὅτι 2 Co 1²⁴ 3⁵ Ph 4^{11, 17} 2 Th 3⁹. Normally of course the verb *to be* is not absent.

It may be that we are to supply ἔστιν in 1 Co 10¹⁷ ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος (sc. ἔστιν), ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἔσμεν: *because there is one bread, we the many are one body*, instead of the usual interpretation which is less intelligible.

Individual writers: the Fourth Gospel.

We find here almost the very opposite of Pauline usage: the pure nominal phrase and ellipse of the copula is the exception rather than the rule.

(a) *Fixed phrases*: (ἐτι) μικρὸν καὶ 14¹⁹ 16^{16, 17, 19}. (Exceptions: (τὸ) θαύμαστόν ἐστιν ὅτι 9³⁰.) Parenthetical ὄνομα αὐτῷ 1⁶ (ἦν S*D*W), 3¹ (ὀνόματι S*). (Exception: ἦν δὲ ὄνομα 18¹⁰.) Proverbial: πνεῦμα ὁ θεός 4²⁴. (Exc. 13¹⁶ 15³⁰.)

(b) *Spontaneous phrases*: ἰδοὺ 19⁵, ἴδε 12^{9, 36, 48} 19^{14, 26f}, μακάριοι οἱ 20²⁹ (Hebr. infl.?), but ἔστε 13¹⁷. In Jn even exclamations may retain ἔστιν: as σκληρὸς ἐστιν ὁ λόγος 6⁶⁰. Οὕτως with ἔστιν 3⁸, οὗτος with ἔστιν 1^{19, 30} etc. (22 times), ἐκεῖνος 5⁸⁹ etc. (5 times). But the copula is absent in the interrogative idiom τί ἐμοὶ (ἡμῖν) καὶ σοὶ Jn 2⁴ which has a parallel in Hebrew besides affinities with class. speech (K-G I 417). Another idiomatic phrase is τί πρὸς σε (ἡμᾶς) Jn 21^{22f}; there is the Latin *quid hoc ad te*, which has a class. Greek parallel in the proverb-like οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, although normally there is ἐστι (cf. οὐδὲν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ Demosth. 18, 21) and parallels later in Epictetus (see Schenkl's Index, under πρὸς): τί (οὐδὲν)

πρὸς ἐμέ (σέ) and in a papyrus of 9 B.C. (BU IV 1158¹⁷). There is also the conversational formula τί οὖν 12¹ (sc εἶ) and the interrogatives οὗτος δὲ τί 21²¹ (note the ch.) and τί πρὸς σε 21²² (do.). But much more, frequently ἐστὶν appears in questions: 21²⁰ 6⁹ 7³⁶ etc.; this is true also of indir. questions 2⁹ 9²⁹. 30 7²⁷ etc., of the protasis of a condition 9²⁵, of relative clauses 1⁴¹ etc., after καθὼς 19⁴⁰ etc., after ἕως 9⁴. Ellipse is rather frequent after ὅτι: 4⁵³ (sc. ἦν), 10³⁸ (sc. ἐστὶν and εἰμι) 14¹⁰ (sc. εἰμι), 11 (sc. εἰμι and ἐστὶν), 20 (sc. εἰμι bis and ἐστε). But this is only nine instances, compared with sixty where the copula is inserted: 2¹⁷ 2²¹ etc. including ὅτι = *because* 1³⁰ 3²³. 33 etc.

(c) *Ellipse of other parts besides ἐστὶν*: see above. There is also ellipse of εἰμι at 12³ ἐγὼ φωνή βοῶντος, and of εἶ at 17²¹ (but συ appears), and of ἐσμεν at 17¹¹ (καθὼς ἡμεῖς), and of ἐστέ 15⁵ (ὕμεις τὰ κλάσματα), and of ἦν 19⁴¹ (καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν). The subjunctive ὦ may be understood at 17²⁶, but the ellipse occurs immediately after the insertion of ἦ. The opt. probably has to be supplied in the formal wish εἰρήνη (σοι) at 20¹⁹. 21. 26. Presumably ἴσθι is to be supplied with δεῦρο ἕξω 11⁴⁸. Against these ten instances of ellipse there are some 202 instances without it.

(d) *Stronger meanings*: there is no instance of ellipse here, but something like ἐστὶν is to be supplied *before* ἴνα at 12³⁸ 18⁹. 32 19²⁴ and ἀλλ' ἴνα 9⁸ 13¹⁸ 15²⁵, and before οὐχ ὅτι 6⁴⁶ 7²². With ἴνα this may be a kind of imperative, as in the phrases which begin with γὰρ νά in good MGr. (Pernot 69). The presence of ἐστὶν or εἰσιν is the rule with stronger meanings: 1⁴⁷ 4³⁵ etc. (12 times).

Individual writers: the Johannine Epistles.

(a) *Fixed phrases*: εἰρήνη σοι 3 Jn 15. But an exception to the NT practice is the presence of ἔσται in the formula at 2 Jn³. Regard ascribes this to inherited Ionic influence (p. 42). Proverbial expressions: ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστὶν 4⁸. 16 is an instance which in other parts of NT would be a pure nominal phrase, even in Jn, e.g. πνεῦμα ὁ θεός. So also ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶν 1⁵, καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία 3⁴, πᾶσα ἀδικία ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν 5¹⁷.

(b) *Spontaneous*: ellipse 1³ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία δὲ ἡ ἡμετέρα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. (Exceptions: copula ἐστὶν 42 times, other parts 26 times.)

Individual writers: Luke-Acts.

Luke prefers the copula on every possible occasion, apart from set phrases, titles, and a few exclamations and questions.

(a) *Set phrases*: φάνερρον ὅτι Ac 4¹⁶, ἔξόν 2²⁹, σκληρόν 26¹⁴. Proverbial: Lk 10² (= Mt 9³⁷) ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι, 14²⁴ (= Mk 9⁵⁰) καλὸν τὸ ἔλας, 10⁷ (= Mt 10¹⁰ 1 Ti 5¹⁸), 18¹⁹ (= Mk 10¹⁸, as opp. to Mt 19¹⁷), 16¹⁵. 18. Also Lk 12⁸¹ 22²⁵ 8⁴¹ 24¹³ ᾧ (ἦ) ὄνομα (ἰ)

ὀνόματι, as elsewhere in Lk and almost always in Ac and class.) 24¹⁸ (SB ὀνόματι) Ac 13⁶ (p⁴⁵ ὀνόματι, D ὀνόματι καλούμενον). Lk 1^{5. 27} καὶ τὸ ὄνομα. Epistolary formulae: χαίρειν Ac 15²³ 23²⁶. (Exceptions: δέον with ἔστιν Ac 19³⁸, ὄνομα with ἔστιν Lk 1⁶³ 8³⁰ (as opp. to Mk 5⁹), εἰ δυνατόν with εἴη Ac 20¹⁶; also ἔστιν with μακάριον Ac 20³⁵, καλόν Lk 9³³, ἀνευδεκτόν 17¹, ἱκανόν 22³⁸, εὐκοπώτερον 16¹⁷ 18²⁵ (= Mk 10²⁵ Mt 19²⁴), and so on Ac 2²⁴ 4¹⁹ 6² 12³ 10²⁸ 13⁴⁶ 25¹⁶ 28²². Proverbial: τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἔστιν Lk 18²⁷ (as opp. to Mt Mk).)

(b) *Spontaneous*: (καὶ) ἰδοὺ Lk 1³⁸ 5¹⁸ etc. (Exceptions Lk 2²⁵ 17²¹ etc.) οὐαὶ Lk 6²⁴ 10¹³ etc. Exclamations: εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος Lk 13³⁵ 19³⁸ (= Mt Jn); so also Lk 10²³ 12⁴³ (as Mt) etc., μακάριος 1⁴⁵ 11²⁷ 14¹⁵, ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες Lk 24⁴⁸, οὐκ εὐθέως τὸ τέλος 21⁹ (sc. ἔσται?), ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως 22²⁶ (sc. ἔστε), εὐλογημένη σύ 14^{42. 43}, τὸ σκότος πόσον 11³⁸ D, μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμὶς Ac 19^{28. 34}. Doxology: δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις (sc. ἔστω or εἴη) Lk 21⁴. Verbal adj.: οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσχοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον Lk 5³⁸ (only instance in NT, but class. and Hell.). Other phrases (esp. rhetorical or declarative), e.g. οὐ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Lk 3¹⁷; also 11³⁴ 22²⁰. Demonstrative: ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος Lk 23³⁸ (Mt-parall. has copula), οὕτως 12²¹, οὗτοι 24⁴⁴. Interrogatives: Lk 4³⁴ (Mk Mt Jn), 3^{6. 828. 45}, 21⁷, 22²⁷, 24¹⁷, Ac 10²¹ etc. Indir. questions: Lk 7³⁹ 13²³ Ac 26²³ 17¹⁹. After ὅπου Lk 17³⁷ (but parall. Mt 24²⁸ adds ἐὰν ᾗ). In protasis of conditional (Lucan and Pauline habit): Lk 11^{35D} 3⁶. In a rel. clause there is ellipse after καθότι Lk 19⁹ S*. After ὅτι Lk 16¹⁵ (Lk sometimes avoids Mk's ellipse, by adding ἀνέστη 9^{8. 19}). But under this heading there are a very great many exceptions, and with spontaneous phrases in Lk-Ac the copula is the general rule.

(c) *Other parts besides ἔστιν.*

See above. Scil. ptc. ὄντα in WH of Ac 26²¹ (rest have it). Scil. εἰμι Ac 7³² OT (but not LXX, which adds εἰμι: Ex 3⁶) 10³⁹ 18⁶. But εἰμι inserted 28 times. Sc. ptc. ὄντες in WH of Lk 6³ (rest have it). Sc. εἶ: see Exclamations (usually inserted). Ἔσμεν always inserted (ten times). Sc. ἔστε indic.: ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων Lk 24²⁸, and see above (otherwise inserted). Sc. εἰσιν Lk 24¹⁷ and see above (but usually inserted). Sc. ἔσται: Lk 21⁷ καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον (no other ellipse of fut. indic.: inserted 48 times). Sc. ἦν Lk 1⁵ (*there was*) γυνὴ αὐτῷ 2^{25. 36. 37}; see also above. (But ἦν inserted 113 times; ἦσαν 43 times; ἦμην 5; ἦμεν 2; ἦμεθα Ac 27³⁷). Scil. optative: Lk 10⁵ 24³⁶ εἰρήνῃ τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ, 12⁸ ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ; see also Subordinate Clauses. There is ellipse of either opt. or imper. in ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Lk 19³⁸, τὸ αἶμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν Ac 18⁶. Sc. ἔστε imper. Lk 12³⁶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι, 24⁴⁷ with ptc. Sc. ἴσθι: Ac 7³ δεῦρο εἰς . . .

(d) *Stronger meanings.*

Ellipse before ἵνα: Lk 18⁴¹ (but prob. imperatival ἵνα). Ellipse of ἔστιν ἢ ἰσ: Ac 12²² θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου (inserted 37 times).

Individual writers: Mark.

The ellipse here is usually confined to fixed phrases.

(a) *Fixed phrases*: ὄνομα 14³², 5⁹ (parall. Lk 8³⁰ adds ἔστιν). εἰ δὲ μή 2¹¹. ἀδύνατον 10²⁷ (Mt adds ἔστιν). εἰ δυνατόν 13²² = Mt 24²⁴ (but ἔστιν is retained at Mk 14³⁶ Mt 26³⁹). καλόν 14²¹ BWL (others add ἦν; Mt's parall. has ἦν, also Lk 9³³; even in Mk the copula is retained at 7²⁷ 9⁵. 42. 43. 45. 47). (Exceptions 2⁹ 10²⁵. 40.) Proverbial expressions: καλὸν τὸ ἄλλας Mk 9⁵⁰ = Lk 14³⁴, τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής 14³⁸ = Mt 26⁴¹, οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός 10¹⁸ = Lk 18¹⁹ (Mt. 19¹⁷ adds the copula in εἰς ἔστιν ὁ ἀγαθός), παρὰ θεῶ πάντα δυνατά 10²⁷ = Mt 19²⁶.

(b) *Spontaneous expressions*: ellipse with ἴδε 3³⁴ 13¹. 21, οὐαὶ 13¹⁷ 14²¹, τί ἐμοὶ (ἡμῖν) καὶ σοὶ 1²⁴ 5⁷. In other less stereotyped forms of questions, the copula has also to be supplied: τίς ἡ σοφία 6², τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῇ 12¹⁶ (parall. Lk 20²⁴ avoids the ellipse), πόθεν τοῦτω ταῦτα 6², simple interr. οὐ 4²¹. But there are exceptions: τί ἔστιν τοῦτο 1²⁷, τί ἔστιν εὐκοπώτερον 2⁹ = Lk 5²³, τίς ἔστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου 3³³, τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν 4⁴¹, ποῦ 14¹⁴ = Lk 22¹¹, πόθεν 12³⁷, ποῖος 12²⁸, πόσος 9²¹. Exclamations or simple declarations: 13⁷ (where Mt 24⁶ adds ἔστιν) οὕτω τὸ τέλος, 14³⁶ πάντα δυνατά σοι. But even these have ἔστιν: οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔστιν ἐν ὑμῖν 10⁴³ = Mt 20²⁸, even when impersonal: πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν 10²⁴. Other non-ellipses: ἐνοχός ἐστιν = 3²⁹, but here we have no subject expressed and the verb must be there to supply it (*he is*). The same applies to οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς νεκρῶν 12²⁷ = Lk 20³⁸ (*he is*), and to οὐκ ἔστιν ὥδε 16⁶ = Mt 28⁶ = Lk 24⁶. Ἐρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος 6³⁵ = Mt 14¹⁵ (emph.?). Κύριός ἐστιν ὁ Ὑῖός . . . καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου 2²⁸ = Lk 6⁵ = Mt 12⁹. In οὐ γάρ ἐστίν τι κρυπτόν ἐάν 4²², it is the essential *ἐστίν there is*, as also most probably in 6⁴ = Mt 13⁵⁷, 9⁴⁰ = Mt 12³⁰ = Lk 9⁵⁰, 12³³. The copula is not omitted with οὕτως 4²⁸ 10⁴², nor with demonstratives 3³⁵ etc. (13 times). The copula is inserted in indir. questions: 5¹⁴ 9¹⁰ 13³³, and after ὅπου 5⁴⁰ (ἦν); in relat. clauses 2¹⁹ etc. (10 times). With two exceptions (6¹⁵) where the parall. Lk 9⁸ inserts ἀνέστη, 8²⁸ where the parall. Lk 9¹⁹ adds ἀνέστη, the copula occurs in clauses beginning with ὅτι: 2¹ 6⁴⁹. 55 12³⁵ 13³⁸; of these exceptions, it looks as if προφήτης is direct speech, with ὅτι introducing a mere exclamation of the people, in 6¹⁵, and in the same way there is no need for ἔστιν in 8²⁸ if ὅτι is thought of as introducing the dir. speech εἰς τῶν προφητῶν. When Mark intends ὅτι to introduce indir. speech he has the copula, as ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ν. ἔστιν 10⁴⁷ (parall. Lk 18³⁷ has παρέρχεται). Thus the proportion in this section is striking: ellipse 15 or less, copula 56.

(c) Other parts.

Strangely enough there is sometimes the ellipse of εἰμι in Mk: ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ 12²⁶ = Ac 7³² (the LXX of Ex 3⁶ adds εἰμι), μήτι ἐγὼ 14¹⁹. There is ellipse of ἦν with καλόν 14²¹ and at 1¹¹ (καὶ φωνῇ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν), although BWA add ἐγένετο (and Lk's parall. 3²² adds

γενέσθαι), and 145 vl. The apparent ellipse of ἦν in καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος 647 is covered by ἦν in the previous clause. There is one instance of ellipse of ἦσαν, 1540 ἐν αἷς καὶ Μαρία . . . There is ellipse of ἔστω at 1436 = Mt 2640 (οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω), where the parallel Lk 2242 avoids it, and perhaps at 142 (μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ). Elsewhere the appropriate part of εἶναι fails to be inserted: again the proportion is striking, ellipse 7, verb 88.

(d) *Stronger meanings.*

Even here, when drama is present, there is ellipse: εἰς τῶν δώδεκα (it is) 1420. It is probably also so before ἀλλ' ἵνα 1449 (imperative) 210. Some read the opening of the gospel like this: scil. ἔστιν before καθὼς (the beginning of the gospel is as it is written . . .). But Mark's fondness for the verb to be is against this interpretation. The insertion of ἔστιν = consists in 715 1014 (or belongs to) 1229, 127 means.

Individual writers: Hebrews.

In avoidance of the copula Heb. is even more class. and literary in tendency than Paul; there is always good reason for the insertion of ἔστιν where it occurs.

(a) *Fixed phrases.* Ellipse with πρόδηλον 714 (but κατάδηλον has ἔστιν 715, emphatic), ἀδύνατον 64. 18 104 116, λόγος 511, ἔτι μικρόν 800 800 1037 (but LXX Isa 2620 has ἀποκρύβηθι μικρόν 800 800), ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν 79, ἀναγκαῖον 83, ἀνάγκη 916. 23, ἔθος 1025, φοβερόν 1031, καλόν 139. Epistolary formula ἡ χάρις μετὰ 1325.

(b) *Spontaneous phrases.* Ellipse: 138 Ἰησοῦς X. . . ὁ αὐτός, 513 81 916 412. 13. 13 54 210. 11 68. 8. 10 917 1023. 30. Ellipse after ὡς 32 (sc. ἦν), πηλικός 74 (do.), τίς 711 (sc. ἔστιν), in relative sentences (unlike Paul) 99 1110, after ὅτι 1119, with demonstratives 920 (τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα, where LXX has ἰδοὺ τὸ αἷμα) 1317. In doxology ᾧ ἡ δόξα 1321. (Presence of εἰσιν in a question 114, ἔστιν with demonstratives 214 75 911 1020 1116 1315, ἔστιν = he is 513 86 915, = belongs to 514, after relative 72; presence of εἰσιν in periphr. pf. 720. 23. Therefore the presence of ἔστιν at 111 (ἔστιν δὲ πίστις ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις) is either very exceptional or is not a copula (= represents)).

(c) *Other parts.*

Th. Nissen (in *Philologus* 92, 1937, 248) conjectures at 1216 μὴ τις πόρνος <ἦ> ἢ βέβηλος. Otherwise ellipse of subjunctive in 1215 (the only other place in NT is Paul). 134 τίμιος ὁ γάμος (sc. ἔστω), 5 ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος. Scil. ἔστε imperative with ptc. 135 (as Paul, Peter, Luke). Ellipse of ἦν 35. 6 (and see stronger meanings); of εἰ 721 (σὺ ἱερεὺς, even when LXX inserts εἰ). (Exceptions: insertion of ἦσαν 215, of ἔσμεν 36 42 1010. 39, of ἔσται (after μήποτε) 312, of ἦν 710. 11 84. 4. 7 1138 1221, of εἰσιν 1113 (but = they are), of ἔστε 128. 8.)

(d) *Stronger meanings.*

Ellipse of *ἐστὶν there is* or *ἦν there was* 9². 4. 5. Scil. *ἐστὶν* before οὐχ ἵνα 9²⁵; scil. *ἐστὶν there is* 9¹⁶ ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, 27 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κρίσις, 10³, 10¹⁸ ὅπου δὲ ἀφesis τούτων, 18, 127. (No ellipse: 4¹³ 9⁶ (οὐκ ἐστὶν *it is impossible*), 11⁶ *exists*.)

Individual writers: James.

On the contrary, Jas is not very fond of the pure nominal phrase, outside stereotyped expressions.

(a) *Fixed phrases.* χρή 3¹⁰, ἐν 1¹⁷. Epistol. formulae χαίρειν 1¹. Proverbial ἡ γὰρ κρίσις ἀνέλεος τῷ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος 21³.

(b) *Spontaneous.* Proportion of ellipse 9: copula 15. The idiomatic question τί τὸ ὄφελος 21⁴. 16, ἰδοὺ 3⁴. Exclamations 11². 26 3². 6. Interrogative 3¹³ 4¹, 4¹⁴ ποῖα ἡ ζωὴ AKLP lat copt. Indir. question 4¹⁴ S*B 614 syr^h arm. (No ellipse 15 times.)

(c) *Other parts.* No ellipse (12 times).

(d) *Stronger meanings.* Ellipse *it is* 3⁸ ἀκατάστατον κακόν, *there is* 3¹⁶ ὅπου γὰρ ζῆλος καὶ ἐριθεία, ἐκεῖ ἀκαταστασία, *it is* 4¹ οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν. (No ellipse 4¹². 14 L vulg 1⁷.)

Individual writers: 1 Peter.

He tends towards the ellipse.

(a) *Fixed phrases.* εἰ δέον 1⁶, κρεῖττον 3¹⁷. Epistol. formula εἰρήνη ὑμῖν 5¹⁴.

(b) *Spontaneous.* Doxology εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός 1³, αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος 5¹¹ (but ᾧ ἐστὶν [A om. ἐστὶν] ἡ δόξα 4¹¹). Demonstrative 21⁹. Interrog. 2²⁰ 3¹³. (Exceptions: 1²⁵ 2¹⁵ 3⁴. 20. 22.)

(c) *Other parts.* We may supply the imper. (2nd pl.) with adjs. and ptes.: 1¹⁴. 22 2¹⁸ 3¹. 7. 8¹ 4⁸ (but Moulton Proleg. 182f); ἐστε (pres. ind.) is absent: ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν 2⁹, οἱ ποτε οὐ λαός 1¹⁰, μακάριοι 3¹⁴ 4¹⁴. Impf. ἦν (perhaps ἐστὶν) is to be understood in ἀρχετός γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος 4³; scil. εἴμι in ὅτι ἐγὼ ἄγιος 1¹⁶ (LXX inserts εἴμι). (Exceptions: ἦτε inserted 2²⁵, ἔστω 3³.)

(d) *Stronger meanings.* Ellipse 4¹⁷ ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἄρξασθαι, 1⁷ εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ τέλος.

Individual writers: 2 Pt. and Jude.

Strangely the ellipse is never found except in the stereotyped doxology and with the Hebraic οὐαί. The ptc. is probably imperatival in itself, without the need to supply ἐστε. There is thus no instance of a spontaneous phrase containing the ellipse. Doxology 2 Pt 3¹⁸ Jude 25; οὐαί Jude 11.

Individual writers: Matthew.

It is almost only in stereotyped phrases, proverbs, and exclamations that Matthew omits the copula, and even here (as with *πρέπον, ἀδύνατον, ἔξόν, καλόν*) he inserts the copula sometimes. The only exceptions are the Semitic *ἰδοῦ* and *οὐαί*, and the interesting case of *ὅτι* (ellipse with which is characteristic of Mt.).

(a) *Fixed phrases.* With *ἀρκετόν* 6³⁴ 10³⁵, *εἰ δυνατόν* 24²⁴ (= Mk 13²²), although *ἐστίν* is inserted at 26³⁹ (= Mk 14³⁵), *ἀνάγκη* 18⁷ BL 33 (but SDW insert *ἐστίν*). Semitic influence may explain *δῶρον* 15⁵, *ἰλεώς σοι* (scil. *ὁ θεὸς εἶη* or more prob. a homonym for *יְהוָה*) 16²². Proverbial expressions: *ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς* 9³⁷ = Lk 10², so also 10¹⁰ = Lk 10⁷, 11⁸ (parall. Lk 7²⁵ has *εἶσιν*), 19²⁶ = Mk 10²⁷ (Lk 18²⁷ adds *ἐστίν*), 26⁴¹ = Mk 14³⁸. No ellipse: Mt adds *ἐστίν* in *εἰς ἐστίν ὁ ἀγαθός* 19¹⁷ (against Mk 10¹⁸ Lk 18¹⁹). (Exceptions: *πρέπον* has *ἐστίν* 3¹⁵, and so has *ἀδύνατον* 19²⁸ (against the parall. Mk 10²⁷); *ἦν* is inserted with *ἔξόν* 12⁴ and with *καλόν* 26²⁴ (against Mk 14²¹), *ἐστίν* with *καλόν* 15²⁸ 17⁴ 18⁸, 9, with *οὐδέν* 23¹⁸, 18, *εὐκοπώτερον* 19²⁴ = Mk 10²⁵ Lk 16¹⁷ 18²⁵; also *οὐκ ἐστίν θέλημα ἴνα* 18¹⁴.)

(b) *Spontaneous.* With *ἰδοῦ* 3¹⁷ 7⁴ 9¹⁰ 11¹⁹ 12¹⁰, 18, 42, 49 17⁵ 24²³, 26 25⁶ (but copula 24²⁶). With *οὐαί* 18⁷, 7 23¹³, 16, 23, 25, 27, 29 24¹⁹ 26²⁴. Exclamations: *μακάριοι οἱ* 5³⁻¹⁰ 13¹⁶ = Lk 10²³, 24⁴⁶ (sing.) = Lk 12⁴³ (but the copula does occur in the same formula 5¹¹, 11⁶ = Lk 7²³, 16¹⁷), *τὸ σκότος πόσον* 6²³ = Lk 11³⁶ D, *μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις* 15²⁸, *εὐδία* 16², *σήμερον χεimῶν* 16³, *δευτέρα ὁμολοῖ αὐτῇ* 22³⁰ (but Mt adds *ἐστίν* *το οὖτω τὸ τέλος* 24⁶, against Mk 13⁷, and retains *ἐστίν* in *οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἐστίν ἐν ὑμῖν* 20²⁶ = Mk 10⁴³, *οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον ἐστὶ* 6²⁵). Graphic sentences: *οἱ ταῦτοί μου καὶ τὰ σιτιστὰ τεθυμένα καὶ πάντα ἔτοιμα* 22⁴ (the only place where there is ellipse with *ἔτοιμος* in NT¹). Rhetorical: *ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οὐρανοὶ αὐτοῦ* 10³⁸. Demonstrative: 24⁷ (but the copula is not normally omitted with demonstratives: 33 times). Interrogatives: the idiom *τί ἐμοὶ (ἡμῖν) καὶ σοὶ* 8²⁹, and *τί πρὸς σε (ἡμᾶς)* 27⁴; questions with *τίς* or *τί* 23¹⁹ 24³ 26³, *ποῖος* 22³⁶ (but more often the copula is inserted: 16 times). After *ὅτι* Mt often prefers the ellipse: 5¹² 7¹³, 14 24³² (but 33 and the Mk-parall. insert *ἐστίν*). Relative: 3¹². There is no ellipse where *ἐστίν* = *he is* (i.e. no subject expressed): 28⁶ = Mk 16⁶ = Lk 26⁶, 27⁴², 26⁶⁶. The verb is also inserted in emphatic phrases beginning with *οὐκ ἐστίν*: 13⁵⁷ = Mk 6⁴, 10²⁴ = Lk 6⁴⁰ = Jn 13¹⁶ 15²⁰. The position of the predicate and insertion of *ἐστίν* add emphasis in *κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου* 12⁸ = Mk 2²⁸ = Lk 6⁵, *εἰς γὰρ ἐστίν ὑμῶν ὁ διδάσκαλος* 23⁸, 9, 10, *ἐρημός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος* 14¹⁵. But this does not explain *ὁ καιρὸς μου ἔγγός ἐστιν* 26¹⁸, and there are 30 other instances where the copula is inserted for no apparent reason.

¹ In class. Greek also it is only in elevated language that there is an ellipse with this word.—J. E. Harry, *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assocn.*, 1903, xxxiv, pp. viiiff.

(c) *Other parts (except as included above).* Ellipse of εἰμι 22³² (but inserted 13 times); of εἰσιν 11⁷ 10³⁶ (but inserted 12 times); of ἔσονται 24⁴¹ (but added in parall. Lk 17³⁵) (but fut. indic. is inserted 35 times); of ἦσαν or ἐγένετο in 24³⁷ ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι (but impf. indic. is inserted 26 times, subjunctive 6 times, imperat. 4 times). Ellipse of imperative: 27¹⁹. 25 26⁵. 39.

(d) *Stronger meanings.* No ellipse (10 times).

Individual writers: Revelation.

The occurrence of the copula is about half and half, the apparent lack of preference being due perhaps largely to the use of various sources.

(a) *Fixed phrases.* Ellipse in epistolary formulae: χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη 1⁴, ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων 22²¹; ὄφελον with finite verb 31⁵; εἰ δὲ μή 25¹⁶; ὄνομα αὐτῷ 6⁸ 9¹¹.

(b) *Spontaneous phrases.* Ellipse in exclamations: μακάριος 1⁸ 16¹⁵ 20⁶ 22⁷, plur. 14¹³ 19⁹ 22¹⁴; ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς 1⁸ (but op. 22¹¹), ἅγιος κύριος 4⁸ (not LXX), μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου 15³, δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου 15³, ὅτι ἰσχυρὸς κύριος 18⁸, ὅτι ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ 19², οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοὶ 22⁶, καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ 12 (Exceptions 51² 16²¹ 22¹¹). Doxologies: αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα 1⁶, τῷ ἁγίῳ ἡ εὐλογία 51², similarly 71², ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ 71⁹, similarly 191. Relative: 1⁴ 20¹⁰ (exceptions 2⁷ 51² 20². 12 21⁸. 17 22¹²). Demonstratives: 17⁹ 20⁵ (exceptions 13¹⁰. 18 14¹² 17¹¹ 20¹⁴). Interrog. 5² 13⁴ 18¹⁸. Indir. quest. 21⁸. Καὶ ἰδοὺ 41 6². 5. 8 7⁹ 12³ 14¹. 14 19¹¹, ἰδοὺ 21³, οὐαὶ 81⁸ 18¹⁰. 16. 19. Other ellipses: 21⁹ 191² 21¹⁸. 19. 21. 23. Other copulae 21¹⁶. 22 (but cp. next verse).

(c) *Other parts.* Scil. εἰσιν 11⁴. 15¹¹ 14⁴ 16⁷ 17¹⁴ 21¹⁹. Scil. ἦν 11⁶ 4⁷ 101. 2. 8 9⁵. 9. 16 13¹⁸ 14² 20⁸ 21¹¹. 14. Scil. ἦσαν 7⁵ 9⁷. 17. 19. Scil. εἰμι 21⁶ (A adds εἰμι) 22¹³, εἶ 15⁴, ἔσται 22⁴. (No ellipse: εἰμι 18. 17 31⁷ 22³ 18⁷ 191¹⁰ 22⁹. 16, εἶ 2⁹ 31. 15. 16. 17 41¹ 5⁹, εἰσιν 11⁹. 20 2². 9 34. 9 45 5⁶. 9 71³. 14. 15 11⁴ 14⁴. 5 16⁶ 17⁹. 9. 12. 15 191¹⁰ 21⁵, ἔσομαι 21⁷, ἔσται 10⁶. 9 21. 3. 4. 7, ἔσονται 20⁶ 21³, ἦν 31⁵ 4⁸. 11 51¹ 101¹⁰ 13² 21²¹, ἦσαν 9⁸ 18²³.

(d) *Stronger meanings.* Sc. ἦν there was 4⁶ 91¹⁰ 101, se trouve 11⁸; ἦσαν there were 9⁷; εἰσιν there are 22¹⁵ (No ellipse 91⁹ 13¹⁸ 161⁴ 17⁸. 8. 10. 11. 14. 18 19⁸. 10 21¹. 12. 25 22². 3. 5. 14.)

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

CONGRUENCE OF GENDER AND NUMBER

§ 1. Incongruence in Gender

Whereas in class. Greek a discordant neuter of the *pro-nominal* predicate (τί, οὐδέν, ὅ, ἐν, πλείον, etc.) will appear (e.g. Plato *Civ.* 341e), as in Mt 6²⁵ Lk 12²³ (ἡ ψυχὴ πλείον ἐστὶ), Ac 12¹⁸ 1 Co 6¹¹ 11⁵ 13² 15¹⁰ Ga 6³, Hell. Greek exceeds classical usage by extending the practice to neuter *adjectival* predicates even where the subject is not abstract and does not represent a class, e.g. P. Rei. 11. 25 ἡ χεὶρ ἥδε κύριον ἐστὼ, Mt 6³⁴ ἀρκετὸν . . . ἡ κακία, Ac 12³ D ἀρεστὸν . . . ἡ ἐπιχειρήσεις, 2 Co 2⁶ ἱκανὸν . . . ἡ ἐπιτιμία. Like the Koine, NT follows Latin (quod est, id est, hoc est) with the discordant explanatory neuter pronoun in ὃ ἐστὶν and τοῦτ' ἐστὶν (Mayser shows that ὃ ἐστὶν is vernacular, τοῦτέστιν literary: II 1, 75, 77): e.g. Mt 27³³ (exc. A) 4⁶ Mk 3¹⁷ 12⁴² 15¹⁶. 22 Jn 1⁴¹ Eph 5⁵ 6¹⁷ Col 1²⁷ p⁴⁶ BAFGIP 2¹⁰ p⁴⁶ BDEFG 2¹⁷ BFG 3¹⁴ vl. Heb 2¹⁴ 7⁵ 9¹¹ 1 Pt 2¹⁹ (exceptions: Ac 16¹² 1 Co 3¹⁷ Eph 3¹³ Ph 1²⁸ Col 2¹⁰ vl. 1⁷ vl.). We find assimilation of the gender of the pronoun to that of the antecedent, and not to that of the subject, in Col 3⁵ Rev 4⁵ 5⁶. 8. When an adj. agrees with two or more nouns differing in gender it is usually repeated, or else, if it precedes the first noun, it agrees with it (Lk 10¹ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον) and, if it follows, it takes the gender of the nearer noun (Heb 9⁹ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι . . . μὴ δυνάμεναι); in Heb 3⁶ βεβαίαν (om. p¹³ p⁴⁶ B) is interpolated from 3¹⁴.

§ 2. "Constructio ad sensum" ¹

These good Greek constructions ² take the form of:—

(a) Collective noun with plural verb. In the Ptol. papyri, LXX, and NT, especially with ὄχλος, λαός, στρατία, οἰκία,

¹ K-G I § 359, pp. 52ff. Gildersleeve I 119–122. Wackernagel I 103. Mayser II 3, 25.

² There is in the NT nothing so blatant as LXX Ex 9⁷ where a subordinate clause is not syntactically connected with its main clause: ἰδὼν δὲ Φαραὼ . . . ἐβαρύνθη ἡ καρδία Φαραὼ.

πλήθος, σπέρμα. This is not too harsh if the verb occurs in a fresh clause (Jn 6² 1 Co 16¹⁵) but more noticeable when the collective noun is followed by a plural circumstantial ptc. (Lk 2¹³, Ac 21³⁶ where DHLP have corrected the ptc. to sing.) and when the plural verb follows in the same clause: Mt 21⁸ Jn 7⁴⁹ Ac 6⁷ (AE corr. to sing.) 25²⁴ (BH^Y corr. to sing.) Rev 8⁹ 9¹⁸ (p⁴⁷ corr. to sing.), Herm. S IX 1. 8 (pap. Mich. corr. to sing.), Evang. Thom. 15² ὄχλος δὲ πολὺς παρειστήκεισαν ἀκούοντες. In Mk at any rate the tendency is that if ὄχλος comes first the verb is plur.: if the verb comes first it is sing. The same tendency occurs in the Koine: PSI IV 402. 4 (mid. iii/B.C.) ὁ λαὸς ὁ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς κολυκύνθας ὀπτῶσιν, IV 380. 4 (249 B.C.) ἐπέθετο (sing. verb. first) ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπενηρόχασιν (plur. verb follows) τοῖς ποιμέσιν.

(b) A masc. ptc. may follow a fem. or neut. personal collective noun like ἐκκλησία, ἔθνος or πλήθος: Lk 10¹³ (p⁴⁵ DEG corr. to fem.), Ac 5¹⁶, Ga 1²³, Eph 4¹⁷¹. In the same way a masc. pronoun may follow a noun in another gender: Mt 28¹⁹ ἔθνη . . . αὐτούς, Jn 6⁹ παιδάριον ὅς (vl. ὅ), Ga 4¹⁹ τέκνα οὖς, Ph 2¹⁵ γενεᾶς . . . ἐν οἷς, Co 2¹⁵ ἀρχαί . . . αὐτούς, ¹⁹ κεφαλὴ . . . ἐξ οὗ.

(c) A masc. ptc. may follow a neut. personal noun like πνεῦμα, βδέλυγμα: Mt 9²⁶ (AC³NX corr. to neut.), Mk 12⁶ D, 9²⁰ 13¹⁴ (DAEF corr. to neut.), Lk 9⁴⁰ p⁴⁵, 11²⁴ p⁴⁵ minusc.

(d) ἕκαστος with plur. verb occurs eleven times in NT (Mt 2, Lk 1, Jn 2, Ac 2, Eph 1, Heb 1, Rev 2), the correct sing. 25 times (Lk 1, Jn 1, Ac 2, Ro 3, 1 & 2 Co 13, Ga 1, Eph 2, Jas 1, 1 Pt 1), which presents a contrast to the LXX where the plur. verb occurs 89 times (sing. 56). See Mayser II 3, 37.

§ 3. The "Schema Atticum" ¹

On many occasions the NT (and Hermas), LXX, and Koine break the classical rule of the "schema Atticum", whereby a neut. plur. subject has a sing. verb. MGr does not follow it at all. However, it is not quite true to say with Jannaris (§ 1171) that among the post-classical authors only Atticists keep the sing. verb, because like Biblical Greek the Ptol. papyri hold a middle course between the Attic and the later use (Mayser II 3, § 151).

¹ K-G I § 364, p. 64. Gildersleeve I 97-102. Mayser II 3, 28ff.

The NT usually keeps the rule when the subject is used in a non-personal sense (πρόβαρα, σώματα), especially with abstracts, or unless the subject is a pronoun: Mt 10² 18¹² Lk 12²⁷ Jn 10³. 4. 8 p⁴⁵ L 10. 12 p⁴⁵ SBA 27 vl. 28 vl. 177 vl. 19³¹ Ac 5¹² 1 Ti 5²⁵ vl. Rev 15⁴ p⁴⁷. But the following exceptions break the class. rule and conform to Koine standards: Mt 6²⁸ (as opp. to Lk 12²⁷), Lk 24¹¹, Jn 19³¹ (sing. immediately before), Rev 1¹⁹; there has been an attempt sometimes on the part of scribes to atticize, e.g. Jn 10⁸ p⁴⁵, 12. 27. 28 17⁷, Ac 5¹² (note the parchment fragment of iv/A.D. init.: ZNW 26, 1927, 118), 1 Ti 5²⁵, Rev 15⁴ p⁴⁷. The NT usually breaks the class. rule with words used in a personal sense (ἔθνη, τέχνα, δαιμόνια) but there is a good deal of fluctuation with πνεύματα, and the Atticists have been at work on the MSS:—τέχνα Mt 10²¹ (exc. BΔ) = Mk 13¹² (exc. B); ἔθνη Mt 6³² (exc. EG) 12²¹ 25³² (exc. AE), Lk 12³⁰ (exc. p⁴⁵ AD), Ac 4²⁵ 11¹ (exc. D*) 13⁴⁸, Ro 2¹⁴ (exc. D^cE) 15¹². 27, 1 Co 10²⁰ vl., Ga 3⁸, 2 Ti 4¹⁷ (exc. KL), Rev 11¹⁸ p⁴⁷ S* 15⁴ 18³. 23 21²⁴ δαιμόνια Lk 4⁴¹ SC 8³⁰ CF 35^{S^c} 33 (exc. SU), Jas 2¹⁹; πνεύματα Mk 12⁷ 31¹ vl. 5¹³ (exc. B), Ac 8⁷, Rev 4⁵ 16¹⁴ vl. The following instances thus approach more nearly the class. style, and the variants may well be scribal atticisms, except perhaps in Paul:—τέχνα Mt 10²¹ BΔ = Mk 13¹² B, 1 Jn 3¹⁰, 2 Jn¹³, Ro 9⁸, 1 Co 7¹⁴; ἔθνη Mt 6³² EG 25³² AE, Lk 12³⁰ p⁴⁵ AD, Ac 11¹ D*, Ro 2¹⁴ D^cE 9³⁰, 1 Co 10²⁰ KL, Eph 4¹⁷, 2 Ti 4¹⁷ KL, Rev 11¹⁸ vl.; δαιμόνια Lk 4⁴¹ vl. 8². 30 vl. 35 vl. 38 33 SU 10¹⁷; πνεύματα Mk 3¹¹ vl. 5¹³ B, Lk 11²⁶ 10²⁰ vl., 1 Co 14³² (vl. πνεῦμα), Rev 16¹³ S 14 vl.

§ 4. Number of the Verb when there are several subjects¹

The rules as to sing. or plur. verb where several co-ordinate words form the subject were as lax in class. Greek as they are in the NT.

(i) The verb, if it stands first, usually agrees with the first subject: Mt 5¹⁸ Mk 2²⁵ Jn 2² 18¹⁵ 20³ Ac 11¹⁴ 16³⁰. 31 Ro 16²¹ 1 Co 13¹⁸ 2 Ti 1¹⁵ (variants: Lk 8¹⁹ Ac 17¹⁴ Ro 15²⁶ p⁴⁶ B). The exception is when the group which forms the subject has already been conceived as a whole (i.e. when all the subjects partake in the action expressed by the verb): Mk 10³⁵ Lk 23¹² Ac 5²⁴.

¹ K-G I § 370, pp. 77f. Gildersleeve II 468ff. Mayser II 3, 30ff.

(ii) The verb, if it stands between the subjects, agrees with the first subject: Lk 8²² Jn 4³⁶ etc.

(iii) If there are verbs on either side of the subject, the rule seems to be that the first verb (finite or ptc.) agrees with the first noun and the second verb with both (i.e. it is plural): Mt 17⁸ ὡφθῇ (SBD plur.) . . . Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας συλλαλοῦντες, Lk 2³³, Jn 12²², Ac 5²¹. 2⁹ 13⁴⁶ D 14¹⁴ D.

(iv) If one of the subjects is 1st pers., the verb is 1st pers. plur. and modifying ptes. are masc. plur.: Lk 24⁸ Jn 10³⁰ 1 Co 9⁶.

(v) Attributive adjectives and ptes. agree with the noun which is nearer: Lk 10¹ 1 Th 5²³ Heb 9⁹ (in Heb 3⁶ the adj. is interpolated from 3¹⁴).

(vi) When sing. words in the subject are connected by ἡ or οὗτε the verb, or an attribute, is usually sing.: Mt 5¹⁸ 12²⁵ 18⁸ 1 Co 14²⁴ Ga 1⁸ Eph 5⁸ (Jas 2¹⁵ is an understandable exception).

(vii) When the verb comes last, after two subjects Mk has plural verb (13³¹), which is altered by Mt to sing. (24³⁶); cf. LXX Da 3³³. But Mk has sing. verb. in 4⁴¹. Jn also (1¹⁷), and Mt (6¹⁹), and Paul (1 Co 15⁵⁰), have sing. verb.

§ 5. Solecisms in the New Testament

There are two varieties: those found only in Rev, which are severe, and those in the Johannine books and the rest of NT, which are largely excusable.

(a) Revelation

(i) Circumstantial ptes. and appositional phrases tend to be in the nom. instead of the necessary oblique case (see Allo, *Apocalypse* p. cxlv f): 1⁵ (but the nom. phrase is probably intended as a quotation or else as an indecl. divine title; in the next verse the appositional τῷ ἀγαπῶντι agrees with its antecedent αὐτῷ), 2¹³ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντιπᾶς ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός μου, 2⁰, 3¹², 7⁴, 8⁹, 9¹⁴, 14¹², 20². 17⁴ is extraordinary: ποτήριον . . . γέμων βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα. Some of the OT translators also do this: 3 Km 12⁰ καὶ συ, . . . οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντος Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς σε; for papyri examples see Abel § 40 m.

(ii) Less often it is the accus. or gen. which is *pendens*: 11¹? 11⁵ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης (why fem. and why gen.? There are scribal corrections), 7⁹ (accus. following nom.), 21⁹ (gen. following accus.).

(iii) Quite often masc. is found mistakenly for fem. or neut.: 4⁸A (but S has indic., and 046 neut.), 5⁶S (BAP have neut.), 5⁶ (P neut.), 11⁴ (S^{cc}P have fem.), 14¹⁹ (S has fem),

17³ γυναῖκα . . . γέμοντα, ⁴ γέμων S*, 13¹⁴ (S neut.), ¹¹ p⁴⁷, 14¹, 91⁴ SA. On the reading ἄρσεν or ἄρρενα 12⁵, see Blass-Debr. § 136, 3. Examples of this solecism from late Greek in Jannaris § 1181 b; from a papyrus, Abel § 40 m.

(iv) λέγων, λέγοντες, appear as if they were indeclinable: 4¹ 5¹² 11¹ vl. ¹⁵ (p⁴⁷ SCP have fem.) 14⁷ (exc. p⁴⁷) 19⁶ vl. This results from a literal rendering of רַמַּל in the LXX, and appears also Ac 6¹¹ SD*A 1³ S. Extended to ἔχων: 10² 21¹⁴.

(v) Plur. (not neut.) subject with sing. verb: 9¹² ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο Οὐαί (but it may be a Semitic solecism of gender, and therefore neut. plur. Alternatively, δύο = *second*).

(vi) τέσσαρες for τέσσαρας Rev 4⁴ vl.; frequent in MSS of LXX and the papyri.

In all these types of solecism it is usually the ptc. which is involved (esp. the ptc. of λέγω), and this is interesting because in later Greek the use of ptes. developed along the same lines; the masc., especially in the nom. sing., is preferred—until in MGr the ptc. has but one indecl. form. An uneducated writer, like the author of Rev, is foreshadowing the language of the future. The tendency, reflected in the least educated writers of the NT, to neglect congruence of gender and case in appositions, is seen in the Koine: P. Ryl. II 112¹³ (A.D. 250) εἰδαμέν σε θυσιάζοντα (of a woman) and BU 1078⁵ (A.D. 39) εἰδότης σοῦ (a woman)—gender; P. Par. 51²⁵ (Milligan p. 21) ἐμέ λέλυκας πολιὰς ἔχων—case; P. Amh. II 111–113 (A.D. 128) ἀπέχω παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα—case. Moulton (Proleg. 60) gives instances from the papyri of breach of concord in gender and case, usually the ptc. being concerned.

(b) *Rest of NT*

For papyri, see Mayser II 3, 22.

(i) The indecl. πλήρης,¹ which is indecl. only when followed by the gen., appears several times, but always with variants. It was commonly used in the Koine from i/A.D. onwards, and is found also in LXX (e.g. Jb 21²⁴): Jn 11⁴ (declinable in D) is important for exegesis because, if πλ is indecl. we may take it either with δόξαν or with αὐτοῦ; Ac 6⁵ (decl. in BC²) 6³ (decl. in

¹ Mayser I¹ 63f; I² 2, 58. Thackeray *OT Gr.* 177. Moulton-Howard 162. Deissmann *LO*⁴, 99f.

SB CD) 19²⁸ AEL (decl. in the rest), Mk 8¹⁹ (decl. in SBCL). When πλήρης is not followed by the gen. it is declinable, but there are indecl. variants to Mk 4²⁸.

(ii) No doubt εἴ τι might have been written throughout in Ph 2¹, instead of εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ (Moulton Proleg. 59). In the papyri we find indecl. τι, and it is no cause for surprise if we find also indecl. τις (Zerwick § 5).

(iii) As in Rev, sometimes appositional phrases and circumstantial ptcs. are found in the nom. instead of oblique cases: Mt 10⁴¹ D, Lk 20²⁷ 21⁶ Jas 3⁸ (unless we punctuate with a semicolon before ἀκατάσχετον), Lk 24⁴⁷ (corr. in D), Ac 10³⁷ (p⁴⁵ LP corr. to ἀρξάμενον), Ac 7⁴⁰, 2 Th 1⁸ D*FG. Sometimes the nom. ptc. is without construction: Mt 4¹⁶ D 5⁴⁰ D 17² D 9^D 14^D Mk 7¹⁹ (D indic.). This is the only instance which is important for exegesis: πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν εἰσπορευόμενον . . . εἰς τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκπορεύεται, καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα. Some refer καθ. to Jesus, of course (Origen, Jülicher, A. Schlatter: see Zerwick § 8). Others however take it as false concord, meant to agree with ἀφεδρῶνα, and translate: *the latrine which removes filth* (Zorell, Knabenbauer, Klostermann, Blass-Debr. §§ 126, 3; 137, 3.). Mk 9²⁰ 16¹⁴ W ὁ μὴ ἔων, Jn 7³⁸ (or place a stop after ἐμέ; see p. 320n), Ac 19³⁴. An accus. ptc. without construction: Ac 26³ (S^cAC corr. it)—which shows that lack of congruence in ptcs. is not confined to the least educated writers of the NT. For frequent papyri examples, see Mayser II 3, 190ff, and for i and ii/A.D. see Blass-Debr. § 137, 3; § 466; Radermacher² 219; Ljungvik BSSVS 6ff. The use of πᾶς with art. and ptc. which in itself is normal popular Greek is so frequent in Mt that it raises the question of Semitic influence (the phrase beginning with כִּל or, as in Da 6⁸, יִל כִּל) in a legislative kind of style: 31⁰ 52². 28. 32 71⁹. The same observation holds good of πᾶς δς and δστις: 7²⁴ 10³² 12³⁶ 19²⁹ 21²² 23³ (Lagrange *S. Matth.* XCVIIf). Luke is guilty too: Lk 12⁴⁸ παντὶ δὲ ᾧ . . . , παρ' αὐτοῦ, and John: 6³⁹ 15².

