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NOTA DEL EDITOR

La marca que va entre corchetes en color rojo [p. XX/XXX] establece una correspondencia con la paginación de la versión PDF de la revista.

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Modeling Negation in Ancient Greek

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Attempts to model negation in ancient Greek from a Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) perspective involve a range of questions involving both paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes. In this paper we focus on the negatives οὐ and μή along with their compounds. We begin by discussing the meaningful choice that exists between the two particles, before considering them as the realization of systemic features at various ranks (i.e. word, group, and clause). We argue that the presence of a negative particle in a unit does not necessarily entail that the interpersonal feature negative has been selected either by that unit or by some overarching clause. We then address instances where multiple negative particles appear within a single unit, including cases where clausal negation is redundantly (i.e. prosodically) realized as well as cases involving biased interrogatives. We conclude that our initial paradigmatic discussion helps to explain even the most unusual syntagmatic phenomena.

Keywords: Greek, negation, polarity, scope, lexicogrammar, rank.

Introduction[1]

Negation is complex in any language, and ancient Greek is certainly no exception.[2] In this paper we offer some initial insights into negation in ancient Greek, focusing our attention on the use of the Greek particles οὐ and μή (and their numerous derivatives, such as οὐχί and μηδέποτε). We recognize that, within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) the linguistic model that we utilize in this paper, negation has been rightly treated as part of the interpersonal metafunction and its broader system of modality. Accordingly, we recognize that a much wider assortment of phenomena needs to be described along with negation, including modal [p. 3/204] particles, alpha privatives, and lexicalized negation.[3] Our work here is thus a preliminary first step toward a more comprehensive description of modality in ancient Greek, in particular Hellenistic Greek, with the immediate goal being to systemically describe the polar opposition encoded in Greek by means of οὐ and μή. The paper has two major sections, each treating one of the two major axes of linguistic description, paradigmatic and syntagmatic matters. We will first summarize the units in which negation is a paradigmatic choice; we will then explore some of the complexities that linearization introduces into the description of Greek negation.

Part 1: Paradigmatic Matters

There are two major factors that must be discussed as regards paradigmatic choices involving οὐ and μή. The first is the choice that exists between the two negative particles

themselves; the second is the various lexicogrammatical choices that realize negation and the various ranking units to which particular choices are relevant.

Οὐ and Μή

One of the more distinctive features of negation in Hellenistic Greek is the presence of two negative particles, οὐ and μή. The traditional distinction between οὐ and μή goes back to a rule formulated by the German classical philologian Friedrich Blass.[4] On the basis of comparison between classical and Hellenistic Greek, and how the latter changed from the former, Blass concluded that the rules for distribution of these negative particles were in conformity with the Greek morphologically realized moods. His rule, known as Blass's canon, states that οὐ negates the indicative mood and μή all of the non-indicative moods, including the participle and the infinitive. Blass and others admitted some exceptions to this rule (such as with conditional clauses and some other patterns noted below), but the rule probabilistically held, and so it has come to be accepted in most Greek grammatical discussion. While the rule may prove helpful in pedagogical contexts because it describes very strong tendencies within the language, we believe that it masks a more important underlying semantic distinction. [p. 4/204]

This distinction can be articulated in relation to the speaker's stance toward his or her construal of reality. The negative μή is used to negate a construal of reality, but it does not entail that the construal, in the absence of the negative, would be something towards which the spea-ker would adopt a positive assertive stance. By contrast, the particle οὐ negates a construal of reality, while at the same time signaling that, in context, the construal is one towards which, apart from the negative, one would be expected to adopt a positive assertive stance. Thus, μή is the broader and less informative negative particle, whereas οὐ negates ideational meanings in relatively more specific environments.[5]

Our somewhat verbose description makes good sense of the strong tendency observed by Blass, because indicative clauses are generally used for assertions, where—in the absence of negation—the speaker will be understood to have adopted a positive assertive stance. But it also accounts for the general fact that μή has a wider distribution than οὐ, occurring more frequently with the full range of morphological moods (as opposed to οὐ, which occurs only sporadically with the non-indicatives). Most importantly, however, our formulation explains both the exceptions to Blass's canon and some other phenomena that would otherwise seem random (see below under syntagmatic matters, where we discuss the use of negative particles in questions and the use of οὐ μή).

One of the most common exceptions to Blass's canon occurs when non-finite verbs are negated by οὐ. The Greek participle does not realize any of the morphological mood choices that are selected by finite verbs. It does, however, realize the nominal choices associated with nouns and adjectives, along with the other main verbal choices, namely aspect and voice. One would typically expect to find the participle negated by μή, because by itself the participle is rarely used to make an assertion, and in fact the vast majority of participles are negated using μή. Yet participial clauses are sometimes

negated by the more specific οὐ. Our analysis of the particles suggests that this will occur in environments where a speaker wishes to forcefully negate something that, in context, one would normally *not* expect to be negated. There are 88 such examples in the Greek New Testament. An examination of the negated participles suggests that the [p. 5/204] choice to employ the more specific οὐ is indeed motivated by the fact that the negation is in some sense unexpected. In Matt 22:11, for instance, it is surprising that the wedding guest is *not* (as one would expect) wearing appropriate clothing (οὐκ ἐνδεδυμένον ἔνδυμα), and in Luke 6:42, it is surprising to imagine that someone who is carefully trying to remove a splinter from a neighbour's eye would *not* (as one would expect) notice that they have an entire plank in their own eye (τὴν . . . δοκὸν οὐ βλέπων). This same pattern seems to extend to the related use of οὐ with infinitive verbs, as in Heb 7:11, where a priest is needed who is *not* (as one would otherwise expect) from the order of Aaron (οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν λέγεσθαι), or in 1 Cor 1:17, where Paul is sent to publicly proclaim the gospel but *not* (as one would otherwise expect) with wise-sounding words (οὐ . . . ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστός). It may even account for the rare use of οὐ with an imperative in 1 Pet 3:3, where Christian women are commanded not to adorn themselves (as one might otherwise expect) with elaborate hairstyles, jewelry, or fine clothes (ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἔξωθεν . . . κόσμος). One does not find the particle οὐ with the subjunctive in the New Testament, apart from mitigating syntactic factors,[6] and the use of οὐ with the future has in fact become the rule in Hellenistic Greek on account of the form being seen as formally more-or-less indicative and hence strongly assertive, regardless of its semantics.[7] We conclude, therefore, that our description of the choice between negative particles can account for the use of οὐ with non-indicative verbs.

A second common exception to Blass's canon occurs in counterfactual statements, in particular the second class Greek conditional statements. The second class or contrary to fact conditional apodosis indicates that the speaker is asserting for the sake of argument that the protasis is contrary to fact. This construction uses an indicative verb form in the dependent protasis clause, and so, according to Blass's canon, one would expect that the negation of these clauses would employ the negative particle οὐ. However, the negative particle in such constructions is in fact μή. Here again, our analysis of the particles renders the use of μή rather than οὐ fully appropriate, since the construal in the counterfactual conditional is not a construal of reality but of a hypothetical [p. 6/204] non-reality, making it something towards which the speaker would not adopt a positive assertive stance even in the absence of a negative. An example of this is Mark 13:20, which begins, 'If the Lord were not [μή] going to cut short the days…' (εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος τὰς ἡμέρας), where the reader understands that the days will in fact be cut short. As for the other, non-conditional instances where μή is used with indicative verbs, we tend to find μή in instances where a generic figure is being construed, with the particle serving to negate an imagined possibility. For instance, in John 3:18, we find μή with an indicative verb ('because he has not [μή] believed in the name of the only begotten son of God,' ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ), but the generic person in question has just been introduced as 'the person not believing'

(ὁ . . . μὴ πιστεύων), and so the unbelief in question is part of a projected scenario. Similarly, in 1 John 4:3 an indicative relative is negated by μή, exemplifying a common use of the relative to supply a generic characterization ('every spirit which does not [μή] acknowledge Jesus,' πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν).[8]

Negation at Specific Ranks

The rank scale is an important consideration in understanding negation, as it helps to identify the negated syntactical units and to disambiguate potentially ambiguous instances of negation by helping to establish the scope of negation in specific instances. In this section, we discuss negation in relation to words, groups (nominal or adjectival/adverbial), and clauses. We differentiate the groups because of some differences in the systemic choices realized by them, with adjectival and adverbial groups having the same systemic choices at group rank.

Word

Because our discussion is confined to the particles οὐ and μή, we will only discuss compounds formed from οὐ and μή. None of these compounds are verbs, because Greek does not form negative verbs using οὐ and μή. Two of the most common compounds are nominals, but the vast majority are non-inflecting particles (with the non-negative roots of compounds being traditionally categorized as either conjunctions or adverbs). For the purposes of this paper, we will distinguish between "negative markers" on the one hand, including οὐ and μή but also other compound particles that serve as negative function words (e.g. οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, οὐχί, μήτι, etc.), and so-called "negative indefinites" on the other hand, including the [p. 7/204] nominals οὐδείς and μηδείς (normally glossed as 'none' or 'nobody' or 'nothing') but also a number of negative compound adverbs that serve as content words (e.g. οὐδέποτε 'never,' οὐκέτι 'no longer,' μήπου 'nowhere,' etc.).

In very simple terms, therefore, the system of negation at word rank entails a choice between positive and negative, with the compounds employing οὐ and μή (both types) selecting the feature *negative* and all other words selecting the feature *positive*. The only noteworthy point to make is that all of the negative indefinites involve the negation of some lexeme that relates very clearly to one of the semantic categories associated with the major ideational components of the clause. For instance, the negative nominals that most frequently occur in Hellenistic Greek involve the negation of the word εἷς, glossed as 'one.'[9] This relates the small handful of negative nominals to the core function performed by the nominal group (which congruently construes and indicates semantic entities) and hence to the clausal participant functions (which involve these entities in semantic events or predicative relations). Along similar lines, the other negative indefinites involve the negation of roots that construe very general types of clausal

circumstances, often in relation to time or space. An example is the root ἔτι, glossed as 'still,' which takes as its negative forms both οὐκέτι and μηκέτι 'no longer.' What is more, in almost all cases, one finds that the relevant roots form compounds with both οὐ and μή, with their distribution being determined by the clausal environments in which they occur. It would seem, then, that the use of οὐ and μή in negative compound words is in some sense related to the clause, such that we might expect to see the use of these compounds as a means of realizing a negation choice made at clause rank. As we will see momentarily, this expectation proves to be correct. In the case of negative indefinites, the selection of the feature *negative* at lower ranks is ultimately a means of realizing negation at the clause rank.

Group

We turn now to word groups. In simple terms, adjectival and adverbial groups that select for negative will realize this choice by employing as their grammatical Head an adjective or adverb that is itself a negative indefinite. In effect, a negative indefinite as Head turns an entire adjectival or adverbial group negative. [p. 8/204]

Nominal groups that select for *negative* will similarly employ some immediate ideational element that is itself negative. But here things become a bit more complicated on account of embedding. In nominal groups, the feature *negative* can be realized not only by the inclusion of an element that is a negative indefinite, but also by the inclusion of an embedded negative word group. In either case, however, the realization must at some point employ a negative indefinite and not simply a negative marker such as οὐ or οὐδέ.[10] Here again, therefore, the pattern seems to be that one negates a unit by inserting a negative element, provided the latter is not merely a negative marker but part of the relevant experiential structure (i.e. a negative indefinite or a group containing a negative indefinite, rather than merely a negative marker). As we will see in a moment, the negative markers do *not* consistently realize the feature negative and in fact never seem to realize it at group rank, such that their presence must be analyzed in relation to different (albeit related) systemic choices.

As mentioned above, there are only a small handful of negative compounds in Greek that are nominals and they are all very clearly related to the core function performed by the nominal group. We can now say even more precisely that these negative nominals all relate to the indicating function of the nominal group, whereby the group does not merely construe a category of experience but enables the speaker to indicate with regard to instances of that category such things as quantity or amount, as well as to indicate specific instances of the category. The most common negative nominals, οὐδείς and μηδείς, frequently realize choices within a system that we call intensification, with οὐδείς and μηδείς representing the lowest point on the scale (lit. 'not one' = 'none'), the nominal τις, which can be glossed as 'some,' representing an indefinite intermediate point, and the nominal πᾶς, which can be glossed as 'all,' representing the highest intensity.[11] All of these words are routinely used as modifiers in nominal groups that

employ some other nominal as Head, producing units such as οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν 'no miracle,' χρόνον τινά 'some time,' and πᾶσα ἡμέρα 'every day.'[12] Similarly, the negative nominals οὐδέτερος [p. 9/204] and μηδέτερος ('neither') relate very directly to the indicating function of the nominal group, although the task of distinguishing between alternatives is not part of the intensification system but of a different nominal group system.

   As in English and many other languages, many of the words that are used as quantifiers and intensifiers and deictics in the Greek nominal group can also be used as Head, in which case no specific experiential category is construed. In such groups, what is conveyed is a quantification or intensification or deixis that relates to the ideational category construed by nominal groups in general, as in οὐδείς or μηδείς 'not one entity,' τις 'some entity,' πᾶς 'every entity,' or οὐδέτερος 'neither entity.' Notably, for all word groups (including adjectival, adverbial, and nominal groups), the decision to use one of these items as Head precludes all of the other choices that might produce more complex structures. Thus, although a negative indefinite can be employed as the Head of an adjectival group, one does not find structures like *οὕτως οὐδείς, glossed as 'so none.' Similarly, one does not find adverbial groups like *οὕτως οὐδέποτε, glossed as 'so never.' Because one routinely finds positive constructions of this sort (e.g. οὕτω μέγας 'so great' or οὕτως ἐναργῶς 'so clearly'), it would seem that the choice to employ a negative indefinite (or any of the contrasting intensifiers or deictics) as Head is one of the least delicate choices.

   Perhaps the most interesting examples of negative nominal groups are those which employ a negative embedded nominal group as Qualifier. These are particularly interesting, because we might not intuitively expect that the use of such Qualifiers would negate the overarching nominal group. As it turns out, however, the effect of the embedded negation is precisely the same as was just observed with negative Heads and intensifying modifiers. For instance, in the clause ἀργυρίου οὐδενὸς ἐπεθύμησα 'I coveted nobody's silver' (based upon Acts 20:33),[13] we find that the Qualifier οὐδενὸς has the effect of negating the overall nominal group ἀργυρίου οὐδενὸς 'silver of nobody,' which in turn negates the clause as a whole (i.e. the speaker means to say that he did *not covet)*. Here again, negation at lower ranks has implications for higher ranks, in the sense that the nominal group feature *negative* can be realized even by the insertion of an embedded negative nominal group.

   Our description of the nominal group has thus far ignored the use of negative markers such as οὐ and μή within the syntagmatic structure of the nominal group, as when they appear before some element of the group [p. 10/204] so as to place that element within their scope. Does not the presence of negative markers within the nominal group realize negation? Our answer is that it does and does not, because the placement of a nominal group element within the scope of a negative marker such as οὐ or μή does not seem to realize the same type of word group negation as was discussed above. Instead, the placement of a nominal group element within the scope of a negative marker produces a group whose choice in the negation system is *positive* (not *negative*), with the negative

marker serving merely to assist in the construal of an experiential category, as opposed to performing the function of indicating which instances of the category are in view. For instance, the wording τὸν οὐ λαόν in Rom 9:25, which can be glossed woodenly as 'the not a people,' refers positively to an entity even though the entity is being construed as 'not a people.' Similarly, the expression οὐ πολλαὶ ἡμέραι, which can be glossed as 'not many days,' in fact refers to a positive number of days even though the number is construed simply as 'not many.' Or again, the wording καινῆς διαθήκης οὐ γράμματος in 2 Cor 3:6, which can be glossed as 'a new covenant not of letter,' refers positively to a new covenant, even though that covenant has been construed as 'not of letter.'

In each of these latter examples, the nominal group does not so much contain a negative element as much as it contains some element that has been placed in negative scope by means of a negative marker. Inasmuch as this latter strategy does not seem to render the nominal group negative in such a way that it can be used to realize the negation of a clause, we propose to treat the negation of group elements by means of negative markers as a distinct paradigmatic choice with a distinct function. Just as systemic choices motivate the insertion of structural elements into a nominal group, choices motivate the placement of these elements in negative scope—but the choice to place positive elements within negative scope has a very different meaning than does the choice to include a negative indefinite element, and only the latter can realize the negation of the group as a whole. The difference probably relates to the fact that the nominal group serves, with regard to entities, both to construe categories and identify instances. We have chosen to relate the main negation system in the nominal group to negated negative indefinite elements, since it is this latter type that renders the entire group negative and hence enables it to realize the negation of larger structures.

Clause

Most of the observations that we have just made are equally applicable to the system of negation at clause rank. As with groups, the negation of an entire clause can be realized by the insertion of a single negative [p. 11/204] element, such as a negative nominal group or adverbial group. Also, the placement of specific clausal elements within the scope of a negative marker does *not* have the effect of negating the clause as a whole. There are, however, a few distinctives that make it necessary for us to treat the clausal system of NEGATION independently.

From the outset, it is important to recognize that the Greek clause cannot be defined as a unit which has a verb as its head, for the simple reason that not all Greek clauses contain a verb. In particular, Greek has what are called verbless clauses, besides the more common verbal clauses. In both verbal and verbless clauses, it is possible to negate the clause by including certain ideational elements that are themselves negative. Most often, a negative group is used as Subject or Complement or circumstantial Adjunct. Examples would include the use of οὐδείς and μηδείς, but clauses can also realize negation by means of οὐδεπότε and μηδεπότε, οὐκέτι and μηκέτι, or even by means of

negatively headed prepositional phrases such as πρὸς οὐδέν (with the preposition serving to relate the negative nominal group to the clause). Mark 2:21, for example, says that οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν, which can be glossed as 'Nobody sews a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment.' First Corinthians 13:8 similarly states that ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει, glossed as 'Love never fails.' For a verbless example, we note the second clause in 1 Cor 14:10, τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον, which we might gloss as 'There are probably many kinds of languages in the world, and none is meaningless.' In sum, one can negate a Greek clause by inserting a negative word group (whether nominal, adjectival, or adverbial) as one of its elements. Crucially, however, one cannot negate the predication of a Greek clause by employing a negative compound as Predicator, because Greek has no negatively compounded verbs formed by means of οὐ and μή. As a consequence, a speaker cannot specifically negate the predication (i.e. the event or predicative relation) that is realized by a Greek clause simply by employing a negative *Predicator*. Instead, one must place the Predicator within the scope of a preceding negative marker, or, if the clause is verbless, one must place the Predicative Complement within the scope of a negative marker. The implications of this are significant for the analysis of Greek clauses that contain negative markers, making the analysis of negative markers in clauses much more complicated than in the case of word groups.

   When considering the use of negative markers in Greek clauses, we must begin with the observation that they sometimes function in the same way as was observed in word groups: they place some part of the clause structure within negative scope, but without negating the clause as a whole. Specifically, when a negative marker is used in a Greek clause   [p. 12/204] in such a way that it has scope *only* over some non-predicating structural element(s) (see below), the clause is not *negative* but rather *positive*, albeit with some element(s) of it placed in negative scope. Frequently, the relevant elements are explicitly replaced by the speaker, with another marker such as ἀλλά ('but') serving to signal the end of the negative scope. Thus 1 Cor 2:13 states [ταῦτα] λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ᾽ ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, which we gloss as 'We articulate these things not in words taught by human wisdom but in words taught by the Spirit.' Here we have a positive clause with an Adjunct placed in negative scope, as opposed to a negative clause. Paul is asserting that he *does* articulate the things in question, only *not* in a certain way. The fact that the negated Adjunct is promptly followed by one that is not negated does not in any significant way affect the existing clause structure, as can be seen in the fact that one can omit the last three words without in any way disrupting the structure or meaning of what precedes.

   Finally, then, we must consider the critical fact that Greek *does* allow for the negation of the clause as a whole by means of the bare negative particles οὐ and μή as well as compound negative markers like οὐδέ and μηδέ. This is unlike what we observed in the case of word groups, where negative particles cannot render the group as a whole negative, but the difference makes sense when one considers two important facts: first, all of the negative units so far considered can be seen as ways of realizing clausal

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negation, such that the clause is the central locus of negation and hence might be expected to manifest negation in more complex ways; second, there are no negative Predicators in Greek, so if one wants to negate a Greek predication without employing any negative participants or circumstances, one can *only* do so by placing within negative scope the element of the clause that most directly realizes its predication. For verbal clauses, this is obviously the Predicator element, such that any clause whose Predicator is within negative scope will be analyzed as having selected for the feature *negative*. For verbless clauses, there is no explicit Predicator, with the result that the relevant negative marker must hold within its scope the Predicative Complement, which in verbless clauses most directly realizes the predication.

Two interesting consequences emerge from the fact that Greek negates a clause by placing its predicating element within negative scope rather than by employing a negative Predicator. The first consequence is potential ambiguity. In cases where a negative marker precedes both the predicating element of the clause and some other clausal element, it is not always clear (apart from context) whether the scope of the negative extends so as to encompass the predicating element. This means that the clause in question may or may not be negative. A significant example [p. 13/204] is Jas 2:1: μὴ ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, which we gloss somewhat woodenly here as 'Not with favoritism have trust in our lord Jesus Christ.' Is this clause negative, such that James is discouraging Christian faith? Probably not. Rather, the negative marker μή holds within its scope only the fronted prepositional phrase ἐν προσωπολημψίαις, making this clause agnate with Rom 14:1: τὸν δὲ ἀσθενοῦντα τῇ πίστει προσλαμβάνεσθε, μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν, which we gloss as 'Show hospitality towards the weak in faith not for quarrels over opinions.' Recognizing the clause as positive has significant implications for understanding the overall development of the discourse, inasmuch as seeing a positive exhortation here enables us to see the controversial interlocutor who appears in Jas 2:18 as someone who does not wish to have faith in Jesus.[14]

As a means of handling potentially ambiguous cases of negation, we suggest the following probe. Given a declarative clause that contains a negative marker, one can turn the clause into a question and then explore its possible answers. Specifically, if one replaces the non-predicating element that is within negative scope with an appropriate interrogative word, and if a negative indefinite serves as an appropriate answer to the resulting question, then the negation in question is not negating the clause as a whole but merely the element in question. If, however, one *cannot* answer the question with a negative indefinite, then the negation in question has scope over the predication of the clause such that the clause as a whole is negative.

Let us consider, for example, the positive clause ἔρχεται ὁ Παῦλος, rendered as 'Paul is coming.' One can insert a negative particle either before the Predicator, as in οὐκ ἔρχεται ὁ Παῦλος, or before the Subject, as in ἔρχεται οὐχ ὁ Παῦλος, and based on our discussion we would expect these two negations to have different meanings and to require different responses to our probe. We would expect οὐκ ἔρχεται ὁ Παῦλος,

rendered 'Paul is not coming,' to function as a negative clause, because the particle precedes the Predicator; yet we would expect ἔρχεται οὐχ ὁ Παῦλος, rendered for the sake of this paper as 'Not Paul is coming,' to function as a positive clause, because only the Subject of the clause is within negative scope. And indeed, our probe does receive different responses. In the former case, the answer to the question τίς ἔρχεται;, 'Who is coming?' cannot be Παῦλος, but it could conceivably be οὐδείς [p. 14/204] ('nobody'). Thus, the clause is negative, and what is being negated is a predication involving Paul. In the latter case, the answer to the question τίς ἔρχεται; still cannot be Παῦλος, but neither can the answer be οὐδείς. Thus, the clause is positive, and it realizes a positive predication wherein someone other than Paul is coming. Applying the probe to the ambiguous instance in Jas 2:1 (see above), we produce the question: ἐν τίνι ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; The appropriate answer cannot (in context) be ἐν οὐδενί, 'in no way,' because this would entail that James is discouraging Christian faith. It follows that the negative scope of the μή that opens James 2 does not encompass the Predicator of the clause but is restricted to the initial Adjunct.

A second consequence that emerges from the placement of clausal Predicators (or Predicative Complements) within negative scope is that one often finds clauses that are negative even though they do not contain within themselves any negative items whatsoever. This occurs because of linearization and because lexicogrammatical markers must frequently be analyzed as relevant to multiple clauses. An example is Luke 12:47, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁ δοῦλος ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἑτοιμάσας ἢ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ δαρήσεται πολλάς, which we gloss as 'The servant knowing the master's will and not getting ready or doing what the master wants will be beaten with many blows.' Another is Matt 5:14–15, οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη· οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, glossed woodenly as 'A city is not able to be hidden being located on a hill, nor do people light a lamp and put it under a basket, but on a lampstand, and it gives light to all in the house.' While such constructions are often analyzed by means of ellipsis, we would prefer to say that the negative markers in them have scope over multiple Predicators, and that consequently a systemic analysis must in each case analyze multiple clauses as having the feature *negative*.[15]

Part 2: Syntagmatic Matters

We turn now to syntagmatic considerations. We wish here to discuss instances where negation is realized in multiple ways within a single wording and to explore how these different syntagmatic realizations affect the analysis of the units in question and of their function in context. [p. 15/204]

A simple way to enter into this discussion is to consider multiple negatives within the wording of a single clause. The simplest case involves the presence of numerous negative word groups as functional elements within the clause. Plato furnishes a useful example in *Philebus* 19.b.7–8: οὐδεὶς εἰς οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν ἡμῶν οὐδέποτε γένοιτο ἄξιος

(lit. *none of us can at no time be of no use in nothing* = 'none of us can ever be of any use in anything'). Here there are four negative compounds, all functioning within negative word groups that are in turn functioning within the structure of the clause, yet the various negatives do not in any way affect one another or cancel one another out but instead produce what is sometimes called negative spread. The clause is negative, and it remains negative regardless of how many negative units are functioning as elements within it. Multiple negative word groups simply make it explicit that the negativity of the clause is grounded in numerous negative elements, with each negative element being partly responsible for the fact that the predication as a whole is negative (though even a single negative element would have sufficed to negate the entire clause).

   Somewhat more complicated are examples in which both negative indefinites and negative markers appear. Luke 4:2 states, οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ('he ate nothing in those days'). There are two instances of negation within this wording. Οὐδέν ('nothing') is a negative indefinite functioning as the Complement of the verb ἔφαγεν ('ate'), construing what Jesus ate. At the same time, the negative marker οὐ (here οὐκ) is placed before the Predicator and has scope over the Predicator. According to our discussion above, we would argue that this clause is redundantly realizing the clausal feature *negative*, but this time in a manner that is sometimes called negative doubling. The particle οὐ renders the predication negative within the discourse, indicating that Luke adopts a negative stance toward what is being predicated by the clause and so is denying rather than asserting its construal; the negative indefinite οὐδέν ('nothing') then redundantly realizes this negation by indicating that there are no entities that might be construed as the Complement of the clause. Here again, the two negations do not interact with one another so as to cancel one another out (i.e. there is no supposed double negative) (see also Mark 5:3; 15:2).

   At this point, one might ask the question, What happens when both realizations of the feature negative are present—negative indefinites and negative markers—but the negative indefinites do not fall within the scope of the negative marker? As has been recently argued by Dagmar Muchnová, such constructions are extremely rare in Greek. In the vast majority of cases, the negative marker will be the first negative realization, appearing prior to any negative word groups that are elements of the [p. 16/204] clause. The hearer will accordingly approach the negative word groups as redundant expressions of negativity (i.e. the speaker is redundantly encoding a negative stance towards what is construed by the clause and there is no double negative).[16] On rare occasions, however, exceptional clauses do introduce a negative element prior to the negative marker that has scope over the Predicator. Muchnová insists that the traditional Greek grammarians are overconfident in asserting that the hearer will recognize these exceptions as entailing a so-called double negative. And indeed, while it is no doubt true that some of the (very few) attested instances must be interpreted in context as double negatives (i.e. the two negations will be seen to interact so as to entail an overall positive), the presence of counter-examples suggests that context is a significant factor in interpreting these wordings. So whereas the wording in Demosthenes 57.28.4, τούτων οὐδεὶς οὐκ πεῖπεν

πώποτε, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, οὐ δίκην ἔλαχεν, must in context be interpreted as the speaker's redundantly negative stance towards the people's failure to act appropriately (i.e. 'none of them didn't at any time protest, didn't prevent it, didn't pursue justice' = *nobody protested, prevented it, or pursued justice*), the more-or-less identical wording in Xenophon, Symposium 1.9.4, τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου, must in context be interpreted as the speaker's negative stance towards a negative proposition (i.e. 'none of those observing didn't feel something respecting his soul affected by it' = *every man was affected,* a double negative). In the end, while it is *perhaps* significant whenever a negative element in a clause precedes a negative marker that has scope over the clause's Predicator or Predicative Complement, Muchnová may well be correct that the ordering is extremely rare and that no grammatical pattern ever developed in order to fully motivate or explain the instances. The most that can be confidently said is that, in these rare constructions, the two available methods of realizing clausal negation *may* be seen as independently motivated, although this need not always be the case.

The last item for us to mention is the issue of question framing, and here again we find interesting instances in which there are two independent motivations for two clausal negations. In Greek, the speaker can use either οὐ or μή (or compounds such as οὐχί and μήτι) to frame the propositional content of a polar interrogative in such a way as to indicate that the expected response of the hearer is specifically positive or negative. As always, the hearer is free to respond either with the expected polarity or not, but the explicitly signaled expectation of the speaker remains meaningful within the discourse (as in other exchange structures in which there is an expected response but also discretionary alternatives). This phenomenon of using negation to signal leading questions is found in many languages, including English, but unlike English, Greek allows a more precise indication of the expected response because it possesses two different negative particles. By means of οὐ (or certain of its compounds), the speaker indicates that he or she expects a positive response; by means of μή (or certain of its compounds), the speaker indicates an expected negative response. For example, 1 Cor 9:1, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; ('Am I not an apostle?'), entails the expected answer, "Yes, you are an apostle." Romans 11:1, μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ; ('God did not reject his people, did he?'), entails the expected answer, "No, God did not reject his people." Notably, οὐ is used when the proposition in view is expected to find acceptance, a detail that coheres very well with our proposal regarding the meanings of οὐ and μή. As usual, the particle οὐ frames something as negative that, in context, one would expect to be positively asserted.

One again might ask, What happens when both motivations for clausal negation are present in a specific context (i.e. both the signaling of an interrogative bias and the signaling of a negative stance towards a predication)? As it turns out, one does occasionally find interrogative clauses in which the particle μή signals a negative interrogative expectation with respect to a predication that is itself negated by means of οὐ. This so-called μὴ οὐ construction is exemplified in 1 Cor 9:4: μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν

ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν; Here the speaker presents the hearer with a negative proposition as is indicated by the negative particle οὐ. He then signals by means of μή that the hearer is expected to reject that negative proposition. In effect, then, the text asserts the speaker's right to eat and drink ('It is not that we do not have the right to eat and drink, is it?'). In this case, two negative markers are being used to place the contents of the clause in negative scope, but they are realizing distinct choices and have different functions.

Why does one never find Greek clauses in which the realization of these two distinct types of negation is reversed, such that a positive interrogative expectation is signaled by οὐ with regard to a proposition negated by μή? We suggest, in keeping with our discussion above, that we never find such instances because οὐ negates content that, in context, one would otherwise expect to be positively asserted. In effect, there is a general rule in Greek whereby οὐ cannot have direct scope over another negative scope that is realized by either οὐ or μή.[17] This not only explains the [p. 18/204] absence of positively biased interrogatives involving negative predications (i.e. the non-occurring οὐ μή interrogative contemplated above), but it also explains why, when one *does* find the fixed collocation οὐ μή—which is actually very common in Hellenistic Greek—the two negative particles will be interpreted as together realizing a single emphatic negation. As an additional benefit, the general rule explains the very last case of multiple negation we need to consider, in which one finds two instances of οὐ having negative scope over elements in a single clause. Because οὐ cannot be analyzed as having scope over another negative scope, the appearance of a second instance of οὐ must be understood to entail the end of the former instance's scope. The Greek orator Antiphon furnishes a useful example in 3.δ.6: οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀκοντίζειν οὐκ ἔβαλον αὐτόν ('Not on account of not throwing, they did not hit him' = *not because they did not throw they did not hit him*).[18] In this final example, we see one negative scope holding a clausal Adjunct and then a second holding the clausal Predicator and Complement, with the potentially ambiguous scope of the first negative particle (see above) clearly disambiguated upon the arrival of the second (i.e. the appearance of another οὐ requires that the scope of the first must end). As with the extremely rare occurrences in which a negative indefinite precedes the negation of a Predicator, it would seem that Greek hearers must have approached this highly unusual type of negation looking for some kind of unusual motivation, with the result they will have interpreted the two negations in the Antiphon example as independently motivated (i.e. 'The people did not hit him, but not because they did not throw').

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have attempted to lay out some preliminary findings regarding negation in ancient Greek. The Greek negation system is highly complex, from its morphology to its lexicogrammar to its semantics. We have attempted to describe the major and significant patterns involving the two major forms of Greek negation, οὐ and

μή. We have found that the paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes have been instructive for such an exploration. We began with paradigmatic matters, discussing the choice between οὐ and μή and then the various choices that relate to them at specific ranks. We were able to formulate several significant tendencies —verging on rules—to explain the relevant choices. We then turned to [p. 19/204] syntagmatic matters, where we discussed a range of examples involving multiple realizations of negation. These were challenging with respect to our previous discoveries, but ultimately confirmatory. We found that our proposed systemic choices and realizations were able to explain all of the most common forms of multiple negation in ancient Greek, with only a very small number of instances requiring further description. Moreover, the highly unusual orderings that are seen in these rare instances can be explained with reference to our proposed description, as can the fact that they will sometimes (although seemingly not always) produce a so-called double negative. [p. 20/204]

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2 M. A. K. Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (rev. Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen; London: Routledge, 2014), 23, for English.

3 Roser Morante and Caroline Sporleder, "Modality and Negation: An Introduction to the Special Issue," *Computational Linguistics* 38 (2012): 223-60.

4 Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896), par. 284(1), a conceptualization retained in subsequent editions.

5 Compare the more succinct formulation of A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 1167: "If οὐ denies the fact, μή denies the idea"; or perhaps better A. C. Moorhouse, *Studies in the Greek Negatives* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959), 40 n. 1 on οὐ for the "concrete or actual" and μή for the "notional or ideal," followed by Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Biblical Languages Greek 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 281.

6 For instance, in the wording φοβοῦμαι μή πως ἐλθὼν οὐχ οἵους θέλω εὕρω ὑμᾶς 'I fear that, coming, I might find you not how I want' (2 Cor 12:20), the negative οὐ can be explained either as an attempt to avoid confusion with the distinctive use of μή with verbs of negative anticipation (e.g. fearing, as here) or as a form of attraction to the indicative verb in the relative clause (i.e. 'not how I want' = 'how I do not want').

7 Robertson (*Grammar,* 1157) observes regarding the use of the future mood in prohibitions that "the volitive Subjective nature of this construction well suits μή, but οὐ is more emphatic and suits the indicative."

8 Robertson (*Grammar,* 1169) observes here that "This literary use of μή with the relative was often employed to characterize or describe in a subjective way."

9 Both of the resulting words occur with distribution being the primary distinction between them. We would argue in keeping with our discussion above that this distribution reflects the fact that the two nominals have

slightly different meanings on account of the choice between οὐ and μή. Other negative nominals are rare, with examples being οὐδέτερος and μηδέτερος 'neither.'

[10] It does not appear that the use of negative embedded clauses is able to realize the choice of *negative* within the nominal group (e.g. a negative participial clause as a structural element does not produce a negative nominal group), probably because negation performs its essential function at clause rank, with all lower ranking or embedded negations being relevant only "up to" the environment of the immediate clause and not any further.

[11] For a different perspective on οὐδείς in the context of language change, see Geoffrey Horrocks, "*Ouk ʼIsmen Oudén:* Negative Concord and Negative Polarity in the History of Greek," *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 14 (2014): 43-83.

[12] In addition to the Mark 6:5 example (i.e. 'no miracle'), see also Luke 4:24 'no prophet' (οὐδεὶς προφήτης) and Luke 16:13 'no servant' (οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης), with a total of 75 occurrences of this type of construction (mostly in Acts and 1 Corinthians and Hebrews).

[13] Acts 20:33 reads: ἀργυρίου ἢ χρυσίου ἢ ἱματισμοῦ οὐδενὸς ἐπεθύμησα ('silver or gold or garment of no one I coveted'), with the Qualifier, οὐδενὸς, negating the entire nominal group consisting of three elements, not just one.

[14] See Christopher D. Land, "Torah Observance without Faith: The Interlocutor of James 2:18 as a Critic of Jesus-Faith," in James D. Dvorak and Zachary K. Dawson (eds.), *The Epistle of James: Linguistic Exegesis of an Early Christian Letter* (MDC Press, Linguistic Exegesis of the New Testament 1; Eugene, OR: Pickwick, forthcoming).

[15] An interesting example of this is Matt 10:38: καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος. Here the relative pronoun has scope over both subsequent clauses, as does the immediately following negative particle (but not over the final clause; see below).

[16] Dagmar Muchnová, "Negation in Ancient Greek: A Typological Approach," *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 21 (2016): 183-200, esp. 193-95.

[17] By "direct scope," we mean within a single unit. There are numerous attested instances in which a negative scope extends across some embedded unit that has within its structure another instance of negative scope.

[18] According to Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 628.

Information Structure as a More Objetive Criterion for Distinguishing Between Cataphoric and Kinds of Anaphoric Demonstratives

AARON MICHAEL JENSEN

When readers of the Greek New Testament encounter a neuter demonstrative pronoun (τοῦτο) or a demonstrative proadverb (οὕτως), often they rely on their subjective judgment to determine if these pro-forms point back to the previous proposition or point ahead to the following proposition. This article applies the principles of information structure to provide a more objective method for determining the referent of such pro-forms, as well as for determining whether such pro-forms are focused or unfocused within their clause. Several examples from the New Testament are given where such clarity in methods provides answers to exegetical questions (Rom 11,26; 1 Tim 4,9).

Keywords: Demonstratives, τοῦτο, οὕτως, Anaphora, Cataphora, Focus.

Introduction

The demonstrative pronoun οὗτος has a wide variety of functions. In broad terms, these uses can be categorized as either exophoric, pointing to something outside of the text[1], or endophoric, pointing to something inside the text. These endophoric uses can further be categorized as being either anaphoric ("backward pointing"), referring to an already identified antecedent, or cataphoric ("forward pointing"), referring to a yet-to-be-identified postcedent[2].

When an endophoric demonstrative refers to a person, place, or thing, there is rarely any uncertainty in determining what it points to. However, [p. 21/204] when the neuter singular[3] demonstrative τοῦτο is used, and when the referent of the pronoun is conceptual or propositional, a greater possibility for uncertainty exists. In a number of such cases, interpreters are forced to make a judgment call as to whether the pronoun points back to what was just said and is anaphoric or points forward to what is about to be said and is cataphoric[4]. Often it seems as though this anaphoric-cataphoric judgment call is made to rely on an interpreter's subjective feel as to which of the two would make the better fit. The decision becomes a matter of determining whether the preceding or subsequent content better, in the mind of the interpreter, fills in the clause in question, a process which strikes me as dubious, subject to bias, and also, as will be seen, in certain constructions certain to bring about the incorrect construal.

Instead of using the subjective criterion of perceived content-fit, I would like to suggest a more objective criterion using the principles of information structure. I say

"more objective" because no criterion for language-based judgments which relies on human beings for its application can ever be purely objective. But by being built on more objective principles[5], it provides a tool to identify whether a given demonstrative is anaphoric or cataphoric with greater certainty and accuracy, as well as to differentiate between anaphoric demonstratives which have very different purposes from a discourse perspective. [p. 22/204]

Before giving the linguistic underpinnings for the criterion I am setting out, to give a little more clarity as to where I am going, I would like to further clarify the three different usages for demonstratives that the criterion is meant to differentiate. Compare the following sentences, each built with the same words drawn from 1 John 5,3[6]:

Unfocused anaphor: . . .<←This←> is love for God. . . .
Focused anaphor: . . .<←*This*←> is love for God. . . .
Cataphor: . . .<→This→> is love for God: . . .

Just as can be done in English, in Greek the words themselves can be the exact same for all three of these kinds of demonstratives. Yet it is clear that there can be significant difference between the meaning and the purpose of these respective uses. Paying attention to the information structure will help us to determine which of these possible configurations is meant.

Principles of Information Structure

Languages tend to introduce "one new concept at a time"[7]. This is both because, for each portion of the utterance, the speaker has a purpose being aimed at, and also so that each new concept can be understood by the hearer in relation to the concepts already present and established. The result of this, as Runge explains, is that "most every clause in a discourse is a combination of *established* information and *nonestablished information...* Understanding the distinction between established and nonestablished information is critical to understanding information structure"[8].

Andrews has classified three different ways in which such estab-lished and nonestablished information can be arranged within a clause, two of which are relevant for our purposes here: *topic-comment,* and *focus-presupposition*[9]. The *topic-comment* arrangement, by far the most common of the two, begins with the established information (the topic [p. 23/204] of this particular clause)[10] and then proceeds to provide nonestablished information (the comment being made on the topic of this particular clause). The *focus-presupposition* arrangement works in the opposite direction. It begins by fronting the nonestablished information (the focus of this particular clause) and then grounds that nonestablished information by providing established information (the presupposition on which the focus can be grounded).

Levinsohn provides example passages to illustrate the difference between the *topic-*

comment arrangement and the *focus-presupposition* arrangement[11]. For *topic-comment* he points to Luke 15,25: "His older son / was in the field". Here the topic ("the older son") is already established information, because in v. 11 Jesus had stated that the man had two sons. The nonestablished information is the comment about this son's location being in the field at that time. For *focus-presupposition* Levinsohn points to Gal 3,2: "[Was it] by works of law / you received the Spirit?" Here the presupposition ("you received the Spirit") is established information, because while the Galatians' reception of the Spirit has not yet been mentioned by Paul in this letter, it is common knowledge to both the speaker and the audience. The focus ("by works of law") is non-established information, because while the existence of works of law is common knowledge, their (hypothetical) role in the Galatians' reception of the Spirit is both new and salient within this clause[12].

It is important to note that both topics and foci will tend to find themselves as the first item within a clause[13], but for different reasons. A topic, as established information, is there following the default flow of information of beginning with the known and moving to the unknown[14], and as such in New Testament Greek will "precede the nonverbal constituents of the comment"[15]. A focus, on the other hand, as new and nonestablished [p. 24/204] information, is there as a case of left-dislocation. It violates the default flow of information so that it can be marked as focused by being the initial constituent in the clause[16].

Application of the Principles of Information Structure to the Demonstrative τοῦτο

The endophoric demonstrative τοῦτο, whose various usages we are seeking to differentiate here, has an observable tendency to gravitate to the position of being the initial constituent in its clause. This means that it is either the topic of a *topic-comment* arrangement or the focus of a *focus-presupposition* arrangement. However, while, at least in written form[17], an initial τοῦτο will appear identical as either a topic or a focus, the remaining information in the clause will differ based on which of the two arrangements is in use. This suggests that the most objective and systematic method to differentiate between the uses of τοῦτο is to examine the establishment status of the information in the rest of the clause. In a *topic-comment* arrangement, the rest of the clause, being a comment, will contain nonestablished information. Conversely, in a *focus-presupposition* arrangement, the rest of the clause, being a presupposition, will contain established information, namely, information which has either been established previously in the discourse or can already be assumed to be common knowledge to the participants.

When the rest of the clause contains nonestablished information and consequently can be labelled a comment, it becomes clear that τοῦτο is the topic[18], and as such is an unfocused anaphor. Here are a few examples[19]: [p. 25/204]

Luke 14,20 καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν, <⊙Γυναῖκα ἔγημα⊙> καὶ διὰ <←τοῦτο←> οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν.	Luke 14,20 And another said, "⊙<I have married a woman⊙> and because of <←this←> I cannot come".
1 Cor 7,5-6[20] <⊙μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν, ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε, ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν.⊙> <←**τοῦτο**←> δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην οὐ κατ᾽ ἐπιταγήν.	1 Cor 7,5-6 <⊙Do not deprive each other, unless if it is agreed upon and for a time so that you may devote yourself to prayer and come together again so that Satan may not tempt you on account of your lack of self-control.⊙> I say <←**this**←> as a concession, not as a command.

Eph 5,16-17 ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ὅτι <⊙αἱ ἡμέραι πονηραί εἰσιν⊙>. διὰ <←**τοῦτο**←> μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ συνίετε τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου.	Eph 5,16-17 Redeeming the time, because <⊙the days are evil⊙>. Because of <←**this**←>, do not be foolish, but understand what the Lord's will is.

Many more examples could be given of this, since an unfocused anaphoric use is the default usage for the pronoun and therefore is the most frequent. In all these cases, the information found after the demonstrative can be considered nonestablished information, and therefore the comment of the sentence, leaving the demonstrative to be the topic of the sentence.

Conversely, when the rest of the clause contains established information and consequently can be labelled a presupposition, it becomes clear that τοῦτο is the focus of the sentence. But that is not the end of the discussion, because it is possible for both focused anaphors and cataphors to be placed in that position of focus. However, while focused anaphoric τοῦτο and cataphoric τοῦτο share the same status with respect to focus, they differ with respect to their ability to provide cohesion to the previous clause. An anaphoric demonstrative, with an antecedent in some way [p. 26/204] grounded in the preceding content, automatically provides a cohesive tie to the material before it. A cataphoric demonstrative, on the other hand, with its postcedent yet to be stated, does not in and of itself provide any cohesive tie to the material before it.

What this means is, assuming we are interpreting a coherent discourse, for a focused τοῦτο which begins a clause[21] to be cataphoric, the rest of the clause needs to be able to meet the requisite qualifications for cohesion called for by the situation. There seem to be three different ways this can be done[22]:

1. The clause introduces a discourse, or a new major section of a discourse, and so is under no obligation to cohere with any preceding discussion.

2. The clause not only contains no information which is nonestablish-ed, but contains no informational content at all, serving only as an attention-getter for what follows[23]. In this case, the attention-getting clause intervenes between other clauses which cohere with each other and so cohesion is still achieved.

3. The clause contains only information which is not only established but which also has all been activated in the immediately preceding context, so that this information can provide cohesion with the preceding discussion[24].

Some examples of the first kind where a clause introduces a new section of a discourse: [p. 27/204]

1 Cor 11,17-18 <→**Τοῦτο**→> δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρεῖσσον ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἧσσον συνέρχεσθε. <⊙πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. . . . ⊙>	1 Cor 11,17-18 Now, in commanding <→**this**→> I do not give praise, because you are coming together not for better but for worse: <⊙For first, when you come together in church, I hear that there are divisions among you, and to some degree I believe it. . . .⊙>
Titus 1,5 <→**Τούτου**→> χάριν ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ, <⊙ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην.⊙>	Titus 1,5 On account of <→**this**→> I left you in Crete: <⊙that you might straighten up things as they are left and appoint elders city by city as I directed you.⊙>

Some examples of the second kind where the clause contains no information but serves only as an attention-getter for a clause which itself coheres with the previous content:

Luke 10,11 Καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν· πλὴν <→**τοῦτο**→> γινώσκετε <⊙ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.⊙>	Luke 10,11 Even the dust from your town which stuck to our feet we wipe off at you. But know <→**this**→>: <⊙the kingdom of God has come near.⊙>
1 Cor 7,29 <→**τοῦτο**→> δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, <⊙ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· τὸ λοιπόν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσιν.⊙>	1 Cor 7,29 I'm saying <→**this**→>, brothers: <⊙The time is short. From now on even those who have wives should be like those who do not.⊙>

Some examples of the third kind where the clause contains only material activated in the immediately preceding context such that it can provide cohesion[25]:

John 6,38-39 ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με. <→**τοῦτο**→> δέ **ἐστιν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με,** <⊙ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκέν μοι μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸ [ἐν] τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.⊙>	John 6,38-39 For I have come down from heaven not to do my own will but the will of him who sent me. And <→**this**→> **is the will of him who sent me**: <⊙that I may not lose any of what he gave me, but raise it up on the last day.⊙>
Rom 14,13 Μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρίνωμεν· ἀλλὰ <→**τοῦτο**→> **κρίνατε μᾶλλον,** <⊙τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον.⊙>	Rom 14,13 So let's no longer judge each other, but **judge** <→**this**→> **instead**: <⊙to not put an obstacle or stumbling block in front of a brother.⊙> [p. 28/204]

Where these conditions necessary for cohesion are not met by other elements in the

clause, assuming a coherent discourse, this requires that the focused demonstrative[26] be anaphoric to provide this cohesion with the previous material. Here are two examples of such a focused anaphor[27]:

Matt 14,1-2 Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἤκουσεν Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετραάρχης τὴν ἀκοὴν Ἰησοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, <⊙Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής· αὐτὸς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν⊙> καὶ *διὰ* <←**τοῦτο**←> |αἱ δυνάμεις ἐνεργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῷ.|	Matt 14,1-2 At that time Herod the Tetrarch heard the news about Jesus and said to his servants, "<⊙This is John the Baptist. He was raised from the dead.⊙> And <←***this***←> *is the reason* |these powers are at work in him.|"
1 Cor 11,29-30 <⊙ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων κρίμα ἑαυτῷ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα.⊙> *διὰ* <←**τοῦτο**←> |ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι καὶ κοιμῶνται ἱκανοί.|	1 Cor 11,29-30 <⊙For the one who eats and drinks eats and drinks judgment on himself by not distinguishing the body.⊙> <←***This***←> *is the reason* |many among you are sick and ill and a good number are falling asleep.|

Other examples can be found in Mark 1,38; 6,14; Luke 4,43; John 1,31; 6,65; 9,23; 12,27.39; 13,11; 15,19; 16,15; 1 Thess 3,5; 1 Pet 2,21; 3,9.

At times a focused anaphoric τοῦτο is followed by an appositional clause which further elaborates it[28]. This is the occasion I alluded to in the beginning where the subjective judgment call of "best-fit content-wise" is likely to mislead interpreters. When a speaker makes a connection using a focused anaphoric demonstrative and then senses that a clarification is needed as to its logic, that speaker will append an appositional clause to clarify the demonstrative. This phenomenon is in keeping with the research of Levelt, who documents how speakers monitor their own speech output and will "self-repair" not only errors but also potential ambiguities[29]. Or, put another way, either an assumption or conclusion [p. 29/204] which was to some degree left implicit by the first statement using the focused anaphoric demonstrative is then felt by the speaker to need to be made more explicit, and so the speaker immediately does so. So naturally the following appositive, as the clearer statement, is going to seem like a better fit content-wise than the preceding material. However, mislabelling the demonstrative as cataphoric undermines the cohesion of the text by severing the demonstrative, and the entire clause with it, from the preceding context to which it is meant to tie[30]. The effect that this can have on the overall reading of the passage is that it can cause us to lose sight of what is the author's primary point and what is supporting material.

This situation where a focused anaphor is followed by an appositive is the situation which translators and commentators are most likely to misread[31], and the biggest reason such principles on the basis of information structure are needed. While it is commonly recognized that anaphoric uses are considerably more frequent than cataphoric uses, when the information structure is heeded, the cataphoric uses are seen to be even more rare than previously realized. Here are a few examples of focused anaphors which are followed by appositional clauses[32]:

Rom 13,4-6 <⊙θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι. διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.⊙> διὰ <←**τοῦτο**←> γὰρ |καὶ φόρους τελεῖτε·| (λειτουργοὶ γὰρ³³[33] θεοῦ εἰσιν εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.)	Rom 13,4-6 <⊙For he is God's avenging servant for wrath upon the one who does evil. Therefore it is necessary to submit not only because of wrath but also because of conscience.⊙> For <←***this***←> *is the reason* |you also pay taxes.| (For they are God's servants, devoted to this very thing.) [p. 30/204]

1 Tim 1,15-16[34] Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι, <⊙ὧν πρῶτός εἰμι ἐγώ.⊙> ἀλλὰ[35] διὰ <←**τοῦτο**←> |ἠλεήθην,| (ἵνα ἐν ἐμοὶ πρώτῳ ἐνδείξηται Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τὴν ἅπασαν μακροθυμίαν πρὸς ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.)	1 Tim 1,15-16 Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and <⊙I am foremost of them.⊙> But <←***this***←> *is the reason* |I was shown mercy,| (so that in me, the foremost [sinner] Christ Jesus might demonstrate his full patience as an example to those who would believe in him unto eternal life.)

Other examples can be found in Matt 13,13[36]; John 8,47[37]; 10,17[38]; Rom 4,16[39]; 14,9[40]; 2 Cor 2,9[41]; 13,10[42]; 1 Pet 4,6[43]. [p. 31/204]

The Exception: Johannine Wisdom Literature

Since this is a cohesion-based test, it only works in literature which itself bears cohesion. For this reason the criterion does not seem to help in a number of passages within either Jesus' Farewell Discourse in the Gospel of John or in 1 John, since these writings lack the features and markers of linguistic and literary coherence necessary to apply such criterion[44]. Often cataphora seems to be employed without there being any cohesive link to the immediately preceding material, and this very technique contributes to the disjointed and structureless feel which many perceive in reading such a Johannine writings[45].

οὕτως

These distinctions we have made concerning the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο on the basis of the principles of information structure can [p. 32/204] also be applied to the demonstrative proadverb οὕτως. When its clause presents yet nonestablished information it functions as an unfocused anaphor.

Matt 12,40 <⊙ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας,⊙> <←**οὕτως**←> ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας.	Matt 12,40 <⊙For just as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights,⊙> <←**in this way**←> the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.
Heb 5,4-5 καὶ <⊙οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν ἀλλὰ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καθώσπερ καὶ Ἀαρών.⊙> <←**Οὕτως**←> καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτὸν	Heb 5,4-5 <⊙And no one takes this honor on himself but is called by God just like Aaron.⊙> <←**In this way**←> also it was not Christ who glorified himself so

ἐδόξασεν γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα ἀλλ' ὁ λαλήσας πρὸς αὐτόν, Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε·	as to become a high priest, but it was the one who said to him, "You are my Son. Today I have fathered you".

When its clause presupposes established but non-cohesion-effecting information it functions as a focused anaphor. While the unfocused anaphoric οὕτως often merely signals that there is a comparison, the focused anaphoric οὕτως, being focused, often functions as the point of the comparison.

Matt 12,45 <⊙τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων.⊙> <←**οὕτως**←> |ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ.|	Matt 12,45 <⊙Then he will come and bring with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself and he will enter and dwell there. And the last state of the man will be worse than the first state.⊙> <←***In this way***←> |will it be also for this wicked generation.|
1 Cor 15,40-42 <⊙καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια· ἀλλὰ ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων. ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων· ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ.⊙> <←**Οὕτως**←> |καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν.|	1 Cor 15,40-42 <⊙There are heavenly bodies and earthly bodies. Why, there is one glory for heavenly things and another for earthly things. There is one glory for the son and another glory for the moon and another glory for the stars. In fact, star differs from star in glory.⊙> <←***In this way***←> |will also be the resurrection of the dead.|

When the rest of the information in its clause effects the required state of cohesion with the preceding context it functions as a cataphor. Just as with τοῦτο, this can be at the beginning of a new discourse section:

Mark 4,26 Καὶ ἔλεγεν, <→**Οὕτως**→> ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ <⊙ὡς ἄνθρωπος βάλῃ τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς⊙>	Mark 4,26 And he said, "<→**In this way**→> is the kingdom of God: <⊙A man throws seed on the ground.⊙>

This can be when the clause contains no information at all and merely functions as an attention getter:

1 Cor 3,15 εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, <→**οὕτως**→> δὲ <⊙ὡς διὰ πυρός.⊙>	1 Cor 3,15 If someone's work is burned up, he loses something, but he himself will be saved, but <→**in this way**→>: <⊙as through fire.⊙>

This can be when the rest of the clause contains no new information but only that which establishes cohesion with the immediately preceding material:

Matt 6,8-9 μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς· οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὧν χρείαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν. <→**Οὕτως**→> οὖν **προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς·** <⊙Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. . . .⊙>	Matt 6,8-9 So do not be like them. For your Father knows what you need before you ask him. So **pray** <→**in this way**→>: <⊙Our Father in heaven. . . .⊙>

An Exegetical Question Answered: 1 Tim 4,9

For the most part the passages I have selected to illustrate the criterion for differentiating these kinds of demonstratives were not ones which provided anyone any difficulty in discerning which direction the demonstrative pointed. That choice was intentional, so as to make clear to readers how and how accurately these principles of information structure do show us the nature of a particular demonstrative. Now, having shown how these principles work and how this criterion can be utilized, I would like to apply it to two exegetical questions in the New Testament to show the benefit of this approach.

In 1 Tim 4,9 is found one of the Pastoral Epistles' faithful-saying formulas (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος). There is question, however, as to which statement is being referred to, the one which precedes in v. 8 or the one which follows in v. 10[46]. An answer for this   [p. 34/204] question can be found by an examination of the demonstrative found at the beginning of v. 10.

1 Tim 4,8-10 ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος, <⊙ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης.⊙> πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος· εἰς <←**τοῦτο**←> γὰρ | κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα,| (ὅτι ἠλπίκαμεν ἐπὶ θεῷ ζῶντι, ὅς ἐστιν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πιστῶν.)	1 Tim 4,8-10 For bodily training is somewhat valuable, <⊙but godliness is valuable for everything, holding promise for the life now and the life to come.⊙> Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptance. For <←**this**←> *is the reason* |we labor and strive,| (because we have come to hope in the living God, who is the Savior of all people, especially believers.)

The rest of the clause which begins v. 10 (κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα) contains information which is established, since Timothy would certainly have known of Paul's striving as well as his own, meaning τοῦτο cannot be an unfocused anaphor. The rest of that clause also does not in itself effect the necessary cohesion with the immediately previous context[47], which speaks of their striving, meaning τοῦτο cannot be a cataphor[48]. As κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα contains established information which does not effect cohesion with the preceding context, τοῦτο, then, functions as a focused anaphor, and the ὅτι-clause is in apposition to it, spelling out more clearly the connection. With the first clause of v. 10 pointing back as additional corroboration for the assertion of v. 8, this would mean that the faithful-saying formula likewise refers to v. 8 and not v. 10.

An Exegetical Question Answered: Rom 11,26

A second passage with which these principles of information structure prove very helpful is Rom 11,26, a passage whose interpretation has been vigorously debated, as many divergent opinions are offered as to what Paul means by the future salvation of all Israel (καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται)[49]. When the information structure is taken into consideration, [p. 35/204] and οὕτως is seen to be a focused anaphor, the passage becomes much clearer and the proper interpretation is seen:

Rom 11,25-26 πώρωσις ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ <⊙ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ⊙> καὶ <← **οὕτως**←> |πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται|	Rom 11,25-26 There has been a partial hardening for Israel until <⊙the fullness of the Gentiles enters in,⊙> and <←*in this way*←> |all Israel will be saved.|

"All Israel will be saved" is established information, because it is the question at the heart of much of Paul's conversation in Rom 9-11: "How is all Israel going to be saved if so many of them have rejected Christ?" (Cf. 9,6; 11,1), which makes οὕτως unlikely to be an unfocused anaphor[50]. "All Israel will be saved" is also not information which easily provides cohesion with the immediately preceding content, which makes οὕτως unlikely to be a cataphor. As a focused anaphor, οὕτως explains, much as vv. 11-14 did and as v. 30 will do so again, that the way in which all Israel will be saved is through what had just been mentioned: the entrance of many Gentiles into the people of God (τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ)[51]. This fullness of the Gentiles entering would serve as a catalyst for a number of previously unbelieving but still elect Israelites to be brought to faith[52]. We might more idiomatically translate the verses: "There has been a partial hardening for Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles enters in, and *that's* how all Israel will be saved"[53]. And therein lies the mystery [p. 36/204] (v. 25) which both requires divine disclosure and defies the expectation of both Jews and Gentiles: the way that God planned to save a significant number of Jewish people is actually through Gentile people.