(iv) Masc. πάντων for fem. πασῶν: Mk 12²⁸, P. Giss. 23, 4 (early ii/A.D.). But Abel (§ 41 a) quotes Thucyd. 4, 52, 2. Acta Thomae 41³⁹ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, 66¹⁷ πάντων γυναικῶν, 70³⁰ πάντων τῶν ἡδονῶν.

(v) Nom. for accus. (a slip): Ro 2⁸ ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός, obj. of ἀποδώσει! Cp. LXX 3 Km 5¹⁴ (28) καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς

τὸν Λίβανον, δέκα χιλιάδες, ἐν τῷ μηνί, ἀλλασσόμενοι.

(vi) Remarkable changes in person and number, in: Lk 13³⁴ Ἰερουσαλὴμ . . . ἡ . . . λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν, ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι τὰ τέκνα σου . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησατε Semitic? Cf. Moule 180.

(vii) Since, of the numerals 1-100, only the first four are declinable, it is not surprising to find a tendency even for these to be indecl., e.g. Mk 14¹⁹ Jn 8⁹ εἰς καθ' εἰς.

(viii) πᾶσα indecl. at Mt 2³; and πᾶν also seems to be indecl., as it is used of persons in Jn 17² πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ, δώσει αὐτοῖς . . .

(ix) Grammatically we expect the nom., instead of ὑποδεδεμένους Mk 6⁹ and at 12⁴⁰ οἱ κατεσθίοντες . . . καὶ . . . προσευχόμενοι refers perhaps to the distant genitive ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων (12³⁸).

(x) πᾶς πόρνος . . . ὃ ἐστίν Eph 5⁵, τὴν ἀγάπην, ὃ ἐστίν Col 3¹⁴ (v.l. ἥτις ἐστίν). Such a solecism appears nowhere else in the Paulines. Is this important for authorship? See Moffatt *ILNT* 153ff.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

THE SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

§ 1. Substantival Clauses ¹

They include clauses with infinitive, participle, *ὅτι*, *ὥς*, etc., and indirect questions. See pp. 134–149 (for verb and infin.), and pp. 325f (for problems of the Relative).

§ 2. Adjectival Clauses

See under Relative Pronouns, pp. 47f, 106–110.

§ 3. Adverbial Clauses

(a) Causal clauses ²

Subordination by *ὅτι* and *διότι* is often so loose that only the feeble translation *for* is possible (e.g. Ac 18¹⁰ *διότι ἐγὼ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ*, Ro 11^{9. 21} 32⁰ 8⁷ 1 Co 12⁵ 4⁹ 10¹⁷ 2 Co 4⁶ 8^{8. 14}). Strictly the meaning is *because*, *quoniam*, and *διότι* = *διὰ τοῦτο* *ὅτι*: e.g. Mt 5^{3–12} Ac 22¹⁸ Jas 4³ 1 Pt 1²⁴. Correspondence with *כִּי* has influenced the meaning of *ὅτι* somewhat in Biblical Greek, to an almost consecutive sense, *so that*: Mt 8²⁷ *ποταπὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὅτι . . .*, Mk 4⁴¹ Lk 4³⁶ 8²⁵ Jn 2¹⁸, Heb 2⁶ *τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος ὅτι*. So in Hebrew 1 Sam 11⁵ *כִּי יִבְכּוּ מֵהָלָצָה*.

Ἐπεὶ has a causal sense, but it too is weakened in Biblical Greek to *for otherwise*: Ro-3⁶ 11^{6. 22} 1 Co 5¹⁰ 7¹⁴ Heb 10². Purely causal Jn 13²⁹ *ἐπεὶ τὸ γλωσσόκομον εἶχεν*, Lk 1¹ *ἐπειδὴ περ*. *Ἐπειδὴ* appears in the Ptol. papyri (BU 844¹⁵ *ἐπιδὴ χρίαν αὐτοῦ ἔχω because I need it*) but it is retreating gradually before *ἐπεὶ* (Mayser II 3, 82). *Καθότι* too in Hell. Greek may be little more than *for* (e.g. Lk 1⁷ *καθότι ἦν Ἐλισαβὲτ στείρα*, 19⁹ Ac 2²⁴ 17³¹, P. Par. 27, 23). *Δι'* ἦν αἰτίαν 2 Ti

¹ See also K-G II pp. 354ff. Mayser II 1, 306ff. Moulton Einl. 335f.

² K-G II, § 569, pp. 460–463. Mayser II 3, 82ff. Martin P. Nilsson, "Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles," (*Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, 18, ed. M. v. Schanz, Würzburg), 1907. Zerwick §§ 297–299.

16. 12 etc., ἐφ' ᾧ (see p. 272), ἀνθ' ὧν (see p. 258), ὥς, καθὼς (see pp. 158, 320(2)), οὗ χάριν Lk 7⁴⁷—are also causal conjunctions.

(b) Conditional Clauses

There are four chief kinds of conditional clauses, and we have discussed them all under various heads in the chapters on the Mood of Verbs. For (i) εἰ with indic., representing the simple assumption, see pp. 92, 115. For (ii) εἰ with opt., representing the "potential" conception, see pp. 125ff. For (iii) εἰ with aor. or impf. indic., representing an assumption as not corresponding with reality, see pp. 91f. For (iv) ἐάν with subjunctive, indicating an expected result based on the present general or particular circumstances, see pp. 113f.

This is the class. norm. but in fact the opt. is now greatly reduced and in NT scarcely occurs at all in conditions, and never (as in class.) to express repetitions in past time. Moreover there is, according to classical standards, a misuse of εἰ with indic., and there is a liberal mixing in the various categories of conditional sentences. Whereas class. Greek had μὴ for negative in all conditions, the NT often has εἰ οὐ (but always ἐάν μὴ).

Besides the more orthodox method of a subordinate clause with εἰ or ἐάν, a plain statement in the form of a ptc. (see p. 157) or independent clause will serve as the protasis of a condition. Thus in Mt 12⁴⁴ καὶ ἔλθὼν εὕρισκει is *if he comes and finds*; it has always been obscure why the spirit necessarily returns. In 24^{40f} τότε ἔσονται δύο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ . . . δύο ἀλήθουσai is *if there are two in the field . . . , if there are two women grinding*. In Ro 13³ θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν is *if you wish to be fearless of*. Such interpretation lends point to the context and is good Greek.

Under this head note the strong Hebraism, εἰ in oaths and protestations.¹

(c) Comparative Clauses ²

The atticistic καθάπερ is found in Paul and Hebrews, but often as a possible scribal correction, e.g. Ro 10¹⁵ B (rest καθὼς),

¹ Also in questions, in the Pauline εἴπερ *if indeed* and εἴγε *si tamen*, in εἴτε . . . εἴτε (LXX for καὶ . . . καὶ) *whether . . . or*. See ch. 25.

² K-G II 490ff. Mayser II 2, 440; II 3, 92ff. See also, for ὥς, Index.

11⁸ SB (rest καθώς), 12⁴ p⁴⁶ SBA (D*EFG ὥσπερ). Phrynichus (425) condemns the Hellenistic καθώς, which occurs frequently in the ii/b.c. papyri (Mayser II 2, 440; II 3, 92, n. 4), and prefers καθό (Ro 8²⁶ 2 Co 8¹² 1 Pt 4¹³) or καθά (Mt 27¹⁰ Lk 1² D Eus).

1. As correlatives we find ὥς, ὥσπερ, καθώς, καθάπερ, alongside οὕτως or καί or οὕτως καί. Some authors prefer ὥσπερ (Mt 10 ὥσπερ: 4 καθώς, Jas, Rev), some καθώς (Mk, Eph, Past, 1 & 2 Pt, 1, 2, 3 Jn; Lk 17:1, Jn 32:1, Ac 12:3, Paul 81:15, Heb 9:3). Some authors make the ὥσπερ-clause follow the main clause (Ac 22³¹⁷ 11¹⁵ Heb 4¹⁰ 7²⁷ 9²⁵ Rev 10³); but in Paul it nearly always precedes (Ro 5^{12.19.21} 6^{4.19} 11³⁰ 12⁴ vl. 1 Co 11¹² 15²² 16¹ Ga 4²⁹; ὥσπερ . . . ἀλλά 1 Co 8⁶, ὥσπερ ἵνα 2 Co 8⁷), the two exceptions being 1 Th 5⁸ and the introduction to a quotation in 1 Co 10⁷ (where however ὥς, in CD*KP 81 181 Marcion, is prob. correct as it accounts for the omission by haplography of τινες αὐτῶν ὥσπερ (ὥς) in FG *fg*, the eye travelling from ὡς to ὡς in καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ὡς γεγραπται). The ὥσπερ-clause precedes also in Lk 17²⁴ 18¹¹ (vl. ὥς) Jn 5²¹ (S ὥς) 2⁶ (S*DW Eus¹ ὥς), whereas Mt has both orders: ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως 12⁴⁰ 13⁴⁰ 24^{27.37}, ὥσπερ following 6^{2.7} 18¹⁷ 20²⁸ 25^{14.32}. Where καθὼς introduces a following quotation in NT it almost invariably follows its main clause. Mk 1² would seem to be an exception, as it is usual to take ἐγένετο in 1⁴ as the main verb; however, the exception can be negated if the καθὼς-clause be taken with the preceding verse and the verb ἔστιν is supplied, although it is not at all like Mark to omit the copula in such circumstances. If we accept the necessary variants, the καθὼς-clause introducing a quotation does precede in all other instances: Lk 22³ Jn 6³¹ 12¹⁴ Ac 7⁴² Ro 1¹⁷ 3⁴ AD (but SB καθάπερ) 10 4⁶ DG (rest καθάπερ) 17 8³⁶ 9¹³ (B corr. to καθάπερ) 29. 33 10¹⁵ vl. 11⁸ vl. 2⁶ 15³. 9. 21 1 Co 13¹ 2⁹ 2 Co 6¹⁶ 8¹⁵ Ga 3⁶ Heb 4³. 7 5⁶. 1

2. As *quandoquidem* = *even so as*, especially καθὼς: Ro 1²⁸ 1 Co 1⁶ 5⁷ Eph 1⁴ Ph 1⁷, Mt 6¹² ὥς.

3. In Mk 4²⁶ ὥς = *as if* (ὥς ἄνθρωπος βάλη) SBD (others add ἐκν or δταν; so LXX Isa 7² 17¹¹ 31⁴); similar Lk 11⁵. ⁶, where ἐκν appears to be omitted before εἴπη.

4. In Bibl. Greek, through influence of 𐤒𐤕, ὥς may serve to soften a statement: *as it were, perhaps, approximately*, Mk 6¹⁵ Lk 15¹⁹, T. Abr. 82¹¹ 118²⁸ ὥς ἐν ὀνείροις *in a sort of dream*, 118²² τινες ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τελευτῶσιν ὥς (*or perhaps*) ἐπὶ τόξοις, 107⁵ ἤγγισεν τῇ πόλει ὥς (*approx.*) ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν. Perhaps Heb. 11²⁷.

¹ On the strength of this evidence of clause-order, G. D. Kilpatrick argues in *JThS* XI, 2, 1960, 340ff., that at Jn 7³⁸ the main clause ends with εἰς ἐμέ, and the dependent clause begins at καθὼς (so *he that believes* is subject of *let him drink*). Among other things, this depends on whether it is feasible for τις to be resumed in the same sentence by such a phrase as ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ. Besides the note in *JThS*, I owe much to Dr Kilpatrick for private communications on this point of word order.

5. The predicative use of ὥς is very common: Mt 22³⁰ ὥς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ εἰσιν, 18⁸ Lk 15¹⁰ 1 Co 7⁸. Class. writers would have preferred the adj. ἴσος.

6. Sometimes ὥς may be confused with ἕως, e.g. Ac 17¹⁴ ὥς ἐπὶ (SBAE corr. to ἕως), for in Hell. Greek ὥς ἐπὶ = *against, versus* (Polyb. 1, 29, 1), as also do ἕως ἐπὶ and ἕως εἰς (cp. 1 Mac 5²⁹ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ δόρυρωμα, where V reads ὥς).

7. ὥσει (and rarely ὥσπερ or ὥσάν) may stand for ὥς: Lk 3²³ ὥσει ἐτῶν τριάκοντα (but 8⁴² ὥς ἐτῶν δώδεκα), Mt 14²¹ (D ὥς), etc. Ὡσάν 2 Co 10⁹ (Hellenistic), ὥσπερ 1 Co 4¹³ vl. 15⁸ vl. (Mayser II 3, 167. Radermacher² 203. Moulton Einl. 261, n. 2).

(d) Concessive Clauses

For καίπερ and καίτοι see pp. 153, 157.

When one cannot render the particles ἄν and εἰ καὶ by *although*, they keep their proper sense as conditional, e.g. 2 Co 11¹⁵ οὐ μέγα οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ μετασχηματίζονται ὥς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης, Jn 8⁵⁵ ἄν εἴπω ὅτι, Lk 12³⁸. Concessive clauses with εἰ or ἔάν are essentially conditional clauses and follow the rules of class. Greek. When it does not mean *even if* or *and if* (καὶ ἔάν), ἄν is equivalent to ἔάν καὶ (e.g. Mk 5²⁸ *if only*, 6⁵⁶, Heb 10² p⁴⁶, etc.). See Harsing 46, Jannaris § 598.

In the sense of *except if* Hell. Greek places ἐκτός (1 Co 14⁵ 15², 1 Ti 5¹⁹) before the class. εἰ μὴ (Mk 6⁵ 2 Co 13⁵ Ga 1⁷ etc.). Hell. Greek, from i/A.D. onwards, is also fond of considering εἰ τις as equivalent of ὅστις ὃ τι (as Mt 18²⁸ ἀπόδος εἰ τι ὀφείλῃς) and of adding ἄν (as 1 Co 7⁵ εἰ μὴ τι ἄν ἐκ συμφώνου, Hist. Lausiaca p. 70, 14 Butl. εἰ τι ἄν με διδάξῃς, ἐκεῖνο ποιῶ). See Radermacher² 199, Ljungvik BSSVS 9ff.

(e) Temporal Clauses

There is a preference in Biblical Greek for temporal conjunctions, as against the genitive absolute, which is due perhaps to the frequency with which temporal clauses are introduced by ܐܕܝܢ or ܕܢ in Aramaic. For ὅταν, etc., see pp. 112f, 124f. There are also ὅτε (indic.), ἡνίκα (Paul), ὁπότε (only Lk 6³ AEHK; rest ὅτε), ἐπειδὴ (temporal only Lk 7¹ vl.), ἵνα (Jn 16²), ὥς (Ionic influence: Lk 12³ 12⁵⁸ 24³² Jn 2⁹ Ga 6¹⁰; Mk 4³⁶ *either when he was in the boat or as he was, in the boat*), ὥς ἄν (see pp. 112f), ἕως *while* (Jn 9⁴), *until* (Mk 6⁴⁵ Jn 21^{22f} 1 Ti 4¹³), πρίν and πρὸ τοῦ (see pp. 78, 113, 140, 144).

(f) Participle Absolute: accusative.

Ἐξόν occurs in NT only as a predicate to a missing ἔστιν, and altogether lacking are ὑπάρχον (PSI IV 340, 9, 257 B.C.), πρέπον, etc., which are also very rare indeed in the Ptol. papyri. The obscure τυχόν (*perhaps, without doubt*) occurs Lk 20¹³ D Ac 12¹⁵ D 1 Co 16⁶; δέον Ac 19³⁶ 1 Ti 5¹³ 1 Pt 1⁶.

Participle Absolute: genitive

The correct use is becoming rarer in Hell. Greek and it is misused more often; that is to say, the gen. is not truly absolute but is used even where the ptc. might have agreed with the subject or object of the sentence. This is one of the marks of the Koine (Mayser II 3, 66ff. Moulton Einl. 114. Radermacher² 208f) and of Biblical Greek (Johannessohn DGKPS 46).

Mark's usage is fairly regular: it is only a temporal use and always precedes the main clause, except for ὁψίας γενομένης 4³⁵ (unless we take this closely with the next sentence) and ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου 16². Nevertheless there are falls from class. grace in Mark, as in many NT authors, which scribes have often corrected: he should have placed the ptc. in the dat. at 13¹ (so also Mt at 1²⁰ 5¹ (B corr) 8¹ (S* corr) 8⁵ vl. 28 vl. 910. 18 179 18²⁴ 21²³ vl. 24³ 27¹⁷; Lk at 12³⁶ 14²⁹ (p⁴⁵ corr.) 17¹² (BL corr.) 22¹⁰; Jn 4⁵¹ vl. Ac 4¹, LXX Gen 18¹). But Mayser quotes the same thing in papyri of 255, 249, 218, 221, iii/B.C. ter, 161, 156, ii/B.C. (II 3, 67f), and Thucyd. 1, 114, 1 has διαβεβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιά Ἀθηναίων ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ, ὅτι (and Xen. Anab. 5, 2, 24). Mark should have made the ptc. agree with the accus. at 5¹⁸ ἐμβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον παρεκαλεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμονισθείς, 9²⁸ vl., 10¹⁷, 13³; so should Luke at 9⁴² 15²⁰ 18⁴⁰ and Ac 7²¹ 19³⁰ 21¹⁷ vl. 25⁷; and Mt 18²⁵ Jn 8³⁰ and Paul at 2 Co 12²¹ vl.; papyri of 258, 254, iii/B.C., 168, 176, 114, 51. More irregular still, Mark has a gen. absol. agreeing with the subject at 6²² SBC* (corr. by p⁴⁵ C³DWΘ), and so has Mt at 1¹⁸ (but a clause lies in between), Luke at Ac 21³⁴, and the LXX at Ex 4²¹, 1 Km 3¹¹ παντὸς ἀκούοντος αὐτά, ἡγήσει ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὄτα αὐτοῦ. Instances in the Ptol. pap. are so plentiful that Mayser gives only a selection (II 3, 68ff). When these "mistakes" are made in the NT it is very rarely that the gen. absol. takes up a word which has

preceded (but 2 Co 4¹⁸). There is no instance of gen. absol. without a finite verb, as often occurs in the Ptol. pap., e.g. βασιλέως προστάξαντος (= *in the King's name*) followed by a command.

(g) *Final Clauses*. See pp. 95, 100-6, 111, 128f 141-6.

(h) *Consecutive Clauses*. See pp. 102, 106, 136, 141f, 272.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN MAIN AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES

§ 1. Attraction of Relative Pronoun to case of antecedent¹

Little need be noted, as this phenomenon is well known to students of class. Greek, the LXX, and the papyri (Mayser II 3, 102). It may not occur if the relative clause is sharply divided from the rest, as in Heb 8², but often the scribes have corrected by bringing in the relative attraction, e.g. Mk 13¹⁹ (ἥς AWC²), Jn 4⁵ (οὗ DWC*)⁵⁰ (ῥῶ AW) 7³⁹ (οὗ SDW) Ti 3⁵ (ὧν D^c C^b) Rev 1²⁰ (ὧν 046).

The Greek relative, unlike the English, includes in itself the demonstrative idea, so that we find compressions like Mk 10⁴⁰ ἀλλ' οἷς ἐτοίμασται (= τούτοις οἷς) and Lk 9³⁶ οὐδὲν ὧν (= οὐδὲν τούτων ἔ).

Equally classical is the attraction of the noun into the relative clause sometimes (the art. omitted), e.g. Jn 9¹⁴ ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ (for papyri, Mayser II 3, 98ff), and not necessarily immediately after the relative, e.g. Jn 11⁶ ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόπω, 17³ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν, 2 Co 10¹³ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος, οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρου (οὗ incidentally attracted to κανόνος).

§ 2. Inverse attraction of the antecedent to the relative²

This attraction of the case of the antecedent to that of the relative pronoun may occur even when the antecedent is not drawn into the relative clause, and even when it precedes the relative (as class.): Mk 6^{11.16} 12¹⁰ OT (= Mt 21⁴²) λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν . . . , οὗτος ἐγενήθη, Lk 1⁷³ 12⁴⁸ Ac 10³⁶ 1 Co 10¹⁶ LXX Ge 31¹⁶ etc.

¹ K-G II 406ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 237ff 18-30. Mayser II 3, 98ff. Moulton Einl. 148. Radermacher² 220, 222.

² K-G II 413. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 239, 25. Mayser II 3, 107ff. Radermacher² 222. Wackernagel I 49f.

§ 3. Pleonastic insertion of Personal Pronoun¹

It is a Semitism in the sense that the Heb. **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** is reflected through LXX usage, helped by a parallel Aramaic idiom; but non-Biblical Greek, and indeed many languages, reveal the same pleonasm. LXX Gen 41¹⁹ βόες οἷας οὐκ εἶδον τοιαύτας, cp. Mk 13¹⁹ οἷα οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη, Mt 3¹² (= Lk 3¹⁷) οὐ τὸ πτόν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, Mt 3¹¹ corrects Mk 1⁷ by omitting αὐτοῦ. Other exx.: Jn 1³³ ἐφ' ὃν . . . ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, 18⁹, Ac 15¹⁷ OT 1 Co 8⁶ 2 Pt 2³ Rev 22. 17 3⁸ 7². 9 13⁸ 17² 20⁸. Nevertheless scribes have endeavoured to remove the feature: e.g. Mk 7²⁵ (SDW om αὐτῆς). Papyri: e.g. PSI IV 433, 7 ὅσα ποτὲ ὑπῆρχεν ἐν ταμειρίῳ (ἦν δ' ὀλίγα), ἐγὼ αὐτὰ ἐφύτευσα (261 B.C.).

§ 4. Prolepsis²

Prolepsis (anticipation) occurs when the subject (object) of the dependent clause is brought forward into the main clause. Such interlacing was frequent in class. Greek but is relatively rare in the Koine. In the NT the subject is brought forward in Mt 6²⁸ Mk 1²⁴ 7² 11³² 12³⁴ Lk 13²⁵ Ac 9²⁰ 19⁴ 1 Co 16¹⁵ Rev 3⁹; and the object (less often) in Lk 24⁷ Ac 13³² Ga 4¹¹ 5²¹.

§ 5. Anacoloutha after relative clauses³

In class. Greek there sometimes occurred a false grammatical connection when to a relative clause a second relative clause was joined by καί, to which clause the rel. pronoun was not appropriate in its existing form: e.g. Rev 17² μεθ' ἧς ἐπόρνευσαν . . . , καὶ ἐμεθύσθησαν, Mk 6¹¹ (scribes have corrected), Lk 17³¹ 1 Co 7¹³ (p⁴⁶ SD* εἰ τις) Ti 1^{2f}. But Semitic rather than class. is the anacolouthon in Mt 7^{9f} τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὃν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ.

§ 6. Mingling of direct and indirect speech: recitative ὅτι⁴

The Koine found it much more difficult than the class. Greek and Latin languages to sustain indirect speech for very

¹ K-G II 432f, 443f. Jannaris § 1439. Ljungvik SSAA, 27f. Psichari 182f. Abel § 134. Pernot *Études* 152. Winer-Schmiedel § 22, 7. Thackeray *OT Gr* 46. Moulton-Howard 434f.

² K-G II 577f. Jannaris § 1937. Mayser II 3, 111.

³ K-G II 431ff. Mayser II 3, 112.

⁴ K-G II 431ff, 557. Mayser II 3, 46f, 112ff. P. Winter, "Hoti recitativum in Lc 1, 25. 61, 2, 23," *HTR* 48, 1955, 213-216.

PART II
CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SENTENCES

This page intentionally left blank

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

CO-ORDINATING PARTICLES ¹

IN THE widest sense, prepositions and adverbs as well as conjunctions may be classed as particles, but in this chapter the study is confined to co-ordinating conjunctions. Nothing like a complete thesaurus will be attempted, attention being restricted to correct classification and observation of new tendencies, unusual instances, and instances with an interest for exegesis or textual criticism. The Koine and NT are more careless than the older Greek regarding the position of particles and, as in syntax generally, display the popular love of over-emphasis. The use of post-positive particles is declining and emphasis is achieved by forming more compound particles.

The double influence of later Greek usage and Jewish background worked upon NT writers and combined to achieve a considerable reduction in the number of particles as compared with more refined Greek; thus *τοι* and *μήν* (by themselves) and *γούν* are too subtle to be needed in the NT. Fascinating problems arise for the meticulous student. Why does *οὖν* occur so often in the fourth Gospel and what does it signify? Why is Paul so fond of *οὐχί*? Has Mark, who loves *καί*, any reason for changing to *δέ* at times? What NT writers use *τε . . . καί*, and is *καί . . . καί* the same thing?

§ 1. Simple Particles ²

Ἀλλά.

Paul is particularly fond of it ³. It is a stronger adversative particle than *δέ* but is often weakened in the clause where it most frequently occurs, that is, after a preceding *οὐ* or *οὐ μόνον*:

¹ K-G II 116-339. Jannaris §§ 1700-1728. Mayser II 3, 114-174. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*², Oxford 1954.

² K-G II §§ 515ff. Mayser II 3, 116ff.

³ Ro 67, 1 Co 71, 2 Co 66, Ga 23; cp. with Lk only 32, Ac 29, Mt 37, Heb 16, Rev 13, LXX Ge 20, Ex 13.

thus in Mt 10²⁰ Mk 5³⁹ 9³⁷ 14³⁶ Jn 12⁴⁴ 1 Co 15¹⁰ etc. the meaning is simply *not so much . . . as*. The preceding negative may easily be supplied in Mt 11⁷⁻⁹ Ac 19² Ga 2³, or an interrogative may be the equivalent of a negative in Jn 7⁴⁸ Ac 15¹¹. Thus the meaning is *sed etiam*. It also occurs simply as *however, nevertheless*, at the beginning of a sentence, but stronger than δέ, e.g. Ro 5¹⁴ *sin is not imputed when there is no law; nevertheless . . .*. In Mk 14³⁶ it reverses a previous command. Sometimes before a command it is not so much adversative as consecutive, and is best translated as an interjection, *Well!*: Mk 16⁷ *See the place where they laid him. Well, go to his disciples . . .* Ac 9⁶ *I am Jesus . . . Well, rise and . . .*, Mt 9¹⁸ Mk 9²² Ac 10²⁰ 26¹⁶. After a conditional protasis, we must translate *at least*, e.g. Mk 14²⁹ 1 Co 4¹⁵. Introducing a strong addition, ἀλλά or ἀλλά καί may be *yes, indeed*, as in Jn 16² 1 Co 3² 2 Co 7¹¹ 11¹ Ph 1¹⁸. There is an ellipse (e.g. scil. *this has happened*) with ἀλλ' ἔνα in Mk 14⁴⁹ Jn 18⁹³ 13¹⁸ 15²⁵ 1 Jn 2¹⁹. It is clear from Mk 4²² that ἀλλά must sometimes have the meaning of εἰ μὴ *except* (so Mt 20²³, and ἀλλ' ἢ in Lk 12⁵¹ 2 Co 1¹³), just as εἰ μὴ serves for ἀλλά (Lk 4²⁶. 27)—a confusion which may be traceable to Aramaic influence.

ἸΑρα¹

Even Paul, who makes good use of it, sometimes breaks the classical rule by giving it first position (Ro 10¹⁷ 1 Co 15¹⁸ etc.). It is often combined with other particles: οὖν, γε, εἴπερ, ἐπεὶ, μήτι. Its use in the Ptol. papyri is rare and literary. It is not in itself an interrogative particle, like ἄρα, although it may be introduced into an interrog. sentence.

ἸΑρα and ἄραγε.

Also particles of literary style, = οὖν, *num igitur, ergone*. Interrogative. Luke and Paul. There are four exx. in LXX, three of them in Ge (e.g. 18¹³), but it is more frequent in Symmachus. Lk 18⁸ Ac 8³⁰ Ga 2¹⁷ (it would be ἄρα here, since μὴ γένοιτο in Paul always answers a question; it may however be ἄρα if the clause is not interrogative but an argumentative statement posed for an imaginary opponent to answer).

¹K-G II 317ff. Mayser II 3, 119ff.

Γάρ¹.

The usage is classical. Paul uses it even more than he does ἀλλά, and Matthew and Luke are fond of it². It is very rare in the Johannine writings, which makes the οὖν of D more likely than γάρ at Jn 9³⁰.

Γε³.

A modal particle which lends emphasis to another word. It is very elusive in NT and is almost always merged with another particle as a meaningless appendage: with ἀλλά, ἀρα, εἰ, εἰ δὲ μή, καίτοι, μήτι. Nevertheless it may have some significance in καί γε since, through the LXX, we can trace the influence of the Heb. גם: Ac 2¹⁸ 1 Co 4⁸ (D*FG om γε) and indeed, Lk 19⁴² at least. Occasionally without another particle: Lk 11⁸ διὰ γε at least because of, 18⁵, Ro 8³² (DFG om) ὅς γε he who even.

Δέ and μὲν . . . δέ⁴.

Sometimes δέ will have the strong adversative force of ἀλλά after a foregoing negative (Ac 12⁹.¹⁴ Heb 4¹³ 6¹²) but usually it is weaker and indistinguishable from καί. Indeed the proportion of this δέ to καί raises interesting problems in Biblical Greek since it varies considerably in and between different books; in the NT the proportion of δέ: καί varies from 1:0.6 in Paul to 1:73 in Rev (4-21). The variety is still greater in the LXX, from 1:1 in 4 Mac to 1:188 in Jer β.

At times δέ will introduce a parenthesis (Ac 1¹⁵ (SBA τε) 4¹³D 12³) and that is how οὖν δέ is best explained in the middle of a sentence (Col 1²²). One of the most characteristic departures from class. style is the rarity of the correlation of μὲν and δέ in Biblical Greek; it occurs with any frequency only in some Paulines, Ac and Heb. Matthew has 20 instances, and this, together with his comparatively wide use of δέ (491 against Mk's 150), make the translation hypothesis for his gospel the less certain. Mark has only two or three instances, and Luke only

¹ K-G II 330ff. Mayser II 3, 121ff.

² Mt 125, Lk 96, Ac 80, Heb 91, Rev 16, Ro 143, 1 Co 108, 2 Co 74, Ga 35. LXX Ge 107, Ex (1-24) 70, Ex (25-40) 21, Isa 181, MiPr 3, 4 Mac 87. Didache 31, Ep. Barn. 47.

³ K-G II 171-178. Mayser II 3, 123ff. T. K. Abbott, ICC on Eph and Col, pp. ivf.

⁴ K-G II 261-278. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 250. 6. Mayser II 3, 125ff.

Proportion of δέ : xxi

LXX	NT	Apost. Fathers, etc.
4 Macc 123:141 (1:1)	Paul	Didache 66:31
Ex (1-24) 369:800	Ga 58:21 (1:0.4)	(1:0.5)
(1:2.1)	Ro 145:77 (1:0.5)	Ep. Barn. 66:84
Ge 840:2023 (1:2.4)	1 Co 208:129 (1:0.6)	(1:1.3)
Isa (40-66) 81:672	2 Co 74:58 (1:0.8)	T. Abr. A 157:305
(1:8.3)	Ac 556:522 (1:1)	(1:2)
Isa (1-39) 82:882	Mt. 491:762 (1:1.5)	T. Abr. B 43:210
(1:10.7)	Lk (3-24) 511:853	(1:5)
Ex (25-40) 35:605	(1:1.6)	
(1:17)	Lk (1-2) 26:132	
Mi Pr 59:1548 (1:26)	(1:5)	
Jer α 22:917 (1:42)	Mk. 150:785 (1:5)	
Ezk α 26:1642 (1:63)	Rev (1-3) 4:69 (1:17)	
Jg A 17:1588 (1:93)	Rev (4-21) 8:586	
Ezk β 6:592 (1:99)	(1:73)	
Jer β 4:754 (1:188)		

The books are arranged in reverse order of Semitic style.

seven (to Luke, asyndeton often seems more effective, e.g. 7²²); the whole of the Pent. (LXX) has only about 20 exx. of μέν . . . δέ, Dan O' has μέν 8 times, but the more slavish θ has none. Mt's exx. are all in the part usually assigned to Q, which fact, unless a translator took great liberties, is against Q having been originally Aramaic.

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Ac	Past	Heb	Jas	1 Pt	Jude
μέν only	-	2	3	4	34	-	5	1	-	-
μέν . . δέ	20	3	7	4	14	3	14	-	4	3

	Ro	Cor	Ga	Eph	Ph	Col	Thes	Tot Paul	NT	Pap. iii/B.C.	ii-i/B.O.
μέν only	7	10	1	-	2	1	1	22	71	4	8
μέν . . . δέ	12	19	2	1	4	-	-	38	110	18	47

The MSS differ considerably over the omission of μέν.

Δή¹.

An invitatory particle (class.), as Lk 2¹⁵ *come, let us go*, Ac 13² 15³⁶ 1 Co 6²⁰ 15⁴⁹ p⁴⁶. But δς δὴ *who ever*, in Mt 13²³.

Διό, διόπερ².

Properly subordinating, but not necessarily so in NT. Διό occurs most often in Ac and Paul, and is confused with διότι by scribes (e.g. A*W in Lk 1³⁵). The context favours διό (*and so*) in Ac 20²⁶, but the MSS appear to favour διότι.

Εἰ.

For conditions, see pp. 113ff. In direct questions, as opposed to indirect, it is a Bibl. Greek usage (Mt 12¹⁰ 19³ Lk 13²³ Ac 1⁶, LXX Ge 17¹⁷ 1 Km 10²⁴ 2 Mac 7⁷ 15³, nineteen times in Luke), probably a Hebraism from עִי or עִי, which also may stand in both direct and indirect questions. In the Vulgate *si* renders this εἰ and as a result *si* in later Latin became a direct interrogative. Note that the interrog. ἦ is absent from Bibl. Greek (exc. in Jb 25⁵ B); like ἄρα, it is a mark of literary style.

In oaths³, εἰ renders Heb. אִם (Mk 8¹² Heb 3¹¹ 4³.⁵ LXX) and is the equivalent of a strong negative. Conversely, εἰ μὴ is a strong positive in Ro 14¹¹ D*FG (LXX Isa 45²³ S*B) ζῶ ἐγώ, . . . , εἰ μὴ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ.

Ἐτι⁴.

In NT = *still* Mt 12⁴⁶ 17⁵ (and parall.) 26⁴⁷; not *further*.

Εἴτε . . . εἴτε.

Properly with subordinate clauses, but also with ellipse of the verb, either disjunctive or copulative: Ro 12⁶⁻⁸ 2 Co 5¹⁰ Eph 6⁸ Ph 1¹⁸.

¹ K-G II 122-131. Mayser II 3, 133f.

² K-G II 462. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 253, 25. Mayser II 3, 134f.

³ Moulton-Howard 469. N. D. Coleman, "Some noteworthy uses of εἰ or εἴ in Hellenistic Greek—with a note on Mark viii. 12" *JThS* 28, 1927, 159ff. F. C. Burkitt, "Εἰ in Hellenistic Greek. Mark viii. 12" (reply to Coleman), *JThS* ib. 274ff.

⁴ Mayser II 3, 136f. Radermacher² 69.

"H and ἢ καί¹.

Disjunctive particles (*or*), especially when introducing a question: Mt 12²⁹ Ro 3²⁹ 9²¹ 1 Co 10²²; but (esp. in questions or negative sentences and with synonyms) almost copulative: Mt 5¹⁷ Jn 8¹⁴ (S corr. to καί) Ac 1⁷ 11⁸ Ro 9¹¹ FG Ga 3²⁸ D* 1 Co 11²⁷ 1 Th 2¹⁹. As a correlation, ἢ . . . ἢ *either . . . or* (ἢτοι . . . ἢ Ro 6¹⁶).

Καί².

1. *The copula*: a. καί. b. καὶ . . . καί.

2. *The adverb (also, even)*.

1. (a) Καί joins together nouns, adjs., numerals, adverbs, or joins a part with the whole (Ac 5²⁹). Its excessive use in the narrative of many NT writers, esp. Mark, would appear vulgar to the normal reader; Luke and John to some extent mitigate this fault by the use occasionally of asyndeton, and of δέ, οὖν, or τε. The nuance may really be *and yet (et tamen)*, as in Mt 3¹⁴ *and yet you come to me!* where we expect καὶ μὴν or καίτοι. Or the nuance may be consecutive (Mt 5¹⁵ 2 Co 11⁹ Heb 3¹⁹ 2 Pt 1¹⁹) and even final (Mt 8²¹ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι, 26¹⁵ Jn 14³ Rev 14¹⁵). This admittedly belongs to the uncultivated Koine, but note also the possibility of Aramaic influence³, by which the waw of apodosis might well be rendered by καί: Dan θ 4² ἐνύπνιον ἴδον καὶ ἐφοβέρισέν με (καί = rel. pronoun⁴), θ' 7¹⁶ (καί purposive). The same appears in Mt: 6⁴ καὶ ὁ πατήρ (*for*, cp. Dan 10¹⁷) 18²¹ 21²³ etc. Καί in place of temporal subordination: Mt 26⁴⁵ Mk 15²⁵ Lk 19⁴³ 23⁴⁴ Jn 2¹³ Ac 5⁷ Heb 8⁸. Καί with fut. may also resume a final clause to express further result (Mt 26⁵³ Heb 12⁹). Although the papyri provide ample evidence that popular speech favours parataxis, we must remember as a

¹ K.G II 296ff. Mayser II 3, 138ff. Radermacher² 33f, 201, 207. H. Margolis in *Amer. Journ. Sem. Lang.*, 25, 1908-9, 257-275 (for LXX).

² K.G II § 521ff. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 161. 16; 162. 2; 249; 250. Mayser II 3, 140ff. S. Trenkner, *Le Style KAI dans le récit oral attique* (Institut d'Études Polonaises en Belgique) Brussels 1948. Abel § 78. Radermacher² 28, 37, 218, 222. Ljungvik BSSVS 55ff.

³ Lagrange *S. Matth.* XCI.

⁴ Cp. Lk 1⁴⁹ καὶ ἄγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, *for* οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἅγιον ἐστίν; esp. in Rev.

contributory influence that the Heb. *waw* introduced propositions of a temporal, conditional, causal and consecutive kind. Obviously Hebraic (not Aramaic) is the use of *καί* after (*καί*) *ἐγένετο* (δέ) in place of accus. and infin.¹: Lk 5¹ 9²⁸ 19¹⁵ Ac 5⁷. The translation of *καί* *ἰδοῦ* constitutes a problem: R. A. Knox renders it in Lk with a variety of English. It is often as redundant as the *ἐγένετο* construction (Lk 7¹² D implies that it is equivalent); at least the *καί*, if not the *ἰδοῦ*, is often pleonastic, which is why p⁴⁵ SBA omit *καί* in Ac 10¹⁷ (CD *καί* *ἰδοῦ*): Lk 7¹² Ac 1¹⁰ Rev 3²⁰ (AP om *καί*).

(b) *καί . . . καί*. The probability is that this is the Bibl. Greek equivalent of *τε . . . καί*, which is there extremely rare. Thus Mk 4⁴¹ *ὅτι καί ὁ ἄνεμος καί ἡ θάλασσα ὑπακούει αὐτῷ* = *both wind and sea* (but RSV, NEB, etc. take the first *καί* as *even*); so Mk 9¹³ Lk 5³⁶ Jn 6³⁶ 7²⁸ 11⁴⁸ 12²⁸ 15²⁴ 17²⁵ (*both the world and these*) Ac 26²⁹ Ro 14⁹ 11³³ etc., LXX Nu 9^{14b}, Pap. BU 417¹⁷ *ὅτι καί σοὶ τοῦτο ἀνήκει καί συμφέρει*. The scribes have corrected this in Mt 10²⁸ and Jn 4³⁶.

2. The adverbial or epexegetical *καί* (*that is, even*): Mk 1¹⁹ Lk 3¹⁸ Jn 1¹⁶ (*that is, to receive grace upon grace*) 20³⁰, Ac 22²⁵, *καί ἀκατάκριτον and uncondemned at that*), Ro 1⁵ (*that is, apostleship, or hendiadys?: grace of apostleship*), 13¹¹ *idque*, 1 Co 2² *et quidem*, 6⁶⁻⁸, Eph 2⁸. It is pleonastic before a second adj., esp. after *πολύς*: Lk 3¹⁸ Jn 20³⁰ Ac 25⁷ Ti 1¹⁰ vl. The original meaning of *καί*, before it became also merely a co-ordinating particle, was *also*, as in Ro 8¹⁷ *εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καί κληρόνομοι*, Ph 4³. This appears with pronouns frequently: Mt 2⁸ *καὶ γὰρ I too*, Lk 14¹² Jn 7⁴⁷; Ro 8²⁴ *ὁ δὲ γὰρ βλέπει, τίς καί ὑπομένει who needs also to wait for that which he sees?* (p⁴⁶ B*DFG misunderstood and omitted *καί*). And with adverbs of comparison: Ac 11¹⁷ *ὥς καί*, Ro 15⁷ *καθὼς καί*. And after other particles: Lk 24²² *ἀλλὰ καί sed etiam*.

The idioms *καί νῦν* (ἵνα) and *καί τίς* (classical) are fairly common, where *καί* is best rendered emphatically *well, then*: Mk 10²⁶ Lk 10²⁹ Jn 9³⁶ 14²² SW Ac 3¹⁷ 7³⁴ 10⁵ 13¹¹ 20²². 25 22¹⁶ Ro 3⁷ 2 Co 2² Ph 1²² 2 Th 2⁶ 1 Jn 2²⁸.

A chain of dependent genitives, which is not liked by NT writers, is avoided by the use of hendiadys: Mk 6²⁶ (not *oaths*

¹ Thackeray *OT Gr* 50ff. Pernot *Études* 189-199. M. Johannesson, *Das biblische KAI EGENETO und seine Geschichte*, Göttingen, 1926.

and guests, but oaths sworn before the guests), Lk 24⁷ (not *his intelligence and answers*, but *the intelligence of his answers*), 21¹⁵ Ac 12⁵ 14¹⁷ 23⁶ (*hope of the resurrection*), Ro 1⁵ 2 Ti 4¹ Ti 2¹³ Jas 5¹⁰ 1 Pt 4¹⁴ 2 Pt 1¹⁶.

(Τὸ) λοιπόν ¹.

Essentially the meaning is *from now, henceforth*, as Eph 6¹⁰ DG (τοῦ λοιποῦ p⁴⁶ S*AB), and λοιπόν 1 Th 4¹ (cp. BGU IV 1079. 6, A.D. 41). Although it is weakened in Hell. Greek to a mere *so*, it cannot mean its opposite, *still*, as in so many modern translations of Mk 14⁴¹ (Moffatt, Goodspeed, RSV, NEB), for *still* means *until now*. Jesus means *from now*. He says, "Are you going to *continue* sleeping?" To introduce *still* is to throw emphasis on the past, but the point is that they must not be asleep when the betrayer arrives (future). Ἀπέχει will then have a direct ref. to Judas. He has been paid; he is here. *Henceforth*, it is no time for sleep.

Μήν and ναί ².

Particles of solemn affirmation or corroboration. In class. Greek ἤ μήν, but Hell. Greek (esp. LXX and pap.) since ii/B.C. substitutes εἰ μήν: Heb 6¹⁴ εἰ μήν εὐλογῶ εὐλογήσω σε (KL* corr. to ἤ) *yes, certainly I will bless*. But elsewhere in NT the corroborating and recapitulating particle is ναί (still current in MGr): Mt 11⁹. 25¹ 15²⁷ Lk 11⁵¹ 12⁵ Jn 11²⁷ Ro 3²⁹ Ph 4³ Phm²⁰ Rev 1⁷ 14¹³ 16⁷, LXX Ge 17¹⁹ Jdt 9¹².

Νή.

With accus., (scil. δμνομι) 1 Co 15³¹ LXX Ge 42¹⁵¹ *I swear by* (class.). K-G. II 147, 2. Mayser II 3, 147f.

*Οθεν.

Consecutive co-ordinating particle (class.): Mt 14⁷ Ac 26¹⁹ Heb 2¹⁷ and often. Mayser II 3, 148. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 253, 25 (i/B.C. inscr.).

¹ K-G I 315 n. 15. Mayser II 3, 145f. Moule 161f. A. Cavallin, " (Τὸ) λοιπόν: Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Fransos* 39, 1941 121-144.

² R.G II 135ff; 147, 2. Mayser II 3, 146f.

ὁμῶς.

K-G II 85 n. 1; 95f. Mayser II 3, 148. Jn 12⁴² ὁμῶς μέντοι *but yet*. Displaced by hyperbaton in 1 Co 14⁷ *lifeless things may give a sound, nevertheless if . . .* (transfer ὁμῶς after διδόντα), Ga 3¹⁵ *it may be only a man's will, nevertheless no one . . .* (transfer before οὐδεὶς). Conceivably in these two passages we could accent it perispomenon, as adv. from ὁμός (Homer, class. poet.), and translate *likewise*. But ὁμῶς (sic) is much more frequent in Bibl. Greek (Wi 13⁶ 2 Mac 2²⁷ 14¹⁸ 15⁵ 4 Mac 13²⁷ SR 15¹¹ SR).

ὅν.

The interrogative οὐκοῦν (only Jn 18³⁷) may be Pilate's ipissimum verbum.

This interesting particle is the most widely used of the consecutive co-ordinating conjunctions and its use enters widely into the idiosyncratic style of the various Bibl. authors¹. John is very fond of it (but not in the epistles); in Rev it occurs only in 1-3 (one of several distinguishing features in the syntax of this part of Rev). It occurs most frequently in narrative. It is characteristic of Luke to place it after a ptc.: Lk 5⁷ D 23¹⁶. 22 Ac 10²³ 15² vl. 16¹¹ 25¹⁷. He also invariably adds μὲν if the opening word is a noun or pronoun. Its use sharply divides the work of the translators in LXX Ge and Ex; in Ge it occurs almost only in the second half, in Ex almost only in the first half: Ge (1-25) 3, (26-50) 27, Ex (1-24) 26, (25-40) 3.

It is not always strictly causative, but sometimes temporal (= *then*), esp. in Jn. Moreover μὲν οὖν (μενοῦν) is no longer the class. affirmation *indeed* (παντάπασι μὲν οὖν), but is usually resumptive (= *so then*); it occurs most frequently in Ac (merely resumptive: 16. 18 24¹ 54¹ 84. 25 93¹ 134 153. 30 1712. 30 1938 23¹⁸. 31 26⁴, 26⁹ ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα *why, I myself thought*, Moule 163). Also resumptive: Lk 3¹⁸ (μὲν οὖν nowhere else in Lk) Jn 19²⁴ Ph 2²³. Nevertheless μὲν οὖν has the class. use of modifying a previous statement by introducing a new one: *nay rather* Jn 20³⁰ Ac 12⁵ 14³ (see *Beg.* in loc., where it is suggested

¹ K-G 154; 163ff; 336. Mayser II 3, 148ff, W. Nauck, "Das οὖν Paräneticum," ZNW 49, 1958, 134. J. R. Mantey, "Newly discovered meanings for οὖν," *Expositor* ser. VIII 22, 1921, 205-214: contending that in Lk 14³⁴ Ac 8²⁵ Jn 20³⁰ (and papyri) οὖν = *nevertheless*.

to transpose ² and ³, to give οὖν its usual meaning in Ac) 17¹⁷ 25⁴ 28⁵ Heb 7¹¹ 9¹. What is not classical is the use of μὲν οὖν (γε) to open a sentence: Lk 11²⁸ Ro 9²⁰ (p⁴⁶ corrects) 10¹⁸ (corr. by FG), Ph 3⁸: *much more, in fact*.

Οὐ, etc.

For negative particles, see ch. 19. For οὐ, μή, and οὐ μή in questions, see ch. 19 § 2; for οὐ μή otherwise, see ch. 8 § 2.2.

Πλὴν ¹.

In class. Greek, a preposition (as in Mk, Ac) or a conjunction in πλὴν ὅτι *except* (as Lk 22²² Ac 20²³ Ph 1¹⁸). In Hell. Greek it becomes an adversative particle. D corrects to δέ in Lk 12³¹ and to ἀλλά in 23²⁸. Lk 17¹ corrects Mt 18⁷ to οὐαὶ δέ (but SBDL harmonize it back again to πλὴν οὐαὶ). Matthew is fond of it; he changes Mk 14³⁶ ἀλλ' οὐχ into πλὴν οὐχ (26³⁹). Paul's use is peculiar and like that of LXX, a pleonastic *only* 1 Co 11¹¹ Eph 5³³ Ph 1¹⁸ (om B) 3¹⁶ 4¹⁴, LXX e.g. Ge 41⁴⁰ Ex 9⁹. 11 9²⁶ 4 Km 14⁴ 15³⁵ (= Heb. 77).

Πότερον . . . ᾗ.

Only Jn 7¹⁷ in NT and rarely in LXX (e.g. Jb 7¹. 2).

Τε ².

This copulative enclitic particle, declining in use in the Koine and later revived as an atticism, occurs in NT in all forms and compounds, but not very frequently (except in Ac), and it is an indication of stylistic pretension, its place being taken by καί or οὐδέ. In their use of τε we may group the books as follows: (1) Mk Jn Rev: 14 times, (2) Johannines: 1, (3) Mt: 9, (4) Pastorals: 1, (5) Lk: 11, (6) Paul: 32, (7) Heb: 23, (8) Ac: approx. 170. It is not surprising that in textual transmission scribes and editors were unable to resist introducing τε, sometimes at the expense of δέ: Ac 1¹⁵ (SAB ᾗν τε, wrongly in parenthesis) Lk 4³⁵ D 23³⁶ D 24²⁰ Mt 28¹² Ro 7⁷. Although the

¹ Mayser II 2, 534. Schmid Atticismus I 133.

² K-G II §§ 517-520; 522. 2. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 249f. Mayser II 3, 155ff. Radermacher² 5f. J. A. Brown, *An Exegetical Study of τε* (Diss of Southern Baptist Theol. Sem.) 1948.

simple form almost disappeared οὔτε and μήτε lingered on awhile. But the single τε (without καί) occurs in Ac 2³³ 1 Co 4²¹ Heb 6⁵ 9¹ (only poet. in class. Greek). At times τε before γάρ appears to be a superfluous affectation: Ro 7⁷ 2 Co 10⁸ (see K-G II 245, Radermacher² 5).

The correlation τε . . . τε (class. especially in poetry) occurs only in Ac 26¹⁶ and elsewhere in οὔτε . . . οὔτε, εἴτε . . . εἴτε, etc. In Ro 12^{6f} (τε . . . ὁμοίως τε καί) the variant which reads δέ for the second τε has support from BU 417¹⁶ (ὁμοίως δέ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ . . . Abel § 78). Ac 24⁶ is not an instance of correlation.

The distribution of the correlation τε . . . καί is instructive (* τε καί):—Mt 22^{10*} 27⁴⁸ Lk 21⁶ 12⁴⁵ 15² 21^{11.11} 22^{66*} 23¹² 24²⁰, Ac 60 times, Ro 11^{2*} 14. 14. 16 vl. 20. 27 v. 29. 10 3⁹ 10¹² vl. 1 Co 1² vl. 24. 30 Ph 1⁷ Heb 24. 11 41² vl. 57. 14 6². 4 19* 8³ 9². 9. 19 10³³ 11³². 32 Jas 3⁷. 7 Rev 19⁸ vl. It joins more closely than simple καί and joins words which have between themselves a close or logical affinity (*non solum . . . sed etiam*). "Jews and Greeks" is the kind of phrase which demands τε . . . καί or τε καί (Ac 14¹ 19¹⁰ vl. 1⁷ vl. 20²¹ etc.). Other combinations occur: τε . . . καί . . . τε (Ac 9¹⁵ vl. 26^{10f} 20 vl.), τε . . . τε . . . καί (Heb 6² 11³²), τε καί . . . καί . . . καί (Ac 5²⁴ 21³⁰ Heb 24). The correlative τε will usually stand after the first word of the phrase in correlation, but τε is misplaced in Ac 26²²: it should follow and not precede οί. When a preposition (or article) joins two ideas together, τε may be placed after the preposition (Ac 10³⁹ 25²³ 28²³).

In ascertaining the true text we should remember the strong tendency of atticizing editors and scribes to add τε, but this may not always be so in the case of Ac where τε occurs so often that it must be a stylistic feature of the author.

§ 2. Compound Particles

Δήπου¹.

An ironical particle (class. and literary Hell.), partly confirmatory and partly hesitant, appealing to mutual knowledge: Heb 2¹⁸ οὐ γάρ δήπου.

Καί(τοιγε).

Parenthetical particle, *although*: Jn 4³ Ac 14¹⁷ 17^{27f}.

¹ K-G II 131. Mayser II 3, 169.

Μέντοι.

A rare adversative particle, and very weak (*but*) in Jas 2⁸ Jude⁸. Stronger in 2 Ti 2¹⁹ and in Jn where it is most found: οὐ(δείς) μέντοι 4²⁷ 7¹³ 20⁵ 21⁴ ὁμῶς μέντοι 12⁴².

Οὐδέ, μηδέ.

See ch. 19. Besides beginning a sentence (Mk 8²⁶ Lk 7⁹), it may resume and emphasize a previous negative: Mt 6¹⁵ Mk 3²⁰ Lk 16³¹ Ro 4¹⁵.

Οὔτε and μήτε.

Fairly evenly distributed in all parts of the NT, but in many of these instances the endings -δε and -τε are confused in the MSS (cp. δέ and τε): e.g. Lk 20³⁶ οὐδέ γάρ (corr. to οὔτε γάρ by SW), Mk 5³ 12²⁵ 14⁶⁸ Lk 7³³ Ac 2³¹ 23⁸ (SBACE corr. to μήτε) 1 Co 6^{9.10} Ga 1¹² Jas 3¹². This is not surprising in view of the general confusion, e.g. Pap. Rei. 13^{10f} καὶ μήτ' αὐτὸν Ἀνδρῶνα μηδ' ἄλλον . . . μηδ' . . . μηδέ . . ., BU 388 II 36f πῶς οὔτε ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἐν αὐταῖς πρόσκειται, ἀλλ' οὐδέ . . .

In class. Greek οὔτε . . . καὶ is very rare. In NT Jn 4¹¹ (D syr^{iew} corr. to οὐδέ), 3 Jn¹⁰. See Jn 5^{27f} οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . καὶ . . . οὐ.

Τοιγαροῦν.

Class. but not Thucyd. Not Koine, and only 13 times in Polyb. I Th 4⁸ Heb 12¹ (p⁴⁶ τοίγαρ). First word.

Τοιούν.

Only 5 times in Thucyd. Not Koine, and only 3 times Polyb. Second word (class.): Lk 20²⁵ ACW 1 Co 9²⁶. First word (Hell.): Lk 20²⁵ SBL Heb 13¹³.

§ 3. Unconnected words and sentences: Asyndeton¹

Except occasionally for effect, this is contrary to the genius of Greek, but Paul and Hebrews are full of it (e.g. 1 Co 7²⁷ Heb 11^{32ff}). It increases in the Ptol. pap. between iii and i/B.C. Yet in NT scribes frequently introduced connecting particles (see Jn, for variants between asyndeton, δέ, καὶ and οὖν). Matthew is fond of asyndeton with ἔφη and λέγει (see Lagrange *S. Matth.* XCII) and John has λέγει, λέγουσιν 70 times

¹ K-G II § 546. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 161; 250, 4. Schwyzler II 632ff. , Mayser II 3, 179-183.

with asyndeton (against 31 with particle—but there are variants); Aramaic influence is probable (Lagrange *S. Jean CIVf*). On Mark see Zerwick, *Untersuchungen* 22f.

The use of $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ¹ to link sentences is not class. Mt has it 90 times, Mk 6, Lk 15, Ac 21, Jn 10, rest 18; LXX canonical books 156, Dan O' 43, θ' 30. Its extreme use in Mt must be explained ultimately as a rendering of Aramaic וְכַּן or וְכַּדְב , so frequent in Daniel, and rendered by $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ 30 times in LXX. The Heb. וְכַּן is less frequent. It is significant that LXX has $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ five or six times in 2 Esd 5, against only four times in the whole of Genesis (Lagrange *S. Matth. CX*). Scribes have sought to reduce the exuberance of $\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ in Mt.

Because of his elementary knowledge of popular Greek, the author of Rev confines his transition-formulae to the very simplest kind, most often $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ ($\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$), varying with $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ($\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$) $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$. There is a poverty of particles and continual parataxis (Allo, *Apoc. CLI*).

Asyndeton makes the beginning of new long sections conspicuous, e.g. Ro 9¹ 10¹ 13¹ 1 Pt 5¹ 2 Pt 3¹.

¹ A. H. McNeile, "Tóte in St. Matthew," *JThS* 12, 1911, 127ff.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

IRREGULARITY OF SUBORDINATION

§ 1. Parataxis instead of hypotaxis¹

We have seen how prevalent parataxis is in popular speech (ch. 25, καί), and it goes even further in MGr. We find direct in place of indirect speech (Lk 14¹⁸ 1 Co 7⁴⁰ FG), and καί is often used in place of subordination (Mt 18²¹ 26⁵³ Lk 14⁵) on the Semitic model which happens to coincide with popular Greek, and even without καί there is parataxis where we expect conditional hypotaxis (Jn 7³⁴ 10¹² Ro 13³). Parataxis is too much for D in Mk 2¹⁵ (οἱ for καί). The imperatives ὁρατε and βλέπετε are common in NT, as in the Koine (Mt 9³⁰ 24⁶ Mk 13³³) and are probably asyndetic additions to the normal imperative; so also ὑπαγε, ἔγειρε, θέλεις. Again, popular Greek coincides with a strong Hebraic idiom: e.g. LXX Ex 19²⁴ βάδιζε κατάβηθι (תִּלְכּוּ יַרְדֵּן), 3 Km 19⁷ ἀνάστα φάγε (לִבְנֵי אִיִּם). For ἐγένετο with finite verb see p. 335; Moulton-Howard 425-428.

§ 2. Interpolation of sentences: Parenthesis²

The NT parentheses are harsher than would be permitted to a Greek stylist, especially those in Paul (Ro 1¹³ 2^{15f}), which may be due to dictation of the letters, but also those in Ac (1¹⁵ 4¹³ 5¹⁴ 12^{3f}). Short parentheses, such as those with οἶδα, μαρτυρῶ, ὁρᾷς, are found in class. Greek. Punctuation in Mark is often clarified if more parentheses than usual are recognized (Zerwick, *Untersuchungen* 130-138. C. H. Turner in *JThS* 26, 145). E.g. transpose-12¹², as ^a c ^b.

§ 3. Anacoloutha

(a) For *casus pendens* see ch. 22 § 5.

(b) For gen. absol. improperly used, see pp. 322f.

¹ K-G II § 516. Wackernagel I 62f. Mayser II 3, 184ff. Ljungvik BSSVS 76ff, 87ff. Radermacher² 213, 222.

² K-G II § 548. Schwyzer II 705. Mayser II 3, 186ff. Radermacher² 221. C. Grünwald, *Die Satzparenthese bei den zehn attischen Rednern* (B.z.h.Sd.gr.Spr.19) 1912.

(c) Chiefly in Paul's letters there occurs the anacolouthon whereby the original sentence construction is forgotten after an insertion: Ro 2¹⁷ (but read ἴδε for εἰ δέ?), 16²⁷ (B improves by omitting φ), Ga 2^{4r} (D* improves by omitting οἷς), 2⁶, 1 Ti 1^{3r}.

(d) Paul also tends to make a ptc. co-ordinate with a finite verb: 2 Co 5¹² 6³ 7⁵ 8^{18r} (χειροτονηθεὶς and also στελλόμενοι. But if ¹⁹ is a parenthesis, the ptc. depends on συνεπέμψαμεν and there is no anacolouthon), 9¹¹. 13 10⁴. 15. 15 11⁶.

(e) The imperatival ptc. is a well known phenomenon ¹ in Peter and Paul, and it is common in the Koine. However, as ἐστὲ (imperat.) never occurs in NT we must presume that it is understood as a copula with all these ptc.s., which therefore do not constitute an anacolouthon. Note the durative sense of the ptc.s.: *always* Ro 12^{9r} 2 Co 6³⁻¹⁰ (the ptc.s. skip over ² and carry on the construction of ¹, which is resumed in ⁹) 8²⁴ B δ-text (SC correct to imperat.) Eph 3¹⁷. 18 4¹ (the ptc. may depend on the verb immediately before it) 5¹⁵⁻²² Ph 1^{29r} (but WH. make a long parenthesis and try to connect ἔχοντες with στήκετε) Col 2² 3^{18r} 4¹¹ 1 Pt 2¹². 18 3¹. 7 4^{8r} 2 Pt 3³.

The only example outside Peter and Paul is Heb 13⁵ (but Moulton would add Lk 24⁴⁷: Proleg. 182).

(f) Very frequent is the use of a finite verb co-ordinate with a ptc. and strengthening it unnecessarily. This is class., but not in the same profusion as in NT. It may be that there is ellipse of the verb *to be* with the ptc.s. (Regard, *Phrase nom.* 186-216): Mt 13²². 23 Lk 8¹². 14 Jn 1³² (for emphasis) 5⁴⁴ (vl. corrects to ptc.) 15⁵ 2 Co 5^{8r} 6⁹ Eph 1²⁰ (not WH.) Col 1²⁶ (D corr. to ptc.) 2 Jn ² Rev 1^{5r} 2². 9 3⁷. 9. LXX Ps 17³³⁻³⁵.

¹ Moulton Einl. 284-288, 353f. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* § 121 e, n. 2. Zerwick § 265f. H. G. Meecham, "The Use of the Participle for the Imperative in the New Testament," *Exp. T.* 58, 1947, 207ff. C. K. Barrett, "The Imperatival Participle," *Exp. T.* 59, 1948, 165ff. Mayser II 1, 340f.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

WORD ORDER

THE DETAILS of clause order and of word order within the clause ought to be more closely examined than is possible in the strict compass of this syntax volume and will be reserved for a separate publication on style as distinct from syntax. Certain ways in which the study may benefit textual and exegetical research will however be indicated. The matter has also been separately discussed in part at various points in this volume: the position of adverbs (pp. 227ff), of demonstratives (pp. 193f), the combinations with *πᾶς* (pp. 201-5), the position of adjs. relative to their noun with special reference to *πολύς* (pp. 185f), the position of the dependent genitive (pp. 217f), of comparative clauses (p. 320), and the difference between *εἰ καὶ* and *καὶ εἰ* (or *καὶ*) (p. 321).

§ 1. Clause Order

(a) Normally the dependent clause follows the main clause.

1. FINAL clauses with *ἵνα* precede in a very few instances, and mainly in the gospels: Mt 9⁶ (and parallels) 17²⁷ (Jn 14²¹?) Jn 19²⁸. 31 Ac 24⁴ (Ro 7¹³?) Eph 6²¹ "Ὅπως-clauses never precede.

2. LOCAL clauses: *ὅθεν*-clauses (15 times in post-position) never precede. *ὅθι*-clauses (21 post-position) precede only at Mt 18²⁰ (2⁹ 28¹⁶ post-position) Ro 4¹⁵ 5²⁰ (9²⁶ post-position) 2 Co 3¹⁷ (1 Co 16⁶ post).

3. TEMPORAL clauses: here alone the pre-position is as much in favour as the post-position. But as *ἕως*-clauses are invariably post-positive, we must alter our punctuation of 1 Ti 4¹³ and take the clause with what precedes¹. We find however that *ὅτι*-, *ὅταν*-, and *ὥς* (temp.)-clauses precede much more often than they follow, especially in the gospels; while *ἐπεὶ*(*ὅτι*)-, *ἐπὶ*-, and *ἡνίκα*-clauses invariably precede, and

¹ "Make yourself an example, until I come."

ὁπότε-, ἄχρι (οὔ)-, μέχρις οὔ-, and μέχρι-clauses invariably follow. But πρίν- and πρὸ τοῦ-clauses are about equally divided.

4. CAUSAL clauses: the majority have post-position, but ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδὴ are equally divided, and ἐπεὶ ἔν (1 Co 14¹⁶) has only pre-position. "Ὅτι (causal) is post-positive 397 times, and the only exceptions are as follows: Lk 19¹⁷ Jn 15⁰ (a question) 8⁴⁵ (14¹⁹?) 15¹⁹ 16⁶ 20²⁹ (a question) Ro 9⁷ Ga 4⁶ Rev 3¹⁰. 16¹⁸ 18⁷. Invariably post-positive are ἀνθ' ὧν, ἐφ' ὧ, καθότι, διότι. But διὰ τό c. infin. (post-positive 23 times) has pre-position in Mt 13⁶ 24¹² Mk 4⁶ Ac 18³ 27⁹.

5. COMPARATIVE clauses: see also ch. 23 § 3. c. 1. Καθώς (with καθάπερ and καθά as variants)—clauses follow the main clause invariably in Mt, in Mk (except for Mk 12^t, which is not an exception if punctuated with a stop after 1³), in Lk (except for 6³¹ 11³⁰ 17²⁶. 28). But in Jn the distribution is more even (19 post: 13 pre), like the Joh. epp. (8:5). In Ac there are 10 post: 2 pre. In Ro 15 (+5 vl.) post: 1 pre. 1 and 2 Co 24 (+2 vl.): 7. Ga 3:0. Ph 2:1. Eph 10:0. Col 4:1. 1 and 2 Th 12:3. Past 0:1. Heb 7:2. 1 Pt 0:1. 2 Pt 2:0.

(b) Chiasmus¹.

Lund argues that chiasmus is largely Semitic: hence, in the material common to Mt and Lk, it occurs rather in Mt. The instances outside Biblical Greek are not extensive chiasmic systems but usually the simpler kind of chiasmus of four terms only. The chiasmus in the MT of Ps 71⁶ 58⁶ is well preserved in LXX, but the remarkable ten-fold instance in Ps 37^t is not preserved quite so obviously, and in Ps 63⁽⁴⁾ the LXX spoils the chiasmus by using ἐταράχθη in both members. Before Lund, a chiasmus of four or six members had already been pointed out by J. Weiss in Ro 14^{7tt} 1 Co 7¹⁻⁷ 9¹⁹⁻²² Ph 4¹¹⁻¹³, but most writers had applied class. standards to the NT and failed to appreciate any influence of ancient Semitic culture or of contemporary Aramaic literature. Greek rhetorical forms do not explain everything in NT style, where the writers were Jews accustomed to the sound of a Hebrew liturgy. Lund

¹ N. W. Lund, *Chiasmus in the New Testament*, N. Carolina 1942. W. Milligan, *Lectures on the Apocalypse*³, 1892, pp. 94f, noticed chiasmus in Rev, using it to counter the source hypotheses of Vischer and Völter. J. Jeremias, *ZNW* 49, 1958, 145-156.

argues that although J. Weiss may correctly contend that the Paulines were written for the *ear*, the influence of the OT and the synagogue was paramount. Of this literary influence, Lund is concerned with one particular expression, chiasmus or inverted order. Discovering certain laws governing these structures in the OT, he makes tests for their occurrence in the NT. A point to which he might have given more attention is the important question whether the Semitic influence was direct from the Hebrew OT or whether it was by way of the LXX.

Instances of chiasmus are as follows—

- (a) Mt 9¹⁷ old—burst—skins—skins—lost—new (ABC CBA)
 (b) 1 Co 7³ to woman—man—woman—to man (AB—BA)
 (c) 1 Co 11⁸⁻¹²

A	man	A	B	man	A	C	angels	B	woman	B	A	woman	B
	woman	B		woman	B				man	A		man	A
	woman	B		woman	B				man	A		man	A
	man	A		man	A				woman	B		woman	B

Ps 89³⁰⁻³⁴ may have been the (unconscious?) model for Paul here, if he knew the psalms in Hebrew form.

(d) Col 3⁸ death—life—hidden—Christ—Christ—manifested—life—glory.

(e) 1 Co 5²⁻⁶ is the kind of sentence which seems interminable to the Greek student and on which Semitic culture throws light, with a ABCBA arrangement and chiasmus within chiasmus:

A	puffed up	B	misconduct	A	C	Lord	B	Satan	A	A	boast- ing
			presence	B		Jesus	A	destruction	B		
			presence	B		you	B	flesh	C		
			misconduct	A		me	B	spirit	C		
						Lord		salvation	B		
						Jesus	A	Day of Lord	A		

In this instance the study of chiasmus helps the textual critic. The first reference to "Lord Jesus" in member C has the addition $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ in p⁴⁶ BKL 0142 DG lat syr^{esh}, and as this addition balances the fourth member of the chiasmus-within-chiasmus, there is a good reason for accepting it.

(f) Not only does this study help with the text, but also in interpretation, e.g.: Mt 7⁶

"Give not what is holy to the *dogs* (A),
Neither cast your pearls before *swine* (B),
Lest they [B must be *swine*] trample them under foot (B),
And they [A must be the *dogs*, not *swine*] turn and rend you (A)."

The last line is different from the usual interpretation.

Probably much longer passages than these, even whole epistles, among Paul's writings, may be planned (unconsciously?) on the chiasmic pattern.

§ 2. Word Order within the Clause¹

(a) Idiosyncrasies of Biblical Greek through Semitic influence.

1. Co-ordinating particles as first word. Semitic languages avoid second-place conjunctions, and this tendency was inherited by Biblical Greek, which either placed the conjunction first or else avoided altogether the second-place conjunctions like γάρ, γε, μέν, δέ, οὖν, τε. Thus ἀρα is first word in Mt 12²⁸, τοίνυν in Lk 20²⁵ Heb 13¹³, μενοῦντε in Ro 10¹⁸, τοιγαροῦν in Heb 12¹.

2. The verb (contrary to contemporary secular Greek, where mainly it has middle position) occurs as near the beginning as possible², followed by pers. pronoun, subject, obj., supplementary

¹ T. D. Goodell, "The Order of Words in Greek," *Trans. and Proc. Amer. Phil. Assn.* XXI. 5 (21. 24). W. Rhys Roberts, "A Point of Greek and Latin Word-Order," *Class. Rev.*, 1912, 177-9. G. Cuendet, *L'ordre des mots dans le texte grec et dans les versions gothique . . . des Évangiles, I. Les groupes nominaux*, Paris 1929. M. Frisk, *Studien zur griechische Worstellung*, Göteborg 1932. J. M. Rife, "The Mechanics of Translation Greek," *JBL* 52, 1933, 244ff. D. J. Wieand, *Subject-Verb-Object Relationship in Independent Clauses in the Gospels and Acts* (Diss. Univ. Chicago) 1946. Moulton-Howard 416-418. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig 1913, 365f "Stellung des Verbums in NT Griechischen." He makes the prominence of the verb in first-place a sign of Semitism, and on this he quotes Wellhausen with approval.

² The normal order in the ancient Greek was Subj.-Obj.-Verb (SOV) and the nearest books to this ideal in Bibl. Greek literature are 2-4 Mac.

	VSO	SVO	SOV	VOS	OSV	OVS
2 Mac	1	4	4	—	—	—
3 Mac	1	2	5	—	2	—
4 Mac	—	2	5	2	1	—
Plato	—	1	7	1	1	—

ptc. E.g. Lk 1¹¹ ὁφθῇ δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔστω ἐκ δεξιῶν. In Mk the copula occurs in this position in 24 out of 29 instances (the exceptions: 5⁵ 7¹⁵ 13²⁵ 14⁴⁰). The predicative ptc. immediately follows the subject in Bibl. Greek: Mk 1⁶ καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυσμένος, 14⁴. 40 Lk 2³² Ac 12⁶. This is Hebraic word-order, for in Aramaic the verb tends to end the clause. In periphrastic tenses the subject comes between the copula and the ptc., e.g. Mk 1⁶. 33 24. 6. 18 31 43⁸ 51¹. 40 65² 14⁴. 40 15⁷. 26. 40. 43 (exceptions 7¹⁵ 10³² 13²⁵). In Hebrew the subject follows the verb directly, but occasionally the object intervenes between the verb and subject (e.g. Ge 1¹⁷), and the personal pronoun always does so (see 8 below).¹

3. Article and noun adhere closely together, and in Hebrew they are actually one. That is why in LXX only 4 per cent of the def. articles stand apart from their nouns in books translated from the canonical literature, whereas in the books having no MT as *Vorlage* the percentage is as high as 11 per cent. For the NT epistles the figure is 18 per cent. It is still higher (25 per cent) when seven non-Biblical works of class., Koine, and MGr are chosen for a count (Rife, *JBL* 52, 248).

Some NT books approach this standard, but on the whole NT is closer to the Hebraic order (VSO) and towards the subsequent tendency of MGr (SVO)

	VSO	SVO	SOV	VOS	OSV	OVS
Synoptic parallels:						
Mk	3	9	4	—	1	1
Mt	1	5	1	—	—	1
Lk	1	4	2	—	—	1
Luke entire	9	19	8	2	—	1
John	—	4	3	1	2	—
Acts	6	31	1	1	1	5
Ro	—	4	5	—	—	1

The figures are those of Rife who restricted himself to main declarative clauses where both subj. and obj. were nouns, his method being to read from the beginning of each book until ten *exx.* were collected (*JBL* 52, 250f). But requirements of emphasis will everywhere upset rules of word-order. See also Zerwick *Untersuchungen* 75–108; P.-L. Couchoud, "La Place du Verbe dans Marc," *JThS* 30, 1929, 47ff.

¹ Therefore in Mk 2^{15f} punctuate (not as NEB, etc.): "For they were many. There followed him some scribes of the Pharisees. They noticed him eating . . ."

4. Again, Hebrew word-order supports the after-position of the adj., because nothing can come between art. and noun. Although the NT epistles display a very high proportion of non-Semitic word-order in this respect, the gospels more closely conform. The tendency in the Koine is for the adj. to precede the noun. A significant comparison is that between the papyri of ii-i/B.C. examined by Mayser and the first nineteen chapters of the LXX. The papyri have 140 exx. of the type ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ and only four or five of ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός; whereas the Biblical chapters have ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ 17 times, but ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός 56 times (the proportion in 1 Km 1-6 is 1:16). See Mayser II 2, 52ff and see also, pp. 189f.

5. As in the Heb. construct state, the genitive in translation Greek follows immediately upon its governing noun. The tendency in the literary style was, however, for the gen. to precede, and we find this much more frequently in the free Greek books of the LXX. In the NT it is consciously stylistic, as 2 Co 11⁹ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . υἱός, 2 Pt 3² τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμῶν ἐντολῆς. The need to follow the Hebrew construction closely may result in the dissociation of analogous nouns, as in Ge 41⁸ *the magicians of Egypt and their wise men*.

6. Unemphatic direct or indirect personal pronouns (αὐτῷ, αὐτῇ, αὐτοῖς) come closely after the verb in Bibl. Greek on the model of the Heb. pronominal suffix which is one with the verb: Lk 11¹ ὥφθη δὲ αὐτῷ, Ac 27² ὄντος σὺν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχου. There are exceptions, e.g.: the pronoun αὐτῷ precedes the verb in Jn 7²⁶ 10⁴ 12²⁹ (but it follows the verb 145 times in Jn), and αὐτοῖς has an intruding word (other than δέ or οὖν) between it and the verb in 2²⁴ (ἐαυτόν p⁶⁶ WΘ), 8²¹ (οὖν πάλιν, but S omits πάλιν, and some minusc. have πάλιν *after* αὐτοῖς), 10⁷ (οὖν πάλιν, but p⁴⁵ p⁶⁶ SW om πάλιν, and SB om αὐτοῖς).

7. In Semitic word-order the demonstrative adj. always follows the noun, and this is usual in Bibl. Greek. See p. 193. Some displacements are difficult to understand, e.g. Lk 24³¹ αὐτῶν δὲ διηγοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί.

8. (i) As in Hebrew the prepositional phrase comes immediately after the verb if the Heb. preposition would have a pronominal suffix (e.g. Ge 24⁶), but the prepositional phrase comes after the subject (which itself is after the verb) if the Hebrew preposition would have a noun after it (e.g. Ge 24²).

This makes it certain that, against RSV, NEB, etc., in Mk 6²⁶ we interpret *he was grieved because of his oaths and guests* (not *he was unwilling . . . because of his oaths and guests*); and in Lk 11¹³ it is *your heavenly Father*, not *your Father will give from heaven*.

(ii) So also the prepositional phrase occurs immediately after its noun, following the Heb. phrase with עִם or the Heb. genitive of quality. The LXX books written in free Greek, especially 2-4 Mac, tend to place the prepositional phrase between article and noun (Johannessohn DGPS 362ff). The translation books tend to place the prep. phrase after the noun, usually with repetition of the article.

(b) Oratory and word-order. Interruption of the normal order to give oratorical effect may result in ambiguity: Ac 4³³ ΑΕ μεγάλη δυνάμει ἀπεδίδουν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὸ μαρτύριον τῆς ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χρ. τοῦ κυρίου (p⁴⁵SB τὸ μαρτύριον οἱ ἀπόστολοι; B τοῦ κυρίου Ἰ. τῆς ἀναστάσεως); either *the apostles of the Lord Jesus witnessed to the resurrection*, or *the apostles witnessed to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus*; the order is rather unnatural, whatever reading we adopt (see *Beg.* III, celix n. 2). Ac 19²⁰ οὕτως κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ἤϋξανεν (τοῦ κυρίου must refer to ὁ λόγος). Ac 1² ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου οὗς ἐξελέξατο (unnatural order). Heb 12²³ κριτῇ θεῷ πάντων *God of all* or *judge of all*? All this reveals a weakness inherent in the flexibility of the Greek language.

(c) Stereotyped phrases. A customary word-order is observed, e.g. ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, γυν. καὶ παῖδια (but παῖδια first in Mt 14²¹ D), ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, βρώσις καὶ πόσις, πόδες καὶ χεῖρες (reversed at Lk 24³⁹ but not in S), ζῶντες καὶ νεκροί, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, etc. The suggestion that there is a stereotyped phrase may account for the peculiar order in Ro 8¹⁸ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, and Ga 3²³ εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι (ἡ μέλλουσα δόξα being a set phrase).

INDEX TO REFERENCES

(a) NEW TESTAMENT.

Thick type represents more important discussion.

MATTHEW	PAGE	MATTHEW—continued	PAGE	MATTHEW—continued	PAGE
1. 1	167	4. 3	183	5. 48	86
1. 2 f.	167, 345	4. 6	183	6. 1	144
1. 6	167, 169	4. 8	227	6. 2	42, 77, 112
1. 11 f.	212	4. 11	67	6. 3	17, 39
1. 16	152, 167	4. 15	175, 212, 247	6. 4	39, 334
1. 18	78, 140, 162,	4. 16	39, 316	6. 5	86, 112, 226
	176, 226, 322	4. 23	51, 211	6. 6	77, 112
1. 19	157	4. 25	275	6. 7	253
1. 20	77, 151, 322	5. 1	173, 322	6. 8	49, 144
1. 21	40, 40, 246	5. 3	220, 239	6. 9	35
1. 22	70	5. 5	232	6. 10	75, 77
2. 1	26, 172	5. 6	177, 232	6. 12	37
2. 2	26, 134, 172, 189	5. 8	220, 239	6. 13	14, 77
2. 3	317	5. 9	208	6. 16	76, 112
2. 4	63, 65	5. 10	85	6. 17	37, 54, 154
2. 6	31, 48, 151, 170	5. 12	76	6. 18	106, 159
2. 8	112, 154, 156, 335	5. 13	183	6. 19	42, 76
2. 9	26, 172, 279	5. 14	279	6. 22	183
2. 10	160, 242	5. 15	150, 292	6. 24	36
2. 12	52	5. 16	72, 150	6. 25	24, 76, 99, 117
2. 13	141, 142	5. 17	77, 134	6. 27	209
2. 14	235	5. 18	96	6. 28	76, 179, 313, 325
2. 15	151	5. 19	31, 45, 107	6. 30	115
2. 16	72, 154, 227	5. 20	96, 216	6. 32	313
2. 20	25, 75, 81, 154,	5. 21	86	6. 34	72, 76, 77, 311
	293	5. 22	151	7. 2	291
2. 22	26, 64, 228	5. 24	75	7. 3	191
2. 23	7, 26	5. 25	88, 89, 110	7. 4	94
3. 3	44	5. 25	96	7. 5	139
3. 4	41, 66	5. 28	73, 144, 151, 232	7. 6	77, 346
3. 5	16, 66	5. 29 f.	32, 42, 115,	7. 8	151
3. 6	66		139	7. 9	55, 325
3. 7	66	5. 32	107, 151	7. 11	157
3. 9	42, 168	5. 34	149	7. 12	107, 108, 138
3. 10	62, 199, 200	5. 35	255	7. 15	48
3. 11	252, 266	5. 36	75	7. 16	293
3. 12	325	5. 39	48, 77, 149, 197	7. 17	63
3. 13	141	5. 40	39, 316	7. 21	196
3. 14	39, 65, 139, 334	5. 41	48	7. 23	153, 177
3. 15	88, 149, 200	5. 42	78	7. 24	48, 189, 233, 316
3. 16	25, 259	5. 43	86	7. 26	151, 221
3. 17	25, 44, 186	5. 44	86	7. 27	207
4. 1	134	5. 45	52, 53, 208, 291	7. 28	66

MATTHEW—continued		MATTHEW—continued		MATTHEW—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
8. 1	39, 322	II. 8	17	13. 53	52
8. 2	65	II. 10	37, 45	13. 56	273
8. 4	40, 78	II. 11	29	13. 57	253
8. 5	322	II. 12	58	14. 1	167
8. 8	139, 189	II. 16	86, 179	14. 2	180
8. 9	75	II. 19	258	14. 6	27, 243
8. 11	26	II. 20	31	14. 7	135
8. 12	29, 173	II. 21	91	14. 8	64
8. 16	241	II. 23	17, 37	14. 9	26
8. 17	40	II. 27	107, 108, 110, 286	14. 11	40
8. 21	334			14. 13	18
8. 24	66	II. 29	42, 220	14. 14	40
8. 27	318	12. 1	27	14. 19	158
8. 28	322	12. 4	137	14. 20	316
8. 29	156, 179	12. 5	27	14. 23	28
8. 34	65, 106	12. 6	21	14. 28 f.	27
9. 2	64, 292	12. 10	100, 195, 333	14. 29	75
9. 3	43, 209	12. 13	197	14. 31	266, 267
9. 4	23	12. 18	43	14. 33	183
9. 5	32	12. 21	238	15. 2	38, 112
9. 6	344	12. 24	152	15. 5	91, 309
9. 10	322	12. 25	43	15. 6	96, 97
9. 13	282	12. 28	347	15. 8	23
9. 15	208	12. 35	14, 22	15. 13	48
9. 16	65	12. 36	48, 316	15. 19	28
9. 17	292	12. 39	214	15. 20	140
9. 18	65, 196, 322, 330	12. 41	21, 255, 266	15. 22	195
9. 21	43	12. 42	172	15. 23	156
9. 22	35, 69	12. 44	162, 319	15. 25	65
9. 26	312	12. 45	41, 43	15. 28	33
9. 27	51	12. 48	183	15. 30	43, 154, 197
9. 38	106	12. 50	41	15. 31	161
10. 1	136, 139	13. 2	154	15. 32	49, 135, 231
10. 2	168	13. 3	141	15. 35	236
10. 4	80	13. 4	36, 145	15. 37	316
10. 5	169, 212	13. 5	142	16. 3	27
10. 11	316	13. 6	142, 172, 345	16. 7	49
10. 13	86	13. 8	36, 67	16. 14	36, 197
10. 14	48	13. 11	45, 135	16. 16	183
10. 15	213, 216	13. 12	110, 282, 292	16. 18	22, 27, 189
10. 16	38	13. 14	97, 157, 238	16. 19	89
10. 19	49, 117	13. 15	23	16. 21	258
10. 21	313, 313	13. 19	151, 200	16. 22	97, 240, 282, 309
10. 22	45, 89	13. 23	36, 333	16. 25	43, 107, 108
10. 23	112, 197	13. 24	179	16. 26	98, 199
10. 25	139	13. 25	145	16. 28	96, 233, 241
10. 26	77, 286	13. 26	72	17. 1	18
10. 28	335	13. 28	99, 154, 195	17. 2	316
10. 30	24	13. 29	276	17. 4	115, 149
10. 32	48, 110, 316	13. 30	144, 187	17. 9	316, 322
10. 33	108, 110	13. 37	183	17. 11	63
10. 41	266	13. 38	208	17. 12	53, 264
10. 42	18	13. 39	183	17. 14	316
11. 1	141, 159	13. 44	73, 179	17. 15	189
11. 3	63	13. 45	195	17. 17	33, 35, 234
11. 5	58	13. 46	70, 73, 154	17. 19	18, 37
11. 6	253	13. 48	14, 73, 154	17. 22	24
11. 7	134	13. 52	195		

MATTHEW—continued		MATTHEW—continued		MATTHEW—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
17. 25	159	20. 33	94	23. 34	209
17. 27	42, 43, 53, 152, 258, 292, 344	21. 1	72	23. 37	42
18. 1	29, 183	21. 3	86	24. 2	96
18. 2	65	21. 4	70	24. 3	18, 322
18. 3	321	21. 5	239	24. 9	89
18. 4	29	21. 6	154	24. 12	142, 345
18. 8	149	21. 7	26	24. 13	45
18. 8 f.	31, 42	21. 8	31, 312	24. 20	235
18. 9	149	21. 9	174	24. 21	14, 70, 96, 286
18. 10	78	21. 11	210, 259	24. 22	196, 199, 268, 282
18. 12	63	21. 13	86	24. 27	26, 172
18. 14	139	21. 18	51	24. 30	161, 214
18. 15	42, 43, 73	21. 19	96	24. 31	25, 218, 225, 234
18. 16	42, 57	21. 21	16	24. 33	27, 179
18. 17	239	21. 22	316	24. 34	96
18. 18	89	21. 23	322	24. 35	96, 97
18. 20	344	21. 26	246	24. 40	36, 319
18. 21	342	21. 28	32	24. 41	36
18. 22	188	21. 31	32	24. 43	46, 63
18. 23	47, 56, 185, 195	21. 32	136, 141	24. 45	141, 183, 186
18. 24	322	21. 33	55	24. 46	162
18. 25	64, 138, 322	21. 34	135	24. 51	226
18. 26	65	21. 35	36	25. 1	154
18. 27	234	21. 41	27, 55	25. 2	178
18. 28	321	21. 42	21, 45, 253	25. 4	13
18. 33	90	21. 45	64	25. 5	67
18. 35	23	21. 46	246, 247, 266	25. 6	225, 235
19. 1	52	22. 2	27	25. 9	42, 75, 98, 99, 155
19. 3	268, 333	22. 4	309	25. 10	27
19. 5	253	22. 5	36, 192	25. 14	87, 192
19. 10	115, 226	22. 7	26, 72	25. 15	36
19. 17	183	22. 8	72	25. 16	154
19. 18	182	22. 11	161, 285	25. 18	154
19. 20	246	22. 13	232	25. 19	56
19. 21	146	22. 16	87, 257	25. 20	69
19. 22	154	22. 21	47	25. 24	226
19. 24	216	22. 27	316	25. 25	154
19. 28	214	22. 28	209	25. 26	38, 226
19. 29	48, 232, 316	22. 30	57, 321	25. 27	90
20. 4	107, 108	22. 31	180	25. 32	313
20. 6	179	22. 36	31	25. 34	152, 234
20. 8	155	22. 37	39, 199	25. 35	135
20. 9	179	22. 39	42	25. 36	39
20. 10	14	23. 2	72	25. 37	155
20. 12	220	23. 3	316	25. 38 f.	161
20. 17	18	23. 5	144	25. 40	31
20. 18	63, 240	23. 8	183, 189	25. 44	155
20. 19	143	23. 10	184	25. 45	31
20. 20	87	23. 13	81	26. 2	63, 135, 143
20. 21	36	23. 15	16	26. 4	54
20. 23	140	23. 16	48, 51	26. 9	90
20. 24	178	23. 18	48, 51	26. 10	256
20. 26	86, 107	23. 23	90, 148	26. 12	144
20. 27	108	23. 25	216, 260	26. 13	199
20. 28	31, 43, 51, 57, 134, 258	23. 26	14	26. 15	27, 334
20. 30	167	23. 30	215		
		23. 31	42		
		23. 33	99		

MATTHEW—continued

	PAGE
26. 17	27, 135
26. 18	27, 63
26. 24	90, 91, 284
26. 25	87, 283
26. 28	269
26. 29	96, 112
26. 32	143, 148
26. 33	115
26. 34	78, 140
26. 35	96, 97, 265
26. 38	75, 77, 175
26. 39	338
26. 45	24, 334
26. 46	51, 151
26. 48	77
26. 50	50
26. 51	55, 56, 167
26. 53	65, 334, 342
26. 54	99
26. 56	70
26. 58	66
26. 60	66
26. 61	267
26. 62	49, 154
26. 63	64, 66, 183, 268
26. 64	37
26. 65	56, 233
26. 67	37
26. 69	166
26. 70	156
26. 71	39
26. 74	137
26. 75	140
27. 1	136
27. 4	80, 86, 154
27. 5	27, 54
27. 7	238
27. 8	71
27. 9	208
27. 10	320
27. 11	37, 183
27. 12	58, 145, 148
27. 13	50
27. 15	268
27. 17	166, 322
27. 20	72
27. 21	209
27. 22	166, 246
27. 24	38, 86, 215
27. 26	135
27. 29	24
27. 30	256
27. 31	143
27. 32	220
27. 37	183
27. 40	81, 151, 153, 183
27. 42	183, 237

MATTHEW—continued

	PAGE
27. 43	174
27. 44	26, 246
27. 45	178
27. 46	45, 72, 179
27. 47	195
27. 49	87, 94, 157
27. 54	183
27. 55	134
27. 56	168
27. 57	44, 53, 220
27. 60	190
27. 62	17
27. 63	63
27. 64	32
28. 1	27, 135, 187, 278
28. 9	26, 167
28. 12	27
28. 15	72, 169
28. 17	37
28. 18	175
28. 19	40, 255
MARK	
I. 1	166, 211, 307
I. 3	151
I. 4	87, 151, 211, 214
I. 5	172
I. 7	67, 154, 325
I. 8	41
I. 9	166, 210, 254
I. 10	25
I. 11	25, 72
I. 14	143
I. 15	75, 82, 237, 263
I. 21	27
I. 23	159, 221, 241, 250, 252
I. 24	149, 166, 240, 325
I. 26	312
I. 31	67, 79
I. 44	40, 78
2. 1	261
2. 2	291
2. 5	64
2. 6	23
2. 8	23
2. 12	226
2. 15	342, 348
2. 16	49, 209
2. 18	292
2. 20	27
2. 21	41, 209
2. 23	56
2. 25	41, 49
2. 26	137, 149
2. 27	268
3. 4	32

MARK—continued

	PAGE
3. 5	23
3. 6	56
3. 11	93, 125, 183, 313
3. 13	179
3. 14	78, 135
3. 17	208
3. 21	16, 273, 292
3. 22	152
3. 28	110
3. 31	82
4. 1	31
4. 2	292
4. 4	36, 145
4. 5	142
4. 6	142, 345
4. 8	188, 265, 266
4. 10	16, 18, 21, 26, 270
4. 11	45
4. 12	102
4. 13	200
4. 17	63
4. 20	188
4. 22	330
4. 25	110
4. 26	320
4. 28	225, 316
4. 30	28, 257
4. 34	18
4. 35	322
4. 36	321
4. 37	52
4. 38	271
4. 39	85
4. 41	318, 335
5. 2	39, 252
5. 4	143, 241
5. 5	235
5. 7	156, 166
5. 10	65
5. 11	274
5. 12	65
5. 13	67, 313
5. 15 f.	41
5. 15	21, 70, 83
5. 18	322
5. 19	69, 83
5. 21	166, 229
5. 23	40, 95
5. 25	152
5. 26	15, 43
5. 27	15, 166, 257
5. 28	321
5. 29	58, 161
5. 30	27, 189
5. 31	161
5. 32	66, 139
5. 33	70, 83

MARK—continued		MARK—continued		MARK—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
5. 34	35, 83	8. 3	82	10. 33	240
5. 36	75, 161	8. 5	65	10. 37	36
5. 42	242	8. 7	138	10. 38	245
5. 43	138, 149	8. 12	127, 333	10. 40	324
6. 2	31	8. 16	64	10. 41	178, 255
6. 3	183	8. 17	23, 185	10. 43 f.	108
6. 4	306	8. 19	236, 316	10. 45	57, 258
6. 5	39, 321	8. 23	65, 232, 256	10. 47	166
6. 6	221	8. 27	65, 212, 293	10. 49	138
6. 7	187	8. 28	306	10. 51	95
6. 8	225, 326	8. 29	65, 80	10. 52	83
6. 9	317	8. 31	258	11. 2	70
6. 11	324, 325	8. 35	43, 108, 110	11. 5	82, 154
6. 15	306, 320	8. 38	257	11. 8	115
6. 16	324	9. 1	82, 96, 233	11. 11	17
6. 17	41, 41	9. 2	18	11. 13	87, 116, 161
6. 18	41, 41, 67	9. 3	46, 88, 89	11. 14	121, 122
6. 19	52	9. 5	149	11. 16	138
6. 20	162	9. 6	67, 117	11. 17	83
6. 21	27	9. 7	88	11. 19	93, 226
6. 22	41, 41, 55, 108, 322	9. 10	140, 182	11. 23	63
6. 23	55, 210	9. 11	49	11. 24	73
6. 24	55, 151	9. 19	33, 35, 39	11. 25	112
6. 25	55, 154, 229	9. 20	66, 312, 316	11. 30	217
6. 26	26, 335, 350	9. 21	70	11. 31 f.	326
6. 27	149	9. 22	69, 330	11. 32	67, 149, 325
6. 28	40	9. 23	182	12. 1	55
6. 31	18	9. 24	156, 189	12. 2	128, 129, 209
6. 36	117	9. 26	31	12. 4	135
6. 37	37, 98	9. 28	18, 39, 49, 243, 322	12. 5	36
6. 39	138, 231	9. 30	129, 282	12. 7	94
6. 40	187, 266, 268	9. 31	24, 63	12. 10	324
6. 41	67	9. 34	30	12. 11	21
6. 43	209	9. 35	86	12. 12	64, 342
6. 45	40, 321	9. 37	107, 209, 282, 287	12. 14	99, 286
6. 48	146	9. 38	65	12. 23	209
6. 52	23	9. 41	96, 246	12. 26	137, 217
6. 55	116	9. 42	31, 92	12. 28	31, 161, 210, 316
6. 56	93, 100, 125	9. 43	31, 149	12. 30	199
7. 2	45, 325	9. 44	292	12. 31	42
7. 4	135, 179, 259	9. 45, 47	31, 149	12. 33	140, 181, 199
7. 5	185	9. 50	43, 44	12. 34	325
7. 6	23, 206	10. 1	82, 154	12. 36, 37	41
7. 11	91	10. 11	272	12. 38	154, 227
7. 19	316	10. 13	293	12. 40	45, 317
7. 20	46	10. 14	214	12. 41	67, 137
7. 21	23	10. 16	39	13. 1	322
7. 21 f.	28	10. 17	322	13. 2	96
7. 24	285	10. 19	51	13. 3	18, 322
7. 25	241, 325	10. 20	55	13. 4	89, 112
7. 26	67	10. 21	72	13. 8	268
7. 28	156	10. 23	137	13. 9	37
7. 33	18	10. 24	82, 137	13. 11	112
7. 36	29, 246	10. 25	31	13. 12	313
7. 37	26, 83	10. 30	193	13. 13	45
8. 1 f.	117	10. 32	37	13. 14	15, 82, 312
8. 2	243			13. 15, 16	15

MARK—continued		MARK—continued		LUKE—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
13. 17	51	15. 7	83	1. 49	296
13. 18	235	15. 9	155	1. 51	23, 228
13. 19	46, 70, 96, 324, 325	15. 10	83	1. 51-3	74
13. 20	55	15. 12	183	1. 54	136
13. 22	144	15. 15	135	1. 55	238
13. 23	37	15. 16	216	1. 59	65
13. 25	89	15. 20	191	1. 62 39, 123, 130, 182	
13. 26	257	15. 22	102	1. 63	156
13. 27	25, 175, 225	15. 23	37, 65, 178	1. 65	16
13. 29	27	15. 27	179	1. 66	23, 23
13. 30	96, 196	15. 29	24	1. 68	174
13. 31	97	15. 34	72, 267	1. 70	25, 187
13. 34	75, 77	15. 36	94	1. 71	24
13. 35	235	15. 39	16, 183	1. 72	56, 136
13. 36	99	15. 41	153	1. 73	141, 324
14. 1	27, 252	15. 43	166	1. 74	24
14. 3	154	15. 44	5	1. 75	243
14. 4	70, 153	15. 44 f.	69	1. 77, 78 f.	142
14. 6	264	15. 47	168	1. 79	52
14. 7	112	16. 1	168, 278	1. 80	213
14. 8	138, 227	16. 2	187, 227, 322	2. 1	57, 139
14. 10 f.	129	16. 4	135	2. 2	32, 192
14. 14	109	16. 5	17	2. 3	57
14. 19	198, 268	16. 6	57	2. 4	47, 142, 148
14. 20	55	16. 7	330	2. 5	57
14. 21	92, 284	16. 9	187, 259	2. 8	235, 245
14. 23	209	16. 14	316	2. 11	239
14. 24	152, 271	16. 17	193	2. 12	192
14. 25	96, 112, 227, 286	16. 18	52, 96	2. 13	312
14. 28	57, 143, 146, 148	16. 19	143	2. 14	213, 264
14. 29	37, 115, 330	LUKE		2. 15	94, 175
14. 30	140	1. 1	33, 318	2. 21	40, 141, 144
14. 31	96, 97	1. 2	320	2. 22	142, 217
14. 35	66	1. 3	31, 33, 199	2. 24	142
14. 36	49, 330	1. 6	181	2. 26	113, 140, 148, 149, 176
14. 39	80	1. 7	220	2. 27	145, 151, 176, 234, 336
14. 41	24, 291, 336	1. 9	141	2. 30	14
14. 42	82	1. 14	233	2. 31	25
14. 44	41, 70, 83	1. 15	96, 180	2. 34	87
14. 47	55, 196	1. 17	23, 257	2. 35	105
14. 49	95, 330	1. 18	37, 268	2. 38	194
14. 54	54, 266	1. 20	48, 88, 89	2. 41	22, 67
14. 55	143, 166	1. 21	146	2. 42	81, 154
14. 58	161, 267	1. 26	258	2. 43	145, 166
14. 60	49	1. 29	123, 131	2. 44	212
14. 60 f.	67	1. 31	86	2. 47	66
14. 63	27	1. 33	25	2. 48	62
14. 64	233	1. 35	21, 87	2. 49	261
14. 65	241	1. 36	192	3. 2	174, 207
14. 67	166	1. 37	196	3. 5	16, 253
14. 71	137	1. 38	185	3. 6	14
14. 72	52, 137, 140	1. 39	16	3. 8	168
15. 2	183	1. 42	31	3. 9	63, 199
15. 4	50	1. 43	45, 139, 240	3. 13	151, 216
15. 6	48, 67, 93, 268	1. 44	254	3. 14	27, 57, 151
		1. 45	35, 42	3. 15	23, 123, 130
		1. 48	185		