The Criterion for Differentiating Demonstrative τοῦτο/οὕτως

Drawing things together, I find the following applications of information structure to be a more objective criterion for differentiating the various ways an endophoric τοῦτο or οὕτως can operate:

1) Unfocused Anaphor: Rest of clause provides nonestablished information
2) Focused Anaphor: Rest of clause provides already established information
3) Cataphor: Rest of clause effects required state of cohesion with preceding context

This may all seem much ado about nothing, but applying this criterion to make this kind of a distinction can prove helpful in following an author's train of thought and recognizing what exactly the point is that they are seeking to make by a given clause. In

fact, I would submit that whenever interpreters and translators have been correctly identifying and rendering a given demonstrative, it is because they were instinctively applying such cross-linguistic principles of information structure, even if not consciously or deliberately.

Since the books of the New Testament are a written record of a primarily oral discourse[54], an application like this of the principles of information structure are an attempt to systematically identify something which almost certainly would have been directly signified by prosody[55]. [p. 37/204] But since we lack an audio recording of when these writings were dictated, this criterion from information structure helps us to recover what is otherwise lost by it being only a transcription. It must be admitted that, even apart from the cohesion-less Johannine writings, there will be times in which it will be quite difficult to state with certainty the extent to which the clausal information can be considered established[56], and so also, then, it will be impossible to be absolutely certain in which way the demonstrative was meant. However, in many cases paying attention to how the information is structured will lead to greater certainty in exegesis, and even when it does not, it will at least have exegetes asking themselves the proper questions.

There is also an important application to translation practices in this. Translators should seek to identify the way in which a given demonstrative is functioning and then translate it in a way which leads the reader to that same understanding of the demonstrative. While English can differentiate these things through prosody as well[57], a change in prosody is difficult to indicate in writing without changing the wording[58]. There are, however, various renderings that can help to more successfully guide the reader toward the proper sense.

While in exophoric usages οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος correspond neatly with the English near-and-far demonstratives "this" and "that", respectively, their endophoric usages are not entirely identical. Levinsohn warns of the importance of recognizing the different ways that demonstratives function not only in the source language but also in the target language[59]. While in English "this" can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically, "that" can only be used anaphorically and often is used in this way. Translators, then, should freely use "that" to render τοῦτο and οὕτως in order to clarify anaphoric demonstratives as being anaphoric. When translators do so, they need not feel guilty that they have rendered the [p. 38/204] typically near-demonstrative οὗτος with the typically far-demonstrative "that".

Translators should also strive for renderings which will lead readers to pick up on the focused nature of focused anaphoric demonstratives. The clearest way to do this will often be to employ demonstrative-cleft constructions, such as, "That is what...", "That is why...", "That is the reason...", or "That is how..."[60]. While it is true that such demonstrative-cleft constructions can be used at times in a sort of *topic-comment* configuration in English[61], more typically they are used in a *focus-presupposition* configuration, and so they more easily lead the reader to use the proper focused prosody. Since cataphoric demonstratives are also focused, the translation of cataphors likewise

can and should employ similar demonstrative-cleft constructions, but would do so using the English demonstrative "this" or, even more clearly, using the word "here"[62].

Conclusion

In this article I have applied the principles of information structure to the task of differentiating between unfocused anaphoric, focused anaphoric, and cataphoric usages of τοῦτο and οὕτως. These provide a more objective criterion to help interpreters and translators to get "this" right. [p. 39/204]

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[1] This use is also referred to as "the purely deictic" by A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville 1934) 697.

[2] Robertson uses the term "anaphoric" in this same sense, but uses for "cataphoric" the misleading designation "in apposition" (*Grammar,* 697-700). If a demonstrative is truly cataphoric, the postcedent which follows is not explaining the demonstrative so much as the demonstrative is pointing ahead to the postcedent. This imprecise designation also obscures the phenomenon to be explained below where a speaker does use a substantive constituent in apposition to an anaphoric demonstrative.

[3] There is rarely any difficulty when the plural ταῦτα is used, since, as Young and Wallace find, virtually every use of the plural ταῦτα is anaphoric, with 3 John 4 being the only exception found by Wallace. R.A. Young, *Intermediate New Testament Greek: A Linguistic and Exegetical Approach* (Nashville 1994) 78; D.B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids 1996) 333. This would make sense from a probability standpoint, as it would be more natural to anaphorically refer back to a number of items which have already been communicated than it would be to cataphorically refer ahead to multiple items, since the cataphoric construction is a marker of prominence and a highlighting device. As for 3 John 4, too, such a cataphoric designation does not seem to be certain here. In light of the principles of information structure which will be laid out below, it seems more likely to be an anaphoric demonstrative followed by an appositional clause.

[4] In either case, whether it is anaphoric or cataphoric, it can be noted that a demonstrative which points to something conceptual or propositional will nearly always find its antecedent/postcedent in the immediately preceding or subsequent clause. This is not merely because οὗτος is typically the near-demonstrative, but also because, unlike other demonstrative usages, a demonstrative which points to a clause could have an exponentially high number of possible referents, potentially every other clause uttered within a discourse, if proximity need not be observed, and this would render communication impossible and prevent a speaker from using a demonstrative. If a more distant clause is to be referred to, more will have to be said to reactivate such material.

[5] This is, essentially, the purpose of all discourse-analytical approaches to exegesis — placing the kind of interpretive decisions an exegete must make on more linguistically solid footing by providing a clearer and more corpus-driven picture of the possible functions various constructions can have.

[6] The arrows mark which direction the demonstrative points. For the focused anaphor, the word "this" is italicized and underlined to signal that it should be read with the sentence's stress falling on it. "*This* is love for God" (as opposed to something else being love for God). Throughout this article much of my formatting is meant to mirror the discourse-analytical formatting found in S.E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New*

Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis (Bellingham, WA 2010).

7 W.L. Chafe, "Cognitive Constraints on Information Flow", in R.S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse* (TSL 11; Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1987) 21-51, esp. 31-32. See also T. Givón, *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction* (Amsterdam 1984) I 258-63.

8 Runge, *Grammar,* 188.

9 A. Andrews, "The Major Functions of the Noun Phrase", in T. Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume 1, Clause Structure* (Cambridge 1985) 62-154.

10 Though not necessarily the topic of the larger paragraph or of the discourse as a whole.

11 S.H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of New Testament Greek,* 2nd ed. (Dallas 2000) 7.

12 An entity "need not represent entirely new information in order to count as new" as long as it "is new as an instantiation of the variable of the presupposition", explain G. Ward - B.J. Birner, "Discourse and Information Structure" (n.d.) 4. See also Lambrecht's discussion of how a focus will not be a new denotata but will, when placed in a particular relation with a presupposition, result in a new assertion. K. Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents* (CSL 71; Cambridge 1994) 206-18.

13 Cf. H. Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (ASCP 5; Amsterdam 1995); Levinsohn, *Discourse,* 29-47; H. Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford 2007); Runge, *Grammar,* 181-83.

14 Runge, *Grammar,* 187.

15 Levinsohn, *Discourse,* 7.

16 Levinsohn, *Discourse,* 37, 42.

17 Prosody likely would have differentiated the two in oral discourse.

18 This is, of course, a significant simplification in cases where τοῦτο, as an unfocused anaphor, is the object of a preposition. In those cases, it could perhaps be more precisely labelled what Levinsohn calls a "point of departure". Levinsohn, *Discourse,* 7-28. However, still in this case the criterion I am proposing applies, since the τοῦτο still represents established unfocused information. So for the sake of simplicity, I will speak of such cases of τοῦτο which are objects of prepositions using the same "topic" terminology as more precisely applies to those cases of τοῦτο which are not objects of prepositions. The same somewhat catachrestic use of the "topic" instead of "point of departure" will also be used later on in the case of οὕτως. However, it should be noted that perhaps none of this use of the term "topic" is as catachrestic as it might initially appear. If we paraphrased the clause begun by such an unfocused anaphoric demonstrative in a way which reconfigures the preposition as a causative verb, such as: "This causes *X*", we see that the demonstrative pronoun, as established information, could function as the topic and the rest of the material could be considered the comment, and for our purposes in differentiating between such demonstrative usages, such a conceptualizing of the sentence seems beneficial.

19 As before, the arrows mark the direction which the demonstrative points. The picture of the target marks the information to which the demonstrative points.

20 While some have attempted to make the antecedent of τοῦτο Paul's directive to marriage in v. 2 or all of his comments in vv. 2-5, the singular pronoun and the distance between v. 2 and v. 6 make that implausible, since τοῦτο does not typically reach for antecedents or postcedents beyond what is immediate (for the sake of clarity). For a chronicling of these untenable interpretations, see A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids 2000) 510-11. More creatively, Winter has attempted to argue that τοῦτο here is cataphoric. B.W. Winter, "1 Corinthians 7:6-7: A Caveat and a Framework for 'The Sayings' in 7:8-24", *TynBul* 48.1 (1997) 57-65. Winter's primary evidence seems to be the number of other times that a verb or saying or thinking takes a cataphoric τοῦτο. What Winter overlooks, however, is the significant way in which 1 Cor 7,6 differs from the other passages he cites: the rest of the clause in which τοῦτο is found here contains substantive nonestablished information (κατὰ συγγνώμην οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγήν), which confirms that it must be, as it has been nearly universally understood, anaphoric. See the discussion below of what is needed to provide cohesion in the case of a cataphor.

21 The principles are more difficult to apply when the demonstrative is found at the end of the clause, since it seems that in Greek, as in English, a cataphoric demonstrative can end a clause which also presents nonestablished information. However, in English there typically is a short pause to set off the cataphor when this occurs, almost as if, following these principles of information structure, a cataphor, which must be pointing to nonestablished information, when coming at the end of a clause which already presented nonestablished information, needs to separated out as if it is a new prosodically a new clause, and that new clause functions only as an attention-getter (the second way to be mentioned that a clause can meet the qualifications for cohesion). I would expect prosody to

mark the same phenomenon in Greek as well. However, there is no way that this can be tested. Fortunately, demonstratives which come at the end of a clause seem to cause interpreters less difficulties in differentiating their uses than those which come at the beginning.

22 These three situations under which cataphora occurs would together seem to suggest that what makes cataphora work is that the clause in which it is employed would be communicatively null were the pro-form instead anaphoric, and this unfeasibility of anaphora is what gives rise to both the cataphor and its markedness.

23 Runge has detailed how such constructions serve to mark prominence. S.E. Runge, "The Exegetical Significance of Prospective Demonstrative Pronouns in Luke's Gospel" (2007); Runge, *Discourse,* 59-71.

24 For different ways cohesion can be accomplished, see R.A. Dooley – S.H. Levinsohn, "Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts" (2000) 13-17.

25 The double asterisks are used to mark the information from the clause which is providing cohesion with the previous content.

26 As was shown above, the demonstrative is seen to be focused by the fact that the rest of its clause contains established information.

27 The vertical broken bars lines are used to mark the information from the clause which serves as the presupposition. As before, italics and underlining mark the demonstrative as a focused anaphor.

28 The same phenomenon can occur, albeit less frequently, with an unfocused anaphoric demonstrative. A subsequent appositional construction can more fully spell out the logical connection. Cf. Matt 24,44; John 5,16.18; 12,18.

29 W.J.M. Levelt, "Monitoring and Self-Repair in Speech", *Cognition* 14 (1983) 41-104. While often such repairs are made immediately or without a delay for the completion of the present clause, he notes that at times the speaker does "decide[] to complete the linguistic unit(s) he is working on—thus producing delayed, but linguistically motivated moments of interruption" (56). This delayed repair would be the kind we would expect to find within the New Testament, not only because are we are here discussing repairs to clarify potential ambiguities from a discourse-relevance perspective and not merely misspeakings or referent ambiguities, but also because errors in sentence formation are less likely to be preserved in the final editing and approval process of a written document than are potential ambiguities of discourse structure.

30 At times in translation it becomes apparent that a translator who incorrectly interpreted the demonstrative as being cataphoric sensed that doing so disrupted the cohesion of the text and so the cataphor itself was dropped in the rendering (Cf. Matt 13,13 NRSV; John 8,47 NRSV, ESV, NIV; 10,17 NLT, NIV; 2 Cor 2,9 NLT, NIV; 13,10 NLT). Since the principles of information structuring are largely cross-linguistic, the felt need to do that should be a hint that a cataphor may be inappropriate there from the standpoint of cohesion.

31 I will reference those translations and commentators which mistakenly follow a cataphoric reading in notes attached to the passages mentioned below.

32 The parentheses mark the appositional clauses.

33 An explanatory conjunction such as γάρ would seem to be unable to introduce a substantive clause as would be required for the postcedent of a cataphoric construction. While γάρ and ὅτι can both be glossed in their overlapping causal usages as "for" or "because", Wallace cites ὅτι (along with ἵνα, ὅπως, and ὡς) and not γάρ as a conjunction which can begin such a substantive clause. Wallace, *Grammar,* 677-78.

34 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NLT and by M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples*, English ed. (Rome 1963) §112; T.D. Lea – H.P. Griffin, *1, 2 Timothy, Titus* (NAC; Nashville 1992) 76; G.W. Knight III, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids – Carlisle 1992) 102; BDAG § διά, ἵνα; W.D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (WBC; Dallas 2000) 57; I.H. Marshall – P.H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; London – New York 2004) 401; P.H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 2006) 148 and n. 52. Towner, on his own and with Marshall, treats διὰ τοῦτο … ἵνα as a set pattern, but in most his cited examples the demonstrative can be more accurately considered anaphoric (at times focused, at other times unfocused). Zerwick likewise treats the phrase as a "formula". The one passage cited by Towner which would have a cataphoric demonstrative is Rom 9,17, a quotation of Exod 9,16, but the information structure there is what demonstrates this as well. Recognizing that in the Hiphil dm[can speak not merely of setting someone in power but of maintaining someone in power (cf. BDB; HALOT) and that there is a strong adversative linking this clause with the previous one (~l'Wa), the rest of this clause does establish cohesion with the preceding verse which speaks of how God could have eliminated Pharaoh, meaning that the demonstrative taOz is cataphoric, unlike the other examples cited.

35 The use of ἀλλά here instead of, for example, καί shows that only "I am foremost among them" is the antecedent of τοῦτο and not also "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners".

36 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NRSV; NIV; and by L. Morris, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (PNTC; Grand Rapids – Leicester 1992) 341 n. 32; C. Blomberg, *Matthew* (NAC; Nashville 1992) 216; Wallace, *Grammar*, 333 n. 46; D.A. Hagner, *Matthew* 1-13 (WBC; Dallas 1998) 373; J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids – Carlisle 2005) 534; J.A. Gibbs, *Matthew* 11:2-20:34 (CC; St. Louis 2010) 677.

37 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NRSV; NLT; ESV; NIV; and, to my knowledge, by all commentators.

38 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NLT; and, to my knowledge, by all commentators. Note here that much of the content in the appositional phrase which follows (ὅτι ἐγὼ τίθημι τὴν ψυχήν μου) is repeated information from v. 15, and that v. 16 had somewhat moved the conversation away from the point of v. 15. The appositional phrase in v. 17 is meant to clarify the antecedent of τοῦτο. While normally it would have to refer to the most recent statement (v. 16), here it refers back to something prior (v. 15), and the potential ambiguity in antecedent is what prompts the self-repair in an effort to clarify and then to expand on the thought.

39 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically by C.E.B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; London – New York 1975) 241; R.H. Mounce, *Romans* (NAC; Nashville 1995) 127; D.J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 1996) 277; T.R. Schreiner, *Romans* (BECNT; Grand Rapids 1998) 231; C.G. Kruse, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (PNTC; Cambridge – Nottingham – Grand Rapids 2012) 214-15; M.P. Middendorf, *Romans* 1-8 (CC; St. Louis 2013) 347.

40 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in CSB and by Mounce, *Romans,* 253; Moo, *Romans*, 845; J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans* 9-16 (WBC; Dallas 1998) 808; BDAG § ἵνα; Kruse, *Romans*, 517; M.P. Middendorf, *Romans* 9-16 (CC; St. Louis 2016) 1404.

41 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NRSV; NLT; NIV; CSB; and by P. Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids 1997) 128; BDAG § ἵνα; M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids – Milton Keynes 2005) 230-31 and n. 39; R.P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC; Grand Rapids 2014) 175.

42 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically by Barnett, *Second Corinthians,* 613; BDAG § διά, ἵνα; Harris, *Second Corinthians,* 928 and n. 57.

43 The demonstrative is taken cataphorically in NASB and by J.R. Michaels, *1 Peter* (WBC; Dallas 1998) 238; BDAG § ἵνα; T.R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude* (NAC; Nashville 203) 205; D.P. Kuske, *A Commentary on 1 & 2 Peter* (Milwaukee 2015) 204.

44 This is not to say that they are theologically incoherent, only that they lack the requisite features of being linguistically coherent. Both of these have defeated any attempts to satisfactorily derive from them a literary structure.

45 For example, Dudrey directly denies that 1 John has a "literary structure", "literary outline", or "linear argument". R. Dudrey, "1 John and the Public Reading of Scripture", *SCJ 6* (Fall 2003) 235-55, esp. 253. Brooke calls the entire letter "aphoristic". A.E. Brooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles* (ICC; London – New York 1912) xxxiii, xxxviii. Witherington explains how "in an epideictic piece of rhetoric" such as 1 John "neither a proposition nor a narration is required", and consequently "1 John is a series of interlocking themes or topics developed over the course of the discourse that are stated, amplified, reiterated, but not debated". B. Witherington III, *New Testament Rhetoric: An Introductory Guide to the Art of Persuasion in and of the New Testament* (Eugene, OR 2009) 188.

46 Among those who consider v. 8 to be the faithful saying are G.D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (NIBC; 1988) 104-5; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 198; Towner, *Timothy*, 309. Among those who consider v. 10 to be the faithful saying are D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles* (TNTC; Downers Grove 1990) 107; R.F. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville 2002) 126-27; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 247, 254.

47 The presence of γάρ in v. 8 indicates that there should be some cohesion with the preceding material.

48 Note that Mounce (*Pastoral Epistles*, 254), who considers v. 10 to be the faithful saying, incorrectly labels the demonstrative as cataphoric, and this incorrect labelling of the demonstrative seems to contribute to the incorrect identification of the faithful saying.

49 For recent summaries and analyses of six main interpretations, see Kruse, *Romans,* 448-451; Middendorf, *Romans 9-16,* 1159-65.

50 This interpretation, which would violate the information structure of the text, is reflected in translations which render οὕτως as "so" so as to read: "and so all Israel will be saved" (NLT; NKJV; NRSV; NASB).

51 This interpretation of οὕτως is well articulated by Moo, *Romans*, 720.

52 Das rightly explains the difficulty the previous phrases "part of Israel" and "the fullness of the Gentiles" cause in identifying "all Israel" either as the present believing remnant of Jews or as all believers whether Jewish

or Gentile. "All Israel" must speak of a future increase in believers who are ethically Jewish on top of those who made up the present believing remnant. A.A. Das, *Paul and the Jew* (Peabody, MA 2004), 96-113.

53 I am not taking up here the question of whether οὕτως can slide from its more typical modal meaning "in this way" to the more temporal meaning "(only) then", as it has already been demonstrated that on occasion it can in P.W. van der Horst, "'Only Then Will All Israel Be Saved': A Short Note on the Meaning of καὶ οὕτως in Romans 11:26", *JBL* 119.3 (2000) 521-25. Since, however, the distinction between focused and unfocused οὕτως remains even when οὕτως takes on this rarer temporal meaning (cf. the difference between focused "and only then" and unfocused "and with that"), as can be seen through the differences between van der Horst's examples (though he does not observe this distinction), we can still identify the proadverb here in Rom 11,26 as being focused regardless of which of these two meanings we perceive in it. And since, as van der Horst points out, "the modal and the temporal senses are not necessarily mutually exclusive" (524 n. 17), what ultimately determines the interpretation of Rom 11,26 is not whether a modal or temporal sense is assigned to οὕτως (since the larger context makes clear that Gentile inclusion would both modally cause and temporally precede Jewish re-inclusion), but whether the proadverb is correctly identified as focused and the future salvation of all Israel is identified as established information.

54 See E.R. Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language: The Case of the New Testament Epistles* (Lewiston, New York 2008) 1-56.

55 While it is impossible to state with certainty exactly what Greek prosody would have sounded like, Devine and Stephens have attempted to reconstruct aspects of Greek prosody from applying principles of prosody observed in living languages to different phenomena that can be observed within the ancient Greek corpus. On the basis of the enclitic pronouns, subordination to postpositives, meter, and musical pitch, they conclude that in Greek "focus was signaled by an increase in pitch level" and that there was perhaps also "a durational component in the prosodic implementation of emphatic focus in Greek speech (as in many other languages)". A.M. Devine – L.D. Stephens, *The Prosody of Greek Speech* (New York – Oxford 1994) 475-80.

56 This is because, coming from a context different than that of the speaker and his first audience, we cannot always identify what information could be assumed without any prior reference to it within the discourse. We also cannot as well identify all the information which could be assumed to be entailed within or implied by a given statement.

57 An initial constituent which is the clause's focus (and thus either a focused anaphor or a cataphor) would bear the clause's nuclear accent, whereas an initial constituent which is the clause's topic (and thus an unfocused anaphor) would have multiple accents throughout the clause, landing on both topic and comment. See Ward – Birner, "Information Structure", 15. For more on sentence accent, see Lambrecht, *Information Structure,* 238-57.

58 Italics to identify stress would be unwise since there is an established history in English translations of using italics to identify words supplied by the translator.

59 S.H. Levinsohn, "Towards a Unified Linguistic Description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος", in S. Porter – M.B. O'Donnell (edd.), *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield 2009) 204-16, esp. 216.

60 Often the focused nature of the anaphor can be made even clearer by rendering these expressions using contractions: "That's what…", "That's why…", "That's the reason…", "That's how…". If a translation's style guide allows the use of contractions, this is an ideal time to use them.

61 More accurately, we might say that one can use a demonstrative-cleft construction as a way of treating the new information which would typically make up a comment as if it were already presupposed information. Doing this is to imply that this new information can be presupposed as true even if it is new to the hearer.

62 For example, "Here's what…", "Here's why…", "Here's the reason…", "Here's how…".

Interpreting and Translating Γίνομαι as a Verb of Process in the New Testament: Further Considerations[1]

STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN

This paper relates Paul Danove's case frames for γίνομαι to the Information Structure distinction between sentences that make a comment about a topic and those that present a new entity to a discourse. It concurs with Danove's three-way grouping of usages of γίνομαι into those in which the primary argument is a Patient versus a Theme versus an Occurrence, while noting that the boundaries between them are not always sharp. However, it argues that sentences with a topical subject as Patient and a prepositional phrase indicating the Agent are cross-linguistically typical of passive constructions in which the Agent is downgraded. Consequently, all the examples of Danove's Patient-Agent usage that lack an overt reference to the Agent are reclassified, with many of them becoming Patient-Locative. The paper also argues that the Benefactive is not always an Argument and that some of them feature in an Occurrence frame. Other changes lead to the conclusion that there is only single-Argument usage: that in which it functions as a semantic Event.

Keywords: γίνομαι, Information Structure, Topic, Focus, Case Frames

This paper relates Paul Danove's case frames for γίνομαι to the Information Structure distinction between sentences that make a comment about a topic and those that present a new entity to a discourse. Danove "proposes that γίνομαι consistently designates a process" and identifies "ten distinct usages"[2]: five two-argument frames "with a required Patient argument",[3] three two-argument frames "with a required Theme argument"[4], and two single-argument frames: "Occurrence (Event)"[5] and "Time (Temporal)"[6]. [p. 41/204]

The present paper considers two factors that influence the assignment of clauses and sentences to case frames:

· Whether the subject is topical or focal;
· Whether the subject is abstract or not.

However, it begins by addressing what seem to be false assumptions about the Benefactive; namely, that it is always an Argument and that it is always to be associated with the Patient argument. The Information Structure distinction between topic and focus is then used to divide the examples of Benefactive into two groups: those in which Benefactive is indeed an argument in a Patient-Benefactive frame, and those in which it

features in an Occurrence frame.

Compare the following two sentences, in both of which the subject of ἐγένετο is an infinitival clause:

-ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν "Now it happened in those days that she became sick and died"[7] (Acts 9,37)

-Ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει… "Now it happened to me when I returned to Jerusalem and was praying at the temple that I fell into a trance…" (Acts 22,17a)

Danove lists Acts 9,37 as an instance of "Usage #9: Occurrence (Event)", where the infinitival subject ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν "functions as a semantic Event"[8], and the temporal expression ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις is an adjunct. Acts 22,17a has exactly the same structure, with the infinitival subject γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει… presenting a semantic Event, and the complex temporal expression ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ as an adjunct. Yet Danove lists Acts 22,17a as an instance of "Usage #3: Benefaction (Patient-Benefactive)"[9] because dative μοι follows ἐγένετο. This cannot be right! If the infinitival subject in Acts 9,37 presents a semantic Event, then the infinitival subject in Acts 22,17a must be doing the same. Acts 22,17a should therefore be analysed as a further instance of Usage #9 (Occurrence), with the Benefactive as an adjunct.

I return to this issue in sections 5 and 8. First, though, I discuss the terms topic and focus in the context of different pragmatic sentence structures. [p. 42/204]

1. Articulations of the Sentence

It is normal, when analysing the information structure of clauses and sentences in a language, to distinguish three principal functional or "pragmatic" sentence structures,[10] which Andrews calls "articulations".[11] These articulations may be designated topic-comment, identificational and thetic.[12]

When a sentence has *topic-comment* articulation, it has a topic[13] (which is usually the subject) together with a comment that gives information about the topic. For example, in Rev 8,8 (ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα "One third of the sea became blood"), the subject as Patient τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης is the topic and ἐγένετο … αἷμα is the comment about the topic.

When a topic-comment sentence in English is read aloud, the primary accent is never on the subject. Rather, it falls near the end of the comment, as in "One third of the sea became BLOOD". A further indication that the sentence has topic-comment articulation is that any overt subject in Greek will usually be articular or else include a demonstrative such as οὗτος.

When a sentence has *identificational* articulation, "just one concept is being asserted

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and the rest of the information is presupposed"[14]. Such sentences have "narrow focus"[15] on the concept that is being asserted. For example, in Acts 7,40 (τί ἐγένετο αὐτῷ "what happened to him"), the presupposition is that something happened to "him" (Moses) and the narrow focus is on what that something was.

When an identificational clause or sentence in English is read aloud, the primary accent falls on the narrow focus, as in "(we don't know) WHAT has happened to him". [p. 43/204]

When a sentence has *thetic* articulation, the subject is typically a new element that is being introduced to the text. New elements include animate participants and events. For example, in Mark 1,4 (ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης [ὁ] βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ "John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness"—NRSV), an animate participant is being introduced to the scene. In Matt 8,26 (ἐγένετο γαλήνη μεγάλη "it became completely calm"), an event is being introduced to the scene. The same is true in Acts 21,30 (καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ τοῦ λαοῦ "a running together of the people occurred"). Lambrecht uses the term "event reporting" for sentences in which an event is being introduced to a scene.[16]

When a thetic sentence in English is read aloud, the primary accent falls on the element that is being introduced, as in "John the bapTIzer appeared in the wilderness", "it became completely CALM" and "a running together of the PEOple occurred". A further indication that the sentence is thetic is that the subject in Greek is usually anarthrous.

Very few sentences with γίνομαι have identificational articulation. Consequently, when looking at Danove's different usages, what is of primary concern is the distinction between those sentences that make a comment about the subject as topic and those (thetic ones) in which the subject introduces a new element.

2. Usage #9: Occurrence (Event)

This section applies the topic-comment versus thetic distinction to the 196 examples of Danove's Usage #9 in which the semantic Event argument is expressed by a noun phrase (N).[17] Such sentences indicate that the event described by the subject happened.

We have already considered two of the 91 event-reporting thetic sentences that are included in Danove's list of examples of Usage #9 (Matt 8,26 and Acts 21,30), nearly all of which have anarthrous subjects.[18]

John 1,6 (Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ "There [be]came a man sent from God") provides an example in which the element [p. 44/204] being introduced to the scene is an animate participant (John), rather than an event. See sections 4 and 7 for discussion of the three thetic sentences whose subject refers to an animate participant, rather than an event.[19]

Some passages have topic-comment articulation. For example, in Luke 22,14 (ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα "When the hour [be]came"), the subject is topical and articular (the hour when the previously mentioned Passover meal was to be eaten), and the verb provides the comment about it, as in "When the hour CAME".[20]

Matt 1,22 (Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν "All this happened"—TEV) is an instance in which the topical subject includes a proximal demonstrative that refers to the events that featured in the context; once again, the verb provides the comment about these events ("all this HAppened").[21]

The topical subject may also be left implicit, as in Matt 21,21 (γενήσεται "it will HAppen"). The context supplies the topic; because the disciples were invited to "say to this mountain, "Go, throw yourself into the sea""—NIV), the subject is to be understood as the event of the mountain throwing itself into the sea.[22]

1 Thes 2,5 (οὔτε γάρ ποτε ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν "for we never [be]came with words of flattery"—NRSV) is one of three examples in which the topical subject ("we") is an animate participant, rather than an event. It should therefore be assigned to Usage #1 (Patient-Resultative)—see section 3.[23]

Finally, consider James 3,10 ([οὐ χρή, ἀδελφοί μου,] ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι "[It ought not to be, my brothers,] that these things happen in this way"), which Danove lists under "Polysemous Occurrences"[24]. The topical subject (ταῦτα) is a proximal demonstrative that refers to the events that featured in the immediate context, and the final words of the sentence (οὕτως γίνεσθαι) provide a comment about these events: "that these things happen in this WAY". Although Danove classifies this [p. 45/204] clause as "Usage #9 (Occurrence)"[25], the fact that οὕτως is focal, rather than γίνεσθαι, implies that the clause has two arguments, one of which is Resultative.[26]

In summary, then, nearly half (88) of the sentences that Danove lists as Usage #9 are thetic, with the focal subject reporting an event. In contrast, slightly more than half (94) have the event as topic and indicate that it happened.

3. Usage #1: Transformation (Patient-Resultative)

This usage is even more common than that in which the subject of γίνομαι describes an Occurrence (Danove lists 250 instances).[27] Senten-ces in which the subject of γίνομαι is a Patient usually have topic-comment articulation, with the subject as the topic and the comment Resultative ("the final state of an entity").[28] Thus, in Rev. 8,8 (ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα "One third of the sea became blood"), the subject as Patient (τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης) is the topic, ἐγένετο … αἷμα is the comment about the topic, and αἷμα is Resultative.

In addition, a few clauses and sentences in which the subject of γίνομαι is a Patient have identificational articulation, as in Acts 12,18b (τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο "what had become of Peter). Peter as the subject of this clause is Patient and τί is Resultative. The presupposition is that something became of Peter and the narrow focus is on what that something was.

In only five of Danove's instances of Usage #1 is the subject focal in a thetic construction. In each one, the subject is an abstract noun that describes an event. For example, in Acts 15,39 (ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμὸς "there was [became] a sharp clash of opinion"—Phillips), the subject is the event "a sharp clash of opinion".[29] So these

passages should be assigned to Usage #9 (Occurrence).

In conclusion, when the subject of γίνομαι is a Patient who undergoes a transformation (Usage #1), it can never be focal in a thetic construction. [p. 46/204]

4. Usage #2: Effect by an Agent (Patient-Agent)

Danove lists 35 passages in which the Agent ("the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity") features as an argument.[30] In fact, however, the Agent is left unstated in 26 of these passages and in many of them it is not obvious from the context that the speaker/writer intended the hearers/readers to supply an understood Agent.

When the Agent is stated, it is referred to in a prepositional phrase with the preposition παρά (in Matthew and Mark) or ὑπό (in Luke-Acts and Ephesians). Danove cites Matt 21,42b (= Mark 12,11) as an example: παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη "This came to be/was done by [the] Lord".[31] Such a construction, with a topical subject as Patient and a prepositional phrase indicating the Agent, is a cross-linguistically normal way of forming passives. Typically, "the agent of a passive is either left unexpressed or it is backgrounded by putting it in a prepositional phrase"[32].

In two of Danove's examples in which ὑπό introduces the reference to the Agent, however, the subject is thetic and refers to an event. One such passage is Acts 12,5 (προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενῶς γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ "but earnest prayer for him was made to God by the church"—ESV), in which the subject is the abstract noun προσευχὴ. Translations into English such as "but the church was earnestly praying to God for him" (NIV) make it clear that "prayer" is an event, which in turn allows the Agent to be related to "pray", rather than γίνομαι. A literal translation of the sentence that brings this out might be "Prayer by the church to God for him was continually happening", with the event being "prayer by the church to God for him". This passage should therefore be reassigned to Usage #9 (Occurrence).[33]

We now turn to the 26 passages in which the Agent is left unstated. Since the use of a passive-type construction has the effect of backgrounding any reference to the Agent, it is best to proceed from the assumption that, when there is no overt reference to the Agent, readers were not expected to supply one. [p. 47/204]

Twelve of the passages in Danove's list appear to have a two-argument "Patient-Locative" frame, where the Locative is "the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs"[34]. See, for example, Matt 11,20 (τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐγένοντο αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ "the cities in which the majority of his miracles were performed").[35]

In a further eleven passages, the subject is topical and its referent is one or more events that have been mentioned or at least alluded to in the context, so can be classified as Usage #9 (Occurrence). 1 Cor 14,26 (πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω "Let all things be done/happen for building up"—NRSV) is representative of three passages in which the referents of πάντα are the different events that are described in the immediate context.[36]

Then there are five passages in which an articular topical subject refers to an event, one of which is Luke 14,22 (Κύριε, γέγονεν ὃ ἐπέταξας "Sir, what you ordered has been done [happened]").[37] In two others, the topical subject is left implicit, but still refers to an event; see Rev 16,17 (Γέγονεν "It has happened").[38] Finally, Luke 22,42 (πλὴν μὴ τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γινέσθω "yet not my will, but yours be done [happen]") has identificational articulation, with narrow focus in turn on the articular subjects τὸ θέλημά μου and τὸ σὸν whose referents are events.

Rom 11,5 (καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ λεῖμμα κατ᾽ ἐκλογὴν χάριτος γέγονεν "at the present time [also] a 'remnant' has come into being, chosen by the grace of God"—REB) could also be analysed as having identificational articulation, with "remnant" presupposed from the context and narrow focus on "at the present time also". However, λεῖμμα refers to a group of animate participants, rather than to an event.

Mark 2,27 (Τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο… "The Sabbath came into existence for man…") looks like an instance of Patient-Benefactive (Usage #3—sec. 5), with the Benefactive expressed with διὰ plus the accusative.[39] [p. 48/204]

There remains one example in which the subject is focal in a thetic construction; namely, Rev 12,7 (Καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ "And there was [became] war in heaven"). See section 7 for discussion of this sentence.

In conclusion, as in Usage #1, when the subject of γίνομαι is a Patient in a two-argument frame such as Patient-Agent or Patient-Locative, it can never be focal in a thetic construction.

5. Usage #3: Benefaction

Danove describes this usage as "Patient-Benefactive", where the Benefactive is "the ultimate entity for which an action is performed or for which, literally or figuratively, something happens or exists".[40] When the 28 passages that Danove lists are examined, however, it becomes apparent (as the introduction to this paper indicates) that Benefactive is often associated with an Occurrence, rather than the Patient. These instances are discussed below and in later sections.

We start, though, with the eight passages in which the Patient as topical subject is indeed "the entity undergoing an action"[41]. This is particularly clear in Rom 7,3a (ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ "if she becomes another man's [wife]"), where the woman is the Patient and "another man's (wife)" is the Benefactive.[42]

Matt 18,12 (ἐὰν γένηταί τινι ἀνθρώπῳ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα "supposing a hundred sheep come to belong to a man") is a thetic construction with the animate subject focal. Nevertheless, the subject is still the Patient (compare Luke 15,4: Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα "Which one of you, having a hundred sheep", in which "a hundred sheep" is the Patient in a transitive clause). Cross-linguistically, such Patient-Benefactive sentences are classified as existential-possessive.[43] What is noteworthy about Matt 18,12 is that the verb is γίνομαι instead of εἰμί. This suggests that translations such as "If a man owns a hundred sheep" (NIV) are incorrect. Rather, the sense is "If a man comes to

possess a hundred sheep".

When an abstract noun as subject is focal in a thetic construction, it is not obvious that it is the Patient, since the abstract noun refers to an event. For example, see Acts 2,43a (Ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος "Awe came upon everyone"—NRSV).[44] Since πάσῃ ψυχῇ has to be treated as an argument in this sentence, one option would be to label the arguments Occurrence-Benefactive. However, Danove classifies the semantically very similar sentence in Luke 1,65 (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πάντας φόβος… "Fear came over all their neighbors"—NRSV) as Usage #6: "Motion to a Goal", with φόβος as Theme.[45]

In other passages, the Benefactive may be judged to be an adjunct, with Occurrence as the sole argument. See, for example, commands such as Matt 9,29 (Κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν γενηθήτω ὑμῖν "Let it happen to you according to your faith"), in which the referent of the implied subject is the event that "you" had faith for; viz., healing.[46] Once again, though, Theme-Goal is an alternative frame: "May what you had faith for [be]come on you".

Identificational structures such as Mark 5,33 (εἰδυῖα ὃ γέγονεν αὐτῇ "knowing what had happened to her") may be analysed in the same way, as the referent of the relative pronoun ὃ is an event ("healing had happened to her" or "healing [be]came on her").[47]

Danove also cites five passages in which the subject is an infinitival clause. Among them is Acts 20,16 (ὅπως μὴ γένηται αὐτῷ χρονοτριβῆσαι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ "so that spending time in Asia would not happen to him"), in which the infinitival subject is the Occurrence that Paul wishes to avoid.[48]

Eph 6,3 (ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται "that it may go [happen] well with you") is a residual example. The referent of the implied subject is an event ("Then everything will be[come] well with you"—NCV), with σοι as a Benefactive adjunct, but in addition there is an adverb, εὖ, which describes the desired result. It is tempting to treat this sentence as having a two-argument Occurrence-Resultative frame.

Finally, in 1 Cor 4,5 (καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἑκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ "and then the praise for each one will come from God"), the articular subject is an abstract noun whose referent is an event ("Then God will praise each one of them"—NCV). One possibility is to relate ἑκάστῳ to ὁ ἔπαινος, rather than to γενήσεται. The sentence would then have two arguments: Theme-Source (Danove's Usage #8).[49]

In conclusion, Danove's Usage #3 needs to be divided into two distinct usages:

· Patient-Benefactive, in which the subject as Patient is the topic, except in existential-possessive constructions (9 passages)

Occurrence with Benefactive as an adjunct,[50] in which the referent of the subject is an event (12–18 passages, depending on whether or not some of them are reassigned to Usage #6 [Theme-Goal]).

6. Usage #4: Effect by an Instrument (Patient-Instrument)

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Danove lists 14 examples of this usage,[51] to which Acts 4,16 (γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονεν δι᾽ αὐτῶν "a notable sign has happened through them"—NRSV [adapted]) should be added.[52]

In seven passages, the articular subject is indeed the Patient, while the Instrument denotes "the means by which an action is performed or something happens"[53], as in Mark 6,2b (καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γινόμεναι; "What deeds of power are being done by his hands!"—NRSV).[54]

In the remaining passages, the anarthrous subject is focal in a thetic construction. In all but one of them, though, the subject becomes the object in an equivalent active sentence with the animate Instrument as subject. See, for example, the NIV translation of Acts 4,16: "they have done an outstanding miracle".[55]

A residual passage is Heb 9,22 (καὶ χωρὶς αἱματεκχυσίας οὐ γίνεται ἄφεσις "and without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness"). This differs from the previous examples in that the anarthrous subject is abstract and refers to an event (according to the Oxford English Dictionary, forgiveness is "the action of forgiving or the process of being forgiven"), and the Instrument is not animate. Passages such as καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ("and forgive us our debts"—Matt 6,12) indicate that the Patient of the verb ἀφίημι is "debts" or "sins". So the [p. 51/204] referent of ἄφεσις is an Occurrence, which suggests a frame for Heb 9,22 such as Occurrence-Instrument.[56]

7. Usages ##5-8. "Usages with a Required Theme"[57]

The term Theme denotes an "entity moving from one place to another or located in a place"[58]. For example, in Mark 1,11 (φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν "a voice came from heaven"), φωνὴ is the Theme and ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν is the Source ("the literal or figurative entity from which something moves").[59]

In the above definition of Theme, "moving" may be "used in a metaphorical sense, such as a change of state"[60]. So, in Luke 3,2 (ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ "the word of God came to John son of Zechariah in the desert"), ῥῆμα θεοῦ is the Theme, with ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν as the figurative Goal to which it moves, and ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ as a Locative adjunct.[61]

In a few passages, the Location, Goal or Source is not stated, but can be deduced from the context. For example, in John 1,6[62] (Ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ "There came a man who was sent from God"), the Source (παρὰ θεοῦ) is stated in the participial clause that follows ἐγένετο, and the Goal or Location may be deduced from the context: "the world" (1,10) which is "in darkness" (1,5).

The same is true of Luke 2,13 (καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων… "Suddenly there came to be with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying…")[63]. Verse 15 states that the angels departed [p. 52/204] from them (the shepherds) to heaven (ὡς ἀπῆλθον ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι), which implies that they had come from heaven. So πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου is the Theme, with the angel as the Goal or Location of the

movement, as well as Comitative ("the entity specified as associated with another entity")[64]. Compare Acts 9,19 (Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ μαθητῶν ἡμέρας τινὰς "For several days he was [became] with the disciples in Damascus"), which Danove classifies as Theme-Locative[65], even though μετὰ τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ μαθητῶν is Comitative: μετὰ τῶν ἐν Δαμασκῷ μαθητῶν "with the in-Damascus-disciples".

Although Danove's article concerns semantic arguments, grammatical marking sometimes seems to take precedence over semantic relations. Section 5 discussed Acts 2,43a (Ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος "Fear came upon everyone"), which Danove classifies as Patient-Benefactive[66], even though he classifies Luke 1,65 (καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πάντας φόβος τοὺς περιοικοῦντας αὐτούς "And fear came upon all the ones living near them") as Theme-Goal.[67] Although the arguments proposed in section 5 for Acts 2,43a were Occurrence-Benefactive, another option would be Theme-Benefactive.[68]

Finally, consider Rev 11,15a (καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ "And great voices came to be/happened in the heavens"). This thetic sentence is indeed polysemous.[69] If φωναὶ μεγάλαι is judged to be an indirect reference to animate participants,[70] then the case frame of the sentence is Theme-Locative. If φωναὶ μεγάλαι is judged to be an abstract noun phrase, in contrast, then the case frame is Occurrence, with Locative as an Adjunct.

8. Γίνομαι followed by a Temporal Adjunct

We now turn to passages in which ἐγένετο is followed by a Temporal adjunct and an event which is "the specific circumstance for the following foreground events"[71]. Four constructions are found. [p. 53/204]

1.- In Matt 13,53 (Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας, μετῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν "And it happened that, when Jesus finished these parables, he moved on from there"), the subject is an independent clause. Danove lists this sentence as an instance of Usage #9 (Occurrence).[72] This construction is found in the LXX and the Synoptic Gospels, but does not occur in Acts.[73]

2.- In Luke 14,1–2 (Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκόν τινος τῶν ἀρχόντων [τῶν] Φαρισαίων σαββάτῳ φαγεῖν ἄρτον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν παρατηρούμενοι αὐτόν "It happened when he came into a house of a certain leading Pharisee on a Sabbath to eat bread and they were watching him"), καί separates what would have been the subject of ἐγένετο from ἐγένετο and the temporal expression (though several passages have variant readings). Consequently, Danove lists this and similar examples as instances of Usage #10 (Temporal).[74] This construction is also found in the LXX and the Synoptic Gospels[75] but not in Acts. It typically occurs when the clause introduced with καί or καὶ ἰδού begins with a pre-verbal reference to the subject.[76]

3.- In Acts 9,37 (ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν "Now it happened in those days that she became sick and died"), the subject is an

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infinitival clause. Danove lists this sentence as an instance of Usage #9 (Occurrence).[77] This construction is only found in Luke-Acts.

  4.- In Acts 22,17a (Ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι με ἐν ἐκστάσει… "Now it happened to me when I returned to Jerusalem and was praying at the temple that I fell into a trance…"): the subject is again an infinitival clause, but this time dative μοι follows ἐγένετο. [p. 54/204] Consequently, as the beginning of this paper notes, Danove lists this sentence as an instance of Usage #3 (Patient-Benefactive).[78]

  Marshall considers that "[t]he first two of these constructions are Hebraising; the third [including construction 4] has been assimilated to Greek idiom"[79]. This suggests that all four constructions are manifestations of the same basic semantic frame. Since the purpose of all the constructions is to present the specific circumstance for the following foreground events, it would be best if they were all classified as Occurrence with a Temporal adjunct, together, perhaps, with an observation that the first two constructions should be viewed as translation Greek.

9. Conclusions

  This paper concurs with Danove's three-way grouping of usages of γίνομαι into those in which the primary argument is a Patient versus a Theme versus an Occurrence, while noting that the boundaries between them are not always sharp.[80] In particular, because Theme denotes an "entity moving from one place to another or located in a place"[81] and "moving" may be "used in a metaphorical sense, such as a change of state"[82], it is possible to interpret sentences such as Ἐγίνετο δὲ πάσῃ ψυχῇ φόβος ("Awe came upon everyone"—Acts 2,43a NRSV) as describing either an Occurrence that affected everyone or a Theme that moved to everyone.

  This paper has also highlighted the value of distinguishing subjects of γίνομαι that are topical from those that are focal and introduce a new element in a thetic construction. This distinction has led to the reclassification of a number of passages. In addition, the following specific claims have been made:

 · When the subject of γίνομαι is a Patient in a two-argument frame such as Patient-Resultative, Patient-Agent or Patient-Locative, it can never be focal in a thetic construction (sections 3 and 4).
 · Examples in which a Benefactive is associated with γίνομαι should be divided into two distinct usages: those in which the subject as Patient is the topic (Patient-Benefactive) and those in which the [p. 55/204] referent of the subject is an event (Occurrence with Benefactive as an adjunct or Theme-Goal) (section 5).

  On the basis of the above observations, the following modifications to Danove's ten

usages of γίνομαι have been proposed:

· Sentences with a topical subject as Patient and a prepositional phrase indicating the Agent are cross-linguistically typical of passive constructions in which the Agent is downgraded. Consequently, all the examples cited as instances of Usage #2 (Patient-Agent) which lack an overt reference to the Agent have been reclassified, with a significant number of them having Patient-Locative as their frame (section 4).
· The one example of Usage #5 (Patient-Comitative) has been reassigned to "Usages with a Required Theme"[83] (section 7).
· Instances of Usage #10 (Temporal) have been reclassified as instances of Usage #9 (Event) with the Temporal as an adjunct (section 8).

So, five two-argument usages of γίνομαι with a required Patient argument are still recognised: Patient-Resultative, Patient-Agent, Patient-Locative, Patient-Benefactive and Patient-Instrument. In contrast, only one single-argument usage is proposed: that in which the argument functions as a semantic Event. [p. 56/204]

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[1] Paul L. Danove, Interpreting and Translating Γίνομαι as a Verb of Process in the New Testament, *Filología Neotestamentaria* XXXI (2018), 33–46.

[2] Ibid, 33.

[3] Ibid, 36. Patient is "the entity undergoing an action" (ibid, 35).

[4] Ibid, 41. Theme is "the entity moving from one place to another or located in a place" (ibid, 35).

[5] Ibid, 43. Event is "the complete circumstantial scene of an action or event" (ibid, 35).

[6] Ibid, 44. Temporal is "the time, either durative or punctual, of an action or event" (ibid, 34).

[7] Unless otherwise indicated, translations of the Greek text are either taken from the NIV or are my own.

[8] Ibid, 44.

[9] Ibid, 40.

[10] Bernard Comrie, *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989²), 64.

[11] Avery Andrews, The major functions of the noun phrase. In *Language Typology and Linguistic Description, ed. by Timothy Shopen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), I.77.

[12] Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek* (Dallas TX: SIL International, 2000²), 7; Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Self-instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis (Online at* https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/68643 consulted 13 February 2019), 25.

[13] "A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent" (Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representation of Discourse Referents* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994], 131).

[14] Robert A. Dooley and Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts* (Dallas:

SIL International, 2001), 64.

15 Robert D. Van Valin Jr., Robert D., *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 71.

16 Lambrecht, *Information Structure,* 144.

17 Danove, Γίνομαι, 43 (the reference to Luke 10,15 appears to be a mistake). Seven instances of Usage #9 are identificational: Matt 24,20; Mark 5,14; 14,4; Luke 12,54; 21,7; John 14,22; 1 Cor 16,2.

18 See also Matt 5,18; 13,21; 14,6.15.23; 16,2; 20,8; 24,34; 25,6; 26,5.20; 27,1.24.57; 28,2; Mark 1,32; 4,17.35.37.39; 6,2a.21.47; 9,7a; 11,19; 14,17; 15,33a.42; Luke 2,2; 4,42; 6,13.48; 8,2; 9,34; 15,10.14; 21,32; 22,24.66; 23,19; John 2,1; 3,25; 6,16.17; 7,43; 10,19; 12,29; 13,2; 21,4; Acts 5,7a; 6,1; 7,31; 8,13; 12,18a; 14,5; 15,2.7; 16,26.35;19,23; 20,37; 23,7.9.12; 27,27.29.33.39; 2 Cor 8,14b; Heb 7,12.18; 9,15; 1 John 2,18; Rev 4,1; 6,12a; 8,1.5.7; 11,13a.15a.19; Rev 16,18a.18b. The subject is articular only in Matt 26,2 and John 10,22.

19 The other examples are John 8,58 (sec. 4) and Rev 16,18d (sec. 7).

20 See also Mark 11,23; Luke 9,36; 23,24; John 12,30; Acts 4,28; 10,37; 13,32; 25,26; 26,22; 1 Cor 15,54; 2 Cor 3,7; Gal 3,17; 2 Tim 2,18; 1 Pet 4,12; Rev 12,10. Because 2 Cor 8,14a (ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐκείνων περίσσευμα γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα "so that in turn their plenty will supply what you need") has a Goal, an alternative case frame is Theme-Goal.

21 See also Matt 19,8; 21,4; 26,54.56; Mark 13,29.30; Luke 1,20; 2,15b; 21,9.28.31.36; 24,21; John 1,28; 3,9; 19,36; Acts 2,6; 10,16; 11,10; 19,10; 28,9; 1 Cor 7,36.

22 See also Matt 18,31a.31b; 23,15; 24,6.21a.21b; 27,54; 28,11; Mark 13,7.18.19a.19b; Luke 8,34.35.56; 9,7; 12,55; 17,26.28; 20,16; 23,47.48; 24,12.18; 13,19a.19b; 14,29a.29b; Acts 4,21; 5,7b; 11,19.28; 13,12; Rom 3,4a.6.31; 6:2.15; 7,7.13b; 9,14; 11,1.11; 1 Cor 6,15; 15,37; Gal 2,17; 3,21; 1 Thes 3,4; Rev 1,1.19; 16,18c; 22,6.

23 The other passages are Phil 2,7 and 1 Thes 2,5.

24 Ibid, 45.

25 Ibid.

26 Danove would presumably call the first argument (ταῦτα) Patient. Because its referents are events, however, the frame appears to be Event-Resultative.

27 For a comprehensive list of instances of this usage, see Danove, ibid, 37–39, footnotes 7, 8, 10, 11. Acts 21,30 (see above) should not be in the list, as it is also cited as an Occurrence (ibid, 43). As noted in sec. 2, John 1,30; Phil 2,7 and 1 Thes 2,5 should be added to the list.

28 Ibid, 37.

29 See also Mark 6,35; Acts 21,40; 23,10. See Usage #4 (Patient-Instrument) for discussion of Acts 4,16.

30 Ibid, 39.

31 Ibid. Other examples in which the subject is the topic are Matt 18,19; Luke13,17; 23,8; Acts 26,6; Eph 5,12.

32 Lindsay J. Whaley, *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language* (Thousand Oaks CA: SAGE Publications, 1997),45.

33 See also Acts 20,3a (γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων "when a plot was made against him by the Jews"—NRSV) in which the event that happened was "a plot against him by the Jews".

34 Ibid, 42. These passages cannot be classified as Usage #7 (Theme-Locative) because the subject is not "located in a place as a result of a process of motion" (ibid).

35 See also Matt 6,10; 11,21a.21b.23a.23b; Lk 10,13a.13b; 23,31; Acts 26,4; plus Matt 11,26 = Luke 10,21, where the Locative is expressed as ἔμπροσθέν σου "before you".

36 The other passages are 1 Cor 14,40; 16,14.

37 See also Matt 26,42; Acts 21,14; Heb 4,3; Jas 3,9. See also John 8,58 (πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί "before Abraham came into existence, I am!"), which Danove (ibid, 43, footnote 18) classifies as Usage #9 (Occurrence), but in fact makes a comment about Abraham as topic.

38 See also Rev 21,6.

39 This example is mistakenly listed as having an Agent encoded with παρά (ibid, 39, footnote 12).

40 Ibid, 40.

41 Ibid, 35.

42 Ibid, 40. See also Rom 7,3b.4; Mark 4,11; 9,21; Luke 1,38; John 15,7; 2 Tim 3,11.

43 Hilary Chappell and Denis Creissels, *Topicality and the Typology of Predicative Possession.* Paper read at the 49th annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europea, Naples, 2016. Online at http://www.deniscreissels.fr/public/Chappell_Creissels-Top.Poss.pdf (consulted 14 February 2019), 1–2.

44 Danove, Γίνομαι, 42.

45 See also Luke 14,12 (which Danove wrongly cites as Matt 18,12); 19,9; John 5,14b; Acts 24,2; Rom 11,25.

46 See also Matt 8,13; 15,28.

47 See also Mark 5,16; Acts 7,40.

48 See also Acts 11,26; Gal 6,14. See sec. 8 for discussion of Acts 22,6.17a.

49 Ibid, 43.

50 Benefactives are therefore similar to Locatives as they are sometimes an argument and sometimes an adjunct.

51 Ibid, 41, footnote 14.

52 Danove (ibid, 37, footnote 7) lists Acts 4,16 as an instance of Usage #1 (Patient-Resultative).

53 Ibid, 41.

54 See also John 1,3c.10.17; Acts 12,9; 19,26; Heb 9,11.

55 See also Acts 2,43b; 4,30; 5,12; 14,3, in all of which the animate Instrument is the subject of an active clause in the NIV and/or NLT. See also John 1,3a (πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο "God created everything through him"—NLT).

56 Alternatively, the sentence could be classified as a single-argument Occurrence with the Instrument treated as a "point of departure" or "starting point for the communication" (Levinsohn, *Discourse Features,* 8).

57 Danove, Γίνομαι, 41. Footnotes 15–17 (ibid, 42–43) cite 63 passages in which the subject is Theme. Rev 16,18d (ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς "since man has been [became] on the earth") (listed as an instance of Usage #9 [Occurrence]—p. 43, footnote 18) should be added to Usage #7 (Theme-Locative). See below on why Usage #5 involves a Theme, rather than a Patient (ibid, 42).

58 Ibid, 35.

59 Ibid, 43.

60 See https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/syntax-textbook/box-thematic.html (consulted February 4, 2019).

61 Danove, Γίνομαι, 42, footnote 15. See also Rev 12,7 (Καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ "And there was [became] war in heaven"), with πόλεμος as the Theme and ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ as the Location (listed as Usage #2 Patient-Agent—ibid, 39, footnote 12).

62 Listed as #9 (Occurrence)—ibid, 43, footnote 18.

63 Listed as "Usage #5: Joint Happening (Patient-Comitative)" (ibid, 41).

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid, 42, footnote 16.

66 Ibid, 40, footnote 13.

67 Ibid, 42. See also Acts 5,5.11.

68 When the most natural translation into English of γίνομαι is 'come', this may suggest that, at least in English, the subject is the Theme.

69 Ibid, 45.

70 "the heavenly host" (Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries* [Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1969], 148).

71 Levinsohn, *Discourse Features, 143.*

72 Ibid, 43. Footnote 19 lists 30 passages (see below on Mark 2,15.23; Acts 9,3) to which Luke 9,29 should be added.

73 Acts 9,3 (ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐγγίζειν τῇ Δαμασκῷ "Now as he journeyed, his approach to Damascus was taking place") is not an example of Construction 1, as the temporal constituent precedes ἐγένετο and the subject of ἐγένετο is an infinitival clause.

74 Ibid, 44, footnote 21. See also Matt 9,10 (some MSS omit καί); Luke 5,1.12.17; 8,1.22; 9.51; 17,11; 24,4.15. In Luke 19,15, a verb follows καί. See also Luke 9,28, which has καί as a variant reading. The existence of these variants suggests that constructions 1 and 2 are both manifestations of the same usage.

75 See Mark 2,15.23, which Danove (ibid, 44, footnote 20) lists as instances of Usage #9.

76 In Luke 5,12, the verb is omitted.

77 Danove, Γίνομαι, 44 footnote 20. Other examples of Construction 3 that are listed in footnote 20 are Luke 3,21–22; 6,1.6.12; Acts 4,5; 9,32.43; 10,25; 14.1 (with a Locative adjunct instead of a Temporal); 16,16; 19,1; 21,1; 28,17.

78 Ibid, 40, footnote 13. See also Acts 22,6.

79 I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), 54.

80 In contrast, Danove (Γίνομαι, 33) speaks of his ten usages being "distinct".

81 Ibid, 35.

82 See https://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/syntax-textbook/box-thematic.html (consulted February 4, 2019).

83 Danove, Γίνομαι,, 42.

The Style of Mark and the Biographies of Antiquity

ALFREDO DELGADO

This article compares the style of three Greek works with biographical content prior to the first century BCE with the style of the Gospel of Mark. To this end, after defining the category "style", specific passages of these texts will be studied in order to compare them. This comparison will show that *Evagoras, Agesilaus* and the *Life of Euripides* are written in a high style, far removed from Mark's low style. Therefore, the style of these three works cannot be considered as a factor that aligns them with the genre of the Gospel of Mark, as some authors propose.

Keywords: Style, Biography, Literary Genre, Gospel of Mark.

1. Introduction

The works of Berger, Burridge and Frickenschmidt[1] have reopened a debate that seemed closed, proposing that the Gospels can be aligned with the literary genre of the biographies of antiquity. Frickenschmidt has compared the Gospels with a large number of these works, while Burridge has focused on ten works, which he analyses in the light of ten "generic features", one of them being style[2]. Although some of these features are discussed in detail, his analysis of style is minimal and is open to criticism.

It should be noted that the identification of the literary genre of the Gospel of Mark[3] is a problem that either has no solution at all or it has several, depending on what is understood by a literary genre and how the literary genre of the works in question are defined[4]. [p. 57/204]

This article analyzes the literary style of the three Greek works which pre-date the Gospel of Mark included by Burridge in his book and compares them with the style of the Mark's Gospel in order to confirm if the category style allows an identification of the genre of the Gospel with the genre of these three works.

In this regard, three factors have to be pointed out. First, in this article, only those works that predate the Gospel of Mark will be analyzed. This means, only works that could have influenced the Gospel will be discussed[5].

Second, the comparison of the Gospel of Mark with these works is affected by the specific definition of what is a literary genre. It is consid-ered that people have an innate understanding of the meaning of genre. However, the concept of genre does not have a univocal definition, being usually understood as a "classificatory box" or as a "familiar resemblance"[6]. In this article, John Swales' concept of genre will be used[7]. He has defined the intention of the text as the key element in the definition of the literary genre, rather than its formal characteristics.

Third, the so-called "popular biographies"[8] or "open biographies" (*Alexander romance, Life of Aesop…),* are not used here as comparative texts for two reasons: Firstly, this category is misleading, since classical scholars consider these texts to be novels or romances[9], a literary genre which is quite different from biography and has another purpose[10]. [p. 58/204]   Secondly, these texts post-date the Gospel of Mark[11]. Surprisingly, even though they were written much later, the popular biographies and other texts are generally grouped together with the Gospel[12].

To sum up, this study will be carried out by comparing significant passages from three Greek works with passages from Mark's Gospel. For this purpose, first, the term style will be defined, given its wide use in literary and rhetorical theory. Second, some relevant passages from the following ancient texts will be examined as possible genre companions to Mark's text: the *Evagoras* of Isocrates, the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon and the *Euripides* of Satyrus. In the third place, a passage from the Gospel of Mark will be analyzed, comparing some of its characteristics with those of the ancient texts. To conclude, some of the implications of the results of this study will be discussed.

2. Style

The concept of style has been used with many meanings and refers to different aspects of the multiple varieties of language[13]. It is evident that every time we speak or write we are affected by social and linguistic conventions as well as by the expectations of the receivers[14].

On the one hand, a person can take different styles and adapt his or her discourse to specific audiences depending on age, formality, importance, elegance, etc. On the other hand, the style we choose for a given occasion indicates how we want to be seen by others[15]. Thus the choice of a certain style first fulfills diverse functions and second, through this style the speaker tries to be linked with a certain group, that is to say, this [p. 59/204] election of style has a social meaning[16]. Therefore, the style chosen is as important as the code that is used.

In this article and following the definitions of different authors, the concept of style refers to the formality of discourse and how it becomes a means to develop a social strategy to negotiate identity or to influence a certain group of people[17]. To carry out this strategy, a speaker may draw upon a variety of linguistic resources such as honorific expressions to construct a formal or an informal discourse.

2.1. Style is an incomplete category

Analyzing a discourse from the standpoint of style alone is clearly insufficient, and other categories are required. Style needs to be interrelated with other sociolinguistic variables such as: idiolect, register, genre, dialect and language[18].

In this regard, it is important to recognize, that together with other factors, the style

used exerts a significant influence on the literary genre[19]. Therefore, a deeper study of the generic feature style is important in the definition of the genre of the Gospel.

2.2. The study of style requires comparison

By comparing these works, it can be ascertained whether a receiver of the first century might align the Gospel with one of these biographies based on its style, or whether its style would impede this connection.

Linguists point out that in order to understand different speech acts and their functions it is necessary to compare different discourses or texts[20]. That is what is going to be undertaken next, not an exhaustive analysis of the style and idiolect of the Gospel of Mark[21], but a comparison [p. 60/204] of its style with that of some ancient texts, which belong to different epochs, regions, discursive communities, genres and registers[22].

To compare the different styles of these works[23], as indicators of formality, a limited series of linguistic variables[24] will be used here, including sentence length, use of subordinate phrases, rhetorical questions, vocabulary, verbal system and particles.

3. Text comparison

Having described the aim of this study (the comparison of Mark's style with that of three authors of Attic prose) as well as its limits and criteria, we can proceed with the analysis of three passages from the works *Evagoras* by Isocrates, *Agesilaus* by Xenophon and *The Life of Euripides* by Satyr, before going on to compare and contrast these works with a passage by Mark.

3.1. Isocrates' *Evagoras*

Isocrates was a disciple of Gorgias and wrote in Greek, more specifically in the dialectal variant that was the Attic Greek in Athens of the [p. 61/204] fourth century BCE[25]. The literary genre of *Evagoras* is the encomium[26] with which he wants to praise (ἔπαινος) this king and present him as an exemplary model of certain virtues[27]. For Rummel it is a protreptic discourse rather than an encomium[28], while for Hirsch, *Evagoras* has a more apologetic than praise-like intention[29]. He wants to influence his city, as well as increase the fame and prestige of his academy. For Hägg it is a funerary discourse that provides an image of the ideal ruler, but at the same time there is little of the typical biographical elements[30]. In this sense, his collection of themes is reminiscent of the poetic eulogy, for example, of Pindar[31].

Its register is political and historical. Its domain is the polis[32] and this is the discursive community to which the discourse is addressed. The worldview is that of Greece[33] and the extratextual references are from Greek texts (Homer, Hesiod). It is a text with a careful structure in chiastic form[34].

In *Evag.* 8-11, Isocrates himself reflects on his style, where he points out the differences between prose and poetry and shows the limits imposed by its use. He is aware that style plays an important role in persuading his audience[35]. However, Isocrates was a sceptic as far as methodology in [p. 62/204] rhetoric was concerned. He uses three criteria to evaluate the quality of a composition: intention, style and content.

Isocrates writes, according to Dionysius Halicarnassus, in high Attic style[36]. In recent times, the rhetorical power of Isocrates has gradually come to be recognized, as well as the purity of his Attic language and his ingenious style, which systematically avoids the hiatus[37]. He prefers poetry to prose, despite its limitations, because of the strength it gives him to express his ideas[38]. Isocrates makes excellent use of the narrative in *Evagoras* showing great literary talent.

Some of the most outstanding features of his style are the following. 1) The avoidance of hiatus. 2) The attention to rhythm[39]. 3) Vocabulary which avoids excess and reflects his Atticism. 4) The use of synonyms[40]. 5) The use of the plural in abstract nouns. 6) The use of balance, parallelism and assonance. 7) The wide use of hypotaxis, hyperbaton, rhetorical questions and antithesis[41].

One of the elements in which Isocrates manifests his careful style is in the construction of the sentence, structured with meticulous and studied symmetry. He plays with relations and antithesis, through the masterful use of subordinating nexus, specifically of participles. He usually ends these sentences with a harmonious rhythmic cadence[42].

It could be said that the defect of Isocrates' sentences is that they are always constructed with the same scheme[43]. The average sentence length of *Evagoras* is 47.7 words according to my calculations. Regarding his vocabulary, it can be noted that *Evagoras uses* 4598 words corresponding to 1750 words and 963 lemmata.

The following passage[44], taken from the prologue[45] to *Evagoras*, provides clear examples of some of the characteristics of *Evagoras* and the style of Isocrates. [p. 63/204]

Isocrates, *Evagoras* 1.1-3	Isocrates, *Evagoras* 1.1-3
1 ὁρῶν, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τιμῶντά σε τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἐπιφερομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἁμίλλαις, καὶ λείποντ᾽ οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπερβολήν, 2 ἡγησάμην Εὐαγόραν, εἴ τίς ἐστιν αἴσθησις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων, εὐμενῶς μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ χαίρειν ὁρῶντα τήν τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, πολὺ δ᾽ ἂν ἔτι πλείω χάριν ἔχειν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, εἴ τις δυνηθείη περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀξίως διελθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων:	1 When I saw you, Nicocles, honoring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and beautiful offerings, but also with dances, music, and athletic contests, and, furthermore, with races of horses and triremes, and leaving to others no possibility of surpassing you in such celebrations, 2 I judged that Evagoras (if the dead have any perception of that which takes place in this world), while gladly accepting these offerings and rejoicing in the spectacle of your devotion and princely magnificence in honoring him, would feel far greater gratitude to anyone who could worthily recount his principles in life and his

	perilous deeds than to all other men;
3 εὑρήσομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλοψύχους τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐμόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαινεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνήσκειν εὐκλεῶς αἱρουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς δόξης ἢ τοῦ βίου σπουδάζοντας, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας, ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὑτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν.	3 for we shall find that men of ambition and greatness of soul not only are desirous of praise for such things, but prefer a glorious death to life, zealously seeking glory rather than existence, and doing all that lies in their power to leave behind a memory of themselves that shall never die.

The passage consists of a very long sentence in high style made up of 133 words, with several clauses. There are two main independent clauses made up of several dependent clauses. Isocrates uses a large number of particles (τε, μέν, ἂν, δέ, γάρ, ἀντί ...), conjunctions, infinitives and participles, to produce a sentence with rhythm[46]. Key words and themes of his work appear in this sentence, such as honor (τιμή), the dominant concept of the prologue[47]. This passage shows clearly how Isocrates' sentence is not the simple juxtaposition of assertions, but a methodically organized sentence in which one idea dominates the others[48].

At the grammatical level, a verb in the optative mood (δυνηθείη) stands out, a characteristic already lost in the Koine. Among the stylistic [p. 64/204] resources used by Isocrates, antithesis is present in this text, οὐ ... ἀλλὰ. Another characteristic highlighted by analysts of his style is the omission of some prepositions, as shown in v.3, in the expression ἢ τοῦ βίου, in which he omits in the middle περί, when it should be περὶ τοῦ βίου[49].

In conclusion, four aspects can be pointed out. First, Isocrates adopts a very high style in *Evagoras,* with the frequent use of particles and participles, something that was already highlighted by Dionysius Halicarnassus. Second, his sentences tend to be long with an average length of 47 words, which is very high. Third, he draws on many literary resources (rhetorical questions for example). Fourth, he is an author who is present in his text and who is aware of his style.

3.2. Xenophon's *Agesilaus*

Xenophon was a great historian and writer of the fourth century BCE, who lived near Athens[50]. He was a prolific author in works, genres and registers[51]. He wrote in Attic Greek, though, with its peculiarities[52]. *Agesilaus* is a small work that narrates part of the life of the king of Sparta of the same name. The literary genre of *Agesilaus* is the encomium[53], and the intention of his writing is multiple: to present virtues personified in a character, influence the politics and society of his time, train a new generation of political actors[54] and increase his fame. The register of *Agesilaus* is historical and political, linked to the narrative register. It is addressed to a Greek discursive community, in the Athens of the fourth [p. 65/204] century BCE, and its dominion is the

polis, the agora. Likewise his worldview[55] and intertextual references are Greek.

Agesilaus has come to be one of the most representative among Xenophon's writings, and it is one of his less Attic works[56]. His language[57] is less pure than that of Plato[58], and it is usually pointed out that it differs especially from his Attic companions in the use of prepositions[59].

With regards to Xenophon's style, several points should be taken into consideration[60]. 1) He is an author with a wide repertoire of styles, genres and registers. The following comparison between selected passages of *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus* will show how he switches between different verb tenses[61] and how he employs Attic and non-Attic terms depending on his intention. 2) His style was influenced by Gorgias[62] and in the case of *Agesilaus* by the *Evagoras* of Isocrates, which is his model[63]. 3) Sometimes he uses a noun or an adjective when a verb would be expected. 4) He draws on rhetorical resources sparingly[64]. 5) Three literary characteristics of Xenophon's style also have to be highlighted: the reader as participant (immediacy), his inscrutability (seems naive, uncertain, as an effect in politically or ethically charged scenes), and his variety in the use of genres[65].

Xenophon tends to use long sentences in *Agesilaus,* although it should be noted that good Greek can also be expressed in short sentences. The average sentence length in *Agesilaus* is 27 words, while the average [p. 66/204] sentence length in his other works is 16 words. These sentences are very well constructed and he makes use of parataxis, subordination and of particles, which allow him to connect his sentence. His vocabulary in this work is broad, using 2733 different words from a total of 7378, corresponding to 1615 lemmas with a ratio of 4.56. He incorporates a large number of dialectal words. He uses the optative widely, which would have been seen as a sign of his elevated style[66].

Not only does the following passage from *Agesilaus* provide clear examples of these aspects of Xenophon's style, but it is also interesting for several other reasons. 1) It is a text that contains both narration and comments from the author. 2) It is an episode that he surely copied from *Hellenica* and which thus enables us to see its modifications and intentions, and this will give us clues as to its genre. 3) It allows to consider Xenophon's careful structure.

The paragraph that is analyzed, follows this sequence: 1.1-6a Comment; 1.6-8 Diegesis; 1.9-10a Comment; 1.10-11 Diegesis; 1.12 Comment; 1.13-16 Diegesis.

It is presented in parallel with the passage from *Hellenica*, which was surely its source. The comparison enables us to see how he has introduced modifications to highlight the praiseworthy aspect of *Agesilaus*.

Hellenica 3.4,6-7	*Agesilaus* 1.9-12	
	ἐπεί γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε, πῶς ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν; ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις	Comment

	ἐγένετο.	
ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδᾳ καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ καὶ Μεγίλλῳ ἦ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἦ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς	Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπείσαιτο ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντώμοσε σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρισάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὅμως ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπονδαῖς. [p. 67/204]	Narrative
	ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπίορκον ἄπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν δ᾽ ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὅρκους ἐμπεδοῦντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον, πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας συντίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο.	Comment
Hellenica 3.4.6-7	*Agesilaus* 1.10-12	
5 "Indeed I should so desire," said he, "if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you." "But," said he, "it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce	And what of his strategy after he had received the army and had sailed out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. 10 This, then, was his first act in Asia.	Comment
6 After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless	Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus: "If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia"; and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? 11 Tissaphernes forthwith broke his oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before.	Narrative

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continued to abide by the truce.	As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice.	
	I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere; and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.	Comment

It will be helpful here to look in greater detail at some of the peculiarities of the passage Ages, 10-11. 1). It consists of two Greek sentences (of 34 and 31 words) made up of several clauses joined by particles, conjunctions, participles and the presence of the infinitive[67]. 2) The frequent [p. 68/204] use of optatives (ἐπιδείξειεν, διηγήσαιτο, σπείσαιτο, ἔλθοιεν, πέμψειε, βούλοιτο) demonstrates a stylistic desire to confer a literary dignity on his work that distinguishes it from conversational styles[68]. 3) There are cases of dialectal words such as (ἐμπεδοῦν = τηρεῖν). 4) A rhetorical question appears in 1.9 that takes up the theme of 1.6. 5) With the expression ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε he avoids hiatus, a recognizable trend throughout the text. 6) The author's thought[69] appears in 1.12. 7) The v.1.12 where the comment is developed, presents some idiosyncracies that are recurrent in his comments, such as particles οὖν in evaluations, γε μήν in introductions, references to the first person, non-narrative verb tenses such as the future and the perfect, cataphoric and anaphoric deictic elements and rhetorical questions.

Xenophon uses this passage of *Hellenica* in *Agesilaus,* since the narrative part serves as an illustration, and this intention can be seen in the changes he made. The *Hellenica* dialogue 3.4.5-6 has been condensed in the mouth of Agesilaus (1.10). The change of ἔχειν (maintain) for πράττειν (to do) seeks to intensify the contrast between the two protagonists in favor of Agesilaus and with these changes he better fulfills the function of praise. The particle οὖν marks the previous passage as introductory. The aorist ἐνέμεινε closes the discursive unit, a narrative piece that has been used with a special motive: to illustrate[70].

It is worth comparing the use of verbal tenses in *Agesilaus* and *Hellenica*. Xenophon replaces the verbs in the imperfect of *Hellenica* by aorists to highlight the praiseworthy aspect of *Agesilaus*. In *Ages.* 1.10 the aorist ἐψεύσατο is used, followed by a sentence with an imperfect (marked by a γάρ) that indicates the background. In 1.11 there is an aorist participle αἰσθόμενος and an aorist ἐνέμεινε, while Hellenica contains a present participle αἰσθανόμενος and an imperfect ἐπέμενε. The use of the aorist indicates that the action is being presented from the point of view of the author and the present participle and the imperfect of *Hellenica* present the action from within the world of the text[71]. As it has been already noted, *Hellenica*[72] is a historical narrative whereas *Agesilaus* is an encomium, [p. 69/204] and these verbal changes have been made to exemplify the

qualities of Agesilaus[73]. Therefore, these verbal changes are a demonstration of Xenophon's desire to adapt this passage for his encomium *Agesilaus.*

From this analysis of Xenophon's *Agesilaus* there are thus five aspects which are important in the study of the literary style of Mark. First, it is a very elaborate and meticulously thought-out passage given its careful structure. Second, Xenophon draws on a high style in *Agesilaus*, frequently using optatives, long sentences and subordination. Third, his verbal choices reinforce his intention to praise. Fourth, his vocabulary is very broad and full of dialect loanwords. Fifth, the style has been meticulously crafted by the author.

3.3 Satyrus' *Euripides*

Satyrus[74] was more a literary critic than a writer of biographies[75]. He wrote (in the last quarter of the third century BC) an Aristotelian dialogue about the life of Euripides[76]. It is a text of which only a small part on an ancient papyrus has been preserved (POxy 1176). The genre of this text is complex. Satyrus' intention is philosophical, presenting several virtues personified in Euripides, of which he barely knows anything. Euripides was the subject of mockery in comedies (especially Aristophanes), and that is why Satyrus' anecdotes are taunts treated as history[77].

It is very surprising that this text was written in the form of dialogue, which is developed between three characters, a literary resource that is used to clarify certain points. Satyrus's register is philosophical, but not historical, since he had very few sources for his writing. His style is pleasant as well as sophisticated, avoiding hiatus and it has a deeply Aristotelian style[78]. He tries to be didactic while entertaining. For Hunt[79], the author shows considerable pretensions of a high literary style. [p. 70/204]

The worldview is Greek[80] and contains a huge number of textual citations[81] from other classical Greek texts (Aristophanes, Homer, Plato, Anaxagoras, Demosthenes, Euripides). This group of quotations is, according to my calculations, 30% of the preserved text. We can thus conclude that the work was directed to a Greek community and its domain is public, the agora and the theater of the polis.

The language of this fragment by Satyrus is Attic Greek in an interesting period that coincides with the beginning of Koine Greek, a historical moment in which the two dialects were almost were almost fused[82]. His vocabulary contains elements of the Ionic dialect and at the same time he creates new words, which gives his texts a very particular character. In the language of Satyrus there is a more frequent use of prepositions that reinforce and specify the significance of the cases. As for the conjunctions, Satyrus tends to reinforce them with particles.

Satyrus' linguistic peculiarity stands out in the creation of new words and the simplifications and analogical regularizations that he produces. He frequently uses double forms, juxtaposing an archaic word with a newly-formed word, and he creates a wealth of adverbs derived from the corresponding adjective. Satyrus tends to use verbal compounds formed by one or more separable verb prefixes. In a consideration of

Satyrus' handling of modes, his use of the optative and the utilization of ancient expressions like εἴη ἄν and φαίη τις ἄν stand out. He frequently uses particles[83].

Few narrative passages from *Euripides* have been preserved, and two of them are presented here[84]: [p. 71/204]

Fr. 39. col. XXI.31	Fr. 39. col. XXI.31
ὁ δὲ παρηιτήσατο. χρόνωι δ' ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης ἔτυχεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἄλσει τινὶ καθ'αὐτὸν ἐρημαζόμενος, ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ κυνηγίαν ἐξήιει. γενόμενοι δ' ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ θηρευταὶ λύσαντες τοὺς σκύλακας προαφῆκαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀπελείποντο κατόπιν. ἐπιτυχόντες οὖν οἱ κύνες τῶι Εὐριπίδηι μονουμένωι διέφθειραν αὐτόν, οἱ δ' ἐπιπαρεγενήθησαν ὕστερον ὅθενἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεσθαί φασιν τὴν παροιμίαν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὡς 'ἔστι καὶ κυνὸς δίκη'. καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν σκυλάκων	(A) (…) And he made the appeal for them. But some time later, Euripides happened to be far away from the city spending time alone in a grove. Archelaus, meanwhile, had gone out hunting. When they were outside the gates, the huntsmen released the young dogs and sent them ahead, while they themselves were left behind. And so, encountering Euripides all by himself, the dogs killed him, and the huntsmen arrived later. From this tale they say that even now there is a proverb among the Macedonians: "There is even a dog's justice." For, indeed…from the young dogs…

Satyrus uses shorter sentences than Isocrates and Xenophon. The sentence is constructed from the subordination through the participles and conjunctions. The rhythm is structured by particles, among which the use of δέ (6x), μέν ... δέ, γὰρ, ὡς stands out. It is also interesting to note the alternation of aorists and imperfects as well as the use of the verb ἐπιπαρεγενήθησαν, with a passive aorist in -θην instead of the middle aorist, ἐγένοντο, as is frequent in the Koine. The adverb κατόπιν provides an example of the wealth of adverbs derived from the corresponding adjective which Satyrus incorporates into his text.

The following passage presents similar characteristics:

Fr. 39 col. X.1-38 (TT 99 y 110 Kn)	Fr. 39 col. X.1-38
ἀπήχθοντ' αὐτῶι πάντες οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διὰ τὴν δυσομιλίαν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διὰ τοὺς ψόγους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. ἦλθεν δ' εἰς κίνδυνον ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν γενῶν μέγαν ὑπὸμὲν γὰρ Κλέωνος τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκην ἔφυγεν, ἣν προειρήκαμεν·	A?) (…) Everyone hated him: men on account of his unsociability, and women because he criticised them in his poetry. And he came into great danger from each of the sexes, for he was accused of impiety by Cleon the demagogue, as we have said before, and the women banded together against him at the Thesmophoria and came in droves to the place

αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπισυνέστησαν αὐτῶι τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις καὶ ἀθρόαι παρῆαν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ὧι σχολάζων ἐτύγχανεν· ωρισμέναι·. ἐφε[ί]σαν]το τἀνδρὸς ἅμα μὲν αἰδεσθεῖσαι τὰς Μούσας [...·]· ν.[..·]ος	where he happened to be at leisure; … they spared the man, on the one hand, because of their reverence for the Muses… [p. 72/204]

Despite its fragmentary character it is a sentence that contains 37 words, articulated by the use of particles (μέν ... δέ, γάρ), the participles and the infinitive. Two pluperfects appear (προειρήκαμεν of προερέω and the participle ωρισμέναι). The neutral Attic pronoun ὧι and the ionic and Homeric pronoun ἦν are used. Satyrus' use of ἐπισυνέστησαν with the dative is striking. It means "join in conspiracy against" and provides a good example of his tendency to create new verbs with separable verb prefixes.

Thus, there are two main aspects of Satyrus' *Euripedes* which should be highlighted for the purpose of this examination of the literary style of Mark. First, the text is written in a high style reinforced by multiple quotations from classical texts woven throughout the story. Second, his style is inferior to that of Isocrates and Xenophon, but he makes extensive use of hypotaxis, of particles, participles, and infinitives, albeit with less elaborate phrases.

3.4. Mark's Gospel

The Gospel of Mark is a literary text of the first century, written in Koine Greek, namely "a kind of Greek that was not normally used in literary composition, but stands closer to the vernacular"[85]. Although the evangelist may have been bilingual, "his Greek is entirely fluent and correct"[86]. The genre of this text can be defined as a narrative with historical pretensions, centered on the life of a person. Its register is narrative, religious, Jewish and historical. Its worldview is Judeo-Hellenistic[87] and Christian, and its domain is domestic. On the one hand, its style is simple, close to the syntax of the documentary papyri found in Egypt and on the other hand, its vocabulary and syntax are deeply influenced by the Septuagint (with a lot of quotations and allusions from it) and by the Semitic background both of the author and his previous sources[88]. Mark [p. 73/204] has written in a coherent low style but he is capable of a superior style when he wants[89]. His Gospel is a structured narrative (despite the opinion of Papias that there is no order[90]) and has a complex plot.

It is not possible to analyse in depth here all the peculiarities of Mark's style, but only to highlight his most distinctive characteristic: his paratactic style, joining sentences with καί[91] instead of using other conjunctions and particles[92]. His sentences tend to be short, with an average length of 17.6 words according to my calculations. In Mk 1 there are an

average of 7.4 words per clause; 6.62 words in Mk 6; and in Mk 13 the average is 6.64 words. As an example, it can be pointed out that the three longest sentences of Mark are rough phrases. His longest sentence (Mk 7,2-5) has 84 words, with 13 clauses and a clumsy explanation that connects 7 clauses[93]. The second longest has 52 words[94] (Mk 5,25-28). A long sentence of Mk, which may be more representative of his style, is Mk 10,32-34, with 53 words and 10 clauses joined by καί (9x) and ὅτι. They are long phrases, but they clearly situate him as an author using low style.

It is important to highlight Mark's dependence on the LXX both at the level of vocabulary and syntax (such as his use of καὶ ἐγένετο[95], which is not found in non-biblical Greek). His vocabulary contains 11099 words, including 1331 lemmas, with a ratio of 8.49. It must be pointed out that only 150 of the words used by Mark are not found in the LXX. Once we remove from this amount the 60 proper names plus the loanwords from Latin and Aramaic, the final number is very low. Thus it is clear that Mark's choice of vocabulary is very close to that of the LXX.

In this regard, the frequent use of Hebrew, Aramaic and Latin in Mark is surprising. Martin Hengel points out that there is no document of antiquity in which Aramaic and Hebrew are present to such an [p. 74/204] extent[96]. In Mark there are cases of codeswitching with Latin and Aramaic, which could be a sign of his Jewish – Christian identity and an additional communicative resource to show the reliability of his narrative[97].

Mark is a text with a very low rhetorical style. On the one hand, his style was improved by Luke and Matthew, who, respecting his text, improved it constantly. Mark is the text of the New Testament which has the lowest style. The different styles of the New Testament vary from the high style of 1 Pet., the medium style of Luke and Paul and the low style of Mark. On the other hand, Mark is among the poorest literary texts when compared with the style of the literary Greek texts of the first and second century CE. In this sense his Gospel is close to the documentary papyri, written in informal Greek, but far from the high style of Polibius[98], Philo, Plutarch and the scribe of Flavius Josephus.

It must be taken into account that Celsus, Tatian[99], Lucian of Samosata and Philostratus highlighted the low stylistic level of the Gospels, especially Mark. Celsus despises the low level of the Gospels[100], calling them nonhistorical and fictions (πλάσματα[101]) and affirms that they are of low quality[102]. The fathers of the Church wrote in a Greek style superior to that of the New Testament and had to justify the poor style of the Gospels. Even Origen confirms this and points out how this low style sets the Gospels apart from the philosophical schools and assimilates them to a low social stratum: "the splendor of biblical teaching is hidden by a poor and humble style[103] (λέξει)". Clement of Alexandria also recognizes this humble style[104]. Given that the low style the Gospels, particularly that of Mark, is widely recognized, it is surprising that biographical works [p. 75/204] by authors such as Lucian of Samosata and Philostratus are presented as examples of texts that would induce a reading of the Gospels as biographies, when they are precisely authors who reject Christianity and whose dialect is

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the Attic Greek of the Second Sophistic.

The Gospel of Mark reflects a Jewish register, and it is an accepted fact that the Greco-Roman world in general despised Judaism[105]. This fact, as well as the worldview presented and the literary style used, so different from Homer, Thucydides or Herodotus, would identify Mark with a barbaric text, given his literary connections with the underlying story of the LXX. In this regard, the Aramean and Latin loanwords would prompt a Greco - Roman reader of the first century to identify the Gospel as a strange and low style text.

In order to study the style of the Gospel of Mark, a pericope has been selected which is close to a text from the Septuagint, which may have inspired Mark. The chosen text of Mark is the call to the disciples, which is built on the text of 1 Ki 1,19-21[106]. They are presented in parallel.

1 Ki 19,19-21	Mk 1,16-20

¹⁹ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν
καὶ εὑρίσκει τὸν Ελισαιε υἱὸν Σαφατ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἠροτρία ἐν βουσίν δώδεκα ζεύγη
     βοῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα
καὶ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
καὶ ἐπέρριψε τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτόν
²⁰ καὶ κατέλιπεν Ελισαιε τὰς βόας
καὶ κατέδραμεν ὀπίσω Ηλιου
καὶ εἶπεν καταφιλήσω τὸν πατέρα μου
καὶ ἀκολουθήσω ὀπίσω σου
καὶ εἶπεν Ηλιου
     ἀνάστρεφε ὅτι πεποίηκά σοι
²¹ καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν ἐξόπισθεν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ ζεύγη τῶν βοῶν
καὶ ἔθυσεν
καὶ ἥψησεν αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι τῶν βοῶν
καὶ ἔδωκεν τῷ λαῷ
καὶ ἔφαγον
καὶ ἀνέστη
καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω Ηλιου
καὶ ἐλειτούργει αὐτῷ
	¹⁶ Καὶ παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σίμωνος ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ·
	ἦσαν γὰρ ἁλιεῖς.
	¹⁷ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
	     δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου,
	     καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων.
	¹⁸ καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.
	¹⁹ Καὶ προβὰς ὀλίγον εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα,
	²⁰ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς.
	καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν Ζεβεδαῖον ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. [p. 76/204]

¹⁹ So Elijah went from there and found Elisha son of Shaphat. He was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, and he himself was driving the twelfth pair. Elijah went up to him and threw his cloak around him. ²⁰ Elisha then left his oxen and ran after Elijah. "Let me kiss my father and mother good-bye," he said, "and then I will come with you." "Go back," Elijah replied. "What have I done to you?" ²¹ So Elisha left him and went back. He took his yoke of oxen and slaughtered them. He burned the ploughing equipment to cook the meat and gave it to the people, and they ate. Then he set out to follow	¹⁶ As Jesus walked beside the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and his brother Andrew casting a net into the lake, for they were fishermen. ¹⁷ "Come, follow me," Jesus said, "and I will make you fishers of men." ¹⁸ At once they left their nets and followed him. ¹⁹ When he had gone a little farther, he saw James son of Zebedee and his brother John in a boat, preparing their nets. ²⁰ Without delay he called them, and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired men and followed him.

Elijah and became his attendant.	

This is a text where Mark makes correct use of Greek, with 5 sentences connected with καί (9x). It is an elaborate text that presents in parallel two call scenes (1,16-18 and 19-20), each one with a chiastic structure[107]. Twice the characteristic expression of Mark "καὶ εὐθὺς" appears. The sentences combine aorists with participles, improving the rigid translation of the Hebrew in the LXX. The expression "δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου" appears in v.17, an explicit quotation from 2Ki 6,19 LXX. The conjunction γάρ appears but no other particle is used.

Several aspects should be noted. Firstly, Mark has deliberately written in a low style as is demonstrated by his use of vernacular Koine Greek, his very short sentences, his scant use of particles, his use of parataxis instead of hypotaxis and his limited vocabulary restricted to the language used in the LXX. Secondly, Mark has chosen a style and expressions that link him to the Septuagint, which implies a Jewish register. Thirdly, Mark's use of Latin and Aramaic loanwords which reflect a low style. Fourthly, Mark improves the style of the Septuagint since this is a very literal translation of the Hebrew text. Lastly, notwithstanding his low style, Mark uses complex literary structures.

4. Inferences about the genre of Mark from the comparative analysis of his style

By presenting the essential characteristics identified in the styles of Isocrates, Xenophon, Satyrus and Mark in a table, the similarities and differences become clearer, enabling us to better evaluate the style Mark has used for his Gospel. [p. 77/204]

Characteristics	*Evagoras*	*Agesilaus*	*Euripides*	Mark's Gospel
Language	Attic	Attic	Attic preKoine	Koine
Style	High	High	High	Low
Worldview	Greek	Greek	Greek	Judeo-Hellenistic
Discursive Community	Greek	Greek	Greek	Christian
Social Action	Praise	Praise	Entertain	Identitary
Dominion	Polis	Polis	Polis	Domestic
Genre	Encomiun	Encomiun	Dialogue	Historical
Content	Life - Virtues	Life - Virtues	Life - Comedy	Life - History
Register	Political	Political	Political & Philos.	Relig & Hist.
Structure	Complex	Complex	Dialogue	Complex
Narrative	Narrat -Coment	Narrat- Coment	Dialogue	Narrative
Plot	No	No	No	Yes

Length	4598	7378	Fragment text	11304
Words	1750	2733	2200	3002
Lemmas	963	1615	Unknown	1331
Ratio	4.77	4.56	Unknown	8,49
Sentence Length / Clause	47.7/28	27	Unknown	17,6/6,64
Intertextuality	Greek texts	Greek texts	Greek texts	Septuagint
Author's presence	Omnipresent	Omnipresent	Omnipresent	Anonymous

The comparison of Mark's text with Evagoras, Agesilaus and Euripides raises the following considerations.

The first is that while Mark is written in Koine Greek, the other texts are written in Attic Greek. The Attic dialect variant would be received in the first century CE as a sign of a high style, and much more in the second century CE when the rise of Atticism (or Classicism) was driven by the Second Sophistic.

Second, the three selected texts present a greater rhetorical and stylistic complexity than Mark. This is firstly shown by the greater length, complexity and elaboration of the sentences and secondly by the recurrent use of rhetorical elements compared to Mark. In these texts particles, subordination, participles and infinitives are used more frequently, as well as a harmonious composition. These three texts use high style and are directed to a Greek discursive community. Their domain is the public arena where the authors aspire to maintain their political-social status and influence. Their elevated style is recognized even by Burridge[108]. [p. 78/204]

Third, Mark's Gospel appears as a low style text[109] due to his use of short sentences, the scarcity of subordination and the excessive use of καί. His use of Aramaic and Latin terms in a Greek text contravenes two of the principles defined by Aristotle: purity and linguistic correctness, and this reinforces his appearance of low style[110]. However, his style is deliberate, with the intention of linking his text to the LXX, to its world-view and story[111].

Fourth, the extratextual references (only from LXX), as well as the Jewish worldview, place Mark within a Christian community, close to Judaism, whereas the other selected texts are clearly related to the Greek world, as well as to different domains. Mark remains anonymous as an author, while the other writers appear as explicit authors. They express their personal opinions and become guarantors of their tradition.

All these elements raise the question as to whether a person from the first and second century CE listening to or reading the Gospel of Mark would associate it with the praiseworthy texts of *Agesilaus, Evagoras* or *Euripides.* Would the style, worldview, extratextual references and genre of the Gospel cause a reader or listener of that period to link this text with the texts by Isocrates, Xenophon and Satyrus? Would he or she identify them as texts belonging to the same literary genre and with the same intention? I think the answer is negative. It thus becomes clear that using style as a "generic feature"

which can link widely these differing texts is not appropriate.

Only Burridge's use of the concept genre, understood as a "family resemblance" of texts, and his definition of a new kind of genre that he calls βίοι, have allowed him to characterize the Gospel of Mark as an ancient biography. But his treatment of style is minimal and unclear. In fact, he does not analyse any particular text from the point of view of style.

On the other hand, scholars of the classical world do not assign the biographical genre to these three ancient texts (*Evagoras, Agesilaus, Euripides*), as has been amply demonstrated. According to these scholars these texts relate to other genres (encomiun, philosophical dialogue), and thus they differ in genre from the historical genre of the Gospel of Mark. [p. 79/204]

The comparisons made and the categories used (dialect, language, genre, style, register) have allowed us to situate Mark's style at the crossroads between his peculiar stylistic capacities and his choice to write in a style close to the LXX, true interpretative referent of his text. The LXX lends him the literary world and the worldview with which his story merges, aiming to present itself as a continuation of the history of Israel.

The debate about the literary genre of the Gospel remains open, but it has been demonstrated that the category "style" applied to the study of the encomiastic texts prior to the Gospel of Mark cannot be used as an argument to tip the balance. [p. 80/204]

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1 K. Berger, «Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament», *ANRW II*.25.2 (ed. W. Haase – H. Temporini) (Berlin 1984) 1031-1432. D. Frickenschmidt, *Evangelium als Biographie: Die vier Evangelien im Rahmen antiker Erzählkunst* (Tübingen 1997).

2 R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Grand Rapids, MI ²2004) 119, 142- 143 and 175. About the style of the Gospels cf. p. 203.

3 This genre is complex and could also be a conjunction of genres. H. W. Attridge, "Genre bending in the fourth gospel", *JBL* 121:1 (2002) 3-21.

4 The comparison of these texts depends on how encomium, historiography, ancient novel and tragedy are defined. This was pointed out by K. L. Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin 1923) 79.

5 Owing to limited space only these three works will be analysed.

6 "Familiar resemble" is a definition of genre developed by Wittgenstein and Alastair Fowler, which is accepted by Burridge.

7 "A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre". J. Swales, *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings* (Cambridge 1990) 58.

8 The label "popular biographies" is confusing. The description of the formal characteristics of "popular literature" made for example by Hansen is very arbitrary. He does not analyze stylistic aspects such as those

developed in this study (vocabulary, complexity of sentences, etc.). W. F. Hansen, *Anthology of ancient Greek popular literature* (Bloomington 1998) xi-xvii.

[9] For Hägg they are romances, due to their fictitious nature. T. Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2012) 100. M. Reiser, «Der Alexaderroman und das Markusevangelium», *Markus-Philologie: historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* (ed. H. Cancik) (WUNT 33; Tübingen 1984) 131-163.

[10] These novels have a biographical element, but their intention was to entertain his listeners. In this sense, the Gospel could resemble more to the encomiums. The novel is presented as a fiction narrative in prose and deals with courtship and the god Eros. It is related to historiography, of which it is distinguished because it does not seek truth (ἀλήθεια) of the facts, but only a fiction (πλάσμα) of certain verisimilitude. They have continuity with the Odyssey of Homer and with Herodotus. His worldview is that of Hellenism and his literary style is high. E. L. Bowie, «The Greek novel», *The Cambridge history of classical literature. Vol. 1: Greek literature* (ed. P. E. Easterling – B. M. W. Knox) (Cambridge 1985) 683–699, 688.

[11] Cf. the classification of Berger, „Hellenistische Gattungen“, 1232-1236 and H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Byzantinisches Handbuch II/3; München 1971) 28-35.

[12] This use of texts that postdate the Gospel brings to mind the interesting warnings of Philip S. Alexander about the ingenuity with which New Testament scholars accept the rabbinic sources uncritically. P. S. Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament", *ZNW* 74:3-4 (1983) 237-246.

[13] "Style is sometimes described as expressive of self, sometimes as responsive to audience; sometimes as constitutive of truth and sometimes as simply ornamental". J. M. Hernández Campoy, *Sociolinguistic styles* (West Sussex, UK 2016) xviii. The history of research in Françoise Gadet, «Research on Sociolinguistic Style», *Sociolinguistics* 2 (ed. U. Ammon – N. Dittmar – K. J. Mattheier) (HSK 3.2; Berlin [2]2004) 1353-1361. About style cf. N. Coupland, *Style: language variation and identity* (Cambridge 2007).

[14] J. Haynes, *Style* (London 1995) 7.

[15] R. Wardhaugh, *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (West Sussex, UK [6]2010) 115.

[16] Cf. The innovating article of A. Bell, "Language style as audience design", *Language in society* 13:2 (1984) 145-204.

[17] P. Trudgill, *The social differentiation of English in Norwich* (Cambridge 1974) 46.

[18] This can be seen in A. Delgado Gómez, "Género y registro del evangelio de Marcos desde la perspectiva sociolingüística", *Estudios Agustianianos* 53 (2018) 5-36.

[19] Dover demonstrates how genre is important to determinate the style of the author. K. J. Dover, *The evolution of Greek prose style* (Oxford 1997) 46-48 and 154.

[20] N. E. Enkvist, «On the place of style in some linguistic theories», *Literary style: a symposium* (ed. S. B. Chatman) (Oxford 1971) 47-64, 54. Also A. Denaux, "Style and stylistics, with special reference to Luke", *Filología Neotestamentaria* XIX (2006) 31-51.

[21] C. H. Turner – J. K. Elliott, *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark: An Edition of CH Turner's 'Notes on Marcan Usage' Together with Other Comparable Studies* (Leiden 1993).

[22] Something similar is undertaken by Voelz comparing Mark and Plato. J. W. Voelz, «The Characteristics of the Greek of St. Mark's Gospel», *Texts and traditions: essays in honour of J. Keith Elliot* (ed. J. K. Elliott – P. Doble) (Leiden 2014) 137-154.

[23] It is in Dionysus where we find the best presentation of how the Greeks responded to their writings. His threefold division of styles into high, medium and low became established and widely accepted. A work in high style uses periodic structure, its vocabulary is elevated, purist and contains neologisms. Its verbal forms, especially the pluperfect and optative, belong to Attic Greek and the quotations of classical texts are abundant, while other texts such as Scripture are rare or indirect. A work in medium style contains less elaborate periods and more common words, with fewer quotations of classical texts. A work in low style uses paratactic sentence structures, its vocabulary contains unattested words and loans from other languages, and its verbal forms do not belong to Attic Greek. G. A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric & Its Christian & Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, NC 1999) 132. I. Ševcenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", JÖB 31 (1981) 290–312, 291. G. C. Horrocks, «Syntax: from Classical Greek to the Koine», *A history of ancient Greek : from the beginnings to late antiquity* (ed. A. P. Christidēs – M. Arapopoulou – M. Chritē) (Cambridge, UK [2]2007) 618-631, 630-631.

[24] A. Willi, «Register Variation», *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (ed. E. J. Bakker) (Oxford 2010) 297-310, 307. The word order of the sentence (SVO or VSO) is not addressed as a criterion given that the research has not reached to a consensus, since the Greek by its case system, its inflected verb and its nominal phrase presents a great variability.

25 Excellent presentation in J. L. López Cruces – P. P. Fuentes González, «Isocrate d'Athènes», *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques 3* (ed. R. Goulet) (Paris 2000) 891–938. The reference commentary is E. Alexiou, *Der Euagoras des Isokrates: ein Kommentar* (Berlin 2010).

26 This is the opinion of Schorn and of most scholars of the classical world. S. Schorn, «Biographie und Autobiographie», *Handbuch der griechischen Literatur der Antike Band 2: Die Literatur der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit* (ed. B. Zimmermann – A. Rengakos) (München 2014) 678-733, 698. Evagoras has elaborated an encomium v.73, a speech and an exhortation v.76. T. L. Papillon, «Isocrates», *A companion to Greek rhetoric* (ed. I. Worthington) (Malden, MA 2007) 58-74, 62.

27 Virtue (ἀρετή) appears 15x. As a child beauty (κάλλος), physical strength (ῥώμη) and restriction (σωφροσύνη); as adult value (ἀνδρεία), wisdom (σοφία) and justice (δικαιοσύνη). For Hägg, the theme of Evagoras is virtue, not the life of an individual. Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity,* 32.

28 E. Rummel, "Isocrates' Ideal of Rhetoric: Criteria of Evaluation", *The Classical Journal* 75:1 (1979) 25-35, 31.

29 S. W. Hirsch, *The Friendship of the Barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian Empire* (London 1985) 51 and 53-55.

30 Formally Evagoras is an epidectic discourse. Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity,* 30 and 33.

31 M. Vallozza, "Alcuni motivi del discorso di lode tra Pindaro e Isocrate", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 35:2 (1990) 43-58.

32 πόλις 19x, is the noun that most appears in Evagoras.

33 Διός = Zeus 4x appears in 1,13,14,57,81 and 85, the demigods and the word θεός 5x.

34 The chiastic structure of Evagoras in Alexiou, *Der Euagoras des Isokrates,* 39-40.

35 "Style was important to Isocrates because he believed that it played a supportive role in persuading the audience, that rhythm and harmony had the power of psychagogia". Rummel, "Isocrates' Ideal of Rhetoric", 29.

36 Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Isoc. 2.1.* Cloché points out that he has a harmonious style. P. Cloché, *Isocrate et son temps* (Paris 1978) 25-30, 28.

37 Alexiou, *Der Euagoras des Isokrates,* 8.

38 R. Graff, "Prose versus poetry in early Greek theories of style", *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 23:4 (2005) 303-335, 310.

39 J. F. Dobson, *The Greek orators* (London 1919) 132.

40 109x in Evagoras. G. Hoess, *De Ubertate et abundantia sermonis Isocratei observationum capita selecta. Dissertatio inauguralis quam* (Friburg 1892) 43.

41 S. Usher, "The style of Isocrates", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 20:1 (1973) 39-67, 45 and 54.

42 "Isocrates, as the first author to convert the concept μακρολογία into a technique which combined hypotaxis and parataxis with amplification of individual elements to form long yet unified sentences, is to be seen in all prose authors who wrote in a complex periodic style". Usher, "The style of Isocrates", 61.

43 M. Marzi, «Introduzione», *Opere I* (ed. Isocrates) (Torino 1991) 9-31, 20.

44 Isocrates, *Evag.* 1,1-3. The texts of the classical and patristic authors are taken from the critical editions of Loeb and CUP.

45 This prologue (1-11) forms a unit with the Epilogue (v.73-75). Alexiou, *Der Euagoras des Isokrates,* 65.

46 ἀλλά 59x, γάρ 51x; καί 250x, τε 23x, μέν 97x, ἄν 42x, δέ 138x, ἀντί 4x. He is one of the authors of the antiquity that greater use does of the particle δέ.

47 "Die τιμή und das agonale Prinzip dominieren nachdrücklich im Proomium". Alexiou, *Der Euagoras des Isokrates,* 68. It appears 9x in this work.

48 Cloché, *Isocrate et son temps,* 29.

49 The omission of the second proposition is almost regular in Isocrates after ἤ. O. Schneider, *Ausgewählte Reden An demonikos, Euagoras, Areopagitikos* 1 (Leipzig 31874) 35.

50 H. R. Breitenbach, «Xenophon von Athen», *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft IX A. 2* (ed. A. Pauly – G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart 1967) 1571–1578. F. Dümmler, „Zu Xenophons Agesilaos", *Philologus* 54:1-4 (1895) 583–592.

51 E. L. Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte: tra commiato ed encomio* (Milano 1992) 3.

52 It contains Ionic elements (as a nod to Homer), multiple Dorisms and ionisms, as well as Laconian elements. Gautier says that "l'influence de Gorgias est fortement sensible dans le style de Xénophon". L. Gautier, *La langue de Xénophon* (Genève 1911) 111.

53 This is stated by the own Jenofonte, *Ages.* 10,3. Schorn, «Biographie und Autobiographie», 700. "Da un punto di vista formale l'opera è un'orazione. Senofonte la definisce un ἐγκώμιον, prevenendo il pensiero di chi leggendola potrebbe considerarla una lamentazione funebre ... poiché rientrano entrambi nel genere epidittico".

Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte,* 4 and 8.

54 R. Nicolai, «The Place of History in the Ancient World», *A companion to Greek and Roman historiography* 1 (ed. J. Marincola) (Oxford 2007) 13-26, 14.

55 There are numerous references to Greek gods such as Apollo, Castor and Pollux.

56 Gautier, *La langue de Xénophon,* 130.

57 M. Casevitz, «La langue des opuscules (Hiéron, Agésilas, Constitution des Lacédémoniens)», *Xénophon et la rhétorique* (ed. P. Pontier) (Paris 2014) 269-277.

58 A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque: avec bibliographie mise à jour et complétée* (Paros ³1965) 231.

59 V. J. Gray, «Xenophon's Language and Expression», *The Cambridge companion to Xenophon* (ed. R. L. Fowler) (Cambridge 2017) 223-240, 225.

60 J. Redondo, "L'art retòrica de Xenofont i la composició de l'Agesilau", *Ítaca* (1992) 83-114.

61 "According to Gray the present tense used in a narrative of the past expresses the action as vivid, and that while the imperfect tense expresses action as still unfolding, the aorist represents it as complete". Gray, «Xenophon's Language and Expression», 225.

62 E. C. Marchant, «Introduction», *Xenophon. Scripta Minora* (ed. Jenofonte) (London, 1918) vii-xlvi, viii and xviii.

63 C. D. Hamilton, "Plutarch and Xenophon on Agesilaus", *The Ancient World* 25 (1994) 205-212, 212. Hirsch and Manes compare Evagoras and Agesilaus. Hirsch, *The Friendship of the Barbarians,* 57-60 and Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte*, 7.

64 L. Gautier affirms "le grand usage de la métaphore et l'emploi par Xénophon de l'assonance" Gautier, *La langue de Xénophon,* 111. P. Pontier, *Xénophon et la rhétorique* (Paris 2014).

65 T. Rood, «Xenophon's Narrative Style», *The Cambridge companion to Xenophon* (ed. R. L. Fowler) (Cambridge 2017) 263-278, 263.

66 The frequency of the particles is this ἀλλά 60x, γάρ 46x, καί 336x, τε 45x, μέν 177x, ἂν 67x, δέ 314x, ἀντί 6x.

67 "Nell'encomio alla forma dialogica viene preferita quella di un unico periodo articolato attraverso l'antitesi di due proposizioni (Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ... / Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντώμοσε...) reggenti a loro volta delle infinitive, secondo una costruzione per frasi parallele tipica di Isocrate". Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte,* 33.

68 Redondo, "L'art retòrica de Xenofont", 94.

69 "La formula ἐμοὶ οὖν... δοκεῖ introduce per la prima volta da 1,1 il pensiero dell'autore". Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte,* 35.

70 For Manes the verb πράττω would indicate the moment of agreement and ἔχω the maintenance of it, reinforcing the praiseworthy aspect of Agesilaus. Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte,* 34-35.

71 M. Buijs, «Aspectual Differences And Narrative Technique: Xenophon's Hellenica & Agesilaus», *The Language of Literature* (ed. R. Allan – M. Buijs) (Leiden 2007) 122-153, 135 and A. Opitz, *Quaestiones Xenophonteae: De Hellenicorum atque Agesilai necessitudine* (Vratislaviae 1913) 14. Manes, *L'Agesilao di Senofonte*, 34.

72 V. J. Gray, *The character of Xenophon's Hellenica* (Baltimore 1989).

73 Buijs, "Aspectual Differences", 153.

74 S. Schorn, «Satyros de Callatis», *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 6 (ed. R. Goulet) (Paris 2016) 133–143. M. R. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides "Vita"", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20:2 (1979) 187. F. Leo, "Satyros Βίος Εὐρίπιδου", *Nachrichten Gottinger Gesell* (1912) 273-290.

75 Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity,* 82.

76 S. Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis: Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentar* (Basilea 2004).

77 G. Murray, *Euripides and his age* (Oxford ²1965) 25.

78 Schorn, *Satyros aus Kallatis,* 56-63.

79 "Their style is smooth and pleasant, and care is shown in a general avoidance of hiatus". A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX* (London 1912) 126-127.

80 Ζεὺς (2x) appears in Fr 39.XV.35 and Fr 37.III.6-14.

81 "It is a mass of quotations, anecdotes, bits of literary criticism, all run together with an air of culture and pleasantness, a spice of gallantry and a surprising indifference to historical fact". Murray, *Euripides and his age,* 24.

82 "Manifiesta una gran influencia de la tradición literaria ática… con una tradición ya desde Aristófanes y Platón, y a la vez con el carácter culto y de universalidad que encontramos también en Aristóteles". M. García Valdés, "La lengua griega en la "Vida de Eurípides" de Sátiro", *Emerita* 59 (1991) 359-369 368.

83 ἀλλά 7x, γάρ 25x, καί 65x, τε 11x, μέν 17x, ἂν 8x, δέ 51x, ἀντί 6x; γε 11x; ὡς 10x, ὅτι 3x; οὖν 7x.

84 Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX,* 165 and 152-153 and J. Campos Daroca, *Las personas de Eurípides* (Amsterdam 2007) 281-282.

85 Words like κράβαττος (2,4) and κοράσιον (5,41) may indicate the colloquial quality of Mark's Greek.

86 "The grammar of Mark is not faulty as much as it is substandard". J. Joosten, «Varieties of Greek in the Septuagint and the New Testament», *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume I: From the Beginnings to 600* (ed. J. C. Paget – J. Schaper) (Cambridge 2013) 22-45, 40 and 44.

87 θεός 31x is the substantive that most times appears in Mark.

88 Maloney underlines a Semitic interference in the syntax of the Gospel while Reiser denies it. E. C. Maloney, *Semitic interference in Marcan syntax (Chico, CA 1981). M. Reiser, Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums im Licht der hellenistischen Volksliteratur* (WUNT II 11; Tübingen 1984).

89 For example, Lee has pointed out how in the Jesus' direct speeches the number of particles increases. J. A. L. Lee, "Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark's Gospel", *Novum Testamentum* 27:1 (1985) 1-26.

90 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* III.39.15.

91 R. J. Decker, «Markan Idiolect in the Study of the Greek of the New Testament», *The language of the New Testament: context, history, and development* (ed. S. E. Porter – A. W. Pitts) (Leiden 2013) 43-66, 47. It must be pointed out that καί is a complex particle, which can indicate parataxis, logical consequence and temporal indication.

92 The syntax of Mk is very poor in particles οὖν 3x (while in Joh 200x); ἄρα 2x; δέ 163x; μέν 3x; μέν … δέ 3x; ὅτι 99x; ἀλλά 45x; ἄν 20x; ὅτι 99x; καί 1091x.

93 2 participles appear, and the conjunctions and particles καί, 3x; ὅτι, γάρ, ἐὰν μή, διὰ τί, ἀλλὰ and the expression τοῦτ ἔστιν.

94 It is a sentence of 52 words with 10 clauses, the particles γάρ and ὅτι and the conjunctions καί, 4x and ἀλλὰ and five participles describing the woman.

95 Lars Hartman has underlined that the style of Mark tries to imitate the historical narratives of the OT. L. Hartman, *Mark for the nations: A text- and reader-oriented commentary* (Eugene, OR 2010) 95.

96 M. Hengel, «Probleme des Markusevangeliums», *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien: Vorträge vom Tübinger Symposium 1982* (ed. P. Stuhlmacher) (WUNT 28; Tübingen 1983) 221-265, 243.

97 A. Delgado Gómez, "¡Levántate! ¡Ábrete! El idiolecto de Marcos a la luz de la sociolingüística", *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 93:364 (2018) 29-86.

98 On the high style of Polibius cf. S. Colvin, *A historical Greek reader: Mycenaean to the Koiné* (Oxford 2007) 70. G. C. Horrocks, *Greek: a history of the language and its speakers* (Oxford ²2010) 96.

99 Tatian "I was led to put faith in these by the unpretending cast of the language (λέξεων), the inartificial character of the writers". Tatian, *Orat. ad Graec.* 29.

100 "For in them there was no power of speaking or of giving an ordered narrative by the standards of Greek dialectical or rhetorical arts which convinced their hearers". Origen, *Cont. Cels. 1.62.* Celsus on the vulgarity of Christians in Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 1.27.

101 Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 2.13.26.

102 "The scriptures have a mean style, which appears to be put in the shade by the brilliance of a literary composition". Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 6.2.

103 Origen, *De Princ.* 4.1.7.

104 "Devoid of embellishment, of outward beauty of diction, of wordiness and seductiveness". See Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 8.1.

105 P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the ancient world* (Harvard 2009).

106 C. Focant, *L'Évangile selon Marc* (Paris 2004) 99. About the call stories in Greek literature cf. A. Y. Collins, *Mark: A commentary* (Hermeneia 55; Grand Rapids, MI 2007) 156-160.

107 S. Kuthirakkattel, *The Beginning of Jesus' Ministry according to Mark's Gospel (1:14-13:6): a redaction critical study* (Roma 1990) 105-106.

108 Burridge, *What are the Gospels?,* 175, where he recognizes the high style of Isocrates and Xenophon following Gorgias.

109 This conclusion is also shared by C. Bryan, *A preface to Mark: notes on the Gospel in its literary and cultural settings* (New York 1993) and D. Wördemann, *Das Charakterbild im bíos nach Plutarch und das Christusbild im Evangelium nach Markus* (Paderborn 2002).

110 Aristotle, *Rh.* 3,3,1405a-1406b. Something that also affirms Isocrates, *Evag.* 10.

111 Style is essentially speakers' response to their audience. "Language is not only a means of communicating but also a very important symbol of group identification and peer-group solidarity". A. Tabouret-Keller,

«Language and identity», *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (ed. F. Coulmas) (Oxford 1997) 315–326, 317.

La double identité de Lebbée

CHRISTIAN-B. AMPHOUX

The mysterious name of "Lebbée", the tenth apostle in two of the lists of the Twelve (Matt. 10:2-4 / Mark 3:16-19), is replaced at the end of the 2nd century by that of Thaddeus; and it corresponds to "Judas of James", in the lists of Luke and Acts. But how is the correspondence done? Originally, Lebbée is a nickname given to a character, to hide his identity and indicate, to a restricted recipient, his attachment to the ideology of the Hellenists: this character is Judas (Jude), the brother of Jesus, the one which appears in the lists of Luke and Acts. Then, during the development of the Gospel text for liturgical reading, Lebbée gives way to Thaddeus, hero of a Syriac legend of the 3rd century. In short, Lebbée's identity is twofold, first of all it is "Judas of James"; then he will be identified with Thaddaeus.

Keywords: Manuscripts - New Testament - Gospels - Apostles - Variant readings.

Introduction

La liste des douze apôtres figure quatre fois dans le Nouveau Testament (Mt 10,2-4; Mc 3,16-19; Lc 6,14-16; Ac 1,13), avec quelques différences d'une liste à l'autre, mais aussi entre les manuscrits d'un même évangile. En particulier, Lebbée est le nom donné au dixième apôtre par Matthieu et Marc, selon le texte «occidental», principalement attesté par le Codex de Bèze (D)[1] et confirmé par la Vieille latine (it ou VL): (1) pour Mc, les autres témoins grecs et les versions ont généralement Thaddée; Lebbée est attesté par *a b d ff²q r¹ i* (soit VL 3 4 5 8 13 14 17)[2]; les autres témoins *c f l aur* (soit VL 6 10 11 15) ont, comme la Vulgate, Thaddée; (2) pour Mt, la Vieille latine atteste Lebbée (*k d f* μ, soit VL 1 5 10 45), Thaddée, comme la Vulgate (*c ff¹ l aur*, soit VL 6 9 11 15), mais aussi Judas zélote (*a b gl h q*, soit VL 3 4 7 12 13)[3]; le texte byzantin associe les deux noms de Lebbée et Thaddée; et le texte alexandrin atteste Thaddée; (3) dans Lc et [p. 81/204] Ac, enfin, l'apôtre correspondant ne s'appelle ni Lebbée ni Thaddée, mais «Judas de Jacques», et il prend place en onzième position. Cette situation complexe a donné lieu à un examen approfondi de la tradition patristique sur Lebbée, par Régis Burnet[4], qui conclut à l'embarras des Pères de l'Église sur l'identité de ce dixième (ou onzième) apôtre dont le nom est étrangement varié. Thaddée et Judas de Jacques sont connus par ailleurs: Judas est mentionné dans la liste des frères de Jésus commençant par Jacques (Mc 6,3 / Mt 13,55); et Thaddée (ou Addaï) est envoyé par Jésus auprès d'Abgar, roi d'Édesse, pour le guérir, dans une légende syriaque du 3e siècle prise au sérieux par Eusèbe de Césarée (*Hist. eccl.* 1, 13)[5]. Mais qui donc est le mystérieux Lebbée? Pourquoi apparaît-il dans le texte «occidental» et est-il ensuite le plus souvent remplacé par Thaddée?