LUKE—continued		LUKE—continued		LUKE—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
3. 16	240	6. 45	14	9. 23	76
3. 18	197, 337	6. 47	233	9. 24	43
3. 21	145	6. 47-9	79	9. 25	43, 80, 157
3. 23	321	6. 48	152	9. 27	96, 233
3. 23 f.	168	7. 1	159, 321	9. 28	231, 335
4. 1	159, 257	7. 2	89	9. 29	87, 145
4. 3, 9	183	7. 3	106	9. 32	71, 265
4. 10	141	7. 4	139	9. 33	117, 149
4. 16	27, 151	7. 6	66, 139, 157, 216	9. 34	148
4. 17	173	7. 8	64	9. 36	70, 324
4. 19	211	7. 12	335	9. 37	235, 267
4. 20	158, 200	7. 17	257	9. 38	149
4. 22	213	7. 18	195	9. 40	312
4. 23	161	7. 22	58, 154, 331	9. 41	35
4. 24	89	7. 28	30	9. 42	322
4. 25	21	7. 32	153, 179	9. 44	24
4. 26	330	7. 35	73	9. 45	102, 234
4. 29	136	7. 36, 42	209	9. 46	123, 130, 182
4. 34	13	7. 39	48	9. 47	23
4. 35	246	7. 45	17, 159, 226	9. 48	30, 31
4. 36	318	7. 47	319	9. 49	65
4. 41	183, 292, 313	7. 49	312	9. 52	134, 136, 169
4. 43	197	8. 2	53, 292	9. 54	99
5. 1	335	8. 5	36	9. 55	49
5. 3	50, 52, 154	8. 5 f.	36, 145	9. 58	109
5. 4	52, 159	8. 6 f.	197	9. 59	149, 197
5. 5	199, 272	8. 9	123, 131	9. 61	197
5. 7	141, 198, 273	8. 10	102	10. 1	41, 187, 266, 311
5. 10	89, 239	8. 12, 15	23	10. 4	77
5. 12	179	8. 16	279	10. 6	52, 208
5. 13	156	8. 17	96	10. 7	15, 194
5. 14	40, 326	8. 18	284	10. 19	97
5. 17	143	8. 23	72	10. 20	25, 313
5. 19	16, 235	8. 25	318	10. 21	194
5. 21	26, 156, 226	8. 26	216	10. 23	18
5. 22	23	8. 27	244	10. 23 f.	38
5. 24	75	8. 28	156	10. 25	157, 232
5. 33	56	8. 29	65, 67, 243	10. 27	199
5. 37	41	8. 30	298, 313	10. 29	157
5. 39	31	8. 35	208, 313	10. 35	145, 148
6. 2	195	8. 37	65	10. 37	56, 152
6. 4	137, 149	8. 40	145	10. 39	44
6. 7	55	8. 46	160, 161	11. 2	112
6. 8	186	8. 47	137	11. 3	77
6. 11	123, 130	8. 48	35	11. 4	77, 151, 200
6. 16	168	8. 50	75	11. 5	99, 320
6. 22	72, 285	8. 52	76	11. 6	109, 320
6. 24	206	8. 54	52	11. 7	99
6. 25	35, 153	8. 56	151	11. 8	284, 330
6. 29	235	9. 1	55	11. 9	75
6. 30	76, 151	9. 3	78	11. 11	247, 258
6. 31	293	9. 8	305	11. 13	25
6. 32	115	9. 9	37, 46, 62	11. 15	210
6. 37	96	9. 10	18	11. 18	116
6. 38	240, 291, 293	9. 12	52	11. 19	37
6. 39	283	9. 14	187, 266	11. 20	180
6. 42	41, 94, 139	9. 16	67	11. 21	43, 112
6. 44	293	9. 18	18, 87, 89	11. 22	112

LUKE—continued		LUKE—continued		LUKE—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
II. 24 . . .	312	13. 7 . . .	62	16. 16 . . .	58
II. 26 . . .	313	13. 11 . . .	266	16. 19 . . .	66, 247
II. 28 . . .	338	13. 16 . . .	90, 231	16. 20 . . .	86
II. 29 . . .	214	13. 19 . . .	253	16. 23 . . .	27, 168
II. 32 . . .	266	13. 22 . . .	56, 154	16. 24 . . .	225
II. 33 . . .	21	13. 23 . . .	333	16. 25 . . .	44
II. 34 . . .	112	13. 25 . . .	149, 325	16. 26 . . .	14, 226
II. 35, 36 . . .	305	13. 28 . . .	168, 226	16. 31 . . .	284
II. 39 . . .	35	13. 29 . . .	26, 172	17. 1 . . .	141, 292
II. 41 . . .	247	13. 31 . . .	194	17. 2 . . .	32, 92
II. 42 . . .	90, 211	13. 32 . . .	17, 63	17. 3 . . .	42
II. 46 . . .	246	13. 33 . . .	17	17. 4 . . .	14
II. 49 . . .	209	13. 34 . . .	42, 43, 317	17. 6 . . .	92
II. 51 . . .	182	13. 35 . . .	96, 111, 112	17. 8 . . .	49, 77
II. 53 . . .	52	14. 1 . . .	55, 145	17. 11 . . .	170, 267
II. 54 . . .	30	14. 4 . . .	39, 232	17. 12 . . .	322
12. 2 . . .	286	14. 5 . . .	209, 342	17. 17 . . .	178
12. 3 . . .	258	14. 7 . . .	137	17. 20 . . .	156
12. 5 . . .	143	14. 8 . . .	89	17. 21 . . .	216
12. 6 . . .	58	14. 8 f. . .	99	17. 27 . . .	66
12. 7 . . .	24	14. 10 . . .	100, 154	17. 31 . . .	325
12. 8 . . .	110	14. 12 . . .	112, 335	17. 33 . . .	110
12. 9 . . .	58	14. 13 . . .	112	18. 1 . . .	144
12. 11 . . .	112	14. 17 . . .	173	18. 5 . . .	266
12. 12 . . .	185, 194	14. 18 . . .	18, 21, 162, 246	18. 6 . . .	213
12. 13 . . .	149	14. 19 . . .	63	18. 7 . . .	56, 96, 235
12. 14 . . .	33	14. 23 . . .	76, 181	18. 8 . . .	56, 330
12. 15 . . .	146	14. 24 . . .	233	18. 9 . . .	153
12. 16 . . .	156	14. 26 . . .	43	18. 10 . . .	134
12. 17 . . .	117	14. 29 . . .	322	18. 11 . . .	44, 57
12. 20 . . .	239, 293	14. 31 . . .	87, 154, 241	18. 12 . . .	235
12. 22 . . .	24	14. 33 . . .	43, 209	18. 13 . . .	57, 173
12. 23 . . .	311	15. 6, 9 . . .	55	18. 14 . . .	31, 45, 216
12. 26 . . .	31	15. 7 . . .	32	18. 17, 29 f. . .	96
12. 28 . . .	227	15. 12 . . .	52, 152	18. 30 . . .	193
12. 30 . . .	181, 190, 313	15. 13 . . .	282, 286	18. 31 . . .	238
12. 31 . . .	338	15. 14 . . .	21, 268	18. 36 . . .	65, 123, 131, 161
12. 32 . . .	72	15. 16 . . .	66	18. 39 . . .	41
12. 33 . . .	42, 151	15. 18 . . .	154	18. 40 . . .	322
12. 34 . . .	23	15. 19 . . .	320, 321	18. 41 . . .	95, 99, 305
12. 35 . . .	24, 89, 190	15. 20 . . .	42, 154, 322	19. 4 . . .	16, 235
12. 36 . . .	322	15. 22 . . .	256	19. 7 . . .	273
12. 38 . . .	321	15. 23 . . .	80	19. 8 . . .	63, 210
12. 44 . . .	64, 151	15. 25 . . .	154	19. 9 . . .	305
12. 45 . . .	139	15. 26 . . .	65, 123, 130	19. 11 . . .	148, 227
12. 47 . . .	247	15. 29 . . .	62	19. 15 . . .	145, 149, 335
12. 47 f. . .	18, 246	15. 30 . . .	44	19. 17 . . .	31, 89, 345
12. 48 . . .	39, 293, 316, 324	15. 32 . . .	71	19. 20 . . .	197
12. 50 . . .	138	16. 1 . . .	158	19. 23 . . .	92
12. 52 . . .	89	16. 4 . . .	74, 235	19. 29 . . .	230
12. 54 . . .	63, 172	16. 6 . . .	154	19. 30 . . .	76
12. 56 . . .	193	16. 8 . . .	43, 208, 213, 216, 250	19. 33 . . .	22
12. 57 . . .	258	16. 9 . . .	213, 260, 293	19. 37 . . .	274
12. 58 . . .	76, 99	16. 10 . . .	31	19. 41 . . .	72
12. 59 . . .	96	16. 11 f. . .	98	19. 42 . . .	180, 331
13. 1 . . .	194	16. 13 . . .	36	19. 46 . . .	246
13. 2 . . .	31	16. 15 . . .	23, 305	19. 48 . . .	182

LUKE—continued		LUKE—continued		JOHN—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
20. 2	156	23. 2	147	I. 25	156
20. 6	137	23. 3	183	I. 27	139
20. 7	148	23. 5	155	I. 28	87
20. 9	55	23. 6	336	I. 29	151, 231
20. 10	100	23. 12	41, 43, 159, 227	I. 30	32, 37, 216, 279
20. 11 f.	227	23. 13	55	I. 32	156, 161
20. 13	322	23. 14	158	I. 33	46, 135, 325
20. 20	136, 147	23. 15	240	I. 37, 38	161
20. 22	149	23. 19	89	I. 39	183
20. 24	136	23. 26	232	I. 40	135, 273
20. 25	16, 340, 347	23. 28	338	I. 42	37
20. 26	72	23. 31	99, 293	I. 44, 45	259
20. 27	286, 316	23. 33	36	I. 47	75
20. 33	209	23. 37	183	I. 48	275
20. 35	193, 232	23. 42	241	I. 49	144, 183, 184
20. 36	79, 208	23. 45	225	I. 50	161, 345
20. 46	227	23. 49	185	I. 51	82
20. 47	45	23. 50 f.	40, 45	2. 1	210
21. 6	316	23. 55	137	2. 1 f.	27
21. 7	112	24. 1	187, 235	2. 5	106
21. 14	23, 139	24. 4	56	2. 5-8	77
21. 16	7, 209	24. 6	137	2. 6	87, 266
21. 17	89	24. 7	24, 325	2. 10	31, 37, 113
21. 18	24, 96	24. 10	168, 206	2. 11	192
21. 24	27, 89, 240	24. 15	167	2. 16	76, 77
21. 25	172, 175	24. 19	166, 185	2. 18	318
21. 28	24	24. 20	49	2. 19	76
21. 32	96	24. 21	66, 291	2. 23	171
21. 33	97	24. 22	225, 335	2. 24	41, 142, 148, 194
21. 34	23, 225	24. 25	33, 141	2. 25	139
21. 37	67, 230	24. 26	90	3. 2	259
22. 1	27, 215	24. 27	15, 43, 155	3. 7	77
22. 4	181	24. 28	138	3. 15	237, 263
22. 8	156	24. 29	52, 179	3. 16	136, 197
22. 11	109	24. 31	39, 251, 349	3. 19	45, 216
22. 15	144, 148, 241	24. 32, 38	23	3. 22	87, 170
22. 16	96	24. 33	146	3. 23	27, 87
22. 17	155	24. 35	137	3. 25	208
22. 18	96	24. 39	232, 350	3. 27	89
22. 19 f.	87	24. 44	217	3. 28	46, 326
22. 19	191	24. 45	139	3. 29	242
22. 20	143, 301	24. 47	78, 155, 316, 343	3. 30	46
22. 23	89, 123, 131			3. 32	70, 85
22. 34	113			3. 34	282
22. 40	75			4. 1	216
22. 42	115			4. 2	41
22. 45	258			4. 3	167, 170
22. 46	75			4. 5	167, 216, 256, 324
22. 49	16, 86, 98, 270			4. 6	260
22. 50	195, 196			4. 7	135
22. 53	190			4. 9	37, 169
22. 57, 60	33			4. 10	37, 135
22. 58	33, 210			4. 14	97
22. 61	137, 140			4. 16	76
22. 67, 68	96			4. 17	269
22. 69	89			4. 18	225
22. 70	183			4. 21, 23	139
22. 71	233			4. 27	272

JOHN

I. 1, 4	183
I. 3	70
I. 5	73
I. 8	95, 183
I. 9	87
I. 10	71
I. 12	139, 153
I. 13	27
I. 14	315
I. 15	32, 216, 279
I. 16	258
I. 18	254
I. 21	304

JOHN—continued		JOHN—continued		JOHN—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
4. 29, 33	283	6. 71	168	9. 25	64, 81
4. 31	67, 156, 277	7. 2	214	9. 26 f.	231
4. 32	135	7. 3	100	9. 27	78
4. 34	139	7. 4	115, 146	9. 28	46, 156
4. 35	17, 63, 76	7. 11	46	9. 29	149
4. 36	335	7. 12	36	9. 30	331
4. 38	135	7. 17	338	9. 33	90, 92
4. 41	29	7. 18	45	9. 37	46
4. 48	96	7. 22	304	10. 1	46
4. 49	140	7. 23	199, 217	10. 5	97
4. 50	324	7. 24	245	10. 7	212
4. 51	322	7. 27	112	10. 10	180
4. 52	65, 72, 226, 248	7. 30	173	10. 12	285, 342
4. 53	304	7. 34	342	10. 15	63
5. 2	18, 152, 171	7. 35	212, 226	10. 16	48
5. 6	62	7. 38	316, 320	10. 18	139
5. 8	77	7. 39	324	10. 21	26
5. 11	37, 46	7. 40	208, 234	10. 22	27, 171
5. 15	26	7. 45	46	10. 28	96, 286
5. 20	100	7. 47	335	10. 29	39
5. 24	175	7. 51	283	10. 30	37
5. 25	139	7. 52	63	10. 32	63
5. 27	49, 56	8. 7	159, 226	10. 36	183
5. 28	139	8. 9	155, 198, 268, 276	10. 37	284
5. 31	116	8. 12	96, 183	10. 39	24
5. 34	64	8. 14	334	11. 1	259
5. 35, 37	183	8. 15	177	11. 2	80
5. 36	135, 186	8. 18	42, 151	11. 6	324
5. 38	37, 45, 283	8. 19	92	11. 12	115
5. 39	37, 45	8. 22	259	11. 18	172
5. 44	13, 37, 226	8. 23	14	11. 19	16, 270
5. 45	76, 80	8. 24	26	11. 26	96
6. 6	41	8. 25	49	11. 27	183
6. 9	196	8. 26	135, 257	11. 28	62, 156
6. 10	221	8. 30	322	11. 31	135
6. 13	186	8. 38	38	11. 35	72
6. 14	26	8. 39	92, 168, 208	11. 36	66
6. 17	179	8. 44	40, 112, 177, 206, 208, 227	11. 36 f.	68
6. 21	227	8. 45	345	11. 42	268
6. 22	67	8. 51	96	11. 43	304
6. 26	26	8. 52	96, 233	11. 44	86
6. 30	37	8. 53	47	11. 47	98
6. 31	135	8. 55	216, 321	11. 48	63, 190
6. 32	70	8. 56	102, 138	11. 49	195, 196, 235
6. 33	217	8. 57 f.	168	11. 51	235
6. 35	96	8. 58	62, 140	11. 55	135
6. 37	21, 39, 97	9. 2	102, 156	11. 56	96
6. 39	39, 95, 179	9. 3	95, 304	11. 57	105
	197, 316	9. 4	110, 321	12. 1	248, 260
6. 40	139	9. 5	112, 183	12. 4	89
6. 43	76	9. 7	77	12. 8	42
6. 45	89, 234	9. 13	41	12. 9	186
6. 46	45, 304	9. 14	324	12. 10	54
6. 52	135	9. 16	26	12. 12	153, 186
6. 63	151	9. 18	67	12. 15	35
6. 64	86	9. 21	41	12. 11	81
6. 65	89	9. 22	86, 162	12. 20	135
6. 70	55			12. 23	139, 155

JOHN—continued		JOHN—continued		JOHN—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
12. 29 . . .	291	16. 21 . . .	112	19. 32 . . .	187
12. 30 . . .	268	16. 22 . . .	23	19. 35 . . .	46
12. 32 . . .	21	16. 24 . . .	89	20. 1 . . .	187
12. 38 . . .	304	16. 25 . . .	139	20. 11 . . .	274
12. 40 . . .	23, 52, 70	16. 27 . . .	41, 259	20. 12 . . .	17, 274
12. 43 . . .	216	16. 30 . . .	139, 253, 259	20. 14 . . .	167
12. 46 . . .	196	16. 32 . . .	198	20. 17 . . .	63, 76
12. 47 . . .	234	16. 33 . . .	151	20. 19 . . .	27, 187
13. 1 70, 139, 215, 266		17. 2 . . .	21, 40, 70,	20. 20 . . .	160
13. 2 . . .	139		100, 317	20. 23 . . .	63
13. 3 . . .	70	17. 3 . . .	139, 324	20. 25 . . .	97
13. 4 . . .	27	17. 5 . . .	144	20. 26 . . .	27
13. 6 . . .	63	17. 11 . . .	35	20. 29 . . .	345
13. 8 . . .	96, 97	17. 12 . . .	208	20. 30 . . .	88, 337
13. 10 . . .	139	17. 17 . . .	177	20. 31 . . .	88, 183
13. 13 . . .	230	17. 19 . . .	89	21. 2 . . .	207
13. 15 . . .	70	17. 20 . . .	87	21. 3 . . .	135
13. 18 . . .	95, 304	17. 21 . . .	35	21. 10 . . .	75
13. 19 . . .	144	17. 23 . . .	89	21. 21 . . .	304
13. 21 . . .	156	17. 24 . . .	21, 35, 100	21. 22 . . .	37, 111, 303,
13. 22 . . .	56	17. 25 . . .	35, 335		304, 321
13. 24 . . .	123, 130	17. 26 . . .	245, 304	21. 23 . . .	45, 63, 111
13. 24 f., 26 . . .	46	18. 1 . . .	172	21. 25 . . .	86, 137, 285
13. 27 . . .	30, 63	18. 3 . . .	154		
13. 29 . . .	195, 318	18. 9 58, 95, 304, 325		Acts	
13. 34 . . .	139, 225	18. 10 . . .	217, 296	I. 1 32, 56, 167, 227	
13. 38 . . .	111	18. 11 . . .	39, 96	I. 2 . . .	350
14. 1 . . .	23	18. 13 . . .	235	I. 3 . . .	143, 148, 267
14. 2 . . .	63, 135	18. 14 . . .	149	I. 4 . . .	137, 233, 326
14. 3 . . .	63, 334	18. 15 . . .	89	I. 5 193, 240, 282, 286	
14. 6 . . .	178	18. 16 . . .	274	I. 6 . . .	333
14. 9 . . .	62, 244	18. 17 . . .	210	I. 7 . . .	27
14. 12 . . .	63	18. 20 f. . . .	70	I. 10 . . .	335
14. 21 . . .	41, 46	18. 25 . . .	156	I. 12 . . .	152, 218
14. 23 . . .	56	18. 28 . . .	226	I. 13 . . .	168
14. 25 . . .	26	18. 30 . . .	87, 89, 92	I. 14 . . .	174
14. 27 . . .	23, 185	18. 32 . . .	95, 304	I. 15 . . .	338
14. 29 . . .	140	18. 33 . . .	37, 183	I. 16 . . .	33, 185
14. 31 . . .	94, 95	18. 34 . . .	42	I. 16 f. . . .	45
15. 2 . . .	39, 157, 316	18. 36 . . .	92	I. 18 . . .	213
15. 5 . . .	45	18. 37 . . .	37, 337	I. 19 . . .	151, 191
15. 6 . . .	73, 74	18. 38 . . .	37	I. 21 . . .	71
15. 8 . . .	73, 74, 139	18. 39 . . .	99, 139	I. 22 . . .	155
15. 16 . . .	129	19. 3 . . .	66	I. 24 . . .	80
15. 18 . . .	32	19. 6 . . .	182	I. 24 f. . . .	135
15. 19 . . .	345	19. 11 . . .	92	2. 1 . . .	145
15. 21 . . .	256	19. 12 . . .	156	2. 2 . . .	158
15. 24 . . .	92	19. 13 . . .	234	2. 4 . . .	176
15. 25 . . .	95, 304	19. 16 . . .	135	2. 6 . . .	161, 233
15. 27 . . .	62	19. 18 . . .	225	2. 9 f., 10 . . .	170
16. 2 . . .	139, 321, 330	19. 19 . . .	88	2. 12 . . .	44, 123
16. 3 . . .	71	19. 21 . . .	46, 76, 183	2. 14 . . .	33
16. 6 . . .	23, 345	19. 22 . . .	85	2. 17 . . .	241
16. 8 . . .	154	19. 23 . . .	27	2. 18 . . .	185
16. 12 . . .	135	19. 24 54, 95, 304, 337		2. 20 . . .	140, 174
16. 17 . . .	209	19. 25 . . .	169, 273	2. 23 . . .	24
16. 19 . . .	64	19. 28 . . .	344	2. 24 . . .	139
16. 20 . . .	253	19. 31 . . .	313, 344	2. 27 . . .	43

ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
2. 29	88, 304	5. 24	123, 130	8. 18	176, 255
2. 36	200	5. 25	88	8. 19	139
2. 37	23	5. 27 f.	66	8. 20	122
2. 38	214, 266	5. 28	172, 241	8. 22	251
2. 39	15, 239, 254	5. 29	216	8. 23	64, 161, 213,
2. 40	30	5. 32	218		253, 254
2. 45	67, 93, 125	5. 34	210	8. 24	159
3. 1	179	5. 36	147, 216, 253	8. 26	44, 156
3. 2	41, 55, 93, 180,	5. 38 f.	115	8. 27	87, 154, 157
	195	5. 39	99	8. 30	330
3. 3	65	5. 41	37, 66	8. 31	65, 116
3. 10	33, 41, 149	6. 3, 5	315	8. 35	155
3. 12	33, 141, 158	6. 4	89	8. 40	58, 144, 148
3. 13	45	6. 7	312	9. 1	166
3. 14	185	6. 8	159	9. 3	145, 171
3. 16	221, 267	6. 9	15, 170	9. 4	161
3. 17	154	6. 11	213, 315	9. 5	27
3. 18	25	6. 13	315	9. 6	49, 154, 330
3. 19	27, 52, 144	7. 2	140	9. 7	233
3. 20	105	7. 4	143	9. 9	88
3. 21	25, 174	7. 5	285	9. 11	154, 155
3. 25	208	7. 7	110	9. 12	105, 315
3. 26	146	7. 8	168	9. 13	233
4. 1	322	7. 10	206	9. 15	141, 213, 239
4. 4	315	7. 11	171	9. 16	50
4. 7	37, 65	7. 12	161, 254	9. 18	57
4. 9	212, 258	7. 14	241, 265	9. 20	183, 325
4. 11	44	7. 19	136, 141, 143	9. 24	55, 235
4. 12	153, 264	7. 20	239	9. 27	232
4. 13	55, 149	7. 21	39, 322	9. 31	241
4. 16	30, 304	7. 26	17, 65	9. 34	64, 154
4. 17	241	7. 29	253	9. 38	171, 216
4. 18	141	7. 30	213	9. 39	55, 154
4. 19	216	7. 33	56	9. 42	171, 237
4. 21	117, 182	7. 34	94, 157	10. 2	315
4. 22	216	7. 35	70, 156, 185	10. 3	248
4. 25, 27	181	7. 36	171	10. 6	206, 273
4. 29	200	7. 39	23	10. 14	196
4. 30	146, 148	7. 40	45, 316	10. 15	37
4. 32	191	7. 42	52	10. 17	123, 130, 335
4. 33	350	7. 43	28	10. 18	65, 152
4. 34	67, 81	7. 45	25	10. 20	154, 155, 330
4. 35	93, 125	7. 48	287	10. 24	55
4. 36	208, 220, 221,	7. 51	23, 220	10. 25	142
	258	7. 52	209	10. 28	30, 137
5. 3	136	7. 53	255, 266	10. 30	248
5. 7	231, 335	7. 54	23	10. 31	58
5. 9	149, 174	7. 56	25	10. 33	80, 135, 159
5. 12	24	7. 58	38	10. 34	55
5. 14	237	7. 60	72, 77	10. 36	324
5. 15	100	8. 2	56	10. 37	316
5. 16	58	8. 3	166	10. 38	72, 137, 240
5. 17	151, 152, 154	8. 5	40	10. 41	143
5. 19	27, 179	8. 6	52	10. 43	151
5. 20	57	8. 9	148, 159, 195	10. 44	176
5. 21	138, 275	8. 11	243	10. 48	65, 149, 256
5. 22	52	8. 15	106, 146	11. 1	313
5. 23	27	8. 16	159	11. 4	155

ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
II. 7	154, 161	II. 13	151, 152	II. 6	62
II. 13	137	II. 14	42	II. 11	48, 127, 131
II. 14	37	II. 16	241	II. 13	159, 171
II. 16	240	II. 17	23, 41	II. 14	321
II. 17	89, 237, 335	II. 19	66	II. 15	31, 139
II. 18	72	II. 21	53	II. 16	161, 171
II. 19	225, 271	II. 21 f.	80	II. 17	151
II. 26	72, 149, 199	II. 27	50, 158, 212	II. 18	36, 147
II. 28	21, 86	II. 1	242	II. 20	123, 130
II. 1	15, 268	II. 2	149, 181	II. 21	30, 169, 200
II. 2	240	II. 3	66	II. 22	30, 57, 161
II. 3	27, 227, 311	II. 4	258	II. 23	88
II. 4	56	II. 5	15, 217	II. 24	174, 175
II. 5	337	II. 9	23	II. 26	27
II. 6	27, 79, 260	II. 10	37, 136	II. 27	127, 157, 232
II. 8	77	II. 11	137	II. 28	36, 165, 221, 268
II. 9	331	II. 12	71	II. 31	262
II. 10	178, 225	II. 13	143	II. 2	85, 171
II. 11	200	II. 14	181	II. 3	221, 345
II. 12	206	II. 16	52	II. 4	65
II. 14	331	II. 17	40, 105, 325	II. 5	220
II. 15	148, 322	II. 19	242	II. 6	24, 27
II. 16	159, 226	II. 20	181	II. 7	27
II. 25	206	II. 21	62	II. 8	67, 237
II. 1	151, 152, 206	II. 23	24, 78, 305	II. 10	141, 318
II. 2	333	II. 27	267	II. 11	72
II. 3	39	II. 28	139	II. 14	33, 89
II. 5	246	II. 29	85, 157, 181	II. 15	86, 268
II. 8	31	II. 32	267	II. 17	232
II. 10	208	II. 36	333	II. 19	41, 66
II. 11	51, 89, 216	II. 37 f.	79	II. 21	52
II. 13	16, 170, 270	II. 38	65	II. 22	158
II. 14	27, 171	II. 39	136	II. 23	80, 158
II. 16	35, 153	II. 3	149	II. 25	15, 220
II. 19	53	II. 4	52	II. 26	30
II. 20	243	II. 5	220, 239	II. 27	80
II. 21	168	II. 6	80	II. 1	145
II. 22	28, 156, 168, 247	II. 7	282	II. 3	255
II. 23	190	II. 8, II	171	II. 4	325
II. 25	49, 137	II. 12	178, 210	II. 5	255
II. 28	149	II. 13	27	II. 7	201
II. 32	246, 325	II. 14	139, 215	II. 13	166
II. 33	80, 206	II. 15	39, 65	II. 15	155, 166
II. 36	243	II. 16	22, 56, 185	II. 16	158
II. 39	151, 217	II. 17	40, 53	II. 19	17
II. 41	96	II. 18	64, 194	II. 20	350
II. 42	277	II. 19	22, 232	II. 21	139, 143, 148
II. 46	42	II. 22	65, 78, 138	II. 22	52
II. 50	259	II. 23	221	II. 24	56, 152
II. 3	24, 337	II. 25	225	II. 26	196, 235
II. 4	36	II. 26	27	II. 27	22, 138, 235
II. 5	139	II. 29	55	II. 28	316
II. 6	182	II. 31	237	II. 30	322
II. 8	180, 220	II. 34	160, 237	II. 31	239
II. 9	141	II. 37	18	II. 32	30, 31, 198
II. 10	186, 225	II. 39	15, 65, 259, 268	II. 33	209
II. 12	41	II. 1	171	II. 34	316
		II. 4	282		

ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued		ACTS—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
19. 35	17, 162	21. 36	312	25. 14	15, 268
19. 36	88, 157, 159, 322	21. 38	183	25. 16	58, 113, 130,
19. 37	157, 159	21. 39	171, 282		140
19. 38	26	22. 2	64	25. 17	56
19. 40	138, 231	22. 3	171, 185, 210	25. 20	55, 127, 131
20. 1	143	22. 5	87, 157	25. 21	42, 148
20. 2	170	22. 6	149	25. 22	65, 91, 120
20. 3	89	22. 7	161	25. 23	15, 268
20. 4	168	22. 8	39	25. 24	312
20. 5	171	22. 9	233	25. 25	55
20. 6	171, 225	22. 10	39, 75, 149, 154	26. 1	58, 64
20. 7	17, 179, 187	22. 13	194	26. 2	169
20. 9	258	22. 14	13, 233	26. 3	149, 162, 169,
20. 11	154	22. 15	70, 85, 200		221, 316
20. 12	282	22. 16	154	26. 4	169, 200
20. 13	171	22. 17	149	26. 5	31
20. 15	17, 171, 277	22. 19	237	26. 7	33, 86, 169
20. 16	127, 149, 248	22. 22	90	26. 9	42, 147
20. 18	179, 201, 226	22. 24	138, 149, 156	26. 11	65
20. 20	137	22. 30	58, 182, 273	26. 12	218
20. 21	86	23. 1	200	26. 13	225, 235
20. 22	63	23. 3	138	26. 14	27, 161, 304
20. 24	56, 105, 246	23. 10	99, 138	26. 16	330, 339
20. 26	215, 222, 333	23. 12, 13	56	26. 17	87
20. 27	253	23. 14	42, 233	26. 17 f.	142
20. 28	78, 135	23. 15	30, 141, 144,	26. 18	221
20. 30	194		158	26. 21	169
20. 32	264	23. 18	65, 157	26. 22	221
20. 33	232	23. 19	18, 65	26. 23	260
20. 35	31, 154, 216	23. 20	30, 158	26. 25	31
21. 1	171	23. 22	326	26. 26	137, 285
21. 2	87	23. 23	195	26. 28	63, 147, 262
21. 3	66, 171	23. 26	78, 305	26. 29	46, 91
21. 4	149	23. 27	187	26. 30	182
21. 5	174	23. 30	73, 85, 86	26. 31	62
21. 8	16	23. 31	171	26. 32	90, 91, 92
21. 11	190	24. 2	267	27. 3	149
21. 12	149	24. 3	232	27. 5	171
21. 13	52, 139, 226	24. 4	344	27. 8	216
21. 14	156, 315	24. 7	24	27. 9	345
21. 15	216	24. 10	162	27. 6	86, 149
21. 16	80, 109, 206,	24. 11	17, 87, 135, 157	27. 12	30, 127
	209, 210	24. 15	86	27. 13	30, 52, 172, 232
21. 17	322	24. 16	253	27. 14	52, 268, 282
21. 18	17	24. 17	87, 157, 236	27. 15	17
21. 20	50, 66	24. 19	90, 126	27. 17	53, 99, 154
21. 21	241	24. 21	193	27. 18	56
21. 23	154	24. 22	30	27. 19	17
21. 24	24, 57, 100	24. 26	30, 154	27. 20	52, 140, 172
21. 25	181	25. 3	56	27. 21	33
21. 26	17, 57	25. 4	147	27. 22	138
21. 28	26, 69	25. 4 f.	137, 326	27. 26	53
21. 29	66	25. 7	322	27. 27	51, 137, 172,
21. 30	27, 66	25. 8	169		225
21. 31	199	25. 9	155	27. 29	53, 99
21. 32	154	25. 10	30, 88, 169	27. 30	158
21. 33	65, 123, 130	25. 11	62, 140	27. 33	65, 159
21. 34	198, 322	25. 13	80, 157	27. 34	226, 274

ACTS—continued		ROMANS—continued		ROMANS—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
27. 37	201	2. 18	151	6. 14	177
27. 38	233	2. 19	137, 148	6. 15	72
27. 39	127	2. 23	253	6. 16	334
27. 40	17, 154	2. 26	40	6. 19	185
27. 41	65	2. 27	187, 267	6. 20	238
27. 42	139	3. 1	22	6. 23	27
27. 43	52, 72, 235	3. 4	105, 145, 148	7. 2	212
27. 44	36, 272	3. 5	98, 152, 211	7. 3	141, 215, 239
28. 2, 3	56	3. 6	318	7. 4	143, 239
28. 6	89	3. 8	14	7. 5	187
28. 7	15	3. 9	56, 287	7. 6	213
28. 11	243	3. 11 f.	151	7. 7	92, 339
28. 12	244	3. 20	177, 196, 287	7. 7 f., 9 f.	39
28. 13	172, 225	3. 22	211, 212	7. 15	45
28. 14	72, 171	3. 24	190, 221	7. 16	115
28. 16	58	3. 25	180, 190, 253,	7. 17	37
28. 17	24, 55, 151		263, 268	7. 18	140
28. 19	158	3. 26	15, 143, 212,	7. 20	115
28. 22	89		222, 260	7. 24	214
28. 23	217	3. 28	137, 240	8. 1	187
28. 24	36	3. 29 f.	181	8. 2	39
28. 26	97	4. 1	98, 168	8. 3	13, 253
28. 27	23	4. 3	253	8. 4	285
28. 28	14	4. 4, 5	58	8. 11	115
28. 30	72	4. 7	296	8. 12	141, 238
		4. 8	96	8. 13, 14	240
		4. 11	143, 211, 214,	8. 17	335
			267	8. 18	79, 350
I. 1	211	4. 13	140, 175, 211	8. 21	213
I. 2	33	4. 14	15, 260	8. 22	200
I. 4	260	4. 15	344	8. 23	24, 41, 42
I. 5	28, 335	4. 16	15, 47, 143,	8. 24	241
I. 7	174, 206, 234		260	8. 25	267
I. 9	137	4. 17	246	8. 26	182, 194, 268,
I. 11	143, 231	4. 18	143, 226		320
I. 14	169, 239	4. 20	242, 266	8. 27	268
I. 15	247, 268, 302	4. 24	58, 237	8. 28	151
I. 16	151	4. 25	268	8. 29	143, 215
I. 17	211	5. 2	70, 262	8. 32	331
I. 19	14	5. 3	173, 253	8. 34	17, 26, 86, 151
I. 20	14, 143, 148, 240	5. 5	23, 173	8. 35	211
I. 21	23	5. 7	86, 173, 180	8. 37	265
I. 22	23, 146	5. 9, 11	253	8. 39	187, 197
I. 24	141, 262	5. 12	272	9. 3	65, 91, 146
I. 25	89	5. 13	177	9. 4	27
I. 26	213	5. 15	240	9. 5	15
I. 26 f.	339	5. 17	220, 240	9. 6	47
I. 30	234	5. 18	214	9. 7	345
2. 1	35, 151, 253	5. 20	344	9. 8	58, 313
2. 3	35, 37	6. 1	72	9. 11	268, 334
2. 4	14, 63	6. 4	213, 221	9. 17	45, 105
2. 5	213	6. 5	220	9. 20	33, 153, 226, 338
2. 7	153, 212	6. 6	141	9. 21	36
2. 8	317	6. 10	238	9. 22	14
2. 13	177	6. 11	137, 148, 246,	9. 22 f.	213
2. 14	40, 112, 185, 313		264	9. 25	261, 282
2. 15	23	6. 12	76	9. 30	221
2. 17	39, 253, 343	6. 13	42, 76	9. 33	237
2. 17 f.	115				

ROMANS—continued		ROMANS—continued		1 CORINTHIANS—contd.	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
10. 1	191	14. 9	71	3. 10	13
10. 6	135	14. 11	333	3. 13	49
10. 9	162	14. 13	140	3. 15	41
10. 10	291	14. 14	46, 137	3. 18	147
10. 11	237	14. 15	46, 242	3. 21	265
10. 14 f.	99	14. 16	189	4. 2	265
10. 17	330	14. 17	176, 221	4. 3	31, 139
10. 17 f.	283	14. 19	16	4. 4	42, 253
10. 18	338, 347	14. 20	267	4. 5	14, 111
10. 19	225, 282	14. 21	141, 253	4. 6	182, 271
10. 20	58, 156, 264	14. 22	265	4. 8	72, 91
11. 2	261	15. 2	72	4. 13	321
11. 6	318	15. 6	252	4. 15	115, 330
11. 8, 10	141	15. 7	335	4. 18	158
11. 11	190	15. 12	181	4. 20	265
11. 12	175	15. 13	145, 265	4. 21	241
11. 12 f.	181	15. 15	30, 73	5. 2	95
11. 13	149	15. 16	211	5. 5	46
11. 15	175	15. 19	221	5. 9	73
11. 17	115	15. 23	141	5. 10	318
11. 20	242	15. 24	112	5. 11	73, 149
11. 20 f.	99	15. 26	170, 209	5. 12	240
11. 21	221	16. 1	187	5. 13	194
11. 22	318	16. 2	41, 265	6. 1	274
11. 24	18	16. 3 ff.	47	6. 2	31, 253
11. 25	111, 238	16. 10	169	6. 3	283
11. 26	200	16. 11	15, 169	6. 5	23
11. 27	221	16. 13	77	6. 6	45
11. 28	268	16. 15	221	6. 7	43, 57
11. 30 f.	243	16. 16	212	6. 8	45, 51
11. 32	266	16. 18	23	6. 11	53
11. 33	33	16. 25	243	6. 15	24
11. 36	267	16. 27	343	6. 16	253
12. 1	28, 267			6. 18	216
12. 2	57, 240	1 CORINTHIANS		6. 19	23
12. 3	143	1. 5, 7	265	6. 20	333
12. 5	15, 198, 268	1. 8	186	7. 2	28, 191
12. 6	333	1. 9	267	7. 5	13, 95, 321
12. 7	177, 302	1. 10	89, 265	7. 6	268
12. 9 f.	177	1. 11	16, 169	7. 7	36, 191
12. 10	239	1. 12	38	7. 8	321
12. 15	78	1. 13	270	7. 9	79
12. 18	14	1. 18	212, 217, 239	7. 10	95
12. 19	173	1. 22	55	7. 12	37
12. 21	62	1. 25	14, 21	7. 13	325
13. 1	52, 152	1. 26	282	7. 14	262, 313, 318
13. 3	14, 22, 319, 342	1. 27 f.	14, 21, 55	7. 15	262, 263, 265
13. 5	148	1. 28	55, 151	7. 17	75, 262, 264
13. 8	140	1. 29	105, 196	7. 18, 22, 24	264
13. 9	42, 182, 197	2. 2	335	7. 21	76
13. 11	45, 139, 335	2. 3	37	7. 25	158
13. 12	52	2. 5	253	7. 26	140
13. 13	76, 158, 243	2. 6	264	7. 28	74, 219, 238
14. 1	22	2. 8	70, 99	7. 29	95, 303
4. 2	36, 137	2. 13	211, 234	7. 31	51
4. 4	57, 153, 238	3. 2	246, 330	7. 34	220
14. 5	36	3. 4	112	7. 35	14, 151
14. 6	238	3. 8	182, 191	7. 36	75, 115, 116

1 CORINTHIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
7. 37 . . .	45
8. 4, 5 . . .	175
8. 6 . . .	325
8. 7 . . .	187
8. 10 . . .	143, 153
8. 12 . . .	189
8. 13 . . .	96
9. 1 . . .	283
9. 4 f. . .	139, 283
9. 5 . . .	246
9. 8 . . .	283
9. 10 . . .	141
9. 11 . . .	115, 190
9. 12 . . .	211, 231
9. 15 . . .	100, 135, 139, 265
9. 17 . . .	225, 247
9. 18 . . .	100, 143
9. 19 . . .	30, 157, 215
9. 20 . . .	169
9. 21 . . .	100, 215
9. 25 . . .	46
9. 26 . . .	158, 285
10. 3 . . .	186
10. 4 . . .	67
10. 5 . . .	30, 253
10. 6 . . .	67, 143
10. 7 . . .	135
10. 8 . . .	262
10. 11 . . .	25, 46, 67
10. 14 . . .	173
10. 16 . . .	324
10. 17 . . .	231, 303
10. 18 . . .	215
10. 20 . . .	215, 313
10. 24 . . .	197
10. 27 . . .	151
10. 30 . . .	40, 241
10. 33 . . .	151, 190
11. 5 . . .	21, 186, 220
11. 6 . . .	57, 140
11. 13 . . .	88, 149, 253
11. 14, 15 . . .	239
11. 18 . . .	62
11. 21 . . .	36
11. 22, 25 . . .	143
11. 23 . . .	37, 259
11. 26 . . .	111, 175
11. 31 . . .	42
11. 34 . . .	94, 112, 261
12. 2 . . .	93, 125
12. 6 . . .	265
12. 8 . . .	36, 267
12. 8 f. . .	197
12. 11 . . .	18, 191
12. 13 . . .	247
12. 15, 16 . . .	210
12. 22 . . .	31

1 CORINTHIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
12. 23 . . .	30, 137
12. 24 . . .	56
12. 28 . . .	36, 55
12. 31 . . .	221
13. 1 . . .	246
13. 2 . . .	116, 200
13. 3 . . .	100
13. 13 . . .	177
14. 4 . . .	176
14. 5 . . .	135, 138, 216, 321
14. 7 . . .	151, 337
14. 9 . . .	89, 151
14. 10 . . .	125, 127, 175
14. 11 . . .	264
14. 15 . . .	241
14. 16 . . .	14
14. 18 . . .	160
14. 19 . . .	32
14. 20 . . .	177, 220, 239
14. 26 . . .	112
14. 27 . . .	31
14. 28 . . .	116
14. 32 . . .	313
14. 34 . . .	58
14. 35 . . .	261
14. 39 . . .	140
15. 2 . . .	321
15. 3 . . .	5, 69
15. 7 . . .	200
15. 8 . . .	321
15. 9 . . .	31
15. 11 . . .	46
15. 12 . . .	210
15. 18 . . .	330
15. 19 . . .	228
15. 22 . . .	262
15. 24 . . .	112
15. 25 . . .	111
15. 26 . . .	63
15. 28 . . .	265
15. 32 . . .	63, 239
15. 37 . . .	86, 125, 127
15. 38 . . .	191
15. 39 . . .	196
15. 41 . . .	172, 265
15. 42 . . .	180, 291
15. 45 . . .	253
15. 47 . . .	175
15. 49 . . .	333
15. 51 . . .	287
15. 58 . . .	265
16. 2 . . .	187
16. 3 . . .	27, 135, 267
16. 4 . . .	139, 141
16. 5 f. . .	63
16. 6 . . .	322
16. 9 . . .	82

1 CORINTHIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
16. 15 . . .	325
16. 17 . . .	190
16. 21 . . .	186
16. 22 . . .	122
2 CORINTHIANS	
1. 3 . . .	296
1. 4 . . .	200
1. 6 . . .	190
1. 8 . . .	141
1. 9 . . .	42, 70, 89, 175
1. 10 . . .	28
1. 15 f. . .	257
1. 17 . . .	14, 102
1. 19 . . .	349
1. 20 . . .	14
1. 22 . . .	23
1. 23 . . .	191
1. 24 . . .	303
2. 1 . . .	45, 141, 238
2. 2 . . .	45
2. 4 . . .	267
2. 6 . . .	30, 46, 311
2. 7 . . .	46, 242
2. 11 . . .	282
2. 12 . . .	82, 171
2. 13 . . .	70, 142, 146, 148, 219, 238, 242
2. 14 . . .	53
2. 15 . . .	239
2. 16 . . .	36
2. 17 . . .	158
3. 2 . . .	23
3. 3 . . .	214, 287
3. 5 . . .	303
3. 10 f. . .	151
3. 11 . . .	267
3. 13 . . .	144
3. 15 . . .	23, 112
3. 16 . . .	113
3. 17 . . .	344
3. 17 f. . .	174
3. 18 . . .	218
4. 3 . . .	264
4. 4 . . .	218
4. 6 . . .	23
4. 8 . . .	56
4. 10 . . .	24
4. 10 f. . .	167
4. 11 . . .	217
4. 13 . . .	194
4. 15 . . .	30
4. 16 . . .	190, 243
4. 17 . . .	14
4. 18 . . .	323
5. 1 . . .	214, 218
5. 4 . . .	272
5. 5 . . .	214

2 CORINTHIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
5. 7	267
5. 10	201, 302, 333
5. 11	63
5. 12	343
5. 13	238
5. 14	211
5. 19	40, 89, 137, 175
5. 20	158
6. 3	343
6. 4	28
6. 7	180, 186, 207
6. 8	267
6. 11	23, 82
6. 13	245
6. 14	89
6. 17	76
6. 18	253
7. 3	23
7. 5	28, 70, 343
7. 9	72, 260, 268
7. 11	50, 140, 148
	220, 239, 268, 330
7. 12	144
7. 13	29, 258
7. 15	211
8. 1	264
8. 2, 3	268
8. 6	143
8. 7	95, 259
8. 8	14, 217
8. 9	71, 72
8. 10 f.	140
8. 11	141, 144
8. 12	268, 320
8. 13	95
8. 14	46, 105
8. 15	13
8. 17	30, 73
8. 18	73, 343
8. 19	217
8. 22	29, 73, 162
8. 24	343
9. 1	140
9. 2	30, 170, 190, 259
9. 3	73, 89, 187
9. 4	95, 99
9. 5	73
9. 7	63
9. 11, 13	343
9. 11 f.	219
10. 2	140, 146
10. 3	157
10. 4	238, 274, 343
10. 6	139
10. 7	15, 137, 268
10. 8	339
10. 9	267, 321
10. 10	293

2 CORINTHIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
10. 12	42, 160
10. 13	324
10. 14	285, 287
10. 15	343
10. 16	216
10. 18	45
11. 1	91, 330
11. 2	55
11. 3	99
11. 4	197
11. 5	137, 250
11. 6	343
11. 8	27
11. 9	187
11. 10	178
11. 14	300
11. 15	321
11. 16	137
11. 18	177
11. 20	256
11. 21	70, 137, 268
11. 23	28, 250, 271
11. 24	18
11. 25	70, 72
11. 26	181, 212
11. 29	38
11. 31	151
12. 1	88
12. 2	25, 46, 162, 178,
	221, 260
12. 3, 5	46
12. 4	88
12. 10	28, 112
12. 11	90, 250
12. 12	58
12. 14	52, 139, 226
12. 16	157
12. 17	70
12. 18	173, 283
12. 19	62, 190
12. 20	28, 58, 99,
	283, 302
12. 21	322
13. 4	260
13. 5	321
13. 9	45, 112, 195
13. 12	75
13. 13	211
GALATIANS	
I. 1	267
I. 4	186
I. 5	25
I. 6 f.	197
I. 7	153, 321
I. 8 f.	122
I. 9	115
I. 10	92

GALATIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
I. 13	186, 191
I. 16	264
I. 22	212, 221
I. 23	81, 151
2. 3	157
2. 4	99, 100
2. 4 f.	343
2. 5	220
2. 6	49, 196, 343
2. 7	211, 247
2. 9	37
2. 10	95
2. 11	58
2. 12	144, 259
2. 13	136
2. 14	63
2. 15	181, 220
2. 17	330
2. 18	40, 115
2. 20	246, 264
3. 1	33, 187
3. 2	259
3. 5	53
3. 7	208, 260
3. 8	260
3. 9	168, 260
3. 10	136, 260
3. 14	168, 253
3. 15	337
3. 16	158
3. 17	143
3. 18	70
3. 19	58, 111, 267
3. 21	152
3. 22	21
3. 23	79, 144, 350
3. 28	334
3. 29	168
4. 6	23, 345
4. 10	55
4. 11	99, 325
4. 13	30, 267
4. 15	92
4. 17	194
4. 18	55, 145
4. 19	111
4. 20	56, 65, 91, 120
4. 23	70
4. 24	187
4. 25	182
4. 26 f.	47
4. 27	31
4. 30	96, 97
5. 1	242
5. 2	246
5. 4	63, 73, 74
5. 5	214, 317
5. 11	92

GALATIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
5. 12 . . .	57
5. 13 . . .	239
5. 14 . . .	42, 182, 201
5. 16 . . .	75
5. 18 . . .	240
5. 20 f. . .	28
5. 21 . . .	325
5. 25 . . .	75
5. 26 . . .	94
6. 4 . . .	190
6. 6 . . .	200
6. 8 . . .	190
6. 9 . . .	159, 182, 285
6. 10 . . .	14
6. 11 . . .	50, 73
6. 12 . . .	63, 100, 242
6. 14 . . .	149, 175
6. 16 . . .	110
6. 17 . . .	235