Un retour à l'unité

Le texte «occidental» des évangiles, principalement attesté par le Codex de Bèze, mérite une attention particulière, dans la mesure où la recherche de la variante-source amène à conclure, le plus souvent, qu'elle est celle de ce manuscrit; autrement dit, que les autres variantes s'expliquent à partir de celle du Codex de Bèze[6]. Ainsi, Lebbée serait la forme ancienne du nom du dixième apôtre, dans Matthieu et dans Marc; et cette conclusion amène la question: qui est Lebbée, cet apôtre dont il n'est jamais question ailleurs sous ce nom-là?

Une première réponse envisagée, consiste à rapprocher le nom de Lebbée (Λεββαῖος) et celui de Lévi (Λευί): le *bêta* et l'*upsilon* en diphtongue ont, en effet, en grec post-classique, la même prononciation [v]; mais ce rapprochement ne rend compte ni du double *bêta* de Lebbée ni de la fin différente des deux mots «Lebbée» et «Lévi»; la difficulté est déplacée, mais non résolue. [p. 82/204]

Une autre piste est ouverte par certains noms propres qui s'expliquent par le substrat hébreu de leur partie consonantique. Ainsi, «Boanergès», dans la même liste des Douze (Mc 3,17), est traduit «fils du tonnerre», ce qui permet de rétablir un substrat hébreu *bn*, «fils», et *r'sh*, «tumulte»; de même, κανανᾶος ou κανανίτης, le surnom de Simon (Mc 3,18) renvoie à un double substrat hébreu, d'une part, *kn'ny*, «cananéen», d'autre part, *qn'*, «être zélé»: qu'en est-il pour Lebbée? Il existe, d'abord, un mot *lb* ou *lbb*, «cœur», qui ouvre une fausse piste pour éclairer le mot «Lebbée»; car il convient plutôt de rapprocher Lebbée, transcrit *lbb*, et son inverse *bbl*, c'est-à-dire «Babel», dont la tour, en Gn 11, est associée à la dispersion des langues et la division de l'humanité. Autrement dit, si Lebbée est l'inverse de Babel, Lebbée exprime le retour à l'unité primordiale, perdue depuis la Tour de Babel et désormais retrouvée[7]. Mais de quelle unité s'agit-il? Dans les Actes, c'est lors de l'inauguration de la communauté primitive (Ac 2) que l'unité des langues est rétablie, comme signe de l'unité de la communauté. Lebbée arrive, au contraire, à la fin de la liste des Douze et non, comme Boanergès, en début de liste: quelle est donc cette unité qui est associée au temps des frères de Jésus (Jacques, Simon et, dans Lc-Ac, Judas de Jacques) et non à celui des disciples (Pierre, Jacques et Jean de Zébédée)?

Une unité à connotation négative

Il existe, dans le texte «occidental» des évangiles, deux traces d'une quête positive de l'unité, qui ont été ensuite effacées ou perdues de vue. D'autre part, on trouve dans 1 Corinthiens un jeu de mots sur le nom d'Apollos qui donne à l'unité une connotation négative; mais le jeu de mots a été oublié et passe également inaperçu. Et la parole de Jésus sur les scandales (Mc 9,42-48) se lit comme une critique du courant issu de la dissidence des Hellénistes (Ac 6-8) où la quête de l'unité de soi apparaît comme un principe essentiel.

Les traces d'une quête positive de l'unité

   1) *La parabole matthéenne des dix vierges* (Mt 25,1-13) évoque l'attente d'un personnage double, «le fiancé et la fiancée» (v. 1), selon le texte «occidental» (D VL sy^s), le *Diatessaron* de Tatien et le type «césaréen» (Θ *f*1, [p. 83/204] arm geo), soit les témoins de types de texte antérieurs au 4e siècle[8]. Mais à la fin, qui se fait attendre, arrive un personnage unique, «le fiancé» (v. 10). Le masculin et le féminin, séparés au v. 1, sont réunis à l'arrivée du personnage. Puis au 4e siècle, dans le texte alexandrin (∼ B) et le texte byzantin (W *Byz*), «la fiancée» a disparu au v. 1, la réunion n'est donc plus perceptible. Un deuxième trait demeure, cependant, dans tous les manuscrits grecs et oppose les deux groupes de jeunes filles: les «sages» (φρόνιμοι, v. 2.8.9) sont «prêtes» (ἕτοιμοι, v. 10), tandis que les «folles» (μωραί, v. 2.3.8) sont «les autres» (λοιπαί, v. 11): l'évangéliste a choisi, pour les premières, deux adjectifs dont le féminin est en –οι, identique au masculin, et pour les secondes, deux adjectifs en –αι, spécifiquement féminins. Ainsi, les premières ont réuni le masculin et le féminin, elles entrent dans le lieu de la noce, tandis que les secondes trouvent la porte fermée. L'unité réalisée par les «sages» est donc positive.

   2) *Le personnage chez qui préparer la Pâque*, dans les synoptiques, est désigné par la locution «un homme portant une cruche d'eau» (ἄνθρωπος κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζων, Mc 14,13 / Lc 22,10) et, en Mt 26,18, il est désigné par un indéfini indéclinable du grec classique, δεῖνα, «untel», ce qui ne donne pas un sens satisfaisant ni en correspondance avec l'expression de Mc et Lc. Or, le mot δεῖνα est aussi un nom propre, celui de la fille de Jacob, «Dina»; mais, comme il est précédé de l'article masculin, la tradition a exclu le nom de Dina et compris le mot comme un indéfini. Avec une exception, dans la Vieille latine: au lieu de la leçon commune *quemdam*, y compris dans le latin du Codex de Bèze (*d* ou VL 5), le ms. *h* (ou VL 12) a *dinan*, c'est-à-dire le nom propre Dina, mais sans l'article masculin, le latin n'ayant pas d'article. Or, l'expression parallèle de Mc et Lc associe un nom masculin (l'homme) et un signe féminin (porter une cruche d'eau)[9]. Ne faut-il pas comprendre de même, en Mt 26,18, dans un premier état du texte, que le nom féminin de Dina est associé à un article masculin? Autrement dit, que le personnage chez qui Jésus envoie ses disciples préparer la Pâque est prêt, car il a réuni son masculin et son féminin, comme les vierges «sages»? Or, il est clair que ce sens savant qui explique le texte ne s'est pas transmis, il a été abandonné.

   3) L'homélie *2 Clément*, un des tout premiers écrits patristiques datant du début du 2e siècle, attribue à Jésus la parole suivante: le royaume viendra «quand deux seront un et l'extérieur comme l'intérieur et que le masculin sera avec le féminin comme s'il n'y avait ni masculin ni féminin» [p. 84/204] (2 Cl 12,2); et la parole prônant la réunion du masculin et du féminin est aussitôt commentée comme un dépassement positif de la sexualité.

Le rejet de la réunion du masculin et du féminin

La parole sur la réunion du masculin et du féminin, énoncée et commentée dans *2 Clément*, ne se trouve pas dans les collections de paroles de Mt et de Lc, mais on y trouve celle sur le divorce, c'est-à-dire la *désunion* du masculin et du féminin (Mt 5,32 et Lc 16,18); et cette parole est reprise dans le cadre narratif, associée au thème de l'union conjugale, en Mt 19,9 et Mc 10,11-12, et prenant place entre les deux passages sur l'accueil des enfants par Jésus: Mt 18,1-5 / Mc 9,33-37; et Mt 19,13-15 / Mc 10,13-16. La parole sur la *désunion* a manifestement un rapport avec celle sur la *réunion*, mais l'une et l'autre ne sont pas sur le même plan: la *désunion* intervient comme une règle de communauté, qui prendra toute son importance quand elle s'ajoutera au droit romain comme une règle spécifiquement chrétienne, à partir du 5ᵉ siècle; tandis que la *réunion* du masculin et du féminin est un principe de sagesse qui consiste à tendre à l'unité de soi. La question se pose donc de comprendre comment la désunion a pu prendre la place de la réunion. Plusieurs passages de 1 Co nous semblent éclairer la relation entre ces deux paroles de Jésus.

1) En 1 Co 7,10-11, Paul attribue à Jésus la parole sur la *désunion*, dans laquelle il privilégie le cas de la femme: «Je recommande aux gens mariés – non pas moi, mais le Seigneur – que la femme ne se sépare pas de son mari; et si elle se sépare, qu'elle reste seule ou se réconcilie avec son mari»; puis vient le cas de l'homme, plus brièvement: «et que le mari ne renvoie pas sa femme.» L'importance donnée à la femme, dans cette disposition, confère à la parole un double niveau de sens: d'une part, il s'agit d'une règle de communauté, par laquelle le remariage avec un nouveau partenaire est proscrit; et d'autre part, la femme est l'image de la communauté et le changement de mari, celle de l'idolâtrie, ou culte d'un autre dieu, relation interdite. Le refus du remariage s'explique ainsi par l'interdit de l'idolâtrie.

2) En 1 Co 13,2, Paul instaure un tout relationnel, par la foi, avec Dieu, et avec le prochain, par l'amour: «Si j'ai toute la foi à déplacer des montagnes, mais que je n'ai pas l'amour, je ne suis rien.» Or, cette double expansion relationnelle est en opposition directe avec le principe d'atteindre l'unité de soi, qui implique de dépasser le besoin de relation avec les autres. En somme, dans cette épître rédigée à Éphèse vers 56, où Paul ajoute le chemin du salut par la foi à celui par la loi, il récuse le principe de la *réunion* du masculin et du féminin et le détourne pour [p. 85/204] faire de la *désunion* une règle de communauté, laissant ainsi la place à un nouveau principe, celui du besoin de la relation à l'autre.

3) En 1 Co 4,15, Paul use d'une formulation contournée pour rappeler à ses correspondants qu'il est le seul fondateur de leur communauté: «vous avez en Christ des milliers de pédagogues, mais *pas plusieurs* (οὐ πολλοὺς) pères», il reprend ainsi un jeu de mots déjà existant pour Apollon et qu'il applique à Apollos: οὐ πολλ-, «pas plusieurs», c'est-à-dire un seul, renvoie à Apollon comme le dieu de l'unité cosmique (ἀ-πολλ-), et cette lecture appliquée au nom d'Apollos fait de lui le partisan d'une unité connotée négativement. Déjà Paul s'est permis deux autres jeux de mots défavorables, sur le nom d'Apollos: en 1 Co 1,19, le verbe ἀπολῶ, «je détruirai» a la consonance d'Apollos et reprend un premier jeu de mots appliqué à Apollon (ἀπολ-) comme dieu

solaire; et en 1 Co 3,4-5, Paul oppose son propre surnom (*pwl*) à celui d'Apollos (*a-pwl*), qui devient ainsi l'anti-Paul. Qui se cache derrière ce nom d'Apollos? En mentionnant Céphas et Apollos, Paul vise clairement les disciples et Pierre, d'un côté, et les Hellénistes, de l'autre; or, en Ac 18,24, dans le texte «occidental» (D), le nom d'Apollos est remplacé par «Apollonios», qui suggère une identification nouvelle pour le personnage d'Apollos: Apoll-ônios est formé de *Apoll-*, c'est-à-dire Apollos, et -ôni-, qui est l'anagramme de *Iô(a)n-*, «Jean». Apollos est ainsi, à l'origine, un probable surnom donné à Jean, formé chez les Hellénistes à Alexandrie et venu enseigner à Éphèse; c'est lui que Paul vise par les trois jeux de mots qu'il fait sur son surnom.

La parole sur les scandales (Mc 9,42-48)

La connotation négative ajoutée à la quête de l'unité est plus violemment exposée dans la parole sur les scandales, qu'on lit principalement en Mc 9,42-48, où Jésus parle de suicide et de grave mutilation que mériterait le «scandale», c'est-à-dire de faire trébucher un être simple (v. 42) ou de trébucher soi-même à cause de son propre désir (v. 43-48). Or, cette parole énigmatique a comme contexte une question de Jean (9,38) qui suggère un rapprochement avec l'arrivée de Paul à Éphèse, quand Apollos s'y trouve déjà (Ac 18,24-28), car elle s'adresse à Jésus et met en cause un autre enseignement que celui dont Jean est porteur. Selon notre analyse, en effet, la partie des épisodes de Marc qui n'est pas commune aux trois synoptiques vient d'une source distincte qui contient des allusions à certains événements de toute la première génération chrétienne[10]. [p. 86/204]

Or, dans cette parole, le désir est exprimé par trois parties du corps, la main, le pied et l'œil, qui sont également celles que l'on trouve dans la parole EvTh 22, concernant la réunion du masculin et du féminin, mise en relation avec l'exemple des enfants. La parole sur les scandales nous renvoie ainsi à la quête de l'unité à connotation négative et s'explique comme la réplique de Jésus à cette quête, que prônerait Jean et dont le nouvel enseignement de Paul ferait la critique: ce serait une mutilation que de se priver de la relation à l'autre, en s'efforçant de trouver l'unité en soi.

La quête de l'unité (EvTh 22)

La réunion du masculin et du féminin, en EvTh 22, suit aussitôt le modèle des enfants donné aux disciples: «Les petits qui tètent sont l'image de ceux qui entrent dans le royaume» (EvTh 22a). Et, à la question des disciples sur la manière de suivre ce modèle, Jésus répond: «Quand vous aurez fait de deux un et l'intérieur comme l'extérieur et l'extérieur comme l'intérieur, et le haut comme le bas, et que vous ferez du masculin et du féminin la réunion, en sorte que le masculin ne soit pas masculin ni le féminin féminin, quand vous aurez fait des *yeux* au lieu d'un œil et une *main* au lieu d'une *main* et un *pied* au lieu d'un *pied*, une image au lieu d'une image, alors vous entrerez» (EvTh 22b). On retrouve les trois parties du corps invoquées dans la parole sur les scandales

comme celles qui sont susceptibles de provoquer la chute par le désir.

Par cette association au modèle des enfants, la parole confirme le sens d'une maîtrise du désir sexuel, que lui donne l'explication de *2 Cl* (12,3-5); et en ce sens, elle peut être rapprochée de l'épisode où Philippe fait entrer un eunuque dans la communauté par le baptême (Ac 8,26-40), valorisant ainsi l'absence de sexualité chez les Hellénistes, en phase sur ce point avec l'EvTh et en accord avec les «quatre filles vierges» de Philippe à Césarée (Ac 21,9)

De la même façon, Lebbée (*l-b-b*), lu comme l'inversion du nom de Babel (*b-b-l*), est à la fois un nom d'unité et, par Babel, un mot connoté négativement. Il y a donc lieu de chercher, à présent, un lien entre les Hellénistes et le personnage toujours mystérieux de Lebbée.

Les surnoms donnés aux Hellénistes

Avant de devenir les noms de personnages nouveaux, certains patronymes des évangiles et des Actes se lisent, dans le texte «occidental», comme les surnoms de disciples de Jésus ou de ses frères, désignés ailleurs [p. 87/204] par leur véritable nom. En somme, il existe au départ dans ces livres un procédé de surnomination qui a abouti, après révision, à faire exister des personnages distincts. Nous venons d'identifier «Apollos» comme un surnom donné à Jean l'apôtre, avec le pont entre ces deux noms établi dans le texte «occidental» par Apollonios, en Ac 18,24. Certains surnoms sont donnés en toute clarté aux principaux personnages: en particulier, Pierre, pour Simon, le chef des disciples, Paul, pour Saul de Tarse, ou Iscarioth (Scarioth, dans le texte «occidental»), pour Judas, le traître de la passion. Mais le surnom cache parfois l'identité, comme Apollos dans 1 Corinthiens; ainsi, Lebbée pourrait être un surnom remplaçant le nom du personnage. Mais pourquoi dissimuler l'identité de celui-ci et de quel personnage s'agit-il?

1) *Apollos* est devenu un personnage distinct de Jean, sur lequel on sait évidemment peu de chose, si on sépare son identité de celle de Jean. L'enquête approfondie de P. Beatrice aboutit à un personnage qui serait un proche de Paul[11]. Mais la liste des premiers évêques, dans les *Constitutions apostoliques* (7, 46), indique clairement que deux communautés sont nées à Éphèse, l'une dirigée par Timothée, nommé par Paul, et l'autre par Jean (le presbytre), nommé par Jean (l'apôtre). Apollos n'apparaît pas. En revanche, dans le contexte de la parole de Jésus sur les scandales, Jean met en cause auprès de Jésus un autre enseignement que le sien (Mc 9,38), et Jésus répond en légitimant ce nouvel enseignement (Mc 9,39-40). Cette réponse fait allusion à la situation d'Éphèse, après l'arrivée de Paul en 56: deux groupes communautaires se constituent, l'un autour de la christologie de Paul et l'autre à partir de la sagesse des Hellénistes enseignée par Apollos, c'est-à-dire Jean. Le surnom d'Apollos vient masquer l'identité de Jean et permet ainsi à Paul de critiquer son enseignement sans mettre en cause directement l'autorité de Jean.

2) *Étienne* est également un surnom: le mot grec στέφανος n'est pas un nom propre,

mais un substantif signifiant «couronne»; on devrait donc conserver *stephanos* ou le traduire par «couronne»; mais la tradition en a fait un nom propre, qui a été francisé sous la forme «Étienne». Qui est ainsi dissimulé derrière ce sobriquet de «couronne», avant de devenir un personnage éphémère, puisqu'il est lapidé après sa première prise de parole (Ac 7)? L'histoire de la communauté primitive commence par un conflit entre les frères et les disciples de Jésus: Marc en rend compte allusivement par deux épisodes, celui de la relégation de la famille (Mc 3,31-35), qui délégitime les frères pour diriger la nouvelle communauté, [p. 88/204] et celui des trois paroles (Mc 4,21-25) qui représentent la mise par écrit des paroles de Jésus, comme outil de prédication pour les disciples[12]. En Ac 1,23-26, le tirage au sort entre deux personnages pour remplacer Judas fait allusion au même événement: Joseph est délégitimé, or il porte le nom d'un frère de Jésus, José ou Joseph (Mc 6,3 / Mt 13,55); et Matthias est choisi, lui dont le nom est l'équivalent de celui de Matthieu, premier auteur de la collection des paroles de Jésus. L'événement est donc la défaite des frères et le succès des disciples pour diriger la communauté. La dissidence des Hellénistes (Ac 6-8) précède juste la conversion de Paul (Ac 9,1-30), qui est datée clairement, en Gal 1,18 et 2,1, de l'an 32; deux ans à peine séparent donc la fondation de la communauté et sa division avec les Hellénistes. Dans la Septante, στέφανος s'applique à un signe de pouvoir qui est toujours extérieur au judaïsme: le grand-prêtre du temple porte un diadème pour lequel le mot hébreu est simplement transcrit νεζερ (4 Rg 11,12); le surnom de «couronne» est donc donné à un personnage qui a une ambition de pouvoir jugée illégitime; or, c'est justement le cas de Joseph, frère de Jésus, qui porte le nom du père et qui, à ce titre, doit être l'aîné de ses frères. En Ac 1,23, Joseph reçoit deux surnoms: Barnabas (qui deviendra Barsabbas) et Justus. Le premier est repris et expliqué en Ac 4,36 comme «fils de la consolation», par assimilation de *nb'*, «faire jaillir» (d'où «parler, annoncer») à la racine *nḥm*, «consoler»; et le second est la transcription du mot latin traduisant Saddoq (*tsdwq*), surnom de Simon «le Juste» que portera aussi Jacques, le frère de Jésus. Les deux surnoms renvoient à l'ambition du personnage de devenir le grand-prêtre du temple de Jérusalem, en succédant à Jésus, lui-même ayant reçu, dans l'esprit de ses frères, la légitimité sacerdotale de Jean le Baptiste, lors de son baptême. Étienne est en somme, dans le texte «occidental», le surnom donné à ce personnage, aîné des frères de Jésus, exprimant une ambition illégitime à devenir le grand-prêtre du temple de Jérusalem. Et Étienne meurt peu après s'être déclaré, laissant la place à Jacques, qui mourra en 63, peu après s'être à son tour déclaré candidat à la fonction de grand-prêtre.

3) *Thomas*, c'est-à-dire le «jumeau», est encore un surnom que l'auteur de l'EvTh accole à son nom, dans le titre initial: «Judas Thomas, le jumeau»; et qui remplace son nom, dans le titre final: «Évangile selon Thomas». En Mc 6,3, Judas (Jude, en français) est le troisième frère de Jésus, après Jacques et José / Joseph. Le surnom Thomas figure dans la [p. 89/204] liste des Douze juste après Matthieu, l'auteur de la première mise par écrit des paroles. Le nom de Judas est ajouté, dans deux manuscrits vieux-latins (*e c* soit VL 2 6), juste avant Matthieu (Mc 3,18), comme un treizième apôtre; et dans trois manuscrits de Mt 10,3 (*a b q* soit VL 3 4 13), Judas zélote remplace Lebbée et Thomas

vient juste après, avec l'ambiguïté de savoir s'il est coordonné à Judas, comme disciple distinct, ou à «zélote», comme deuxième surnom de Judas, avec la conséquence que la liste ne nommerait que onze apôtres. Judas est-il le nom du personnage dont Thomas est le surnom, comme le suggère le double nom déclaré de l'auteur de l'EvTh? Et quel rapport peut-on établir entre Judas et Lebbée?

Lebbée, un frère de Jésus?

Lebbée, avons-nous vu, est en réalité le surnom donné à un personnage porteur d'une unité à connotation négative. Or, une telle unité caractérise la dissidence des Hellénistes qui s'installe à Alexandrie, d'après le jeu de mots que Paul fait en 1 Co 4,15, sur le nom d'Apollos, mais aussi la parole sur les scandales de Mc 9,42-48, associée à une allusion à l'enseignement de Jean à Éphèse, avant l'arrivée de Paul, en 56; et elle se retrouve dans le principe de la réunion du masculin et du féminin qui est une idée majeure formulée dans la parole 22 de l'EvTh dont l'auteur se donne le nom de «Judas Thomas». Lebbée n'est-il pas un surnom donné à ce personnage qui prône une unité à connotation négative et qui infléchit dans ce sens les paroles de Jésus? Et ce Judas Thomas est-il le même que le Judas, frère de Jésus (Mt / Mc), Judas de Jacques (Lc / Ac) ou encore «Judas zélote» de quelques manuscrits de la Vieille latine de Mt?

La réponse à cette question dépend de la tradition textuelle que l'on considère, car le texte évangélique et celui des Actes ont évolué, sur ce point. (1) D'un côté, il est clair que, du temps de Jésus, plusieurs personnes ont porté les noms de Jacques, Judas, Joseph, Simon…, il n'y a donc pas de raison de ramener à un seul personnage les différentes occurrences d'un même nom, a fortiori de leur attribuer comme surnoms les noms d'autres personnages. C'est ainsi que fonctionne le texte ecclésial des évangiles et des Actes et toute l'histoire sainte, qui voit dans ces noms et surnoms autant de personnages distincts, sans autre rapport entre eux que le nom qu'ils ont en commun. (2) De l'autre côté, le texte «occidental», transmis dans le Codex de Bèze principalement, a une écriture savante qui s'apparente à la culture judéo-hellénistique du temple de Jérusalem, dans laquelle ont été rédigés ou traduits les livres de la Bible juive; et ce qui caractérise cette écriture, c'est le côté «allusif» des faits rapportés, [p. 90/204] apparemment insignifiants. Cette écriture allusive[13] sera délaissée par révisions, pour donner le texte ecclésial, dès la fin du 2e siècle; mais ce sera au prix de la mise au point approximative d'un texte, qui demeure rempli de détails énigmatiques[14], dont la solution nécessite d'en revenir au texte antérieur à caractère savant, le texte «occidental», témoin en réalité de la rédaction finale des évangiles (vers 120) et des Actes (vers 150), à Smyrne, sous l'autorité de Polycarpe[15].

Les sources des évangiles, qui ont été réunies lors de la rédaction finale, partagent avec elle le caractère allusif de la rédaction. Et les noms propres, comme les nombres, y jouent un rôle particulier. Il s'agit, par eux, de garder la trace de l'histoire, mais en même temps de réserver ces traces à un destinataire restreint, quand elles ne vont pas dans le sens du message d'unité que veut transmettre à tous la communauté. En somme, ce qui

est intentionnellement voilé par le recours à l'écriture savante, ce sont les divisions, les rivalités, les divergences de stratégie et de doctrine qui opposent les dirigeants des premières générations, dans des communautés qui doivent tendre à l'unité sans laquelle elles sont menacées de disparaître. Aujourd'hui, notre regard est différent, la diversité s'est imposée et l'on peut aborder celle des premières générations sans risque de créer la diversité, qui existe déjà, ni de compromettre la survie des communautés.

Ce que nous apprenons par le début des Actes et l'une des sources de Marc, dans le texte «occidental», c'est en particulier le conflit entre deux stratégies, au lendemain de la mort de Jésus, celle des disciples, qui va l'emporter, et celle des frères, qui va générer la dissidence des Hellénistes. Le projet des frères est de créer un enseignement nouveau, ouvert à l'élite du monde romain, une sorte de synthèse entre le judaïsme et la philosophie grecque que reflète l'EvTh; avec ce projet, ils sont candidats à la direction de la première communauté et visent la fonction de grand-prêtre; ils vont ensuite créer leur école à Alexandrie, puis ils obtiendront la direction de la communauté de Jérusalem au début des années 40; Jacques a, à la mort de Festus, fin 62, l'opportunité d'accéder au temple, mais après sa mort, [p. 91/204] les rênes sont solidement prises par une alliance entre les courants de Paul et Pierre, pour laquelle la source de Marc en question prend partie. Cependant, la rupture entre les frères et les disciples trouve un moyen terme à Éphèse, où des passerelles se créent entre les deux communautés qui se sont constituées[16]; et au début du 2e siècle, Ignace d'Antioche a l'initiative d'un projet littéraire réunissant les traditions évangéliques d'Éphèse et d'Antioche[17], dont la réalisation par Polycarpe aboutira à la rédaction finale conjointe des quatre évangiles. Une partie du courant des frères rallie ainsi le courant Pierre – Paul, tandis que l'autre partie se divise entre les communautés dites judéo-chrétiennes, qui légitiment Jacques comme successeur de Jésus, et le courant gnostique, qui poursuit l'idée d'une synthèse entre judaïsme et hellénisme. Le courant des disciples de Jésus a comme caractéristique principale d'être tourné vers la foule, d'abord celle du peuple juif de Judée, parlant l'araméen de Palestine, qui est la langue de la première rédaction des paroles de Jésus; mais, à l'instigation de Paul, lors de sa première montée à Jérusalem (Gal 1,18-19), l'auditoire s'ouvre à la foule du monde romain par la traduction de la collection de paroles en grec[18] et la prédication qui se fait désormais dans cette langue de culture et de communication du monde romain. Au milieu des années 50, le courant se trouve fortifié par la christologie que Paul élabore à Éphèse, puis qu'il enseignera brièvement à Rome, au début des années 60. L'alliance entre Pierre et Paul, dont la source en question de Marc est témoin, génère un courant majoritaire qui s'impose après 70 et restera dominant, avec la figure de Pierre et la succession romaine dont va naître, à la fin du 4e siècle, le transfert de la fonction pontificale de l'empereur à l'évêque de Rome.

La liste des douze apôtres fait partie de la source en question de Marc et trouve son explication dans le cadre de cette première rédaction: il n'est pas question d'énumérer les premiers compagnons de Jésus au cours de son ministère, mais d'esquisser une interprétation de la première génération chrétienne: (1) au début, il y a eu la gouvernance de Pierre, assisté de Jacques et Jean et destiné à l'auditoire populaire de Jean le Baptiste;

(2) puis il y a eu la division créée par la dissidence des Hellénistes et [p. 92/204] opposant deux interprétations des paroles de Jésus, celle de Matthieu, du côté des disciples, et celle de Thomas, du côté des Hellénistes; (3) puis viendra la gouvernance de Jacques, qui tente la synthèse entre Lebbée (du côté des Hellénistes), Simon, son cousin, et le personnage qui se cache derrière le surnom de Scarioth / Iscarioth, d'abord traître (*shqr*, «trahir, tromper»), puis devenu le prédicateur urbain (*'ysh qrywt*, «homme des villes»), à savoir Paul. Jacques tente, en somme, de réunir dans l'unité à la fois les disciples, Paul et la dissidence des Hellénistes: c'est le message qu'exprime l'épître de Jacques, dans sa partie centrale (2,1-4,10)[19]; mais cette vision n'est pas partagée par Paul, et la source en question de Marc exprime le rejet du courant des frères.

Et dans ce cadre, le surnom de Lebbée s'applique à un personnage porteur d'une unité à connotation négative, qui prend place entre Jacques et Simon, deux membres de la famille de Jésus; autrement dit, le surnom de Lebbée doit s'appliquer à un autre de ses membres. Or, dans la liste de Luc et Actes, Simon suit Jacques et il est suivi «Judas de Jacques», identifié comme le Judas frère de Jésus, devenu un dissident et auteur déclaré de l'Évangile selon Thomas. Lebbée s'explique comme le surnom de ce Judas, à la fois frère de Jésus et auteur d'une révision drastique de ses paroles, la première mise en grec, dont les points forts sont suggérés par les rencontres de Philippe en Ac 8: le salut par la connaissance et la valorisation de l'abstinence sexuelle, qui rejoint le principe de réunion du masculin et du féminin.

Conclusion

L'identité du personnage qui se cache derrière le nom de Lebbée est double: d'une part, dans le texte ecclésial, mis au point pour adapter les évangiles (et les Actes) à la lecture liturgique, il se confond avec Thaddée, un disciple qui prend toute sa place dans une tradition syriaque du 3e siècle, celle de la guérison d'Abgar, roi d'Édesse; et d'autre part, dans le texte des sources des évangiles et de leur rédaction finale conjointe, il s'agit d'un surnom donné à Judas, l'un des frères de Jésus, qui s'est compromis en participant à la dissidence des Hellénistes, qui a réalisé la mutation des paroles de Jésus en un traité philosophique, sans doute amplifié plus tard, pour devenir l'*Évangile selon Thomas*, se réclamant toujours de ce personnage. Cette ancienne attribution est abandonnée au cours du 2e siècle, car elle participe à révéler le conflit originel entre les [p. 93/204] frères et les disciples de Jésus qui dure, alors que le message de l'Église est un appel perpétuel à l'unité, au sein de chaque communauté et entre les communautés. Le pluralisme ecclésial est aujourd'hui une réalité qui s'impose, il n'y a donc plus de nécessité de tenir secret que la première division a opposé, dès la mort de Jésus, ses disciples et ses frères. On peut donc, sans danger, revenir aux emplois premiers des mots dans les évangiles et leur enlever ainsi leur caractère énigmatique. [p. 94/204]

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1 Sur ce manuscrit, voir David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae. An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text*, Cambridge, CUP, 1992; et D. C. Parker – Christian-B. Amphoux (eds), *Codex Bezae. Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994*, NTTS 22, Leiden, Brill, 1996.

2 Sur les manuscrits vieux latins de Marc, voir Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Evangelium secundum Marcum,* Vetus Latina 17 (10 fascicules), *Freiburg im Brisgau,* Herder, 2013-2018.

3 Pour la Vieille latine de Matthieu, voir Adolf Jülicher, *Itala, I. Matthäus Evangelium,* Berlin New York, W. De Gruyter, 1972.

4 Régis Burnet, *Les Douze Apôtres. Histoire de la réception des figures apostoliques dans le christianisme ancien,* Judaïsme antique et les origines du christianisme 1, Turnhout, Brepols, 2014; et Id., «Thaddée ou Lebbée? Comment se nomme le 10e apôtre?», dans C.-B. Amphoux – Jacqueline Assaël (éd.), *Philologie et Nouveau Testament,* Aix-en-Provence, PUP, 2018, p. 179-189.

5 Voir Alain Desreumaux, «Doctrine de l'apôtre Addaï», dans François Bovon – Pierre Geoltrain (éd.), Écrits apocryphes chrétiens, vol. 1, La Pléiade, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, p. 1471-1525.

6 Les rapports entre les types de texte grecs des évangiles ne sont pas établis de façon consensuelle: notre hypothèse de l'antériorité du texte «occidental» sur les autres types de texte est expliquée dans: C.-B. Amphoux (éd.), *Manuel de critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament,* Langues et cultures anciennes 22, Bruxelles, Safran, 2014, chap. 6 «Histoire du texte grec manuscrit», p. 279-305.

7 C.-B. Amphoux – J. Assaël, *op. cit., conclusion (C.-B. Amphoux), p. 319-320.*

8 On peut dater le texte «occidental» des évangiles d'avant 150, le *Diatessaron,* de 170 environ, et le type de texte «césaréen» du début du 3e siècle. Voir C.-B. Amphoux (éd.), *Manuel…* (op. cit.), p. 282-294.

9 La TOB note, en Mc 14,13: «habituellement, ce sont les femmes qui vont chercher l'eau.»

10 C.-B. Amphoux, «Une nouvelle analyse de la parole de Jésus sur les scandales», *Filología neotestamentaria* 50, (2017), p. 143-159.

11 Pier Franco Beatrice, «Apollos of Alexandria and the Origins of the Jewish-Christian Baptist Encratism», ANRW II, 26.2, Berlin New York (W. De Gruyter), 1995, p. 1232-1275.

12 Les épisodes de Marc qui ne sont pas disposés dans le même ordre dans les trois synoptiques viennent d'une source spécifique correspondant au témoignage de la lettre de Clément d'Alexandrie sur le «Marc secret». Voir mon analyse citée en note 15.

13 Je renvoie ici au texte de Proclus cité par Pierre Hadot («Théologie, exégèse, révélation, écriture dans la philosophie grecque», dans Michel Tardieu, *Les règles de l'interprétation,* Paris, Cerf, 1987, p. 13-34), qui distingue quatre «modes d'exposition» ou genres littéraires en usage dans les écoles de philosophie: parmi eux, deux sont «allusifs» (δι᾿ ἐνδείξεως), c'est-à-dire voilés, et deux sont en clair (ἀπαρακαλύπτως), c'est-à-dire non voilés, la difficulté étant apparente (p. 30).

14 Le commentaire de Simon Légasse, *L'évangile de Marc,* 2 vol., Paris, Cerf, 1997, signale constamment les difficultés de cet évangile réputé le plus simple, en réalité rempli d'énigmes.

15 Voir ma «Réponse» à Étienne Nodet, dans *Synoptiques et Actes, quel texte original?,* Cahier de la Revue biblique 82 (2014), p. 179-204.

16 Voir C.-B. Amphoux, «Béthanie, de l'autre côté du Jourdain (Jn 1,28)», *B.A.B.E.L.A.O.* 7 (2018), p. 41-50.

17 Eusèbe de Césarée, *Hist. eccl.* 3, 36,4. Voir Denise Rouger – C.-B. Amphoux, «Le projet littéraire d'Ignace d'Antioche dans sa *Lettre aux Éphésiens»,* NTTSD 47, Mél. J. Keith Elliott, Leiden, Brill, 2014, p. 248-269.

18 La traduction de l'évangile selon Matthieu est attribuée à Jacques, dans la *Synopse de la sainte Écriture* du Pseudo-Athanase (§ 76), citée par Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1689, p. 94. Il s'agit plutôt de la collection de paroles de cet évangile que de la rédaction finale.

19 C.-B. Amphoux, «L'histoire du texte de l'épître de Jacques», *Rivista biblica* 59/2 (2011), p. 149-187.

GA 304, Theophylact's Commentary and the Ending of Mark

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This article provides a fresh evaluation of evidence on manuscript GA 304 (Paris, BnF, Grec 94). This manuscript is often quoted in critical editions of the New Testament as one of the three main Greek witnesses to the short ending of Mark. As part of the MARK16 project, the author provides a close examination of the manuscript's content, with a focus on Mark 16. Afterwards, a closer look into the possible literary connection between GA 304 and the Gospels commentary of Theophylact will be made in order to understand the background of Mark's short ending in this manuscript. Against recent assessments that downplayed its significance in the debates of Mark's ending, this article argues that GA 304 stands as a good case for the author's preference of the short ending, which must have been based on an authoritative source that shaped his decision. The manuscript's complex relationship to Theophylact's commentary shows how it should not be presumed that the former is posterior to the latter, and therefore it does not owe its ending to a redactional act of Theophylact's catena. Therefore, this article opens the door for further literary examination of GA 304 against the wider pool of the tradition of Greek catenae.[1]

Introduction

The problem of Mark's ending has been investigated through literary, stylistic, theological and textual methods which produced a plethora of hypotheses.[2] However, this article is only concerned with one thing: textual evidence.[3] Alongside codices Sinaiticus (א) and Vaticanus (B), GA 304 is another surviving Greek witness to the short ending. This fact gives GA 304 weight in the assessment of Mark's ending. While there is an abundance of literature on the first two, what is written about the third is little in comparison. [p. 95/204]

In New Testament critical editions, NA[26-28] and UBS[4] place 304 after א and B in their list of manuscripts omitting Mark 16:9-20, while, for example, the Benoit-Boismard *Synopse* drops it.[4] This is also the case with scholars who either used or omitted 304 while weighing their options regarding the long ending.[5] The manuscript described by Daniel Wallace as an "unremarkable twelfth-century Byzantine MS"[6] was considered by Kurt Aland as evidence of how the short ending "persisted stubbornly" as late as the twelfth century, despite its suppression by church tradition.[7] The routine references to it in standard books and commentaries neglect the nature of the manuscript, with no clear evidence on the authors' examination of the manuscript itself. [8] Inspecting the microfilm [p. 96/204] of the manuscript,[9] Maurice Robinson echoed John Burgon's

remarks[10] by emphasising the necessity of taking into consideration the nature of 304 as a commentary while evaluating textual evidence.[11] Whether or not Robinson's recommendation to dismiss GA 304 as evidence of the short ending is correct, it comes in a brief footnote that does not do justice to the size of the manuscript and its presence in one of the most complicated issues in the New Testament.

Therefore, in deciding whether or not to add it to the body of evidence in NT critical editions and subsequent secondary literature, a careful assessment of Mark 16 in the context of this manuscript and within its family of Greek commentaries must be maintained before establishing a learned decision on the matter. As part of the SNSF MARK16 project,[12] hosted by the Swiss Institute of Bioinformatics in Lausanne, the author offers the results of his study on the available data that could be drawn from the high-resolution images the project has acquired on Mark's ending within GA 304.[13]

GA 304

GA 304 is a commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. In the Seventeenth century, Petrus Possinus edited it under the heading of "the Anonymous commentary from Toulouse," when it was owned by the Archbishop of Toulouse Charles de Montchal.[14] A note to this effect by Caspar René Gregory is affixed to the front endpaper of the manuscript, which is now located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) under shelf mark 'Grec 194.'[15] It is not clear whether the codex is complete [p. 97/204] or whether there Luke and John should also be present. Further physical examination would be required to answer this question. Microfilm images also show dark stains that reflect apparent damage. This damage affects the legibility of the text. Based on palaeographical evidence, the manuscript is dated to the twelfth century AD.[16] The work is in the form of an alternating catena[17] with biblical lemmata distinguished from the commentary with a short space in the same line. Abbreviations of the quoted church fathers appear in the margins. In Matthew, the distinction between the biblical text and its patristic commentary is more obvious, with a larger letter at the beginning of each text and comment, and the patristic abbreviation. However, the text in Mark does not always preserve these features, and sometimes the copyist reduces the space that distinguishes a lemma from a comment to an extent that the distinction is harder to make.

A careful examination of the text of GA 304 shows that the catena is closely related to Theophylact of Ohrid's commentary.[18] Both share the same Byzantine text, with some minor differences between them.[19] However, these similarities are not present in terms of the commentary. The part of GA 304 on Matthew heavily uses John Chrysostom. However, the author uses patristic quotations in Matthew far more than he does in the part on Mark. The complex relationship between the two catenae appears in these comments. We can observe varying degrees of textual agreements in the comments, from simple key words to several sentences. However, there is no full agreement in a complete section.[20]

Two general observations on the relationship between the two catenae could be made. First, both share the same concepts, agreeing on what should be said. They each place emphases on different themes but still share the same opinions in the corresponding comments. Second, 304 is shorter than Theophylact. The key points raised by the compiler of [p. 98/204] 304 are longer and are made more elaborately in Theophylact. The latter sometimes adds other materials that are not found in 304. This is also the case in the prefaces and introductions found only in Theophylact's catena. These observations are fundamental for understanding the case of Mark 16 between the two texts.

Mark 16 in GA 304

Text

The ending of Mark 16 bears a fundamental difference between GA 304 and Theophylact. However, it is important to refer to the examination of the manuscript made by Robinson, upon which he built his valuation of it in the problem of Mark's ending. In a statement originally made on the internet, which has recently appeared elsewhere in printed books, Robinson says:

"1- The primary matter [in 304] is the commentary. The gospel text is merely interspersed between the blocks of commentary material, and should not be considered the same as a 'normal' continuous-text MS.

2- Also, it is often very difficult to discern the text in contrast to the comments.... Following γάρ at the close of 16:8, the MS has a mark like a filled-in 'o,' followed by many pages of commentary, all of which summarize the endings of the other gospels and even quote portions of them.

3- Following this, the commentary then begins to summarize the ἕτερον δέ παρὰ τοῦ Μάρκου, presumably to cover the non-duplicated portions germane to that gospel in contrast to the others.

4- There remain quotes and references to the other gospels regarding Mary Magdalene, Peter, Galilee, the fear of the women, etc. But at this point the commentary abruptly ends, without completing the remainder of the narrative or the parallels. I suspect that the commentary (which contains only Mt and Mk) originally continued the discussion and that a final page or pages at the end of this volume likely were lost. I would suggest that GA 304 should not be claimed as a witness to the shortest ending."[21]

Robinson's remarks explain his judgement regarding that codex. But an examination of the manuscript itself shows that most of these remarks [p. 99/204] need to be re-examined. Indeed, the biblical text is "merely interspersed" between blocks of commentary material. However, this alternating catena has the Gospels fully quoted in order. Therefore, the absence of the long ending cannot simply be justified by the genre of the work. The second point is not less problematic. While the copyist's writing quality varies in the codex, it is clear in the case of Mark 16 where the text ends and where the commentary begins. GA 304 and Theophylact both quote an entire block of Mark 16:1-8, starting with a large "κ" for καί. Without interweaving with any comments, the text

concludes with a clear dot after γάρ. It is not obvious if Robinson meant by "o" the black dot that follows γάρ or the omicron after it, which is written in a large format and a different colour. However, in both cases there is nothing that suggests anything unusual in the conclusion of the biblical lemma and the beginning of the comment. The same bold dot is used, with the same space from the last word, to conclude all the lemmata. As for the omicron, it is the first letter of the first word in the commentary: "Οὐ μέγα τί οὐδέ ἄξιον ..."[22] It is the same sentence Theophylact starts his comment with.
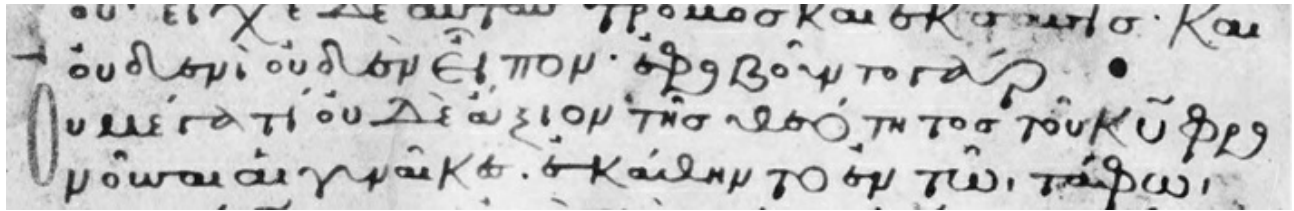
Figure 1: The end of Mark 16:8 and the beginning of the commentary.

The digitised microfilm made available by the BNF does not show "many pages of commentary" after Mark 16:8. The lemma is written on the verso of the penultimate page and the commentary continues onto the final recto, which closes with a colophon. The final verso was originally blank but now bears marks of ownership and *probationes pennae*. The copyist signals the end of the commentary with a classic epigram that says: "As the travellers rejoice upon reaching their homeland, likewise the scribe is upon the end of this book."[23] This epigram declares the end of the [p. 100/204] Gospel of Mark's commentary at this point. Interestingly, a closer look into the epigram in the manuscript shows an attempt to erase it,[24] and then we can see that there was another attempt to rewrite the epigram as the first three words appear ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι [...]. This possibly reflects conflicting views of later owners or readers of the manuscript regarding the ending of Mark.
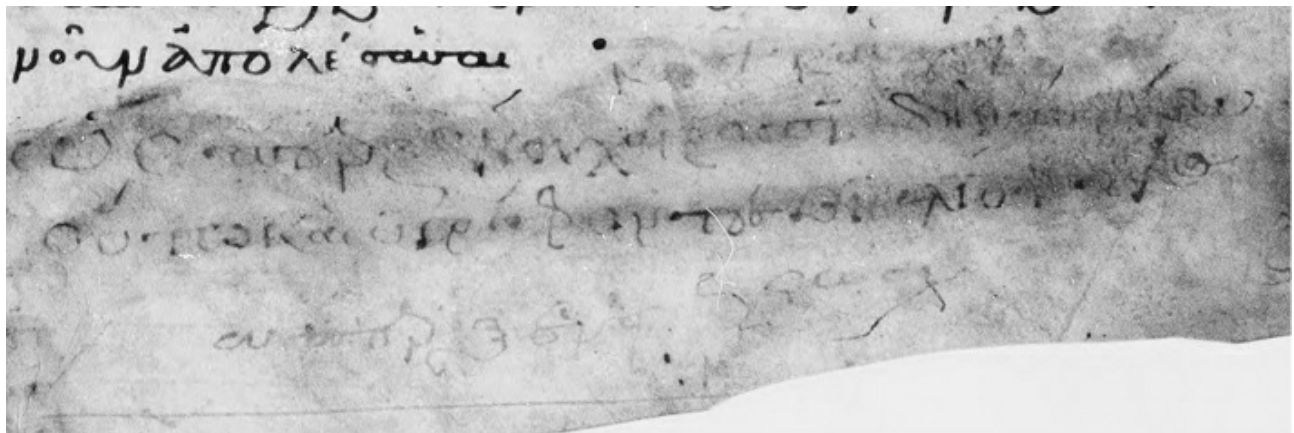
Figure 2: Epigram at the end of the catena on Mark.

In comparison with the end of Matthew's part of the manuscript, we can observe similarities and differences. The compiler concludes Matthew's commentary with the following remark: "This is the end of the exegesis on the first Gospel of the Son, to whom all glory and power along with the preeminent Father and all-holy Spirit forever, unto the ages of ages. Amen + + +." A similar ending is not found in Mark. However, the compiler, or a later copyist, finishes the section of Matthew with the same epigram, although in a longer form.[25] Unfortunately, it is not entirely legible, but the first sentence reads similarly to Mark's epigram: ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι...
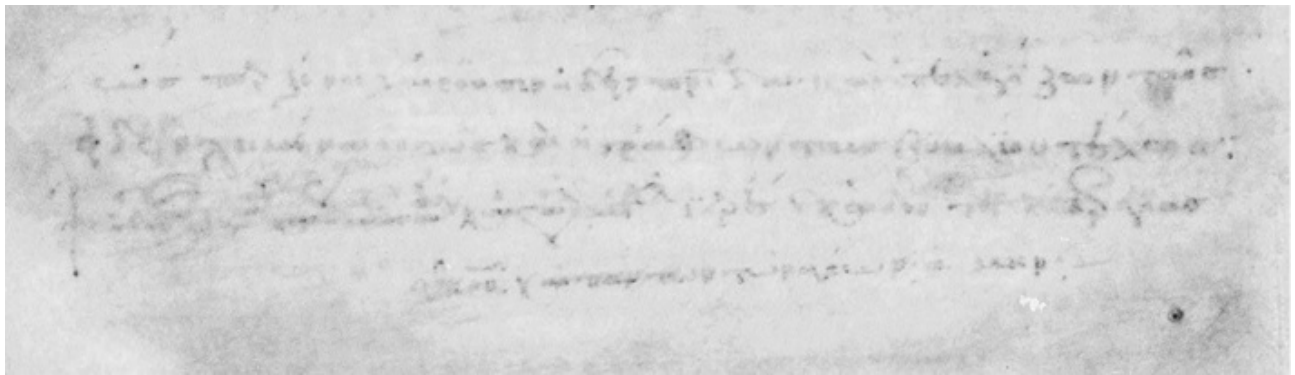
Figure 3: Epigram at the end of Matthew. [p. 101/204]

The verso of the last folio of the manuscript shows no evidence to suggest that there is anything missing from the Markan part of the work. It has a eulogy to the "great martyrs," written twice (one at the top and once at the bottom of the page), and what seems to be a dedication, all written in poor Greek with grammatical mistakes and handwriting that is difficult to read.[26]

Commentary

In his comparison with the other Gospels, the compiler did not include material referring to the existence (or lack) of the appearances in Mark. The exegesis simply stops where the text ends (Mark 16:8). By comparison with the parallel section in Matthew, we note that the compiler has the same exegetical style; commenting on the differences between the accounts of Matthew and the other three canonical Gospels, then dealing with specific questions. While the comparisons with Luke and John continue until the end, references to Mark stop at Matthew 28:7-8, which is the parallel verse to Mark 16:8. The lack of any reference to the Markan account beyond verse 8 should not be seen coincidental.

Comparing the commentary of GA 304 with that of Theophylact on Mark 16 reflects the complexity of the relationship between the two texts. There is no consistent pattern nor identical passage (or even a long sentence) between them to suggest a linear literary

relationship. A presumption of literary dependence on Theophylact's catena cannot explain what we have in the text. As in the rest of the work, we have a similar exegetical analysis of the biblical text: they both divide the biblical passage into similar themes, and they show similar concerns to interpret. However, when we look into a literary relationship, we are left with common words in different orders, making a literary relationship difficult to identify. Both texts extract parts of the verses to comment on. If we do not count these biblical parts from the common material between the two comments, the percentage of shared wording falls significantly. Like most of the cases in earlier chapters, particularly in Mark, we are left with a small number of scattered words and common clusters which make no sense if the special materials are removed. This cannot be explained by suggesting literary dependence of 304 on Theophylact's commentary. What we can see in Theophylact's treatment of the same theme is more elaborate on the [p. 102/204] common clusters.[27] For example, on the question of why the angel specifically named Peter in Mark 16:7, both GA 304 and Theophylact have the same explanation but Theophylact's is more comprehensive about how the angel's act intended to restore Peter (after his denial of Jesus).

304	Theophylact
Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν τόν <u>πέτρον ἀπό τῶν ἀλλῶν μαθητῶν ἐχώρισαν</u>. ἢ ῶς ἐξαιρετόν καί <u>κορυφαῖον</u> τῶν ἀλλῶν. ἢ <u>ῶς αρνησαμενον</u> καί ἐπ᾽ αἰσχυνόμενον τῶ σρῑ προσελθεῖν. ῶς <u>ἀποβεβλημένον</u> ἴσως, ὁ δή καί ἀληθέστερον εστίν, <u>ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ὁ πέτρος</u>.	τόν <u>πέτρον</u> χωρίζει ἀπό τῶν μαθητῶν, ῶς <u>κορυφαῖον</u> κατ᾽ εξοχην αὐτόν ὀνομάζων ἐκτός ἐκείνων. ἢ ἐπεί ἠρνήσατε ὁ Πέτρος, ἐάν ἦλθόν καί εἶπον αἱ γυναῖκες, ὅτι Προσετάγημεν εἰπεῖν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, εἰπέν ἄν ὁ Πέτρος. Ἐγώ ἠρνησάμην. Λοιπόν μαθητής αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰμί. <u>ἀπέβαλεν</u> ουν ἐμέ, ἐβδελύξατο με. Τούτου ουν ενεκεν προστιθησι το, καί τῷ Πέτρω, <u>ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ὁ πέτρος</u>, ως αὐτός μή λόγου ἀξιωθείς, οἷα <u>ἀρνησάμενος</u>, καί διά τοῦτο μηδέ συντάττεσθαι τοι, μαθηταῖς ἀξιός ὤν.

The key point is the same, represented by the key words κορυφαῖον, ἀρνησάμενον and the essential cluster ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ὁ πέτρος. Theophylact unpacks his explanation around these clusters.

Another sample can illustrate the complexity of the literary relationship between the two commentaries.[28] Why were the women and the disciples commissioned to go to Galilee, and what was it that the women were afraid of?

304	Theophylact
<u>πέμπει δέ αὐτούς εἰς τήν γαλι-λαίαν τοῦ θορύβου τῶν ἰουδαίων</u> καί τῆς ταραχῆς ἀπαλλάττων. Αι δέ γυναικές εκστασαί τοῦ λογισμοῦ, καί φόβω συσχθεισαι. ἐπί τέ τη ὁράσει τοῦ *ἀγγέλου*, καί τη ὁράσει τῆς *ἀναστάσεως, οὐδενί οὐδέν εἶπον*. Η τοῖς	<u>εἰς τήν γαλιλαίαν πέμπει δέ αὐτούς, τῶν θορύβων</u> καί τοῦ πολλοῦ <u>φόβου</u> ὑπεξάγω <u>τῶν ἰουδαίων</u>. Εχρατησε μεντοι τας γυναικας φοβος και εκστασις, τουτεστιν, εκπληξις, επι τε τη θέα τοῦ *ἀγγέλου*, καί ἐπί τῷ φρικώδη τῆς *ἀναστάσεως*, καί διά τοῦτο <u>οὐδενί οὐδέν εἶπον</u>.

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ἰουδαίοις φοβούμεναι. Η ὑπό τοῦ φόβου *τόν νοῦν ἀπολέσασαι.*	ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, ἧ τούς ἰουδαίους ἐφοβοῦντο, η τῷ φόβῳ συνεχομεναι τῷ ἄπο τής ὀπτασίας, <u>καί τόν νοῦν ἀπολέσαν</u>. Καί διά τοῦτο <u>οὐδενί οὐδέν εἶπον</u>, ἐπιλαθόμενοι καί ὧν ἤκουσαν.

The same answer is found in both: they were sent to Galilee to avoid the anger of the Jews. Why were they afraid? According to GA 304, it is because of seeing the angel and the resurrection. But the women did not [p. 103/204] *see* the resurrection. While GA 304 uses "the sight (τη ὁράσει)," twice Theophylact uses a more accurate pair: the sight (θέα) of the angel, and the horror or shuddering (φρικώδη) of the resurrection. The key terms they share are θορύβου τῶν ἰουδαίων and τόν νοῦν ἀπολέσασαι. Otherwise, the rest is shared with the biblical text itself, like οὐδενί οὐδέν εἶπον, ἔκστασις and φόβῳ. Again, we observe that Theophylact's text is more precise and detailed. These are samples of what we find in comparing the two catenae.

The Ending of Mark in GA 304 and Theophylact

This brings us back to the problem of Mark's ending between Theophylact and GA 304. Did the author of 304 follow Theophylact? Theophylact's catena continues to cover the long ending smoothly. It might be interesting to see how Theophylact chose to take the unusually large block of Mark 16:1-8 to be interpreted as a single unit, before dividing the rest (the long ending) into two smaller portions (vv 9-13, then 14-20). However, we cannot see any disruption in the transition to the longer ending. Perhaps there is one famous exception in codex 26 (GA 888),[29] which preserves an interesting note towards the end of the comment on the short ending: "Some of the exegetes say that this [*the short ending*] is the fulfilment of the Gospel according to Mark, and that the following words became later. It is necessary, then, to interpret this [*the longer ending*] in order to maintain the truth unharmed."[30] However, this note does not appear in the other surviving manuscripts of the catena. Further, James Kelhoffer rightly observes how the note's wording is very close to one made by the contemporaneous Greek writer Euthymius Zigabenus.[31] The copyist of codex 26 may have simply added this note as a matter of integrity. Therefore, it is more likely to be an addition by the compiler rather than being part of Theophylact's original text. Therefore, GA 304 and Theophylact's catena disagree on the ending of Mark. [p. 104/204]
So, we are left with three possible scenarios to re-examine in the light of our observations on the commentary and text:

1.- GA 304 is indeed based on Theophylact's catena.
2.- Theophylact's catena is based on GA 304.
3.- Both are based on an earlier commentary.

The first possibility could be supported by the fact that GA 304 follows the same structure of Theophylact's catena. But this fact could also reverse that literary relationship. Therefore, this observation is not enough to maintain Theophylact's priority. Besides, it is difficult to understand the fragmentary common materials within the comments, as we noted. GA 304 is not, for instance, summarising Theophylact's catena. If GA 304 stopped following Theophylact after Mark 16:8, and omitted the last 12 verses, this would have been an odd action that cannot be explained in light of its unwavering loyalty to the structure of Theophylact's Gospels text throughout the catena. While the second and third possibilities cannot be maintained with any certainty either, they are more probable if we see that Theophylact may have expanded the commentary[32] to include the introductions and prefaces, elaborated on the comments, and added the longer ending as well as the Gospels of Luke and John. In light of this, the least likely, yet not impossible, case is that the scribe of 304 decided to voluntarily remove the long ending while copying Theophylact. It is more plausible to see that GA 304 preserves an antegraph that has the short ending. But it is difficult to imagine that the copyist of GA 304 decided to cut off the commentary at Mark 16:8. This remains hypothetical. Another no less speculative suggestion is that the antegraph lost a few pages exactly at the end of the commentary on Mark 16:1-8 before it was accessed by the copyist of GA 304. This finds no support from the comment that ends perfectly, covering Mark 16:1-8, concluding with no abrupt or open-ended statements and leaving an empty half page space with an epigram. A comparison with cases such as Mark's ending in Vaticanus Arabicus 13 or GA 2386,[33] where lost pages can indeed be suggested, illustrates the difference. We must also remember that even the copyist of GA 888 thought that this is the proper ending of Theophylact's catena. [p. 105/204]

Conclusion

In this article, I offered a fresh examination of Mark 16 in GA 304. In light of this examination, I discussed the remarks and comments related to the significance of the text for the debate on Mark's ending, and particularly those made by Maurice Robinson. My examination of the text and commentary suggests that GA 304's short ending is not due to any damage or any missing pages. Neither is it because the text is a commentary in which the author selects, and deselects, the verses he wants to comment on. The texts of Matthew and Mark are entirely quoted and the part of Mark ends at 16:8 with a clear concluding epigram.

The next question was identifying the text. GA 304 appears to have a complex literary relationship with Theophylact's commentary. On the one hand, both share the same structure and they share the same ideas in their interpretation. However, the two texts vary considerably in the amount of shared material in their commentary. In general, they share clusters of words and short sentences within the comment, but in different orders and with different materials as well. The work of Theophylact is generally longer and more elaborate in its details, while GA 304 is simpler and shorter. Therefore, it would be

imprudent to assume Theophylact's priority, or GA 304's direct literary dependence on Theophylact, as the best explanation.

This leads us to the question of Mark 16's ending. While all possibilities of the literary relationship between the two commentaries are open, it is unlikely that Theophylact's commentary at Mark 16:8 was cut from GA 304. It is plausible that GA 304 reflects the knowledge of an antegraph that had the short ending. The compiler knew of the long ending from the Byzantine text he used and the commentaries he consulted, but he eventually chose to end the catena at Mark 16:8. This is consistent with his silence regarding any possible reference to the events in Mark 16:9-20 in his comparisons between the Gospels' accounts in the commentary on Matthew. Therefore, this article recommends that GA 304 is a valuable witness to the survival of the short ending in the process of producing future critical editions. It also suggests further research into the understudied legacy of Greek catenae, in order to better understand GA 304 within its family of Patristic works. [p. 106/204]

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1 The author wishes to thank the editors and reviewers of *Filologia Neotestamentaria*, Professors J. K. Elliot, Hugh Houghton and Dr. Claire Clivaz for their constructive comments.

2 For a selection of recent studies that used different methods, see Elizabeth E. Shively, "Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark's Gospel." *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 80.2 (2018): 273-292; R. Morgan, "How did Mark End his Narrative?" *The Expository Times* 128.9 (2017): 417-426; J. K. Elliott, The Text and Language of the Endings to Mark's Gospel, in J. K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark.* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 203–211; Travis B. Williams, "Bringing Method to the Madness: examining the Style of the longer ending of Mark." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* (2010): 397-417; C. Clivaz, "Returning to Mark 16,8 : What's New?" EThL 4 (2019): forthcoming.

3 For bibliography on textual evidence see D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 341-2. B. Ehrman and B. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 322-7.

4 P. Benoit, M.-E. Boismard (eds.), *Synopse des Quatre Évangiles* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1965), 342. Tyndale House (ed.), *The Greek New Testament* (Crossway, 2017), 41. The recently published Tyndale House Greek New Testament drop the reference to 304. However, it must be maintained that this edition focused on the manuscripts from the first six centuries only due to time limitation.

5 K. Aland, Bemerkungen zum Schluss des Markusevangeliums, in *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1969), 165; William Lane, The Gospel of Mark (William Eerdmans, 1974), 601; Josef Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1981), 497; James A. Kelhoffer, "The Witness of Eusebius' ad Marinum and Other Christian Writings to Text-Critical Debates concerning the Original Conclusion to Mark's Gospel," *ZNW* 92.1-2 (2001): 98; Parker, *Introduction*, 341. In his *Textual Commentary*, Metzger mentions GA 304 along with GA 2386 in a footnote. He comments on GA 2386 as not fit for witnessing to the short ending. Yet, he makes no comment on 2386 304. See, B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New*

Testament (London: United Bible Societies), 120, n.1. See also J. K. Elliot, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark: Original or Not?, in D.A. Black (ed.), *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark*, 4 Views (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2008), 80-102, 82.

6 Daniel B. Wallace, Mark 16:8 as the Conclusion to the Second Gospel, in D. Black (ed.), *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: 4 Views* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2008), 19.

7 K. Aland, and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 292.

8 High resolution images of Mark 16 folia could be accessed at: <Mark16.sib.swiss>.

9 Maurice Robinson, The Long Ending of Mark as Canonical Verity, in Black, *Perspectives*, 77 n.129.

10 J. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark* (Oxford and London: James Parker and Co., 1871), 283.

11 Ibid.

12 Online page: <http://p3.snf.ch/project-179755>.

13 See n. 6 above.

14 See P. Possinus, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Evangelium secundum Marcum* (Rome, Bibliotheca Barberina, 1673). John Burgon did not recognise it. John W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to St Mark* (Oxford: James Parker, 1871), 283. Information from the CATENA project at the University of Birmingham identifies the Matthew catena as CPG 114, and Mark as CPG 126.5. For a checklist of the Greek New Testament Catena Manuscripts produced by that project, visit: <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3086/?_ga=2.144756733.892819402.1557742578-969910547.1557742578>.

15 The full codex is available online on the website of the BNF: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722123f.r=Grec%20194?rk=21459;2>

16 K. Aland, and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 292.

17 On the form alternating catena, see H. Houghton and D. C. Parker, An Introduction to Greek New Testament Commentaries with a Preliminary Checklist of New Testament Manuscripts, in H. Houghton (ed.), *Commentaries, Catenae and Biblical Tradition* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2016), 10.

18 A critical edition of the commentary is published in J. P. Migne's PG 123.

19 For example, Mark 4:4 in GA 304 preserves the Byzantine reading of τὰ πετεινὰ (the birds) while Theophylact has: τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ ουρανοῦ. On the other hand, Theophylact has the Byzantine reading ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν, while GA 304 has ἀλείψωσι τὸν ἰησοῦν.

20 A good example to explain the different degrees of agreement is found in Mark 8:27-39, which both catenae divide into four sections. A relatively high degree of textual agreement could be found in the first section (verses 27-30), while there are a number of contrasts in the next section (31-33). In the third section there is moderate agreement on different key words (34-37), and the last section (38-39) is fairly close to the language of Theophylact's comment.

21 Quoted by Nicholas P. Lunn, *The Original Ending of Mark: A New Case for the Authenticity of Mark* 16:9-20 (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2015), 34. It is also found in D. W. Hester, *Does Mark 16:9-20 Belong in the New Testament?* (Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 88-9. Both works found it on an internet page identified as the Encyclopaedia of the New Testament Textual Criticism: <http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/>. Since this is not a verifiable source, the author approached Professor Robinson on this matter. While he did not provide a written source for the quote, he kindly confirmed its accuracy in the light of his examination of the microfilm (personal correspondence – 5/4/2019).

22 The author has offered the complete transcription and translation to be accessed at: <https://mark16.sib.swiss/>.

23 Ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι ἰδεῖ[ν πατρίδ]α, οὕτω καὶ ο γράφοντος βιβλίο[υ τέλο]ς." A database of the occurrences of this epigram, as well as its different forms, can be found here online: <http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/type/view/id/201/>. See also, H. Omont, "Le dernier des copistes grecs en Italie, Jean de Sainte-Maure (1572-1612)," Revue des Études Grecques 1-2 (1888): 177-191. Most recently, see Julie Boeten and Sien de Groot, "Byzantine Book Epigrams: The case of ὥσπερ ξένοι," Paper given at the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, August 2016. Available online: <https://www.academia.edu/28278993/Byzantine_Book_Epigrams_The_case_of_%E1%BD%A5%CF%83%CF%

24 The author wishes to thank Claire Clivaz for this observation. Cf. Claire Clivaz, L'ange et la sueur de sang (Lc 22,43-44). *Ou comment on pourrait bien encore écrire l'histoire* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 253-5.

25 On the different forms see n.18 above.

26 The author would like to express his gratitude to Mr. Dimitrios Kalomirakis of the Greek Ministry of Culture, and Rev. Theophilus, the Hieromonk of the Pantocrator monastery in Mount Athos, for their help to decipher this page.

[27] For example, the difference in the Gospels' account of the angel's location, the identity of the women, or why Peter's name is mentioned in the angel's instruction to the woman.

[28] I also chose this sample from Mark 16 due to the relevance of the topic.

[29] This copy of Theophylact's catena is part of a larger volume preserved in the Marciana National Library of Venice under shelf mark Codex 26. After checking the manuscript's images, the author has established that it is in fact GA 888.

[30] This note appears in folio 231v. The transcription of the note is also found in Migne's edition (PG 123:677, n.90). It reads: "φάσι τίνες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπληροῦσαι τὸ κατὰ Μαρκόν Εὐαγγέλιον, τα δέ ἐφεξῆς προσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενεστέραν. χρῆ δέ καί ταύτην ἑρμηνεῦσαι μηδέν τῇ ἀληθεία λυμαινομένους."

[31] James A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of "Gospel" and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 158. The Greek text of Euthymius' note appears in his commentary on Mark.PG 129:845, which reads: "φασι δε τίνες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐνταῦθα συμπληροῦσθαι τὸ κατὰ Μαρκόν Εὐαγγέλιον. δέ ἐφεξῆς προσθήκην εἶναι μεταγενεστέραν. χρῆ δέ καί ταύτην ἑρμηνεῦσαι μηδέν τῇ ἀληθεία λυμαινομένην."

[32] While the manuscript of GA 304 is later than Theophylact in date, the commentary itself could potentially be earlier.

[33] A digitised copy can be accessed here: https://tarsian.vital-it.ch/index.html#folio_103r. See Sara Schulthess, "Vaticanus Arabicus 13: What Do We Really Know? With an Additional Note on the Ending of Mark," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 70.1-2 (2018): 63-84. DOI: <10.2143/JECS.70.1.3284666>. On GA 2386 see J. K. Elliot, "The Last Twelve Verses," 82.

What a Difference a Καί Makes Text and Story in 2 Corinthians 4:13

PETER RODGERS

The quotation from Psalm 116:10 (LXX 115:1) at 2 Corinthians 4:13 has received much attention in recent scholarship. This article follows the suggestion that Paul assumes that the speaker of the Psalm is Jesus, and it argues for the longer reading in the quotation, considering the και to be original. It further draws on the recent work of Matthew Bates on "prosopological exegesis" in the earliest church. In the broader context three conversations are in view, conversations concerning Creation, Redemption and Proclamation.

Keywords: Textual Criticism, Intertextuality, Prosopological Exegesis.

For N. T. Wright on his seventieth birthday

For the last quarter century there has been lively debate concerning the quotation from Psalm 116:10 (LXX 115:1) in 2 Corinthians 4:13. Paul cited the verse with an elaborate introductory formula, and having only three words in common with the psalm verse. In our printed texts 2 Cor 4:13 reads:

ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον,
Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν,

But just as we have the same spirit of faith that is in accordance with scripture –"I believed , and so I spoke," we also believe and so we speak.

The lively contemporary discussion of 2 Cor 4:13 began with an article by Richard Hays in 1993 entitled "Christ Prays the Psalms."[1] In this article Hays argued that in 2 Cor 4:13, Paul is following a well-established early Christian exegetical convention that understands Christ to be the speaker [p. 107/204] of a number of psalms (e.g. 22, 40, 69). Hays wrote that it seems probable that "2 Cor 4:13 should be added to the list of passages in which the New Testament writer hears Christ praying in the psalm text."[2] Hays was not the first author to suggest this understanding of the early Christian exegetical convention. He cites A.T. Hanson as the first scholar of whom he is aware

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who made the suggestion.[3] But it was Hays' essay that sparked the lively current discussion of 2 Cor 4:13.

Building on the work of Hays, Thomas Stegman argued not only that Paul envisioned Christ the speaker in Psalm 116, but that the word "faith" was better translated "faithfulness," and that the spirit here referred to the Holy Spirit. Stegman argued that his reading of the quotation in this way was supported both by the many correspondences between Paul's suffering and apostolic calling and the experience of the speaker in the psalm, and by other passages in Second Corinthians.[4] A number of scholars have argued for a Christological reading of the psalm Paul's quotation at 2 Cor 4:13, in particular Douglas Campbell and Kenneth Schenck.[5]

Several scholars have not followed Hays and others in this Christological treatment of 2 Cor 4:13. In particular, Jan Lambrecht has argued that Paul here presents "a simple comparative understanding: Paul has the same state of mind and the same spirit of faith as the psalmists. No attention appears to be given to the psalmist's narrative."[6] Christopher Stanley offers a more negative assessment of the apostle"s exegetical methods. He writes that although Paul follows the LXX wording precisely, he "diverges so far from the original context as to raise questions about Paul's reliability as an interpreter."[7]

Matthew Bates made a significant contribution to this robust discussion of 2 Cor 4:13 in 2012 with the publication of *The Hermeneutics of the Apostolic Proclamation,* followed by his 2015 book, *The Birth of the [p. 108/204] Trinity.*[8] Both books treat 2 Cor 4:13 *in extenso.*[9] Bates offers a fresh interpretation of the quotation through what he calls "prosopological exegesis," or a solution through persons. In line with ancient convention, Bates proposed that Paul and other New Testament and early Christian writers saw in certain psalms and other Old Testament passages a divine conversation (a *theodrama,* to use the phrase Bates adopts and adapts from Hans Urs von Balthasar[10]). David or Isaiah, or other Old Testament writers took on the character of another speaker, and in particular, Christ, the Father or the Spirit, so that the scripture voice became the voice of this other character. Bates demonstrates that this manner of representing the speech of another had antecedents in Greco-Roman and Jewish writers, and this makes it likely that Paul and other New Testament writers would have adopted this sophisticated reading strategy.[11] He summarises Paul's use of this interpretive convention in 2 Cor 4:13 in this way:

THE CHRIST (speaking to *GOD THE FATHER* after his enthronement): I trusted, Therefore I spoke. (2 Cor 4:13 citing Psalm 115:1 LXX).

As Bates summarizes, "Paul believed that David had slipped into a role that he was acting out in the theodrama, playing the character of the Christ as the Christ speaks to the Father via a script authored by the Spirit."[12] This way of understanding Paul's method in quoting Psalm 116 in a complicated passage offers a real advance in the study of this much discussed text.

However, none of the above discussions, to my knowledge, have even mentioned, let alone considered the textual variation in the Paul's quotation at 2 Cor 4:13. In several manuscripts the quotation from Psalm 115:1 LXX consists of four words rather than three. These witness read an extra καὶ in the quoted words. At least two modern editors (Tischendorf and Kilpatrick) have printed the quotation with the extra καὶ, indicating that this is what Paul wrote.[13] We will consider the case for this longer [p. 109/204] reading in the quotation and draw out some implications for interpreting the passage, especially building on Bates' impressive work.

The manuscript support for adding καὶ is slender but significant. It is included in א F G 0186 1175 g syr[utr] arm go (Eus[praep 12, 1,4]) Epiph[367] Aug[ep 187](non item[194])…ς Ln Ti.[14] The fact that the longer reading is supported by Codex Sinaiticus should alert scholars that it should at least be considered. Its presence in several early patristic writers is also significant.

When we consider internal criteria for making textual judgments, the fact that διὸ καὶ occurs again in the same verse and at two other places in 2 Corinthians (1:20, 5:9) indicates that the expression certainly conforms to Paul's style.

With regard to transcriptional probabilities, there are several factors to be taken into consideration. The first is that the quotation with the καὶ differs from the LXX of Psalm 115:1, which has only three words, and scribes would be prone to conform the New Testament form to the LXX. Moreover, as James Royce has argued recently, the tendency of scribes in the early papyri was to eliminate rather than to add words.[15]

There is one further possible cause for a scribe of the second and third centuries to eliminate the και in the quotation at 2 Cor 4:13. The expression διὸ καὶ occurs twice in the same verse in the longer reading, and some scribes with a sensitivity toward style might have found this to be inelegant and unacceptable, and by conforming the quotation to the form found in the LXX Psalm 115:1, the matter would be rectified. Evidence can be found for such attention to literary fashions in the second and third centuries.[16] By improving the style some unsuspecting scribe of the second or third century may have obscured the full force of Paul's prosopological exegesis.

If the longer reading is to be preferred, then the translation of the quotation should read *I believed and so I also spoke.* The διὸ καὶ (also) is significant here, if we follow the main lines of Bates' argument, because in indicates an earlier conversation prior to the one indicated in the quotation, in which the exalted Christ speaks to the Father of his faithfulness in death and resurrection. But what was that prior conversation? I believe we can overhear it in 2 Cor 4:6. *For it is the God who said "Let light shine out of darkness," who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face* (ἐν προσώπῳ) *of Jesus Christ.* [p. 110/204]

A potential objection to this interpretation may be raised because in 4:7 Paul begins a new thought that carries through until 4:15. But this difficulty stems from the arbitrary paragraph division at 4:7 by modern editors, and is not evident in the *scripta continua* of the earliest copies of 2 Corinthians 4 (e,g, P[46]). It is more likely that Paul's argument begins at 4:1 and ends at 4: 16. The expression *we do not lose heart* (οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν)

marks the beginning and the end of the paragraph.

It is more fruitful to suggest that Paul was not merely finding scriptural support in a cryptic quotation from Psalm 116 at 2 Cor 4:13, but that "he had the whole of Psalm 116 (114-115 LXX) in mind."[17] Thus the psalm provides not just the language of verse 13 but the logic of the whole passage, which speaks of faithfulness in the face of suffering and even death. Thus the three conversations Paul envisions here are:

1. The faithful God speaks in Creation in the darkness.

2. The faithful Christ speaks in his exaltation of his ordeal of death and his resurrection.

3. The faithful Paul and his co-workers speak in the face of opposition.

If we include the καὶ in Paul's quotation, the logic of the whole passage becomes clear. The story of Psalm 116 is the story of Jesus the Messiah and has become Paul's story. [p. 111/204]

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[1] Richard B.Hays, "Christ Prays the Psalms: Paul's Use of Early Christian Exegetical Convention," in Abraham J. Malherbe and Wayne A. Meeks (eds.) *The Future of Christology,.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993, 122-36. Reprinted in Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination,* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005, 101-118.

[2] Hays, *Conversion,* 109.

[3] A.T. Hanson, *Paul's Understanding of Jesus.* Hull: University of Hull Publications, 1963, 11-13.

[4] Thomas D. Stegman, "Επιστεθσα, διο ελαλησα (2Corinthians 4:13): Paul's Christological reading of Psalm 115:1a LXX," CBQ, 69 ((2007), 725-45. Stegman's article drew material from his dissertation, *The Character of Jesus: The Linchpin to Paul's Argument in 2 Corinthians,* SnBib 158; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2005.

[5] Douglad Campbell, "2 Corinthians 4:13." *JBL* 128 (2009) 337-56. Kenneth Schenck. "2 Corinthians and the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ Debate." *CBQ 70* (2008) 524-37.

[6] Jan Lambrecht, "A Matter of Method: 2 Cor 4:13 in recent studies of Schenck and Campbell." *ETL* 86 (2010) 441-48.

[7] Christopher Stanley, "Paul's Use of Scripture: Why the Audience Matters," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture,* Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (eds.). Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008, 125-155. Citing p. 147. See also Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing With Scripture,* New York: T and T Clark, 2004, 98-101.

[8] Matthew W. Bates, *The Hermeneutics of the Apostolic Proclamation: The Center of Paul's Method of Scriptural Interpretation,* Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2012. *The Birth of the Trinity: Jesus,God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[9] *Hermeneutics,* 304-25: *Birth,* 146-49.

[10] Bates, *Birth of the Trinity,* 5 note 8.

[11] Bates, *Hermeneutics,* 183-221.

[12] Bates, *Birth of the Trinity,* 148.

[13] Constantinus Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece,* eighth edition. Lipsig: Hinrichs, 1872, Vol II, 586. G.D.Kilpatrick, *A Greek-English Diglot for the Use of Translators: Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians.* London: BFBS, 1964, 61.

[14] This is a combination of the information given by Tischendorf and Nestle 28.

[15] James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in the Early Greek Papyri,* New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 36. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

[16] G.D. Kilpatrick, *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays.* Edited by J.K. Elliott. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990, 63-72.

[17] N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God,* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003, 363. Wright notes the further influence of Psalm 116 in2 Cor 5:9.

Lexical Semantics and New Testament Greek: A Review Article of Some Major Works

STANLEY E. PORTER

This review article is divided into two major sections. The first section discusses three works in lexical semantics and related topics that provide the foundation for the subsequent discussion. These foundational works present the major theories in lexical semantics as a means of categorizing the examples treated in section two, as well as providing an assessment of New Testament lexicography and a diachronic perspective on the subject. The second section presents and evaluates five major works on lexical semantics in New Testament Greek. These five works span the last roughly forty years of discussion in New Testament studies of the place of lexical semantics and how one goes about doing it. Each of the five major works is both summarized and then briefly evaluated.

Keywords: lexical semantics, historical-philological semantics, structuralist semantics, generativist semantics, neostructuralist semantics, cognitive semantics, componential analysis, relational semantics.

Introduction

Lexical semantics remains an important part of knowledge of any language system. However, it may be surprising to those within New Testament Greek studies to realize that within the broader field of linguistics the study of lexis, and in particular lexical semantics, has lagged behind the study of grammar. Any number of reasons may explain this situation, but many grammatical models tend to focus upon the syntagmatic dimension of language, with the result that lexis—often confined to the paradigmatic dimension—is often either overlooked or subordinated in importance to other concerns. Focus upon syntax, semantics, and pragmatics—the usual differentiation of the major grammatical components—is often made without extended consideration of lexical semantics (with semantics in the triad above concentrating upon grammatical semantics). This has been especially the case with formalist theories of language, although it is also the case with some other theories as well. One of the accomplishments of some functionalist theories of language, such as Systemic Functional Linguistics or Word Grammar, is to try to integrate conceptions of lexical meaning into the grammar [p. 113/204] itself. Even with these limitations, the subject of lexical semantics has not been neglected in linguistics. To be sure, there have been a number of significant works produced over the years that have addressed questions of lexical meaning.

The situation in New Testament Greek studies is similar in some respects and different in others than in general linguistics. In New Testament studies, on the one hand, there has often and consistently been an emphasis upon the word and finding maximal value in

each word. One can trace this trend back to at least the Biblical Theology Movement, if not before, where individual words were seen to be repositories of entire biblical theologies. Modern commentaries often inadvertently continue this maximalist word-oriented tradition. Despite the best efforts of James Barr and others since him to counter such unhelpful tendencies,[1] the persistence in committing Barrian lexical fallacies continues at an unhealthy pace within biblical studies. This is at least in part because there have been relatively few works in New Testament Greek studies that have specifically addressed matters of lexical semantics in order to provide guidance to students of the Greek New Testament. Without such guidance, they are free to continue to multiply meanings of words according to each perceived difference in context, maximize the meanings of words in terms of theological and other meaning, and write lengthy commentaries upon such words as if to understand these isolated words is to understand the language or the text. Such practices may reflect belief in the maximal meaning of words, but they reveal minimal understanding of how language works, and the results of such studies do not establish their value but instead merely perpetuate previous, misguided practice.

In this review article, I wish to examine a number of the relatively few book-length works that have been written in the area of lexical semantics for New Testament Greek. By this, I do not mean that I am going to review lexicons, although several of these works are related to various lexicon projects. I mean instead those several books that concentrate upon discussion of lexical semantics, that is, how it is that we examine words to determine their meanings. In the next major section, I will examine three works that set the stage for discussion of the issues by defining the important theories of lexical semantics and some of the problems with previous lexical study. Then, in the section that follows, I will offer an extended review and critique of five volumes that are all focused upon lexical semantics in various ways. [p. 114/204]

Theories of Lexical Semantics and Their History

In 2010, Dirk Geeraerts, the Dutch cognitive linguist, published a book entitled *Theories of Lexical Semantics*.[2] I will briefly survey the contents of this volume, using it as a guide for my discussion that follows in the next section. However, before I turn to the treatments of lexical semantics for New Testament Greek, I will also briefly review John Lee's history of New Testament Greek lexicography and David Hasselbrook's diachronic approach to lexical study as companion volumes to guide our discussion.[3]

In his volume on lexical semantics, Geeraerts offers five major theories. These are: historical-philological semantics, structuralist semantics, generativist semantics, neostructuralist semantics, and cognitive semantics. There is much of value in this work, because it provides a historical and conceptual framework for discussion of works in lexical semantics over the last one-hundred years. By doing so, he provides a history of linguistics, concentrating upon views of lexical semantics. Geeraerts first describes historical-philological semantics (pp. 1-46) as the traditional, diachronic form of lexical

semantics that was most heavily promoted in German and French scholarship from around 1830 to 1930. Growing out of the classical tradition of speculative etymologizing and rhetorical views of language, as well as the pressing needs of lexicography, historical-philological semantics was concerned with lexical semantic change, such as semasiological (word) and onomasiological (concept) means of change. These types of change are familiar to most, as they represent basic types of meaning change, such as specialization and generalization, metonymy, and metaphor. Some of these changes follow principles of analogy and others are non-analogical. Some of the major figures associated with the historical-philological theory are Michel Bréal and Hermann Paul. Bréal was the first to use the term semantics, and was oriented to the psychological nature of meaning, that is, that meaning is the product of psychology and changes as a result of changes in psychology,[4] a feature [p. 115/204] picked up in later Cognitive Linguistics. Paul continued the psychological view, but distinguished between usual and occasional meanings on the basis of context and usage.[5] Along with a number of others, these scholars set the stage for the development of lexical semantics.

The second theory treated by Geeraerts is structuralist semantics (pp. 47-100). Structuralist semantics is the development of principles directly attributed to Ferdinand de Saussure,[6] and has continued in various forms to the present. The Saussurean principles that emerged were the emphasis upon language as system, meaning as conventional, and lexical signs being arbitrary, and these principles worked against the psychological perspective by positing a layer of language between reality and the human mind. Structuralist semantics emphasized synchrony over diachrony and focused upon the onomasiological rather than semasiological viewpoint. Structural semantics, according to Geeraerts, took three different major forms. The first, lexical field theory, was inaugurated by Jost Trier's work on lexical fields published in 1931,[7] and it posited that the various entities of the language space were divided into conceptual spheres that contained related elements. Discussions of whether the lexical field was conceptual or consisted of elements of the language led to diverse approaches and terminology,[8] including its application to syntagmatic relations and formal relations, where Stephen Ullmann applied it to semantic change.[9] This paradigmatic conception was also later extended to collocation by a variety of scholars, and then distributionist syntagmatic relations.[10] The second form of structuralist semantics was componential analysis. Componential analysis worked from the assumption that meanings are composites of smaller conceptual entities. There were two major forms of componential analysis. The first, in North America, was influenced by the American anthropological tradition and followed the behaviorism of Leonard Bloomfield and is seen in the work of Eugene Nida.[11] The [p. 116/204] European form of componential analysis, indebted to Louis Hjelmslev and his expression/content opposition, did not develop fully until the 1960s, in the work of Bernard Pottier, Eugenio Coseriu, and A. J. Greimas, and was based upon oppositions between entities.[12] The third and final form of structuralist semantics was relational semantics, indebted to John Lyons.[13] Relational semantics is concerned with the sense-relations of words to each other. Alan Cruse has developed these categories

more fully, with refinement of such categories as hyponym and hyperonymy, synonymy, and antonymy.[14] Structural semantics marked a major change from diachrony to synchrony, and hence onomasiology to the neglect of semasiology.

The third lexical theory is generativist semantics (pp. 101-23), exemplified in the important paper by Jerrold Katz and Jerry Fodor.[15] Geeraerts describes their contribution as "a combination of a structuralist method of analysis, a formalist system of description, and a mentalist conception of meaning" (p. 101). In that sense, Katz and Fodor introduced meaning as an important part of a formalist (Chomskyan) grammar still focused upon syntax. Based to some extent upon structuralist semantics, generativist semantics attracted a wide variety of responses, even by those who were in support of semantics within formalism (so-called interpretive semantics). Questions were raised regarding semantics being maximalist or minimalist, or decompositional or axiomatic. Several of the linguists involved in generativist semantics, such as George Lakoff and Charles Fillmore, became important foundational figures in cognitive semantics.[16] [p. 117/204]

The fourth lexical theory is neostructuralist semantics, a descendant of structuralist semantics as the name implies (pp. 124-81). The two major steams of neostructuralist semantics that Geeraerts identifies are traceable back to two of the lines of development within structuralist semantics. The first, indebted to componential analysis, is Anna Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage and her notion of a universal number of what she identifies as semantic primitives, a decompositional approach to meaning (meaning can be identified as being composed of smaller elements) that contrasts with an encyclopedic approach.[17] Wierzbicka at first identified fourteen semantic primitives but the list has grown considerably to sixty, all stated in non-technical language with definitions using the semantic primitives. Other decompositional approaches are found in Ray Jackendoff, Manfred Bierwisch, and James Pustejovsky.[18] The second line, a development from relational semantics, is found in Igor Mel'čuk's lexical relations approach.[19] Geeraerts also mentions the WordNet project, which outlines sense relations for an English database. More important for our discussion is Mel'čuk's identification of a wide variety of lexical relations within his Meaning-Text Theory. Although Geeraerts does not mention it, Mel'čuk's lexical relations appear to be an integral, though lexically oriented, part of his dependency grammar, a structuralist conception of various actant roles between lexical items.[20] Geeraerts also discusses distributional corpus analysis, in which the syntagmatic patterns in which a word is used. Geeraerts uses Beth Levin's work as an example, but readers of this review may be more aware of the similar work of John Sinclair, which is usage based.[21] In other words, language is "a form of action" (p. 168). This work, which identifies words in relation to collocation and colligation, goes back to J. R. Firth's notions of knowing words by the company they keep, reflecting the views [p. 118/204] of Bronislaw Malinowski and Ludwig Wittgenstein (later seen in J. L. Austin) of language as action.[22]

The fifth and final lexical theory is cognitive semantics, the longest chapter in the book (pp. 182-272). As Geeraerts makes clear from the outset and throughout, cognitive

semantics is a maximalist view of word meaning that emerged in the 1980s and is seen in three fundamental ideas: "a belief in the contextual, pragmatic flexibility of meaning, the conviction that meaning is a cognitive phenomenon that exceeds the boundaries of the word, and the principle that meaning involves perspectivization" (p. 182). Geeraerts first discusses prototypicality, which holds that "linguistic categories may be fuzzy at the edges but clear in the centre" (p. 183). As a result, certain colors or entities, such as animals, may be more central than others (a robin rather than an ostrich to the prototypical bird). Prototypicality was applied in particular to the notion of polysemy—which is assumed for cognitive semantics, as well as elsewhere in Geeraerts's volume—and led to the development of radial networks, made well known by George Lakoff, in which radiating senses are linked together (cognitive semantics is onomasiological).[23] Radial networks suggest questions of sense and reference, as well as criteria for distinguishing polysemy, involving notions such as vagueness, underspecification, referential and interpretive indeterminacy, and fuzzy boundaries. They also suggest salience between the various elements of the network. The major accomplishment of cognitive semantics so far is conceptual metaphor and metonymy. At this point, Geeraerts sees a strong relationship between cognitive semantics and historical philological semantics: "both embrace a psychological, encyclopedic conception of linguistic meaning, and both have a primary interest in the flexible dynamism of meaning" (p. 203). In the 1980s, cognitive metaphor theory was first concerned with mapping two experientially based conceptual domains, as in the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.[24] The various domains of metaphors reflect the embodiment of language. This later was expanded into mental spaces and blending, by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, in which [p. 119/204] four rather than two spaces are involved, including the blended space.[25] The maximalist approach to meaning equates to an encyclopedic view of meaning that is described in terms of what is called Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) and the notion of "frame." The first, attributed to Lakoff, is very similar to the second, attributed to Charles Fillmore, as ways of relating our knowledge of language with our knowledge of the world, by equating lexical units (words and phrases) with various frames.[26] With its similarities to historical-philological semantics, cognitive semantics is also interested in diachronic change in language. The major model Geeraerts draws upon is Elizabeth Traugott's Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change, in which change is directed by inference.[27] Geeraerts closes by noting how cognitive semantics is linked to research in psychology, but also in relation to embodiment, and therefore its relationship to culture and society. As a result, cognitive linguistics is seeing itself, and being seen, as a "usage-based approach to language" (p. 258), with next steps entailing its use in the study of discourse.

Geeraerts is to be commended for offering a well-developed and reasonably thorough study of lexical semantics that is suitable for examining other works in lexical semantics. His framework of five major theories provides suitable ground for such further examination within New Testament Greek lexicography (with limitations noted below). Geeraerts, however, is not without problems. This is not meant to be an extended review

of his volume, but I must mention several of its problems. The first is that Geeraerts is not an innocent observer or commentator. Geeraerts is a cognitive linguist of some status and repute, and so one realizes from the start that he is structuring his discussion to arrive at the fifth and final chapter, where he comes full circle and endorses the maximalism and contextualized approach of cognitive semantics as in many ways fulfilling the promise of the historical-philological theory, with the intervening theories as temporary detours in the field or at least as unsatisfactory answers to the abiding questions that cognitive semantics seems to answer better. This perspective inevitably colors both Geeraerts perspective on theories other than his own and one's view of Geeraerts's analysis. [p. 120/204]

This leads to a second issue. What happened to linguistics as we know it? Geeraerts makes the point several times that cognitive semantics is maximalist, but that was one of several problems with the historical-philological theory—it unloaded too much on the meaning of a given word. Geeraerts notes that cognitive semantics does not attempt to over-formalize analysis (many would say it does not formalize enough), but formal analysis as he has recounted it was developed to overcome the shortcomings of the historical-philological theory that was diachronically oriented (as is cognitive semantics in some of its forms) and accumulative in its results but without a formal method to differentiate its findings. This raises the question of whether cognitive semantics represents linguistic progress or has simply chosen to jettison a hundred years of linguistic thought to return to more basic (and not always linguistic?) notions—such as embodiment, contextual flexibility, perspectivalism, and meaning as cognitive. These ideas often seem to be based upon prior assumptions regarding meaning, human cognition, and even language, and then are used to try to find cognitive explanations for what is often represented as how humans process information. Cognitive linguistics works from such assumptions—the notion of embodiment particularly seems to entail this—rather than creating a rigorous model that attempts to find new explanations and interpretations on the basis of the relationships between meaning and language. At the end of the day, cognitive semantics, perhaps because it so resembles the historical-philological theory, may provide comfort that traditional interpretation still has currency, but it cannot explain many of the forms and functions of language, only attempt to link experience with abstract notions.

The third problem is that Geeraerts never comes to terms with a number of fundamental notions like embodiment, polysemy, and contextual usage. Polysemy is an assumption of much modern linguistics, including cognitive semantics but also other theories of lexical semantics. Polysemy, however, is a problematic notion—as is evidenced by the major efforts even within Geeraerts's volume to explain the supposed multiple meanings of an individual word or lexeme. Most structuralist and neostructuralist theories did not address the issue either, and neither did generativist semantics, so it is not surprising that cognitive linguistics has inherited the same problem and attempted its descriptions on the basis of what is seen to be polysemous evidence. I suspect that much of this difficulty stems from embracing the notion of usage as if it

were the same as semantics, but not knowing how to handle the fundamental structural question of the signifier-and-signified relationship. If we begin with the signifier rather than the signified, we may not have as many pragmatic issues to resolve in our theorizing. Embodiment itself is also [p. 121/204] highly problematic in that it says everything and nothing. Language is embodied, but we have long known that without it offering definitive answers to our language questions.

The fourth item of concern is that Geeraerts, with all of his apparent inclusiveness, is still not as inclusive in his theories as he needs to be. He is primarily concerned with formalist and related theories of language —except when he is not, so that he can discuss the historical-philological and his own cognitive semantics, as well as establishing a number of lines of connection among them, such as the line from structuralist to generativist to neostructuralist to cognitivist, with some figures like Lakoff looming particularly large in the discussion. There are other, functional lexical theories that could have been discussed in this volume. However, I suspect that Geeraerts discusses the ones he does, because the lines of connection are often more readily apparent (and after all he is a profess-or of theoretical linguistics, not functional linguistics). Functionalist theories would probably take him in significantly different historical directions. I acknowledge that in several places Geeraerts introduces the work of Firth and even Sinclair, but there is nothing of Halliday, apart from a reference to Halliday's work in corpus linguistics and an admission (p. 268) that the notion of functional meaning ("words have a meaning potential," p. 268) is attributed to Halliday and some others.[28] Some of these functional theories of lexical semantics could easily have found a place in such a volume if one was seeking inclusiveness.

A fifth observation is that, even with all of the bibliography that Geeraerts cites—and he does a commendable job of selecting representative and important works, rather than getting bogged down in every article written—he is not as complete as he could and perhaps should be. For example, Nida is cited as a significant figure in structuralist lexical semantics for his work in componential analysis (that is the most recent book cited of Nida, dating to 1975). However, Geeraerts does not cite much of the other semantic work of Nida (his *Exploring Semantic Structures* was published the same year as his book on componential analysis) or specifically the important work on lexical semantics that Nida wrote with J. P. Louw, explaining the method of their Greek lexicon (treated below), and of course he does not cite the Louw-Nida Greek-English lexicon (see below).[29] The lexicon represents a major step in lexicography and the contribution merited treatment as an extension and application of Nida's work in componential analysis. The lexicon, as one of the most adventuresome and ambitious projects in recent lexicography, certainly [p. 122/204] merited citation as an example of the fruits of structuralist lexicography. (Geeraerts also does not mention the work of the Spanish scholars, Juan Mateos or Jesús Peláez, who draw on the French structuralists; also see below).

The seventh observation is that Geeraerts is not always as reliable an interpreter of the history of lexical semantics as he could be. For example, his assessment of generativist

semantics puts the emphasis upon Katz and Fodor's paper as the instigator of this rebellious movement, but Geeraerts does not fully explain or rebut the arguments of Randall Allan Harris, whose work he knows. Harris sees Lakoff as the instigator of generative semantics, with Katz and Fodor still leaving syntax at the center.[30] This topic merits more discussion than simply listing sources in the annotated bibliography. There are other areas where one might question Geeraerts's reliability as well, or at least ask for a second opinion.

This leads to my eighth and final criticism. Geeraerts shows no know-ledge of any work in New Testament Greek linguistics. He of course is not alone in this as a linguist, and the same criticism can be made of most classicists. Both non-biblical linguistics and classicists, even when they examine the Greek of the New Testament (which is not often), usually do not seriously engage with the substantial and often innovative work of biblical linguists.[31] The same is not usually true of biblical linguists, who often are highly engaged with the work of both linguistics and classical studies. As a result, there is much New Testament Greek linguistics that addresses questions for particular languages, as well as theoretical issues, that has not been introduced or addressed by those in the fields of linguistics and classics, and from which they could benefit.

With Geeraerts's book forming the basis of my further comments below evaluating works in New Testament lexical semantics, I turn to the second volume of this section, John Lee's history of New Testament lexicography.[32] This is an important book, for no other reason than it places lexical semantics front and center for New Testament Greek scholars by showing how limited and inexact their lexical tools are. Lee, in [p. 123/204] fact, summarizes the themes of his book that encapsulate New Testament lexicography: "dependence on predecessors, a poor method of indicating meaning, subservience to translations, and unreliable control of data" (p. xi). He justifies this description in the eleven chapters of the book, beginning with a historical survey and then concluding with a number of case studies. The historical survey begins with illustration of the face that the "whole history of New Testament lexicography is one of reliance on predecessors and transmission of older material with varying degrees of revision" (p. 11). The problem is that the tradition is unreliable (Lee contends that the English tradition is reliable, but I think that this must be questioned in light of recent lexicographical and semantic method). Lee then turns to the common means of describing meaning in a lexicon, the gloss, which provides a translational equivalent. He illustrates how a gloss fails to provide an actual definition. The use of glosses has reigned supreme in lexicography until the Louw-Nida semantic domain lexicon and then after it the latest revision of Bauer's lexicon in English (BDAG). A definition should provide a substitutional equivalent. Lee then shows that translations have had a major influence upon lexicons, and often been used to provide their glosses. He then in several chapters traces the origins of the New Testament Greek lexicon, going back before the vocabulary list in the Complutensian Polyglot to the early centuries of the Christian era. However, he then shows how the major lexicons, from Pasor and Schleusner to Thomas Cokayne (TC) and Parkhurst to Wahl and Wilke have had a controlling influence upon other,

lesser lexicons to the present—apart from Louw-Nida's unique lexicon. Lee recognizes the need for introduction and assessment of evidence in order to infuse new life into lexicography. Lee then treats the development of the Preuschen-Bauer lexicon in its German and English streams (BAG to BDAG), but shows that, apart from Danker's latest revision, nothing new has been produced regarding meaning. Lee, however, fairly admits that the Louw-Nida lexicon was a significant breakthrough in lexicography, because of its domain structure and, more importantly, its use of definitions throughout. He recognizes that Louw-Nida is not perfect—they relied upon previous lexicons, they did not use extra-New Testament evidence, their formulations of definitions are not always consistent, they are sometimes vague, they may be incomplete, and the divisions of their domains demand explanation (one may also mention the determination of their domains themselves is unclear, and they rely upon polysemy and hence place words in multiple domains)—but nevertheless concludes that it is "an important advance, even though it is anchored in the existing tradition and one may find fault with some aspects of the execution" (p. 165) (Lee also acknowledges the Spanish lexicon project; see below). [p. 124/204] Lee commends Danker's 2000 edition of BDAG for its use of definitions, but also notes that Danker relies upon Bauer's data. Lee concludes that the history of New Testament Greek lexicography is the history of revision of previous work, with the exception of Louw-Nida and with hope for BDAG as the field moves into the future. Lee's vision of that future of lexicography is admission that what should be done—a method for creating a new lexicon—has not been developed, even if he has some suggestions (electronic, collaborative, use of definitions).

  Lee's volume is not to be minimized, but so far as lexical semantics is concerned it offers little apart from a trenchant and necessary critique of the state of New Testament Greek lexicography. Lee has no new method to suggest. He does not show much if any awareness of the history of lexical semantics (even though he published his volume in 2003, when all of the methods mentioned by Geeraerts had been developed and implemented, although Geeraerts's work itself had not been published yet). Such an awareness might have helped him to identify a means for arriving at the definitions that he seeks. He does not even refer to any of the other work in lexical semantics that Nida published, apart from the book that he and Louw wrote on lexical semantics in relation to the lexicon (see below). The strength of Lee's book is in his historical and retrospective view, but not his vision of the future. However, from his endorsement of especially Louw-Nida's and to some extent BDAG's lexicons, one can surmise that Lee implicitly envisions a structuralist solution to lexicography following the model that Nida exemplifies. This would entail the use of componential analysis in establishing the meaning components of individual words, then organized according to similar features and placed in appropriate domains, with words having polysemous meanings or the possibility of being placed in multiple domains. However, Lee does not say this.

  David Hasselbrook attempts to improve upon Lee's work by bringing a diachronic lexicographic approach to bear on lexical semantics.[33] Hasselbrook begins with Lee's work as offering a diagnosis of the problem of New Testament Greek lexicography, but

believes that Lee leaves the situation unresolved by failure to incorporate the insights from Hasselbrook's diachronic approach. By a diachronic approach, he apparently means not just recognition of the lengthy tradition of the Greek language but an apparent resistance to language change that indicates that meanings in Neohellenic Greek (modern Greek) were active in New Testament times. Hasselbrook adopts a diglossic context—what he calls [p. 125/204] dimorphic—throughout the history of Greek, beginning with the distinction between Attic written and spoken language, and persisting to the present with the distinction between Katharavusa and Demotic. The Greek New Testament is seen by him, following the views of several predecessors, as the first work written in Neohellenic Greek. On this basis, Hasselbrook selects instances where insights from later Greek usage may provide insights into New Testament Greek usage.

Hasselbrook is to be commended for bringing together some of the recent scholarship in defense of diachronic linguistics, and there are some interesting proposals worth considering in future lexicography. However, his approach has several recognizable limitations. The first is that he in fact has no method to his approach, and hence it does not quality as a linguistic theory. There are no linguistic criteria by which determinations of meaning, relevance, and application can be made. The discovery of a semantic trajectory for word usage can often provide some insight into the development of a word, but whether it can and should have any kind of controlling influence upon earlier meaning or can even be clearly predicted for a point along the trajectory cannot be assumed. The second problem is that it simply is untrue that Greek has not been subject to language change—as the very work by Hasselbrook itself shows. The meanings of words have changed, and hence calls into question the entire premise of his discussion that later meanings are of relevance to earlier time periods. There is change in many other areas of grammar as well, as has long been recognized (phonological, morphological, lexicogrammatical, semantic, etc.). The third limitation is that this diachronic study is in competition with a synchronic perspective that sees language as system. Words are not to be understood as single filaments but parts of complex bundles, a factor not addressed in the volume, with its concentration upon words.

With these preliminary works having been introduced, I now turn to five major treatments of lexical semantics of New Testament Greek.

Five Major Treatments of Lexical Semantics in New Testament Greek Study

I turn now to five major treatments of lexical semantics in New Testament Greek. These volumes were published from 1982 to 2018. Over the course of this nearly forty-year period, five volumes do not seem like particularly many. In fact, the number is slightly larger, as two of the volumes are translations (one of them a translation of two volumes) and another appeared in a second edition. I, however, will deal with these five volumes in English. [p. 126/204]

Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek*

I begin with a volume published in English in 1982 by J. P. Louw, the collaborator with Nida on the Louw-Nida lexicon (see below as well for their joint volume about this project).[34] The volume, entitled *Semantics of New Testament Greek*, was first written in 1973 and then published in Afrikaans in 1976, though revised for the English version (p. vii). Louw's volume would probably fall outside the consideration of some writing a review article such as this, because only about half of the volume is dedicated to lexical semantics. Eight of the ten chapters deal with lexical semantics in various ways, but chapters nine and ten examine meaning as more than words or sentences, with the last chapter occupying almost half of the book. Nevertheless, the first eight chapters offer significant inroads into questions of lexical semantics, even if Louw does not offer concrete proposals.

Since the individual chapters are usually relatively short, I will compress the summary into a continuous narrative. Louw notes that "semantics is concerned with meaning" (p. 1), but then notes that semantics has not been a significant area of investigation in Greek studies, and no major book had (at that time) been written on the topic (this was 1982). However, semantics is not, according to Louw, simply a linguistic concern, but involves anthropology, psychology, and philosophy. This second chapter is one of the most helpful in the volume, as Louw integrates many different fields. Under anthropology, he recognizes that language is a cultural artifact and hence acknowledges the work of Benjamin Lee Whorf while disputing many of the mischaracterizations of language among biblical scholars criticized by James Barr and others and how misleading they can be.[35] Under psychology, Louw recognizes the recentness of using psychology to study language (again, this was 1982). Under philosophy, Louw reflects a Chomsky-like distinction between linguistics as formal and semantics as meaning, when he refers to linguistic content being different from meaningfulness.[36] He is also aware of some of the work that introduced semantics to formalist grammar. In discussing the [p. 127/204] contentious nature of meaning, Louw takes a structuralist approach to clarify what meaning is not (referent, the idea of something, or knowledge of something). In an interesting reversal of approach, however, Louw contends that "meaning is not so much something associated with words, but rather words are tokens to be associated with meanings" (p. 20), violation of which he claims causes many lexical fallacies. Louw briefly treats the problems with etymologies. For Louw, further, the "general" meaning attributed to a word is what he labels the "unmarked" meaning. This discussion leads to mention of semantic domains as the respective fields of different meanings of a word. Semantic domains rather than historical relationships between the uses of words support polysemy, "which is one of the basic semantic notions found in all languages" (p. 37). Polysemy is part of the economy of language, using minimal numbers of forms for maximal meanings. Instead of a single meaning, words have meaning potential that is determined by their differing contexts, with a word not having many potential meanings in a given context. The meanings of words between languages only partially overlap. In

the final chapter, Louw problematizes the notion of meaning by suggesting various levels and relationships in which words mean and then discussing their sense relations. Some of the ways words convey meaning are (pp. 48-59): textual meaning; levels of meaning in the word, sentence and context; idioms; meaning versus reference; meaning versus implication; co-occurrence of words; cognitive meaning; emotive meaning; grammatical meaning; encyclopedic meaning; and logical and linguistic meaning. The sense relations are (based on Nida's componential analysis): included, overlapping, complementary, and contiguous (pp. 59-66).

This brief exposition of eight chapters in Louw's book cannot fully appreciate the significance of his work for New Testament studies. As the first book to address the question of lexical semantics, Louw shows himself aware of the wider field of lexical studies. Although there are some hints at cognitive semantics (e.g. recognizing cognitive meaning), most of the work is firmly and squarely within Geeraerts's structuralist semantics. In particular, Louw's work responds to the environment of Chomskyan formalism and its minimalist view of meaning, but rather than move into generative semantics within Chomskyanism, Louw follows the structuralist framework. In some ways, Louw accedes too much to Chomsky for setting the agenda for semantics (or perhaps setting the limits on semantics) by distinguishing between linguistics and semantics, but Louw provides a variety of ways of examining meaning within the structuralist framework. These include his relating linguistics to other overlapping fields, the recognition of the work of Whorf and Barr, his negative definition of meaning, endorsement of the sign/signified [p. 128/204] relationship, synchronic rather than diachronic orientation, language as system (and hence lack of correspondence with another language) but without the Chomskyan universal language capacity, the varied ways of meaning, and sense relations.

There are, nevertheless, four major problems with Louw's exposition. The first is that it is difficult to find a thoroughly consistent focus within the book. Several of the chapters are very short and hence underdeveloped, so that it is often difficult to see how all of the smaller pieces fit together to create the larger argument. The second shortcoming is that it is not always clear how Louw positions his work in relationship to other proposals within lexical semantics. The fact that he identifies some of his framework in apparent response or reaction to Chomsky does not necessarily fit well with a number of the other structuralist features of his analysis. The third is that Louw seems to make a number of assumptions about meaning that are not as analytic as his presentation would appear or even claim. For example, he asserts that polysemy is a stable presupposition within lexical semantics, and in fact goes to some length to justify his analysis on the basis of this presupposition. He seems to rely upon a pragmatic approach to meaning that assumes that varied usage indicates established meanings of words. An example he cites, one among many, is his differentiation of three different semantic domains for different meanings of τράπεζα ("table"), when the second and third should be considered to be metaphorical extensions of the first (pp. 35-37). The fourth problem is that there is a general vagueness about his definition of meaning, as is

illustrated in his list of various and distinct types of meaning in his final chapter of the book. One may well call these different meanings, but they are only generally regarded as meanings of the same type, when they vary significantly and no structuralist framework is provided that unifies them into a system. This is perhaps why Louw calls his book *Semantics of New Testament Greek,* even though he primarily treats lexical semantics in the first eight chapters.

Silva, *Biblical Words and their Meaning*

The second volume to be reviewed is by Moisés Silva. *His Biblical Words and their Meaning* has probably been the single most important book in lexical semantics in New Testament Greek studies.[37] He [p. 129/204] published the first edition in 1983, partially based upon his 1972 Manchester University PhD dissertation (as well as upon his ThM thesis), and then a second edition in 1994, with an added chapter summarizing recent developments and another additional chapter by one of his own doctoral students providing a lexical study.

The volume is organized into two major parts. After an introduction to the topic, Part One concerns historical semantics and Part Two descriptive semantics. This is an unusual arrangement for a lexical semantics book, as one anticipates the descriptive part to precede the historical section, if the historical section is included at all. This arrangement may be a concession to the tradition of biblical lexical studies. In the preface, Silva defines lexical semantics as "that branch of modern linguistics that focuses on the meaning of individual words" (p. 10), and as a result he differentiates various types of meaning that are not within the ambit of lexical semantics so that he can concentrate upon the proper scope of his topic.

In the introduction, Silva essentially begins with James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language* as what he calls the "trumpet blast" against poor biblical linguistics (p. 18). After noting Barr's contribution and the responses to him, Silva concentrates upon the problems of theological lexicography, beginning with Hermann Cremer through Kittel's theological dictionary to Barr's response. He concludes by proposing to develop principles for the study of words in the Bible, but not by beginning with theology.

Part One on historical semantics comprises three chapters. The first is on etymology, one of Barr's points of objection to much biblical study of words. Silva discusses three major topics. The first is the priority of synchrony over diachrony, stemming from one of Saussure's major structural premises. Silva next treats what he calls etymological science. He distinguishes between etymology and semantic change but problematizes the use of etymology by noting the various ways that it has been used and may be used, such as to discuss origins or earliest meanings or the like. Silva sees a limited role for etymology, especially in Greek study. As a result, in the third section on etymology and exegesis, Silva narrows the use of etymology even further for students of Greek to those places where the author indicates that word-history is important. Chapter two discusses

semantic change and the Septuagint. After a brief definition of semantic change, Silva treats the role of the Septuagint in semantic change in the New Testament. After tracing the history of discussion from Edwin Hatch to Adolf Deissmann, Silva concludes that the Septuagint only affects New Testament style, not the language system. The Septuagint is confined to being used for determining the text and for [p. 130/204] interpreting the text where appropriate. In light of Silva's minimalist approach to the Septuagint, one might well wonder why this chapter is included, apart from the fact that one is studying the Bible. The third chapter addresses semantic change in the New Testament. Drawing in particular upon the work of Stephen Ullmann,[38] Silva identifies two major types of semantic change. The first is semantic conservatism, where the meaning of a word is restricted, such as ἐκκλησία, "assembly," being narrowed to "church," or ἄγγελος, "messenger," to "angel." The second type, semantic innovation, has a variety of forms, again dependent upon Ullmann's categories. These include ellipsis, as in ἀναφέρω, "take up," expanding to "offer [sacrifice]," metonymy, as in θάνατος, "death," as a part of "pestilence," and metaphor, as in πρόσωπον, "face," extended to "surface," as well as combinations of these. The next section concerns semantic borrowing, when languages come into contact. Drawing upon the work of Einar Haugen,[39] Silva identifies various types of semantic borrowing, based upon phonetic and semantic similarities. However, he also finds no phonetic resemblance and very little semantic similarity that affects the Greek of the New Testament, even though there may be various types of motivation for such borrowing. The final section of this chapter treats the effects of semantic borrowing on the lexical system. The only major area that he identifies for such borrowing is terms for "mind."

Part Two also comprises three chapters. The first offers definitions of basic concepts, many of them found in Saussure. Silva draws directly from C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards's semantic triangle, composed of symbol, sense, and referent, as a means of discussing various semantic notions.[40] The first is denotation or reference. Silva problematizes denotation by noting the arbitrary relationship between sign and signified, a Saussurian notion, and giving examples where denotation or reference is problematic (he cites the well-used case of the English word "bar"). Silva instead argues for language as use, following the later Wittgenstein through Gilbert Ryle.[41] The next section on structure emphasizes [p. 131/204] language as system, divided into phonology and vocabulary and everything else. Phonology has been the most productive area, but vocabulary much less. The final section on style makes an important distinction between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech). Saussure emphasized *langue* over *parole,* but linguistic variation seems to emphasize the latter. Silva provides a very useful distinction between the stability of the langue but the variability of individual parole. The second chapter in this Part, on sense relations, offers a treatment of a major structuralist concern, emphasizing the work of many of the major semanticists, such as Nida, Lyons, and others.[42] The first section concerns relations of similarity. These include what Silva calls "overlapping relations" or "proper synonymy" (p. 121), all sense relations (not reference). Silva is unclear on whether he is speaking of contextual similarity or lexical

similarity, although his use of the category of "sense" seems to indicate contextual similarity. The next is "contiguous relations" or "improper synonymy" (p. 125), where senses overlap, and the final one is "inclusive relations" or "hyponymy" (p. 126), where one sense is contained within the other. Relationships of opposition include antonymy, or what Silva calls "binary relations" (p. 130), and "multiple relations" or "incompatibility" (p. 128). The final section concerns componential analysis, which draws upon the work of Nida. Silva criticizes Nida's approach for being based upon reference, that is, the relationship between the word and the entity to which it refers, and for taking an encyclopedic perspective by trying to account for all such referential meanings. Having rejected componential analysis as a means of determining meaning, in the final chapter on that topic, Silva proposes a way forward. The first tenet of his approach, and the first section of this chapter, is context. Context consists, for Silva, of syntagmatic relations, literary context (genre), context of situation (from Bronislaw Malinowski, followed by Firth),43 and other contexts, such as one's presuppositions. This brief section begs for fuller elucidation, especially as Silva makes some suggestive comments on the difference between living and dead languages and their literature in relation to Malinowski (p. 145 n. 18) and then, after admitting the difficulty of interpretation, endorsing the grammatical-historical method and the validity of the quest for original authorial intent. To his credit, Silva addresses some of the [p. 132/204] interpretive problems in relation to ambiguity, by noting both deliberate and unintended ambiguity. He attempts to resolve these by positing what he calls "contextual circles" (p. 156), which are levels of context within each other. Silva suggests that one begin with the smallest circle of context and then work one's way out to the largest. He then turns to synonymy, where he identifies two factors, lexical choice and lexical fields, as influencing the choice of words, which he attributes to style. Silva does not say much on lexical fields but looks for more significant work in the future (see below). For his major example of stylistic choice in relation to lexical choice and fields, Silva uses the example of two Greek words for "know," οἶδα and γινώσκω, where there are different sets of lexical choices within two words within the same lexical field (an article published in 1980).44

Silva concludes his volume with a chapter that points out some of the difficulties in the BAGD lexicon, suggesting ways toward a solution but without solving the problems. He also includes a synchronic/diachronic chart of lexical semantics and a very helpful annotated bibliography. The revised edition of the work added a further chapter on recent publications in the field. This chapter includes a section first on general linguistics, where a few important works are annotated, then a section on biblical semantics referring to several introductory works, followed by a short section on Hebrew lexicography, and then a major section on Greek lexicography. This section introduces the Louw-Nida semantic domain lexicon (see below). Silva notes that "to the best of my knowledge, this is the first complete dictionary (in any language and for any corpus of texts) that uses the inherent semantic structure of a language rather than the formal category of alphabetization as the basis for describing lexical meaning" (p. 189). After

describing the lexicon, he then describes its four major features: the coherence of its approach, its method of defining words, its making of appropriate and useful distinctions, and its use of semantic domains for organization. He also notes areas for improvement, such as limited citations, lack of explicitness in distinctive features, and not including extra-biblical Greek. Silva concludes his chapter by introducing two further problems, collocation and word and context. The first he suggests as an important area for further study (and it now has been; see below) and the second raises the question of how much meaning is contributed by the word and how much by the context (although Silva seems to suggest here more of an emphasis upon context than he did in the earlier material of the first edition of the book; p. 198). [p. 133/204]

Silva's volume has been justifiably popular as an introduction to lexical semantics, probably because it was and remains the only such introduction to lexical semantics of the Bible. There are many positive features of the book, including its ease of readability, its extensive referencing of secondary literature outside of biblical studies, and its attempt to provide principles for Greek lexicology. The work clearly reflects structuralist theory, and in particular relational semantics, as Silva draws heavily upon Stephen Ullmann, his most cited linguist, especially but not exclusively regarding semantic change, and John Lyons, his second most cited linguist, in relational semantics (the third most cited scholar is James Barr, who followed structuralist principles and whose identification of lexical fallacies introduces the volume and provides its warrant). As a short summary of many of the major concepts in structuralist lexical semantics, Barr provides a competent introduction already applied especially to the Greek of the New Testament.

There are, however, a number of issues to note in the volume. The first is that, while the treatment itself is accessible, to be sure, it is in fact overly brief, especially when compared to the more developed works of the linguists Silva cites. For example, the two chapters at the heart of Silva's book focus on semantic change and sense relations (important topics within structuralist lexical semantics), but in Silva the first is treated in 22 pages and the second 16 pages. As a result, the kind of complexity regarding motivation for semantic change or, perhaps more importantly, the various sub-categories of sense relations are treated much too briefly. Discussion of antonymy should include the many varied types of antonymy, but this semantic relation is treated in less than two pages with no examples provided in Greek. The same pattern of brevity is found in many places within the volume. While brevity is certainly appropriate, Silva in doing so misses discussion of crucial and relevant areas.