EPHESIANS

I. 1 . . .	152, 263
I. 4 . . .	55
I. 6 . . .	180, 218
I. 10 . . .	271
I. 12 . . .	143
I. 14 . . .	215
I. 15 . . .	263
I. 15 f. . .	28
I. 16 . . .	159
I. 17 . . .	100, 128
I. 18 . . .	23, 100, 218
I. 19 . . .	218
I. 20 . . .	26
2. 2 . . .	208
2. 3 . . .	28
2. 5 . . .	176, 240
2. 8 . . .	45, 176
2. 10 . . .	190
2. 12 . . .	27, 215, 235, 243
2. 13 . . .	226
2. 14 . . .	215, 242
2. 15 . . .	265
2. 16 . . .	43
2. 20 . . .	181
2. 21 . . .	200
3. 4 . . .	187
3. 5 . . .	243
3. 6 . . .	215
3. 8 . . .	31, 139, 200
3. 11 . . .	25
3. 12 . . .	263
3. 15 . . .	175
3. 16 . . .	129, 256
3. 17 . . .	23, 230
3. 18 . . .	55
4. 1 . . .	37, 230, 343
4. 4 . . .	263

EPHESIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
4. 9 . . .	182, 215
4. 10 . . .	25, 55
4. 11 . . .	36
4. 13 . . .	111, 218
4. 14 . . .	89
4. 16 . . .	190, 200
4. 17 . . .	75
4. 18 . . .	23, 89, 235
4. 21 . . .	167, 178
4. 22 . . .	148
4. 24 . . .	268
4. 26 . . .	76
4. 28 . . .	81, 151
4. 29 . . .	25, 196, 274, 287
5. 2-8 . . .	75
5. 4 . . .	90, 282
5. 5 . . .	47, 85, 157, 196, 287, 303
5. 11 . . .	39
5. 12 . . .	40
5. 13 . . .	55
5. 14 . . .	180
5. 18 . . .	76, 240
5. 19 . . .	23, 43
5. 28 . . .	24
5. 32 . . .	37
5. 33 . . .	15, 95
6. 3 . . .	100
6. 5 . . .	23
6. 7 . . .	158
6. 8 . . .	333
6. 9 . . .	25
6. 10 . . .	235, 336
6. 11 . . .	28, 144
6. 14 . . .	24
6. 16 . . .	186
6. 17 . . .	14
6. 18 . . .	267
6. 18 f. . .	270
6. 19 . . .	129
6. 21 . . .	344
6. 22 . . .	23, 73

PHILIPPIANS

I. 3 . . .	200, 207
I. 4 . . .	30
I. 5 . . .	179, 187, 256
I. 6 . . .	39, 45, 246
I. 7 . . .	23, 39, 143
I. 8 . . .	137
I. 9 . . .	29
I. 10 . . .	89, 143, 151
I. 11 . . .	232, 247
I. 12 . . .	15
I. 14 . . .	222, 242
I. 16 . . .	36
I. 17 . . .	137
I. 18 . . .	241, 330, 333

PHILIPPIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
I. 22 . . .	117, 264
I. 23 . . .	29, 143
I. 24 . . .	140
I. 26 . . .	191
2. 1 . . .	316
2. 2 . . .	189
2. 3 . . .	44, 52
2. 4 . . .	100, 197
2. 6 . . .	21, 140, 226
2. 7 . . .	220
2. 11 . . .	256, 302
2. 12 . . .	42
2. 15 . . .	175
2. 18 . . .	246
2. 20 . . .	270
2. 23 . . .	15, 43, 270
2. 27 . . .	216
2. 28 . . .	30, 73, 160
2. 30 . . .	218, 239
3. 2 . . .	162
3. 3 . . .	239
3. 4 . . .	157
3. 5 . . .	220
3. 6 . . .	151
3. 7 . . .	246
3. 8 . . .	14, 52, 137, 338
3. 9 . . .	191, 221
3. 10 . . .	136, 141, 142
3. 11 . . .	221
3. 13 . . .	137, 148, 250
3. 16 . . .	75, 78
3. 20 . . .	190, 206
3. 21 . . .	41, 141, 214, 220
4. 3 . . .	180, 335
4. 5 . . .	14, 226
4. 6 . . .	241
4. 7 . . .	23
4. 10 . . .	140, 270, 272
4. 11 . . .	37, 146, 303
4. 14 . . .	159, 189
4. 17 . . .	303
4. 18 . . .	15, 140

COLOSSIANS

I. 2 . . .	181, 263
I. 3 . . .	28, 206, 206, 228
I. 4 . . .	187
I. 5 . . .	180, 213, 252
I. 6 . . .	17, 55
I. 7 . . .	259
I. 9 . . .	17, 159, 247
I. 10 . . .	55
I. 12 . . .	154, 206
I. 13 . . .	214
I. 15 . . .	200, 210
I. 16 . . .	14, 70, 253, 256
I. 17 . . .	40
I. 18 . . .	41, 89

COLOSSIANS—*contd.*

	PAGE
I. 20	43, 212
I. 21	89
I. 22	267, 331
I. 23	200
2. 1	50
2. 2	23, 206, 211, 230
2. 4	95, 102
2. 5	189, 239
2. 6	75, 167
2. 8	153
2. 12	180, 218
2. 13	39
2. 14	219, 242
2. 15	40, 51, 55, 265
2. 16	27
2. 18	246
2. 20	57, 251
2. 22	181
3. 1 f.	14
3. 5	47, 311
3. 6	208
3. 8	25
3. 9	76, 94
3. 12	28
3. 13	44, 234
3. 14	212, 317
3. 15	23, 264
3. 16	23, 43, 230
3. 17	206
3. 18	90
3. 20	263
3. 23	158
4. 2	265
4. 3	154, 212
4. 5	75
4. 7	15
4. 8	23, 73
4. 12	57
4. 16	95
4. 18	189

1 THESSALONIANS

I. 1	206
I. 3	190, 211, 218
I. 5	50, 175
I. 7	25, 182
I. 8	182, 187, 221, 286
I. 9	49, 137
I. 10	180
2. 3	270
2. 4	23, 147, 247
2. 6	259
2. 8	231
2. 9	144
2. 10	137, 226, 239
2. 12	143
2. 14	212
2. 16	143, 189

1 THESSALONIANS—

<i>continued</i>	PAGE
2. 19	190
3. 3	141
3. 5	99, 143, 266
3. 7	190
3. 8	116
3. 10	143, 189
3. 11	41
3. 13	23, 189
4. 1	182
4. 3	139
4. 6	141
4. 7	263
4. 9	139, 143
4. 12	75
4. 14	167, 267
4. 16	41
5. 1	27
5. 3	112
5. 5	208
5. 8	157
5. 9	55
5. 10	100
5. 11	187
5. 13	43
5. 15	78, 98
5. 23	41
5. 27	149

2 THESSALONIANS

I. 4	264
I. 8	213, 316
I. 10	57
I. 12	105
2. 2	137, 158
2. 3	208
2. 4	149, 151
2. 6	21, 151
2. 7	21
2. 15	77, 247
2. 16	41
2. 17	23, 189
3. 5	23, 189, 211, 212
3. 8	144
3. 9	25, 303
3. 10	190
3. 11	62, 161
3. 13	159
3. 14	187
3. 15	161
3. 16	41

1 TIMOTHY

I. 1	206
I. 3	95
I. 3 f.	343
I. 4	216, 221
I. 6	235
I. 7	49

1 TIMOTHY—*contd.*

	PAGE
I. 9	45
I. 10	197
I. 12	80
I. 13	150, 151, 154
I. 17	25
I. 18	30
I. 19	270
I. 20	210
2. 6	42, 258, 271
2. 10, 15	267
3. 1	232
3. 13	263
3. 14	30
3. 15	303
3. 16	57
4. 5	189, 267
4. 8	274
4. 13	111, 321, 344
4. 14	76, 267
4. 15	265, 303
5. 13	160, 322
5. 19	321
5. 22	76
5. 24	195
6. 2	39
6. 4	270
6. 5	235
6. 8	58
6. 12, 14	77
6. 15	243
6. 17	193
6. 20	33, 77
6. 21	235, 270

2 TIMOTHY

I. 4	189
I. 9	27
I. 13	185, 221
I. 14	77
2. 2	77, 267
2. 3	77
2. 7	111
2. 10	232
2. 12	115
2. 14	78, 272
2. 16	77
2. 18	235, 270
2. 20	36
2. 22	269
2. 25	98, 99, 129, 178
2. 26	194, 266
3. 1	179
3. 4	216
3. 7	178
3. 8	270
3. 11	50
3. 15	62, 176, 263
3. 16	199

2 TIMOTHY—*contd.*

	PAGE
4. 2	77
4. 3	139
4. 5	37, 77
4. 6	37
4. 7	84
4. 8	213, 228
4. 9	30
4. 13	171
4. 15	227
4. 17	313

TITUS

1. 1	178
1. 2	27, 325
1. 5	37
1. 12	192
1. 15	190
1. 16	146
2. 4	101
2. 7	270
2. 9	192
2. 10	217
2. 11	186
2. 12	193
2. 13	181
3. 5	190, 324
3. 9	28
3. 14	266

PHILEMON

5	189, 256
7	267
8, 9	157
12	73
13	65, 91
14	13
19	95, 191

HEBREWS

1. 2	25
1. 3	214
1. 4	46, 181
1. 5	209
1. 6	200
1. 9	215
1. 13	111, 209
2. 1	52
2. 4	190
2. 6	234, 318
2. 8	145, 146
2. 10	80, 149, 267
2. 13	89
2. 14	231, 232
2. 15	45, 140, 144
2. 17	143, 221
2. 18	253
3. 1 f.	161
3. 5	87

HEBREWS—*contd.*

	PAGE
3. 6	311
3. 8	23
3. 10	193
3. 11	333
3. 12	146, 213
3. 13	42
3. 14	115
3. 15	23
3. 16	267
3. 18	86, 137
4. 1	99
4. 2	58
4. 3	153, 157, 333
4. 4	17, 52
4. 7	23, 261
4. 10	52
4. 11	257
4. 12	216
4. 13	274, 331
4. 14	232
5. 1	221
5. 7	18, 251
5. 8	157
5. 11	28, 220
5. 12	89, 139, 141, 146
5. 13	213
6. 1	28, 215
6. 2	218
6. 3	28, 114
6. 4 f., 5	233
6. 9	28, 247
6. 10	136
6. 11	28
6. 12	232, 331
6. 13	80, 268
6. 14	157, 336
6. 15	232
6. 16	268
6. 17	14, 241, 253
6. 18	72, 153, 232
7. 1	45, 168
7. 2 f.	159
7. 4	50
7. 5	157
7. 6	70, 168
7. 7	21
7. 8	152
7. 9	70, 136, 151
7. 13	146
7. 15	29, 115
7. 16	268
7. 18	14, 190
7. 20 f.	36
7. 23	30
7. 23 f.	36, 143
7. 24	148, 186
7. 26	147
7. 27	191

HEBREWS—*contd.*

	PAGE
8. 1	175
8. 2	27, 324
8. 3	109, 117, 143
8. 5	70
8. 6	232
8. 10	23
8. 11	30
8. 12	96
9. 1	186
9. 2	27, 47
9. 2 f.	31
9. 3	27, 269
9. 5	21, 270
9. 7	235
9. 8	212
9. 9	47, 268, 311
9. 12	267
9. 24 f.	27, 135
9. 25	241
9. 26	90, 272
10. 1	293
10. 2	92, 143, 159, 318
10. 7	141
10. 12	269
10. 13	111
10. 15	143
10. 16	23
10. 17	97
10. 19	212
10. 22	23
10. 25	42, 43, 190
10. 26	143, 178, 269
10. 27	195
10. 29	220
10. 31	140
10. 33	45, 215
10. 34	148
10. 37	50
10. 38	43
10. 39	208
11. 1	307
11. 2	157
11. 3	25, 143, 287
11. 4	146
11. 5	141
11. 11	220
11. 12	45
11. 15	46, 52, 139, 259
11. 17	65
11. 21	225
11. 23	17, 225
11. 27	320
11. 29	17
11. 32	157
11. 33	47, 232
11. 34	259
11. 36	197
11. 40	55

HEBREWS— <i>contd.</i>		JAMES— <i>continued</i>		1 PETER— <i>continued</i>	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
12. 1	347	2. 10	110	1. 20	27
12. 3	221	2. 11, 12	177	1. 22	77
12. 7	174, 267	2. 14	114, 146, 173	1. 24	73
12. 9	334	2. 15	114, 159	2. 1	28, 200
12. 10	36, 151	2. 16	210	2. 4	258
12. 11	151	2. 17	114	2. 6	97, 237, 292
12. 15	99, 213	2. 19	184	2. 12	213, 260
12. 16	307	2. 20	33	2. 13	52, 200
12. 17	85, 157	2. 25	241	2. 14	267
12. 18	232	3. 1	287	2. 15	148, 226
12. 23	350	3. 2	45, 174	2. 16	52
12. 25	175	3. 3	24, 144	2. 17	77
12. 26	225	3. 4	31	2. 20	115
12. 27	158, 182	3. 6	183	2. 24	22
13. 2	159, 226	3. 7	240	2. 25	52
13. 3	234	3. 8	316	3. 1	100, 192, 217
13. 4	27	3. 10	90	3. 3	186
13. 5	58, 96, 97, 343	3. 11	18	3. 5	192
13. 6	148	3. 13	49	3. 8	218
13. 7	47	3. 14	23	3. 13	87, 114
13. 8	25	3. 18	215, 238	3. 14	212, 245
13. 10	139	4. 2	143, 147, 148	3. 19	153
13. 11	27, 190, 267	4. 2 f.	55	3. 20	153, 254, 267
13. 13	198, 340, 347	4. 8	23	4. 3	28
13. 16	57, 242	4. 9, 10	76	4. 5	139, 181, 226
13. 17	87, 158	4. 11	177	4. 6	102, 291
13. 18	62, 75	4. 12	153	4. 11	25, 101, 158
13. 18 f.	28	4. 13	192	4. 12	158, 242
13. 19	30	4. 14	16	4. 13	320
13. 20	186	4. 15	45, 114, 144	4. 14	126, 187
13. 21	25	4. 17	39	4. 15	76
13. 22	267	5. 3	179, 264	4. 17	126, 139, 217
13. 22 f.	28	5. 4	258	4. 18	13, 22
13. 23	30, 162	5. 5, 6	23	5. 1	215, 217
13. 24	15	5. 7	18, 77, 111	5. 2	77
JAMES		5. 8	23, 77	5. 3	139
1. 1	78, 186	5. 9	27	5. 4	213
1. 3	14	5. 10	246	5. 8	206
1. 4	89, 101	5. 12	75, 76	5. 9	55, 238
1. 6	175	5. 13, 14	210	5. 10	39, 154, 186, 190
1. 7	76	5. 15	89	5. 11	25
1. 11	73	5. 16	56, 106	5. 12	256
1. 12	213, 296	5. 17	52, 142, 291	2 PETER	
1. 13	215, 258	5. 19	115, 210	1. 1	181, 220
1. 13-15	63	1 PETER		1. 4	215
1. 18	195	1. 1	170, 235	1. 5	45
1. 19	85, 143	1. 2	262	1. 7	192
1. 24	49, 73	1. 3	190	1. 8	217
1. 25	177, 213, 218	1. 4	25, 213, 236	1. 9	190
1. 26	147	1. 5	179	1. 10	160
1. 27	139, 215	1. 6	322	1. 12	157
2. 1	28	1. 7	14, 153	1. 17	174, 183
2. 2	23, 115	1. 11	48	1. 19	23, 52, 111, 159
2. 3	37	1. 13	24, 77	1. 20	196
2. 4	213	1. 16	86	1. 21	258
2. 5	55, 238	1. 17	77, 247	2. 3	325
2. 6	13, 23	1. 18	186	2. 6	215, 240

2 PETER—continued		1 JOHN—continued		REVELATION—contd.	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
2. 7	217	5. 6	226, 267	2. 14	151, 232, 246
2. 12-5	158	5. 8	254	2. 15	232
2. 13	87	5. 10	267	2. 16	238, 239
2. 14	215, 233	5. 14	55	2. 17	325
2. 15	213	5. 15	116	2. 19	190
2. 16	192	5. 16	281	2. 20	314
2. 19	240	5. 20	13, 44	2. 22	116
2. 20	62	5. 21	42, 77	2. 24	187
2. 21	90, 149			2. 25	77
2. 22	16, 54	2 JOHN		2. 28	70
3. 1	192	1	178	3. 2	79, 89
3. 2	217, 218, 349	3	178, 304	3. 3	69, 115, 248
3. 4	17, 62	4	178, 209	3. 8	325
3. 5	175, 267	6	45	3. 9	100, 148, 325
3. 6	222	7	81, 153, 162	3. 10	345
3. 10	174	8	316	3. 12	97, 171, 314
3. 11	48	9	45, 51	3. 14	14, 210
3. 14	239	12	267	3. 15	91
3. 16	39	13	313	3. 16	79, 345
				3. 17	183
1 JOHN		3 JOHN		3. 18	101, 149
1. 1	232	1, 3	178	3. 19	173
1. 4	28, 89	2	270	3. 20	115, 335
1. 5	233	4	29, 161, 191	4. 1	315
2. 1	72	6	80, 159	4. 3	185
2. 3	45, 139	8	178	4. 4	23
2. 5	88	9	40	4. 5	311
2. 6	139, 146	12	57, 178	4. 8	266, 314
2. 9	62, 146	15	304	4. 9	112
2. 12, 14	73			4. 9 f.	86
2. 16	213	JUDE		5. 5	136
2. 19	91, 95	1	174, 240, 264	5. 6	311, 314
2. 21	196, 287	2, 9	121	5. 7	67
2. 27	139	4	153	5. 8	311
3. 4	183	11	234, 238, 242	5. 9	253
3. 8	62	13	28, 175	5. 11	210
3. 9	72	14	238, 241	5. 12	315
3. 10	313	15	56	6. 1	187
3. 11	45, 139	18	27, 89	6. 4	39, 100
3. 14	161	22 f.	36	6. 6	27
3. 15	196	25	25	6. 11	25, 100, 111
3. 16	139			7. 1	101, 196
3. 17	98	REVELATION		7. 2	26, 172, 325
3. 19	23, 260	1. 4	230	7. 3	111
3. 20	23, 189	1. 5, 11	314	7. 4	314
3. 21	23	1. 8	174	7. 9	314, 325
3. 23	139	1. 13	274	7. 14	69
4. 2, 3	162	1. 15	27, 158, 314	7. 16	97, 196
4. 4	216	1. 18	89	7. 17	218
4. 6	260, 260	1. 19	313	8. 1	93
4. 10, 14	70	1. 20	324	8. 3	100
4. 12	88	2. 2	325	8. 4	238
4. 15	183	2. 5	115, 238, 239	8. 5	69, 70
4. 21	139	2. 8	71	8. 9	312, 314
5. 2	45, 112, 139	2. 9	148	9. 4	100, 196
5. 3	139	2. 10	209, 213	9. 5	100, 113
5. 4	21	2. 11	96	9. 6	63, 97
5. 5	183	2. 13	273, 314	9. 7	24

REVELATION— <i>contd.</i>		REVELATION— <i>contd.</i>		REVELATION— <i>contd.</i>	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
9. 10	220	14. 1	315	18. 12	17, 31
9. 11	17, 230	14. 2	27	18. 14	97
9. 12	188	14. 4	110	18. 15	190
9. 14	314, 315	14. 6	53	18. 16	17
9. 17	24	14. 7	246, 315	18. 19	24
9. 18	312	14. 8	218	18. 20	35
9. 19	24	14. 9	272	18. 22	196
9. 20	100, 209	14. 10	213	18. 24	27
10. 6	137	14. 11	25	19. 3	70
10. 7	53, 112	14. 13	100, 102	19. 5	35
11. 1	315	14. 15	334	19. 6	315
11. 4	314	14. 18	215	19. 15	40, 218
11. 5	25, 116	14. 19	314	20. 2	314
11. 6	101, 139	15. 2	240, 260	20. 3, 5	111
11. 8	22	15. 7	209	20. 4	24, 71
11. 9	209	15. 8	111	20. 8	325
11. 13	210	16. 6	27	20. 10	81
11. 15	315	16. 9	136, 245	21. 2	238
11. 17	69	16. 10	89, 260	21. 6	39
11. 18	139, 313	16. 12	26, 172	21. 9	94, 186, 314
12. 4	79	16. 13, 14	313	21. 11	31
12. 5	315	16. 15	101	21. 13	26
12. 6	46, 258	16. 18	46	21. 16	240
12. 7	141	16. 19	58, 218	21. 21	198
12. 9	152	17. 1	27, 94	21. 24	313
12. 12	35	17. 2	325	21. 25	325
12. 14	46, 101, 210	17. 3	213, 233, 315	21. 27	196
13. 1	213, 272	17. 4	314, 315	22. 2	188, 198
13. 3	175, 214	17. 9	46	22. 3	196
13. 5	139	17. 10	178	22. 5	172
13. 8	325	17. 15	26, 27	22. 14	102
13. 11	220, 315	17. 16	40	22. 15	151
13. 12	100, 175	17. 17	23, 111	22. 18, 19	115
13. 14	71, 315	18. 7	345		
13. 16	24, 100	18. 9	112		

(b) SEPTUAGINT.

GENESIS		GENESIS— <i>continued</i>		GENESIS— <i>continued</i>	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
1. 6	23, 226	13. 14	28	21. 14	154
1. 9	226	14. 11	22	21. 22	108
1. 11	226	14. 19	240	22. 3	154
3. 19	144	15. 7	136	22. 14	104
3. 24	212	16. 2	142	22. 17	157
4. 2	227	16. 5	70	23. 6	235
5. 4	143	17. 17	333	24. 12	56
6. 3	96	17. 19	336	24. 15	154
6. 17	108	18. 1	322	24. 30	70
7. 1	193	18. 9	155	24. 33	144
7. 3, 9	187	18. 13	50	25. 1	227
8. 13	187	18. 21	95	26. 5	55
10. 19	144	18. 33	159	26. 11	215
11. 2	26, 145	19. 16	145	26. 12	162
11. 8	159	19. 22	144	26. 28	70, 157
12. 12	112	20. 6	142	27. 36	193
13. 10	144	20. 15	108	28. 6	145

GENESIS—continued		EXODUS—continued		JUDGES—continued	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
28. 15 . . .	144	33. 8 . . .	93	19. 2A . . .	17
29. 20 . . .	144	34. 3 . . .	283	19. 6 . . .	155
29. 34 . . .	70	34. 24 . . .	232	20. 47A . . .	17
30. 8 . . .	95	40. 2 . . .	187	Ru. 2. 11 . . .	143
30. 33 . . .	108			„ 2. 22 . . .	35
30. 42 . . .	93	LEVITICUS		1 KINGDOMS	
30. 38 . . .	143	10. 16 . . .	44	1. 8 . . .	32
31. 1 . . .	70	11. 43 . . .	97	1. 9 . . .	143
32. 16 . . .	18, 23	20. 8 . . .	55	1. 26 . . .	146
33. 3 . . .	144	21. 17 . . .	49	2. 19 . . .	144
35. 18 . . .	145	23. 29 . . .	284	3. 11 . . .	322
„ 9 . . .	93	23. 32 . . .	27	4. 7 . . .	21
38. 23 . . .	70	27. 12 . . .	110	5. 9 . . .	143
38. 26 . . .	31			8. 5 . . .	55
39. 3 . . .	107	NUMBERS		10. 24 . . .	333
39. 15 . . .	145	1. 1, 18 . . .	187	14. 34 . . .	40
41. 19 . . .	325	7. 6 . . .	154	14. 47 . . .	141
41. 55 . . .	70	9. 14 . . .	335	16. 4 . . .	151
42. 2 . . .	254	11. 4 . . .	154	17. 13, 14 . . .	30
42. 15 f. . .	336	11. 15 . . .	95	20. 3 . . .	85, 157
42. 30 . . .	70	12. 3 . . .	32	2 KINGDOMS	
43. 16 . . .	248	14. 22 . . .	193	7. 7 . . .	50
43. 25 . . .	144	14. 40 . . .	44	7. 10 . . .	208
44. 1 . . .	108	16. 29 ^b . . .	287	11. 15 . . .	156
44. 12 . . .	155	16. 31 . . .	159	23. 3 . . .	99
44. 31 . . .	145	21. 9 . . .	93	24. 14 . . .	97
44. 34 . . .	95	21. 27 . . .	95	3 KINGDOMS	
45. 28 . . .	154	22. 6 . . .	32	1. 1 . . .	220
47. 19 . . .	95	22. 20 . . .	154	1. 20 . . .	314
49. 12 . . .	32, 216	23. 7 . . .	26	5. 14 (28) . . .	317
49. 15 . . .	143	24. 14 . . .	246	17. 20 . . .	142
EXODUS		DEUTERONOMY		19. 5, 7 . . .	155
1. 10 . . .	113	1. 42 . . .	97	19. 7 . . .	342
2. 2 . . .	17	1. 45 . . .	154	4 KINGDOMS	
3. 2 . . .	213	4. 21 . . .	104	1. 3, 6, 16 . . .	144
3. 6 . . .	306	5. 14 . . .	95	2. 24 . . .	7, 245
3. 7 . . .	157	5. 21 . . .	232	8. 14 . . .	50
3. 14 . . .	230	6. 2 . . .	104	10. 6 . . .	156
4. 21 . . .	322	6. 14 . . .	97	19. 4, 6, 22 . . .	245
5. 22, 23 . . .	70	7. 12 . . .	113	1 CHRONICLES	
6. 4 . . .	70	7. 16 . . .	97	9. 25 . . .	141
6. 11 . . .	104	9. 28 . . .	144	17. 6 . . .	50
8. 6 . . .	22	21. 8 . . .	40	21. 3 . . .	95
8. 23 . . .	213	31. 6 . . .	286	21. 18 . . .	104
8. 29(25) . . .	44	32. 21 . . .	282	EZRA-NEHEMIAH	
9. 15 . . .	213	JOSHUA		1 Esd. 1. 15 . . .	61
9. 18 . . .	248	1. 11 . . .	231	3. 13 . . .	154
12. 21 . . .	154	22. 24 . . .	95	4. 18 . . .	196
14. 11 . . .	144	23. 1, 2 . . .	220	4. 46, 47, 50 . . .	104
17. 3 . . .	232	JUDGES		4. 49 . . .	238
18. 11 . . .	32	6. 15 . . .	30	6. 27, 31 . . .	104
19. 24 . . .	342	7. 5 . . .	21		
20. 10 . . .	27	11. 35 . . .	35		
20. 17 . . .	232	13. 2 . . .	230		
27. 20 . . .	143	16. 15 . . .	193		
29. 29 . . .	213				
31. 3 . . .	232				

EZRA-NEHEMIAH—		JOB—continued		TOBIT—continued	
continued	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
8. 21 . . .	144	7. 9 . . .	96	6. 13 . . .	27
2 Esd. 6. 8 . . .	141	12. 5 . . .	250	6. 15, 18 . . .	104
Ne. 7. 65 . . .	104	27. 1 . . .	227	8. 4B . . .	104
		29. 1 . . .	227	8. 12B . . .	95
PSALMS		32. 13 . . .	95	8. 19 . . .	27
1. 20 . . .	122	36. 1 . . .	227	10. 7B . . .	235
4. 9 . . .	18			10. 12B . . .	22
6. 2 . . .	283	WISDOM		11. 16 . . .	161
13 (14). 1 ff. . .	151	1. 8 . . .	96	12. 13 . . .	226
17. 33, 35 . . .	343	2. 12 . . .	245	13. 2, 4, 7, 11 . . .	25
21. 2 . . .	72	3. 1 . . .	96	14. 9 . . .	104
23 (24). tit . . .	187	6. 6 . . .	52		
27. 3, 4 . . .	21	6. 22 . . .	96	MINOR PROPHETS	
32. 6 . . .	21	8. 21 . . .	242	Hos. 9. 13 . . .	141
38. 2 . . .	142	12. 10 . . .	96	Am. 3. 5 . . .	144
38. 5 . . .	95	13. 5 . . .	218	5. 25 . . .	35
38. 14 . . .	104	13. 6 . . .	337	5. 27 . . .	26
44(43). 22 . . .	210	14. 4 . . .	104	6. 12 . . .	215
45. 6 . . .	250	16. 3, 20 . . .	40	7. 2 . . .	114
45 (44). 8 . . .	32			8. 10 . . .	212
60 (61). 4 . . .	213	SIRACH		Jon. 1. 3 . . .	40
60. 5 . . .	25	prol. 9 . . .	215	3. 3 . . .	239
68. 24 . . .	142	4. 13 . . .	232	Soph. 2. 3 . . .	213
74. 18 . . .	21	6. 1 . . .	232	Hag. 2. 4 . . .	35
76. 8 . . .	25	11. 7 . . .	113	2. 9 . . .	32
77. 22 . . .	238	13. 24 . . .	284	Hab. 1. 5 . . .	96
78. 24 . . .	135	15. 15 . . .	213	Sach. 3. 8 . . .	35
83. 5 . . .	23	16. 8 . . .	40	Mal. 1. 7, 12 . . .	145
88. 23 . . .	208	18. 1 . . .	25	1. 9 . . .	104
88. 53 . . .	25	28. 1 . . .	151	Ze. 3. 6 . . .	144
90. 11 . . .	142	29. 25 . . .	250		
102. 19 . . .	21	35. 21, 23 . . .	238	ISAIAH	
105. 12, 24 . . .	238	36. 15 . . .	187	3. 9 . . .	70
106. 3 . . .	26	37. 15 . . .	104	10. 16 . . .	98
117. 23 . . .	21	38. 14 . . .	104	11. 11 . . .	258
118. 50, 56 . . .	21	39. 18 . . .	213	13. 4 . . .	70, 216
119. 7 . . .	93	44. 18 . . .	104	20. 3 . . .	70
142. 2 . . .	196	45. 24 . . .	104	22. 3 . . .	70
PROVERBS				24. 13 . . .	114
3. 9 . . .	215	ESTHER		26. 20 . . .	307
4. 17 . . .	240	1. 5 . . .	58	27. 12 . . .	187
21. 26 . . .	232	2. 18 . . .	27	30. 12 . . .	89
		5. 3 . . .	210	33. 24 . . .	98
ECCLESIASTES		5. 13 . . .	113	36. 12 . . .	104
2. 9 . . .	32	9. 22 . . .	27	38. 14 . . .	215
2. 16 . . .	231			40. 7 . . .	72
3. 15 . . .	141	JUDITH		40. 17 . . .	253
9. 4 . . .	32	7. 28 . . .	104	42. 21 . . .	104
CANTICLES		9. 12 . . .	336	45. 23 . . .	333
1. 8 . . .	31	12. 19 . . .	154	48. 10, 16, 17 . . .	70
1. 16 . . .	250			49. 1 . . .	259
5. 1 . . .	104	TOBIT		49. 6 . . .	71
JOB		2. 9 . . .	194	51. 22 . . .	71
6. 1 . . .	157	3. 6 . . .	32	52. 11 . . .	76
6. 9 . . .	155	3. 15 . . .	104, 239	53. 4 . . .	40
		3. 17 . . .	194	53. 5 . . .	70
		5. 7, 9 . . .	104	54. 6 . . .	71
				54. 17 . . .	215

ISAIAH—continued		DANIEL—continued		2 MACCABEES—contd.	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
57. 18 . . .	70	12. 1 6 . . .	70	2. 27 . . .	337
57. 19 . . .	254	Su. 28 . . .	100	2. 31 . . .	14
60. 1 . . .	71	Su. 33 . . .	16	3. 16 . . .	14
61. 1 . . .	71	Su. 37 . . .	161	4. 4 . . .	14
66. 8 . . .	70	Bel. 3. 4 . . .	173	4. 5 . . .	18
66. 9, 19 . . .	71	Bel. 12 . . .	113	4. 13 . . .	282
JEREMIAH		1 MACCABEES		4. 27 . . .	58
11. 5 . . .	156	1. 9 . . .	95, 143	4. 34 . . .	26
11. 6 . . .	109	1. 11 . . .	17	4. 36, 45 . . .	144
11. 21 . . .	97	1. 20 . . .	143	4. 40 . . .	220
12. 6 . . .	238	2. 15 . . .	16	5. 11 . . .	220
15. 17 . . .	18	2. 47 . . .	208	5. 18 . . .	92
17. 8 . . .	159	2. 52 . . .	253	5. 27 . . .	144, 159
20. 13 . . .	236	2. 54, 58 . . .	144	6. 18 . . .	65, 220
29. 11 . . .	100	3. 33 . . .	144	7. 7 . . .	333
34. 10 . . .	144	4. 2 . . .	136, 258	7. 9 . . .	140, 190
51 (44). 18 . . .	159	4. 28 . . .	136	7. 24 . . .	26
Ba. 3. 28 . . .	144	5. 19, 54 . . .	144	10. 33 . . .	225
Ep. Je. 65 . . .	7, 245	5. 29 . . .	321	11. 22 . . .	52
EZEKIEL		7. 7 . . .	154	14. 18 . . .	337
9. 11 . . .	155	7. 45 . . .	144	14. 21 . . .	18
10. 11 . . .	93	8. 6 . . .	154	14. 32 . . .	26
14. 4 . . .	213	9. 37 . . .	27	14. 42 . . .	32
16. 49 . . .	232	9. 44 . . .	16	15. 3 . . .	333
29. 9 . . .	144	10. 3 . . .	136	15. 5 . . .	337
34. 7-9 . . .	144	10. 38 . . .	144	15. 36 . . .	187
36. 3 . . .	144	10. 58 . . .	27	3 MACCABEES	
37. 23 . . .	95	11. 57 . . .	156	1. 16 . . .	241
39. 14 . . .	17	11. 58 . . .	241	4. 5 . . .	276
44. 12 . . .	213	12. 10 . . .	144	4. 11 . . .	144
DANIEL		12. 36 . . .	18, 143	5. 20 . . .	70
2. 8 O' . . .	71	13. 16 . . .	185	5. 32 . . .	92
2. 10 . . .	196	13. 20 . . .	93	5. 34 . . .	198
2. 31, 34, 41, 45 . . .	71	14. 41 . . .	144	6. 6 . . .	143
3. 33 . . .	314	15. 28 . . .	80	7. 3 . . .	143
3. 92 (25) . . .	44	16. 9 . . .	144	13. 27 . . .	337
4. 22, 28, 29 . . .	292	2 MACCABEES		15. 11 . . .	337
4. 30b O' . . .	69	1. 3 . . .	143	4 MACCABEES	
5. 52 . . .	25	1. 9 . . .	95	6. 13 . . .	14
6. 27 6' . . .	25	2. 6 . . .	136	10. 19 . . .	144
7. 8 O' . . .	196	2. 13 . . .	268	16. 7 . . .	17
				18. 8 . . .	14

(c) OTHER VERSIONS OF OLD TESTAMENT.

AQUILA		AQUILA—continued		SYMMACHUS	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Ge. 12. 9 . . .	52	2 Km. 6. 14 . . .	279	Ps. 57 (58). 10 . . .	113
17. 1 . . .	279	3 Km. 15. 6, 32 . . .	277	Je. 40 (47). 5 . . .	113
Dt. 33. 3 . . .	250	Isa. 7. 2 . . .	279	49 (42). 22 . . .	85
Jg. 5. 27 . . .	277	Ezk. 1. 17 . . .	250		
1 Km. 22. 4 . . .	279	7. 23(22) . . .	250		

(d) PSEUDEPIGRAPHA OF OLD TESTAMENT.

Test. XII Patr.—	PAGE	Epist. Aristeas—	PAGE	Test. Abraham— <i>contd.</i>	PAGE
<i>Test. Levi.</i> 8. 311	25	51 . . .	16	Rec. B p. 107	
„ 14. 1	25	59 . . .	124	line 1 . . .	156
„ 18. 4	17	126 . . .	26	Rec. B p. 108	
<i>Test. Jud.</i> 5. 2	26	137 . . .	159	line 1, 21, 23	156
<i>Test. Naphth.</i> 7. 1		Vitae Prophet.—		Rec. B p. 110	
	27	Elisha 2 . . .	70	line 7, 16, 21	156
<i>Test. Benj.</i> 7. 4	188	Dan. 6 . . .	70	Rec. B p. 110	
		Nah. 2 . . .	70	line 20 . . .	155
		Mal. 2 . . .	70	Rec. B p. 111	
Greek Enoch—		Jer. 13 f. . .	70	line 18 . . .	156
3. 1 . . .	50	Jer. 14 . . .	96	Rec. B p. 112	
9. 4 . . .	25			line 6, 9 . . .	156
10. 6-10 . . .	91	Test. Solomon (T.Sol.)		Rec. B p. 113	
98. 12, 99. 10	97	D 4. 4 . . .	124	line 9 . . .	156
		17. 15 . . .	208	Rec. B p. 113	
				line 29 . . .	194
Orac. Sibyll.—		Test. Abraham (T.Abr.)		Rec. B p. 114	
3. 50 . . .	25	(M. R. James, <i>Texts</i>		line 6 . . .	156
3. 308 . . .	27	<i>and Studies</i> , II 2)		Rec. B p. 116	
3. 767 . . .	25	Rec. A p. 82		line 27 . . .	194
		line 11 . . .	320	Rec. B p. 118	
		Rec. B p. 106		line 15 . . .	156
Ps. Sol. 1. 5 . . .	96	line 4, 11, 18	156	Rec. B p. 118	
				line 26 . . .	320

(e) EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS.

Clement of Rome (i/A.D.)

1 Cl. 2. 1 . . .	PAGE	1 Cl.— <i>continued</i>	PAGE	1 Cl.— <i>continued</i>	PAGE
2. 4 . . .	53	27. 5 . . .	96	39. 5, 6 . . .	144
4. 8, 10 . . .	279	28. 3 . . .	279	42. 4 . . .	247
10. 1 . . .	146	30. 4 . . .	137	43. 6 . . .	25
10. 4 . . .	26	32. 4 . . .	25	48. 6 . . .	29
12. 2 . . .	168	34. 3 . . .	279	50. 1 . . .	137
12. 4 . . .	16	34. 5 . . .	137	50. 3 . . .	192
12. 5 . . .	157	35. 3 . . .	25	51. 3 . . .	31
12. 7 . . .	227	35. 4 . . .	58	55. 2 . . .	162
18. 11 . . .	279	35. 10 . . .	279	55. 6 . . .	25
19. 3 . . .	137	37. 2 . . .	137	60. 2 . . .	86
20. 12 . . .	25	38. 2 . . .	109	61. 2 . . .	25
21. 3 . . .	137	38. 4 . . .	25	63. 2 . . .	192

Epistle of Barnabas (i/ii A.D.)

Barn 4. 3 . . .	PAGE	Barn— <i>continued</i>	PAGE	Barn— <i>continued</i>	PAGE
5. 9 . . .	216	10. 3 . . .	216	14. 6 . . .	137
5. 13 . . .	139	10. 4 . . .	97	17. 2 . . .	96
6. 9 . . .	279	11. 1 . . .	97, 137	18. 2 . . .	25
8. 5 . . .	50	11. 7 . . .	279	19. 1 . . .	94
8. 6 . . .	58	11. 8 . . .	110	19. 2 ff. . .	86
10. 1 . . .	50	12. 2 . . .	30, 93	19. 8 . . .	232

Shepherd of Hermas (i/ii A.D.)**V Visions M Mandates S Similitudes**

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
V I. 1. 2	172	VII. 5	46	VIII. 7. 1	39
I. 4. 1, 3	26	VIII. 2	136	IX. 2. 3	187
II. 1. 3	148	IX. 2. 5	97	IX. 2. 5	42
II. 2. 6	86	X. 1. 6	30	IX. 4. 5	93
III. 1. 2	194	XII. 3. 1	86	IX. 5. 1	146
III. 3. 1	15	S I. 4	246	IX. 6. 4	93
III. 6. 1	208	I. 5	97	IX. 6. 8	148
III. 7. 2	142	I. 11	191	IX. 7. 6	100
III. 10. 10	30	II. 1	42	IX. 8. 3	138
III. 12. 3	74	II. 3	110	IX. 9. 1	98, 135
III. 13. 2	74	II. 5	190	IX. 10. 5 f.	111
IV. 1. 5	42	IV. 5	94, 190	IX. 10. 7	31
IV. 1. 6	137	V. 2. 2	111	IX. 11. 1	111
IV. 2. 1	17	V. 4. 3A	190	IX. 12. 4	126
IV. 3. 7	243	V. 7. 3	39, 99	IX. 12. 8	17
M III. 2	74		113	IX. 13. 2	58
III. 5	45	VI. 1. 5	148	IX. 17. 3	93
IV. 1. 7	148	VI. 5. 3	17	IX. 18. 3	148
IV. 2. 2	146	S VIII. 1. 4	17, 49	IX. 19. 3	273
IV. 3. 7	116	VIII. 1. 14	273	IX. 20. 4	27
IV. 4. 3	17	VIII. 2. 5, 9	148	IX. 26. 2	74
V. 1. 2	116	VIII. 2. 8	187	IX. 28. 4	29
VI. 2. 2	190	VIII. 6. 1	148	IX. 28. 5	100
VI. 2. 10	100	VIII. 6. 6	17		

Ignatius, bp. of Antioch (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Eph. 2. 2	124	IO	136	Rom. 5. 2	124
4. 2	101	Pol. 1. 2	27	5. 3	49
5. 3	73	Pol. 2. 2	279	10. 2	162
II. 1	78	5. 1	58	Sm 2	136
15. 3	279	6. 2	124	7. 2	18
Magn. 2. 12	124	8. 3	94	12. 1	91
Tral. 3. 2	137				

Martyrdom of Polycarp (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
12. 1	30	16. 2	27	31. 7. 4	227

Didache (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
3. 1	216	4. 3	136	8. 2	25
3. 8	89	4. 10	286	11. 7	86

Epistle to Diognetus (c. A.D. 150)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
2. 3	140	6. 1	136	12. 1	53
4. 3	27				

Justin Martyr (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE
Apology I 22; 32	70	67. 8	248

Clement of Rome: so-called Second Epistle (ii/A.D.?)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
2 Cl. I. 2 .	49	14. 2	137	20. 4	92
3. I .	245	2 Cl. 17. 3	30		
10. 5 .	159	19. 4	27		

Clementine Homilies (ii/A.D.? v/A.D.? vi/A.D.?)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
I. 7 .	137	9. I .	17	15. 4 .	197
I. 7, II .	190	9. 21 .	240	16. 6, 7 .	137
I. 9 .	85, 91	9. 22 .	141	17. 18 .	42
I. 14 .	30	10. 2 .	146	19. I .	197
2. 25 .	136	10. 15 .	190, 241	19. 2 .	99
3. 8 .	190	11. 3 .	98	19. 6 .	49
3. 68 .	240	11. 28 .	137	19. 23 .	240
3. 69 .	282	12. I .	136	20. 13 .	136
6. II .	49	14. 7 .	137	ep. ad Jac. 3 .	89
8. II .	136	14. 8 .	159	„ 9 .	30
8. 14 .	284	14. 10 .	42		

Gospel of Peter (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
2. 5 .	92	II .	240	35 .	187

Apocalypse of Peter (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE
2. 3 .	208	4 .	227

Apocryphal Acts (ii/A.D. onwards)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Andr. et Matth.		Pet. et Paul.—		Thom. 41. 39 .	316
90. 9 f. .	58	17 .	135	116. 4 f. .	58
Barn. 7 .	142	186. 4 .	135	175. 2 f. .	58
Ex Act. Andr.		187. I .	256	198. 17 .	39
45. 26 f. .	14	209. 14 .	95	218. 25 ff. .	138
Gesta Pil. 12. 2	58	Phil. 10 .	227	253. 6 ff.,	
John 90 .	241	Phil. 39. I ff. .	95	10 ff. .	95
170. 29 f. .	138	62. 9 .	50	254. 6 ff. .	95
Paul et Thecl. 8	231	86. 21 ff. .	95	Xanth. 76. 32 ff. .	58
		Pionii 11. 4 .	196		

Gospels of Thomas and of the Naasenes (ii/A.D.)

	PAGE		PAGE
Ev. Thom. 15. 2	312	Ev. Naas. 2	53

Passions and Martyrdoms (iii/A.D. onwards)

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Pass. Andr. alt.		Mart. Dasii 5	136	I. I	99
28. 14 ff.	13	Mart. Matth.		Mart. Petr. 4	135
Pass. Barth.		243. 18 ff.	138	82. 20	13
133. 29 f.	138	Mart. Pelag. 26. 15	89	88. 7	135
141. 31	39	Pass. Perp. et Fel.			

Later Christian Greek texts

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Orig. c. Marc.		Ev. VI. 7	50	65. 1050	50
(ed. Wetst.) 35	227	Epiph. Haer.		65. 377	58
Apost. Const. 4.3	32	43. 2	208	93. 1708	52
Euseb. Praep.		Migne P.G.			

(f) INSCRIPTIONS AND PAPYRI

Please see vol. II pp. 503-12 for abbreviations not explained here.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Archiv iii. 173	29	416. 3	153	1300. 4	16
IG XII. 5. 590	32	417. 16	339	1764. 9	255
Kaibel 642. 10	10	417. 17	335	CPR 22. 15	198
Preis. Samm.		417. 28	30	P. Fay.	
620. 6 f.	146	423. 11	35	I. col. III. 16	112
5216. 11	15	436. 9	285	III. 14	293
5827. 17	29	451. 11	30	XCI. 28	151
SIG (Syll.)		467. 15	154	P. Flor. I 6, 7	91
1240. 25	239	512. 2	152	P. Giss. I. col. 1, 8	55
Ditt. Syll.		523. 6	155	23. 4	316
344. 59	48	523. 17	112	36. 10	44, 155
834. 10	144	530. 35	284	39. 9	53
410. 4, 24	17	543. 13	157	P. Grenf. I 33. 33	52
442. 3, 17	17	596. 11	157	53. 29	227
647. 17	220	615. 9. 28	30	P. Hamb. I.	
705. 57	276	624. 15	155	27. 4	17, 66
807. 9	18	625. 28	142	27. 9	159
III 2. 25	26	813. 15	18	P. Hib. 27. 167	293
II 57. 10	18	822. 4	49	29. 41	48
II 73. 1	194	844. 15	318	38. 8	52
P. Amh. 34(e) 6	56	846. 15	32	46. 13	90
37. 8	62	909. 3	27	54. 23	26
78. 4	53	909. 8	154	59. 2	112
III-III 3	315	948. 13	49	63. 3	39
BGU (or BU)		1049. 8	26	75. 79	179
36. III. 3	255	1078. 2	162	96. 6, 23	27
46	185	1078. 5	315	110. 65, 100	179
69	238	1078. 8	91	P. Leip. 40. 10	162
86	42	1078. 10	162	40. 20	161
246. 12	242	1079. 6	336	108. 5	157
362. V. 9	151	1081. 3	101	P. Lille 26. 6	149
380. 3	17	1081. 5	138	29. 11	152
388. II. 36 f.	340	1103. 11	247	P. Lond. no.	
388. II. 41	30	1158. 17	304	21	51
388. III. 8	220	1247. 13	58	879. 21	48
388. III. 16	151	1253. 10	125	897. 20	91

P.Lond.no.—*continued*

	PAGE
1343. 38	291
1394	93
P. Ox.	
2. B 6	167
6. 3	231
33. col. II 14	138
37	192
40	221
43. B IV 3	277
III	27
II 9	96
120. II	80
131	58
188	187
292. 6	162
413. 184	94
472. 17	49
475. 16	17
482. I-2	70
526. 3	136
528. 14	194
658. 8	226
886. 19	187
929. 12	254
II 62	39
II 89. 7	36
1678. 16	48
1680. II	257
1831. I	137
1833. I	137
P. Par.	
8. 16	157
12. 20	51
12. 21	157
15. 4	51
18. 3	230
22. 20	58
22. 25	135
22. 29	52
23. 9 ff.	62
23. 12	53
23. 22	135
23. 23	101
26	149
26. 35	51
26. 48	29
27. 33	318
32	98
34. 9	48
35. 3c	155
38. II	58
42. 3	227
45	99
46. 7	27
46. 12	43
47	63, 92, 178
48. 12	161
49. 33	58

P. Par.—*continued*

	PAGE
51. 9	68
51. 23	155
51. 25	315
51. 39	35, 63
60. 4	48
62. 2, 6	49
63	45, 245
63. II, 56	58
63. 16	178
P. Petr.	
I. 21	30
29. 4	16
II. 10 (2) 5	179
II (I)	49
13 (17) 4	48
13 (18b) II	29
13 (19)	45
16. 13	30
18 (2b) 15	125
20. 2. 5	26
40 (a) 12	77
40 (a) 27	43
45	17, 27, 43
P. Petr.	
III. 56 (b) 12	17
78. 13	17
P. Rein. 18. 5	38
P. Ryl. II.	
II 2. 13	315
II 3. 12 f.	196
140. 7	169
144. 14	37
174. 15	266
PSI II. 286. 22	18
III. 167. 18	125
IV. 313. 8	37
326. 4	39
340. 9	322
353. 16	76
372. 12	189
380. 4	312
380. 6	17
383. 8	15
391. 4	17
392. 6	136
402. 4	312
402. 7	222
408. 9	17
425. 28	48
432. 5	27
433. 7	325
434. 12	18
435. 19	29
442. 14 f.	226
443. 18	51
443. 19	43
444. 11	30
571. 15	196

PSI IV.—*continued*

	PAGE
484. 7	30
495. 8	99
495. 23	45
584. 30	26
P. Strass. II	
III. 23	52
P. Tob. 5. 5	27
6. 32	58
6. 43	76
12. 23	15
14. 10	181
17. 14	51
22. 11	62
24. 65	125
33	30
43. 22	99
45. 17	31
46. 14	31
47. 11	31
50. 12	52
56. 11 f.	105
61 (b) 29	36
61 (b) 35	55
105	213
309	152
331. 16	138
411. 3	194
421. 12	157
793. XI 8	266
798. 16	256
P. Tor. I. 2. 17	52
4. 73	65
8. 21	51
8. 65	29
UPZ	
I. I. 12 f.	125
6. 30	155
31. 7	98
41. 25	232
42. 32, 33	197
71. 18	112
113. 12	189
II. 161. 61	220
162. VIII 29	220
W. Chr. 10. 6	16
26. II 32	80
46. 15	18
122. 4	286
167. 21	48
P. Alex. 4. 15	15
Pap. ptol. du Musée d'Alexandrie, G. Botti 1899.	
P. Eleph. 1. 9	256
13. 7	48
23. 13	22
45. I. 16	61

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
<i>Elephantine-Papyri</i> ,		Vol. II)		G. Zereteli 1925-35.	
O. Rubensohn 1907.		48. 15 . . .	30	P. Vat. A 15 . . .	51
P. Goodsp. 3 . . .	49	51. 9 . . .	18	(see MM Vocab.	
6. 5 . . .	48	130. 5 . . .	51	p. xxix)	
<i>A Group of Gk</i>		132. 12 . . .	22	SB (see Mayser II	
<i>Papyrus Texts</i> , E. J.		139. 21 . . .	101	1.p.xv)	
Goodspeed 1906.		186. 6 . . .	62	3444 . . .	22
P. Hal. I. 30 . . .	17	737. 7 . . .	18	4631 . . .	26
167, 177 . . .	62	P. Path. (see R. C.		5627. II . . .	113
<i>Dikaiomata</i>		Horn, <i>Use of Subj.</i>		5680 . . .	22
herausgeg. v. der		<i>and Opt. in. the non-</i>		Zen. P.	
<i>Graeca Halensis</i> ,		<i>literary Papyri</i> 1926)		(see Mayser II	
1913 . . .		I . . .	105	1.p.xiii)	
P. Mich. Zen.		P. Prk. (see Horn,		59037. 7 . . .	230, 296
77. 13 . . .	97	above)		59084. 9 . . .	96
ed. C. C. Edgar, 1931		5232. 32 . . .	105	59148. 2 . . .	230
P. Magd. 4. 6 . . .	51	5357. 9 . . .	105	59396. 4 . . .	96
9. 3 . . .	99	P. Rev. L. 4. 2 . . .	52	59610. 21 . . .	97
21. 6 . . .	31	5. 1 . . .	51	ZP or Zen. P. Cairo	
27. 6 . . .	58	17. 6 . . .	52	(<i>Zenon Papyri</i> .	
29. 4 . . .	55 f	<i>Revenue Laws of Ptol.</i>		C. C. Edgar 1925,	
29. 9 . . .	52	<i>Philad.</i> , B. P. Gren-		1926, 1928, 1931)	
42 . . .	125	fell 1896.		II. 7 . . .	136
<i>Pap. de Magdola</i> ,		P. Ross. Georg.		28. 3 . . .	58
J. Lesquier 1912		III 2, vol. 27 . . .	35	762. 6 . . .	27
Or.Gr. (= OGIS, in		<i>Papyri russischer</i> ...,		1038. 22b 15 . . .	25

(g) GREEK LITERATURE.

i. Classical.