A second shortcoming is that some topics discussed are probably not necessary in light of the purported goal of this volume. Silva includes historical semantics as a major section, but this diachronic investigation, apart from the issue of semantic change, is not necessary to his synchronic treatment of the second part. He apparently includes historical semantics because he wants to include a chapter on the influence of the Septuagint on semantic change. Although he draws some reasonable concluding statements from this discussion, the identification of the Septuagint for special treatment

is somewhat analogous to a chapter in an English lexical semantics book on Shakespearean English—that is, it identifies one type of language influence for specific treatment, when there are a variety of possible causes of semantic change, both external and internal. Silva does not treat the topic, for example, of grammaticalization, which [p. 134/204] is an important topic in recent discussion of semantic change. There were no doubt pressures as a biblical scholar to comment upon the notion of Semitisms, and hence the Septuagint, in relation to the New Testament, but this took important space that could have been devoted to expanding and elucidating the second part on synchronic or descriptive semantics.

A third issue is that Silva appears to back away in some instances from addressing potentially interesting and useful topics. In chapter five, he introduces componential analysis in roughly three pages, but decides not to pursue it because of what he calls its "controversial nature." This appears after he has admitted that he follows Nida (along with Lyons) in his discussion of sense relations. I have a question whether Silva has rightly understood componential analysis when he moves away from it to semantic relations as if they are separate topics. Nevertheless, since componential analysis was one of the contributions of Nida and was utilized in the Louw-Nida lexicon, which was published soon after Silva's book (1988), many readers could have been informed and brought up to date on a very important topic, even if controversial, if Silva had chosen to do so. A second example concerns the work of Lyons himself. Silva endorses the denotation or reference and sense model of lexical semantics, based upon Lyons's (and others') earlier model.[45] However, in Lyons's later work—although already in print by 1977, several years before publication by Silva (and recognized by him, p. 105 n. 12)[46]—Lyons endorses a reference, denotation, and sense model. Part of this is complicated by Silva's introduction of semantics by not just mentioning but attempting to justify the Ogden-Richards triad of symbol-thought-referent as the basis of his own semantics, also cited by Lyons in his earlier work. A much better and clearer differentiation along the lines of the later Lyons would have clarified some of the matters of reference and denotation, as well as sense.

A fourth problem is that Silva's proposal for determining meaning is inadequate for several reasons. One is that the organization of the chapter does not seem to be coherent. Lexical models usually move from word to context or context to word, but Silva appears to be ambivalent about this and throws in the topics of context, ambiguity, and synonymy, without trying to coordinate them in a meaningful way. A second reason is that the introduction of context shifts the model from the structuralism of Ullmann and Lyons to the functionalism of Malinowski and Firth. Malinowski, Firth, and those who have followed them move from context [p. 135/204] to language. Silva is unclear regarding the various types of context and their relationships and roles in meaning determination. A third is that ambiguity (some of his examples, such as John 1:5, deal in translations more than lexical meanings) is not a language problem, but an interpreter problem. The cotext, or context, limits the meaning potential of the wording, so that the meaning of the lexical item is modulated by context. Silva makes it appear as if all

potential meanings are equally activated until the interpreter adjudicates among them. Fourth, the discussion of synonymy is potentially instructive but gets bogged down in the notion of style and attempts to justify contextual synonymy. Simply attributing matters of meaning to stylistic variation is an inadequate solution. A fifth and final reason for the failure of Silva's proposal is that he is unclear on the meaning of words. On the one hand, he asserts that they have a core meaning (p. 103), but most of his discussion revolves around words being polysemous, especially in his discussion of determination of meaning. I am unclear on what the relationship is here between core meanings and polysemy, as a core meaning implies a single meaning, whereas polysemy implies no single meaning. This no doubt contributes significantly to some of the difficulty in establishing a means of determining meaning.

Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*

The next work, published roughly ten years later, is Eugene Nida's and Johannes Louw's work on lexical semantics that explains the approach to their lexicon based upon semantic domains.[47] This is an important volume, because it goes beyond the introduction in the lexicon itself, not only to explain the basis of the lexicon but to provide a larger theory of lexical semantics. On the basis of what we have said above regarding structuralist theories, it may come as a surprise to read this statement in the preface of the volume: "This treatment of lexical semantics does not conform to any one theory of linguistics, since the authors do not regard any one theory as adequate to explain all the multifaceted aspects of meaning. In a sense this approach to semantics is eclectic…" (p. viii). This statement probably reflects the movement of Nida's thought in the later period of his career, when he became more sociolinguistically oriented. The preface also says: "the dominant orientations are sociolinguistic and [p. 136/204] sociosemiotic, with obvious sociological implications" (p. viii). While there is a sociolinguistic dimension to their work, as I will discuss further below, most of the research that they cite (see the final chapter on others' contributions to lexical semantics) is within structuralist semantics.

The volume is divided into six chapters, with the first two introductory to wider issues, the next three on issues related specifically to lexical semantics and lexicography, and the final chapter on scholarly discussion of the topic (a kind of literature survey after the fact).

The first two chapters address broader general questions regarding lexical semantics. In the first chapter, on problems within lexical semantics, Nida and Louw begin by problematizing any definition of meaning, and hence the usefulness of dictionaries, which often rely upon etymologies or (in biblical studies) theological expositions. Rather than the BAGD approach of simply listing alternative glosses, Nida and Louw endorse a "distinctive feature" approach (p. 4). Some of the problems of lexical semantics revolve around the fact that words vary in their level and type of specification. Nida and Louw refer to this as the difference between "designative" and "associative" meanings (p. 8),

with the first referential and the second supplementary. New Testament lexicography has some of its own unique problems on the basis of the timeframe for composition of the New Testament and its transmissional process, hence their emphasis upon use. Nida and Louw state eight assumptions about lexical semantics. They revolve around words indicating "entities, activities, characteristics, and relations" (p. 11), working with the assumption of a singular meaning and a central meaning, sense going beyond simply word accumulation, a general societal consensus on word meanings, the meaning of a word being the best contextual fit, the importance of restricted languages, and languages being used to perform functions. These basic assumptions about language lead to nine assumptions about method in lexical semantics. These are the "limited number of verbal signs" in a language (p. 17) so that multiple meanings of words are expected, the lexicon being an "open system" (p. 17), the boundaries of meanings not being precise but fuzzy, languages not having balanced features but being anomalous (they are "parallax") (p. 17), "the meanings of verbal signs [being] determined by other verbal signs" (p. 18), the meaning of many signs together not being the same as the meaning of individual signs, signs having minimalist meaning, signs not being equated with reality, and modern taxonomies of words not being absolute. These assumptions are also true of New Testament lexical semantics.

The second chapter is on the nature of language, where Nida and Louw sound more confidently structuralist when they speak of language as system, assume a code-based view of language that is rule governed, [p. 137/204] and describe Greek as having many systems that depart from English. The primary function of words within languages is, according to Nida and Louw, that of naming. To clarify the relation of the individual sign within the system of signs and the referent, Nida and Louw appeal to Charles Peirce's triad of sign, referent, and interpretant (p. 25; no reference is given), although they also introduce the social world as a means of accounting for indefinite meanings. This social dimension of language makes context the most important element in determining meaning. In relation to designative meaning, the relationship of the sign to what it signifies is complex, with words serving different functions (onomatopoeic, indexical, etc.). They also have different types of referents, whether within or outside of language. Most words, Nida and Louw state, belong to more than one semantic class, the classes being entities, activities, characteristics, and relations. Besides designative meanings, associative meanings of words are acquired as they are used in varying ways, a particularly difficult task for biblical lexical semantics.

In chapter three, Nida and Louw address problems related to their lexicon, analyzing meanings of a lexeme. Nida and Louw recognize that a word may have what they call an "unmarked meaning" or "core" or "central" meaning (p. 18), but lexemes will also have associative meanings that one must be able to analyze, in the case of the Bible without native speakers (who are not necessarily helpful in this regard). Nida and Louw devote this chapter to five major examples that they discuss: γῆ, πατήρ, ἐκβάλλω, and σάρξ in light of the English example "light." They provide syntactical context in order to offer discursive observations. On the basis of identifying similarities and differences, they

classify the uses of "light" into various individual lexemes that encapsulate the various uses. They then illustrate how this is illustrated by translations of χάρις. They conclude the chapter by dealing with some problem issues, such as figurative language, Semitic idioms, and classification of uses of εἰς, διά, and ἔχω. All of these instances are designed to show how Nida and Louw went about their task of sorting and then arranging the variety of uses of individual lexical items.

Chapter four addresses the question of the arrangement of semantic domains. This volume specifically focuses upon an onomasiological approach to meaning, by their treatment of words in relation in domains. Nida and Louw use as an initial example a sub-set of words within the category of psychological faculties to show their semantic relations. This chapter focuses upon paradigmatic choice, rather than the syntagmatic choice of chapter three. Nida and Louw specify how the semantic domains are arranged into divisions (entities, activities, characteristics, relations, and some others), and the different lexemes are hence organized [p. 138/204] on the basis of how they are semantically related to each other, whether in hierarchy or in clusters of similar meanings. They present five criteria for differentiating the related meanings of different words: focusing upon close meanings, identifying shared semantic features, identifying distinguishing semantic features, differentiating core from supplemental semantic features, and determining the types of semantic relations, followed by a number of examples.

The fifth chapter concerns the classification of domains themselves. Nida and Louw here differentiate between traditional word identification based on, for example, part of speech, and semantic classes of words. The principles for classification in semantic domains may vary, but there are certain common principles that were used to order the words, populate the domains, name them, and then provide definitions, not simply glosses.

The sixth chapter contains a review of many important works on lexical semantics, acknowledging the work done before the twentieth century but concentrating upon structuralist lexicography from the early twentieth century to work by sociolinguists in the 1980s. Nida and Louw conclude with three implications: dictionaries are inadequate, setting needs to be more thoroughly considered, and lexical meaning is essentially indeterminate.

This volume provides a necessary companion to the Louw-Nida semantic domain lexicon, as it provides many insights into their approach to lexical semantics and lexicography. The authors are to be commended for making clear that lexical semantics is complex, even if many readers will be discouraged by the conclusion that lexical meaning is indeterminate. The method that Nida and Louw provide, as my further comments below indicate, does not remedy the situation, as it requires that one begin with a set of assumptions regarding meaning. The many significant examples give a good idea of how the authors went about the work of constructing their lexicon. However, there are a number of shortcomings that become evident. The first is that there is clear methodological tension over whether meaning is structural (based upon the

language system or code) or social (based upon usage), and how they relate to each other. On the one hand, the authors claim to be working from a sociolinguistic standpoint, but their method is primarily structural, with their code view of language, their reference to distinctive features, and the appeal to core meanings. On the other hand, their lists of examples assume that there are ranges of legitimate meanings on the basis of social usage. Their treatment of these differences is not convincing. Like Silva, they posit that there are core meanings of words, but they seem to take the view that these meanings are unmarked instances. In many ways, this approach resembles prototype theory. However, they never define what a [p. 139/204] core or central meaning is, and whether this meaning, being listed first in a lexicon, is determined by frequency or some other means. Much more explanation of this meaning is also required in relation to what Nida and Louw call the extended or peripheral meanings. They seem to assume that these related meanings are actual meanings, because they go on to organize them in groupings as semantic domains.

The second issue is that the method outlined in chapter three remains vague as a method for both lexical semantics and especially their semantic domain dictionary. Their lists of words are described, but it is unclear how one moves from the statements to generalizations to categories of meaning and then, finally, to semantic domains. If componential analysis lies at the heart of this method, then I would have expected much more analysis of the semantic components and how these are related to the various contextual uses in which the words are found. But no such analysis is offered. The discussion remains relatively impressionistic. The method appears clear in the authors' mind, but I am not convinced that it would be replicable by others even using the same basic data.

The third problem is that, if Nida and Louw are going to take the approach that they have, much more needs to be done on differentiating between semantics and pragmatics and attempting to generalize pragmatics so as to establish the socialized or contextual meanings. The notion of context is crucial here but so are criteria for meaning differentiation. Although context is mentioned a number of times throughout their work, it is not sufficiently well-defined as a means of differentiating meanings. As a result, the relationship with semantics remains unclear.

The fourth is that Nida and Louw never mention but simply assume that words have multiple meanings (polysemy), even if one meaning is central or core (although this is not defined adequately). The identification of a core or central meaning from which all of the other meanings are generated sounds much more like monosemy, in the sense that there is a sufficient abstract meaning from which various contextual uses may be derived on the basis of contextual modulation to create extension, metaphor, or the like. This issue is never addressed.

The fifth and final criticism is directed at the lexical project itself. Nida and Louw identify the four basic divisions of lexical domains but they never fully justify their 93 semantic domains or justify the sub-categories within them or the divisions within these sub-categories. These are presumably identified on the basis of the lexical evidence.

However, if one were to approach even their notions of core meaning differently, then the number and distribution of meanings would be significantly different and require a rethinking of the lexical domains themselves, as well as their internal organization. [p. 140/204]

Price, *Structural Lexicology and the Greek New Testament*

The next work for review is by Todd Price, who in 2015 published a book that makes clear from its title its approach to lexical semantics: structural lexicology and the Greek New Testament.[48] In this significant volume, he draws upon corpus linguistics as a means of identifying what he calls Word Sense Possibility Delimitation by especially using collocational analysis. Of the nine chapters in this serious and detailed volume, the first four are devoted to laying out his method, and the next four to illustrating it, before a concluding chapter.

In the first chapter, Price identifies corpus linguistics as the recent advance in linguistics that he wishes to utilize in the service of what he calls structural lexicology (as opposed to structural semantics and structural meaning), attending to the "lexicogrammatical structure" (p. 2) of the language. Structural lexicology is determined not just to offer a meaning but to answer the question of how that meaning was arrived at. Price offers a brief history of corpus linguistics, beginning in the thirteenth century with the first Bible concordance. He admits that this is corpus linguistics before it became corpus linguistics, not least because of the lack of computer processing available. The beginning stages were laid by the work of H. E. Palmer and especially J. R. Firth,[49] but Price misses the work of Charles Fries.[50] Early work, including identifying the notion of "key word in context" (KWIC), focused upon the compilation of the major corpora of English and the work of John Sinclair, who led the COBUILD (Collins Birmingham University International Language Database) project. Some New Testament scholars of the time mentioned corpus linguistics, but no major projects were undertaken. The significance of corpus linguistics increased at the end of the last century and then it became an important part of linguistics in the early years of the twenty-first century. Price looks to an article by Matthew Brook O'Donnell in 2000 as the first publication using corpus linguistics in biblical studies.[51] Price notes a number of the [p. 141/204] major corpora, several significant recent books on the topic, and several major projects and conferences in the current research environment. At the time Price wrote, he was unaware of any other New Testament Greek corpus linguistics papers besides O'Donnell's, which he rightly commends (he misses the fact that O'Donnell, Jeffrey Reed, and I presented two papers, both subsequently published, at the first Corpus Linguistics Conference in 2001 at Lancaster).[52] The foundation of his own corpus linguistic work is based upon the notion of collocation and colligation, which implies a close relationship between form and meaning, although Price backs away from the significance of this observation.[53]

The second chapter outlines Price's method. Following O'Donnell, Price notes that

corpus linguistics entails both method and theory.[54] Price here reviews and outlines his position on the standard issues in corpus linguistics. These include the areas of unstructured vs. structured and representative corpora, the corpus's purpose, its size (he is going to require a minimum of 50 examples from his corpus for any study), word count (differentiating between tokens and types), genres included in the corpus, representative samples, lengths of individual texts, synchronic parameters, internal linguistic variables (e.g. registers), and availability. Price settles on a total corpus of around 4 million words, divided into a primary, secondary, and tertiary corpus. He searches the first and only go to the others if he has inadequate numbers of examples. He then outlines how he prepared the corpus for display and how he utilizes both supervised and unsupervised analyses of his examples, as well as both inductive and deductive methods.

   The third chapter outlines some of the finer points of Price's linguistic approach. His primary purpose is the determination of meaning, and so he is concerned to offer what he calls sentential definitions, taking [p. 142/204] a semasiological rather than onomasiological approach. He utilizes the difference between denotative and connotative meaning, recognizing three kinds of connotative meaning: emotive, grammatical, and pragmatic. He also notes the importance of context, and draws in relevance theory, scripts or themes from cognitive linguistics, and Michael Hoey's lexical priming, in which the use of a word primes for the use of other words.[55] Price offers an extensive defense of his assumed (in chapter one) use of polysemy, differentiating it from ambiguity and vagueness on the basis of cognitive schemas, although he also recognizes various types of extension of meaning (e.g. figurative meanings). Price recognizes the difficulty of distinguishing multiple meanings from homonymy, with such differentiation dependent to some extent upon the granularity of one's analysis. At the end, however, Price also adopts the notion of a default, typical, or common meaning of a word, to a large extent determined by statistical frequency. Price here endorses prototype theory, while also finding overlap with various other structuralist theories. Chapter four concentrates upon defining Price's units of meaning. He basically claims that his analysis will result in the disambiguation of meaning through determining structural patterns, on the basis of which he can write his sentential definitions.

   Chapters five to eight present the application of Price's corpus linguistic approach, with the first three chapters devoted to collocation and colligation and the last to semantic preference. Chapter five defines collocation (other words with which the key word appears), colligation (grammatical elements with which the key word appears), and semantic preference (or semantic association in Hoey and O'Donnell's terms),[56] and the ways in which collocation can be measured. After an example in English, Price uses the Greek examples of ἀγαπάω and φιλέω. Price's approach to corpus studies mirrors O'Donnell's in that he delves into the secondary biblical literature on a topic and often uses their categories as the basis of making distinctions. He does that regarding these words often translated "love." His discussion is informative. Despite many advocates for their synonymy, he notes that the verbs have significantly different and no overlapping

collocational patterns for the most common words found five words on either side of the key word (or node as Price labels it). He is nevertheless hesitant to distinguish the meanings of the two words, although he admits that ἀγαπάω collocates more with "Lord" [p. 143/204] and "God" than does φιλέω. Price then turns to the preposition σύν. He justifies the analysis of a function word on the basis of some scholars arguing for semantic content for some prepositions (p. 110). He identifies two collocational patterns with this preposition that describe over 80% of the instances, as well as a number of lesser senses. One of Price's major points of his study is that his collocational analysis enables interpreters to move beyond simply choosing from the various possible meanings of a word, when they are distributionally different. He points out how in some discussions of 1 Cor 10:13, interpreters argue for two senses of the preposition σύν, ignoring the probabilities involved with the result that they commit a form of Barrian illegitimate totality transfer.

Chapter six continues the discussion of chapter five with further discussion of σύν as well as a number of other terms, such as ζάω and δύναμις. The organization of this chapter is not nearly as clear as the previous one, as Price brings too many elements into play. However, he makes a number of interesting observations on the basis of his collocational analysis. For example, Price shows that the meaning of ζάω as "lively" always collocates with ὕδωρ, and so that translation without the collocation is unlikely. He also concludes that whenever δύναμις is the head term with either σύν or μετά it means "with the/an army (or military force)" (p. 132; italics removed). This has implications for interpretation of Mark 9:1, 13:26, and 14:62, as well as others, such as 1 Cor 5:4.

The third and final examination of collocation and colligation occurs in chapter seven. Price focuses upon the verb συνίστημι and the noun συνείδησις. On the basis of a preliminary study, Price identifies eleven senses for συνίστημι and then he examines their collocations. The treatment that stands out is his discussion of συνίστημι, with the sense of the verb sometimes suggested as "hold together." When he examines the passages (biblical and otherwise) often given this rendering, he contends that they are better placed within other categories, such as "exist," "consist of," "make or create," "gather," or "unite." In particular, Price discusses Col 1:17, where he contends that the meaning "to make or bring into existence" makes better sense of its collocational patterns, not "hold together." Concerning συνείδησις, Price concludes that nearly 90% of uses have the meaning "conscience," with a few others having a few other meanings.

Chapter eight treats semantic preference, or what groups or sets of terms are preferred in collocations. Price returns to the preposition σύν and shows how it collocates with what he calls "smaller parts," "transportable items," or "features" (p. 189). There is a brief concluding chapter.

Price has written a significant work that has brought corpus linguistics to bear on lexical semantics or structural lexicology. In a number of ways [p. 144/204] he patterns his work after that of O'Donnell, but focuses more narrowly upon lexicology. One of Price's most important contributions is his observation that lexicons provide lists of

meanings, and users of such lexicons often simply select the meaning that they believe is most appropriate, without regard for important factors such as frequency of the meaning or collocational patterns. Price shows that frequency of meanings (what he calls the default, typical, or common meaning) skews the availability of the choices, and the collocational patterns—which are often not included or fully exemplified in lexicons—are much more determinative in meaning selections. This observation merits further consideration, both for the construction of lexicons and for the users of them. Nevertheless, there are some shortcomings in Price's work. The first concerns his corpus, or rather his three corpora. His primary corpus consists mostly of Jewish Greek works, with Philo and Josephus providing over half the words (over 53%). The only portion of this corpus that is not from Jewish writers is whatever percentage is extracted from the New Testament (which is only 7.9% of his corpus) and the Apostolic Fathers (3.8%), which would total roughly about 7% of the total at best. His primary corpus clearly has the potential to skew his results on the basis of these texts not necessarily being representative of Greek used by non-Jewish authors, even if they are all using koine Greek, because of the subject matter, possible second language interference, translation (25.3% of the corpus is the LXX), etc. The tertiary corpus contains all of the documentary papyri, inscriptions, and non-religious literary texts, a corpus Price only accesses on occasion and especially when he cannot generate 50 examples from his primary or secondary corpus. I would have preferred to have the documentary papyri and similar texts constitute a significant part of Price's primary corpus. His study demands a wider or at least restructured corpus.

The second criticism concerns Price's definitions and theories of meaning. For determining the meanings upon which he draws, Price uses the readily available lexicons, such as BDAG, LSJ, and the like. In some ways, this may be inevitable, but in others it skews the results by pre-deciding the meaning options available to him. This approach also dictates that he utilizes the definitions or glosses provided by these lexicons, rather than beginning from the bottom and formulating his own definitions. He also utilizes the usual differentiation between denotative and connotative meaning, widely made within biblical studies, rather than differentiating between reference, denotation, and sense. The use of denotation for both reference and denotation blurs an important distinction. This formulation also has the effect of making connotative meanings appear to be secondary and the surrounding effects of meaning rather than describing word relations. [p. 145/204]

A third comment is that Price, at times, hesitates to realize the full force of his own findings or is not as clear in his semantic distinctions as he might be. He does not do this at all times, but he does so at some crucial times. The most obvious is in his treatment of ἀγαπάω and φιλέω. Even though his collocational results indicate that the latter shares no significant collocates with the former, Price hesitates to draw a sharp distinction between them, as his evidence would indicate that he should —and as he sometimes does himself in treating other, less controversial words. Because a number of major scholars in the history of Johannine scholarship have asserted that ἀγαπάω and φιλέω are

synonyms because of Johannine redundancy or style or variation, despite his own findings, Price is not as bold in concluding as his collocational evidence indicates—that they are not synonyms, either complete or partial. Some of the other distinctions he attempts to make are not as clear as well. For example, Price at one point distinguishes between "lively" and "be in full vigor" as potential meanings of ζάω when they are not readily distinct, and the descriptions are not differentiated regarding συνίστημι meaning "exist," "consist of," or "hold together." Lastly, regarding his handling of meaning, sometimes in his distinctions Price examines words on the basis of syntactical patterns and other times on the basis of his English glosses, and so it is difficult to know whether these are distinct senses of words or whether these are a mixed set of categories to make distinctions in potential meanings for words and larger units. He does this with συνίστημι with ἐκ or σῶμα, among others.

My last observation concerns Price's assumption of polysemy. At the outset, Price assumes polysemy (as do others such as Louw and Nida), and then returns to offer a defense of it (pp. 18 and then 69-83). I understand why he does this, as he is concerned to offer different potential meanings for each word that are then examined and either supported or refuted by collocational evidence. However, to summarize a more complex discussion, the evidence that Price supplies could often be interpreted from a monosemous bias. In other words, he treats a given word, and the presumption of that word is that it has a unitary recognizable, even if abstract, meaning. Price confirms this when he identifies what he calls a default, typical, or common meaning, sometimes one that functions in 80 or 90% of the instances. He, however, wants to say further that the various meanings of a word are all potential yet distinct polysemous meanings (rather than being homonyms). However, he also recognizes the notion of "meaning extension" (pp. 76-77) as a means of accounting for the varied potential meanings. Furthermore, some of the distinctions that he makes between meanings, as suggested above, do not appear to be different meanings or senses at all, but contextual modulations. These [p. 146/204] various configurations of meaning are easily subsumed within a monosemous framework, in which collocations constitute the means by which meanings are contextually modulated. In other words, what Price has identified is the collocational and colligational patterns that contextually restrict the abstract sense of the word as appropriate in the context, and it is from all of these meanings that the general sense of the word is determined. Since Price begins with lexicons that assert polysemy in their glosses, he is in some ways bound to follow their polysemous perspective, even though his same evidence might well support the alternative hypothesis of monosemy.

Peláez and Mateos, *New Testament Lexicography*

The fifth and final work to consider in this review is unique. It is both the most recent of the lexical semantics books reviewed here, but also among the earliest, as it is an English translation of two works originally published in Spanish, the first in 1989 and the second in 1996. In 1989, Juan Mateos published his book on method of semantic

analysis, and in 1996, Jesús Peláez published on methodology of the Greek-Spanish dictionary, both as preliminary to this dictionary project.[57] Those two books have been translated and combined into a single volume under the editorial guidance and translational abilities of David S. du Toit and Andrew Bowden.[58] Du Toit also provides a very helpful introduction to what he calls the Cordoba School of lexicography of New Testament Greek, and Bowden provides helpful clarificatory notes throughout the translation (going so far as to call the result "a product of my own," p. viii, may be going a little far), in a translation that is generally very smooth, id-iomatic, and free of annoying errors. This editorial work has resulted in a generally smoothly and coherently compiled volume (duplication is at an apparently unavoidable minimum, even with the two volumes included) that makes a significant contribution to New Testament lexicography.

The translation consists of the necessary prefaces and introductions to the translation, and then, after a preface by Mateos that appeared in [p. 147/204] Peláez's volume, there are eleven chapters divided into three major parts. Part one, chapters one and two, is a critical introduction to New Testament lexicography from Peláez's volume, part two, chapters three to seven, contains a theory of semantic analysis from Mateos's volume, and part three, chapters eight to eleven, provides a method of the Greek-Spanish dictionary from Peláez's volume, followed by a catalogue of "semes," the term from French structuralism used to describe semantic units.

The introduction by du Toit is necessary reading for those who wish to fully appreciate the history of New Testament lexicography. He notes the work of Lee (see above), and then traces the history of New Testament Greek lexicography from Deissmann to Moulton and Milligan to Bauer to Louw and Nida to the unfinished Australian project by Greg Horsley and Lee (first announced in 1982, discussed further in the late 1990s),[59] and now the Mateos and Peláez Cordoba Greek-Spanish lexicon project. Du Toit notes that the Cordoba effort draws upon both French structuralism and the categories and language of Greimas and Bernard Pottier for such terms as "seme," "classseme," and "sememe,"[60] but also the componential analysis of American structuralism especially that of Katz, Fodor, and Nida.[61] In essence, Mateos combines "Greimas's concept of a nuclear and contextual meaning with Nida's concept of semantic classes," along with the theory of componential analysis (p. xxix). Du Toit states that the aim of the lexicon is to methodically and systematically define lexical meaning through a tiered approach that distinguishes the semantic levels of lexical and contextual meaning. This is done through the notions of semantic classes—entities, events, attributes, relations, and determinations (from Nida)—and the "seme," or "elementary units of meaning" (p. xxxii). The result is a semantic frame that consists of a graphically depicted semantic formula capturing both denotation and connotation, which includes all of the semantic features or semes of the lexeme, or its "semic development." This is then rendered into a lexical definition, which is subject to refinement by contextual meaning. This, [p. 148/204] in short compass, is the content of the volume. This approach and the resultant dictionary may not be familiar to many New Testament scholars, as there have been few references to it in English-

language (or perhaps non-Spanish) scholarship.[62]

Chapter one by Peláez assesses developments in Greek dictionary making. Peláez begins with Ogden and Richards to establish the points of contention, and then treats analytic meaning through Ullmann and contextual meaning through Wittgenstein. He disputes the value of glosses or translational equivalents, wisely endorses the priority of meaning over words, and settles on the need to present the distinctive semantic features of lexemes.

Chapter two appraises the Greek New Testament lexical tradition, from F. Zorrell through Bauer to Louw and Nida. In many ways similar to Lee's volume, except focused only upon a few dictionaries, Peláez goes into detail on their shortcomings (the excursus by Bowden on BDAG is for the most part redundant, apart from noting the use of definitions in the later edition). Peláez recognizes Louw and Nida for forging a new path but criticizes them for not making their method clear, either in the lexicon or in their supporting volume.

In chapter three, Mateos introduces the Greek-Spanish dictionary project. He explicitly recognizes the importance of Greimas and Nida and states the method as beginning with semantic classes and intending to provide semantic formulas on the basis of the "semic nucleus" of the lexeme (p. 59), including grammatical and semantic level analysis. This chapter provides definitions of the most important terminology used throughout the volume and the dictionary.

Chapter four lays out the semantic formula in a graphic form, based upon the semantic classes of entity, attribute, event, relation, and determination. Mateos systematically works through each class and compound class (e.g. entity + event or entity + attribute), represented by a formula containing a box with the class displayed within it, and then those without and those with one, two, or three connotations (these connotations are represented by lines leading in and out of the box). For example, the lexeme λίθος, "rock," consists simply of an entity (Ent) since it has no connotations of source or effect, while οἶκος, "house," connotes its previous construction and the resultant purpose of its use as habitation, and hence has two connotative lines drawn from the boxed Ent, one leading in and the other out. This chapter is primarily theoretical but invaluable to understanding the theory. [p. 149/204]

Chapter five presents semic analysis, where grammatical categories such as gender, number, mode, tense, aspect, and voice are correlated with semantic categories that may apply to any of the classes above. Semic development begins with the semic nucleus, which Mateos defines as "an abstraction based on the uses of a lexeme in a select corpus" (p. 114). He then differentiates between the lexeme used in isolation and its use in context, for which he has the categories "classemes" and "occasional semes." This too is a primarily theoretical chapter.

In chapter six, Mateos provides lexemic analysis of a number of entries, categorized by semantic class. For example, ἄνθρωπος, "human," is an entity (Ent), without connotations, but it does require semantic analysis for number and gender. Number is "individuality" and gender is "humanity" (note that these do not correlate directly with

grammatical categories). This chapter provides the basis of the Greek-Spanish lexicon.

In chapter seven, Mateos gives examples of contextual meaning or semic analysis. He treats a number of examples, including καρδία, "heart," σῴζω, "save," φιλέω, "like," δικαιοσύνη, "justness," and βασιλεία, "kingdom." For example, he discusses the figurative use of καρδία. His explanation is worth noting, because he shows by means of his graphically displayed complex formula that, in its figurative meaning, one of the characteristics of the lexeme becomes part of its semic nucleus, its being in a living condition (Ev1 + A).

Chapter eight by Peláez is retrospective in that he returns to the basic method and provides a very clear and helpful summary of it in its entirety. Even though this material is redundant, the presentation is clear and concise and helpful. This includes semantic classification of a number of lexemes, the semantic formula, and semic development of it. This chapter is a concise version of chapters three to five. In chapter nine, Peláez discusses semic development with numerous examples, equivalent to chapter six.

Chapter ten, equivalent to chapter seven, discusses contextual meaning or sememes. Peláez shows that in some—though not in all—instances the contextual analysis expands the original semic nucleus, but in a number of instances a change occurs. For example, for ἄνεμος, "wind," sememe one defines it as Ent + Ev, sememe two Ent + Ev (but with different connotations, sememe three Ent + D (determination) + R (relation), and sememe four simply Ev. Whereas the first three see it as an entity plus something else, the fourth defines it simply as an event.

Chapter eleven concludes with Peláez addressing the issue of how one determines meanings for lexemes that have similar formulaic definitions. This chapter shows the value of the semic nucleus and the formula, as words that might be translated similarly are shown to be distinct in their formulas and the connotations. [p. 150/204]

This last volume is clearly one of the most important works in lexical semantics for New Testament Greek study that has been produced over the last century or more, one that functions within both the French and American structuralist theories, more particularly componential analysis. This is the only one of the works that I have surveyed that substantially draws upon French structuralism, probably because of the Continental framework in which it was written. There are a number of reasons to commend this work as a significant improvement upon its predecessors, especially methodologically, even if one must admit that it is a challenging work to read and fully appreciate because of the complexity of the formulas. The first reason to commend it is for its clearly defined method that is rigorously applied to lexical semantics. The second is that this formula attempts to be inclusive by dealing with the matters of lexical meaning and contextual use (semantics and pragmatics) and enfold both into its encompassing formulaic and semic structure. The third is that this method, even if it is not explicit in doing so, adopts what amounts to a type of monosemous approach to lexical semantics, in which the semic nucleus of the lexeme is said to represent an abstract meaning, and this meaning is seen, for the most part, to be present in the lexical meaning with its connotations. The monosemous element seems to break down in some

instances when contextual meaning is considered, although that is not, so far as I can see, inherent in the formulaic semic approach. This may just be a matter of how the formula is applied in the individual instances. A fourth reason is that the clear lexical theory or set of theories is firmly within the productive structuralist framework of both American and French componential analysis. A fifth is that the method that is laid out here has been directly applied in the Greek-Spanish lexicon project, and so the fruits of the theory are readily apparent and usable in biblical studies. Lexical studies, and the lexicons that may go with them, that wish to equal this one will, in the future, need to be as theoretically and methodologically explicit in their approach and their execution.

There are, however, a number of questions that emerge from such a project. The first is one of reductionism. The structuralist approach reduces phenomena to simple structures and in this case formulas. This project is no different. In some ways, this is a necessity if one wishes to produce transferable results. However, one must wonder whether reducing a lexeme simply to the formula "entity" is sufficient to describe its lexical meaning, to say nothing of its connotations and contextual meaning. This is no doubt why Peláez feels compelled to provide a chapter on disambiguating the meanings of lexemes with similar formulas, as a means of showing how, even with similar formulas, lexemes still retain distinct meanings. [p. 151/204]

A second problem concerns the method itself, moving from instances of usage to semes to a semic nucleus to a developed formula to a definition. There is no clear and explicit way to get from the beginning to the end, without the possibility of ambiguity, subjectivity, dispute, and even slippage. For example, ἄνθρωπος, "human," is analyzed simply as an "entity." However, in the context of New Testament usage, one might well find connotations leading into "humanity" regarding its origins or status or character, and connotations leading away from it indicating its purpose. These would not be the same kind of connotations as with events (equivalent to subject, object, and recipient in this scheme), but they would be connotations nevertheless. This raises the larger question of the formulas themselves, how much of them are based upon firm data that the formula requires and how much of them are based upon subjective analysis based upon numerous examples. The examples are always found in context, and one must wonder whether some of the meaning that is seen in the lexeme is from the context and not the lexeme, such as in various clause types. The Cordoba project is admittedly based upon Louw and Nida's definition of meaning based upon "distinctive features" (p. 14), but I identified that the Louw and Nida approach did a very poor job of identifying and laying out in clearly formulated ways what the distinctive features of a given lexeme are.

A third observation concerns the distinction between denotation and connotation. Besides some of the questions I raised above, I wonder if these are the right categories to use in this project. To my mind, this project is primarily concerned with what the authors call denotation, and connotation is much more contextually variable. However, for this project, connotations are an essential part of the semic formula, even if not part of the semic nucleus, and therefore part of the "meaning" of the word in its lexical use, supposedly apart from context (as contextual analysis constitutes another part of the

equation). I wonder if a better tact might be to label these "connotations" as "implicatures" or "semantic entailments" or something along the lines that indicates that the use of the lexeme itself implicates or entails these semic features, apart from context.

A fourth set of questions emerges in the grammatical and semantic categories and their relationship. One first of all wonders about some of the categories themselves. Grammatical gender is at one point described as "masculine, feminine, neuter, common, epicene, and ambiguous" (p. 103), but this seems to be mixing in semantic categories, which are treated separately. One might say similar things about some of the other categories. One further wonders whether all of these categories are appropriate in the lexicon, with categories such as voice being applied to [p. 152/204] entities and attributes, beside events. Much of this confusion seems to relate to the relationship between appropriate form and semantic categories. The difficulties are particularly noticeable with tense, aspect, and voice. For tense, a distinction is morphologically made, for example, between "absolute time" and "relative time" (p. 107). This, however, is not a morphological distinction. A similar confusion is found over aspect, where morphological aspect is defined (called "morphemic aspect," p. 109), but it is described in terms of lexical aspect (punctiliar, durative, resultative), as are the semantic categories. However, mode is not treated this way at all, with no mention of the formal categories, only semantic ones, and these are then equated not with forms but sometimes with entire clauses (such as conditional clauses or interrogative clauses, p. 106).

A fifth and final observation, and perhaps one that could have been raised above in one of the other categories, concerns how one's theory has an influence upon one's findings. Mateos defines the Greek article as the "definite article" (p. 87). He characterizes it in opposition to an indefinite article, but then notes in a footnote (n. 19) that there is no indefinite article in Greek (he is right). Nevertheless, he draws conclusions from this (non-existent) opposition regarding the meaning of the article as a determination lexeme that is used anaphorically for previous mention, as well as when he deals with abstract lexemes and verbal forms with the article (infinitive). One cannot, of course, rethink all of the categories of one's linguistic theory or one's Greek grammar, but the categories that we do accept cannot help but shape our view of the evidence, as it does in this instance with the article.

Conclusion

This review article has been concerned to present and evaluate a number of recent works in lexical semantics. I began with Geeraerts's overview to provide a framework for examination of a number of books in Greek New Testament studies. I also briefly presented Lee's and Hasselbrook's volumes to provide necessary context for the works in New Testament studies explicitly devoted to lexical semantics of Greek. Several concluding observations are worth making.

The first observation is that there has been clear progress made in New Testament Greek lexical semantics, as works have developed in methodological explicitness and in

their rigor. In this sense, the earlier works should be examined in the light of the history of scholarship within New Testament studies and the unavailability of previous works to guide discussion. In this trajectory, the lack of methodological sophistication [p. 153/204] or rigorous analysis in the Nida and Louw volume comes as a surprise, especially as it serves as an explanatory volume for their Greek-English lexicon. The last two works by Price and the team of Mateos and Peláez , however, are methodologically much more sophisticated, they are aware of where they fit within the history of lexicography, and they bring explicitness and rigor to their task.

The second observation is that the explicit methods and approaches found in Price and in Mateos and Peláez do not mean that earlier works are now without value or that the task of New Testament lexicography has now been concluded. We are far from a conclusion to the issues raised by the meanings of words and how to account for them in systematic ways. A volume such as Silva's, even though it is very brief at numerous points and without sufficient examples so as to ensure clear explication, has had a significant impact on New Testament lexicography, because it stood virtually alone and —and this is more important—because it "translated" an established linguistic theory, relational semantics, for New Testament studies. Silva's use of relational semantics from Lyons was an excellent choice, because Silva explicitly adopted a reasonably clear lexical approach. The result was a significant amount of theoretical dependence upon Lyons and others in his work, but the categories continue to be productive, as is Silva's volume.

A third observation is that all of the volumes within New Testament Greek lexical semantics reflect the structuralist agenda, especially relational semantics, and more particularly many of them evidence various elements of componential analysis. This is not necessarily a criticism, as structuralist lexical semantics has been highly productive. Structuralism has presented an at least ostensible means of analyzing complex data into structural units. So long as one is explicit in the grounds for making such distinctions there will be merit in such an approach. However, the fact that all of the volumes use structuralist semantics does not indicate that it remains unchallenged in the wider field. As Geeraerts's volume shows, there are many alternatives that have developed, both before and after structuralist lexical semantics. I have my opinion on which ones may or may not prove more productive for the study of ancient Greek, without its native speakers. The fact that cognitive semantics has grown quickly in interest but is only now starting to emerge in small ways in New Testament Greek studies should cause some concern, not because it is the answer but because its approach remains vague.

The fourth and final observation is that with only five significant works being produced over the last nearly forty years in New Testament Greek studies there is clearly room for more research and writing in this field, almost regardless of the method that is being proposed, so long as [p. 154/204] the method is consistently applied. Several of the approaches Geeraerts outlines have never been employed in New Testament Greek lexical studies, so we cannot see how they would fare. The interesting observation by Geeraerts that cognitive semantics is in several ways returning to the priorities of

historical-philological lexical semantics raises a host of questions about the goals and purposes and even accomplishments of cognitive semantics within the history of scholarship on lexical semantics. These questions remain unasked in New Testament Greek study because of a lack of cognitive lexical semantic studies that follow the work discussed in this chapter. In other words, there is plenty of scope within New Testament Greek lexical analysis for exploration of other theories. [p. 155/204]

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1 James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

2 Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). I often refer in the footnotes to worked cited by Geeraerts in his bibliographical survey. Those wanting further citations should consult his study. For all of the volumes reviewed in this essay, I cite page numbers from the volumes within the body of the text, and cite pertinent bibliography to which they refer in their arguments.

3 John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (SBG 8; New York: Peter Lang, 2003); David S. Hasselbrook, *Studies in New Testament Lexicography* (WUNT 2/303; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

4 Michel Bréal, *Essai de sémantique:* Science des significations (Paris: Hachette, 1897); ET: *Semantics: Studies in the Science of Meaning* (trans. Mrs. Henry Cust; New York: Henry Holt, 1900); cf. also Bréal, *The Beginnings of Semantics: Essays, Lectures, and Reviews* (ed. and trans. George Wolf; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).

5 Hermann Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (5th ed.; Halle: Niemeyer, 1920 [1880]).

6 Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (trans. Wade Baskin; ed. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye, and Albert Riedlinger; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

7 Jost Trier, *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes: Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jhdts.* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1931).

8 See John Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 250-69.

9 Stephen Ullmann, *The Principles of Semantics* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell and Jackson, 1957); and Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962).

10 See J. R. Firth, "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955," in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis* (Oxford: The Philological Society, 1957), 1-32; and Zelig Harris, "Distributional Structure," *Word* 10 (1954): 146-62.

11 Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Henry Holt, 1933); Eugene A. Nida, "A System for the Description of Semantic Elements," *Word* 7 (1951): 1-14; and Nida, *Componential Analysis of Meaning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

12 Louis Hjelmslev, *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language* (trans. Francis J. Whitfield; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961 [1943]); Bernard Pottier, "Vers une sémantique modern," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 2 (1964): 107-37; Pottier, "La definition sémantique dans les dictionnaires," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 3 (1965): 33-39; A. J. Greimas, *Sémantique structural: Recherche de méthode* (Paris: Larousse, 1966); ET *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method* (trans. Daniele McDowell, Ronald Schleifer, and Alan Velie; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

13 John Lyons, *Structural Semantics: An Analysis of Part of the Vocabulary of Plato* (Oxford: The Philological Society, 1963); Lyons, Semantics, vol. 1.

14 D. Alan Cruse, *Lexical Semantics* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

15 Jerrold J. Katz and Jerry A. Fodor, "The Structure of a Semantic Theory," *Language* 39 (1963): 170-210.

16 George Lakoff, "On Generative Semantics," in *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology* (ed. Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits; Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1971), 232-96; and Charles J. Fillmore, "The Case for Case," in *Universals in Linguistic Theory* (ed. Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), 1-90. Geeraerts also includes Ronald Langacre, but he cites nothing of significance before his cognitive period. Other names important to generative semantics are Paul Postal, James McCawley, and Háj Ross, according to Randall Allen Harris, *The Linguistics Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 102-104 (who sees Langacre as peripheral, p. 251).

[17] Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantic Primitives* (Frankfurt: Athenaeum, 1972), and many works since.

[18] Ray Jackendoff, *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), a culmination of work beginning in 1976; Manfred Bierwisch, "Major Aspects of the Psychology of Language," *Linguistische Studien* 114 (1983): 1-38, and many more studies; James Pustejovsky, *The Generative Lexicon* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

[19] Igor A. Mel'čuk, "Semantic Primitives from the Viewpoint of Meaning-Text Linguistic Theory," *Quaderni di Semantica* 10 (1989): 65-102, and many other studies.

[20] Igor A. Mel'čuk, *Dependency Syntax: Theory and Practice* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988).

[21] Beth Levin, *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); John M. Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[22] Firth, "Synopsis," 11; Bronislaw Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands, vol. 2: The Language of Magic and Gardening* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935); Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (trans. G. E. M. Anscombe; Oxford: Blackwell, 1953); J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

[23] George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[24] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[25] Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic, 2002), reflecting much previous writing.

[26] Lakoff, *Women;* Charles J. Fillmore, "Scenes-and-Frames Semantics," in *Linguistic Structures Processing* (ed. Antonio Zampolli; Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977), 55-81, among other works.

[27] Elizabeth C. Traugott, "The Rhetoric of Counter-Expectation in Semantic Change: A Study of Subjectification," in *Historical Semantics and Cognition* (ed. Andreas Blank and Peter Koch; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 177-96.

[28] M. A. K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (London: Arnold, 1973), which can hardly be considered his most recent work, although it is a significant one.

[29] Eugene A. Nida, *Exploring Semantic Structures* (Munich: Fink, 1975), especially when one considers that some of these papers were published earlier.

[30] Harris, *Linguistic Wars,* esp. 101-34.

[31] A very disappointing example is Sylvia Luraghi and Eleonora Sausa, "Approaches to New Testament Greek Linguistics," *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicato* 45 (2016): 123-43, who seem to think that the current state of New Testament Greek linguistic study is reflected in the grammars of Friedrich Blass and James Hope Moulton! This is similar to a modern linguist looking to Franz Bopp for the latest discussion. The authors show close to no awareness of the abundance of work in New Testament Greek linguistics. They are not the only ones.

[32] Lee, *History of New Testament Lexicography.*

[33] Hasselbrook, *Studies in New Testament Lexicography.* Cf. Hasselbrook, "Broadening the Semantic Sources of the Bauer Lexicons," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 28-29 (2015-2016) 109-41.

[34] J. P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek* (Philadelphia: Fortress; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982).

[35] Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (2nd ed.; ed. John B. Carroll, Stephen C. Levinson, and Penny Lee; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012; Barr, Semantics. The so-called Sapir-Whorf theory of language determinism had a major influence upon biblical studies, especially through the Biblical Theology Movement, and was responded to by Barr.

[36] Louw cites three books by Noam Chomsky: *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957); *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965); and *Cartesian Linguistics* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); as well as two articles.

[37] Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical* Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983; 2nd ed., 1994). Silva also wrote *God, Language and Scripture: Reading the Bible in the Light of General Linguistics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), which only deals with lexical semantics in a limited way.

[38] Ullmann, *Semantics and Principles;* along with works by others.

39 Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953).

40 C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1945 [1923]), 11.

41 See Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations;* Gilbert Ryle, "The Theory of Meaning," in *British Philosophy in the Mid-Century* (ed. C. A. Mace: London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), 239-64, cited by Silva from *Philosophy and Ordinary Language* (ed. Charles E. Caton; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 128-53.

42 In particular, Nida, *Componential Analysis;* Lyons, *Semantics.*

43 J. R. Firth, "Ethnographic Analysis and Language with Reference to Malinowski's Views," in *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth 1951-59* (ed. F. R. Palmer; London: Longman, 1968), 137-67; Firth, "The Technique of Semantics," in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 7-33; following Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages," in Ogden and Richards, *Meaning of Meaning,* 296-336, esp. 306.

44 Moisés Silva, "The Pauline Style as Lexical Choice: γινώσκειν and Related Verbs," in *Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce* (ed. Donald A. Hagner and Murray J. Harris; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1980), 184-207.

45 John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 424-34; and by many others.

46 Lyons, *Semantics,* 174-229.

47 Eugene A. Nida and Johannes P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), prepared in conjunction with Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1988).

48 Todd L. Price, *Structural Lexicology and the Greek New Testament: Applying Corpus Linguistics for Word Sense Possibility Delimitation Using Collocational Indicators* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2015).

49 H. E. Palmer, *Second Interim Report on English Collocation* (Tokyo: Kaitakusha, 1933); Firth, *Selected Papers and Papers in Linguistics.*

50 See Peter Fries, "Charles C. Fries, Linguistics, and Corpus Linguistics," *ICAME Journal* 34 (2010): 89-119.

51 Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Designing and Compiling a Register-Balanced Corpus of Hellenistic Greek for the Purpose of Linguistic description and Investigation," in *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 255-97.

52 Matthew Brook O'Donnell, Stanley E. Porter, and Jeffrey T. Reed, "OpenText.org and the Problems and Prospects of Working with Ancient Discourse," in *A Rainbow of Corpora: Corpus Linguistics and the Languages of the World* (ed. Andrew Wilson, Paul Rayson, and Tony McEnery; Linguistics Edition 40; Munich: Lincom, 2003), 109-19; Porter and O'Donnell, "Theoretical Issues for Corpus Linguistics and the Study of Ancient Languages," in *Corpus Linguistics by the Lune: A Festschrift for Geoffrey Leech* (ed. Andrew Wilson, Paul Rayson, and Tony McEnery; Lodz Studies in Language 8; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 119-37.

53 Price (*Structural Lexicology,* 19 n. 148) makes a strange statement in response to my claim that difference in form indicates difference in meaning. Price states, "Presumably he [Porter] does not extended [*sic*] this literally to the point where a first person singular would differ in meaning from a third person singular of the same tense form of the same lexeme." I would indeed mean that, with the difference in form and meaning revolving here around person.

54 Matthew Brook O'Donnell, *Corpus Linguistics and the Greek of the New Testament* (New Testament Monographs 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005).

55 Michael Hoey, *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language* (London: Routledge, 2005).

56 Michael Hoey and Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Lexicography, Grammar, and Textual Position," *International Journal of Lexicography* 21 (3; 2008): 293-309.

57 Juan Mateos, *Método de análisis semántico aplicado al griego del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria 1; Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1989); Jesús Peláez, *Metología del Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento* (Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria 6; Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1996). See Mateos and Peláez, *Diccionario Griego-Español del Nuevo Testamento* (vol. 1-5; Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 2000-2012; vol. 6- ; Madrid: Herder, 2019-).

58 Jesús Peláez and Juan Mateos, *New Testament Lexicography: Introduction, Theory, Method* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam Pertinentes 6; trans. Andrew Bowden; ed. David S. du Toit; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018).

59 This project was announced in Colin J. Hemer, "Towards a New Moulton and Milligan," *NovT* 24 (1982): 97-123. The project was further discussed in two significant articles by G. H. R. Horsley and John A. L. Lee, "A Lexicon of the New Testament with Documentary Parallels: Some Interim Entries, 1," *Filología Neotestamentaria*

10 (1997): 55-84 and Lee and Horsley, "A Lexicon of the New Testament with Documentary Parallels: Some Interim Entries, 2," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 11 (1998): 57-84. I know of nothing substantial published since these regarding this project.

60 See Greimas, *Structural Semantics;* Bernard Pottier, *Linguistique génerále* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1974).

61 Jerold J. Katz, *Semantic Theory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Janet A. Fodor, *Semantics: Theories of Meaning in Generative Grammar* (New York: Crowell, 1977); Nida, *Componential Analysis.*

62 However, see Stanley E. Porter, *Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament: Studies in Tools, Methods, and Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015), 74-76, where the approach is briefly discussed, not mentioned by du Toit.

RECENSIONES Y PRESENTACIÓN DE LIBROS

Le livre, publié en dix fascicules, se présente en deux parties: 1. *Une présentation de la documentation*, p. 7-115, divisée en plusieurs chapitres et principalement orientée vers les types de texte vieux latins: 1) Les manuscrits vieux latins (9-15) / 2) L'appareil éditorial (16-20) / 3) Les commentaires patristiques (21-23) / 4) Les types de texte (24-111) / 5) Les textes grecs et les versions anciennes (112) et Listes d'abréviations (113-115); 2. *L'édition de la Vieille latine de Marc*, p. 119-819, suivie d'un index (821-840), et d'une liste de corrections (841-842).

La version vieille latine de la Bible, rassemblant la documentation antérieure à la Vulgate, a d'abord été éditée au 18ᵉ siècle par Pierre Sabatier (Reims, 1743), disposant alors des citations patristiques et d'une documentation manuscrite limitée. Cette édition monumentale a permis de découvrir, pour les évangiles, les nombreux accords entre le Codex de Bèze (D.05), manuscrit bilingue grec-latin des évangiles et des Actes copié vers 400, et cette première version latine, accords réunis sous le qualificatif de recension «occidentale», par J. S. Semler: «Diuersa graeca recensio (…) fere obtinuit; *alexandrinam* facile distinguere licet…; alia per *Orientem…* valebat; alia per *Occidentem*» (*Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti interpretationem*, Hale, 1767, p. 45-46). La différence avec les autres recensions est bien observée, mais l'origine occidentale qui lui est attribuée est une erreur: de nouveaux témoins syriaques, découverts à la fin du 19ᵉ siècle, et coptes, au cours du 20ᵉ siècle, montrent qu'il s'agit d'un type de texte universel et plus ancien que les autres. Les principaux manuscrits sont édités; puis A. Jülicher propose une édition critique des évangiles (*Itala*, Berlin – New York, W. De Gruyter, 1963-1976), où figurent en lignes superposées le texte et les variantes des manuscrits vieux-latins, sans les citations patristiques ni le texte grec.

Il revenait à la collection Vetus Latina, initiée en 1949 et se proposant de réunir pour toute la Bible toute la documentation vieille-latine, manuscrits et citations, d'accueillir un travail plus complet pour les évangiles, après avoir été déjà partiellement réalisé pour d'autres livres. Mais la masse des citations pour certains livres, les évangiles et les psaumes en particulier, a jusqu'à présent découragé les éditeurs, qui ont mené à bien, pour le NT, dix des quatorze épîtres du corpus paulinien (il manque encore Rm, 1-2 Co et Gal), les sept épîtres catholiques et l'Apocalypse; et l'évangile de Marc, moins

souvent cité que les autres, a le premier trouvé son éditeur.

1. La présentation de la documentation (7-115) fournit d'impressionnantes listes de variantes entre les manuscrits de la Vieille latine: c'est incontestablement la partie la plus approfondie de l'édition, celle qui était au centre du projet éditorial. Les autres sujets, à savoir les divisions du texte évangélique, les auteurs de citations patristiques et l'histoire du texte grec, sont présentés avec une extrême concision, ce qui laisse la place à des compléments ultérieurs. Mais l'aboutissement rapide d'une somme de travail aussi considérable est en soi un exploit.

2. L'édition de Marc proprement dite est pour chaque page en quatre parties: 1. Le choix du texte grec à éditer, pour la comparaison avec celui de la Vieille latine; 2. La distinction des divers types de texte de la Vieille latine; 3. L'apparat critique réunissant les variantes et leurs témoins; 4. Le texte complet des citations patristiques précédées, et c'est nouveau, de celui des manuscrits vieux latins.

2.1. Le choix du texte grec. Pour les autres écrits du NT, le texte grec choisi pour permettre la comparaison avec les types de texte vieux latins était celui établi pour l'édition courante Nestle Aland. Mais ce choix ne convenait pas pour les évangiles, pour plusieurs raisons. D'abord, parce que nous avons, dans le Codex de Bèze (D.05), un texte grec des évangiles et des Actes beaucoup plus proche de la Vieille latine que le texte de Nestle-Aland: il fallait donc pour le moins faire apparaître ce texte correspondant au principal modèle traduit par la Vieille latine. Ensuite, pour une raison plus profonde de méthode: le texte d'une édition critique est une reconstitution moderne qui ne suit, par principe, aucun manuscrit en particulier, mais s'efforce d'approcher le texte original. Mais pour la présentation des modèles de la Vieille latine, il convenait d'éditer le texte des principaux témoins de chaque type de texte grec: le choix s'est porté sur trois d'entre eux, le Codex de Bèze, pour le texte «occidental» le plus souvent traduit, le Vaticanus (B.03), pour le texte alexandrin qui sert de modèle secondaire, et pour le texte byzantin, plus rarement suivi, l'Alexandrinus (A.02). La disposition dans cet ordre du texte des trois manuscrits retenus fait référence à l'hypothèse de l'existence du texte «occidental» dès le milieu du 2ᵉ siècle, le texte alexandrin n'apparaissant pas avant la fin du 2ᵉ siècle, et le texte byzantin, pas avant le milieu du 4ᵉ siècle; cette hypothèse rejoint celle de Joseph Frede et Walter Thiele, pour la Vieille latine des épîtres du NT, elle est également développée dans le «petit livre» de Léon Vaganay (*Initiation à la critique textuelle néotestamentaire*, Paris, 1934; 2ᵉ éd. [C.-B. Amphoux] Paris, Cerf, 1986), les articles de Jean Duplacy réunis par Jean Delobel (Études de critique textuelle du NT, BETL 78, Leuven, Peeters, 1987) et le récent *Manuel de critique textuelle du NT* dirigé par C.-B. Amphoux (Bruxelles, Safran, 2014). En plus de ces trois manuscrits dont le texte intégral de Marc est reproduit, figurent en petits caractères les variantes d'autres manuscrits correspondant au texte vieux latin, principalement le Codex de Freer (W.032) et les témoins du type de texte «césaréen» (Θ.038 f^1 f^{13} 28 565 700), accessoirement le Sinaïticus (∼.01) et d'autres manuscrits de type alexandrin, voire de type byzantin. Mais l'hypothèse n'est pas consensuelle, elle est contestée, notamment, par Kurt Aland (Allemagne) et Bruce M. Metzger (Etats-Unis),

ainsi que par l'équipe dirigée par David C. Parker (Birmingham), qui prépare la Vetus Latina de Jean.

2.2. *Les types de texte de la Vieille latine*. En dessous du texte des trois manuscrits grecs, superposés invariablement dans l'ordre D, B (remplacé par C pour Mc 16,9-20) et A, la version vieille latine se présente avec la superposition de ses types de texte et non de ses manuscrits. C'est un choix traditionnel de la collection, de même que celui des lettres utilisées pour désigner les types de texte. (1) *Le type de texte X*, correspondant aux citations de Tertullien, antérieur à tout autre type, est peu attesté pour Marc (7,10), comme le signale l'auteur, p. 24. (2) *Le type de texte africain* est représenté avec ses sigles habituels: **K** pour la forme ancienne attestée par le Codex Bobiensis (*k* / VL 1, Mc 8,8-16,8), une première strate du Colbertinus (*c* / VL 6; p. 90-91), les citations de Cyprien et celles du Pseudo-Cyprien; **C** pour la forme révisée attestée par le Codex Palatinus (*e* / VL 2); et **A** pour celle des citations d'Augustin (1,38; 16,12). (3) *Le type de texte européen* avec ses deux formes: **D** pour celle attestée par le Codex Vercellensis (*a* / VL 3); et **I** pour la forme la plus courante au 4ᵉ siècle, dont les principaux témoins sont le Codex Veronensis (*b* / VL 4) et sa variante **J** pour ses leçons isolées, le Corbeiensis (*ff*² / VL 8) et le Vindobonensis (*i* / VL 17). Les témoins secondaires de ce type sont: le latin du Codex de Bèze (*d* / VL 5), qui mêle le type **I**, dans Marc, et les leçons propres de ce manuscrit; le Monacensis (*q* / VL 13), l'Usserianus (*r*¹ / VL 14); et le Codex Colbertinus (*c* / VL 6), qui mêle une strate africaine, plus ancienne, le type **I** et une strate vulgate due à sa copie tardive (12ᵉ s.). Les citations patristiques du 4ᵉ siècle sont globalement faites sur le type **I** (p. 57), mais dans le détail leur petit nombre pour Marc et leur diversité ne permettent pas d'apparenter plus précisément tel manuscrit et tel auteur. (4) *Le type de texte V* est ajouté pour la Vulgate, faite à partir de la révision du type **I** par Jérôme, à Rome en 383 (p. 111), en suivant un témoin du texte alexandrin – qui pourrait être le Codex Vaticanus lui-même, si celui-ci a bien été, comme je le crois, copié à Rome sous l'autorité d'Athanase vers 340. Le texte de **V** n'est pas celui d'un manuscrit, mais celui de l'édition de Weber et Gryson (Stuttgart, 1994⁴).

Le parti pris de l'auteur est de publier un texte dans tous ses états latins, mais sans tenir compte de la ponctuation ni de la disposition en ligne de sens ni des divisions numérotées du texte de Marc ni des intertitres. La seule division reproduite, pour la facilité de la consultation, est celle en chap. et versets, usuelle depuis le milieu du 16ᵉ siècle. A noter que pour le chap. 9, la numérotation des v. est décalée d'une unité dans le type **V**, à cause du choix de rattacher le v. 9,1 au chap. précédent. On notera également l'absence de toute indication de débuts et fins de lectures liturgiques, parfois indiquées dans les manuscrits. Enfin, au bas de chaque page de Marc, dans le Codex de Bèze, figurent des «*sortes*» prenant place plus couramment en bas des pages de Jean: ils n'ont pas de rapport direct avec le texte de l'évangile et ne sont pas mentionnés.

Le texte de Marc, avec les trois manuscrits grecs et les types vieux latins superposés, est imprimé à raison d'une à trois lignes de texte par page, selon la place que prennent l'apparat critique et le texte des manuscrits et des citations.

3. *L'apparat critique*. En dessous du texte de Marc en grec et en latin, comme il est

habituel, figure l'apparat critique dans lequel sont précisés les témoins de chaque variante, non seulement en grec et latin, mais encore dans les autres versions anciennes dont la liste figure p. 114. C'est là que s'ajoutent aux manuscrits et aux versions les références aux citations patristiques. Chaque lieu variant est traité dans un alinéa, et les variantes y sont séparées par un blanc; pour chaque variante, le latin est cité en premier avec ses témoins, d'abord les manuscrits, puis les citations, puis vient le grec avec ses témoins manuscrits et les versions autres que le latin. La disposition est ainsi d'une grande clarté; en revanche, les sigles des auteurs de citations, d'une grande complexité, renvoient à un ouvrage introductif que l'on doit avoir sous la main, car ni dans l'introduction, ni dans l'index ni sur un carton mobile ces sigles ne sont expliqués: il serait utile de produire en complément de la présente édition un tel carton résumant l'explication de tous ces sigles, comme cela se fait pour les éditions critiques de la Bible.

4. *Le texte des manuscrits et des citations patristiques*. Enfin, en bas de page, selon l'usage de la collection, figure le texte complet des citations patristiques, avec le sigle de l'auteur dans l'ordre alphabétique, de l'ouvrage cité avec les références. Ce qui est nouveau, c'est qu'avant ces citations, pour chaque verset, figure également le texte de chaque manuscrit vieux latin précédé de son sigle. Il est arrivé, pour les épîtres de Paul, que plusieurs pages soient nécessaires pour les citations d'un seul verset: ainsi, pour Phl 2,6-11. Mais pour Marc, le bas de page suffit pour contenir le texte des manuscrits et celui des citations. A la fin des chap. introductifs, p. 113-115, sont réunis les sigles de l'apparat critique; mais il y manque ceux des auteurs et ouvrages dont viennent les citations. Pour les comprendre, on doit se reporter à l'ouvrage de H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller. Verzeichnis und Sigel*, Vetus Latina 1/1, 4. aktualisierte Auflage, Freiburg (Herder), 1995; ouvrage traduit et complété par R. Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut Moyen Age*, ibid., 2007.

La documentation ainsi réunie vise à l'exhaustivité, dans le champ limité de la version latine antérieure à la révision de Jérôme qui deviendra la Vulgate. C'est un exploit qui n'est encore réalisé ni pour le texte grec ni pour aucune des autres versions anciennes. Certes, il n'est pas exclu que de nouveaux témoins manuscrits ou patristiques viennent encore s'ajouter, la philologie biblique n'est pas au bout de ses peines. Mais on doit saluer l'immense outil de travail qui vient de s'achever, avec ce volume 17 de la Vetus Latina contenant l'évangile selon Marc.

Je reviens à présent sur la question de la division de l'évangile de Marc dans la Vieille latine, rapidement abordée dans le chap. de «L'appareil éditorial» (p. 16-20). L'auteur envisage trois documents: le canon eusébien 10, qui liste les passages propres à chaque évangile; la liste des *capitula* de Marc, publiée par D. De Bruyne (*Quelques documents…*, Maredsous, 1910, p. 6-10); et les divisions qui apparaissent dans plusieurs témoins du type de texte **I** de la Vieille latine. La division la plus ancienne est celle des *capitula*, comme le montre les correspondances de vocabulaire entre leur texte et le type **K** de la Vieille latine africaine, à partir de Mc 8,8; et pour la première moitié de Mc, je signale deux compléments aux rapprochements de l'auteur avec le type **C**. (1) Dans l'appel du péager (*capitulum* X = Mc 2,13-17), celui-ci porte le nom de «Jacques»

d'Alphée, qui est commun à toute la Vieille latine et sera corrigé en «Lévi» d'Alphée seulement dans la Vulgate. (2) Dans l'épisode des deux guérisons féminines (XXI = 5,21-43), le nom de «Jaïrus» (v. 22) n'apparaît pas, comme dans **C** et **D**, à la différence de **I**; et Jésus interpelle la jeune fille avec le mot «tabitha» (v. 41), commun à toute la Vieille latine et qui sera corrigé en «talitha» dans la Vulgate. Dans ces deux épisodes, le modèle grec est celui de D, qui s'oppose aux textes alexandrin (B) et byzantin (A).

La liste des *capitula*, enfin, commence par le n° II et concerne le baptême de Jésus, soit l'épisode Mc 1,2-11: le n° I manquant correspond donc au titre de l'évangile, soit 1,1; mais à ce titre, il faut encore, à mon avis, rattacher la citation de Malachie 3,1 (v. 2b), tandis que le v. 2a introduit la citation d'Esaïe (v. 3) et marque le début de l'épisode du baptême.

Le présent livre de la Vieille latine de Marc est une contribution de premier ordre à l'étude textuelle et littéraire de cet évangile; et l'auteur pourrait s'appliquer à lui-même ces vers d'Horace:

> *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*
> *Regalique situ pyramidum altius*
> *Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens*
> Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
> Annorum series et fuga temporum.

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E. P. Sanders, *Paul: The Apostle's Life, Letters, and Thought* (Minneapolis, MN/London: Fortress/SCM Press, 2016), xxxv+862 pp. ISBN 978-0-334-05455-9. $34.99.

E. P. Sanders — Emeritus Professor of Religion at Duke University — brings together everything he knows about Paul's life, mission, letters, and thought in *Paul*. "It is 'the complete Paul'—as complete as I can make it" (xv). Sanders certainly achieves completeness: after a preface and introduction, 24 chapters, two appendixes, and numerous indexes, his book totals 862 pages in length.

Sanders comments in his preface on the reason the book grew to this length: "I had long wished that I could cover Paul thoroughly in undergraduate lectures, and so I said to myself that I would put into the new book all of the material that I would have put into lectures and classes for undergraduate students …. When I counted the pages, I was

amazed at the length of the book; but, having explained everything about Paul that I could, I was not going to delete sections" (xv). Also in his preface, Sanders admits that it took him 20 years (xiv) to publish this book on Paul because of complete exhaustion from publishing "a book a year for four years" (xiii), including his famous *Judaism: Practice and Belief* (1992). "I knew that I was tired, but I was used to working hard when tired, and so for a while it seemed possible. But I was thoroughly used up; my brain did not want to work properly; my back resented my sitting at the keyboard for hours on end; and my energy declined" (xiii). According to Sanders, this explains his sporadic and eccentric footnoting in this text (xiv): "There is no academic principle by which I decided to cite this work and not refer to that work... Because of the principle of memory called 'first in, last out,' I usually remembered older literature rather than recent literature" (xiv).

Rather than examining these epistles in the order they appear in the New Testament — and to elevate the importance of the "lesser" letters (xxxii) — Sanders discusses these in approximate chronological order, resulting in the following sequence: Philemon, 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10-13, 2 Corinthians 1-9, Galatians, Philippians, and Romans (xxiii). When studied in chronological order, Paul's letters reveal the development and growth of his ideas (xxxi). Sanders considers various historical aspects as they arise in Paul's epistles. Thus, Paganism is discussed in his chapter on 1 Thess, sexual immorality is examined in relation to 1 Cor (xxviii). Sanders discusses Paul's conclusions before arguments, since he assumes the conclusions normally came first (xxviii). He envisions the "ideal reader" as someone who is interested in Christianity and in religion (xvi). Nevertheless, Sanders thinks that undergraduates and graduates specializing in Christianity will find this book useful and hopes for reactions from scholarly colleagues as well (xvi).

Sanders divides his text into two parts.

The first consists of introductory essays on Paul's life and environment. Thus, in chap. 1 Sanders overviews Paul's life and in chap. 2 he examines Paul before his call to be an apostle. Sanders studies Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles in chap. 3, while in chap. 4 he analyses the themes of travel, letters, people, and money in relation to Paul. This introductory part of the book provides a helpful background for understanding Paul. Interestingly, in chap. 2 Sanders dismisses the theory that Paul was "a Pharisaic scholar — a scholar, yes, but not one who shows specifically Pharisaic concerns and interests" (22). Sanders recognizes that Paul claims to be a Pharisee in Phil 3,5 ("as to the law, a Pharisee"; 22). Acts provides more detail about Paul the Pharisee, describing his upbringing in Jerusalem and his studies under Gamaliel, the great Pharisaic sage (Acts 22,3; cf. Acts 26,4.17-18). Despite this account, Sanders states, "What I doubt is that his [sc. Paul's] entire education was in Jerusalem and that he was a Palestinian Pharisee, taught by Gamaliel. The only evidence for this view is the description in Acts, which is dependent on Luke's Jerusalem-centric view …" (28). It seems that Phil 3,5 — where Paul claims to be a Pharisee and which Sanders previously noted — is at odds with Sanders' claim about Acts providing *the only piece of evidence* that Paul was a Pharisee.

Sanders interprets this claim differently throughout his text. At times, he admits that Paul was a Pharisee (80) or argued like one (326-27). Sometimes this means that Paul "accepted Pharisaic views" (78). In one instance, Sanders is open to the idea that Paul was a Pharisee *who lived outside of Palestine* (41) — a topic about which Sanders admits that scholars are completely uninformed. In another instance, Sanders states that Paul's letters show no specific signs of Pharisaism (56). Sanders thinks that Paul's lack of *halakah* ("rules about behavior based on Jewish law") indicate that he was not educated as a Palestinian Pharisee under the tutelage of Gamaliel. According to Sanders, if Paul were a Pharisee, he would have drilled into his converts rules of behavior and offered details about how to live (42). However, instilling rules of behavior seems to be exactly Paul's goal, as seen, for example, in 1 Thess 4,2 ("For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus"), 1 Cor 4,17 ("[Timothy will] remind you of my ways in Christ Jesus, as I teach them everywhere in every church"), and 1 Cor 7,17 ("This is my rule in all the churches"). Perhaps Sanders' best supporting argument against Paul being a Palestinian Pharisee consists of Paul's complete mastery and memorization of the Greek Bible (the Septuagint/LXX) (72). Sanders explains that "Paul's brain could find texts that corresponded to the words and ideas that he needed when he needed them. … By repeated reading and study on can know a text well enough to quote it more or less accurately if the need arises" (75). For numerous reasons, memorization was far more practical than referring to scrolls (74-75, 170). This mastery of the LXX by Paul was a remarkable accomplishment; yet trained Palestinian Pharisees could quote any passage from the *Hebrew Bible* (76). Since Paul calls himself a Pharisee in Phil 3,5, he would have needed to memorize both the Hebrew *and* Greek Bible — certainly an unlikely yet not impossible undertaking. Additionally, in chap. 2 Sanders dispels the common notion that Paul persecuted believers because of being a Pharisee. Sanders explains that Paul's role as a persecutor had nothing to do with him being a pharisee (78). In Phil 3,5-6 Paul says he did not persecute believers because of being a Pharisee, but because of his zeal (78): "'Zeal' was not a distinctively Pharisaic; it was Jewish. Zeal, in Paul's opinion, was a virtue" (81). Pharisees in general were lenient in judgment and did not seek to persecute those who disagreed with them (78-80). These introductory chapters contain numerous additional insights (e.g. Sanders observes that Paul quotes the words of Jesus only three times; cf. 1 Thess 4,15-18; 1 Cor 7,10-11; 1 Cor 11,23-25 [120]), funny examples (e.g. the story of the Hale-Bopp comet [115]), describe his favorite older commentator (J. B. Lightfoot; cf. 24, 26, 88, 444, 503, 592, 598]), and prompt interest for further investigation (e.g. that Rom. 16, where Paul greets twenty-six people by name, may have originally been sent to another church, perhaps to the church in Ephesus [138]).

The second part of Sanders' text provides an exegesis of Paul's authentic epistles in chronological order. Sanders begins this second part with a chapter on the collection, publication, and dates of Paul's letters (chap. 5). In this chapter, Sanders goes into more detail about his reasons for accepting Pauline authorship of the seven undisputed Pauline epistles and rejecting Paul's authorship of the other epistles written in his name. He

provides more details about his reasons for dating the genuine Pauline epistles, for dividing certain epistles (such as 2 Cor) into at least two epistles, and offers a detailed chronology based on Gerd Lüdemann's insightful analysis of the Jesus movement, beginning with the date of Jesus' death and ending in 55 CE with Paul's journey to Jerusalem to deliver the collection (158-60). Sanders next devotes chap. 6 to introductory remarks on reading Paul's letters. In this chapter Sanders notes that his analysis will primarily focus on two interwoven themes: the relationship between "justification by faith" and change and development: "'Development' does not mean 'retraction.' On the contrary, I find no instance in which Paul retracts what he earlier thought, but rather a good deal of *movement* toward a richer, fuller description of the meaning of life in Christ Jesus" (172, emphasis in original).

In the following chapter (chap. 7), Sanders introduces 1 Thess and the ancient city of Thessalonica. This will be the case each time Sanders discusses a Pauline epistle: before doing so he will devote a chapter or a section of a chapter to introducing the epistle, the city, and the sequence of events (cf. chap. 9 on Corinth; chap. 16 on Galatia; chap. 20 on Philippi; chap. 21 on Rome).

After introductory marks on Thessalonica, Sanders considers important theological topics in 1 Thess in chap. 8, which consist of Christology, Jesus' resurrection, suffering and persecution, eschatology, ethics (especially sexual ethics), Paul's attack on the Jews, and faith and righteousness. Regarding the final theme in 1 Thess — faith and righteousness — Sanders notes that these terms are used in very ordinary ways in this epistle. "Faith" and its cognates in 1 Thess imply fidelity, trust, trustworthiness, lack of doubt, and holding a firm conviction, while "righteousness" and its cognates imply "uprightly" (193). The two words are not closely connected and "[t]hey do not yet carry the special significance and meanings they will acquire in Galatians, Philippians, and Romans …" (193). Although "faith" and "righteousness" are important lexemes in 1 Thess, this epistle primarily develops the other previously mentioned themes. Regarding questions of development in Paul's thought in 1 Thess, Sanders observes that eschatology is very simple: "people are to wait, in a state of blamelessness, until the Lord returns" (224). Suffering is imitation of Christ and Paul and not yet the sharing or participation in Christ's suffering (224).

In chaps. 10-15 Sanders discusses several themes in the Corinthian epistles. Thus, in chap. 10 he considers spiritual gifts, behavior at church meetings, marriage, and sexual topics; in chap. 11 he examines the Lord's Supper and food offered to idols; in chap. 12 he looks at vice lists and homosexual activity; in chaps. 13-14 he analyses resurrection and the future in 1 Cor 15 and later passages; and in chap. 15 he turns his attention to the collection for Jerusalem. These chapters on the Corinthian correspondence are followed by four chapters on Paul's epistle to the Galatians (chaps. 16-19). Unlike his chapters on the Corinthians epistles, Sanders organizes the chapters on Gal around the central theme of the epistle, namely, "the circumcision of Paul's gentile converts" (510; cf. 460). Circumcision corresponds to "the principal 'work of the law' that Paul rejects" (492; cf. 562). In stating this, Sanders opposes Luther's view of Gal, who thought that "works of

the law" correspond to "good deeds" (458). Luther unfortunately created a view that remains popular among protestant readers of Gal, many of whom continue to understand the epistle as an effort to prove that individuals cannot save themselves by good works (the supposed view of Judaism), but by justification by faith in Christ alone apart from works of law (458-59; see similarly 525, 556, 573). According to Luther, righteousness must be imputed by God to individuals since they are unable to attain righteousness by doing good works (456). Luther thus propagated the notion that "prior to Paul all individuals were engaged in the effort to save themselves by good works" (457). Sanders convincingly demonstrates that this is simply not true. In the course of tracing this theme in Gal, Sanders — hoping to overcome the fact that contemporary English uses both "to justify" and "righteousness" to translate cognates of δικαιόω, and both "to believe" and "faith" to translate cognates of πιστεύω — reintroduces into English the verbs "to righteous" and "to faith", which fell out of use several centuries ago (503-04). Sanders concludes that "'to be righteoused by faith' is a 'transfer term,' which indicates that, by faith in Christ, one enters the 'in group,' which we may call 'the body of Christ'" (506). Paul's adversaries in Galatia claimed "that his gentiles were not actually 'in.' They had faith in Christ, but they lacked the second membership requirement, circumcision, which would make them truly in the people of God. That is the biblical requirement for membership in God's chosen people, Israel" (510). Paul opposed the law because God sought to save people in another way—by faith in Christ and being one in person with him; because the law does not produce this, it should not be imposed on Paul's gentile converts (536-37). The essential issue in Gal that makes a person a member of the body of Christ is faith in Christ alone, and people do not have to be Jewish or to observe the Jewish law to have faith (556). When Paul focuses on getting into the body of Christ, the law is excluded, but when he considers behavior once individuals are in, the law can show the way (557; cf. Gal 5:13). Sanders takes great pains to show that good deeds really do matter to Paul: "Good deeds were not works of law, and works of law were not good deeds. … Good deeds were crucially important, and Paul was insistent that his converts must do good for other people and should follow the commandments to do good and to love other people" (561). Although many Protestants will likely find Sanders' conclusions regarding "works of the law" (cf. Gal 3,2.5.10) unacceptable, Sanders in my opinion rightly emphasizes what is often overlooked, mistranslated, or perhaps occasionally ignored, and provides numerous verses outside of Gal to support his theory regarding the meaning of "works of law" and "righteousness by faith." Although this is not the first time Sanders made this suggestion (cf. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, London 1977, esp. pp. 440-497; *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*, Philadelphia 1983), he once again proves the applicability of his thesis to his chapters on Gal and clarifies some of his previous statements related to this theme from some of his previous publications (611).

    After these four important chapters on Gal, Sanders considers the epistle to the Philippians (chap. 20). In this chapter Sanders not only introduces the letter and the city, but also highlights the main themes of Philippians, which consist of Paul's special

relationship with the Philippians, Paul's most Stoic moment, eschatology and perfection, the Christ Hymn (Phil 2,6-11), the two dispensations, and righteousness by the law in this epistle. Within this discussion, Sanders makes a convincing case for Paul composing Phil while imprisoned in Ephesus (580-91). He also effectively illustrates that "bishops," whom Paul mentions in Phil 1,1, share quasi-synonymous relations with "overseers" during the time Paul wrote this epistle (594-95).

In the next three chapters (chaps. 21-24), Sanders discusses Romans. In chap. 21, after introducing the epistle and the ancient city of Rome, Sanders categorizes Paul's letter to the Romans as follows: "Romans 1-3: Plight and Solution, Round One: Human Disobedience and Righteousness by Faith"; "Romans 4: Abraham Revisited; Righteousness by Faith Further Explained and Argued For"; "Romans 5: Plight and Solution: Round Two: Adam's Sin and Christ's Death"; "Romans 6: Plight and Solution, Round Three: Slavery to Sin and Dying with Christ"; "Romans 7: [I am assuming Sanders intended to write "Round Four:"] The Chapter on the Law"; "Romans 8: Solution, Round Five: Life in Christ Jesus." In chap. 22 Sanders primarily examines God's righteousness and the fate of Israel, but also ethical admonitions in Rom 12 – 13. Sanders briefly considers food and days in Rom in chap. 23 (this chapter consists of seven pages). In his concluding chapters, Sanders summarizes Paul's primary theological themes and show how Paul's thought developed throughout his epistles.

If a suggestion can be made regarding this stimulating book, it would be as follows: on the final page of his text (725), Sanders mentions an insightful essay written by Stanley K. Stowers, entitled "What is 'Pauline Participation in Christ'?" (*Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, ed. F. Udoh et al., Notre Dame 2008, 352-71). Sanders thanks Stowers for the essay, says he learned a great deal from it, and thoroughly recommends it to be read (725). In 1994 Stowers wrote *A Rereading of Romans* (New Haven) — a book that offers helpful insights on Rom — which Sanders likely would have found helpful in his discussion of Rom, particularly Rom 7. Stowers, like Sanders, thinks that "Romans presupposes an audience that consists of gentiles who had or still have a lively interest in Judaism" (*A Rereading of Romans*, 277). Stowers states that these Gentile believers in Rome "have a great concern for moral self-mastery and acceptance by the one God and believe (or might be tempted to believe) that they have found the way to that goal through observing certain teachings from the Jewish law" (*A Rereading of Romans*, 36). Familiarity with Stowers's thesis may have influenced Sanders not to side with many other scholars, who interpret the infamous "I" in Rom 7,9-13 as referring to Adam and Eve in the Garden (650; cf. Gen 3). Instead, Stowers suggests that by means of this "I", Paul employs the rhetorical device προσωποποιία ("speech-in-character") to depict, not Adam and Eve's moment of disobedience in the garden (*A Rereading of Romans*, 275), but rather "the judaizing gentile's ambiguous status" who is torn between the passions of an idolater and the law of the one true God (*A Rereading of Romans*, 278).

I cannot express how much I learned from Sanders' penetrating observations in this book on Paul. My page-by-page underlining, comments, and extensive notes illustrate

my appreciation to Sanders for taking the time to write this book on Paul. Clearly, such a carefully thought-out and well-articulated monograph on Paul is the result of a lifetime of careful reading, study, and teaching about this great apostle.

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Pereira Delgado, Álvaro, *Primera Carta a los Corintios* (Comprender la Palabra 31b; Madrid: BAC, 2017), xiii+547 pp. ISBN 978-84-220-1968-8.

The series *Comprender la Palabra* includes all the commentaries on the official Catholic version of the Bible prepared by the Spanish Conference of Bishops. Alvaro Pereira (hereafter AP) presents his second major work in this series, incorporating the main findings of his doctoral dissertation on First Corinthians (*De apóstol a esclavo: el "exemplum" de Pablo en 1 Corintios 9*), in which he developed new insights into this letter. For the most part, AP's commentary reflects the guidelines for the series: an introduction to each part of the book, the official translation (along with some remarks on textual criticism and semantics), the commentary itself, and, to conclude, some examples of "reception history" within the Church (*La palabra en la vida de la Iglesia*). Unlike other commentaries already published in this series (e.g. *Evangelio según San Lucas* and *Hechos de los Apóstoles* by Antonio Rodríguez), AP's presentation adds a special section on form and function (*composición y función*), explaining the train of thought of each unit in the section and in the letter as a whole. If compared to other similar series (e.g. *Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture [Baker Academic]*), AP's contribution is well-balanced and appealing.

1) Division and Cohesion. Many scholars of First Corinthians have conside-red the divisions in the community (either due to Corinthian factionalism, or to moral practices, or to different kinds of spiritual gifts) the main motif of the letter. Along with Margaret M. Mitchell (*Paul and the Rhetoric of Re-conciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*), AP recognizes that divisions may have occasioned the letter. However, AP claims that its main purpose goes further than providing short-term resolution of the tensions in Corinth. After examining the Corinthian factionalism (σχίσματα) in 1 Cor 1–4 and chapters 5–16 (p. 111), Mitchell demonstrates that Paul seeks to promote *Concordia* in the Corinthian church (Concordia [Ὁμόνοια] was worshiped as a goddess in Greco-Roman world) (p. 70). AP offers a more nuanced approach to the same issue: besides encouraging mutual understanding between members of the community, Paul sought to reshape their minds and hearts. He first distances himself from the details of the conflict and then, using several rhetorical

techniques, proposes the larger principles that pervade the Christian way of life (p. 16; see also Strüder, *Paulus und die Gesinnung Christi*, 124).

2) Boast in the Lord. The studies on boasting in Paul's letter (Sánchez Bosch, *"Gloriarse" según San Pablo. Sentido y teología de καυχάομαι*) and on the "system of honor and shame" in the Mediterranean culture (Jewett, Malina – Neyrey, DeSilva, Finney) have challenged recent discussions about boasting in First Corinthians. These studies demonstrate that semantics (καυχάομαι, καύχημα, καταισχύνω) need to be placed in the context not only of the primitive Christian churches but also of the pagan culture in which they grew to maturity. AP shows how the Lord's Cross was paradoxical for both Jewish and pagan converts. Reshaping their lives according this paradox demanded critical changes in their understanding of what was and was not praiseworthy. Paul himself exemplified the transformed outlook based on the mystery of the Cross and learning how to boast in the Lord.

3) Covered or Uncovered? One of the most sensitive issues examined by AP is the interpretation of Paul's statements about women in the Corinthian Church. AP shows Paul's progressive reasoning using different kinds of proofs, namely, regarding the culture of honor, the Scripture (Gen 1–3), and the new life in Christ. AP accurately demonstrates how Paul gives equal weight to the *cultural* context (patriarchal system of honor and gender differentiation) and the *ecclesial* context (community celebrations, new order) (p. 273). AP also notes that the exegesis of "being uncovered" (ἀκατακάλυπτος) and "to cover" (κατακαλύπτω), as well as the issues of authority (ἐξουσία) in the section, should be understood as subordinate to the rhetorical *correctio* (πλὴν οὔτε … οὔτε) in v. 11: "just as the woman is from the man, so also the man is through the woman" ("ni mujer sin [χωρίς] varón, ni varón sin [χωρίς] mujer en el Señor") (p. 280). AP suggests that Paul alludes to the divine order in Genesis in order to point toward a new order in the Lord, in which gender differences should be seen from the standpoint of reciprocity. With Gundry Volf, AP concludes that Paul's argumentation "abolishes man's *exclusive* priority in creation and gives woman equal status" ("Gender and Creation", 163).

4) God's Word in the Life of the Church. This series highlights the interpretation of the Scriptures within the Catholic tradition. Some of the commentaries in the series unfortunately restrict this "reception" to discussion of the biblical texts in the lectionaries and sacramentaries used in liturgical services. By contrast, AP seeks to trace the impact of this letter on the life of the Church by combining recent documents from Paul VI to Benedict XVI with works by Origen, Augustine, Aquinas. In his commentary, AP thus explains the inner coherence of the Scriptures as well as their contextual discontinuity. Readers may find it helpful to contemplate, for example, the mystery of martyrdom in the lives of Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, or Edith Stein along with the insights of Tertullian, Aquinas, and John Paul II. Because his commentary includes confessional materials, AP sometimes finds himself straddling two stools, but he succeeds in this project by his personal approach without compromising the accuracy and completeness of his scholarly research.

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Bradley Arnold, *Christ as the* Telos *of Life* (WUNT 2.371; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

   This study is a slightly revised version of the author's doctoral thesis under David Horrell at the University of Exeter, UK. The title of his book is slightly confusing. When I first read it, my mind immediately went to Rom. 10:4, where Jesus is described as the "end (*telos*) of the law." Upon closer examination, however, one quickly discovers the author's main emphasis, which is to examine the rhetorical importance of athletic imagery in the book of Philippians. The author argues that the athletic metaphor employed by Paul in Phil. 3:13-14 plays a powerfully persuasive role in Paul's argumentation and encapsulates the epistle's overarching aim, namely to exhort the Philippian believers to pursue Christ as the *telos* of life. Since this is a picture that summarizes how the Philippians should think and live, it lies at the heart of Paul's argument in this letter.
   This book is divided into 3 parts. The first examines approaches to Philippians, methodological considerations, historical context, and exegetical analysis. The second part begins with a discussion of the broad structure of thought in ancient moral philosophy and then explores common associations with athletics and the importance that athletics played in the ancient world. The final part of the study is exegetical in nature. Here the author examines the entire letter of Philippians with a view toward showing how Paul's image of the runner in Phil. 3:13-14 encapsulates Paul's overarching linguistic macrostructure in Philippians.
   In chapter 1, the author calls attention to several important themes in the letter while disagreeing that any of them can be considered to be Paul's main argumentative aim. In view are such themes as suffering for the sake of the gospel, disunity among believers, and friendship as a *desideratum*. The author also examines theories that Philippians is a literary pastiche, composed of three different letters. He concludes that, due to verbal and thematic parallels within these parts of the letter, such partition theories are unconvincing. The author also expends a considerable amount of ink showing how, in his opinion, it is impossible to rigidly classify Philippians as a letter of friendship. Positively, he focuses on Paul's strategy of helping the Philippians to discern what really matters in life, i.e., what the desired *telos* of life as a Christian should consist of. He then discusses three broad subcategories of themes that his study of Philippians has revealed. These are: the advance of the gospel, disunity among the Philippian believers, and the problem of suffering. The author concludes that Phil. 1:27-30 is a crux for understanding

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the theme of Philippians. Here Paul uses athletic language to show how the Christian life is an *agōn* (race) in which the Christian is called upon to strive for spiritual perfection in Christ. Drawing heavily upon Victor Pfitzner's seminal work *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature,* the author shows how Paul employs the *agōn* motif to frame the epistle in decidedly ethical terms (cf. Phil. 1:27-30 and 4:3). This highlights the need to better understand the rhetorical force of Phil. 3:13-14.

Chapter 2 is entitled "Theoretical Framework for a Historical Investigation." The chapter seeks to establish that the Greco-Roman world is the best context in which to understand Paul's overarching theme in Philippians. Chapter 3 then discusses "The Structure of Thought in Ancient Moral Philosophy." The author seeks to show that all of life in the Greco-Roman world was oriented toward the final *telos/summum bonum* of living virtuously in both the intellectual and moral spheres. Chapter 4, "Ancient Athletics and the Construction of a Good Life," explores the ways in which moral philosophers in the ancient world used athletic imagery in their description of how to live a good and virtuous life. In view here are the writings of Lucretius, Seneca, Epictetus, and Dio-Chrystostom. The author concludes this chapter by showing the prominence that athletics enjoyed in the ancient world. All of this is to prepare the reader to appreciate Paul's use of athletic language and imagery in Philippians to portray the kind of life that Jesus expects his followers to live. Chapter 5, "Vivid Description: The Verbal and the Visual," explores the interconnection between the verbal and the visual in ancient Greco-Roman rhetorical theory and practice. The specific goal of this chapter was to argue that, in Phil. 3:13-14, Paul foregrounds the image of the runner.

In what follows, the author carefully lays out Paul's argumentative strategy in the book of Philippians, highlighting Paul's athletic imagery to show how his overarching argumentative aim was to persuade the Philippian believers to think and act in a Christ-like manner. Chapter 6 is a discussion of Phil. 1:1-26, a portion of the letter in which Paul is concerned with the Christian life as a whole and presents the Philippians as being on a path toward a particular *telos*. Chapter 7 then moves on to what many consider the "heart" of Philippians, namely Phil. 1:17-2:30. The author notes how Phil. 1:27-30 seems to encapsulate the thesis of Paul's argument. Here Paul uses a political metaphor to frame his exhortation to the believers in Philippi in terms of citizens living virtuously. The use of athletic imagery here by Paul indicates that he views all of life as a contest (*agōn*). The Philippians are facing the same difficulties and participating in the same contest that Paul was facing and experiencing. Having exhorted the Philippians to live both unitedly and virtuously in the midst of open hostility, Paul turns in Phil. 2:1-11 to indicate specifically what it means to live in unity and virtue. Believers are to prioritize others over oneself with a humble attitude. Paul then turns to the ultimate example of humility of mind, namely Christ (2:5-11). The self-lowering of Christ is analogous to the path toward virtue that believers are currently treading. Hence the virtuous life of Christ informs the Philippians of the way in which they are to make progress in their Christian lives. In the next section, Phil. 2:12-18, Paul fleshes out how the Philippian believers can

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"bring about" their own salvation by adopting the virtues that Paul has presented in 1:27-2:11 – specifically, being united in the face of hostility, demonstrating genuine concern for others, and sharing in the humiliation of Christ. By doing these things, the Philippians will be living the kind of virtuous life that is required by the gospel to attain the ultimate *telos* of Life. Having discussed what the Christian *agōn* entails, Paul moves on to discuss in Phil. 2:19-30 the travel plans of Timothy and Epaphroditus. This passage is much more than a travelogue. Here Timothy and Epaphroditus function as examples of the virtuous behavior that Paul has been discussing all along.

The second half of Philippians not only repeats much of the material presented in the first half of the letter but reinforces and amplifies the perspective on life that Paul has been arguing for in the first half of the letter. In Phil. 3:1-4:3, Paul presents Christ as the *telos* of life and explicates the virtues that are necessary in order to attain this ultimate goal. Paul's argument can be summarized as follows. In Phil. 3:1-11, Paul specifies his central aim in the letter, namely to persuade the Philippians to orient their entire lives toward gaining Christ, who is presented as the *telos*/*summum bonum* of life. Then in Phil. 3:12-14, Paul depicts this orientation of life in terms of a runner striving toward the finish line. It is argued that this image of a runner disregarding everything except for what lies ahead presents *in nuce* the way of life that Paul has been urging upon the Philippians throughout the entire letter. For Christian "runners," life has one goal: Christ, who is the all-encompassing focus of Paul's life. In Phil. 3:15-4:7, Paul moves on to specifically address the believers in Philippi by the use of a complex image involving a play on the *tel*-root. Those who are "goal-oriented" (*teleioi*) have not arrived at the goal of gaining Christ (*teteleiōmai*). Believers are to imitate Paul in his focus on gaining Christ as the *telos* of life. Those who imitate Paul's way of thinking and living are set in strong contrast to those who have adopted ways of living that are contrary to the gospel. The end (*telos*) of such individuals, Paul says, is destruction. However, those whose lives echo Christ's humility will ultimately gain him fully as the *telos* of life. Finally, in Phil. 4:8-23, Paul exhorts the believers in Philippi to pursue that which is virtuous, to follow the example of himself, and to continue to reflect a sacrificial concern for each other.

The author concludes his book with a brief summary of Paul's argument in Philippians, showing the important role that athletic imagery plays in Paul's letter. For Paul, the ultimate goal of life is Christ, whose value is all-surpassing, and who relativizes all else as *skubalon*. The Philippians are exhorted to enter the "contest" of the Christian life, meaning that they are to live virtuously by imitating Paul and considering all that is virtuous and praiseworthy that they have heard from Paul and seen in him. It is only by strenuously running toward this goal that the Christian can make progress toward gaining Christ and receive the prize offered in the upward call of God.

Has the author of this book made his case? There is no doubt that athletic imagery plays an important role in Paul's letter to the Philippians. Surely no one would doubt that the Philippian believers are on a progressive path toward maturity, Christlikeness, and virtuous living. Nor can one doubt that such athletic imagery brings before the mind's

eye a picture that would evoke a particular reflex and play a powerful role in persuading Paul's audience. My difficulty with the author's argument is threefold. The first is lexicographical in nature. If one were seeking to present Christ as the *telos* of life, one might expect to find the actual Greek noun *telos* to make that point clear. In Philippians, however, *telos* occurs only in Phil. 3:19: "Their destiny (*telos*) is destruction …." In the second place, a discourse analysis of Philippians suggests that the 24 pericopes of which the letter consists can be arranged broadly into two major units: the body head (1:12-2:30) and the body subpart (3:1-4:9). This suggests that Paul reacted to the Philippian situation by putting forward a two-part argument to prove the need for unity and the reason why such unity should be exemplified in the Philippian church. To the present writer, it seems clear that Paul's argument in Phil. 1:12-2:30 – the body head – contains the major thematic feature of the letter. We think it evident that "unity for the sake of the gospel" – the one thing that Paul urges as the only needful thing (1:27) – is a permeating, interlocking theme in Philippians. This argument has been well prepared for in the epistolary prescript (1:1-2) and in the body opening (1:3-11), and thus forms a continuum with them. Elsewhere I have argued that the topical changes and transitions in the letter are all to be understood as movements in this argument (*NovT* 37). This understanding of the communicative function of Philippians means that the letter is misunderstood when it is read as a theological discourse on the person of Christ, a letter of friendship, an apologetic for suffering, an exhortation to maturity, or in any other way that ignores the letter's rhetorical exigence. Finally, although one appreciates the author's reminder of the important role and centrality of athletics in Paul's argument in Philippians, it seems unlikely to the present writer that such imagery functions in a way envisioned by the author of this monograph.

In conclusion, not every reader will agree with the historical, linguistic, and historical reconstructions offered by the author of this work. Yet it is to be hoped that this landmark monograph will be read profitably by all students of the Bible. Even for those who may disagree with the author's conclusions, his book is an invaluable tool for understanding an important theme in the book of Philippians.

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Eric Weidner, *Strategien zur Leidbewältigung im 2. Korintherbrief*. BWANT 212 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2017). 320 pp., paperback. ISBN 978-3-17-032198-4, EUR 69,–.

This thorough monograph on suffering and strategies for coping with affliction in 2

Corinthians 1:3–11; 1:23–2:11; 4:7–15; 4:16–18; 6:3–13 and 7:2–4; 7:5–16 und 8:1–5 contains a number of important lexicographical observations on the θλῖψις κτλ. word group and similar terms. In his chapter on Pauline terminology for suffering (60–88), Weidner sets out with a detailed survey of the meaning of θλῖψις κτλ. in Greek literature. Regarding the use in a transferred sense as affliction, Weidner distinguishes two levels, in which pressure (the literal meaning) appears in a transferred sense as affliction:

> 1. Auf der somatisch-physischen Ebene ist die Bedrängnis meistens mit dem Geschehen in Kampf oder Krieg verbunden. Sie wird daher häufig in der Geschichts-schreibung verwendet und geschieht etwa durch den Feind. Die Bedrängnis kann seltener durch einen Mangel oder Armut hervorgerufen sein, was von Dionysius von Halicarnassus auch als "bedrängtes Leben" bezeichnet wird. Krankheiten werden kaum als Bedrängnis im übertragenen Sinn beschrieben. Lediglich für einzelne Symptome ist θλῖψις κτλ. in der Grundbedeutung belegt.
> 2. Die Bedrängnis auf der sozial-psychischen Ebene kann als Druck auf das Innere des Menschen, auf seine Seele und sein Innenleben verstanden und mit "traurig machen, kränken" wiedergegeben werden. Das hat Ähnlichkeiten zur Bedeutung von λύπη/λυπέω. Insgesamt ist diese Verwendung jedoch selten.
> In beiden Fällen hat θλῖψις κτλ. in übertragener Bedeutung für die Betroffenen eine negative Wirkung, während der Begriff in der Grundbedeutung neutral die Einwirkung auf eine Person oder ein Objekt beschreibt (62–63).

Weidner further examines the use of θλῖψις κτλ. by the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (63–64; one of the few philosophers who uses the term, 16 occurrences of the verb in a transferred sense) and the uses of this word in the LXX (65–73). Regarding the LXX, Weidner notes that θλῖψις κτλ. appears mainly in a transferred sense. The affliction almost always has a negative connotation. The people as a whole or exemplary individuals suffer from it, mostly in the context of war and its consequences. People who cause affliction for others are characterised negatively. The terminology can also be used to designate economic affliction. θλῖψις κτλ. often does not refer to the experiences of suffering itself, but the impact of influences from the outside which cause such experiences. The circumstances of an experience of affliction are thus not determined unambiguously but require further description. And: "Die Bedrängnis wird überwiegend auf Handlungen zurückgeführt. Dabei ist ausschließlich die somatisch-physische Ebene im Blick, während die sozial-psychische Ebene anhand des Begriffs kaum betrachtet wird" (73).

Philo of Alexandria uses θλῖψις κτλ. to describe experiences of suffering by individuals (74). Different from the usage in the LXX, these experiences are explained as actions of other people which are experienced on the somatic-physic level. At the same time, Philo uses the terminology for events like diseases of natural catastrophes and attributes them to divine origin.

Weidner then supplies a detailed examination of the New Testament usage. He observes that while in the LXX also individuals experience affliction,

> treten diese im NT als Bedrängte in den Hintergrund (vgl. Apg 7,10; 20,23; Jak 1,27; Apk 1,9). Am häufigsten ist hier eine Gruppe von den Bedrängnissen betroffen. An die Stelle des bedrängten Gottesvolks aus der LXX tritt die bedrängte Gemeinde und in den Evangelien die bedrängten Jüngerinnen und Jünger. Im NT kommt die Grundbedeutung von θλῖψις κτλ. als "drücken, drängen" noch vereinzelt vor (z. B. Mk 3,9par;

5,24.31; Lk 8,45). Für sich genommen bezeichnet der Begriff also ein Widerfahrnis als drückend und einengend und damit als leidvoll. Es bedarf des Kontexts oder weiterer Begriffe, um die genaueren Umstände zu erhellen. In den meisten Fällen ist im jeweiligen Zusammenhang eine Verfolgung gemeint, selten auch eine ökonomische Notlage (Jak 1,27). Überwiegend wird die Leiderfahrung auf Handlungen zugespitzt, die sich primär auf der somatisch-physischen Ebene auswirken (78).

In the New Testament, about two thirds of the occurrences of θλῖψις κτλ. appear in texts with apocalyptic motifs. The terms belong to the optional repertoire which is employed without adding additional semantic information. Through this context the affliction is transferred to the future, but it can have its beginnings and repercussions already in the present, for example, in John 16. In addition to human actions, the suffering which is designated as "great affliction" can be widened – particularly in the eschatological discourses of Mark 13 and Matthew 24 – to include events in nature. In some cases, the social-psychological level is likewise included, for example, in references to the hatred which the disciples of Jesus experience. The relation which is established in these writings between current experiences of suffering and apocalyptic events indicates two strategies for coping with suffering:

> Einerseits ist dadurch das Leiden als Erfüllung prophetischer Weissagungen gedeutet (vgl. Mt 24,15). Die Leiderfahrungen sind also nicht kontingent, sondern gehören nach Mk 13/Mt 24 (vgl. Lk 21,7ff) und Joh 16,33 notwendigerweise zum Weltenende. Ursache der Bedrängnisse ist dabei nicht Gott, sondern diese Welt bzw. die Menschen dieser Welt. Andererseits eröffnet die Verortung der Leiderfahrungen im Vollzug des Weltenendes die Perspektive auf das Ende des Leidens (z. B. Joh 16,21; Mk 13,27par.). Das kann verbunden sein mit göttlicher Vergeltung gegenüber den Bedrängenden (Apk 2,22) und Lohn für die Aushaltenden (vgl. Apk 7,9-17) (79).

In closing, Weidner sets θλῖψις κτλ. in relation to semantically similar terms such as πάθηματα κτλ., λύπη κτλ., ἀνάγκη κτλ., στενοχωρία κτλ. and διωγμός. For each he offers a short study.

Weidner concludes that θλῖψις κτλ. has a wide range of meaning. The context determines its precise meaning. Mostly these terms do not describe the concrete cause of experiences of suffering. Rather, an explicitly named of implicitly presupposed outer circumstance is presented as causing suffering. The context indicates the origin and cause of such affliction. θλῖψις κτλ. designate the affect of an experience on a person as pressure or affliction. This affect causes the experience of suffering. When θλῖψις κτλ. is used in a transferred sense for "die somatisch-physische Ebene, dann kann damit eine Verletzung, Freiheitsberaubung etc. gemeint sein. Bezieht es sich auf die psychisch-soziale Ebene, dann kann es Sorgen und Trauer und bildlich vorgestellt eine 'Quetschung der Seele/des Geistes' auslösen" (87).

> Die Bedrängnis ist generell als negativ verstanden, außer wenn sie Feinde betrifft. Dieses Verständnis, als von der Bedrängnis negativ und passiv betroffen, zeigt sich auch darin, dass das Verb im NT nicht im Aktiv gebraucht wird. In der LXX ist es nur von Feinden oder feindlichen Gruppen aktiv verwendet. … Einerseits wird Leiden als so negativ erlebt, dass es erstrebenswert ist, es zu beenden oder es nach Möglichkeit von vornherein zu vermeiden. Andererseits wird Leiden als passives Widerfahrnis erlebt (87–88).

Weidner also briefly examines strategies for coping with suffering in 2Cor 10–13 (235–258). The focus is on the occurrences of ἀσθένεια κτλ. (weakness, disease, detailed treatment on pp. 236–238).

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Maria-Irma Seewann, *„Tag des Herrn" und „Parusie": 2 Thessalonicher 2 in der Kontroverse*, Forschung zur Bibel 130 (Würzburg: Echter, 2013). 500 pp., paperback. ISBN 978-3-429-03646-1. 42 Euro

Seewann's monograph on the day of the Lord and the παρουσία of Christ according to 2Thessalonians 2 offers detailed word studies of key terms of New Testament eschatology. Seewann sets out with a brief survey of the discussions of the authenticity of 2Thessalonians (debated mainly because of 2Thess 2:1–12) and an outline of her study. She argues that the letter is not devoted to eschatology in the normal sense of the word but to an acute problem in the congregation. While many interpreters assume that the church is grappling with the problem of the close return of Christ, she assumes that a pseudo-prophet appeared in the community who, through alleged manifestations of the Spirit sought to prove his prophecies and claims as genuine and as deriving from the Lord (day of the Lord). The terms "the man of lawlessness", "the opponent" and "the one who exalts himself" in 2Thessalonians 2:3–4 designate this false prophet who is present now in the community. In this person the power of evil manifests itself under the appearance of good ("the coming of the lawless one is by the activity of Satan with all power and false signs and wonders", v. 9). Paul is aware of this danger and admonishes the community to pursue decisively the process of spiritual discernment. In this reading 2Thessalonians 2:1–12 would not refer to a distant final judgement day. Rather, all the forensic terms refer to spiritual discernment in the present and within the community. In this situation, the author provides the community with the criteria to discern the spirits and hopes that the believers clearly recognise what is happening and act accordingly.

In view of this bold proposal (e.g., why the cryptic reference to this person, when elsewhere Paul can identify some opponents by name? What evidence is there for such figures at this early stage – authenticity assumed?), Seewann examines whether the key terms in the passage have to be understood with eschatological, that is, future reference. What do these terms mean in and of themselves and what meanings derive from the context?

Seewann provides detailed word studies of παρουσία (16–78, is the word here and elsewhere in Paul really a technical term for the return of Christ? Rather than the arrival

of Christ, the word describes the manner of his presence), ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (79–136, is this primarily a temporal term? Does the term exclusively refer to a future "day"? What intertextual links are there to the Old Testament and are they relevant?; „So ergibt sich, dass in den ersten Jahrhunderten ἡμέρα κυρίου / Χριστοῦ niemals als *terminus technicus* anzutreffen ist, auch wenn Amos und Sacharja auf den Jüngsten Tag und 2Thess 2 auf die letzte Phase vor dem Weltende bezogen wird. Aber diese Wörter sind auch dort noch nicht ein t.t., indem sie aus sich heraus, ohne weitere Zusätze, das Jüngste Gericht bezeichnen würden. Eine solche terminologische Festlegung und Einengung blieb also einer späteren Zeit vorbehalten, auch wenn bei Origenes erste Ansätze zu finden sind", 136), ἐπιφάνεια (137–161, what is the relationship between Hellenistic and biblical use? ἐπιφάνεια is also not an established technical term and does not have an eschatological connotation), κατέχω (162–196, are there semantic options other than "holding back"? Can the combination of various terms in this passage only be interpreted in an eschatological-apocalyptic manner? The word means to cover or conceal), ὁ Σατανᾶς (197–200, "Diese Autoren rechnen ganz klar mit der Wirklichkeit Satans als eines personalen Wesens und sehen ihn gerade bei Leugnung von Glaubenswahrheiten und Irrlehren in den Gemeinden am Werk. Nirgends wird ‚Satan' genannt in einem Zusammenhang mit dem Weltende, oder einem letzten Kampf. Offb wird nicht erwähnt", 199), ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος (201–205) and ἡ ἀποστασία (205–206). This is followed by a survey of research on eschatology and apocalyptic thinking in which Seewann highlights scholars who have questioned the apparent consensus (218–297) and detailed grammatical and semantic analyses of 2Thessalonians 2:1–11 (298–381, including detailed surveys of research). She concludes:

> that παρουσία, was ja zunächst „Anwesenheit, Gegenwart, Präsenz" heißt, auch an unserer Stelle diese Bedeutung hat und in der Tradition bis Ende des 2. Jh. auch an dieser Stelle nie als *terminus technicus* für „Wiederkunft" (Christi zum Weltgericht) verstanden wurde. Ebenso ergibt sich in Kapitel 2 dieser Arbeit für ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, dass es vom Alten Testament her nicht auf Weltende oder Jüngstes Gericht festgelegt ist und auch hier nicht von sich aus solche Konnotationen mitbringt. Durch die Lesart des Vaticanus (B und andere) θροεῖσθε in V 2 wurde es möglich, die Verse 1 und 2 nicht als Bitte, sondern als Frage zu verstehen, so dass der Verfasser fragt, ob sie sich nicht etwa „beschwatzen lassen". Er verfolgt diesen Ansatz dann weiter in den Versen 3b–12 und spricht dabei grundsätzlich davon, dass der böse Mensch seine Bosheit versteckt und der Satan ihn dabei „deckt". Das gilt generell ebenso wie für den Pseudopropheten in der Gemeinde. Dass κατέχειν häufig und auch hier in V 6 und 7 „bedecken" heißt, wird in Kapitel 4,1–4 aufgewiesen, während für ἐπιφάνεια (in V 8) im 3. Kapitel aufgezeigt wird, dass es hier eine innergeschichtliche Theophanie, nicht das Aufscheinen des Weltenrichters bezeichnet. Der „Sich-Widersetzende und Gesetzlose" ist also nicht eine einmalige Gestalt in einem „Endzeitfahrplan", für den man später an dieser Stelle den Namen „Antichrist" eintrug, sondern steht hier ebenso für jenen bereits in der Gemeinde agierenden Pseudopropheten wie auch generisch für jeden Lügenapostel (382).

On παρουσία, Seewann offers collections of occurrences in first century pagan Greek sources (385–397) and in early Jewish and early Christian use (398–464).

While Seewann fails to convince me with her reconstruction of the situation in Thessalonica and her reading of Paul's response, her word studies are valuable. They indicate once more that thorough re-examinations of what is familiar and seems to be

established in New Testament research (by, e.g., simply following the standard dictionaries) are worthwhile and offer fresh perspectives. At times, Seewann's monograph appears to be more of a collection of material and lengthy summaries of research than succinct analysis of what is presented.

Seewann's study had its origin in the context of the excellent series *Paulus neu gelesen* (under the direction of Norbert Baumert), which has led to fresh translations and a series of commentaries on most letters of the *Corpus Paulinum* which question – often persuasively – many of the common interpretations and offer alternatives well worth pondering. 2Thessalonians is included in *In der Gegenwart des Herrn: Übersetzung und Auslegung des ersten und zweiten Briefes an die Thessalonicher*, by N. Baumert and I.-M. Seewann (Würzburg: Echter, 2014, 336 pp.). Our thanks go to the publisher for the moderate prices of this series.

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Friedemann Krummbiegel, *Erziehung in den Pastoralbriefen: Ein Konzept zur Konsolidierung der Gemeinden*. Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 44 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013). 373 pp., hardbound. ISBN 978-3-374-03164-1. 48 Euro

This monograph is devoted to παιδεία κτλ. and related terms in the Pastoral Epistles (PE). According to the author, with their development of a notion of instruction and training, the PE made a significant contribution to the consolidation of early Christian communities towards the end of the apostolic age. With their emphasis on παιδεία and the detailed description of its nature and implementation in different contexts, the PE counter the loss of conti-nuity, the loss of the ability to integrate different people and groups, and the loss of identity (which was threatening the communities due to the increasing temporal distance from Paul). Throughout, these letters are shaped by a strong semantic field which can be summarised under the central term παιδεία. This emphasis is indicative of a comprehensive notion of instruction and training which can be discerned in the structure of the text and in the social structures of communication which appear in passing or are explicitly dealt with in the letters. This phenomenon appears in the PE on three relevant levels: the level of the house/household, the level of the community, and on a divine level – that is, instruction by God and his emissaries.

In this quest, Krummbiegel offers a detailed examination of the παιδεία wordgroup (33–78). He examines the use in Greco-Roman sources (34–36), in the Old Testament/Septuagint (36–38) and the range of meanings in the PE (39–41).

Krummbiegel summarises his findings as follows:

> In den Pastoralbriefen bezeichnet παιδεύειν / παιδεία demnach einen kontinuierlichen Vorgang, der durch sprachliche oder nichtsprachliche Intervention eines letztlich göttlichen Agens eine Korrektur des Verhaltens und Denkens bei Gemeindeinternen und Gemeindeexternen bewirkt. Die Bandbreite der genannten Bedeutungselemente kann im Deutschen am Besten mit "Erziehung" bzw. "erziehen" wiedergegeben werden. Dagegen betonen Ausdrücke wie "Bildung" oder "Unterweisung" einseitig kognitive und lehrhafte Aspekte; ein Ausdruck wie "Zucht" zu scharf den korrektiven Aspekt (41).

Next the author offers a detailed analysis of the occurrences of the word group in 1Timothy 1:20; 2Timothy 2:23–26; 3:16–17 and Titus 2,11–12 (42–53). Krummbiegel also presents a comprehensive analysis of the παιδεία semantic field (56–78). Four aspects can be discerned in this field. First, there is an *instructive* aspect, which includes words with a neutral or positive connotation which belong to the field of teaching, and words with a negative connotation. To the instructive category belongs another range of words which aim at admonishing the readers. Some of them encourage a particular attitude or behaviour, while others want to prevent the acceptance and practice of particular attitudes or behaviour. Second, there is a *receptive* aspect, including words expressing the range of learning, the range of obedience and getting used to appropriate behaviour, words indicating adherence and words indicating necessary severance from unacceptable attitudes and behaviour. Third comes a *medial* aspect, that is, words which designate objects or foundations; which enable, promote and communicate teaching and admonishing as well as learning, obeying and getting used to. Some of these words come with either a positive or a negative connotation or both, depending on the context. Forthly, Krummbiegel identifies a *resultative* aspect, meaning words, "die eine Kompetenz im Sinne einer erworbenen oder bewiesenen Befähigung ausdrücken. Zum anderen finden sich auch solche Wortgruppen, die eine existentielle, ganzheitliche Veränderung beschreiben" (68; words describing competence, what the believers are to produce and display in their lives, the standard for a distinctly Christian life style, Christian existence and spatial categories).

Other chapters in this monograph analyse the text on theoretical and social/historical levels; structures of communication of παιδεία (79–119); παιδεία in the context of houses/households (120–154), παιδεία in the context of the Christian communities (155–254) and divine παιδεία (246–275). After a summary and analysis (276–293), Krummbiegel compares his results for the PE with the undisputed letters of Paul (294–318) and offers a brief survey of Christian παιδεία concepts in various early Christian authors from Clement of Rome to Clement of Alexandria (319–348). These trajectories indicate the extent of Christian παιδεία in identity formation and in assuring continuity with the apostolic origins. An excellent companion volume is Thomas Söding, *Das Christentum als Bildungsreligion: Der Impuls des Neuen Testaments* (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2016).

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Volker Harm, Anja Lobenstein-Reichmann, Gerhard Diehl (eds.), *Wortwelten: Lexikographie, Historische Semantik und Kulturwissenschaft*, Lexicographica, Series major 155 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2019). Vi + 301 pp., hardbound. ISBN 978-3-11-063212-5, 100 Euro.

This volume devoted to historical lexicography had its origin in a conference in Göttingen, Germany, in 2015, which brought together editors and contributors to the various current historical dictionary projects on older German (for instance, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*). Historical lexicography of the German language is a subdiscipline of German language historiography.

Of interest to students of New Testament philology and lexicography (a sub-discipline of Greek language historiography) is the introductory essay by the editors (1–8), which succinctly describes the necessity, the task and the challenges of historical lexicography. The authors survey the current project and summarise recent developments:

> Der im Wörterbuch dokumentierte Wortschatz legt auch beredtes Zeugnis ab von dem Sprachhandeln der Sprecherinnen und Sprecher, von dem Umgang mit Ihresgleichen und mit ihrer Umwelt, genauer gesagt von den sozialen und kognitiven Konstruktionen, die über ihren Sprachgebrauch realisiert werden und in diesem für uns aufschliessbar sind; nimmt man aber gerade den angesprochenen Handlungscharakter von historischer wie gegenwärtiger Sprache ernst, ergeben sich daraus, wie Reichmann in seinem diesen Band eröffnenden Beitrag zeigt, unter Umständen weitgehende Konsequenzen für die Gestaltung von Wörterbüchern: Lexikographie hat sich dann nicht nur auf die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache zu beziehen, sondern auch auf die soziokognitive Funktion der in Texten über den Wortschatz erfolgenden Bedeutungsbildung, ferner auf die über den Wortschatz erfolgende Handlungs- sowie auf die Symptomfunktion; … es kommt hinzu, dass auch der Lexikograph wie der geschichtliche Sprachträger als inhaltsbildender, kommunikativ Handelnder und als Schaffender von Symptomwerten in den selbstkritischen Blick zu rücken ist.
>
> In jedem Fall gilt, dass sich über den Wortschatz ein einzigartiger und grund-legender Zugang zur Geschichte eröffnet - ein Zugriff gleichsam auf die „Wortwelten" vergangener Epochen. Dies betrifft bei Weitem nicht nur längst außer Gebrauch gekommene Wörter, sondern vor allem auch die verbreiteten und zum Teil bis auf den heutigen Tag geläufige Ausdrücke, die, wenn auch oftmals versteckt, fundamental andere Weltentwürfe enthalten können als ihr heutiger Gebrauch vermuten lässt (2–3).

The editors also discuss the relationship between historical lexicography and historical semantics and their development in the past two decades, including analysis with large text corpora, which are now available in digital form ("Als Wissenschaft von Sinnerzeugung überhaupt verstanden, zählen zu ihrem erweiterten Gegenstandsbereich inzwischen neben sprachlichen Äußerungen auch weitere sinntragende Medien wie Bild, Ritual und Habitus", 3). The remaining pages of the introduction briefly present the essays in this collection.