Sophocles	PAGE	Menander	PAGE	Xenophon	PAGE
Ajax 464 f. . .	213	Epitr. 26 f. . .	192	Anab. I. 2. 21 . . .	170
554 . . .	145	Fr. 425. 2 . . .	144	3. 5. 11 . . .	142
1400 . . .	91			5. 2. 24 . . .	322
Ant. 369 . . .	215	Herodotus		7. 7. 48 . . .	141
Oed. Rex. 1458 . . .	190	1. 69 . . .	22	Hell. 5. 1. 14 . . .	136
1471 . . .	195	1. 80 . . .	22	5. 4. 54 . . .	26
Ph. 442 ff. . .	92	2. 99 . . .	47	Cyr. 3. 3. 20 . . .	35
Trach. 865 . . .	195	2. 124 . . .	17	6. 2. 33 . . .	46
		4. 25 . . .	49	7. 1. 44 . . .	58
Euripides		4. 50 . . .	187	Hier. 6. 5 . . .	28
Andr. 757 . . .	97	5. 76 . . .	136, 192	Mem. I. 2. 49 . . .	147
Bacch. 389 . . .	213	6. 92 . . .	53	3. 5. 26 . . .	62
914 . . .	58	8. 140 . . .	63	3. 7. 4 . . .	18
Cycl. 567 . . .	58	9. 26 . . .	32	Isocrates	
El. 982 . . .	97			4. 44 . . .	109
Hipp. 213 . . .	97	Thucydides		4. 82 . . .	15
Iph. T. 962 f. . .	198	1. 32. 5 . . .	18	15. 30 . . .	71
Med. 737 . . .	215	1. 114. 1 . . .	322		
Suppl. 1066 . . .	97	2. 4. 2 . . .	22	Plato	
		2. 45 . . .	282	Crito 50B . . .	98
Aristophanes		3. 14 . . .	21	Gorg. 459. 6 . . .	282
Ach. 166 . . .	97	3. 22 . . .	58	Leg. 629D . . .	198
Nu. 367 . . .	97	3. 59. 1 . . .	274	Meno 99A . . .	176
Ra. 521 . . .	34	4. 52. 2 . . .	316	99E . . .	176
866 . . .	91	6. 78. 1 . . .	22	100B . . .	176
V. 397 . . .	97	6. 84. 3 . . .	22		

Plato— <i>continued</i>				Lysias	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Phaed. 246E . . .	25	8. 67 . . .	169	12. 16 . . .	179
Rpb. 532C . . .	186	18. 21 . . .	303	19. 57 . . .	153
Symp. 214A . . .	98	19. 30 . . .	179		
Theæt. 147C . . .	195	23. 93 . . .	49		
		27. 58 . . .	179		
Aristotle		54. 10 . . .	248	Lycurgus	
Metaph. 1071 ^{a2} . . .	276	56. 4 . . .	55	79 . . .	22
Demosthenes		Andocides		Hyperides	
I. 9 . . .	71	I. 125 . . .	32	Lycophr. 13 . . .	195

ii. *Hellenistic.*

Polybius		Josephus— <i>continued</i>		Epictetus— <i>continued</i>	
	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
I. 29. 1 . . .	321	I. 37. . . .	26	4. 6. 8 . . .	136
I. 48. 5 . . .	144	I. 100 . . .	49	4. 10. 27 . . .	74
I. 71. 1 . . .	18	I. 193 . . .	16	4. 13. 15 . . .	137
3. 10. 1 . . .	71	3. 272 . . .	26	Ench. 7 . . .	117
4. 1. 1 . . .	71	6. 287 . . .	227		
4. 15. 11 . . .	18	7. 294 . . .	26	Arrian	
4. 32. 5, 6 . . .	93	8. 175 . . .	15	Ep. ad Traj. 5 . . .	17
4. 36 . . .	16	11. 104 . . .	52	Epict. 4. 1. 120 . . .	50
4. 84. 8 . . .	18	11. 206 . . .	240		
5. 13. 8 . . .	255	11. 293 . . .	144	Aelian	
5. 18. 4 . . .	51	13. 187 . . .	16	Anim. 2. 38 . . .	32
6. 21 . . .	16	14. 170 . . .	144	8. 1 . . .	216
6. 34. 3 . . .	17	15. 148 . . .	144	8. 12 . . .	32
11. 2 . . .	16	15. 370 . . .	16	14. 37 . . .	226
13. 7. 8, 10 . . .	93	17. 225 . . .	31		
27. 7. 2 . . .	17	17. 336 . . .	18	Lucian	
39. 9. 12 . . .	141	19. 48 . . .	227	Herm. 28 . . .	17
		B.J. 2. 124 . . .	15	Char. 3 . . .	17
Dionysius of		2. 199 . . .	18	Peregr. 39 . . .	26
Halicarnassus		3. 7. 3 . . .	226	Eunuch. 6 . . .	43
de Plat et Pomp. . . .		6. 326 . . .	18	Dial. Mort. 10. 1 . . .	53
756 . . .	196	c. Ap. 1. 77 . . .	26	13. 3 . . .	192
de Thuc. 8 . . .	57	I. 217 . . .	284	Somn. 15 . . .	154
Opusc. I. 3. 6 . . .	31			D. Deor. 2. 1 . . .	160
		Plutarch		Consecr. Hist. 2 . . .	187
Strabo		2. 120 d . . .	18		
2. 5 (p. 133, Casaubon) . . .	71	3. 231 d . . .	160	Vettius Valens	
		Cat. min. § 18 . . .	32	71. 22 . . .	18
Philo Judaeus		Mor. 169 c . . .	27	181. 22 . . .	243
5. 170. 8 . . .	18	Pyrh. 20. 1 . . .	16		
6. cont. 15 . . .	16	Tranqu. c. 13 . . .	195	Philostratus	
Sacr. Abel 136 . . .	18			Ap. I. 356. 17 . . .	49
Spec. Leg. 3. 187 . . .	26	Epictetus		3. 19 . . .	32
3. 121 . . .	49	I. 9. 15 . . .	94		
Abr. 28 . . .	27	I. 22. 15 . . .	240	Sextus Empiricus	
		I. 24. 10 . . .	30	Phys. I. 62 . . .	25
Josephus		3. 1. 12 . . .	102		
Ant. I. 1. 1. . .	187	3. 22 . . .	32	Diogenes Laertius	
I. 33. . .	27	3. 22. 33 . . .	96	3. 2 . . .	27
		4. 1. 50 . . .	136	6. 27 . . .	52
		4. 1. 97, 100 . . .	99		

Aesop		Diodorus Siculus—		Marcus Antoninus	
	PAGE	(continued)	PAGE		PAGE
121 . . .	32	19. 19 . . .	16	9. 3. 7 . . .	117
		20. 1 . . .	221	10. 30 . . .	52
Apollonius Discolus		Dio Cassius		Xenophon of	
de Synt. 1. 14 . . . 196		58. 4. 5 . . . 231		Ephesus	
Diodorus Siculus		987. 32 . . . 26		5. 7. 9 . . . 155	
1. 16 . . .	16	Achilles Tatius		p. 393. 29 . . . 135	
1. 21 . . .	18	7. 11. 2 . . . 192		Tiberius Gracchus	
1. 37 . . .	16	Athenaeus		2. 3 . . . 16	
2. 43 . . .	26	10. 438 . . . 49			
4. 51. 16 . . . 18					
11. 16 . . . 190					
16. 1. 6 . . . 71					

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

A modern author is included for special indication, not when mentioned bibliographically.

A.V. 55, 65, 181, 270.

Abbott, E. A. 283

Abel, F. M. 26, 56, 65, 235, 314 f., 316.

Abraham, Testament of 203, 205, 332.

Absolute verbs 51.

Abstract nouns, neuter expressions for 13 f.

Accent query 36, 40, 41, 230, 250, 337.

Accusative: adjectival 220 f.—absol. 322—adverbial 247—cognate 245 f.—double 246 f.—extent 247 f.—ext. obj. 244 f.—point of time 248—predic. 253—w. *ἀκούω* 161—w. pass. 247—w. inf. 147, 148 f.—w. verb 244—8. S. Gk. Index under *ἀνά, εἰς, ἐπί, διὰ, κατά, μετά, παρά, περί, πρὶν, πρὸς, ὅτε, ὅτι*.

Active 53—f. pass. 53, 292 f.—mid. or pass. f. 56 f.—intr. act. as causative 52 f.

Acts—s. Luke.

Acts, apocryphal 39, 50, 58, 138, 142, 196, 208, 227, 231, 241, 256, 316, 95 (imper. *ἴνα*), 128 (fin. opt.), 135 (fin. inf.).

Adjectives: attrib. 185 f.—f. adv. 225 f.—gen. of qual. f. 212 f.—in *-μηνος* and *-ήμερος* 17—possess. 191—predic. 225 f.—pronom. 197—201—position 8, 185, 349—substantivized 13 f., 16—8.

Adverbs: adj. instead of 225 f.—adverbial vbs. 226 f.—as predic. 226—combined w. prep. 278 f.—depend. on prep. 250—position 227—9—w. art. (attrib.) 222.

Adversatives—s. Conjunctions.

Aelius Aristides 96.

Aeschines 52, 97.

Aeschylus 52, 96, 97.

Agent: dat. of, w. pass. 240—prep. w. gen. 258, 274.

Agreement 311—7—*constr. ad sens.* 311 f.—gender 311—number 312 f.—solecisms: Rev 314 f., rest 315—7—several co-ord. words 313 f.

Aktionsart 59, 60, 64, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 81 f., 89, 91, 94, 107, 114, 145.

Alciphron 118, 122, 124, 127, 129, 130, 131.

Alexandrinus, codex 62.

Allo, E. B. 115, 314.

Ambiguity: refl. or pers. pron.? 43—refl. or recipr. pron.? 43.

Ambrose 26.

Ammonius 55.

Anacoloutha 342 f.—after rel. clause 325.

Anaphora 166, 167, 169, 171, 172—4, 178—*οὗτος* 44—*ἐκεῖνος* 46.

Aorist: indic. 68—74—ind. w. *ἔν* 91, 93—ind. w. *ὅταν* 124—ind. in wishes 91—ind. w. *ἁλῆγος* 91—imper. 74 f., 76 f., 78—subj. 74, 76—8, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 107, 108 f., 111, 112, 114 f.—opt. 118, ch. 9—inf. 78 f., 145—ptc. 79—81—*Aktionsart* 59 f., 71—4 (ind), 74—8 (other moods), 107, 60 (stem used f. punct: action in pres. time)—constative (complexive) 70, 71, 72, 77—epistolary 72f.—ingressive (inchoative, inceptive) 70, 71 f., 75, 77—gnomic 73—4—perfective (effective, resultat.) 5, 68, 71, 72, 75—proleptic 74—w. descript. impf. 66 f.—different meaning from pres. 72—aorist. pf. 68—71.

Apollodorus 29.

- Apollonius Dyscolus 102, 173, 174, 180, 196.
 Appian 159.
 Apposition 206.
 Aquila 52, 250, 277, 279.
 Aramaic—s. Semitisms.
 Aratus 118, 121, 124, 125, 127, 129.
 Aristeeas 16, 26, 124, 159, 245.
 Aristophanes 18, 34, 91, 96, 97, 106.
 Aristotle 233, 270, 276.
 Arrian 61.
 Article 36 f.—anaphoric 166, 167, 169, 171, 172-4, 178—adjectiv. and predic. 165-84—demonstr. force 36—generic 180 f.—forming adv. accus. 14—individualizing 36, 165-80—less prolific in higher Gk. 36—never as rel. pron. 37—non-class. use 2—not w. *ἕκαστος* 198—substantival or pronominal 36 f.—vocative 34—w. adj. 13 f.—w. astron. names, etc. 172—w. attrib. adv. 14—w. attribute after anarthr. noun 218—w. gen. of nouns 16, 166, 168, 179 f.—w. geogr. names 169-72—w. ind. interrog. 117, 182—w. names of peoples 169—w. neut. adj. f. abstr. noun 2—w. numerals 178 f.—w. ptc. 150-3—w. personal names 165-9—w. prep. phrases 14, 15, 221—w. pred. 182-4—w. quotns. 182, 261—w. several nouns connected together 181—w. *ἀληθεία* 177 f.—w. *αὐτός* 41, 183, 194—w. *γράμματα* 176—w. *ἐκκλησία* 176—w. *ἄλλος* and *ἕτερος* 197 f.—w. *θάνατος* 175—w. *θεός* 34 (LXX), 174—w. *κύριος* 174—w. *νόμος* 177—w. *ὅλος*, *πᾶς* (*ἅπας*) 199 f.—w. *οὐρανός*, *γῆ*, *θάλασσα*, *κόσμος* 174 f.—w. *οὗτος*, *ἐκεῖνος* 192—w. *πνεῦμα* 175 f.—w. *σάρξ* 177—w. *τοιοῦτος*, *τοσοῦτος* 46 f., 193 f.
 Omission of : w. abstracts 176—w. adv. if gen. follows 14—w. ordinals 178 f.—w. pred. 173, 182-4—theolog. significance? 175—like Heb. constr. state 34, 173, 179 f.—after prep. 179.
 Article, indef. (*εἷς*) 4, 195 f.
 Articulate infin.—s. Infinitive.
 Aspect 59-86.
 Asyndeton 9, 340 f., 342.
 Attic Greek 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 45, 47, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 82, 91, 94, 98, 105, 118, 126, 128, 135, 136, 152, 165, 173, 264, 265, 267, 273, 279, 286, 294, 295, 296, 312.
 Attic inscriptions 106, 118, 122, 128, 169, 170, 198.
 Atticism, Atticists 7, 28, 30, 36, 106, 119, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 187, 220, 240, 277, 338—inf. 135—opt. 119, 125, 128, 129, 130, 131 f., 313, 319—scribes and 6, 82, 119, 129, 135, 152, 245, 271, 313, 339.
 Attraction of relative 324.
 Attributives : art. w. several 186 f.—adv. 222—prep. phrases 221 f.—position 185, 217.
 Augment 73—meaning of 59 f.
 Augustine 26.
 Babrius 245.
 Barbelenet, D. 294.
 Barnabas 332—s. Index of Ref.
 Barrett, C. K. 343.
 Bauer, W. 21, 26, 40, 55, 237, 244, 254, 270, 278, 285, 291.
 Beginnings 337, 350.
 Behm, J. 27, 233.
 Bertram, G. 300.
 Bezae, codex 41, 173.
 Biblical Greek 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 26, 38, 42, 61, 74, 82, 86, 120, 131, 142, 144, 145, 153, 154, 155, 156, 175, 178, 196, 209, 212, 237, 240, 241, 258, 271, 275, 277, 295, 318, 320, 321, 322, 331, 335, 347, 349—unity of 5, 9, 95, 108, 123, 127, 129, 201.
 Björck, G. 87.

- Black, M. 194, 209, 258.
 Blass, F. 50, 281, 285.
 Blass-Debrunner 41, 169, 284, 315, 316.
 Boobyer, G. H. 291.
 Bover, J. M. 258.
 Brown, J. A. 338.
 Büchsel, F. 18, 52, 215, 240, 296.
 Burkitt, F. C. 333.
 Burton, E. de W. 62, 142, 143.
- Cadbury, H. J. 47, 301.
 Callimachus 118, 121, 124, 125, 127, 129.
 Cardinals for ordinals 17, 187.
 Case 230-80—after verbs 7, 161, 231-48.
 Causal clauses 318 f.—negation 284—position 345—w. ptc. 157— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 258— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ w. inf. 144— $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron$ w. inf. 142 f.— $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (causal) 115 f.— $\epsilon\iota$ (causal) 115— $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 266— $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ w. inf. 143— $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\psi$ w. inf. 145— $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ 318— $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\acute{\omega}$ 319— $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ 318— $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 320— $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ 102 f.— $\delta\tau\iota$, $\delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ 318— $\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ 319— $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron$ w. inf. 144— $\tau\omicron\psi$ w. inf. 142— $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 158, 320.
 Causative verbs: from intransitives 52 f.—w. double accus. 246.
 Cavallin, A. 336.
 Chambers, C. D. 79, 80.
 Chantraine, P. 5, 68, 71.
 Chiasmus 345-7.
 Chronicles (LXX): non-fin. $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ 104—s. Index of Ref.
 Chrysostom 14, 35, 135.
 Circumstantial (adv.) participle 150, 153-5.
 Classical Greek, differences from NT in syntax 2, 3, 18, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 64, 71, 79, 84, 85, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 109, 114, 117, 124, 128, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 142, 144, 147 f., 153, 158, 161, 197, 200, 207, 216, 220, 221, 226, 233, 235, 257, 261, 267, 273, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 311, 312, 331, 338, 341.
 Clause order 344-7— $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ -clause 320— $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ -clause 320.
 Clement of Alexandria 31.
 Clement of Rome 96—s. Index of Ref.
 Coleman, N. D. 333.
 Colwell, E. C. 178, 183-4.
 Commands, pres. and aor. 74 f.
 Comparatives 29-32—relative 3, 29, 30—comp. form of a comp. 29—f. pos. 30 f.—heightened 29—instead of superl. 2, 29—levelling of comp. and superl. 29—pos. f. 29—reduction of $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ η to η or $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 32—use of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ and $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$ w. pos. or comp. 7, 29, 31, 216.
 Comparative clauses 319-21— $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$ 319 f.— $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 319 f.— $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ 320.
 Concessive clauses 153, 157, 321—conjunctions 116—w. ptc. 153, 157.
 Conditional clauses 91 f., 109, 113-6, 319—conjunctions 113—negation 283 f., 319—opt. 119, 125-8, 319—parataxis instead 319—tenses 114—w. ptc. 157, 319— $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ 113, 114 f.— $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ w. impf? 116— $\epsilon\iota$ 91 f., 115 f., 125 ff.— $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ 272.
 Congruence—s. Agreement.
 Conjunctions: position 329—less rigid connection w. mood in Hell. Gk. 2, 107—co-ordinating 329-40—copulative 334 f., 338 f.—adversative 338, 340—causal 102 f., 158, 266, 318, 320—consec. 106, 336, 337—disjunctive 334—compar. 319 f.—concess. 116—condit. 113—temp. 110-13, 321.
 Consecutive clauses: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ 272— $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ 102— $\theta\theta\epsilon\nu$ 337— $\delta\tau\iota$ 318— $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ 336— $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ w. inf. 141, 142— $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 136— $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ 106, 136.
Constructio ad sensum 40, 311 f.
 Coptic 326.
 Copula, omission of 294-8.
 Copulative conjunctions—s. $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$.

Corpus Hermeticum 33.

Correlative: conjunctions 320, 334, 339—pronouns 46 f.

Couchoud, P.-L. 347.

Countries, names of (partit.) 210, 259—w. art. 169-72.

Daniel (LXX or Th.) 61, 71, 104 (non-fin. ἵνα), 203 ff. (παῖς), 332 (μὲν)—s. Index of Ref.

Dates 17.

Dative: declining 7, 236, 249—added to vbs. 236-44—adjectival 219 f.—as attribute of nouns 219, of adjs. 220—associative dat. 240—credit and discredit 239—dat. absol. 243—*dat. sympatheticus* (ethical) 239—"happen to" 240—indir. obj. 236-8—instrumental 240—interchange w. accus. 7, 243—locative 242 f.—*modi* 241—of accomp. circumstances 241—of adv. and disadv. 238—of agent 240—of cause 242—of duration of time 243 f.—of possession 239 f.—of ref. 238—of respect 220—"relationis" 220, 238 f.—temporal 243—verbal noun 241 f.—εἰς and ἐν encroaching 236, 251-3—Hebrew inf. absol. 241 f.—w. compd. vbs. 242—w. πρὸς 237, 251—s. ἐν, ἐπὶ, παρά, σύν.

Debrunner, A. 116, 141.

Declarative clauses: w. διότι, ὅτι, ὥς, ὡς ὅτι 134, 137, 148, 161—negation 284.

Delling, G. 232.

Demonstrative pronouns: substantival 44-7—attributive 192-4—adverbial uses 45—anarthr. not necessarily predic. 4—art. as 34, 36 f.—position 193, 349—οὗτος followed by inf., ἵνα, ὅτι, etc. 45—αὐτός 7, 40-2, 194—ἐκεῖνος 45 f., 192 f.—ὅδε 44, 192—οὗτος 44 f., 192 f.—τοιοῦτος, τοσοῦτος 46 f., 193 f.

Deponents: now prefer pass. forms 54, 57—pass. of trans. deponents 58. de Zwaan, J. 87.

Diatrise 293.

Dibelius, M. 183.

Didache 96, 332—s. Index of Ref.

Dio Cassius 26, 231, 245.

Dio Chrysostom 299.

Diodorus Siculus 57, 58, 71, 118, 126, 128, 130, 266, 279, 299—s. Index of Ref.

Diogenes Laertius 27, 52, 57, 96.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus 55, 61, 118, 130—s. Index of Ref.

Direct questions—s. Questions.

Disjunctive conjunctions 334.

Distributive: numerals 266—distrib. doubling 187—art. w. prep. phrase 14—distrib. sing. 23 f.—ἀνά 265 f.—εἰς 266—κατά 268.

Ecclesiastical Greek 50, 208, 248.

Elatives 3, 29, 30.

Ellipse: of apodosis 91, 319, 333—of subject 291-3—of εἶναι 231, 294-310—of ἡμέρα 17, 18—of χεῖρ 17—of ὥρα 17—of others 17—w. ἀλλ' ἵνα 304, 307, 330—w. ἵνα 304, 305—w. οὐχ ἵνα 308—w. εἴτε . . . εἴτε 333—s. δυνατόν, δυναμα.

Emendation 246.

Enoch, Greek 26.

Epexegesis, methods of: inf. 78, 139—inf. w. τοῦ 141—ἵνα 103 f., 129—εἰς τό w. inf. 143—ἐν τῷ w. inf. 146—καί 335.

Epictetus 33, 91, 126, 128, 303.

Esdras, I: non-fin. ἵνα 104—παῖς 202 ff.—s. Index of Ref.

Esther (LXX) 130 f.—s. Index of Ref.

Euripides 52, 96—s. Index of Ref.

Euthymius 52.

Exclamations 33, 50.

Exodus (LXX) 202 ff., 332—s. Index of Ref.

Ezekiel (LXX) 132, 203 f., 275, 279, 332—s. Index of Ref.

- Feminine : to form adv. phrases 21—f. neut. (pron.) 21.
 Field, F. 93.
 Final Clauses 95, 100-06, 111—position 344—w. ptc. 157 f.—opt. 128 f.—
 εἰ w. opt. 127—εἰς τό w. inf. 143—ἐν τῷ w. inf. 146—ἐπὶ 272—πρὸς τό
 w. inf. 144—τοῦ w. inf. 141.
 Final conjunctions : enlarged use of ἵνα 94 f.—ἵνα 95, 100-05—ὅπως
 105 f.—ὥς 105, 136—ὥστε 106—μή, μήπως, μήποτε after statement of
 fear 99.
 Foerster, W. 211, 269.
 Fridrichsen, A. 147.
 Friedrich, G. 53.
 Future tense 86 f.—opt. 128—inf. 86—ptc. 86 f., 135, 150, 153—after εἰ
 115—after ἵνα 100—deliberat. 86, 98—for imperat. 86—gnomic 86—
 lit. tr. of Heb. impf. 86—periphrasis f. 89—w. ὅπως 105—w. μήπως 99—
 w. οὐ μή 96 f.—no *Aktionsart* 86—interchanging w. aor. subj. 97.
 Gender 21-2—agreement 311—fem. f. neut. 6 f., 21—masc. f. fem. (and
 reverse) 21—neut. of persons 21—anomalies 210—variation 21, 22.
 General epistles : position of adj. 8.
 Genesis (LXX) 108 f., 202 ff., 237, 332, 341—s. Index of Ref.
 Genitive : addition to vb. 231-6—adjectival 207-19—after preps. (proper
 and impr.) ch. 18 *passim*—art. w. gen. of nouns 16, 166, 168, 179 f.—
 art. w. gen. of origin, etc. 16—art. w. partit. gen. of country 210—
 compar. 216—appositive (*materiae, epecegeticus*) 214 f.—local and
 temporal 235—objective or subjective 207, 210-12—partit. 7, 208-12—
 position of 217 f.—possessive 207 f., 231—price 258—quality 7, 212-4—
 separation 215 f., 235 f., 258 f.—w. adjs. and advs. 215 f.—w. ἀκούω
 161—chain of 218, 335—in Mark 219.
 Genitive absolute, misused and extended 4, 322 f.
 Geographical names : country in partit. gen. 210, 259—w. and without
 art. 169-72.
 Ghedini, G. 84.
 Gildersleeve, B. L. 166, 170, 171.
 Goodspeed, E. J. 336.
 Goodwin, W. W. 96, 105.
 Gospels : κύριε *sir* 34—γέγονα 70—πέποιθα etc. 82—fin. inf. 135—art.
 w. Ἰησοῦς 166 f.—position of adj. 349.
 Green, E. L. 191.
 Greenlee, J. H. 255.
 Harry, J. E. 192, 309.
 Harsing, C. 131.
 Hauck, F. 211.
 Hebrew influence—s. Semitisms.
 Hebrews, epistle to : neut. adj. w. dependent gen. 14—ἡμεῖς f. ἐγώ 28—
 fut. inf. 86—fut. pass. ptc. 87—periphr. tenses 89—ἵνα never imperat.
 95—οὐ μή 96—φοβέομαι μή (semi-lit.) 99—ἵνα w. subj. 101—opt. 119,
 120, 121—inf. abs. 136—style 137—inf. w. vbs. of believing, etc. 137—
 artic. inf. 140 ff.—εἰς τό w. inf. (final) 143—supplem. (predic.) ptc.
 158—position of πᾶς 203, 205—partit. gen. w. vbs. 231 f.—ἐν 257—
 aversion to σύν 265—to παρά w. dat. 273—ἕως, ἄχρι, μέχρι 276—μή w.
 ptc. 285—ellipse of εἶναι 299, 307 f.—καθάπερ 319—μέν . . . δέ 331—
 ὅθεν 336—τε 338—δήπου 339—asyndeton 340—position of compar.
 clauses 345—word-order 347, 350.
 Hellenistic Greek *passim*.
 Hendiadys 335.
 Hermas : πρῶτα and ὁψίως unclass. 17—comparison 30—οὗτος and
 ἐκεῖνος 45—artic. inf. w. pron. 148—*schema Atticum* 312—s. Index of Ref.
 Herodotus 6, 13, 96, 106, 155, 170, 171, 270, 272, 274, 294, 295, 296, 299.
 Hesychius 50.

Hiatus 28.

Historical books, later (LXX) 61—s. Index of Ref.

"Holy Ghost language" 9.

Homer 22, 28, 32, 36, 106, 195, 252, 337.

Horn, R. C. 105, 115, 119, 120, 122 f., 125, 126.

Howard, W. F. v, 8, 72, 80, 182, 209, 240, 293, 315, 333.

Howes, G. E. 284.

Ignatius 96—s. Index of Ref.

Imperative: pres. and aor. 74-8—perf. 85, 89—periphr. f. 89—replaced by subj. 93-8; by fut. 86; by *ἵνα*-clause 94 f., 102, 129, 305; by inf. 78; by ptc. 293, 303, 308, 310, 343—f. opt. 118—negation 282—asyndeton w. 342.

Imperfect 64-8—retreat before aor. 2, 64—confusion w. aor. 2, 64, 67—conative or desiderative 65, 72—incohesive 65—linear 65—descr. impf. woven w. aor. in narrative 66 f.—iterative 67—f. Engl. plupf. 67—periphr. f. 87—to express necessity 90 f.—impossible wish 91—"unreal indic." 91—condit. clauses 91 f., 116—w. *ἄν* to express repetition 124—w. *ὅταν* 124.

Impersonal constructions: in pass. 291—"they" 292 f.—scil. "the Scripture" 293.

Impersonal verbs 291-3.

Indeclinable: personal names w. art. 167 f.—*πλήρης* 315 f.

Indef. pronouns: attributive 195-7—*ἄνθρωπος* 195—*τις* 195—*εἷς* 4, 195 f.—*-ουν* and *-ποτε* 196—*οὐ . . . πᾶς* 196 f.

Indicative 90-3—*Aktionsart* 91—to express necessity 90 f.—wishes w. *ἄν* 91—unreal ind. w. *ἄν* 91 f.—condit. clauses 91 f.—f. opt. w. *ἄν* 92—w. *ἄν* in subord. clauses in iterative sense 92 f.—impf. ind. after *ὅταν* 92 f., 124, 125—pres. ind. after *ὅπου* *ἄν* 93; after *ἐάν* 115 f.—fut. ind. w. *οὐ μή* 97, 282; f. imperat. 86; in dubitat. or deliberat. questions 98; after *ἐάν* 116; after *ὅς* *ἄν* 110; after *ὅταν* 112—pres. and fut. ind. after *ἵνα* 100 f.—relat. clauses 109—after *ὥστε* 136—negation 281 f.—s. Present, Imperfect, etc.

Indirect questions: opt. 130 f., 132—s. Questions.

Indirect statement: opt. 129 f.—*ὅτι* f. accus. w. inf. 148—mixed w. direct 325 f.

Infinitive 134-49—non-class. usage 2, 90, 134, 137, 148, 149—articular 2, 78, 134, 140-6—fin.-consec. 2, 78, 105 f., 134-6—replaced by *ἵνα* or *ὅτι* 2, 134, 137, 138, 139, 148 f.—after prep. 8, 78, 85, 105 f., 142-6—*ἐν τῷ* 8, 144 f.—*εἰς τό* 8, 143—*πρός τό* 144—*τό* 140 f.—*τοῦ* 8, 141, 142—w. *πρίν* 78, 140—of wish (epistol.) 78—imperat. 78—*πρό τοῦ* 78—epexeget. 78, 139—*Aktionsart* 78 f.—pres. and aor. 78 f.—fut. 79—w. *μέλλω* 79—pf. 85—w. function of dat. 134-6—w. various case-functions 136-46—inf. abs. (Gk) 136—w. vbs. *perceive*, *believe*, *say*, etc. 136-40—as dir. obj. 137 f.—in impers. phrases 139—w. nouns and adjs. 139—cases w. (nom., acc.) 146-9—negation 281, 285 f.

Inscriptions 22—s. Index of Ref.

Instrumental—s. Dative and *ἐν*.

Interrogative conjunctions: *οὐ* (*οὐχι*) and *μή* 282—*οὐκοῦν* 282, 337—*μήτι* (*γε*) 283—*οὐ μή* 283—*ἄρα* (*γε*) 330—*εἰ* 319, 333—*ἤ* 334.

Interrogatives: confutives w. rel. (Hell. Gk.) 4, 49 f., 195—dir. interrog. pron. in indir. qu. 4, 48—pronouns 48-50—is *ὁ* interrog.? 50—exclam. 50—*ποῖος* = *τίς* 48—w. *καί* 334.

Intrans. verbs 51-3—used transitively 2, 51 f.—causative sense 52 f.

Ionic Greek 31, 94, 265, 269, 294, 295, 296, 304.

Ionicism in NT: *ὅστις* f. *ὅς* 47—*ἀνατέλλω* causat. 53—*σύν* with 265—copula 294—*ὥς* 321.

Isaiah (LXX) 132, 140, 203 ff., 271, 272, 274, 279, 332—s. Index of Ref.

Isaëus 97.

Isocrates 18, 170, 171—s. Index of Ref.

James, epistle of : ὡςπερ 320—periphr. tenses 88 f.—ἵνα never imperat. 95—artic. inf. 140—τοῦ w. inf. 142—position of πᾶς 203, 205—ellipse of εἶναι 299, 308.

Jannaris, A. 312, 315.

Jeremiah (LXX) 203 ff., 230, 332—s. Index of Ref.

Jeremias, J. 63, 237, 345.

Jerome 26—s. Vulgate.

Jewish Greek, spoken 4, 9.

Job (LXX) 62, 131, 202 ff.—s. Index of Ref.

Johannessohn, M. 33, 335.

John, gospel and epistles : style 1, 5, 25 (like Rev), 34 (artistry), 38 (class. correct), 157 (variety)—πρωτα and δευτερα unclass. 17—*plur. sociativus* in 1 Jn 28—ὁ δέ rare 37—οὗτος foll. by ἵνα, ὅτι, etc. 45—ἐκεῖνος 45 f.—anaphora (οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος) 46—ὅστις rare 47—ὅς 47—ὕπαγω often intrans. 51—hist. pres. favoured (Jn) 60, 61 ; varied w. aor. 61, 62—epistol. aor. 73—strange use of tense 75, 85—pres. ptc. of relatively fut. time 80—pf. favoured 83, 84, 85—periphrasis f. pres., impf., pf. 87, 88, 89—imperat. ἵνα 95—οὐ μή 96 f.—ἵνα preferred to ὅπως 101, 103 f., 105—ὅταν w. subj. 112—ἄν and ἐάν 113—ἐάν w. subj. 114 f.—τοῦ w. inf. varied w. ἵνα 141—art. after prep. rare 142—art. w. prop. names 167—no ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν 155—ἀπεκρίθη λέγων 155—avoids redund. ptes. 155—asyndeton 155—favours co-ordination 155—λέγων 156—ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν 156—art. w. Ἰησοῦς 167—favours ἐμός 191—ἕτερος rare 197—position of πᾶς 203, 205—τις never w. gen. 209—κοινωνέω w. dat. 232—case w. ἀκούω 234—εἰς f. ἐν 255—favours ἐκ 260—ἐκ to denote sects, etc. 260—theological ἐν 263—σύν and μετά 265—παρά w. accus. absent 273—ὑπό w. acc. rare 275—prep. repeated 275—ἕως, ἄχρι, μέχρι absent 276—ἐνώπιον rare 277—οὐ varied w. μή, 281—meanings of οὐ πᾶς 282—οὐ 285—copula inserted 294, 299, 303 f.—ellipse before ἵνα 298—καθώς 320—temp. ὥς 321—ὅτι *recit.* 326—οὖν 329, 337—τε rare and uncertain 338—asyndeton 340 f.—γὰρ rare 331—μέντοι 340—τότε 341.

Josephus 13, 26, 33, 60, 61, 135, 144, 172, 191, 227, 243, 245—s. Index of Ref.

Jude, ep. of 119, 203, 205, 273, 308—vol. opt. 121.

Judges (LXX) 132, 202 ff., 332—s. Index of Ref.

Jülicher, A. 316.

Katz, P. 277.

Kennedy, H. A. A. 262.

Kilpatrick, G. D. v, 191, 209, 229, 279, 320.

Kingdoms (LXX) 62, 132, 202 ff., 279—s. Index of Ref.

Klostermann, E. 50, 156, 168, 316.

Knabenbauer, J. 316.

Knox, R. A. 335.

Koine : literary 45—and literary language 81—Ptolemaic period *passim*—Imperial 66, 68, 89, 96, 105, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 125, 138, 255, 257, 258.

Krebs, F. 143.

L.S. 96.

Lagrange, M.-J. 18, 32, 38, 61, 87, 226, 252, 316, 334, 340, 341.

Laird, A. G. 284.

Lamentations (LXX) 52.

Latin versions 49, 58, 86.

Latinisms (alleged) : γάμοι 27—voc. without ὦ 33—*aoristic* pf. 71—epistol. aor. 72 f.—*plupf.* 83—οὐ ὅψη (and pl.) 86—subj. in rel. clauses 109—pass. inf. f. act. w. *verba iubendi* 138—accus. refl. pron. in accus. w. inf.-construction 147—omission of art. 173—πόλις w. gen. of name 215—*δμοιος* w. gen. 216—*κονδύλους* ἐλαβεν 241—ὁψέ 278—impers. pass. 291—τί πρός σε ; *quid hoc a te?* 303.

Lightfoot, J. B. 55, 56.

Linear action 59, 64, 67, 71, 77, 86, 89.

Literary features in NT: ὅδε 44—τοῦτ' ἐστίν 45—pf. 83—s. Optative, and *passim*.

Ljungvik, H. 39, 316, 321.

Lobel, E. 125.

Local clauses, position 344.

Locative—s. Dative.

Lohmeyer, E. 102 f., 177.

Lucian 245, 269.

Lucianic text 80.

Luke-Acts: style 2, 8, 137, 158—τοῦ w. inf. 8, 142—Septuagintisms 8, 142, 145, 156—art. inf. 8, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144 f., 262—τὰ κατὰ (of general relationship) (Ac) 14—τὰ περί 15—scil. ἡμέρᾳ in dates 17—pl. of ὄχλος 26—meaning of πρῶτος 32—voc. 33—prol. Lk. 33—Latinism 33, 147—word-order 33—Semit. ὁ εἰς . . . ὁ ἕτερος 36—(ὁ) μὲν οὖν (Ac) 37, 337—Semit. redund. of αὐτοῦ (Lk 1) 38—favours unemph. αὐτός 40—demonstr. αὐτός 194—more fond than Mt of ἑαυτοῦ 42—reads ψυχὴ as refl. pron. 43—removes anaphoric οὗτος 45—δς and δστις confused 47—correcting Mt? 49—ἐκλέγομαι 55—ποιέομαι 56—avoids histor. pres. 60 f.—φησὶν 61—subtlety 75 f.—tenses and Mt 77 f.—fut. inf. (Ac) 79, 86—pres. pf. 82—use of pf. 84—fut. ptc. 86 f.—periphr. f. pres., etc. 87—9—οὐ μὴ 96 f.—φοβέομαι μὴ (semi-lit.) 99—ἵνα w. ind. 100—ἵνα w. subj. 101—imperat. ἵνα 95—stylistic ὅπως (Ac) 106—epexeg. ἵνα 103—ὅπως ἂν 105—ἕως 111—ὅταν w. subj. 112 f.—ἐάν w. subj. 114 f.—atticisms 131—opt. 119, 121, 123, 130 f.—inf. f. result 136—inf. w. vbs. *believe, say* 137—stylistic inf. (Ac) 138—τοῦ w. 2nd fin. inf. 142—τοῦ μὴ consec. 142—aor. inf. of anterior action 145—pleon. ἐγένετο 145—accus. w. inf. 149—avoids ptc. 154—λέγων 156—predic. ptc. 158—rule w. anaphor. art. 166—ἀκούω w. gen. and ptc. (Ac) 161—art. w. place-names (Ac) 170 f.—use of πνεῦμα 175 f.—τό before indir. qu. 182—ἀνὴρ f. τις 195—ἕτερος 197—ἅπας 199—πάντες ἀνθρώποι 200—position of πᾶς 203, 205—adj. gen. 207—κρατέω 232—εἰς f. ἐν 254—σύν 265—κατὰ w. gen. 268—repetition of prep. 275—παρά 272—ἕως, ἄχρι, μέχρι 276—ἐνώπιον 277—οὐ w. ptc. 285—καθώς 320—temp. ὡς 321—ὥσεί 321—δέ and καί 322—ὅτι *recit.* 326—gen. abs. 322—ἀλλά 329—ἄρα (γε) 330—γάρ 331—μὲν . . . δέ 331—εἰ in indir. qu. 333—διό (Ac) 333—οὖν 337—τε (Ac) 338, 339—πλὴν 338—τότε 341—ellipse of copula 295, 299, 301, 304 f.

Lund, N. W. 345.

Lyonnet, S. 272.

Maccabees, I 104 (non-fin. ἵνα), 274 (ὅπό)—s. Index of Ref.

Maccabees, II 60 (hist. pres.,) 130 (opt.)—s. Index of Ref.

Maccabees, II–IV 274.

Maccabees, IV 33, 123, 129, 140, 332—s. Index of Ref.

McNeile, A. H. 341,

Malalas 134, 298.

Mantey, J. R. 266 267, 337.

Marchalianus, codex 44.

Marcus Aurelius 58.

Marcus, R. 267.

Margolis, H. 334.

Mark, gospel of: C. H. Turner and 2, 254, 292, 342—correct use of pf. 5, 69—πρῶτα and ὁψία unclass. 17—δ ἐστίν 48—change of subj. marked by ὁ (οἱ) δέ 37—favours hist. pres. 60, 61, 62—H. St. J. Thackeray and 62—impf. 66, 67—aor. 67—periphr. f. pres., impf. 67, 87, 88, 89,—pres. pf. 82—pf. 83—scribes and 87—position of copula 89—imperat. ἵνα 95—οὐ μὴ 96 f.—ἵνα frequ. 101, 103—non-fin. ἵνα 104—rel. clauses 108—ἕως 111, 276—ὅταν w. subj. 112—ἐάν w. subj. 114 f.—opt. 119—

- wish opt. 121—*ἔσταν* w. ind. 125—*εἰ* w. fut. ind. (wish) 127—M. Zerwick and 137, 341, 342—*ἄρχομαι* 138—artic. inf. 141—*ἰδεῖν* w. ptc. or *ὅτι* 161—art. w. *Ἰησοῦς* 166 f.—*ἕτερος* absent 197—word-order w. gen. 217—attrib. and partit. gen. 219—word-order of *εὐθύς* and *πάλιν* 229—G. D. Kilpatrick and 229, 320—constr. w. *ἔρχομαι* 257—*παρά* 272—*παρά* w. acc. only local 273—repet. of prep. 275—*ἐνώπιον* absent 277—impers. "they" 292 f.—insertion of copula 294—ellipse of copula 299, 306—pl. vb. w. *ὄχλος* 312—*καθώς* 320—gen. abs. 322 f.—*ὅτι recit.* 326—*δέ* or *καί* 329, 332, 334—*μέν* . . . *δέ* 331 f.—*τότε* 341—position of verb 348.
- Mary of Bethany, identification 80.
- Masculine: f. fem. or neut. 21—masculinizing of *πέτρα* 22—pl. incl. masc. and fem. components 22.
- Matthew, gospel of: *πρωτὰ* and *ὀψία* unclass. 17—meaning of *πολλοί* 26—pl. of *ὄχλος* 26—oblique *αὐτός* 38—avoids refl. pron. 42—anaphora: prefers *οὗτος* to *ἐκεῖνος* 46—*ὅς* and *ὅστις* confused 47, 48—*ὅ* *ἔστιν* 48—*λέγει* 61, 340—style 66, 158—*γέγονεν* f. pf. 70—Chantraine and pf. 71—tenses and Lk. 77 f.—periphr. f. pres., impf. 88, 89—imperat. *ἴνα* 94—*οὐ μή* 96 f.—epexeg. *ἴνα* 103—non-fin. *ἴνα* 104—rel. clauses 107, 108—and LXX 108—*ἕως* 111—*ἔταν* w. subj. 112—*ἔάν* w. subj. 114 f.—artic. inf. 135, 141—fin. inf. (cp. Mk) 135—*ἄρχομαι* 138—*τοῦ* w. 2nd fin. inf. 142—Semit. *ἐἴς* 196—*ἕτερος* 197—position of adv. 228—*καί* *ἰδοῦ* 229—*εἰς* and *ἐν* correctly distinct 254—*παρά* w. accus. only local 273—repet. of prep. 275—*ἕως*, *ἄχρι*, *μέχρι* 276—*ἐνώπιον* absent 277—*οὐ* 285—ellipse of *εἶναι* 299, 309 f.—*ὁ πᾶς* w. ptc. 316—*ὥσπερ* 320—gen. abs. 322—*ὅτι recit.* 326—*μέν* . . . *δέ* 331 f.—*γάρ* 331—*πλὴν* 338—asyndeton 340—*τότε* 341.
- Mayser, E. *passim*.
- Meecham, H. G. v, 81, 268, 343.
- Meisterhans, K. 122, 128.
- Menander 18—s. Index of Ref.
- Michaelis, W. 212.
- Middle voice 53—7—in class. Gk. 54—rarely refl. in NT 54—mid. f. act. 54—6—forms tend to merge w. pass. 54—not recipr. in NT 54—pass. f. mid. 56 f.—act. f. mid. 56 f.—not very significant 56—disappearing 56—7.
- Milligan, G. 25, 293.
- Milligan, W. 345.
- Minor Prophets (LXX) 203 f., 274, 279, 332—s. Index of Ref.
- Modern Greek 3, 17, 18, 26, 31, 32, 36, 40, 51, 52, 53, 58, 60, 68, 69, 74, 75, 91, 94, 95, 99, 103, 107, 138, 166, 171, 192, 212, 216, 225, 235, 236, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 261, 270, 284, 286, 295, 304, 312, 315, 336, 342, 347.
- Moffatt, J. 317, 336.
- Moule, C. F. D. 73, 86, 152, 178, 211, 233, 234, 245, 249, 267, 269, 271, 291, 292, 317, 337.
- Moulton, J. H. v, 1, 9, 16, 34, 63, 70, 77 f., 86, 96, 143, 147, 168, 194, 233, 248, 261, 269, 293, 308, 315, 316, 343.
- Multiplicatives 187.
- N.E.B. (New English Bible) 95, 102, 137, 143, 143, 145, 146, 151, 176, 181, 187, 212, 335, 336, 348, 350.
- Nauck, W. 337.
- Negatives 94, 95, 281—7, 286 (double).
- Neuter: substantival expressions 13 f.—neut. adj. w. sing. or pl. of persons (collective) 14, 150—plur. adverbially 21—masc. f. 21, 312, 314 f.—fem. f. (Heb.) 21—*ὅ* *ἔστιν* 48—pronom. pred. in neut. (*τι*, *οὐδέν*, *ὅ*, etc.) 311—predic. adj. in neut. 311—sg. and pl. vb. w. neut. pl. 312 f.—*Οὐαί* 315.
- Nissen, Th. 307.

Nominative 230 f.—f. voc. 3, 34 f.—*ad sensum* 230—prop. nouns without syntax 230—parenthet. (ὄνομα) 230—incongr. ptc. in nom. 230, 314, 316, 317—of time 231—absol. (*pendens*) 314, 316—indeclinable πλήρης, εἰς, ἔχων, λέγων, λέγοντες 315.

Norden, E. 347.

Noun: substitutes f. 13–8—ellipse of 16 ff.—as attribute 185.

Number 22–28—agreement 311–4—distrib. sing. 7, 23, 25—collective sing. 22 f.—dual 29, 32—eccentric usage 210, 317—*constr. ad sens.* 311 f.—collective noun w. pl. vb. 311 f.—ἕκαστος w. pl. vb. 312—neut. pl. subj. w. pl. vb. (*schema Atticum*) 312 f.—of vb. w. several co-ord. words 313 f.—pl. (not neut) subj. w. sing. vb. 315—s. Singular, Plural. Numerals 187 f.—art. w. 178 f.—Aram. use 187—w. τις 195—s. Distributives, Cardinals.

Oepke, A. 255, 263.

Omission—s. Ellipse.