Oskar Reichmann offers an excellent survey of "Historische Lexikographie im Lichte neuerer Wissenschaftstheorien: Sein und Sollen in Gegenwart und Zukunft" (9–36). He

indicates several practical, lexicographical theoretical and linguistic theoretical weaknesses in traditional orientated lexicography (such as emphasis on completeness, which leads to endless entries, emphasis on the inventory character and closely related to it, neglect of the lexical-semantic net, and the dominance of the function of presentation). In contrast, more recent trends in the philosophy of language (briefly surveyed here) emphasise cognitive and action-related functions of vocabulary and lexicography in historical descriptive and cultural educative perspectives. Some of the analysis provided by the authors and their suggestions also apply to studies of ancient Greek. The remaining eleven essays address specific examples and issues in German language historical lexicography.

For historical lexicography also John Considine (ed.), *Current Projects in Historical Lexicography* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2010).

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James H. Charlesworth et al. (eds). *Sacra Scriptura: How "Non-Canonical" Texts Functioned in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*. T&T Clark Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 20. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015; xxxii + 197 pp., paperback, 16 x 24 cm; ISBN 978-0-567-66423-5.

The Easter letter of Athanasius of Alexandria in AD 367 contains a list of texts that the patriarch believed were divinely inspired. For many, that list serves as a benchmark for the solidification of what is called the "canon" of the New Testament, those considered to be divine texts (πιστευθέντα τε θεῖα εἶναι βιβλία, *Ep. fest.* 39.3). During the centuries following the composition of those writings, influential persons began to offer their own assessments of what texts were viewed as "divine" or θεόπνευστος ("inspired by God") —a term not necessarily coined by Paul. Sometimes those discussions included texts that are absent from mainline Catholic and Protestant Bibles. Athanasius's list is certainly important, but it would be dangerous to presume that his letter resolved the issue of the canon for his generation or even those up to the present day, at least from a historical perspective. And so, James Charlesworth begins *Sacra Scriptura* with these questions: "What is meant by the word 'canon' and when was it acknowledged that additional compositions were excluded from it?" (*xiii*). He shows his audience how important manuscripts like Codex Sinaiticus included two texts (Barnabas and the *Shepherd of Hermas*) not found in mainline Bibles. He discusses the Muratorian Fragment and its mention of a letter to the Laodiceans (cf. Col. 3:16; line 64) and the letter to the Alexandrians (line 64). The mention of these texts is rather curious in such an early

document (dated sometime between the first and fourth century, prior to the letter written by Athanasius). Charlesworth's purpose is to show that they circulated within one or more early Christian community on par with many texts that are deemed in the present century as "divine" or "inspired by God."

There are ten essays, three of which belong to the editors. The first essay, "Writings Labeled 'Apocrypha' in Latin Patristic Sources" by Edmon L. Gallagher (Heritage Christian University, USA) covers the topic of apocrypha broadly and serves as a fitting introduction to the essays that follow. He identifies where the word *apocrypha* occurs in Latin writings prior to the sixth century. Significant attention is given to its uses in the writings of Rufunus, Augustine, and Jerome (who he notes uses the term 39 times), but he also provides some additional details worth noting such as Tertullian's use in the third century condemning the *Shepherd of Hermas* (5) and Ambrosiaster's mention that Paul used an apocryphal text for the comment about Jannes and Jambres opposing Moses (2 Tim. 3:8) (5). Some mainline English translations of the New Testament provide a cross-reference to Exod. 7:11, 8:18, and 9:11, but the origin of the names of these magicians is not identified, which is curious. If Paul was using a source that identified the names of these individuals, presumably the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres* (found in some of the Chester Beatty Papyri), why not reference that text? The reason is because cross-references are limited to *canonical* books. Still, Paul used something other than Exodus to write what he wrote to Timothy. Therein lies the value in a collection of studies on apocryphal texts in early Jewish and early Christian research. Gallagher's introduction sets forth enough evidence to warrant exploring what texts were influencing canonical texts and the interpretation of those texts in immediate centuries that followed. And that leads to the remaining nine studies in *Sacra Scriptura*.

"Did the Midrash of Shemihazai and Azael Use the Book of the Giants?" by Ken M. Penner (St. Francis Xavier University, Canada) contains an in-depth presentation of what manuscripts exist today whose contents are considered (sometimes debated) part of the Book of Giants. Its history, including the analysis of manuscripts discovered in different caves of Qumran, is rather complex. This introduction includes a short description for each of the *Giants* manuscripts discovered at Qumran (19–21). Since no complete copy of the text exists today, scholars are left to wrestle with issues surrounding the ordering of the discourse. Without images, this part of Penner's discussion is difficult to follow and will require a background knowledge of the research performed by Jósef T. Milik and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. The bulk of the study however consists of a synthesis of the *Book of Giants* in Midrash, Manichaean sources, and Qumran fragments, placed in a running column in that order (27–42). His conclusions based on the evidence presented in the synthesis consists of only one page of text, but it seems sufficient. Because "the parallels are too often absent or weak" (42) and because the Midrash has no parallel to significant content in Manichean *Giants*, he concludes that the Midrash "is not reliable for reconstructing the plot of *Giants*" (43). Sometimes the best research is a "dead end" so-to-speak. Penner does not unlock the correct order of the *Book of Giants*. That remains a desideratum. But he does offer a significant argument for not depending on the

Midrash in future attempts at determining the original plot sequence. The final section of his study, "Function of the *Book of Giants* in Early Christianity and Early Judaism," is a little disconnected from his primary research question, but it obviously fits with the theme of the book. Its importance in the Qumran community is impossible to deny: "ten copies [of *Giants*] were found, in four caves . . . the Aramaic *Books of Enoch* itself: only seven copies found, all in a single cave. The only books more popular at Qumran are Psalms (36 copies), the books of the Pentateuch (23–24, 16, 12–13, 9, 35 copies respectively), Isaiah (21), *Jubilees* (17), and the *Rule of the Community* (13); the *Damascus Document* and *Rule of the Congregation* each have ten" (43–44). Beyond that observation, however, there are only more questions related to dependence in Enochic literature.

The next three essays, since they do not have any specific references to New Testament studies, are briefly mentioned here. Two focus on the Book of Ben Sira (Sirach). In "Negotiating the Boundaries of Tradition: The Rehabilitation of the Book of Ben Sira (Sirach) in *B. Sanhedrin* 100B," Teresa Ann Ellis focuses on the way this text was treated by in rabbinical literature over six-hundred years. The study begins with a presentation of where Sirach is quoted and identifies which quotation formulas are used (47–48). Of the twenty-two quotations, thirteen contain the formula most commonly used by rabbis for biblical texts. She focuses on where Sirach is mentioned in rabbinic commentary, shows how it was marked as belonging to the "outside books" (designating either heretical literature or as non-inspired literature depending on the context), and how additional commentary sought to clarify or weaken the prohibition to use Sirach. In the next essay, "Prologue of Sirach (Ben Sira) and the Question of Canon," Francis Borchardt (Lutheran Theological Seminary, Hong Kong) performs a rhetorical analysis to show that Ben Sira's translator and descendant had no interest in setting forth a list of inspired/canonical texts. The group of texts mentioned in the prologue are used to give prominence to his ancestor's discourse, or as Borchardt says, "worthy, in the same way as the other collections of books that he mentions" (65). Borchardt assumes readers have little to no knowledge of rhetorical criticism and explains related concepts, making it one of the more broadly accessible studies in *Sacra Scriptura*. The author provides no footnotes and no bibliography (not even for the works of McDonald, Wright, Veltri, and Voitila who are mentioned on the second page). Next is a study titled "The Function of Ethics in the Non-Canonical Jewish Writings" by Gerbern S. Oegema (McGill University, Canada). He concludes this with a synthesis of the following themes: (1) Torah and wisdom, (2) Divine revelation and intervention, (3) the origin of evil, (4) human responsibility, and, what Jesus identified as the two greatest commandments, the love command and the golden rule (83–87). The author provides no footnotes, but there is bibliography with twenty publications, only two of which were published in the last twenty years.

The next two essays involve the *Odes of Solomon*. James Charlesworth's study "The Odes of Solomon: Their Relation to Scripture and the Canon in Early Christianity," commemorating the one-hundred-year anniversary of J. H. Harris' discovery of a Syriac

manuscript of *Odes* in his office, focuses on *three* questions: "To what extent, and why, are the Odes of Solomon a likely witness to the evolution of the Christian canon of Scriptures and how were they used or appreciated in early Christian communities?" (91). He discusses manuscripts containing the *Odes* from the third century with $\mathfrak{P}$72 to a fifteenth-century Syriac manuscript, making special reference to other texts grouped in the same manuscript. For example, in his analysis of $\mathfrak{P}$72 and the Bodmer Papyri, which contains the only copy of *Odes* in Greek, he suggests that this unusual grouping of texts (e.g., the *Nativity of Mary*, the *Apology of Phileas*, *3 Corinthians*, etc.) was the work of a Christian, "a member of the so-called orthodox catholic Church," who "collected these diverse texts . . . for study and meditation" (92). According to Charlesworth, it shows that one person, representing a community or some within at least one community, "found inspiration by reflecting on" texts deemed non-canonical, and often even taboo, today. He mentions in his conclusion that the absence of direct mentions of *Odes* in the writings of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Jerome, Augustine is striking. He puts forth a few possible explanations, the most convincing for him being that *Odes* is poetry (103). From there he attempts to demonstrate that allusions are possible in their literature, using one example in Cyril (103–104). And given its presence in early Christian history, he suggests including it as an appendix in modern editions of the Bible. Lee Martin McDonald (Acadia Divinity College, Canada) provides another study on *Odes*, "The *Odes of Solomon* in Ancient Christianity: Reflections of Scripture and Canon." He, like other scholars, points to the similarities between this text and the Gospel of John (e.g., contrast of light and darkness, anonymity), and notes where *Odes* uses the terms "Messiah," "Lord," "Son," "Son of Man," "Son of God," and "Savior" (111). He makes this observation regarding the use of canonical texts: "There are no clear citations or quotations from either the Old or New Testament writings, though the parallels with the language and thought . . . demonstrates the author's familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures and popular early Christian teaching" (114). McDonald covers the debate surrounding authorship (116–119), possible allusions or material parallel to what is found in *Odes* (123–128), and also the manuscript evidence (128–131), also covered in Charlesworth's essay. In his conclusion, he refers to Paul's exhortation in Eph. 5:18 to be filled with the Spirit and one of the participial clauses that follows—"speaking to one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs" (v. 19)—though he says very little directly about where *Odes* might fit for Paul.

In "Origen's Use of the *Gospel of Thomas*," Stephen C. Carlson (now Australian Catholic University, Australia) explores where the 114 sayings of the *Gospel of Thomas* in Origen as well as the single direct mention of the Gospel by name. Since Origen only mentioned *Thomas* once, it is impossible to be sure if references where no source is mentioned belong to that text, one of the other sources he mentions in his writings as not approved (e.g., the Gospel According to the Egyptians), or another that he does not mention by name in *Hom. Luc.* 1.2. Carlson associates Saying 82 with a quote in one of Origen's homilies on Jeremiah, though he acknowledges that it is found (with slight differences) in other non-canonical material (142–143). Given his purpose, it might have

been helpful to present some of these other forms of the saying and highlight the differences: Were they lexical or syntactical? What exactly makes the *Gospel of Thomas* the strongest source candidate? And if the source for "Whoever is near me is near fire; whoever is far from me, is far from the kingdom" (and the other quotation/allusions Carlson identified by Carlson) is the *Gospel of Thomas*, how does one reconcile that with *Hom. Luc.* 1.1 ("The Church has four Gospels . . . only four Gospels have been approved. Our doctrines about the Person of our Lord and Savior should be drawn from these approved Gospels")? He provides an answer in his conclusion: "He selectively used [apocryphal texts] when he thought their material would be beneficial to his point. *The Gospel of Thomas* was no different" (151).

In "The *Acts of Thomas* as Sacred Text," Jonathan K. Henry (Princeton Theological Seminary, USA) ponders why they are held at an arm's length away from biblical literature: "It would seem," he writes, "that they are neither historical enough to be sources of history, coherent enough to have been credible sources of theology, nor authoritative enough to have affected the values and thinking of early Christians" (152). His study, divided into three sections, focuses on how the book was used in early Christian literature and to what extent it was considered sacred. In the first section ("Self-Presentation as Sacred Text"), he laments the amount study on genre without scholars shifting its focus to the function of discourse, and he suggests this could be partially to blame for *Acts of Thomas* not being included among other non-canonical sacred literature (153–154). Four reasons are provided as evidence that *Acts of Thomas* self-identifies as a sacred text: It (1) "reports on events in a historical fashion"; (2) "delivers authoritative statements directly from the mouth of Judas Thomas"; (3) "carried an inherent weight with its constituent audience; and (4) "is consumed with the idea of preaching the gospel of Jesus as understood by Thomas" (158–159). In the second section ("Potential for Use as Sacred Text"), he uses the third act as a test case to prove that the *Acts of Thomas* has a discernible purpose for a religious community: "Humans, though created free agents by God, have been tricked into slavery to evil; humans need to hear the gospel to have their eyes opened, which will hopefully lead to conversion and a life pleasing to God" (162). The third section ("Evidences for Use as Sacred Text") attempts to show that non-Gnostic/non-Manichaean communities used *Acts of Thomas* in worship and teaching, citing an epiclesis in a seventh-century Latin manuscript and the homilies of Jacob of Serugh in the fifth century.

The final study is "Questions and Answers in the *Protoevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Peter*" by Daniel Lynwood Smith (Saint Louis University, USA). This study is perhaps the one most connected to the field of New Testament philology, not because the others do not have implications for New Testament studies, but because it makes a concerted effort to link its findings to the field of New Testament. Smith focuses on two early non-canonical texts and what they communicate about the identity of Jesus. He begins with the birth narrative in the *Protoevangelium of James*. The details surrounding the birth of Jesus are limited to Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2 in the canonical Gospels. In *Protoevangelium of James*, he shows how the miraculous stories began to expand to

include new narratives, such as the testing of Joseph and Mary using the "water of the Lord" (*Prot. Jam.* 16.2). He does the same with the *Gospel of Peter* with the resurrection in the next section; except with the resurrection there are some proponents of traditions independent of the canonical Gospels. The authors of these two texts, he says, were not satisfied with the accounts found in the canonical Gospels. They lacked the glory and the power that a cataclysmic event as great as the arrival and death and resurrection of the Son of God warranted. Smith's chapter is helpful for seeing some of the parallels to the canonical Gospels and the ways they were revamped for a future audience who had additional questions about Jesus' identity.

The greatest weakness in this book is the dependence on translation by its authors, instead of them providing their own translations. Charlesworth, for example in his preface, uses an 1850 translation of Gregory the Great's *Morals on the Book of Job* (*xxi* n. 22, n. 23). In his chapter, he provides what appears to be his own translation of a portion of *Pistis Sophia* (93), followed by a personal translation of Col. 3:16. But soon after there is a footnote (94 n. 20): "All English quotations from Lactantius are from the convenient collection: Lactantius, 'The Divine Institutes,' in *The Ante-Nice Fathers* (trans. W. Fletcher, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970 [the introductory note is dated 1886]), 7:110." And later he quotes from the Bowen and Garnsey translation (96). For *Barnabas* he uses Bart Erhman's translation (100). The authors of these essays are capable of providing their own translations, to be sure, but most regularly use translations. On the one hand, this helps readers become familiar with different translations. But in this sort of specialty study, most of the readers will already be familiar with available translations. When skilled researchers provide personal translations, readers always benefit. For example, when Charlesworth and McDonald provided personal translations for a sentence in Athansius' *Expositiones in Psalmos*, a major difference appears. Charlesworth translated οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὴς Σαλομὼν ὁ εἰραναῖος as "For this One is truly Solomon, *the One who frees*" (107, italics added). When McDonald used the same text in the next chapter, he translated it as "For he is the true Solomon, *the man of peace*" (117, italics added). Occasionally, there are places in the book where non-English text (e.g., Hebrew, Latin, French) is given without translation. And in one place Carlson provides a translation for an Origen text (using the Gospel of Thomas) that he says had never before been translated into English (148). These essays are unique and extend the scholarly discussion about canon—Jewish and Christian. Specialty studies like this are not usually for beginners; that this one requires an intermediate knowledge of Jewish and Christian apocrypha and pseudepigrapha is not a weakness. In many places, the impact on New Testament studies is left for the reader to deduce. The focus here is on canon.

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Folker Siegert, *Einleitung in die hellenistisch-jüdische Literatur: Apokrypha, Pseudepigrapha und Fragmente verlorener Autorenwerke* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016). X + 776 pp., hardbound, ISBN 978-3-11-035191-0. 150 Euro.

This handbook surely is a major achievement by a single author. Siegert is one of the doyens of early Jewish studies in German- speaking Europe. In this review, we focus on issues pertaining to language.

In the substantial introduction (1–88), Siegert discusses definitions, the extent and limitations of the material to be covered, as well as various genres. Next, he describes Alexandria as a cultural centre, languages in use in Judea and literary activities in Jerusalem (29–39). A major section addresses the knotty problem of the translations of the biblical books and of these writings and their varied languages (translations into Latin – the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate textual tradition –, Syriac, the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Slavonic and Georgian translations). Siegert also discusses the problems in identifying the Jewish or Christian origin of these writings. Before introducing the tools available for scholarly study, he writes with regard to his own aims: "Was in dem folgenden Band angedacht ist, aber nicht beansprucht wird, ist eine Literaturgeschichte all des Griechischen aus dem antiken Judentum. Sie ist ein Desiderat, nicht nur in deutscher Sprache, sondern in jeder. Was eine solche verarbeiten müsste, ist hier immerhin vollständig aufgeführt" (67). The introductory essay also addresses the history of research (69–71), the hermeneutics employed by these texts, and in studying them today, theology (apocalyptic thought, prophecy) and issues of canon and canonicity".

For each text, Siegert presents his summary of the content and/or a paraphrase; references to translations, to introductions and to secondary literature (mainly commentaries and monographs). Next, he lists the extant manuscripts, different titles, critical editions of the texts, ancient translations and revisions, the earliest mention of the text, similar texts or texts with a similar title, the literary genre, literary peculiarities, an outline, literary integrity, the use of biblical traditions, historical references, remarkable passages, theological emphases, sources and traditions, the time and place of writing, the purpose of writing and a brief survey of the history of reception (see the description of, and explanation for this structure on pp. 38–48).

The Jewish sources are arranged according to text types, in order to present together what is comparable. Within the sections, chronology serves as a second criterion.

The first major section treats translations from the Hebrew or Aramaic (narrative texts based on the Genesis account, narratives following the model of other biblical- historical books, non-canonical wisdom books, works on the history of Israel originally in Hebrew, the Book of Enoch and its growth, the beginning of literature in the testament genre, and lost Semitic sources of books belonging to the LXX). Other major sections deal with

pseudepigraphy similar to the Bible originally written in Greek (LXX, LXX additions to biblical books, Hellenistic-Jewish midrash and novels, liturgical texts from Greek-speaking Jewish synagogues, political texts from Second Temple Ju-daism, apocalyptic texts in response to the demise of the temple) and prose texts only preserved in fragments (the ways of transmission, works on exegesis and hermeneutics, works on biblical genealogy and chronology, enlargements of biblical narratives, Jason of Cyrene's *Maccabaica*, various technical treatises and reference to lost works). Siegert further covers Jewish prose works under a pagan-Greek pseudonym, metric texts and various other Jewish texts such as sources in Josephus; fictional letters from and to prominent people; texts regarding astrology, magic and the occult; various fragments and Jewish responses to Christians. He closes with a survey of texts of uncertain origin (such as the Ascension of Isaiah, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Odes of Solomon) and references to Jewish narrative material in Christian collections and compendia. The massive volume ends with indexes of titles, beginnings of texts (Greek, Latin and German) and authors (ancient and modern), subjects and Scripture references.

   The volume serves as an excellent reference tool and introduction to a wide variety of Hellenistic-Jewish literature. A paperback edition would be welcome.

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Katherine A. Shaner, *Enslaved Leadership in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Xxviii + 207 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-027506-8. 71 GBP

   This slim monograph discusses the implications of the presence of enslaved people in religious practice in early Christianity and other contexts. Such people served as religious specialists (see, e.g. Acts 16:16–22), priests and in other leading roles in various cultic groups. Shaner indicates that the role of such people in civic and religious activities in urban Asia Minor was contested throughout the ancient world. When people whose legal status was that of slaves served in roles of civic and religious significance and potential prestige, their activities would have challenged and upended the social hierarchies which privileged the wealthy, slave-holding people. In view of this, some activities of enslaved people in Christian communities, particularly providing leadership of some kind, would likewise have challenged, and might have led to conflict with the power relations in wider society between slaves and free slave-holding men, which probably continued to have some bearing on relationships and conventions in congregations. Shaner argues that both archaeological findings regarding Asia Minor and early Christian texts defend, construct and clarify the hierarchies that subjugated and

kept enslaved persons under the control of their owners. Shaner writes: "How should we understand the interplay of enslaved/free status with leadership roles in ancient religious practice? … *Enslaved Leadership in Early Christianity* is neither a celebration of early Christian abolitionary impulses nor a venture into the horrors of enslaved life in the Roman Empire. Rather it is a study of tensions, ambiguities, and power contestations that arise with the presence of enslaved persons in ancient religious communities" (Xif).

In her analysis of such power dynamics, Shaner employs insights from feminist frameworks (described on pp. xiii–xvi). The "Introduction" (xi–xxviii) also includes a survey of the nature and the diverse presentation of slavery in the first and second centuries CE, an instructive critical discussion of the pre-suppositions and problems of historiography with regard to Roman slavery (xix–xxi), a survey of research on the relationship between religion, early Christian history, and the enslaved (xxi–xxiv) and of the nature of the evidence of ancient slavery. The vast majority of the evidence reflects slave-owners' perspectives,

> The tension between the ubiquity of slaves in ancient life and their obscured presence in our sources constructs a portrait of enslaved persons that is consistent with slave owners' ideals. Thus, sources on slavery rhetorically construct the ideal slave as one who is only noticeable when her master wishes her to be and otherwise blends into the background. These sources also show that ancient writers used slaves as a kind of experimental lens through which to study free characters. Images of enslaved persons in ancient materials are often fantasy projections of the free, not so much portraits of slaves as others through whom the free could play out their own agenda. Such projections hide historical enslaved persons from our view (xxv).

The monograph consists of five chapters. *Chapter one*, "Power in Perspectives: Interpreting Enslaved Presence in Archaeological Materials" (1–22), uses Roman Ephesos as a test case. It surveys remains from the harbour, the agora, and a luxury housing complex. The analysis of how enslaved presence is marked in these spaces indicates how spaces, images, texts, and other archaeological remains have rhetorical or persuasive power in constructing the lives of enslaved persons. The material remains show that slaves were ubiquitous in such spaces and at the same time controlled and marginalised, sometimes to the point of invisibility.

Chapter two, "Power Plays: Roman Policies, Public Slaves, and Social Status" (23–41) moves to spaces in the city where social stratifications in civic functions are often most visible, that is, the marketplace and the theatre. Shaner examines in detail the imperial decree by Paullus Fabius Persicus (*IEph* 17–19; 44–45 CE), found in both places in Ephesos, which attempted to regulate priesthoods in the Ephesian Artemis, connected imperial benefaction with the regulation of civic priesthoods and enforced the subordination of public slaves. "When read as prescription regarding the role of slaves in the cult of the main civic goddess (rather than description), the decree reveals the possibility that enslaved persons were purchasing priesthoods even as it seeks to terminate such practices. Enslaved persons who held priesthoods posed a problem for ancient notions of proper social order in that enslaved persons were considered morally suspicious and generally dishonoured" (xxvi).

Chapter three, "Voices of Power: Onesimos, Paul, and the Ambiguity of the Enslaved

'in Christ'" (42–62), turns to the conversation about slavery in Pauline texts. Shaner notes that a notion of freedom in Christ (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 12:13) exists in some texts and argues that such statements are in conflict with rhetoric that excludes slaves from the body of Christ (1 Cor 5–7; I fail to see how these chapters exclude from such membership). According to Shaner, other Pauline assertions remain deeply ambiguous about slaves in the community (1 Cor 7:21). She describes the ambiguities of enslaved participation in early Christian groups using Onesimos, the enslaved subject of Paul's letter to Philemon, Archippos, and Apphia, as examples. She notes that while the language of slavery and slave buying is present, the letter also suggests that Onesimus holds some position of honour, given his relationship with Paul. As an enslaved member of the community, Onesimus points to the multiple and contradictory ways in which slaves functioned as both dishonoured bodies and bearers of authority in early Christian groups.

Chapter four, "Shifting Power: Ambiguous Status, Visual Rhetoric, and the Enslaved in Imperial Sacrificial Practices" (63–86), analyses the so-called Parthian Reliefs, which depict military conquest, gods and goddesses, and four emperors presiding over a sacrifice. These reliefs idealise images of sacrifice, reinforce imperial authority, and erase the role of slaves. Inscriptions regulating sacrifices in the city, however, deploy a different rhetoric about what such practices should look like. Ritual specialists, many of whom were enslaved people, could and did instruct men from the elites, who serve as honorific priests, regarding the proper performance of rites. "Pitting these visual and epigraphic arguments about authority and the proper performance of sacrifice against one another reveals a contestation around the role of enslaved ritual specialists in Ephesos" (xxvii).

In "Power in the *Ekklesia*: Contesting Enslaved Leadership in 1 Timothy and Ignatius" (87–109), Shaner argues that the tension between kyriarchal leadership structures and enslaved persons in leadership roles surfaces even more clearly in early Christian texts concerned with the authority of bishops, deacons, widows, and others in early Christian assemblies. The letters of Ignatius and Timothy are seen to prescribe leadership structures that reinforce the authority of elite male slaveholders (were they really there?) in Ephesian churches at the expense of enslaved persons. The proposals for community structure in 1 Timothy are understood to circumscribe the roles for enslaved persons. Bishops and deacons should be good household managers (does this necessarily mean that they were slave- holders?), implying that their slaves should be subordinate. Enslaved persons are expected to honour and respect their own masters – a prescription that is only necessary if the hierarchical relationship between masters and slaves was unclear or problematic. Such instructions may indicate that enslaved persons participated in the community in ways that were not in keeping with the proposed guidelines. In view of the evidence of enslaved participation, Shaner concludes that "enslaved persons functioned as bishops, deacons, and other leaders in early Christian churches even as a power struggle around such functions simmered" (xxvii). The remainder of the volume consists of an epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography and Scripture and general index.

From Christian sources Shaner mainly interacts with Philemon, 1Timothy and the Letters of Ignatius; other texts, such as the so-called household codes are not treated. The archaeological, literary and epigraphical evidence used here derives from Ephesus.

The volume offers a fine case study of how archaeological and literary evidence from the ancient world (each not neutral, but attempting to persuade viewers, readers and inhabitants of the cities) can be related to each other in examining and interpreting complex issues.

Despite a number of questionable assumptions, Shaner's study adds to the complexity of understanding Greco-Roman notions of slavery and to finding adequate translations of the δοῦλος κτλ. word group. While the English word *slave*, with all the connotations associated with it, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, will suit certain contexts, in other cases "servant" or "minister" (in some religious contexts) or expressions like "dependent office bearer" might more adequately capture the role played by legally enslaved people in ancient society. Shaner's term *enslaved persons* is commendable as it does not reduce the affected people to their legal status, which would mean to adopt the perspective of the masters as a full and valid description of historical realities rather than at least including enslaved perspectives as well. Writing history and determining meaning on the basis of one-sided constructions of slaves would mean to "inscribe as legitimate – even natural – the master's claim to his slave's labour and eclipse the power relations that uphold it" (xii). Lexicographical studies need to be aware of the danger of promoting and perpetuating one-sided perspectives on phenomena which actually included two or more sides.

Shaner's compelling analysis of the complexities of power dynamics in slave systems, particularly within religious communities, deserves attention beyond the confines of the academy where people relate to each other in power structures and where religion is involved in some way.

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Adam Winn (ed.), *An Introduction to Empire in the New Testament*, Resour-ces for Biblical Study 84 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016). Xvii + 348, paperback. ISBN 978-1-62837-133-8, 50 USD (hardcover 65 USD).

Reading the New Testament against the backdrop of the Roman Empire has become an established approach in the past two decades. This quest has reminded exegetes as well as students of New Testament philology that many of its words and expressions are not only "spiritual" or early Jewish but either reflect the language and propaganda of the

Roman Empire in one way or another or may deliberately counter such claims as they point to a different saviour and a much different salvation for the people of the Empire and beyond. It is welcome that this collection of essays does not offer random essays on the topic but seeks to systematically cover the whole New Testament. The editor notes:

> The purpose of the present volume is both to introduce readers, particularly students and non-specialists, to this growing subfield of New Testament studies, making them aware of the significant work that has already been produced, and to point them to new ways in which this field is moving forward. This volume includes a diverse group of interpreters who at times have differing presuppositions, methods, and concerns regarding how the texts of the New Testament engage the Roman Empire, but who all hold in common a belief that Rome's empire is a crucial foreground for reading and interpreting at least certain New Testament texts. The volume includes contributors who have been pioneers in "empire criticism" for the past twenty years and who continue to plow new ground, but it also includes the work of new scholars (ix).

Following his "A Brief Word of Introduction and Acknowledgment" (ix–xi), Winn sets out with the theoretical foundation: "Striking Back at the Empire: Empire Theory and Responses to Empire in the New Testament" (1–14). Winn discusses the development of empire criticism in the field of New Testament studies and describes and assesses the various strategies and methods employed for engaging with and responding to Rome's empire in New Testament texts (predicted and imagined judgement, critique through co-opted language, hidden transcripts, formation of alternative communities and subversions of sociocultural institutions, accommodation of Roman imperial power, hybridity in ambivalent responses to Roman power).

In the essay "Peace, Security, and Propaganda: Advertisement and Reality in the Early Roman Empire" (15–45), Bruce W. Longenecker introduces the nature and scope of the Roman Empire itself (the dawning of the golden age of the Roman imperial order; the legitimisation of Rome by deities and fate; the implementation of the Roman urban project by the elite; Rome, prosperity and poverty; Rome, peace and violence). He shows the ways and means and the extent to which the empire pervaded virtually every area of life in the ancient Mediterranean world. Longenecker concludes:

> In essence, there was a double nature to the Roman imperial order. On the one hand, the Roman Empire had an obvious greatness about it; that much cannot be denied, nor should we attempt to detract from that fact. On the other hand, the greatness of Rome had an objectionable underbelly that is all too often lost from view – not least, perhaps, because the majority of data informing us about that time come to us from the privileged elite.
> Undergirding both the greatness and the contestability of Rome lay a widespread belief in the essential goodness and appropriateness of Roman rule, a rule bestowed with a legitimating mandate from the gods. Advertising peace and prosperity, the Roman imperial order engaged in an ideological universalising program that favoured those who mattered, especially the wealthy Roman elite, while often spawning injustices against those who were deemed not to matter (44).

The essays are Richard A. Horsley, "Jesus-in-Movement and the Roman Imperial (Dis)order" (47–69); Warren Carter, "An Imperial-Critical Reading of Matthew" (71–90); Adam Winn, "The Gospel of Mark: A Response to Imperial Propaganda" (91–106); Eric D. Barreto, "Crafting Colonial Identities: Hybridity and the Roman Empire in Luke-

Acts" (107–121); Beth M. Sheppard, "The Fourth Gospel, Romanization, and the Role of Women" (123–142); Neil Elliot, "Paul and Empire 1: Romans, 1Corinthians, 2Corinthians" (143–163) and James R. Harrison, "Paul and Empire 2: Negotiating the Seduction of Imperial 'Peace and Security' in Galatians, Thessalonians, and Philippians" (165–184; in his examination of the imperial context of 1Thessalonians 4:6–5:11 and 2Thessalonians 2:1–11, Harrison discusses παρουσία, ἀπάντησις, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, σωτηρία, ἐλπίς). Harrison writes:

> As Paul's missionary outreach moved from Asia Minor into northern Greece, the challenge posed by the ideology of the imperial cult and its offer of peace, security, and prosperity for its clients remained as potent as ever. Paul's eschatological gospel provided him with the ideological and pastoral resources not only to challenge its idolatrous and seductive claims but also to establish within the body of Christ a radical alternative in social relations to the self-seeking, hierarchical, and status-conscious society of the Caesars (183–184).

Further contributions are Harry O. Maier, "Colossians, Ephesians, and Empire" (185–202); Deborah Krause, "Construing and Containing an Imperial Paul: Rhetoric and the Politics of Representation in the Pastoral Epistles" (203–220); Jason A. Whitlark, "Resisting Empire in Hebrews" (221–235); Matthew Ryan Hauge, "Empire in James: The Crown of Life" (237–254); Kelly D. Liebengood, "Confronting Roman Imperial Claims: Following the Footsteps (and the Narrative) of 1Peter's Eschatological Davidic Shepherd" (255–272) and Davina C. Lopez, "Victory and Visibility: Revelations Imperial Textures and Monumental Logics" (273–295). A bibliography and various indices round off the volume.

While this approach offers interesting and fresh perspectives on some words, concepts and New Testament books, some of its presuppositions are questionable. An imperial or anti-imperial perspective is not the key to unlock the entire New Testament; see, for instance the criticism of S. Kim, *Christ and Caesar: The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2008) and the critical discussion and modification of the imperial sub-text hypothesis in C. Heilig, *Hidden Criticism? The Methodology and Plausibility of the Search for a Counter-Imperial Subtext in Paul*, WUNT II. 392 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015); see also Heilig's *Paul's Triumph: Reassessing 2 Corinthians 2:14 in Its Literary and Historical Contest*, Biblical Tools and Studies 27 (Leuven: Peeters, 2018).

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Jan Dochhorn, Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, Benjamin Wold (eds.), *Das Böse, der Teufel und*

This collection of essays does not contain much of direct relevance for New Testament philology. However, it offers a good survey of the world and the thinking behind references in the New Testament to evil, the devil and demons which sheds light on this word field and its occurrences in the New Testament. The essays have their origin with a network of scholars interested in examining how religious systems in antiquity accommodated "evil". Their aim was

> to explore how antique religious traditions that developed in the direction of monotheism (e.g. Samaritanism, Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, Manichaeism, Islam) offered increasingly more complex explanations of the cosmos, which resulted in equally as evolved explanations of evil. Systems of thought that view evil as more than perpetrated by human beings, and experienced by them, are seen in various cosmological viewpoints involving otherworldly beings, especially demons and the devil. Our session sought to address evil within developing cosmologies and how it is conceptualized in different ways and integrated into religious systems. The problem of evil, in this regard, could in fact lead to a breaking point for a monotheistic system and may even result in a polytheistic or dualistic structure (e.g. in some forms of "Gnosticism" and Manichaeism) (v).

The "Einleitung/Introduction" (ix–xiv) by Susanne Rudnig-Zelt briefly introduces the following essays (unfortunately, not in the order in which they appear in the volume). Two essays deal with the theme in the Old Testament: Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, "Der Teufel und der alttestamentliche Monotheismus" (1–20) and Markus Saur, "Der Blick in den Abgrund: Bilder des Bösen in der alttestamentlichen Weisheitsliteratur" (21–42).

Three essays are devoted to evil, the Devil and demons in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Matthew Goff, "Enochic Literature and the Persistence of Evil: Giants and Demons, Satan and Azazel" (43–57); Matthew Goff, "A Seductive Demoness at Qumran? Lilith, Female Demons and 4Q184" (59–76; Geoff concludes that this manuscript does not refer to a *Lilith* like female demon; rather this figure is a further development of the seductive alien woman of Proverbs 1–8) and Miryam T. Brand, "Belial, Free Will, and Identity-Building in the Community Rule" (77–92; Brand argues that the figure of Belial functions in 1 QS to affirm the members of the group in their loyalty to the group and in severing them from other Jews).

Six essays examine issues in the New Testament: According to Michael Morris, "Apotropaic Inversion in the Temptation and at Qumran" (93–100), the devil's use of Ps 91 is to be understood as the technique of apotropaic inversion as in 11Q11, as this psalm was used in such contexts: "Der Teufel übernimmt in der Versuchung Jesu mit dem Zitat aus Ps 91 die Rolle des Exorzisten, um die Wirksamkeit apotropäischer Texte in Frage zu stellen und Jesus einzuschüchtern, der ja in den Synoptikern immer wieder als Exorzist auftritt" (xii).

Benjamin Wold, in "Apotropaic Prayer and the Matthean Lord's Prayer" (101–112), claims that the request to be delivered from evil is not apotropaic. In "'For We are Unaware of His Schemes': Satan and Cosmological Dualism in the Gentile Mission"

(113–125), Erkki Koskenniemi argues that early Christianity could not do without eschatological dualism; that is the contrast between the current evil age and a future time of salvation. From the very beginning, non-Jews were confronted with this eschatological dualism as indicated by Acts 17 and 1Thessalonians 1:8–10. Koskenniemi suggests that early Christian mission only functioned because the recipients were used to dualistic thinking.

In "Die Bestrafung des Unzuchtsünders in 1. Kor 5,5: Satanologische, anthropologische und theologische Implikationen" (127–151), Jan Dochhorn argues that the idea of delivering the man guilty of incest to Satan derives from the angelic destroyer of Exodus 12. This figure was linked in Jubilees 49:2 with Mastema, that is the devil: "Dem Inzestsünder steht mit der Übergabe an den Satan also eine buchstäbliche Vernichtung des Fleisches bevor. Dagegen soll sein Individualpneuma im Endgericht gerettet werden, da er durch die Übergabe an den Satan und die Vernichtung des Fleisches schon seine Strafe erlitten hat" (xii).

In „Zwischen Gut und Böse: Teufel, Dämonen, das Böse und der Kosmos im Jakobusbrief" (153–168), Oda Wischmeyer identifies a tendency in James to limit dualism by placing evil within people. Thus, the perennial struggle between good and evil does not take place in the cosmos but only within people. When the devil and demons are mentioned in James, this only serves to indicate and clarify conflicts within humans.

In his contribution, „Kain, der Sohn des Teufels: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1. Joh 3,12" (169–187), Jan Dochhorn argues that Cain coming from the evil (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ) means "from the devil" as this verse reflects an originally early Jewish tradition according to which Cain was a son of Eve begotten by the devil who seduced her in the paradise account of Genesis to sin. This tradition can be found in sources from Targum Pseudo Jonathan to Polycarp. Dochhorn indicates how the writer of the Targum could extract from Genesis 4:1 that Cain was not the son of Adam but of Samael, the figure of the devil.

Other essays deal with the theme in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Hector M. Patmore, "Demons and Biblical Exegesis: Tradition and Innovation in Targum Jonathan to 2 Sam 22:5; Isa 13:21; 34:14; Hab 3:5" (189–206; including examination of how these texts were translated and interpreted at later stages) and Jörn Bockmann, "Judas und St. Brandan: Der Sünder, der Heilige und die Sabbatruhe von den Höllenqualen" (207–241).

The two closing essays present more general perspectives: Ole Davidsen, "Religion: An Aspiration to Surmount Dualistic Reality?" (243–257) and Ryan E. Stokes, "What is a Demon, What is an Evil Spirit, and What is a Satan?" (259–272). Stokes emphasises that ancient sources often distinguish between evil spirits and demons: "In Anknüpfung an das Alte Testament wurden die falschen Götter, die die Heiden verehren, meist als Dämonen bezeichnet. Böse Geister dagegen waren dafür zuständig, die Menschen zu quälen, mit Krankheiten zu schlagen und zu bösen Taten zu verführen. Der antike Sprachgebrauch war also in vielen Texten differenzierter als heute" (xi). Specifically with regard to vocabulary, Stokes demonstrates that the ancient texts are quite

inconsistent in their use of the terms among themselves, particularly in the cases of "demon" and "evil spirit". Therefore

> no single definition of these terms would suffice to convey the sense of the terms in all of early Jewish literature. A more practicable solution is for scholars simply to be mindful of their own vocabulary when discussing these matters and to be mindful of the differences between the categories their own language has constructed and of those constructed by the diverse literatures they study. Also, in speaking of demons, evil spirits, and satanic beings, rather than assuming that we all agree with one another, modern and ancient theologians alike, on the definition of these terms, it will often be in order for one to define one's vocabulary for one's audience. The result of such practices would be a clearer understanding and a clearer articulation of ancient notions of malevolent superhuman beings (272).

The essays look at crucial questions and provide a number of fresh perspectives. The volume does not contain any abstracts of the essays.

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LIBROS RECIBIDOS

BARBELT, ANDREW H., - KLOHA, JEFFREY - RAABE, PAUL R. (eds.), *The Press of the Text. Biblical Studies in Honor of James W. Voelz* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017), 306 pp. 23 x 15,5 cm. ISBN 978-1-4982-3590-7.

La amplitud de estos ensayos es un testimonio apropiado de los intereses personales y profesionales del profesor homenajeado James W. Voelz. Abarcan un espectro que va de la lengua, la lexicografía griega, la hermenéutica, la teoría de la traducción, la interpretación y la teología de Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento a los problemas contemporáneos de la Iglesia y el mundo. Autores académicos con una diversidad de intereses y en contextos diversos ofrecen un panorama de temas generales, enfocados desde la teoría y el método detallado de traducción hasta la *World Series* como una plantilla para la reflexión teológica, desde credos y confesiones diversas hasta la hermenéutica cultural y social. Los lectores encontrarán en esta obra elementos que fortalecerán y desafiarán su estudio de la teología y del texto bíblico. Para los filólogos neotestamentarios pueden ser de especial interés las siguientes colaboraciones: *The relevance of authorial language, style and usage in the evaluation of textual variants in the Greek New Testament* (J. Keith Elliott); *Body, Self, and Spirit: The Meaning of Paul's anthropological terminology in 1 Thessalonians 5:23* (Charles A. Gleschen); *Repent, O Lexicon, and do not begin to say that you have Bauer and Danker as your father* (David S. Haselbrook); *The development of the Greek Language and the Manuscripts of Paul's letters* (Jeffrey Kloha); *Texts, open spaces and readers: a brief update on the continuing challenge of Romans 13* (Bernard C. Lategan) y *Steps for the definition of the lexemes in the Greek-Spanish New Testament Dictionary. The lexeme δῆμος* (Jesús Peláez).

BROOKINS, TIMOTHY A. - LONGENECKER, BRUCE W., *1 Corinthians 10-16. A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2016). 247 pp. 20,5 x 13,5 cm. ISBN 9781481305341.

La obra de Brookins y Longenecker consta de dos volúmenes: 1 Corintios 1-9 y 10-16. Sus autores analizan el texto griego de esta carta, de forma detallada y completa, palabra a palabra y versículo a versículo, constituyendo una herramienta pedagógica y de referencia para el estudio de 1 Corintios. Los autores explican la morfología y la sintaxis del texto bíblico, ofrecen orientación semántica y dan respuesta a importantes cuestiones de Crítica textual, abordando de este modo las preguntas relacionadas con el texto griego que, con frecuencia, se pasan por alto o se ignoran en los comentarios convencionales. La obra también refleja los avances más recientes en los estudios sobre Gramática y Lingüística griega. Al llenar un vacío

entre los comentarios populares y técnicos, esta obra resulta muy útil para cualquier persona comprometida con una lectura profunda del texto bíblico.

CAREY, GREG, *Apocalyptic Literature in the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2016) 176 pp. 23 x 15 cm. ISBN 9781426771958.

Cada estrato significativo del Nuevo Testamento refleja las preocupaciones propias de la literatura apocalíptica, incluidas la expectativa de un Mesías, la esperanza en la resurrección, el juicio final y el mundo espiritual de ángeles y demonios. Greg Carey, de forma clara e inteligible, guía a sus lectores a través del rico y, a veces, confuso mundo de la literatura apocalíptica. La obra trata de mostrar en siete capítulos que el lenguaje apocalíptico no se encuentra en la periferia del cristianismo, sino que tal vez ocupe su centro, ofreciendo principios básicos para la reflexión sobre la comunidad cristiana primitiva. El autor pone en contexto la literatura apocalíptica, estudiándola en las cartas de Pablo y, más allá de los evangelios sinópticos, en la fuente Q, el evangelio de Tomás y el Apocalipsis.

CRAWFORD, BARRY S. - MILLER, MERRILL P. (eds.), *Redescribing the Gospel of Mark* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). 691 pp. 23 x 15 cm. ISBN 9781628371635.

Esta obra es la tercera de una serie de tres volúmenes de estudios llevados a cabo por miembros de la *Society of Biblical Literature's Consultation* (1995-1997), luego *Seminar on Ancient Myths and Modern Theories of Christian Origins*, preocupados por re-describir los comienzos del cristianismo como religión, aplicando teorías y métodos desarrollados por las ciencias sociales y áreas relacionadas. Los ensayos de esta obra examinan el Evangelio de Marcos como escritura de un autor en una cultura del libro, un escrito que respondía a situaciones que surgían de la primera Guerra entre romanos y judíos después de la destrucción del Templo de Jerusalén. El volumen se abre con una introducción a cargo de Barry S. Crawford, seguida de las siguientes colaboraciones: *Conjectures on conjunctures and other matters: three essays* (Jonathan Z. Smith); *The Markan site* (Jonathan Z. Smith); *Cartwheels, or, On not staying upside down too long* (Burton L. Mack); *On Smith, on myth, on Mark* (William E. Arnal); *Markan grapplings* (Christopher R. Matthews); *The spyglass and kaleidoscope: from a Levantine coign of vantage* (Burton L. Mack); *The social logic of the Gospel of Mark: cultural persistence and social escape in a postwar time* (Merrill P. Miller); *Mark, war, and creative imagination* (William E. Arnal); *Q and the "Big bang" theory of Christian origins* (Robyn Faith Walsh) y *Ancient myths and modern theories of Christian origins: the Consultation (1995-1997) and Seminar (1998-2003) in retrospect with attention to successor groups and a recommendation* (Barry S. Crawford -Merrill P. Miller).

CUTINO, MICHELE - IRIBARREN, ISABEL - VINEL, FRANCOISE (eds), *La restauration de la création. Quelle place pour les animaux. Actes du colloque de l' ERCAM tenu à Strasburg du 12 au 14 mars 2015* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018). 360 pp., ebook

version. ISBN 978-90-04-35738-9.

Los temas relativos a la ecología están teniendo cada vez mayor cabida en las publicaciones relativas a los textos bíblicos. La presente obra es un buen ejemplo de esto, recogiendo las colaboraciones que se presentaron en el Congreso de Estrasburgo de la ERCAM en 2015.

Releer bajo el ángulo de la "Teología de la creación: animales y hombres" (programa de investigación de ERAC) los trabajos de filósofos y teólogos antiguos y medievales no carece de resonancia en el mundo actual. En nuestra sociedad -y entre los investigadores- ha surgido una reflexión cada vez más atenta sobre la redefinición del estatus legal de los animales, tanto por parte de filósofos como de teólogos, pero también de abogados y políticos. Oradores, eruditos bíblicos, patrólogos, medievalistas y filósofos desean abordar el tema complejo del estatus de los animales dentro del marco del pensamiento cristiano antiguo y medieval y desde una perspectiva escatológica de la salvacion, centrándose en la salvación de estos según el proyecto divino.

El libro consta de dos partes. En la primera, dedicada a la Biblia y los apócrifos, se trata el concepto de reconciliación del hombre y las bestias según Isaías, la interpretación de Gn 6-9, Rm 8,18-22 y los *Hechos de Felipe,* VIII y XII. En la segunda parte, ya centrada en filosofía y teología, se organizan cronológicamente los trabajos dedicados a Filón, los Padres de la Iglesia y la Edad Media. El capítulo final recoge las conclusiones del Congreso.

ESTES, DOUGLAS - SHERIDAN, RUTH, *How John Works. Storytelling in the Fourth Gospel* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016). 347pp. 23 x 15 cm. ISBN 9781628371314.

Un grupo de académicos internacionales explica en este libro con detalle cómo el autor del Evangelio de Juan emplea una variedad de estrategias narrativas para contar mejor su historia. Más que un comentario, esta obra ofrece una mirada a la forma en que un autor antiguo creó y usó características narrativas como género, carácter, estilo, persuasión e incluso tiempo y espacio, para dar forma a la dramática historia de la vida de Jesús.

Coeditado por Douglas Estes y Ruth Sheridan, colaboran en esta obra Harold W. Attridge *(Género);* Dan Nässelqvist *(Estilo);* Douglas Estes *(Tiempo);* Susanne Luther *(Espacio);* James I. Resseguie *(Punto de vista);* Kasper Bro Larsen *(Trama);* Christopher W. Skinner *(Caracterización);* Mark W. G. Stibbe *(Protagonista);* Dorothy A. Lee *(Imaginería);* Rekha M. Chennattu *(Escritura)*; Alicia D. Myers *(Retórica);* Ruth Sheridan *(Persuasión)*; Francis J. Moloney *(Cierre);* Edward W. Klink III *(Audiencia)* y Charles E. Hill *(Cultura).* Las propuestas de esta obra no solo son válidas para el estudio del Evangelio de Juan, sino que también pueden servir de punto de partida para el estudio de otros evangelios o textos.

HÄGERLAND, TOBIAS (ed.), *Jesus and The Scriptures. Problems, Passages and Patterns* (London-New York: Bloomsbury, T & T Clark, 2016). 246 pp. 23,5 x 16 cm. ISBN

978-0-56766-502-7.

Los cuatro Evangelios presentan unánimemente a Jesús como alguien que citó, comentó y se comprometió con las Escrituras de Israel, siendo un tema muy debatido entre los estudiosos si esta presentación de Jesús se remonta al Jesús histórico o no. En este libro, once investigadores, expertos de cuatro continentes diferentes, abordan de nuevo esta cuestión y lo hacen a través del estudio detallado de temas específicos y de pasajes de las Escrituras que Jesús, según los Evangelios, citó explícita o implícitamente.

La obra va precedida de una introducción a cargo del editor Tobías Hägerland *(Jesus and the Scriptures: Problems of authentification and interpretation)*. Colaboran: William Loader *(Genesis 2,24 and the Jesus tradition);* Kim Huat Tan *(The Queen of Sheba and the Jesus traditions);* Jennifer Nyström *(Jesus' exorcistic identity reconsidered: The demise of a solomonic typology);* Jonathan A. Blanke *(Being God-taught": Isaiah 54:13 as prolegomena to the teaching ministry of Jesus)*; Fernando Bermejo-Rubio *(The day of the Lord is coming: Jesus and the Book of Zechariah);* Ville Auvinen *(Jesus and the devout psalmist of Psam 22);* Edwin K. Broadhead *(A servant like the Master: A Jewish Christian Hermeneutic for the practice of the Torah);* Ben Witherington III *(Jesus the sage and his provocative parables);* Jan Roskovec *(A sign from heaven and the word of Scripture: Jesus' miracles at stake) y* Mary J. Marschall *(Re-examining the Last Supper sayins in light of the Hebrew Scriptures).*

Estas contribuciones dan la pista de cómo utilizó Jesús las Escrituras, colocándose su modo de abordarlas en el marco interpretativo judío primitivo dentro del cual vivió.

HUDGINS, THOMAS W., *The Greek New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot: Vatican Manuscripts and the Gospel of Matthew. Doctoral Thesis* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2016). 367 pp. 30 x 21,5 cm.

El Nuevo Testamento griego de la Políglota Complutense salió de la imprenta el 10 de enero de 1514, pero las fuentes manuscritas, utilizadas por el equipo editorial, no se han identificado hasta el día de hoy. Los prefacios de la edición del Nuevo Testamento mencionan manuscritos enviados por León X desde la Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana a los editores de la Políglota. La mayoría de los eruditos han tomado estas declaraciones al pie de la letra, aunque algunos en los últimos años han puesto en duda su veracidad.

El objetivo principal de esta investigación es evaluar si los manuscritos fueron enviados o no desde la Biblioteca Vaticana al equipo de Cisneros en Alcalá. Para ello, el autor de esta tesis compara los manuscritos vaticanos que contienen el Evangelio de Mateo con el texto de la Políglota Complutense, para concluir que las fuentes utilizadas para el Nuevo Testamento griego de la Biblia Políglota Complutense siguen sin estar identificadas. Si los manuscritos hubiesen sido enviados desde la Biblioteca Vaticana, estos habrían tenido probablemente un fuerte impacto en el texto griego de la Complutense, pero la cantidad de divergencias entre

estos manuscritos y el texto Complutense es tan grande que parece que los editores de la Políglota no dependieron en gran medida de estos manuscritos, en el caso de haber sido enviados a los editores de la Políglota Complutense. De modo que el paradero de los manuscritos del Nuevo Testamento griego que se mencionan en las listas de adquisiciones e inventarios de la biblioteca en Alcalá de Henares sigue siendo desconocido.

JOHNSTON, JEREMIAH J., *The Resurrection of Jesus in the Gospel of Peter. A Tradition-Historical Study of the* Akhmin *Gospel Fragment* (London-New York: Bloomsbury, T & T Clark, 2016). 220 pp. 23,5 x 16 cm. ISBN 978-0-56766-610-9.

Los cuatro evangelios canónicos hablan de la resurrección de Jesús, pero ninguno de ellos detalla el momento exacto en que esta tuvo lugar. La ausencia de este detalle narrativo fue acaloradamente discutida en el siglo II, cuando los críticos ridiculizaron la narración de la resurrección carente de testimonios creíbles. El descubrimiento del fragmento *Akhmim,* a finales del siglo XIX, que pretende proporcionar exactamente ese detalle, se suma a la erudición bíblica de los evangelios apócrifos, aunque ha sido infrautilizado. Johnston examina el impacto de este descubrimiento y defiende la datación del fragmento en el siglo II d.C., al tiempo que identifica las características de este, compartidas con otros documentos de este período, incluyendo el aumento del sentimiento antisemita y el desarrollo de la concepción del más allá. El siglo II fue el momento clave en que se establecieron los textos bíblicos no canónicos. También fue la época en la que las teologías -que se convertirían en "ortodoxas" en el siglo III- se escribieron y definieron. Por tanto, la importancia de datar el fragmento *Akhmim* en el s. II d.C. es enorme. Este trabajo será de utilidad para los estudiosos del Judaísmo del Segundo Templo.

STEFANELLI, ORONZO, *Il "trafitto" che viene con le nubi in Ap 1,7. Studio intertestuale del primo annuncio profetico delʹApocalisse* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna, 2017). 212 pp. 24 x 17 cm. ISBN 978-88-10-30253-8.

En Ap 1,7 se dice: "*Mirad, viene entre las nubes: todos lo verán con sus ojos, también aquellos que lo traspasaron, y plañirán por él todas las razas de la tierra. Así es. Amén*" (Dn 7,13; Zac 12, 10-14). Este es uno de los versículos más oscuros del críptico Apocalipsis de Juan. Con la intención de dilucidar su significado y contextualizándolo en la literatura de la época, compone Stefanelli una monografía dedicada al análisis intertextual y al comentario del mismo. Con esta finalidad, el autor repasa primero las principales propuestas de la literatura académica al respecto, para pasar a analizar estructuralmente el versículo. En los primeros ocho versículos del libro del Apocalipsis se alude tres veces al tema de la venida de Jesús entre las nubes. Los clásicos griegos y latinos ya enseñaron que todo buen autor anuncia al principio lo que desarrollará en el transcurso de su trabajo y que, en el prólogo y el epílogo, hay un verdadero intercambio directo de mensajes y advertencias entre autor y lector. En estos versículos, el autor detecta una especie de "pacto narrativo" con

aquellos que comienzan a leer para no descarriarse en su interpretación. La obra presenta un análisis completo y sistemático de Apocalipsis 1,7 en todas sus facetas: ubicación, estructura, composición, textos y contextos a los que se hace alusión, referencias temáticas a paralelos dispersos por todo el libro. La conclusión resalta, en primer lugar, la gran inclusión que hace el autor, al colocar en la apertura del libro el anuncio de la llegada del "Traspasado" entre las nubes (Ap 1,7), poniendo al final del libro en su boca y en primera persona la promesa de que esto sucederá pronto: "El que se hace testigo de esas cosas dice: -Sí, voy a llegar en seguida" (Ap 22,20). Sorprendentemente, esa conclusión muestra cómo el libro del Apocalipsis, con su muy rica cristología, se basa en realidad en la teoogía y está orientado hacia esta.

TONISTE, KÜLLI, *The Ending of the Canon. A Canonical and Intertextual Reading of Revelation 21-22* (London-New York: Bloomsbury, T & T Clark, 2016). 233 pp. 23,5 x 16 cm. ISBN 978-0-56765-794-7.

Los estudios sobre el Apocalipsis han seguido dos métodos muy diferentes que provienen de la Academia y la Iglesia. La Academia se ha centrado principalmente en los estudios histórico-críticos; por su parte, la Iglesia se ha aproximado al Apocalipsis como Escritura y mantiene el texto intacto, careciendo con frecuencia de las herramientas adecuadas para una interpretación correcta del mismo. Tõniste observa la necesidad de una metodología más holística y reflexiva para estudiar el Apocalipsis y desarrolla para ello un enfoque que respeta el Apocalipsis como parte de las Escrituras cristianas compuestas por y para la iglesia, al mismo tiempo que utiliza métodos académicos modernos respetados que apoyan su unidad (crítica literaria, canónica y narrativa, intertextualidad y ubicación canónica) para llegar a interpretaciones teológicamente sensatas y satisfactorias. Según el autor, la clave básica para desentrañar los misterios del Apocalipsis reside en el uso abundante de la intertextualidad, un área que está aún poco investigada. Toniste explora esta metodología integrada a través de la lectura de Apocalipsis 21-22. Esta obra consta de cinco capítulos: 1) En búsqueda de una metodología para una lectura teológica del Apocalipsis, 2) Género y estructura literaria del Apocalipsis, 3) Modelo intertextual del Apocalipsis, 4) Apocalipsis 21-22 como final del Canon y 5) Síntesis.

SMITH, CRAIG A., *2 Timothy* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2016). 200 pp. 15,5 x 23,5 cm. ISBN-13 978-1-910928-05-9.

En los últimos 150 años, la Segunda Carta a Timoteo ha sido objeto de muchos estudios académicos, centrados especialmente en cuestiones como su autoría y la situación histórica que la carta presupone. Aunque algunos académicos de hoy aceptan la autoría paulina, la mayoría ha apoyado la opinión de que 2 Timoteo es un escrito seudónimo, redactado en algún momento después de la muerte de Pablo. En este comentario, Smith se debate entre la autoría paulina y la pseudonimia, proponiendo que Pablo es el autor, pero Lucas, el amanuense significativo de esta carta.

La principal diferencia entre este comentario y otros sobre la 2 Timoteo es el rechazo de Smith de la suposición común de que 2 Timoteo es el discurso de despedida de Pablo o su último testamento. Sobre la base de su trabajo anterior, *Timothy's Task, Paul's Prospect*, Smith entiende 2 Timoteo como una carta parenética escrita a Timoteo para alentarlo en su ministerio de Éfeso y pidiéndole que se una a Pablo en Roma. La perspectiva de Pablo en esta carta no es, por tanto, la de quien se resigna a la muerte, pasando el testigo a su colaborador más joven, sino la de quien muestra su expectativa de ser liberado de la prisión y su esperanza de nuevas oportunidades para el ministerio con Timoteo, Lucas y Marcos.

Smith entiende que el problema de la enseñanza falsa en Éfeso es un problema real al que Timoteo se enfrenta y no una situación ficticia de un momento posterior. Smith muestra cuidadosamente la difícil situación en la iglesia de Éfeso y su efecto en Timoteo, junto con las amables y reflexivas advertencias de Pablo a Timoteo, dadas como de padre a hijo.

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