Optative 6, 114, 117, 118–33—periphrastic 88—survival in LXX and NT 90, 127, 132—dying out 90, 94, 118 f., 120, 124—πρίν 113, 140—fut. opt. 118—*aor. opt.* 118—potential 118 f., 120, 122–4, 132 f.—iterative (oblique) 119, 124 f., 126, 128—volitive 118 f., 120–2, 127—Byzant. period 119, 125, 126, 130—artificial revival 119, 125, 130, 134—classified 119—main clauses 119, 120–4—subord. clauses 119, 124–32—LXX 119, 120 f., 122, 123, 126, 129—conditional 119, 125–8—comparat. 119, 132—final 119, 127, 128 f.—temp. 119—ἐν 120, 122, 124—“urbane” 122—set phrases 123, 131, 132—replaced by indic. 125—indir. speech 129 f.—indir. qu. 130 f., 132—negation 281, 283.

Orators, Attic 91, 106.

Ordinals, cardinals f. 187.

Origen 14, 177, 227, 316.

Ottley, R. R. 93.

Owen, E. C. E. 50.

Pallis, A. 137, 291.

Papyri 7, 8, 22 and *passim*.

Parataxis 9, 155, 334 f., 342.

Parenthesis 127, 342.

Participle 150–62—predicative 150, 158–60—position 79—*Aktionsart* 79, 151—pres., *aor.* 79–81—pf. 85—fut. 86 f., 135, 150, 153, 158—pres. ptc. f. fut. ptc. 87—in periphr. 87–9, 158—w. ἄρχομαι 138—w. χαίρω 138—attributive 150–3—circumstantial (adv.) 150, 153–8—w. art. 150–3—substantival 150 f.—co-ordinate w. fin. vb. 150, 343—imperative 150, 293, 303, 308, 310, 343—πᾶς ὁ w. ptc. 151—redundant ὧν 151 f.—absolute 153, 322 f.—particles w. 153, 154, 157, 158—supplem. 153—modal-temporal 154–7—f. *with* 154—pleonastic 154, 155—f. Heb. inf. absol. 156—concessive 157—causal 157—oblique cases 160—negation 281, 284—*anacoloutha* w. 312, 314, 316—indecl. λέγων, etc. 315—incongruencies w. 315 f.

Particles 329–40—new compound 4, 329—reduced number and use 4, 329—s. Conjunctions.

Partitive expressions as subj. or obj. 7, 208 f.

Passive 57 f.—of vbs. w. indir. obj. 57 f.—trans. depon. vbs. w. pass. sense 58—w. dat., not ὑπὸ 58—of vbs. w. double accus. 247.

Pauline epistles and Pastorals: adnom. gen. 1—correct use of pf. 5, 69—position of adj. 8—artic. inf. 8, 140, 141 (τοῦ), 141 (εἰς τό, πρὸς τό), 143 (εἰς τό)—neut. adj. w. depend. gen. (not in pap.) 13, 14—neut. expressions f. abstr. noun 13—οἱ ἐκ-ists 15, 260—τά κατά f. general relationship 14—τά περί 15—αἰῶνες *eternity* 25—ἡμεῖς f. ἐγώ (*pl. sociat.*) 28—vocative 33—use of ἐγώ, σύ 39—οὗτος foll. by ἵνα, ὅτι, etc. 45—αὐτό τοῦτο 45—ὅς and ὅστις rule 47—ὅ ἐστιν 48—ἐνεργέομαι 56—epistol. *aor.* 73—μή τις w. *aor. subj.* (f. imper.) 77—prefers pres.

- to aor. in commands 77—periphr. tenses 88 f.—imperat. *ἴνα* 95—οὐ μή 96—φοβέομαι μή (semi-lit.) 99—*ἴνα* w. ind. 100—*ἴνα* w. subj. 101—epexeg. *ἴνα* 103 f.—*δταν* w. subj. 112—temp. *ὡς ἂν* 112—*ἔάν* w. subj. 114 f.—opt. 119—wish opt. 121—μή γένοιτο 121, 330—εἰ τύχοι 125, 133—inf. v. vbs. *believe, say* 137—style 137, 158—λέγων 156—supplem. (predic.) ptc. 158—Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός without art. 167—pf. f. aor. 170—ὁ κύριος 174—νόμος 177—Colwell's rule 184—ἕτερος 197—πάντες ἄνθρωποι 200—οἱ πάντες 201—position of πᾶς 203, 205—mystic gen. 212—σῶμα 213—several genitives together 218—dat. of cause 242—εἰς and ἐν distinct 256—mystic ἐν 262 f.—σύν 265—repet. of prep. 275—ξως, ἄχρι, μέχρι 276—μή οὐ in qu. 283—μή w. ptc. 285—ellipse of copula 295, 299, 300—3—χάρις ὑμῖν, οὐχ οἶον ὅτι, etc. 300—καθάπερ 319—καθώς 320—gen. abs. 322—οὐχί 329—ἀλλά 329 f.—ἄρα, ἄρα(γε) 330—γάρ 331—μέν . . . δέ 331 f.—νυνὶ δέ 331—δέ and καί 332—διότι, διό, εἴτε . . . εἴτε 333—πλὴν weak 338—τε 338—asyndeton 340—parenthesis 342—anacoloutha 343—chiasmus 346.
- Pentateuch (LXX) 61, 132, 202 ff., 271, 272, 274, 279—s. Index of Ref.
- Peoples, names of, w. art. 169.
- Perfect: unique features in NT 5, 69, 85—Aram. infl. 5—disappearance through assumption of aoristic functions 2, 68 f., 81—resultative (act., trans.) 5, 69, 82, 83, 84, 85—rarer in NT than Koine 5—Koine 68, 81—aoristic 68—71, 81, 85—Imp. and Byzant. period 68 f.—periphr. f. 69, 81, 88 f.—intrans. in origin 69, 81—stem assumes aor. endings 69, 81—MGr 69—gnomic 73—ptc. 81, 85—*Aktionsart* 81 f., 85—indic. 81—5—pres. meaning 82, 85—pres. forms coined 82—exegesis 84 f.—moods 85.
- Periphrasis in verb 5, 69, 81, 85, 87—9.
- Pernot, H. 135, 297, 304, 335.
- Perry, A. M. 175.
- Personal construction 291 f.
- Personal pronouns: non-class. insertion 3, 4—instead of reflex. pron. (Hell. and Semit.) 3, 41, 42 (even after prep. 42 f.)—gen. preferred to possess. pron. 4—pleonast. after rel. 9, 325—in nom. 37 f., 40—oblique cases 38—40—ἐγώ, σὺ in Paul 39—LXX use of nom. 40—*constr. ad sens.* 40—αὐτός = οὗτος (demonstr.) 41—position of dat. 349.
- Peter, epistles of: atticism in 2Pt 30—tenses of imperat. (1 Pt) 76—prefers aor. to pres. in commands 77—fut. ptc. 87—periphr. tenses 88 f.—*ἴνα* not imperat. 95—οὐ μή 97—opt. 119, 126 f.—wish opt. 121—ἕτερος absent 197—artic. inf. 140 ff.—position of πᾶς 203, 205—φείδομαι w. gen. (class. 2 Pt) 235—ὑπαρχω w. dat. (2 Pt) 240—μή w. ptc. 285—ellipse of εἶναι 299, 308—καθώς 320.
- Philo 26, 125, 126, 180—s. Index of Ref.
- Philostratus 159, 299—s. Index of Ref.
- Phonetic confusion 6, 94, 98, 101, 129, 130, 132.
- Phrynichus 158, 232, 320.
- Plato 96, 97, 98, 106, 118, 171, 180, 228, 279.
- Pleonasm: μᾶλλον 3, 29—pleonastic pers. pron. after relat. 9, 325—ἔρχομαι 138, 154 f.—ἐγένετο 139, 145, 148 f., 291, 335—λαβών, λέγων, ἔχων, etc. 154, 155—negatives 286.
- Pluperfect 86—periphr. f. 88 f.
- Plural f. 25—8—f. one pers. (allusive) 7, 25, 26—place-names 26—festivals 26 f.—Sabbath 27—towns 27—pl. f. sing. (class. and non-class.) 27—*pl. poeticus* 27 f.—*pl. modestiae* 28—“cases of” 28—*pl. sociativus* 28—*pl. auctoris* 28—pl. or sing. vb. w. neut. pl. subj. 312 f.—w. several subjs. 313 f.
- Plutarch 16, 53, 128, 191, 279—s. Index of Ref.
- Polybius 5, 6, 52, 57, 70, 71, 82, 106, 118, 122, 124, 128, 144, 179, 251, 267, 269, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 291, 340—s. Index of Ref.
- Positive: f. superl. (Heb.) 3, 31—w. παρά, etc. 7, 29, 31, 32—f. compar. 29, 31—compar. f. pos. 30 f.

Possessive pronouns 189-192—gen. of pers. pron. f. 4, 189—word-order 189—*ἴδιος* 191 f.

Prayer, significance of grammar f. 75, 77.

Predicate : anarthr. demonstr. prons. not necessarily predic. 4—nominal and verbal 11—ptc. 159—predic. adj. without art. 182-4—w. art. 183—position of predic. adj. 183—Colwell 183—pred. noun w. *εἶναι* and dat. 239—*ὡς* with pred. 246, 321—*εἰς* w. pred. 246, 253—predic. accus. 253—*τί, οὐδέν, ὅ* 311—*schema Atticum* 312 f.

Prepositions 6, 249-80—fluidity in meaning and use 2, 3, 261—theology of 3—increase in number 3—cases w. 6, 249 f., 258—w. inf. 8, 78, 85, 105 f., 142-6—w. proper nouns 170 f.—prep. phrases as attribute 221 f.—improper 250—anomalies 254-7—repetition or non-repet. w. 2nd noun 275—circumlocutions f. 279 f.—w. adv. 250—position of prep. phrase 349 f.

Present : *Aktionsart* 59 f., 64, 73, 74-6, 107—indic. 60-4, 98, 100 f., 115—subjunc. 94 f., 97, 101, 107, 108 ff., 112, 114—imperat. 74-6—inf. 72, 78 f., 145—ptc. 79-81—in indir. speech ref. to past 2, 64—historic 5, 60-2—perfective 62—futuristic 63—gnomic 63—conative 63, 72—expresses relat. time 80—periphr. f. 87—delib. 98—after *ἵνα* 100 f.—after *ἐάν* 115 f.—in—*οὐκ* 71.

Prévot, A. 58.

Procopius of Caesarea 119.

Prolepsis 3, 9, 41, 74, 325—proleptic attraction 226.

Pronouns : extended use in Koine 3, 50—indir. pron. disappearing 4—substantival 37-50—proleptic 41—distinctions blurred 50—attrib. 189-97—s. Demonstr., Interrog., Indef., Pers., Possess., Refl., Relat., Recipr.

Proper nouns w. and without art. 165-9.

Proverbs (LXX) 131 f., 202 ff.—s. Index of Ref.

Psalms (LXX) 132, 202 ff., 272—s. Index of Ref.

Psichari, J. 266.

Punctiliar action 59, 64, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 86.

Q 332.

Quality, expressed by art. w. adj. 13 f.

Questions, direct : *ἄρα* 49 f.—prons. 48-50—dubit. and delib. qu. 98 f.—*οὐ* 282 f.—w. *οὐ μή* 283—conjunctions 282, 283, 319, 330, 333, 334, 337. indirect : 116 f.—and relat. clause 4, 49 f., 195—use of dir. interr. pron. 4, 48.

RSV 30, 95, 137, 143, 145, 146, 151, 265, 335, 336, 350.

RV 55, 95, 137, 143, 151.

RV^{ms} 40.

Radermacher, L. 120, 124, 125, 126, 128, 135, 283, 316, 321.

Rahfs, A. 108.

Reciprocal pronouns 43 f.—refl. pron. f. 43—*εἰς τὸν ἑαυ* 187.

Redundancy—s. Pleonasm.

Reflexive idea : expressed by act. rather than mid. in Hell. Gk. 54.

Reflexive pronouns : substantive 41-3—3rd pers. f. all pers. 4, 42—Semit. periphr. f. 7, 43—direct 41-3—indir. 43—accent query 41—not increasing in Hell. Gk. 41, 42—*αὐτοῦ* nearly dead 41—often a substit. f. *ἐμός, σός* 42.

Reinhold, H. 122.

Regard, P. F. 302, 303, 304.

Relative attraction 324.

Relative clauses 47 f., 106-110—and interrog. clause 4, 49 f., 195—f. fin. clause 107, 109—f. condition 107—f. consec. 109—negation 106, 284—w. *ἐάν* or *ἥν* 108—moods 109 f.—w. subj. without *ἥν* 110—ptc. equiv. to 151—include antecedent 324—continued by main clause 325.

Relative pronouns 47-8—confused w. interr. 4, 49 f.—pleon. pers. pron. in rel. clause 9, 325—w. *μέν* . . . *δέ* not class. 36—confusion in Koine

of *ὅς* and *ὅστις*, *ὅσος* and *ὅπόσος* 47—rules 47 f.—general rel. 47, 107—*ὅσπερ* 48—*ὅ ἐστίν* (*i.e.*) 48—*ὅ* interrog.? 50—*ὅς ἂν* f. *ἐάν τις* 107 f.—*constr. ad sens.* 312—rel. attract. and inverse 324.

Repetition : of prep. 275—distrib. doubling 187.

Revelation : usage and style like Jn 25—*αἰῶνες eternity* 25—repet. of pers. pron. 39—*τάδε λέγει* 44—*ὅ ἐστίν* 48—pf. f. aor. 69, 70—periphr. tenses 88 f.—fut. f. Heb. impf. 86—imperat. *ἴνα* 95, 102—*οὐ μὴ* 96 f.—*ἴνα* w. fut. ind. 100—*ἴνα* w. subj. 101—epexeg. *ἴνα* 104—*τοῦ* w. inf. (imper.) 141—*anarthr.* *Ἰησοῦς* 167—*ἕτερος* absent 197—position of *πᾶς* 203, 205—*προσκυνέω* w. accus. 245—*εἰς* and *ἐν* not confused 255—*ἐκ* against *ἀπό* 259—*σύν* absent 265—*παρά* w. acc. absent 273—*ὑπό* w. acc. absent 275—repet. of prep. 275—*ἄχρις* 276—*ἐνώπιον* frequ. in 1st part 277—ellipse of *εἶναι* 299, 310—solecisms 314 f.—*ὥσπερ* 320—*γάρ* 331—*μέν* lacking 332—*δέ* or *καί* 332—*οὖν* 337—few particles 341—*parataxis* 341—*μετά τοῦτο* (*ταῦτα*) 341.

Rhetoric 39.

Rhythm 39.

Rife, J. M. 347, 348.

Robertson, A. T. 80, 255, 283.

Schema Atticum 312 f.

Schlatter, A. 316.

Schmid, W. 135.

Schmidt, K. L. 27, 176.

Schneider, J. 26.

Schrenk, G. 213, 267.

Schwyzer, E. 33.

Scribes' corrections 25, 26, 27, 35, 38, 39, 43, 44, 52, 56, 68, 70, 71, 76, 77, 82, 83, 87, 91, 96, 97, 98, 100, 109, 116, 129, 132, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 152, 167, 178, 184, 190, 200, 209, 218, 228, 243, 245, 264, 286, 287, 312, 314, 319, 321, 322, 324, 325, 333, 335, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343.

Selwyn, E. G. 235.

Semitic influence 4, 8, 23, 88, 96 and *passim*—in MGr 32.

Semitisms 4—interchange of *εἰς* and *ἐν* 2, 249, 251, 254–6, 257—pers. pron. : unemph. nom. 3, 37 f. ; oblique cases frequ. and unemph. 3, 38 ; f. refl. 42—pos. f. superl. (Heb.) 3, 31—proleptic pron. (Aram.) 3, 9, 41, 209—reduced number and use of particles 4—hist. pres. 5, 61, 61—perf. aor. (Heb. stative pf.) 5, 72, 73—periphrasis 5, 85, 87–9—partit. expression as subj. or obj. (Heb.) 7, 207 f.—*αὐτός* demonstr. 7, 41—gen. of qual. f. adj. 7, 212 f.—*ἀπό μιᾶς* (Aram.) 7, 18, 21—*ψυχή* refl. pron. 7, 43—*οὐ . . . πᾶς* 7, 196 f.—*πᾶς . . . οὐ, εἰς . . . οὐ* 196 f.—*anarthr.* *πᾶς* 199 f.—case w. vbs. 7—distrib. sing. 7, 23, 25, 187—*τοῦ* w. inf. 8, 141, 142—*ἐν τῷ* w. inf. 8, 144 f.—*εἰς τό* w. inf. 8, 143—position of adj. 8—pleon. pers. pron. after rel. pron. 9, 325—word-order 9, 193—*parataxis* 9, 155, 334 f., 342—*asyndeton* (Aram.) 9, 341—fem. f. neut. (Heb.) 21—*εἰς κρυπτὴν* (Aram.) 21—pl. f. sing. (*αἰῶνες, οὐρανοί*) 25—true superl. almost dead 31—*ἀπό προσώπου* 25, 279—pl. of *ἡμέρα* (Heb.) 27—periphr. w. *πρόσωπον, στόμα, χεῖρ* 25, 279, 280—pos. f. compar. (Heb.) 29, 31, 32—compar. expressing exclusion (*ἢ* or *παρά* f. *μᾶλλον ἢ*) 32—*vocat.* 33, 34 f.—Aram. emph. state 34—Heb. *constr.* state 34, 169, 170, 173, 179 f.—uses of *εἰς* 36, 187, 195 f.—*ὅδε* f. *οὗτος* 44—*causatives in*—*εὖςιν* 52 f.—act. form w. pass. meaning (Aram.) 53—*ποιέομαι ἔλεος* (Heb.) 56—fut. ind. for Heb. impf. (Rev) 86 ; f. imper. 86—pres. ptc. f. fut. ptc. 87—imperat. *ἴνα* 95, 102, 129, 305—*compar.* opt. 132—*τίθημι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, etc.* 139—use of inf. (without *ὥστε*) to express result 134–6—*artic. inf.* 134—pleon. *ἄρχομαι* 138, 154 f.—*complem. inf.* 138 f.—*ἐγένετο* constrs. 139, 145, 148 f., 291, 335—*πρός τό* w. inf. 144—*artic. ptc.* as proper noun (Heb.) 150 f.—*ptc. f. rel. clause* 152 f.—pleon. *λαβὼν, λέγων* 154, 155—*ἔγραψεν λέγων* 156—*ὁδὸν* as prep. 175, 212, 247—*ptc. f. Heb. inf. abs.* 156—*ἐν in*

multiplic. 188—distrib. doubling 187—*ἄνθρωπος* f. *τις* 195—*εἰς* in post-pos. 196—*πᾶς ὁ* frequ. 201, 316—*υἱός* 207 f.—*μυριάδες μυριάδων* 210—partit. *ἐν* 210—obj. gen. 212—appos. gen. or gen. of content 214—pron. added to gen. of qual. properly belonging to 1st noun 214—*οὕτως* predic. 226—*fill* w. accus. 232 f.—*γεύομαι* w. accus. 233—*σπλαγχνίζομαι* 234, 272—gen. w. verbal adj. 234—*καὶ ὡς ἀπό* 235—eth. dat. 239—*ἐρχεται σοι* 239—*ἀστείος τῷ θεῷ* 239—*γίνομαι* w. dat. 239 f.—dat. of agent w. pass. 240—dat. f. Heb. inf. abs. 241 f.—*ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα* 243—*φοβέομαι ἀπό* 244—*δυνامي ἐν* 244, 252, 255—accus. of content 245—*καλέω τὸ ὄνομα* w. accus. 246—*εἰς* predic. 247—*ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπό* 251—*ἐν instr.* 252 f.—*τοῖς εἰς μακράν* 254—*εἰς ὄνομα* 255—*δίδωμι εἰς place on* 256—*δὸς ἀντί ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ* 258—*ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν* 271—pre-position of *ἐνεκα* 276—*ἐν μέσῳ* etc. w. gen. 277—*ὀπίσω* as prep. 277—*ἐμπροσθεν, ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον* 277 f.—impers. "they" (Aram.) 292 f.—*ὄνομα* without copula 295—*οὐαί* 296—ellipse of *εἶναι* 300—*τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*; 303, 309—*τί πρὸς σε*; 303, 309—indecl. λέγων, λέγοντες 315—*πᾶς ὅς* 316—*ὁ πᾶς* w. ptc. 316—consec. *ὅτι* 318—weakening of *ἐπεὶ* 318—*εἰ* f. *οὐ* in oaths 319, 333—*εἰ* w. dir. qu. 319, 333—*ὥς* to soften 320—tempor. conj. instead of gen. abs. 321—*anacolouthon* after rel. clause 325—*ὅτι recit.* 326—*εἰ μὴ* interchanged w. *ἀλλά* (Aram.) 330—*καὶ* introd. subord. clause 334—*τότε* (Aram.) 341—chiasmus 345—7—particle 1st word 347—vb's position in sentence 347 f.—art. close to noun 348 f.

Sentence building 11, book I—sentence complete book II.

Septuagint : *ὅδε* more common than in NT 44—*τῆδε* 44—*ὅστις* confined to nom. and acc. 47—hist. pres. 61—*aor. pf.* 70—*pf.* 82 f., 84—periphr. tenses 89—*ῥα* 91—*imperat.* *ἵνα* 95—*οὐ μὴ* 96 f.—*fin.* *ἵνα* 102—*non-fin.* *ἵνα* 104—*ἐάν* w. *impf.* 116—*opt.* 120 f., 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 133—*inf. of purpose* 135—*τοῦ* w. *inf.* 141—*ἐν τῷ* w. *inf.* 145 f.—*pte.* 156—rendering of *Yhwh* 174—position of *πᾶς* 202 ff.—piecemeal transl. 237, 337—and *passim*.

Septuagintisms 8, 142, 145, 156.

Sibylline Oracles 25, 26, 27.

Singular 22—5—distrib. sing. 7, 23, 25—w. collectives (generic) 22 f.—*ἐκαστος* w. pl. 312—vb. w. neut. pl. subj. 312 f.—w. *cmpd. subj.* 313 f.—w. fem. pl. 315.

Sirach (LXX) : *πρὶν* 140—*πᾶς* 202 ff.

Slavery (Paul's advice) 76.

Sloty, F. 95.

Soffray, M. 35.

Solecisms 93, 314—7.

Solomon, Psalms of 96, 203 ff.

Sophocles 49, 96, 97—s. Index of Ref.

Sophocles, E. A. (lexicographer) 58.

Souter, A. 22.

Stählin, G. 245.

Stauffer, E. 40.

Strabo 13, 14, 71, 118, 159, 299.

Style 137—*desire* f. variety 67, 105, 109 f., 113, 135, 142, 157.

Subject 11—absence of 291—3, change of, marked by *ὁ (οἱ) δέ* 37.

Subjunctive 93—117—more often without *ἄν* in Hell. Gk. 2—*Aktionsart* 74—8, 107—periphrastic 88—9—confused w. *opt.* in wishes 94, 120—*πρὶν* 113, 140—as substitute for *opt.* 119.

Use in main clauses 93—9—prohib. subj. 74, 76—8, 94, 95—as substit. f. *imperat.* 93—8; f. fut. 98—jussive 94—hortat. 94—*imperat.* *ἵνα* 94 f.—*οὐ μὴ* w. *aor. subj.* (prohib. and denials) 96 f., 97; w. *pres. subj.* 97—w. *μὴ* f. cautious statements 98—in dubit. or delib. qu. 98 f.—*οὐ μὴ* in qu. 283.

Subord. clauses 99—117—fearing 99—after *μὴ* 99 f.—after *ἵνα* 100—5—neg. *μὴ* 100, 105, 106—*fin. clause* 100—6—w. *ὅπως, ὥς* 105 f.—w. *ὥστε*

- 106, 136—in rel. clauses (futuristic) 106–10—in temp. clauses 110–13—w. ὅτε (late) 112—condit. clause 113–6—w. εἰ 116—indir. qu. 116 f.
 Subordination 318–23, 342 f.
 Swete, H. B. 221.
 Superlative : elative 3, 31—true superl. almost dead 31—comparison of 31—f. comparat. 32.
 Symmachus 85, 113, 330.
 Synagogue 6, 132.
 Temporal clauses 92, 110–3, 321—ὥς ἄν in Paul 112—πρίν 113, 140, 144—μέτὰ τό w. inf. 143—πρό τοῦ 140, 144—ἐν τῷ 144 f.—w. ptc. 154–7—ἐπὶ 272—position 344 f.—negation 284.
 Temporal conjunctions 110–3, 321.
 Tense 59–89—s. Time, *Aktionsart*.
 Text of NT 31 f., 40, 70, 84, 86, 92, 97, 122, 152, 167, 181, 184, 295, 346—readings rejected 37, 38, 41, 70, 106, 110, 129, 139, 141, 167, 170, 171, 209, 229, 331.
 Thackeray, H. St. J. 61, 62, 279, 315, 335.
 Theophylact 52.
 Thomas, D. W. 239.
 Thompson, F. E. 96.
 Thucydides 13, 84, 88, 96, 106, 171, 228, 275, 340—s. Index of Ref.
 Time : kinds of 59—ambiguity in Gk 60—pres. and aor. ptc. 79–81.
 Tischendorf, C. 183.
 Tobit : non-fin. ἔν x 104—πρίν 140—πᾶς 203 ff.—s. Index of Ref.
 Tragedians 27.
 Transitive verbs 2, 51–3—from intr. 2, 51 f.—used absol. 51—pass. sense of trans. depon. 58.
 Trenkner, S. 334.
 Turner, C. H. 2, 254, 271, 326, 342.
 Turner, N. 2, 97, 192, 201, 252, 275, 276.
 Unreal indicative 91 f.
 Venetus, codex 44.
 Verbal adjectives 89, 91.
 Vettius Valens 128, 245—s. Index of Ref.
 Vocative 3, 33–5—use of ὦ 33—emotion in 33—nom forms f. 3, 34 f.—position 33—κύριε *sir* 34—explan. of anarthr. nom. 35.
 Voice 2, 51–8—s. Active, Middle, Passive.
 von Soden, H. 93.
 Vulgate 30, 35, 50, 65, 73, 181, 208, 256, 259, 272, 333.
 Wackernagel, J. 22, 63, 265, 270, 271, 273, 276, 293.
 Weiss, J. 345.
 Wellhausen, J. 347.
 Westcott, B. F. 143, 143.
 Westcott and Hort 183.
 Western readings 17.
 Winter, P. 325.
 Wishes : infin. 78—indic. 91—opt. 118 f., 120–2—ἵνα w. subj. 120.
 Word-order 344–50—unique in Bibl. Gk. 9—prep. and case 5, 276, 278—voc. 33—copula in periphr. tense 89, 348—ἄν 92, 93, 107, 110—ἵνα-clause 105, 344—ptc. and adjuncts 152—adj. attrib. 189 f., 349—poss. adj. and gen. of poss. pron. 189 f., 191—ἴδιος 192—attrib. pron. 193—οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος 193—τις 195—εἷς 196—πᾶς 201–5—prep. phrase 209, 349, 350—attrib. and partit. gen. 217 f.—adv. 227–9—several gens. 218—main and depend. gen. 218/349—negative 286 f.—attrib.-subj. 296—καθώς-clause 320—ὥστε-clause 320—gen. abs. (Mk) 322—antec. of rel. clause 324—rel. pron. 324—conj. 329, 330, 340, 347—μενοῦν

338—τε 339—τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν 340, 347—fin., local, temp. clauses
344—causal and comp. clauses 345—chiasmus 345-7—subj.-obj.-vb.
347 f.—in the clause 347-50—normal 347—set phrases 350—art. close
to noun 348—oratory and 350—ambiguity 350.

Xenophon 16, 61, 65, 96, 97, 106, 118, 143, 170, 171, 228—s. Index of
Ref.

Zerwick, M. 26, 35, 42, 50, 50, 56, 57, 65, 72, 75, 79, 80, 87, 114, 115, 127,
145, 178, 201, 207, 210, 212, 214, 215, 233, 236, 255, 256, 259, 263, 285,
316, 341, 342, 347.

Ziegler, J. 44, 230.

Zorell, F. 316.

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

- Ἀβραάμ 168
 ἀγαθόν, τό 13, 14—τὰ ἀγαθὰ 14
 ἀγαλλιάω w. ἵνα 138—w. ptc. 160
 ἄγαλμα, ellipse of 17
 ἀγανακτέω περί w. gen. 269
 ἀγαπάω, ingress. aor. 72
 ἀγάπη w. gen. 211, 214
 ἀγαπητός 214—w. gen. 234
 ἀγγαρεύω ἵνα 138
 ἄγγελος anarthr. 174, 180
 ἄγε 51, 231
 ἄγιος, ὁ 13—τὸ ἅ. 2—τὰ ἅ. 27, 31
 (superl.)
 ἀγιάζομαι, aor. imperat. 77
 ἀγνίζω pass. 57
 ἀγνοέω not w. ptc. 161
 ἀγορά anarthr. 179
 ἀγριέλαιος 18
 ἀγρός anarthr. 179
 ἄγω: intr. 2, 51—aor. imper. 76—
 impf. 66—fut. ptc. 87—ἄγει τρίτην
 ταύτην ἡμέραν 291
 ἀγωνίζομαι pf. 84
 ἀδελφός, scil. w. gen. 168—plur. 22
 ἀδικέω intr. 51—pass. "submit to
 fraud" 57—perfect. pres. 62
 Ἀδρίας 172
 ἀδυνατόν, τό 13—scil. ἐστίν 295,
 306, 307, 309
 ἄδω 236
 ἄζυμα 27
 ἀθεμιτόν ἐστίν 149
 Αἰθῆναι 27—Ἀθηναῖοι w. art. 169
 ἀθῶος ἀπό 215
 Αἴγυπτος anarthr. 171
 αἵματα 27—ἐν τῷ αἵματι 241
 αἰνέω 236
 αἰρέομαι 78
 αἰρῶ, intr. 52—gen. w. 232—aor.
 imper. 76, 77
 αἰσθάνομαι w. acc. 234—not w. ptc.
 161
- αἰσχροὺς (ἐστίν) 149, 295, 300
 αἰτέω: act. and mid. 54 f.—futuristic
 pres. 63—constr. w. 149—pres.
 imper. 75
 αἰών: pl. 25—ὁ ἅ. οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος 193
 ἀκατάπα(υ)στος w. gen. 215
 ἀκμήν 247
 ἀκολουθεῖω: constr. 241—impf. 66—
 pres. imper. 76, 77—aor. pf. 82
 ἀκούω: case w. 2, 161, 233—perfect.
 pres. 62—aor. pf. 82, 84 f.—ptc.
 160 f.
 ἀκριβέστερον 3, 30—ἐστατος 31
 ἀκροβυστία w. gen. 211
 ἄκρος: predic. 225—τὸ ἅ. w. gen.
 224
 ἄλατι instr. 240
 ἀλείφομαι 54
 ἀλεκτοροφωνίας 235
 ἀλήθεια: anarthr. 177 f.—ἐπ' ἀλη-
 θείας 253
 ἀλήθινος, ὁ 13
 ἄλλὰ 329 f.—w. γε 331—w. ἵνα 304,
 307, 330—w. καὶ 330
 ἀλλήλων 43 f.
 ἄλλος: f. ἕτερος 32, 197—position
 187—ἅ. πρὸς ἄλλον 44—ἄλλοι
 ἄλλο 197
 ἀλλότριος w. gen. 235
 ἄμα: w. ptc. 153 f.—w. dat. 276
 ἁμαρτάνα: ingr. aor. 72—pres. imper.
 76
 ἁμαρτία anarthr. 177
 ἀμετάθετον, τό 14
 ἀμήν, τό 14
 ἀμύνομαι f. -ω 55
 ἀμφοῖ absent 249
 Ἀμφιπόλη 171
 ἀμφοτέρου: f. more than two 32—
 w. art. 197
 ἄν 107 f.—w. ind. 2, 91 f., 93, 110
 —w. subj. 2, 108—ἄν f. ἐάν 91,

- 113—w. opt. 91, 120, 122-4, 127,
 130f.—position 92, 93, 110—
 ὅπως ἂν 94, 105—w. fut. ind. 110
 —w. ἕως ἄχρι μέχρι 110, 111—
 ὥς ἂν 112 f., 321
 ἀνά: τὸ ἄ. 14—ἄ μέσον 23, 251,
 265—distrib. 187—uses curtailed
 249—not w. dat. 249—w. acc. 265
 ἀναβαίνει: pass. meaning 53—futura.
 pres. 63—ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν
 αὐτοῦ 292
 ἀναγινώσκω constr. 137
 ἀναγκάζω impf. 65
 ἀνάγκη: pl. 28—constr. 148—no
 ἔστιν 295, 300, 307, 309
 ἀνακάμπω intr. 52
 ἀναμιμνήσκω constr. 234
 ἀναπαύομαι constr. 235
 ἀναπληρόω: w. ἕνα 102—w. dat.
 238
 ἀναστρέφω (-ομαι) intr. 52
 ἀνατέλλω: causat. 53—gnom. aor. 73
 ἀνατίθεμαι w. dat. 242
 ἀνατολή: sg. and pl. 26—anarthr. 26,
 172
 ἀναφαίνω causat. 53
 ἀνεμος ellipse 17
 ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ w. inf. 141,
 286, 305
 ἀνεσις w. dat. 219
 ἀνευ w. gen. 275 f.
 ἀνέχομαι constr. 234
 ἀνέωγα 5, 82
 ἀνῆκεν 90
 ἀνὴρ: ὁ ἄνδρες 33—f. τις 195
 ἀνομολογέομαι w. dat. 236
 ἄνθρωπος: οἱ ἄ. one 180—f. τις 195
 —πάντες ἄ. 200
 ἀνθύπατος 26
 ἀνίστημι: ἀναστάς 154
 ἀντέχομαι w. gen. 232
 ἀντί: use curtailed 249—ἀντὶ τοῦ
 w. inf. 144—w. gen. 258—ἀνθ'
 ὦν (ἔτι) 258, 345—compound
 vbs. constr. 242
 ἀντικρύς w. gen. 277
 ἀντιλαμβάνομαι w. gen. 232
 ἀντιπέρα w. gen. 216
 ἀντλάω pf. 84
 ἄνω 279—τὰ ἄ. 14
 ἀνωφελές, τό 14
 ἀξίος constr. 139, 141, 295
 ἀξιώω constr. 149—ἡξίου 65
 ἄρατα, τὰ 14
 ἀπαγγομαι 54
 ἀπαιτέω 292
 ἀπαλλοτριόω constr. 235
 ἀπαρνέομαι 58
 ἄπας 199
 ἀπειθέω constr. 237
 ἀπειθήs constr. 220
 ἀπείραστος κακῶν 215
 ἀπεκδύομαι 55
 ἀπέναντι w. gen. 6, 278
 ἀπελθών pleon. 154
 ἀπέχω intr. 52—f. ἀπειλήφα 62—
 ἀπέχει 291, 336—ομαι constr.
 235
 ἀπιστέω constr. 237
 ἀπό: f. partit. gen. 7, 208 f.—ἀπὸ
 μιᾶς 7, 18, 21—οἱ ἀπὸ 15—ἀπὸ
 προσώπου 25—w. adj. 215 f.—
 gov. nom. 230—w. vbs. 233,
 258 f.—f. παρά w. ἀκούω, etc.
 233 f., 258 f.—ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος
 233—f. gen. of sep. 235, 251—
 ἀπὸ τότε 250—f. far from 251—
 encroaches on ἐκ, ὑπὸ 251, 259—
 w. φεύγω 244—f. ὑπό (causat.) 258
 —w. gen. 258 f.—f. country of
 origin 259—f. after 259—ἀφ' ἧς
 17
 ἀπογράφομαι act. 57
 ἀποδίδωμι: futur. pres. 63—fut. pf.
 87
 ἀποθνήσκω: pass. sense 53—futura.
 pres. 63
 ἀποκρίνομαι 57
 ἀποκρίνομαι: constr. 237—ἀποκριθεὶς
 εἶπεν, etc. 61, 79, 155 f.—ἀπε-
 κρίθη 54, 79
 ἀποκτείνω pass. 53
 ἀπολλύω 82
 Ἀπολλωνία 171
 ἀπολογέομαι w. dat. 236
 ἀπολούομαι mid. 54
 ἀπολύω impf. 67
 ἀπόλωλα 82
 ἀπορέομαι 56—constr. 244
 ἀπορίπτω intr. 52
 ἀποσπάω act. f. mid. 56
 ἀποστέλλω: aor. pf. 70, 84—constr.
 266
 ἀποστερέω: intr. sense 51, 52—pass.
 submit to loss 57—constr. 235
 ἀποστρέφω intr. 51 f.

- ἀποτάσσομαι w. dat. 236
 ἄπτομαι: pres. imper. 76—w. gen. 232
 ἄρα, ἄραγε 330, 347—ἄρα οὖν 330
 ἄρα, ἄρά γε 330, 333
 Ἄραβία: art. 170, 171
 ἀργύριον 17—pl. 27
 ἀρέσκω: constat. aor. 72—constr. 236
 ἀριστερά (χείρ) 17
 ἀρκέομαι 57 f.
 ἀρκετόν 139, 295, 309—ἀρκετός 220
 ἀρμόζω mid. f. aor. 55
 ἀρνέομαι: aor. imper. 76—s. ἀπαρ-
 νέομαι
 ἄρτι position 228
 ἀρχομαι: pleon. 138—ἀρξάμενος 154
 f.—adverbial 227
 ἀρχήν, τήν 49 f., 247
 ἀσεβής, ὁ 13, 22
 ἀσθενές, τό 14, 21
 ἀσθενέω pf. 70
 Ἀσία, ἡ 170
 ἀσπάζομαι: pres. 73—aor. imper. 75, 77
 ἄσπιλος ἀπό 216
 ἄσπον 30
 ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ 239
 ἀστήρ anarthr. pl. 172
 ἀστοχέω constr. 235
 ἄστρον anarthr. pl. 172
 αὐλίζομαι impf. 67
 αὖρα ellipse 17
 αὐριον: ἐπαύριον 17
 αὐτόματος adj. f. adv. 225
 αὐτός: not emph. 3, 40—demonstr. 7, 41, 194—confusion of αὐτός etc. w. αὐτός 41; of αὐτοῦ and ἰδιος 2; of αὐτοῦ and ἑαυτοῦ 41—αὐτοῦ freq. and pleon. 38 f.—*he* emph. 40 f.—possess. gen. 40, 189 f.—in reflexives 41 f.—αὐτός ὁ 41, 194—αὐτό τοῦτο 45—ὁ αὐτός constr. 183, 194—τὸ δ' αὐτό constr. 246—position of dat. 349
 ἄφες w. subj. 94
 ἀφήμι: futur. pres. 63—aor. imper. 77—constr. 138—οὐκ ἀφίω 287
 ἀφίσταμαι constr. 235
 ἀφυπνώω ingress. aor. 72
 Ἀχαῖα: art. 170
 ἄχρι(ς): w. gen. 276—conj. 110 f.—*ἄ. οὐ* 276, 345
 βάαλ, ἡ 21
 βάλλω: intr. 51, 52—futur. pres. 63—impf. 67—gnom. aor. 73—proleptic aor. 74—aor. and pf. 84—fut. f. impf. 86
 βαπτίζω: mid. and pass. 57—impf. 67—periphr. tense 87—ptc. 151
 βάπτισμα w. gen. 211
 βασιλεία ἐν 241
 βασιλεύω 2, 52, 62, 64, 71—ingress. aor. 72—pres. imper. 76
 βασιλεύς voc. 34
 βαστάζω pres. imper. 77
 βάτραχος, ἡ 22
 βιάζομαι pass. 58
 βιβλίον art. 173
 βλασφημέω 245
 βλασφημία 26
 βλέπω: constr. 138, 160 f.—βλέπετε 78
 βορρᾶς anarthr. 172
 βούλομαι: constr. 78—impf. 65, 91—βούλεσθε w. delib. qu. 98
 βουλὴ ἐγένετο ἵνα 139
 βραδύνα w. gen. 235
 βραδύς constr. 141
 βρέχει: trs. and intrans. 52—impers. and pers. 291
 βροντὴ γέγονεν 291
 βρώμα ἵνα 139
 βύσσινος 17
 Γαλιλαία, ἡ 170
 γαμέομαι: w. dat. 238—*Aktionsart* 79—*-ίζομαι get married* 57
 γάμος pl. 27
 γάρ 331, 347
 γε 331, 347
 γέμω, γεμίζω: constr. 233: aor. imper. 77
 γενέσθαι 27
 γεννάω: futur. pres. 63—τὸ γεννω-
 μένον, τὸ γεγεννημένον 21—aor. pf. 70—γεννητός w. gen. 234
 γένος: τῷ γένει 221
 γεύομαι w. acc. and gen. 233
 γῆ: ellipse 16, 170—w. Ἰούδα, Ἰουδαία 170—w. Ἰσραήλ 169—art. w. 174 f.
 γίνομαι: γέγονα 5—γέγονεν f. ἐγένετο 70—futur. pres. 63—ἐγενήθημεν 54—aor. imper. 77—μὴ γένοιτο 118, 120-2—w. ptc. in periphr. 87,

- 89—w. τί 130—ἐγένετο w. inf. 139, 148 f., 291; w. fin. vb. 335; ἐν τῷ w. inf. 145—fut. ptc. 86 f.—w. adv. 226—w. gen. 231—w. dat. 239 f.—w. εἰς 253
- γινώσκω: pass. 58—pf. 70, 84—ingress. aor. 71—gnomic aor. 74—constr. w. 160 f.
- γλώσσα ellipse 17, 18
- γνήσιον, τό 14
- γνώμη τοῦ w. inf. 141 f.
- γογγύζω pres. imper. 76
- γονεῖς, οἱ 22
- γράμματα 176
- γράφω: impers. pass. 5, 292—in epistles 73—pres. imper. 76—pf. 84, 85—constr. 149—w. λέγων 156
- γρηγορέω: pres. imper. 75, 77—new verb 82
- γυνή: art. w. 173 f.—f. τις 195
- δαμνῶν *schema Atticum* 313
- δακρύω ingress. aor. 72
- δαμάζομαι pass. constr. 240
- δέ 329, 331 f.—position 347
- δεῖ constr. 139, 148, 291—supply w. inf. 78—δέον (ἐστιν) 88, 291, 295, 305, 308, 322—ἐδει 90, 148, 291
- δειγματίζω intr. 51
- δέω w. double accus. 247—δέομαι constr. 146, 149
- δαισιδαίμων comp. 30
- δέκα, οἱ 178
- δεκάμηνος, ἡ 17
- δέκατον, τό 17, 210
- δεξία 17
- δέρω: πολλάς, ὀλίγας 18, 246, 247
- δεσμεύομαι impf. 67
- δεσπότης, ὁ (voc.) 34
- δεῦρο, δεῦτε: w. subj. and imper. 94
- δευτεραῖος 225
- δῆ 333
- δῆλον ὅτι 295, 300
- δημοσίᾳ 18
- δήποτε 196
- δήπου 339
- διά: encroaches on simple case 236—w. gen. 267—w. acc. 267 f.—διά τοῦ w. inf. 144—διά στόματος 25, 280—διά χειρός 280—διά τό w. inf. 85, 142 f., 147, 345
- διαθῆκαι 27
- διαγρηγορέω linear aor. 71
- διακονέω: pres. imper. 77—impf. 67—w. dat. 236—pass. 57
- διαλέγομαι impf. 66
- διαλείπω w. ptc. 159, 226
- διάλεκτος ellipse 17
- διαμένω 82
- διαμερίζομαι: impf. 67—mid. 54
- διαρρήγνυμι f. mid. 56
- διατελέω w. ptc. 159, 226
- διατρίβω constat. aor. 72
- διαφημίζω perfect. aor. 72
- διδασκός w. gen. 211, 234
- διδάσκαλος, ὁ (voc.) 34
- διδάσκω: aor. pf. 70—w. double accus. 246—pass. w. accus. 247
- δίδωμι: futur. pres. 63—impf. 66, 67—aor. pf. 70, 83, 84—aor. and pres. imper. 76, 77—fut. f. impf. 86—opt. δόῃ 100, 128 f.—w. εἰς 256—impers. δώσουσιν 293—δὲς ἐργασίαν 76, 99
- διέρχομαι: futur. pres. 63—impf. 66—constat. aor. 72
- δικαιος, ὁ 13, 22, 23—δικαιόν ἐστιν 295, 300
- δικαιοσύνη: constr. 211—ἐν δ. 252
- δικαιῶ gnom. aor. 73
- διό 333
- διόπερ 333
- διοπετές, τό 17
- διότι 161, 318, 333, 345
- διψάω w. accus. 232, 244
- δογματίζομαι *submit to rules* 57
- δοκέω: constr. 78, 137, 147—pres. imper. 76
- δοκιμάζω constr. 147, 160, 162
- δοκιμεῖον, τό 14
- δόλω, ἐν 252
- δοξάζω: impf. 66—prolept. aor. 74—constr. 242, 246
- δουλεύω: perfect. pres. 62—ingress. aor. 71—w. dat. 236
- δουλόω 56
- δραχμή ellipse 17
- δύναμαι: constr. 78, 138—ἐδύνατο *could have* 90
- δυνατός: constr. 78, 139, 147, 238—δυνατόν (scil. ἐστιν or ἦν) 295, 297, 300, 305, 306, 309—τὸ δυνατόν 14
- δύο δύο 187

δύο *second* 315

δυσμαί *anarthr.* 26, 172

δωρεάν 247

δῶρον 295, 309

ἐάν 109, 113 f., 115 f.—instead of εἰ
(w. indic.) 107, 115 f.—δς ἐάν
107 f.—ἐάν καί 321—f. ἄν 2

ἐάω: οὐκ ἐῷ 287

ἐαυτός f. 1st or 2nd p. 42

ἐαυτοῦ: f. ἀλλήλων 43 f.—and αὐτοῦ
41—indir. refl. 43—in Lk 42—
position 190

ἐβδομή, ἡ 17

ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτα 187

ἐγγίζω: pf. 5, 82—ingress. aor. 72—
constr. 241

ἐγγύς: case 216—as predic. 226

ἐγείρω: intrans. 52—pass. w. act.
meanings 57—futur. pres. 63—
ἐγίγερται *he is risen* 69—pres.
imper. 75—ἐγρήγορα 82—ἐγερθεῖς
154

ἐγκαίνια 27

ἐγκακέω w. ptc. 159

ἐγκαλέω: pass. 57—constr. 236, 242

ἐγκαταλείπω perf. aor. 72

ἐγκόπτω constr. 245

ἐγώ: μου f. ἐμός 4—literary pl. 28—
use of nom. 37 f.—μου and ἐμοῦ
38, 189—emph. obl. cases 39—
ἐμοῦ f. ἐμαυτοῦ 42—possess. gen.
189—position of μου 189

ἐθνη: *anarthr.* 180—*schema Atticum*
313

ἐθος ἐστίν constr. 149

εἰ 115 f.—wish-clause 91—f. ἐάν (w.
subj.) 107, 116—εἰ καί 115, 321—
w. opt. (final) 127—εἰ γε 319—
whether 319, 333—oaths, etc. 319,
333—εἰ οὐ 319—dir. quest. 319,
333—εἰ μή 333—εἰ μή f. ἀλλά
330—εἰ δὲ μή (γε) 331

εἰδέναι: constr. 160, 162—οἶδα perf.
pres. 62, 82

εἶθε w. ind. 91

εἰθισμένον, τό w. gen. 234

εἶμι, εἶναι: perf. pres. 62—imperat.
fut. 86—fut. ptc. 86—in periphr.
5, 85, 88 f., 153—ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾔς
230—ptc. redund. 151 f.—ellipse
231, 294-310—w. dat. 240

εἴπερ 319, 330

εἶπεν: and ἔλεγεν 64—εἰπὼν 155 f.
—w. ἵνα 103—πρὸς 237

εἴπω 127

εἰρήνη w. dat. 304, 308

εἰς: εἰς κρουπτήν 6—εἰς τό w. inf.
8, 85, 106, 135, 141, 142, 143—
ὁ (οἱ) εἰς 15—εἰς χειρὰς 24, 280
—encroaches on simple case 236,
251, 253—w. λογίζομαι 246—w.
ἔχω, etc. (predic.) 246, 247—
γίνομαι, εἶμι 253—f. ἐπὶ, πρὸς 258
local 266—distrib. 266—final
266—causal 266 f.—confused w.
ἐν, see ἐν

εἷς: indef. art. 4, 195 f.—ἀπὸ μιᾶς
7, 18, 21—μία f. πρώτη 17, 187—
ἐν fem. 21—ὁ εἷς . . . ὁ ἕτερος 36
—εἷς τὸν ἕνα 187—ἐν τριάκοντα
188—w. partit. gen. 195—εἷς τις
196—καθεὶς 197—εἷς ἕκαστος 198
—*cmpd.* vbs. constr. 242

εἰσάγω aor. 69

εἰσακούω 251

εἰσέρχομαι linear aor. 71

εἰσφέρω aor. imper. 77

εἴτε . . . εἴτε 302, 319, 333

εἴωθα 82

ἐκαστος 198—*anarthr.* 198—diff.
from πᾶς 199—w. pl. vb. 312

ἐκβάλλω futur. pres. 63

ἐκδίδομαι mid. 55

ἐκεῖ: redund. after ὅπου 46—f. ἐκεῖ-
θεν 226—temp. 226

ἐκεῖθεν: οἱ ἐ. 14—f. ἐκεῖ 226

ἐκεῖνος 5, 45 f., 192 f.—ἐκεῖνης
(scil. τῆς ὁδοῦ) 16—*anaph.* 46—
simply *he* 46—meaning 45 f.—
ἐκεῖνου possess. 190—art. 192

ἐκκλησία: *anarthr.* 176—constr. *ad*
sens. 312

ἐκκλίνω intr. 52

ἐκκόπτω intr. 63

ἐκλέγομαι mid. 55

ἐκλεκτός w. gen. 234

ἐκρίπτω: f. ἐκβάλλομαι 53—*gnom.*
aor. 73

ἐκπλήσσομαι impf. 66

ἐκτός: w. gen. 216, 277—ἐ. εἰ μή 321

ἐκχέω: w. gen. 234—w. dat. 238

ἐλαία ellipse 18

Ἑλλαιῶν ὄρος 230

ἐλαττον, τό f. persons 14, 21

ἐλάυνω impf. 67

- ἐλαφρόν, τό 14
 ἐλάχιστος 31—ον w. ἵνα 139—
 -ότερος 31
 ἐλεέω: trans. 234, 244—aor. 69
 ἐλευθερός: ἀπό, ἐκ 215—w. dat. 238
 ἐλευθερώ ἀπό 235
 Ἑλλάς w. art. 170—"Ἕλληνες 26,
 169—ἐλληνική, ἡ 17
 ἐλπίζω: impf. 66—w. fut. inf. 79—
 ἡλπικα 82, 84—constr. 238
 ἐμαυτοῦ 41—position 190
 ἐμαυτῷ f. μοι 42
 ἐμβάπτομαι mid. 55
 ἐμμένω constat. aor. 72
 ἐμός: disappearing 42, 191—μου f.
 4, 189
 ἐμπαίζω constr. 242
 ἐμπορεύομαι tr. and intr. 244
 ἐμπροσθεν 6, 278 f.
 ἐμφανής constr. 220
 ἐν 260 f.—confused w. εἰς 2, 249,
 251, 254—6, 257—extension 6—f.
 partit. gen. 7, 208, 210—ἐν τῷ
 w. inf. 8, 142, 144 ff.—οἱ ἐν 15
 ἐν χειρὶ 24, 280—encroaches on
 simple case 236, 241, 251—3, 264
 f.—f. instrum. dat. 240, 252 f.—
 w. accompanying circumstances,
 forces, etc. 241, 252—adv. 250—
 temp. 252, 262—manner 252—f.
 gen. of price 253—of cause 253—ἐν
 μέσῳ 257—in quot. formulae 261—
 local 261 f.—ἐν Χριστῷ κυρίῳ 262
 —Christian use 262 f.—other uses
 265—compound vbs. constr. 242
 ἐναντι w. gen. 278
 ἐνάντιος: constr. 220—ἐξ ἐ. 16—
 -ιον w. gen. 251, 277
 ἐνδέχομαι constr. 291 f.
 ἐνδιδύσκω: constr. 247—impf. 66
 ἐνδρεύω trans. 244
 ἐνεκα (-εν) 276—ἐ. τοῦ w. inf. 144—
 position 5, 276
 ἐνεργέω trans. and intr. 244—
 -έομαι 56
 ἐνέχω: intr. 52—w. dat. 242
 ἐνθυμέομαι w. accus. 245
 ἐνι 308
 ἐνοντα, τά 247
 ἐνορκίζω constr. 244
 ἐνοχος constr. 175, 215
 ἐντέλλομαι constr. 142
 ἐντολή ἵνα 139
 ἐντός: w. gen. 216, 277—τό ἐντός
 14
 ἐντρέπομαι w. accus. 234, 245
 ἐντυγχάνω constr. 242
 ἐνώπιον 251, 277
 ἐξ, ἐκ: extended use 249—f. partit.
 gen. 7, 208—10, 233—οἱ ἐκ 15,
 260—ἐκ τοῦ w. inf. 144—ἐλεύθε-
 ρος ἐκ 215—w. *buy* 234—f. dat.
 of sep. 235—f. country of origin
 259—causal 259 f.—confused
 w. ἀπό 259—as subj. gen. 259—
 instrum. 260—w. *fill* 260—w.
 στόμα, χεῖρ 24, 280
 ἐξαμαρτάνω causat. 52
 ἐξαπορέομαι τοῦ w. inf. 141
 ἐξαυτῆς 17
 ἐξέρχομαι: linear aor. 71—aor.
 imper. 76—w. fin. inf. 134
 ἔξοστιν: constr. 149—ἐξόν (soil.
 ἔστιν) 88, 291, 295, 300, 304,
 309, 322—ἐξῆν absent 91
 ἐξῆς, (ἐν) τῇ 17
 ἐξίστημι impf. 66
 ἐξομολογέομαι w. dat. 236
 ἐξουσία constr. 139, 141, 211
 ἔξω: w. gen. 216, 277—ἐξωθεν
 w. gen. 216
 ἐορτή 243
 ἐπαγγέλλομαι 58—constr. 236
 ἐπάν 112 f., 344
 ἐπανάγω intr. 51
 ἐπάνω: f. ἐπὶ 251—w. gen. 279—
 ἐπάνωθεν f. ὑπέρ 251
 ἐπεί, ἐπειδή 318, 321, 344, 345
 ἐπέκεινα 26
 ἐπερωτάω impf. 65, 67
 ἐπέχω intr. 52
 ἐπηρεάζω w. dat. 7, 245
 ἐπὶ 6, 250—w. accus. 272—ἐφ' ὅσον
 272—w. gen. 271—ὁ ἐπὶ 15—ἐ.
 στόματος 280—w. dat. 271 f.—
 ἐφ' ᾧ 134, 272, 345—cause 272—
 cmpd. vbs. constr. 242
 ἐπιβάλλω intr. 52
 ἐπιδείκνυμι mid. 55
 ἐπιεικής, τό 14
 ἐπιθυμέω: constr. 232, 244—impf.
 66
 ἐπικαλούμενος, ὁ 152, 206
 ἐπιλαμβάνομαι w. gen. 232
 ἐπιλανθάνομαι: constr. 58, 234—
 gnom. aor. 73—pres. imper. 76

ἐπιμένω w. ptc. 159, 226
 ἐπιούσα, ἡ 17
 ἐπιποθία w. τοῦ w. inf. 141
 ἐπίσταμαι constr. 160, 162
 ἐπιστέλλω τοῦ w. inf. 142
 ἐπιστολαί, αἱ 27
 ἐπιστρέφω, -ομαι intr. 52
 ἐπιτάσσω constr. 149
 ἐπιτελέομαι 55—w. dat. 238
 ἐπιτρέπω 58—punctil. pres. 64
 ἐπιτυγχάνω constr. 232
 ἐπιφαίνω intr. 52
 ἐπιτορηγέω constr. 236
 ἐπτάκις, τό 14
 ἐπτάμηνος, ἡ 17
 ἐργάζομαι pass. 58
 ἐργασίαν, δός 76, 99
 ἐργον w. gen. 211
 ἐρημος, ἡ 13, 16
 ἔρις pl. 28
 ἐρρέθη ὅτι 291
 ἔρρωσο 85
 ἔρχομαι: perfect. pres. 62—ὁ ἐρχόμενος futuristic 63, 151—aor. pf. 70—ἐρχου, ἐλθέ 75—ἐρχου καὶ ἴδε 75—impf. 66—aor. 69—w. fin. inf. 134—w. dat. 238, 239
 ἐρωτάω: impf. 65, 67—aor. 65—w. ἵνα 138—w. inf. 149
 ἐσθίω constr. 244
 ἐστέρα anarthr. 179
 ἐστηκα meaning 5, 53, 82
 ἐσχατος 32—ἐπ' ἐ. τῶν ἡμερῶν 271
 ἔσω 216, 276
 ἐταῖρε 50
 ἑτερος: confused w. ἄλλος 32, 197—ὁ ἑ. 197
 ἔτι 333—w. comp. or pos. f. comp. 29, 31—position 228
 ἐτοιμάζω aor. imper. 77—pf. 84
 ἐτοιμος constr. 139, 141, 142
 εὐαγγελίζω: causat. 2, 53—ομαι 58, 291—constr. 245, 246
 εὐαγγέλιον constr. 210, 211
 εὐαρεστέομαι pass. 57
 εὐδοκέω: ingress. aor. 72—constr. 244
 εὐδοκία 213
 εὐεργεσία constr. 212
 εὐθύς, -έως 153—in Mk 229
 εὐκαιρία τοῦ w. inf. 141
 εὐλογήμενος: superl. 31—w. gen. 234—scil. ἐστιν 296, 305
 εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός 296, 308

εὐπάρεδρον, τό 14
 εὐρίσκω: pass. 58—act. f. mid. 56—pf. 84—impf. 66—fut. ptc. 87—constr. 160, 162
 Εὐρώπη, ἡ 170
 εὐσεβέω trans. 244
 εὐσχημον, τό 14
 εὐχαριστέω constr. 160
 εὐχαριστία w. dat. 219
 εὐχομαι: impf. 65, 91—εὐξαίμην ἄν 91—constr. 236
 ἔως: conj. 344—ἐ. τοῦ w. inf. 144
 ἔφεσο 171
 ἔχω: τῇ ἐχομένῃ (ἡμέρᾳ) 17—intr. w. adv. 51, 52—ἐσχκα f. aor. 70, 83—ingress. aor. 72—imperat. inf. 78—have to, know 138—ἐχων with 154—ἐχων indecl. 315—w. ptc. 160, 162—have as w. double acc., ὡς, εἰς, ὅτι 226, 246—ἐχομαι w. gen. 232
 ἔως: w. gen. 276—conj. 110 f., 321—w. ἄν, οὐ, ὅτου 111
 ζῆλοι pl. 28
 ζηλόω mid. 55
 ζάω: ingress. aor. 71—constr. 264
 ζητέω: futur. pres. 63—pres. imper. 75
 ἡ 7, 216, 334—w. positive 31—f. μᾶλλον ἢ 32, 216—ἢ . . . ἢ 334
 ἦ 333
 ἡγέομαι: w. acc. and inf. 137—w. ptc. 162—w. double acc. 246—ἡγῆμαι pres. 82, 84—ἡγούμενος noun 151
 ἦκα 62, 82
 ἡλίκος excl. 50
 ἡλιος 172
 ἡμεῖς: f. ἐγώ 28—use of nom. 37—position of ἡμῶν 189
 ἡμέρα: ellipse 17, 18—pl. f. sing. 27—art. 179—w. gen. of qual. 213—(ἐν τῇ) ἡμέρᾳ 243—ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ 243—τὴν ἡμέραν per day 247—(τὸ) καθ' ἡμέραν 247
 ἡμέτερος 191
 ἡμισυ, τὰ ἡμίσεια, w. gen. 210
 ἡνίκα 112 f., 321, 344
 ἦπερ 32
 ἡσυχάζω ingress. aor. 72

- θά 138
 θάλασσα art. 174 f.
 θάνατος anarthr. 175—θανάτοι 28
 θάπτομαι 62, 69
 θαυμάζω: aor. imper. 77—constr. 234, 244, 269
 θεά 22
 θεάομαι 58—constr. 160 f.
 θελήματα 28—θέλημά ἐστιν ἵνα 139
 θέλω 78—impf. *I would like* 65, 91
 —periphr. fut. 89—w. ἵνα 103, 138—adverbial 227—w. accus. 244
 θεμέλιον 13
 θεός: gender 22—voc. 34, 35—
 anarthr. 174—θεοῦ 212
 θεοστυγεῖς 234
 θερμαίνομαι 54
 θεωρέω constr. 160 f.
 θησαυρίζω pres. imper. 76
 θλίψις w. dat. 219, 238
 θήσκω: pf. τέθνηκα 5, 69, 82
 θριαμβεύω causat. 53, 244
 θυγάτηρ 35
 θυμῶ ingress. aor. 72
 θύρα sing. and pl. 27—w. gen. of
 direction 212
- ἰάομαι pass. 58—punctil. pres. 64
 ἴδε 231
 ἴδιος 2, 4, 191 f.—ἰδίᾳ 18—κατ' ἰδίαν
 18
 ἰδοῦ: καὶ l. 229—ἴδε without syntax
 231—without fin. vb. 296, 303,
 306, 309
 ἱεροσόλυμα 27—Ἱερουσαλήμ 171 f.
 ἱεουργέω trs. 244
 ἱησοῦς art. 166 f.
 ἱκανός constr. 139, 147, 220—ἱκα-
 νόν 305
 ἱκετηρία 18
 ἱλάσκομαι: *be merciful* 57—constr.
 244
 ὡς (σοι) 309
 ἱμάτιον: ellipse 17—pl. 27
 ἵνα 2, 2, 8 f., 128, 134, 138 f., 141—
 imperat. 94 f.—final 100 f., 105 f.
 —w. indic. 100 f.—ecbatic 102—
 causal 102 f.—epexeg. 103 f., 129
 —ἀλλ' ἵνα 304, 307, 330—ellip-
 tical 304, 305—temporal 321—
 position 344
 ἰόπη art. 171
 ἰορδάνης, ὁ 172
- Ἰουδαία, Ἰούδα 170—Ἰουδαῖοι art.
 169—Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ 22
 ἵππος, ἡ 22
 ἴσα 21—ἴσος 220
 Ἰσραήλ, ὁ 169
 ἴστημι aor. imper. 77
 ἰσχύω constr. 138
 ἰσχυρά, τὰ 21
 Ἰταλία, ἡ 170
- καθά 345—καθάπερ 319, 320, 345
 καθαιρέομαι constr. 235
 καθάπτω f. mid. 56
 καθαρίζω ἀπό 235
 καθαρός: ἀπό 215—w. dat. 220, 239
 καθ' εἰς 197, 268, 317—τὸ κ.ε. 197
 καθεύδω impf. 66
 καθῆκεν 90
 κάθημαι impf. 66
 καθίζω: perf. aor. 72—constat. aor.
 72—aor. and pf. 70—aor. pf. 82
 καθό 320
 καθότι 318, 345
 καθώς 320, 345—scil. ἐστιν 297, 307
 καί: κ. ταῦτα w. ptc. 157—art.
 w. nouns connected by κ. 181—ὁ κ.
 206—καὶ . . . καὶ, τε . . . καὶ 329,
 334, 335—varies w. δέ 329, 332,
 334—ἢ κ. 334—introducing
 apodosis 334—copula 334 f.—
 after ἐγένετο 335—κ. ἰδοῦ 335—
 epexeg. 335—καὶ τίς *who then?*
 335—κ. νῦν 335—εἰ κ., s. εἰ—ἐάν κ.,
 s. ἐάν κ. ἄν, κ. ἐάν, s. κἄν
 καίγε 331
 καίπερ w. ptc. 153, 157
 καιρός: pl. 27—constr. 139, 141—
 anarthr. 179—w. οὗτος and νῦν
 193
 καίτοι (γε) 157, 339
 κακά, τὰ 14—κακόν (scil. ἐστιν) 295
 κακῶ fut. ptc. 87
 καλέω: linear aor. 71—pf. 84
 imperat. fut. 86—ὁ καλούμενος
 152, 206—w. double acc. 246—
 w. εἰς, ἐν 264
 καλλιέλαιος, ἡ 18
 καλόν 90, 295, 309—constr. 139,
 149—τὸ καλόν 13—τὰ καλὰ 2, 14
 —καλός superl. 31
 καλῶς constr. 245—κάλλιον 30
 κἄν 100, 321
 καρδία, distrib. sing. 23

- καρποφορέω act. and mid. 55
 καρτερέω trans. 244
 κατά: w. accus. 268—as adv. 187—
 κ. μόνας 18, 21—κ. ἰδίαν 18—κ.
 πρόσωπον 25—τὸ (τὰ) κ. 15, 247
 —οἱ κ. 15—w. gen. 268
 καταβραβεύω w. acc. 234
 καταγινώσκω pass. 58
 καταδικάζω 236, 245
 καταδουλόω 56
 κατακληρονομέω causat. 53
 κατακλίνω w. double acc. 247
 κατακρίνω: fut. ptc. 86—constr. 236
 —w. θανάτῳ 240
 καταλαμβάνω mid. 55
 καταλείπω futur. pres. 63
 καταμανθάνω pres. imper. 76
 κατανεύω constr. 142
 κατανοέω: gnom. aor. 73—w. ptc.
 160 f.
 καταπαύω: intr. 52—constr. 235
 καταράσσομαι w. accus. 7, 245
 καταργέωμαι futur. pres. 63—prolept.
 aor. 74
 κατέναντι 6, 278
 κατεργάζομαι 58
 κατηγορέω pass. 58—w. πρὸς 237
 κάτω 279—τὰ κ. 14
 καυματίζομαι w. acc. 245
 καυχάομαι constr. 236
 κε, κεν 124
 Κεδρών, ὁ 172
 κείρομαι *have one's hair cut* 57
 κείμαι perf. pres. 62, 82
 κελεύω: impf. 65—constr. 78, 148,
 236
 κενόν, εἰς 266
 κέντρον pl. 27
 κεφαλή distrib. sing. 24
 κηρύσσω: impf. 67—imper. inf. 78
 Κηφῆς 22
 Κιλικία art. 170, 171
 κινδυνεύω constr. 138
 κλαίω: pres. imper. 76—aor. imper.
 76—imperativ. inf. 78—constr. 244
 κλέπτῃς, ὁ 180
 κληρονομέω constr. 232, 244
 κλίνω intr. 52
 κλοπή 28
 κοιμάομαι 62—ingress. aor. 72
 κοινωνέω w. gen. 232, 241
 κοινωνία constr. 211
 κοινωνικός constr. 215
 κοινῶ pf. 69
 κολλάομαι w. dat. 241
 κόλπος pl. 27
 κοπιᾶω aor. pf. 82
 κόπτομαι constr. 244
 κόσμος: anarthr. 174f.—w. οὗτος 193
 κράζω and κέκραγα 82
 κρατέω: pres. and aor. imper. 77—
 ingress. aor. 72
 κράτιστε voc. 31
 κρεῖττον ἦν 90
 κριθαί 27
 κρίνω: constr. 78, 238—pf. 84—
 mid. 142
 κρούω pres. imper. 75
 κρυπτά, τὰ w. gen. 14—εἰς κρυπ-
 τήν 6, 21
 κτίζω pf. 70
 κυκλόθεν 277—κύκλῳ 221, 251
 κυλλομαι 66
 κύριος: pl. 22—κύριε *sir* 34—ὁ κ.
 (voc.) 34—anarthr. 167, 174
 κωλύω constr. 235
 λαγχάνω constr. 141
 λάθρα 226, 277
 λαλέω: impf. 67—aor. pf. 70, 84—
 fut. ptc. 87—constr. 237, 238
 λαμβάνω: aoristic εἴληφα 69 f., 82,
 84—gnom. aor. 73—pleon. λαβὼν,
 λάβετε 154—ομαι w. gen. 232
 λάμπω ingress. aor. 72
 λανθάνω w. ptc. 159, 226
 λαός: ὁ λ. μου (voc.) 34—w. constr.
 ad sens. 311 f.
 λατρεύω w. dat. 236
 λέγω: λέγει hist. pres. 5, 60 f.—τάδε
 λέγει 44—asyndetic λέγει 61, 340
 —ἔλεγεν 67, 68; and εἶπεν 64, 68
 —*aoristic* εἶρηκα 69, 70, 83—
 imperat. fut. 86—w. ἵνα 103—w.
 double accus. 147—w. pers. accus.
 149—ὁ λεγόμενος 152—λέγων,
 λέγοντες 155 f., 315—impers. ἔλε-
 γον 292—ellipse of subject 293
 λεγιών 21
 λείπομαι w. gen. 235
 λίαν position 227 f.
 Λιβύη, ἡ 170
 λιμός gender 7, 21
 λογίζομαι: w. inf. (ὅτι) 137—
 w. double acc. 246—w. εἰς 246—
 pass. 58

- λογομαχέω imperat. inf. 78
 λόγος constr. 180, 212, 220
 λοιπόν, τό 336—τοῦ λοιποῦ 235
 λούω: mid. 54—constr. 235
 λύω: impf. 65—aor. imper. 76—
 constr. 235—act. f. mid. 56
 λυπέομαι ingress. aor. 72
 λυσιτελεῖ constr. 292
 λυτρόω constr. 235
- μαθητεύω causat. 53, 244
 μακάριος without vb. 102, 296, 300,
 303, 305, 310
 μακράν 247—w. gen. and ἀπό 216
 —predic. 226
 μακροθυμέω aor. imper. 77
 μαλακοί, οἱ 13, 17
 μάλλον: pleon. 3, 29—w. pos. 31—
 ellipse of 32, 216
 μανθάνω constr. 146, 160
 Μαρίαμ, -ία art. 168
 μαρτυρέω: aor. pf. 82—constr. 146,
 238—parenthet. 342—pass. 57
 μαρτύριον, τό 14
 μάχα 28
 μάχαιρα: ἐν μ. 252
 μάχομαι constr. 241
 μέγας superl. 31—μέγιστος 29 f.
 μεθίστημι constr. 235
 μεθοδεῖται 28
 μεθύσκομαι 240—pres. imper. 76
 μεῖζων: as superl. 29—μεῖζον 21
 μέλει constr. 269
 μέλλω: w. inf. f. impf. 79—w. fut.
 inf. (Ac) 79—w. inf. f. fut. 89
 μὲν . . . δέ 165, 331 f., 347—μὲν οὖν
 37, 337—μενοῦν γε 338, 347
 μένω: constat. aor. 72, 77—aor.
 imper. 77
 μεντοί 340
 μεριμνάω: pres. and aor. imper. 76,
 77—constr. 238
 μέρος: ellipse 17—pl. f. *district* 26
 μεσονύκτιον: anarthr. 179—temp.
 gen. 235
 Μεσοποταμία, ἡ 170
 μέσος: predic. 225—τὸ μέσον 14—
 ἀνά μέσον 23—ἐν μέσῳ w. gen.
 257—w. ἐκ, διὰ 267
 μεστός w. gen. 215
 μετὰ 6—not w. dat. 249—w. acc.
 269—μετὰ τό w. inf. 85, 143—
 asyndetic μετὰ ταῦτα 341—w. gen.
- 268 f.—and σύν 265, 268 f.—w.
 λέγω, etc. 237—encroaching on
 simple dat. 236—in composition
 269
 μεταδίδωμι w. acc. 231
 μεταίρω intr. 52
 μεταλαμβάνω w. gen. 231
 μεταμορφόμαι w. dat. 240
 μετανοέω pres. imper. 75
 μεταξύ w. gen. 277
 μετέχω constr. 231
 μετουκασία constr. 212
 μέτρον: (ἐν) ὃ μέτρῳ 253
 μέχρι(ς): conj. 110 f., 276, 345—
 μ. οὖ 111, 276, 345—τοῦ w. inf.
 144—prep. w. gen. 276
 μή 4, 281—7—w. aor. subj. (prohib.)
 74, 76—8, 94—μή οὐ 98, 283—
 μή γένοιτο 118, 120—2—τὸ μή w.
 inf. 141—τοῦ μή w. inf. 142—
 interrog. 282 f.—in hesit. qu. 283—
 πᾶς . . . μή 287
 μηδέ 286, 340
 μὴν 336
 μήποτε 98, 99—neg. 98
 μήπως 99
 μήτε . . . μήτε 340
 μῆτηρ scil. 168
 μήτι(γε) 283
 μικρόν (ἐστιν) 295, 303—μικρότερος
 30
 Μίλητος 171
 μνηνησκω: constr. 234—ἐμνήσθην
 pass. 58—μέμνημαι 82
 μισέω: ingress. aor. 72—pf. 84
 μνημονεύω constr. 234
 μοιχάομαι ἐπὶ 272
 μοιχεῖται 27
 μόνος: and adv. μόνον 225 f., 228—
 οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ 295—ὁ μ. 13—
 κατὰ μόνας 18, 21
 Μυσία, ἡ 170
 μωρά, τά of persons 14, 21—τὸ
 μωρόν 14
- νά 95, 103
 ναί 286, 336—τὸ ναί 14
 νεκροί anarthr. 180
 νέος comp. 30
 νή 336
 νικῶν, ὁ perfective 62
 νίπτομαι aor. imper. 77
 νοέω constr. 240

- νομίζω: impf. 66—aor. imper. 77—
 w. inf. or *ἔτι* 137
 νόμος: anarthr. 173, 177—constr.
 212
 νότος anarthr. 172
 νῦν 153—τὸ νῦν 14—as adj. 222—
 position 228
 νυνὶ δέ 331
 νῦξ 179, 235—νυχθήμερος 17

 ξηρά, ἡ 16, 17
 ξηραίνω: gnom. aor. 73—prolept.
 aor. 74
 ξυράομαι 57

 ὁ, ἡ, τό: s. Article—as voc. 34—as
 pron. 36—ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ 36—ὁ δέ
 37—ὁ καὶ 206—ὁ, τό, οἱ, τὰ w.
 gen. 16, 166, 168, 179 f.—οἱ ἐκ
 15, 260—τὸ, τὰ ἐκ 14—τὸ, τὰ
 κατὰ 14—τὸ, τοῦ, τῷ w. inf. 8,
 78, 85, 105 f., 139, 140 f., 142—6
 δε 44, 192
 ὁδός ellipse 16, 18—ὁδόν w. gen.
versus 175, 212, 247—ὁδῶ w.
 πορεύομαι 241
 ὅθεν f. *where* 226—conj. 336, 344
 οἶδα, s. εἰδέναι
 οἶδε 43
 οἶμαι: pres. imper. 76—constr. 137
 οἰκία constr. *ad sens.* 311 f.
 οἶκος, voc. w. art. 34
 οἰκουμένη, ἡ (scil. γῆ) 17
 οἰκτιρῶ 28
 οἶος 46 f., 49—w. superl. 31—excl.
 50—οὐχ οἶον *ἔτι* 295, 300
 ὀλίγος: τὸ ὀλίγον 13—ὀλίγας δέρο-
 μαι 18, 246—ὀλίγου w. aor. absent
 91—ἐν ὀλίγῳ 262
 ὀλος art. 199—δι' ὀλης νυκτός, etc.
 199
 ὀμιλέω: impf. 66—constr. 241
 ὀμνυμι: pres. and aor. imper. 75, 76—
 constr. 137, 244
 ὀμοιος case 216, 220
 ὀμολογέω constr. 162, 236, 291
 ὀμως 337
 ὀνειδίζω w. acc. 245
 ὄνομα: τοῦνομα 239—ὃ δ., οὗ τὸ δ.,
 καὶ τὸ δ. αὐτοῦ, δ. αὐτῷ, ὄνοματι
 220, 230, 295 f., 303, 304 f., 306,
 310
 ὀπισθεν w. gen. 277
 ὀπίσω w. gen. 6, 277
 ὀποῖος 49
 ὀπόσος 47
 ὀπότε 124
 ὀπότε 321, 345
 ὅπου 46, 109, 116—scil. *ἔστιν* 297
 —ὅπου ἂν w. ind. 93
 ὅπως 49, 94, 102, 105 f., 128, 138
 —w. ἂν 94, 105
 ὀράω: pass. ὀπτάνομαι, ὥφθην 58—
 aor. pf. 70—ὄρα (ὄρατε) μή 78—
 pf., plu pf. 84, 85—σὺ ὄψῃ and
 pl. 86—constr. 160
 ὀρατά, τὰ 14
 ὀργίζομαι: ingress. aor. 72—constr.
 234
 ὀρεινή, ἡ 16
 ὀρκίζω constr. 244
 ὅς, ἡ, ὅ: confused w. ὅστις 2, 47 f.,
 117; w. ὅσος 47; w. τίς (is ὅ dir.
 interr.?) 49 f.—ἀφ' ἧς 17—ἡ w.
 superl. 31—ὅς μὲν . . . ὅς δέ 36—
 ὅ *ἔστιν* 48—ὅτι dir. interrog. 49 f.
 —f. τίς 50—ὅς ἔάν 108—ὅς ἂν w.
 indic. 110—ὅς γε 331
 ὅσος: confused w. ὅς 47; w. τίς 49—
 w. ἔάν 108—excl. 50
 ὅσπερ 48
 ὅστις 110—confused w. ὀπόσος 47; w.
 ὅς 47 f.—ὅ τι w. indir. qu. 49—
 dir. interrog. 50—w. subj. without
 ἂν 108
 ὁσφύς distrib. sing. 24
 ὅταν 2, 112 f.—w. ind. 92 f., 107,
 112, 124, 125—position of clause
 344
 ὅτε 321—w. subj. 107, 112
 ὅτι: s. ὅστις—declarative 134, 137,
 148, 161, 306—f. inf. 2, 137—
 w. superl. 31—*why?* 49 f.—nega-
 tion 284—scil. *ἔστιν* 297, 309—
 οὐχ (οἶον) *ἔτι* 298, 303—consec.
 318—causal 318, 345—*recit.* 325 f.
 —clause-order 344
 οὐ 4, 281—7, 338—τὸ οὐ 14—οὐ μή
 w. subj. 95—8; w. fut. 96 f.—
 οὐ . . . πᾶς (πᾶς . . . οὐ) 196 f.,
 287—in questions 282 f.—οὐ 286
 —οὐ . . . οὐ 286—οὐ . . . οὐδέ (μή
 . . . μη δέ) 286—οὐ πάντως 287—
 οὐ . . . ἀλλά 329—οὐ μόνον . . .
 ἀλλά 329
 οὐαί 260, 296, 306, 308, 309, 315

- οὐδέ 340
 οὐκοῦν 282, 337
 οὖν 329, 337 f.—ἄρα οὖν 330—
 position 347—-οὖν 196
 οὐρανός: sg. and pl. 25—*anarthr.*
 174 f.
 οὔτε . . . οὔτε 340
 οὗτος 192 f.—αὕτη f. τοῦτο 21—
 αὐτή and αὕτη confused 40—*deictic*
 44—w. *anaphora* 44 f., 46—*pro-*
nominal 44 f.—αὐτὸ τοῦτο 45—
 pointing forward to ὅτι, ἵνα, ἐάν,
inf. 45, 139—τοῦτο μὲν . . . τ.
 δέ 45—*elliptical* τοῦτο δέ 45—
 τούτου possess. 190—*art.* 192—
asyndetic μετὰ τοῦτο (ταῦτα) 341
 οὕτω(ς): w. *ptc.* 154—as *predic.* 226,
 303—ὥς . . . οὕτως 320
 οὐχί 96, 282, 286, 329
 ὀφείλω: *intr.* 51—ὀφείλον 90—*ὀφε-*
λον 91, 295, 300—*constr.* 141
 ὀφειλέτης *constr.* 238
 ὀφθαλμός *anarthr.* 179
 ὄχλος: *constr. ad sens.* 311—ὄχλοι
 πολλοί 7, 26
 ὀφέ: ἐγένετο 226—ο. σαββάτων 278
 ὀψία 17
 ὀψιμον *scil.* ὑετός 18
 ὀψώνιον pl. 27
 παῖς, ἡ (voc.) 34—οἱ παῖδες 22
 πάλαι, ἐκ 250
 πάλιν in Mk 229
 Παμφυλία *art.* 170
 παντότε position 228
 πάντως οὐ (οὐ πάντως) 287
 παρά 6, 250, 272—w. *acc.* 273—
 w. *pos.* and *comp.* 3, 7, 29, 31,
 216, 251—w. *inf.* 144—w. *gen.*
 273—οἱ π. 16—τὰ π. 15—ἀπὸ f.
 233 f. 258 f.—w. *dat.* 273—
cmpd. vbs. constr. 242
 παραβιάζομαι 65
 παραγγέλλω: *punctil. pres.* 64—*impf.*
 65, 67
 παράγω *intr.* 51
 παραδίδομαι: *futur. pres.* 63—*aor. pf.*
 83—*fut. ptc.* 86, 151
 παραίνεω *constr.* 149
 παρακαλέω: *impf., aor.* 65—*constr.*
 142, 149
 παραλαμβάνω *Aktionsart* 79
 παραπλήσιον case 216
 παρατηρέομαι 55
 πάρειμι *perfective* 62
 παρέχομαι 56
 παριστάνω *pres. and aor. imper.*
 76, 77
 παρηγοία *constr.* 241
 πᾶς: position 5, 201—πᾶς . . . οὐ
 (οὐ . . . πᾶς) 7, 196 f., 287—πᾶς
 ὅστις (ὅς) 21, 316—ὁ πᾶς and pl.
 21, 201—πᾶς ὁ w. *pte.* 151, 197,
 316—*anarthr.* 199 f.—w. *art.*
 200 f.—πάντων f. *fem.* 316—
anacolouthon w. 316
 πάσχα, τὰ 27
 πᾶσχω: *pres. imper.* 76—*aor. pf.* 82
 —w. ὑπό 53
 Πάταρα 27
 πάτηρ: *voc.* 34, 35—*art.* 174
 παύομαι *mid. constr.* 159, 235
 πειθαρχέω *constr.* 7, 237
 πείθω, -ομαι: *constr.* 137, 138, 237
 —*perf. pres.* 62—πέπεισμαι 82,
 137—s. πέποιθα
 πεινάω w. *acc.* 232, 244
 πέμπω *epistol. aor.* 73
 πενθέω: *trans. and intr.* 244—*aor.*
imper. 76
 πενθεροί, οἱ 22
 πέποιθα: *constr.* 237, 242—*pres.*
sense 5, 82
 πέραν w. *gen.* 216, 278
 περί 6—not w. *dat.* 249—w. *acc.* 270
 —οἱ π., τὰ π. 15, 16, 270—w.
gen. 269 f.—w. σπλαγχνίζομαι,
μεριμνάω, μέλει 269—w. ἐγκα-
λέομαι 231—w. θαυμάζω 269—
interch. w. ὑπέρ 270—τὰ π. w.
gen. 15, 269
 περιάγω: *intr.* 51—w. *double acc.*
 246
 περιβάλλω: *aor. imper.* 77—w.
double acc. 246
 περιβλέπομαι *mid.* 55—*impf.* 66
 περιέχω *intr.* 52, 292
 περικύκλω f. περί 251
 περίοδος *ellipse* 17
 περιπατέω: *pres. imper.* 75, 77—
aor. imper. 76
 περίχωρος, ἡ 16
 πέτρα, πέτρος 22
 πηλίκος *exclam.* 50
 πίνω *constr.* 244
 πίπτω: *impf.* 66—*fut. f. impf.* 86

- πιπράσκω: impf. 67—pf. 70, 84
 πιστεύω: constr. 137, 237 f., 247, 263—pass. 57, 247, 291—impf. 67—ingress. aor. 71—pres. and aor. imper. 75 aor. pf. 82
 πίστις constr. 211, 263
 πιστός constr. 220
 πλείστος, ὁ 30—τὸ π. *at most* 31
 πλείων: (οἱ) πλείονες 30, 172—πλείων 21
 πλεονεκτέω trans. 244
 πληγή ellipse 18
 πλήθος *w. constr. ad sens.* 312
 πλὴν prep. *w. gen.* 278—*advers. conj.* 338
 πλήρης: constr. 215—*indecl.* 315 f.
 πληροφορία *w. gen.* 211
 πληρώω: act. and mid. 55—pass. 58—pass. *w. acc.* 233, 245, 247—pf. 84—ἵνα πληρωθῇ 102
 πλησίον *w. gen.* 216
 πλούσιοι, οἱ 13, 34
 πλουτέω ingress. aor. 72
 πνέω: τῷ πνέοντι and τῇ πνεύσῃ 17
 πνεῦμα: pl. *w. sing. or pl. vb.* 313—*constr. ad sens.* 312—π. ἁγίου art. 175 f.—(ἐν) πνεύματι 241
 πνίγομαι impf. 67
 ποιέω: constr. 138, 142, 246—mid. 56—ἐλεος μετὰ 56—ποιέομαι σπουδῇ, etc. 56—futur. pres. 63—impf. 66—pf. 69, 70, 83, 84—ingress. aor. 72—pres. imper. 75, 76, 77—*aor. imper.* 77—fut. ptc. 87—*w. ἵνα* 104—*w. inf.* 138—*w. ptc.* 159—καλῶς (εὖ) π. 245
 ποῖος: *f. τίς* 48—*f. ὁποῖος* 48—*ποιῶς* (scil. ὁδοῦ) 16
 πολεμέω constr. 241
 πόλις *w. gen. of name* 215
 πολύς: οἱ πολλοὶ 13, 31—τὸ πολὺ 13—πολλὰς δέρομαι 18, 246, 247—πολλοὶ *great* 26—ὁ ὄχλος π. 26, 186—πολύ, πολλῶ *w. comp.* 29—(τά) πολλά *adv.* 247 f.
 πονηρός, ὁ 13, 14—πονηρά, τά 14
 πορεύομαι: impf. 66, 67—futur. pres. 63—*aor. pf.* 70—πορεύου, πορεύεσθι 75—πορευθεὶς 154
 πορνεῖαι 27
 πόρρω predic. 226
 πόρφυρος 17
 πόσος: *f. ὅσος* 48—*exclam.* 50
 πόταμος, ὁ 172
 ποταπός 48
 ποτέ 153—ποτε 196
 πότερος: confused *w. τίς* 32—πότερον . . . ἢ 338
 ποτίζω: *w. double acc.* 246—pass. *w. acc.* 247
 ποῦ 109, 235
 πούς: πόδες καὶ χεῖρες 350
 πρασιαί 231
 πράσσω perf. pres. 62
 πρέπει, πρέπειν ἐστίν: 88, 149, 292, 295, 309—personal constr. 147
 πρεσβύτερος 30
 πρίν: constr. 78, 113, 140, 345—π. ἢ 78, 113, 130, 140—prep. *w. gen., acc.* 260, 270
 πρό: *w. gen.* 248, 260—πρὸ τοῦ *w. inf.* 78, 140, 144, 345
 προάγω intr. 51
 πρόβατον neut. pl. *w. sing. vb.* 313
 προβλέπομαι mid. 55
 πρόδηλον ὅτι 295
 προέχομαι 56
 προηγέομαι trans. 245
 προθυμία τοῦ *w. inf.* 141
 πρόξμος 18
 προκόπτω intr. 52
 προλαμβάνω *w. inf.* 138, 227
 πρὸς 6, 273—*compd. vbs. constr.* 242—*adv. use* 250—*w. gen. and dat.* 273 f.—*w. acc.* 274—πρὸς με 39—πρὸς τό *w. inf.* 105 f., 141, 144—*w. λέγω, etc.* 237—*encroaches on simple dat.* 251—*f. παρά* 254, 274—*εἰς f.* 256 f.
 προσάγω intr. 51
 προσεύχομαι: impf. 66—pres. imper. 75—*w. ἵνα* 103—*w. τοῦ w. inf.* 142—*w. dat.* 236—περί *w. gen.* 269
 προσέχω: intr. 52—constr. 138
 προσήκει absent 91
 προσκυνέω 7, 236, 245—impf. and aor. 65—fut. f. impf. 86—fut. ptc. 87
 προσποιέομαι constr. 138
 προστάσσω: aor. 65—constr. 149
 προστίθεμαι: constr. 138, 155, 227—προσθεὶς εἶπεν 227
 προσφέρω pres. imper. 75
 πρόσωπον: *anarthr.* 179—*Hebraisms* 25, 279

πρότερον, τό 30
 προὔπαρχω w. ptc. 159
 προφθάνω w. ptc. 159
 πρωτ: τὸ π. adv. 14, 247—ἦν π.
 226
 πρωτα, ἡ 17
 πρώτος f. πρότερος 32
 πτωχεύω ingress. aor. 71, 72
 πτωχός, ὁ 13, 23
 πυκνότερον 3, 30
 πύλη: ellipse 18—sing. and pl. 27
 πυνθάνομαι impf. 65—aor. 65
 πῦρ: w. φλόξ 213—(ἐν) πυρί 240,
 252, 253
 πῶς 117, 123, 137—f. ὥς, ὅτι 137

ράβδιζω constat. aor. 72
 ῥάβδος: ellipse 18—ἐν 241
 ῥίπτω intr. 52
 ῥομφαία, ἐν 252
 ῥύομαι: pass. 58—constr. 235
 Ῥώμη, ἡ 171

σάββατον: sing., pl. 27—(δὲς τοῦ)
 σαββάτου 235—(ἐν) τῷ σ., τοῖς σ.
 243—ὁψέ σ. 278
 σαλπίζω: aor. imper. 77
 Σαμαρίτης art. 169
 σαπρά, τά 14
 σάρξ: anarthr. 177—τῇ σ. 239—(τὸ)
 κατὰ σ. 268
 σεαυτοῦ 41—position 190
 σελήνη art. 172
 σημείον 26, 214
 σήμερον, ἡ 17
 σιγάω ingress. aor. 71 f.
 σιωπάω impf. 66
 σός disappearing 42, 191
 σπάω 55
 σπέρμα constr. ad sens. 312
 σπλαγχνίζομαι constr. 234, 269, 272
 σπουδαῖος comp. 30
 σταυρόω aor. and pf. ptc. 85
 στήχω 82
 στήριζω w. πρόσωπον τοῦ w. inf. 142
 στοιχέω: imperat. inf. 78—pres.
 imper. 75
 στολή distrib. sing. 25
 στόμα Hebraism 25, 280
 στρατεία constr. ad sens. 311 f.
 στρ φω: intr. 2, 51, 52—aor. imper.

σύ: nom. 37—possess. gen. 38 f.
 189—σου f. σεαυτοῦ 42 f.—
 position of μου, σου, ἐμοῦ 189
 συγκαλέομαι 55
 συγκληρονόμος w. gen. 215
 συλλαμβάνω pf. 84
 συλλέγω impers. pl. 293
 συμβαίνω: aor. pf. 82—συνέβη 139,
 148, 292
 συμβουλεύω, -ομαι constr. 149
 συμπόσια 231
 συμφέρει: constr. 103, 139, 149, 292
 —συμφέρον scil. ἐστίν 88, 295, 300
 σύμφυτος w. dat. 220
 συμφωνέω constr. 149, 234
 σύν: encroaches on simple dat. 236
 —and μετά 265, 269—οἱ σύν αὐτῷ
 265
 συνάγω intr. 51
 συναίρω λόγον 56
 συναντάω fut. ptc. 86
 συναρπάζω pf. 84
 συνέπομαι constr. 241
 συνεργέω 244
 συνέρχομαι linear aor. 71
 συνήμι constr. 160
 συντίθεμαι constr. 142
 Συρία art. 170
 σύρω 66
 συσχηματίζομαι to conform 57
 σφίζω constr. 235, 240—pf. 69, 83,
 84—aor. 69—fut. ptc. 87
 σῶμα: distrib. sing. 7, 23, 24—
 w. gen. of qual. 213—schema Attic.
 313
 σωτήριος constr. 220—τὸ σωτ-ήριον
 14
 ταπεινῶω aor. imper. 77
 τάσσω constr. 149
 ταχύς: τάχιον 30—ἐν τάχει 252
 τε . . . καί, τε . . . τε, etc. 329, 338
 f., 347—τε γάρ 339
 τέκνον ellipse 21—τὰ τ. voc. 34
 τελειῶω: futur. pres. 63—w. ἵνα 102
 τελέω: pf. 85—w. ptc. 159
 τελευτάω aor. pf. 82
 τέλος, εἰς 266
 -τεος 91
 τέταρτον, τό 17
 τηρέω pf. 84
 τίθημι: act. and mid. 55—ἔθετο 56
 —impf. 67—pf. 84—constr. 246

- τιμιώτατος 31
 τίς: f. ὅστις 4, 48, 49, 117—f. πότε-
 ρος 32—varying w. ὅσος and ὅς
 49—τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ 240, 303, 306
 —εἰς τί 267—τί γάρ (μοι) 301—
 τί οὖν 301—τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς (σε) 303
 τις 195—indecl. 316—εἰς τις 195—
 w. partit. gen. or ἐν 209—οὐ (μὴ)
 . . . τις 77—εἰ τις 321—position
 195
 τοιγαροῦν 340, 347
 τοῖνον 340, 347
 τοιοῦτος 21, 46 f., 193 f.—ὁ τ. 46 f.,
 193 f.
 -τος verbal adj. w. gen. 89
 τοσοῦτος 46 f., 194
 τότε 341—as adj. 222—ἀπὸ τ. 250
 τουτέστιν 45
 τρέμω w. ptc. 160
 τρέλλω trans. 244
 τρίμηνος, ἡ 17
 τρίτη, τῇ 17
 τρόπος: (καθ') ὃν τρόπον 247—παντὶ
 τρόπῳ 241
 Τρωάς art. 171
 τυγχάνω: constr. 158, 227, 232—
 aor. pf. 82—εἰ τύχοι 125, 133—
 τυχόν 322
 τύπος distrib. sing. 25
 τυφλῶ pf. 70, 84

 ὑβρίζω trans. 244
 ὕδωρ: pl. 27—ellipse 18
 ὑετός ellipse 18
 υἱός: voc. 34—scil. 168—anarthr.
 173 f.—figurat. 207 f.
 ὕμεις: nom. 37 f.—ὕμιν f. ἑαυτοῖς 42
 —position of ὕμῶν 189, 190—
 ὕμῶν f. ὑμέτερος 190
 ὑμέτερος 190, 191
 ὑπάγω: intr. 51—ὕπαγε 75, 77, 342
 —w. ἵνα or inf.? 135
 ὑπακοή w. obj. gen. 211
 ὑπακούω w. dat. 237
 ὑπάρχω: w. dat. 240—w. ptc. 158 f.
 ὑπέρ: w. pos. and comp. 3, 7, 31, 216
 —τοῦ w. inf. 105—as adv. 250,
 271—w. acc. 270—interchanged w.
 περί 270—w. gen. 270 f.
 ὑπεράνω: w. gen. 279—f. ὑπέρ 251
 ὑπερέκεινα w. gen. 216
 ὑπερέχον, τό 14
 ὑπερλίαν 250

 ὑπήκοος 220
 ὑπηρετέω w. dat. 236
 ὑπὸ 274—not w. dat. 249, 274—
 ἀπὸ f. 258—cases 275
 ὑποκάτω: w. gen. 279—f. ὑπὸ 251,
 279
 ὑποκρίσεις 28
 ὑπολαβών 62
 ὑπομιμνήσκω, -ομαι constr. 234
 ὑπομονή constr. 173, 211, 212
 ὑπονοέω constr. 137
 ὕστερέω: mid. 56—constr. 235

 φαίνομαι 58—w. ptc. 159—πέφηναι 82
 φανερός: constr. 220, 227, 304—
 φανερότερον 30—scil. ἐστίν 295,
 304
 φανερώ 55
 φείδομαι w. gen. 235
 φέρω: impf. 67—imper. of pres. and
 aor. 75, 77, 231—φέρων 154
 φεύγω: futur. pres. 63—trans. and
 w. ἀπὸ 244
 φησίν: hist. pres. 60 f.—asynd. ἔφη
 61, 340—without subj. 293
 φθονέω 245
 φιλέω: impf. 66—pf. 84
 Φίλιπποι 27
 φιμόω: πεφίμωσο, φιμώθητι 85
 φοβέομαι: pres. and aor. imper.
 75 f., 77—w. μή 99 f.—trans. and
 w. ἀπὸ 244
 φόβοι 28
 φόνοι 27
 φορά ellipse 18
 φορτίζω w. double acc. 246
 φρονέω constr. 238
 φρόνιμαι, αἶ 13
 Φρυγία art. 170
 φυλακή 243
 φυλάσσω φυλακᾶς 245—ομαι ἵνα
 (μὴ) 104, 138
 φύσει 220
 φωνή ellipse 17, 18

 χαίρω: constr. 160, 305, 308—pres.
 and aor. imper. 76—χαίρειν wish-
 inf. 78—w. χαρᾶ, χαράν 242
 χαρίζομαι 58—aor. pf. 70
 χάρις: art. 176—χάριν prep. w. gen.
 278—οὐ χάριν 278, 319—χ. ὕμιν
 κ. εἰρήνῃ 300, 310—τῷ θεῷ 298

- χειμῶνος gen. of time within which 235
 χεῖρ: ellipse 17—distrib. sing. 24—
 πόδες καὶ χεῖρες 350—Hebraism 24, 280
 χειρόγραφον 219
 χερουβείν gender 21
 χιτῶνες 27
 χορηγέω constr. 244
 χρεία constr. 103, 104, 139
 χρῆ 295, 308
 χρηματίζω: pass. 57—gnom. fut. 86—
 —constr. 149
 χρῆσαι aor. imper. 76
 χρηστόν, τό 14—χρηστός comp. 31
 χρίω constr. 240
 Χριστός 212—art. 167
 χρόνος: pl. 27—w. ἵνα 104—τοῦ w. inf. 141
 χώρα ellipse 16
 χωρίζω constr. 235
 χωρίς w. gen. 278
 ψάλλω constr. 236
 ψεύδομαι: pres. imper. 76—constr. 236
 ψηλαφάω w. acc. 232
 ψυχή reflex. pron. 43—τῇ ψυχῇ 221
 ὦ, ὦ 3, 33
 ὦδε 44
 ὦρα 243—ellipse 17—w. ἵνα 103—
 constr. 139—art. 179—acc. for time—when 248—scil. ἐστὶν 295, 300
 ὥς 135, 137, 161—w. superl. 31 (ὥς τάχιστα)—final 105, 136—consec. 136—w. inf. abs. 136—declarative 137—w. ptc 158—w. predic. 246, 321—no longer prep. 249—position w. neg. 286 f.—scil. ἐστὶν 297—to soften a statement 320—causal 320—as if 320—correlative 320—temp. 321—f. ἔως 321—clause-order 344
 ὥσάν, ὥς ἐάν 112 f., 321
 ὥσεί 158, 321
 ὥσπερ 158—scil. ἐστὶν 297, 310—correlative 320—ὥσπερεί 321
 ὥστε 106, 134, 135, 136, 137 f., 139—final 106, 136
 ὠφελέω constr. 246, 292
 ὠφέλιμος constr. 220